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Living in Actually Existing Democracies
An Introduction to *LARR* Volume 45,
Special Issue, 2010

by PHILIP OXHORN and NANCY POSTERO

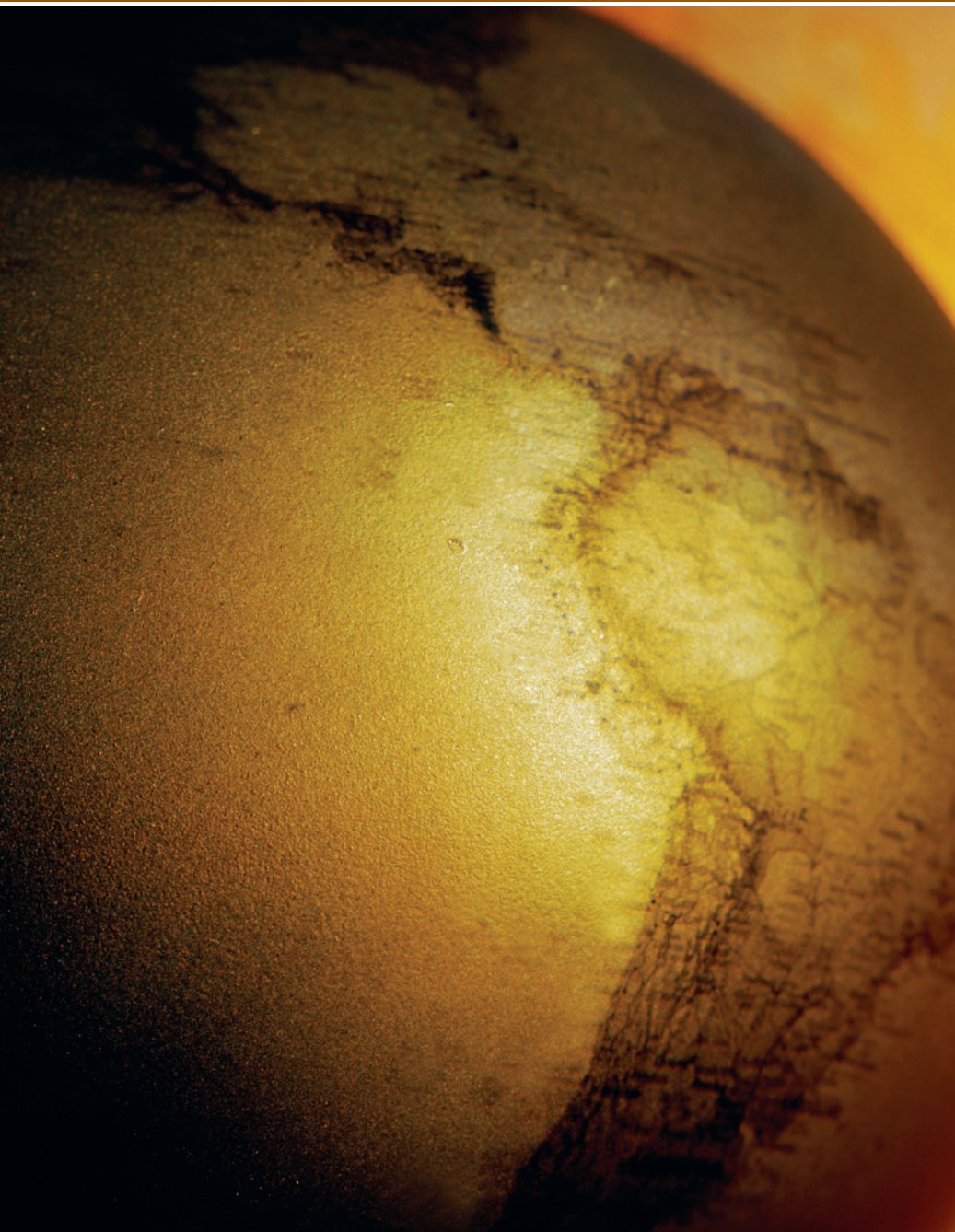


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The *LASA Forum* is published four times a year. It is the official vehicle for conveying news about the Latin American Studies Association to its members. Articles appearing in the *On the Profession* and *Debates* sections of the *Forum* are commissioned by the Editorial Committee and deal with selected themes. The Committee welcomes responses to any material published in the *Forum*.

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President's Report

by MARIA HERMINIA TAVARES DE ALMEIDA | Universidade de São Paulo | mhbtdalm@usp.br

Some thirty years ago, it was far from certain that democracy would replace authoritarianism in Latin America. O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead's seminal study, published in 1986, was cautiously named "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule," a title implying that the crisis of authoritarian rule could be resolved in a number of different ways. Political democracy, that is, was only one of the possible outcomes of the transition from the crisis of Latin American autocracies, the others being totalitarian forms of socialism or reversion to dictatorship. Indeed, the region's past experience of democracy's frailty and political instability, especially during the Cold War period, endorsed a prudent attitude regarding the political prospects for Latin American countries.

But against all odds, democracy prevailed. Free and fair elections, allowing for the shifting of groups in power, have become the norm in the region, even when excessive concentration of power in the presidency may ring an alarm. Indeed, political competition and a decent amount of respect for civil liberties have extended the limits of the public realm, permitting the expression of new social forces, some of them built around new identities and agendas. While it remains a territory of multiple and entrenched inequalities—of income, of gender, of ethnicity, of "color" and of cultural recognition—Latin America today has become an arena where new rights are formulated, demanded and fought for.

In this issue of *LASA Forum* we have chosen to focus on recent developments regarding the successful struggles for, and remaining obstacles to full recognition of the rights of same-sex couples. Recently, legislation in the largest countries of the region has grappled with the issue and made undeniable progress in the matter. Those developments, important in themselves, also shed light on

societal changes that go far beyond the acceptance of the democratic rules of political exchange, since they suppose the transformation of the core values, beliefs and behaviors that have sustained patriarchal conservatism in Latin America. This is because, in fact, it is a specific idea—and a specific ideal—of family that is at stake. These developments also expose not only the resistance of traditional conservative elites, both secular and religious, but also the internecine contradictions of progressive political forces, such as left-wing parties and progressive branches of the Catholic Church, which, in several countries, played an important role in the resistance against authoritarian regimes.

The three articles we publish here disclose the complexity of the process through which the very model of family is being transformed. They are as informative as they are insightful.

Rafael de la Dehesa analyzes with great political sensibility and richness of detail the process through which Mexico City became the first city in Latin America to legalize same-sex marriage.

Horacio Sívori compares the Argentine and Brazilian experiences, their different trajectories and results, emphasizing the role of LGBT militant groups, their capacity to build an intelligible and convincing discourse for public opinion, and their strategies towards governments, courts and legislative bodies.

Esteban Paulón brings the force and freshness of the LGBT movement to the center of his analysis. He traces its history in Argentina since the 1970s, and reminds us that the approval of the same-sex legislation it is not the end, but some point on the road towards equality.



The quality of these three contributions should certainly help compensate for the absence in this issue of the section *On the Profession*. It will be back in our Spring issue.

LASA2012

Preparations for the LASA 2012 International Congress in San Francisco are gaining momentum under the leadership of chairs Timothy Power and Gabriela Nouzeilles, who have selected a host of committed track chairs. You will find all the information you need to participate on the LASA Website: <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu>. Also, LASA's various award committees have been appointed and are ready to receive nominations.

The San Francisco Congress will be the last to be run on a once-every-eighteen-months basis. At Toronto, the Executive Committee voted to move to an annual meeting, which we hope will increase the opportunity for participation and, at the same time, allow for meetings of a more manageable size, facilitating personal and informal exchange among participants. It will be certainly a huge challenge for everybody, from our Executive Director and LASA staff to Congress and track chairs. But we are confident and optimistic regarding the academic results. It will be a great step we invite you to take with us. ■

DEBATES

The Road to Same-Sex Marriage in Mexico City

by RAFAEL DE LA DEHESA | CUNY-College of Staten Island | Rafael.delaDehesa@cuny.edu

On December 21, 2009, Mexico City legalized same-sex marriage. By a vote of thirty-nine to twenty in the Legislative Assembly of the Federal District (ALDF), with five abstentions, a center-left coalition led by the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) overcame opposition to the bill spearheaded by the conservative National Action Party (PAN) of President Felipe Calderón. The erstwhile hegemonic Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) split, with two lawmakers opposing the bill and five abstaining. In a separate, narrower vote, lawmakers also defeated an amendment to the bill that would have eliminated same-sex couples' right to adopt children, thus ensuring the full gender neutrality of marriage. Final say on the matter did not rest with the legislature. Within weeks, the federal Attorney General's office and several state governments challenged the constitutionality of the measure, but in a series of rulings this past August, Mexico's Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the law, the right of same-sex couples to adopt, and the validity of marriages contracted in Mexico City in other states. This victory was but the latest chapter in ongoing efforts by the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) movement to obtain the legal recognition of same-sex couples. In 2006, after six years of protracted debate, the ALDF approved a bill creating cohabitation societies, granting limited rights to same-sex couples, followed within weeks by the passage of a law creating solidarity pacts in the northern state of Coahuila and the introduction of similar proposals in at least five other states. This article explores some of the conditions that permitted advances in same-sex partnership rights in the Mexican capital.

Transformations on the Left

Same-sex marriage was ultimately passed in Mexico City by a coalition on the left that united the PRD, with an absolute majority in the ALDF, and the small Workers Party (PT). This disciplined backing of same-sex marriage was particularly striking given the less-than-forthcoming support demonstrated by the PRD in earlier debates on cohabitation societies. On the earlier bill, PRD lawmakers blocked a vote on more than one occasion by leaving the assembly to deprive it of a quorum; and in 2003, PRD mayor and presidential hopeful Andrés Manuel López Obrador stepped directly into the fray, arguing that the matter was too important for the legislature and should instead be put to a popular referendum, in what was clearly an effort to derail the bill behind the public face of participatory democracy. Several factors contributed to the consolidation of the party's support on the matter, most notably the absence of the electoral calculations that preceded the 2006 election (shortly after which lawmakers finally approved cohabitation societies). The new mayor of Mexico City, Marcelo Ebrard, elected that year, has also been more forthcoming in his support for the law and for LGBT rights more generally, for instance, creating a Program on Sexual Diversity in the city government in 2007.

As much as any shift within the PRD, however, the approval of same-sex marriage also speaks to the ongoing importance of small left parties in advancing the LGBT movement's political demands. The movement's reliance on such parties dates back to the Rosario Ibarra Lesbian and Homosexual Support Committee (CLHARI) in 1982, which backed the presidential candidacy of human rights activist Rosario Ibarra, then of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), and supported the first openly gay and lesbian candidates to the

federal congress, marking the movement's electoral debut. In recent elections, a series of smaller parties on the left have made feminism and sexual diversity a centerpiece of their campaigns, all short-lived expressions of alliances articulated originally around the feminist political association Diversa, founded by Patricia Mercado, a former head of the PRT women's section, and herself a presidential candidate in 2006. It was through the first incarnation of these alliances, the Social Democracy Party, that the lesbian activist Enoé Uranga was elected to the ALDF in 2000, introducing the bill on cohabitation societies the following year. And in 2009, Deputy David Razú, the author of the marriage bill, was elected to the ALDF as a member of the recently created Social Democratic Party. After that election, the PRD cobbled together an absolute majority in the new legislature by wooing four deputies, including Razú, to its ranks. In the course of these negotiations, Razú was able to ensure not only the priority of the marriage bill but also the disciplined support of his new party, crucial to its passage.

Broadening the Debate: Sexual and Family Diversity

Another critical factor in advancing these efforts has been the ability of the LGBT movement to establish alliances with other actors in civil society, particularly feminists, through coalitional networks. Along these lines, activists organized the Citizens Cohabitation Societies Network and the Network of the Society United for the Right to Same-Sex Marriage, both including over 200 organizations in support of the respective laws. These networks have deep roots, reflecting a long history of activists pooling forces on the margins of the PRI-dominated party system, and have been particularly important given the historic

reluctance even of the movement's purported allies on the left to take up its demands. Such coalitional politics has encompassed not only activist networks and declarations of support but also the principal themes used to frame LGBT rights in public debate. The theme of diversity, in particular, has been key. Indeed, in some sense it heralded the movement's legislative turn, broadly embraced following the First Forum on Sexual Diversity and Human Rights organized in the ALDF in 1998, an event that marked a turning point in the relationship between activists and legislatures.

According to Mexico's National Population Council, over 30 percent of households in the country are not composed of nuclear families; 20 percent are headed by women, a figure that has doubled in the last three decades; and over two million people in the country live in so-called "non-familial" households, either living alone or in households whose members are unrelated by blood or marriage.¹ Such figures were routinely cited by advocates of same-sex partnership rights to displace the idealized notion of the traditional nuclear family with an acknowledgment of this much more heterogeneous terrain. Indeed, reflecting the important role played by lesbian feminists in early discussions on cohabitation societies, the initial proposal sought to recognize a broad array of domestic arrangements and affective ties in ways that de-linked cohabitation from sexuality and reproduction and extended beyond the conjugal couple. To this end, the proposal initially included a second category of "extended families," allowing more than two people to enter a cohabitation society and access the rights it conferred, though the stipulation was dropped in negotiations with the PRI, as the bill's author recalled:

Unlike what occurred in Europe ... what we decided in Mexico—because official figures in Mexico recognize this broad array of households that aren't structured around marriage—is that it's absurd for the welfare state to operate only through marriage. So the first proposal was divided into two rubrics: couples and extended families, households with more than two. We had to remove this section with "more than two" because it was impossible to desexualize the topic. Any time we spoke of "more than two," they imagined ménage, and they couldn't see the networks of women living together, elderly people living together—that was very difficult.²

Mexico is perhaps unique in the way debates on same-sex partnership rights initially opened room for discussions on a much broader array of household formations. The elimination of the stipulation is worth noting because, among other reasons, it points to the limits of diversity as instantiated in law and to the constitutive exclusions that have paved the road to marriage.

In the debates on same-sex marriage, some of the pitfalls of the discourse of diversity also became evident, being deployed not only by proponents, but also by opponents of the measure. Appropriated by the right, *panista* lawmakers repeatedly argued that marriage's privileging of heterosexuality was not discriminatory. Rather, pointing to cohabitation societies (which the party had also opposed), they contended that different groups simply required different institutions, grounding this "diversity" in a presumed heterosexual monopoly on reproduction. This "different strokes for different folks" argument was later reiterated by the Attorney General in his judicial challenge to the constitutionality of the law. While ultimately unsuccessful, the argument nonetheless reflects the not uncommon

tendency of multicultural celebrations of diversity to flatten identity categories and reduce social inequality to cultural difference.

Defending the Secular State

The PAN's adamant opposition to same-sex partnership rights reflects the party's roots in lay religious organizations and its important Catholic base. This said, the fact that *panistas* routinely appealed to diversity and human rights in framing their opposition also speaks to the hegemonic weight of laicism in shaping the broader terms of political debate. In a 2003 report, the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights underscored its importance: "The greatest concerns expressed [by representatives of civil society] concerned the enforcement and preservation of the lay state, which has been fundamental for the advances attained by Mexican women in the areas of sexual and reproductive rights; of their right to a free, lay, and compulsory education; of the right to work, equal liberties, and family rights; and to a life without violence."³ Given the historic weight of conflicts between church and state in the country, it is not surprising that the defense of the secular state is a particularly resonant frame of public discourse. Strategically, moreover, not only does it reinforce the kind of coalitional politics noted above, uniting sexual and reproductive rights advocates; it also finds resonance among potential political allies, particularly in the PRD and sectors of the PRI. Its hegemonic weight in public discourse was clearly demonstrated when, following the Supreme Court rulings, Cardinal Juan Sandoval Íñiguez of Guadalajara referred to the decisions as an act of treason and suggested the justices had been bribed by Mexico City's mayor, Marcelo Ebrard. The response by various actors uniformly reaffirmed the secular

DEHESA *continued...*

character of the Mexican state. Beyond the public outcry by activists, the court unanimously voted to censure the prelate, and the mayor filed formal charges against him for slander. By acting as secular watchdogs in this way, coalitions of activists and political allies have been able to shape the terms of debate in ways that arguably leave their opponents on weaker ground.

Defending the marriage bill in the ALDF, PRD Deputy Víctor Hugo Romo Guerra inscribed same-sex marriage within a broader modernist narrative predicting a gradual progression toward the universalization of law. "For centuries," he argued, "unjust laws prohibited marriages between whites and blacks or Indians and Europeans; love of the foreigner, of the different, was banned. Today, however, all these barriers have disappeared. The only one remaining is the one that we propose to end."⁴ The law's passage, again, gives impetus to ongoing efforts to achieve formal equality. Since its approval, activists have turned their attention to the federal level. In November 2010, the Chamber of Deputies approved a bill, currently under consideration in the Senate, to extend social security benefits to same-sex couples that formalize their union. And activists in Mexico City have organized a series of collective weddings, facilitating bureaucratic procedures for couples from other states. A central challenge facing the movement, however, points to the limits of this universality. In the first three years since cohabitation societies became law, just over 700 couples took advantage of it. The demand for matrimony seems a bit higher, with close to 400 marriages in the first six months. Seeming to invoke the universal spirit of his namesake, the Director of the municipal Civil Registry, Hegel Cortés, noted that just as when the city first instituted the Civil Registry in 1859, most of the couples marrying are of relatively

comfortable socioeconomic standing, those informed enough to "exercise their rights," implying that over time, law would translate into norm.⁵ Whether this will happen remains an open question.

Endnotes

- ¹ Mario Luis Fuentes, "Los Hogares: Cambio Acelerado," *Excelsior*, May 20, 2008.
- ² Interview. Enoé Uranga, former Deputy in the ALDF and author of the Cohabitation Societies Law, Mexico City, August 7, 2008.
- ³ Miriam Ruiz. "Hay retrocesos en derechos humanos, advierte ONU a Fox." CIMAC. December 8, 2003.
- ⁴ Versión estenográfica de la sesión ordinaria celebrada el día 21 de diciembre de 2009. Asamblea Legislativa del Distrito Federal – V Legislatura, Estenografía parlamentaria, p. 21.
- ⁵ Christian Rea Tizcareño, "Se han efectuado 168 matrimonios homosexuales y 736 sociedades de convivencia, informa Registro Civil" *Notiese*, May 28, 2010 <<http://www.notiese.org>>; "Se han efectuado casi 400 matrimonios gay en el Distrito Federal," *Anodis*, September 6, 2010 <<http://anodis.com>>. ■

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“Sintiéndose fuertemente atraídas una por la otra, dos personas comienzan a salir juntas y deciden conformar un hogar. Luego de ser reconocidas por sus amistades como pareja por más de una década deciden buscar reconocimiento y protección legal para su relación, y formalmente abrazar los derechos y responsabilidades que decidieron adoptar y ajustarse a ellos. Como muchas personas en esa situación, decidieron casarse. Solo había un impedimento. Eran dos mujeres.”

Con este simple y contundente párrafo, inicia la fundamentación de su voto la integrante de la Corte Constitucional sudafricana J. Sachs, en el caso de Marie Adrienne Fourie y Cecilia Johanna Bonthuys, quienes por medio de su demanda ante esa institución abrieron la puerta para que el Parlamento sudafricano modificara el Código Civil y permitiera, como lo exigió el máximo tribunal, el matrimonio a parejas conformadas por personas del mismo sexo.

Y es interesante poder aportar al debate acerca de la posibilidad de permitir los matrimonios a las parejas de la diversidad sexual la perspectiva sudafricana, por el significado político y simbólico que tiene. Sudáfrica padeció durante décadas uno de los más feroces regímenes de segregación y discriminación racial de que se tenga idea, el Apartheid. Era entonces un país dividido, con ejecuciones legales y disposiciones racistas tales como la Ley de Servicios Separados, que prohibía a las personas negras entrar en las mejores playas y los mejores parques, o la de Inscripción de la Población, que compartimentaba a los grupos raciales y la Ley de Inmoralidad, que marcaba que no sólo era ilegal que alguien se casara con una persona de otra raza: inclusive la Ley de Áreas de Grupo prohibía que los negros y blancos vivieran en las mismas zonas en las ciudades.

Esa memoria histórica y cultural tuvo un peso fundamental para las y los integrantes de la Corte sudafricana al momento de emitir el dictamen que decidiría sobre la legalidad del matrimonio a las parejas del mismo sexo. Y el mensaje de la Corte Constitucional fue contundente: en Sudáfrica, Apartheid nunca más. Esta historia, que se parece tanto y se parece tan poco a nuestra propia historia, parece marcar el camino que debimos recorrer las organizaciones que formamos parte del movimiento reivindicativo de los derechos de lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y trans (travestis, transexuales y transgéneros) en Argentina.

Así transitó nuestro reclamo, desde la persecución, la violencia y la discriminación más abierta, al amplio consenso social y político que permitió que nuestro país sea el primero en Latinoamérica en permitir el matrimonio entre las parejas conformadas por personas del mismo sexo en igualdad de condiciones que entre las parejas heterosexuales.

Tan cerca y tan lejos aparecen esas escenas del pasado, esos 400 lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y trans detenidos/desaparecidos durante la última dictadura militar en Argentina. Tan cerca y tan lejos aparece la represión y criminalización de la protesta social y manifestación del movimiento de la diversidad sexual en nuestro país, primero para no ser considerados criminales, luego enfermos y ahora el reconocimiento e inclusión en igualdad de condiciones.

Un camino de cinco años

Tras el surgimiento de las primeras organizaciones de reivindicación de los derechos LGBT en los años 1970, y con el retorno de la democracia, el movimiento de la diversidad sexual recorrió un sinuoso

camino que comenzó luchando por el reconocimiento legal de nuestras organizaciones hasta la igualdad plena para nuestras familias. Mirando en perspectiva, treinta años de movimiento LGBT parecen un siglo, y esto se explica por el vertiginoso crecimiento e instalación de las demandas de lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y trans y la enorme posibilidad de construir un consenso social y político tan amplio como contundente.

Tras algunos intentos por parte de diversas organizaciones para impulsar una legislación de Unión Civil nacional en Argentina, el movimiento por el derecho a matrimonio para todas y todos propiamente nació en nuestro país junto a la conformación de la Federación Argentina de lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y trans (FALGBT), que se planteó en un inicio como una plataforma necesaria e indispensable para lograr una serie de reivindicaciones impostergables para las personas de orientación sexual e identidad de género diferente a la heterosexual.

Entre ellas, además del matrimonio igualitario, se destacaban —y destacan con plena vigencia— la Ley de Identidad de Género para reconocer el derecho identitario de travestis, transexuales y transgéneros, una modificación a la Ley Antidiscriminatoria a fin de adaptarla a las nuevas realidades y dotar al Estado de herramientas eficaces en la lucha contra la discriminación, la derogación de los Códigos de Faltas que penalizan y criminalizan en numerosas provincias argentinas a la diversidad sexual, y la inclusión de contenidos de diversidad sexual en las currículas educativas de todo el país por ser la herramienta más eficaz en la lucha contra la discriminación.

Dentro de la estrategia por la modificación del Código Civil para permitir el matrimonio sin discriminación, la FALGBT impulsó desde el año 2005 la presentación de

PAULÓN *continued...*

iniciativas legislativas, tanto en la Cámara de Diputados como en el Senado de la Nación. Simultáneamente se impulsó la estrategia judicial, basada en la presentación de acciones de amparo ante la justicia, solicitando se declare la inconstitucionalidad del Código Civil por no permitir el matrimonio entre las parejas LGBT.

El fundamento de dicha presentación tuvo idénticos orígenes que los invocados para el caso sudafricano: los tratados de derechos humanos internacionales, incorporados con rango constitucional en la Reforma de 1994, garantizan a todas y todos —sin ningún tipo de discriminación— los derechos a contraer matrimonio y formar familia. Y en este mismo sentido entendió también la jueza Gabriela Seijas, quien en noviembre de 2009 dio luz verde en primera a instancia a una de las tantas presentaciones que se han realizado —y se continúan realizando— desde la Federación Argentina LGBT. La sentencia de la jueza permitió celebrar, el 28 de diciembre de 2009 el primer matrimonio entre personas del mismo sexo en América Latina, merced a la voluntad política de la Gobernadora de Tierra del Fuego, Fabiana Ríos. De este modo Ushuaia, la capital de Tierra del Fuego, fue testigo del enlace entre Alex Freyre y José María Di Bello, dos activistas de la FALGBT e importantes militantes por los derechos de las personas viviendo con VIH/SIDA en nuestro país.

El año de la igualdad

Tras el primer matrimonio igualitario de América Latina en diciembre de 2009, desde la FALGBT entendimos que 2010 iba a ser el año de la igualdad. Por primera vez en la historia del movimiento asociativo de la diversidad sexual se había logrado generar un amplio consenso en diversos sectores políticos y sociales, y los referentes de los diversos bloques con representación

parlamentaria expresaron su contundente apoyo a la modificación del Código Civil en materia de matrimonio.

De eso modo, durante el primer semestre del año se fueron expresando los apoyos de diversos sectores, credos, universidades, centros de estudio, medios de comunicación, referentes de organizaciones sociales y de derechos humanos, a la par que por la vía de la justicia se lograba que nueve parejas de personas del mismo sexo logaran casarse en la ciudad autónoma y provincia de Buenos Aires.

Es así que, tanto por la vía parlamentaria, como por la vía judicial, Argentina se encaminaba por esos meses a convertirse en el primer país en Latinoamérica en legislar en favor de la igualdad plena de todas y todos. El consenso social y político, y una estrategia que no dejó flancos descubiertos, permitieron que la madrugada del 5 de mayo la Cámara de Diputados de la Nación diera media sanción a la Ley de la Igualdad y, tras dos meses de debate en todas las provincias argentinas, el Senado diera sanción definitiva el 15 de julio a la Ley 26.618, conocida popularmente como Ley de Matrimonio Igualitario.

El hecho más destacado de esta sanción a la ley es que la misma se alcanzó con votos de quince grupos políticos, y con apoyos provenientes de casi todas las provincias del país, lo que deja a las claras el cuidadoso trabajo de armado político que llevó adelante la FALGBT desde su constitución hasta la sanción de la ley. Y tan histórica fue la sanción de la Ley de Matrimonio Igualitario en Argentina que, si durante 128 períodos parlamentarios nunca antes las palabras gay, homosexual, lesbianas o trans había sido siquiera pronunciada en el recinto de sesiones, el 4 de mayo las mismas palabras ingresaron al Parlamento y fue para

quedarse definitivamente y para reconocer la igualdad plena a nuestras familias.

A cuatro meses de vigencia, más de 700 parejas han contraído matrimonio en todas las provincias argentinas, y este ejercicio concreto del derecho a la igualdad, abre nuevos desafíos y compromisos para el movimiento LGBT. Si durante 2010 nuestro país logró avanzar hacia el reconocimiento y protección de todas las familias, 2011 debe ser el año en el cual el congreso apruebe la otra norma fundamental para el colectivo LGBT, una ley de Identidad de Género que garantice el derecho identitario a travestis, transexuales y transgéneros.

La Justicia de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires ya ha dado los primeros pasos y durante los meses de noviembre y diciembre se han dictado los tres primeros fallos que reconocen a la identidad como un derecho inalienable de las personas, y libre de cualquier tipo de condicionalidad. Se trata pues, de garantizar un derecho muy caro a la historia argentina —como es el derecho a la identidad— negado sistemáticamente hacia el colectivo trans. Con este reconocimiento se dan los primeros pasos para —de una vez por todas— alcanzar la igualdad jurídica de todo el colectivo de la diversidad sexual.

Con ambas leyes aprobadas, fundamentales e indispensables, estaremos en condiciones de fijar un piso mínimo de igualdad ante la ley, que no es otra cosa que una herramienta a partir del cual podamos comenzar a construir, juntas y juntos, las condiciones para la igualdad social y la erradicación completa de la discriminación en cualquiera de sus formas hacia las personas de orientación sexual e identidad de género diferente a la heterosexual. De nosotras y nosotros depende avanzar hacia ese objetivo. ■

Nuevos derechos para LGBT en Argentina y Brasil

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La Ley de Matrimonio Igualitario, como fue conocida en Argentina, la modificación del artículo 172 del Código Civil que abrió la puerta para que parejas del mismo sexo contrajeran matrimonio en ese país, fue fruto del intenso y delicado trabajo del movimiento social hoy denominado LGBT, de lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y personas transgénero. Con variados perfiles organizativos, trayectorias de movilización, bases sociales y fuentes de capital intelectual y político, conectados a redes internacionales tan densas como las locales y nacionales, los grupos LGBT han sido especialmente hábiles a la hora de generar simpatías, acumular recursos y forjar alianzas. Por el amplio apoyo generado en defensa de la igualdad, por su simbolismo al aglutinar un nuevo imaginario en torno de las constelaciones familiares y como marco de futuras reformas jurídicas, el decisivo avance legislativo argentino está destinado a sellar un antes y un después en toda América Latina.

Al colocar esta conquista lado a lado con los logros LGBT brasileños en el plano de los derechos, se hace visible un campo de acción común. Los avances brasileños han sido menos expresivos en el plano legislativo federal, pero sensacionales en términos de políticas públicas de alcance nacional, jurisprudencia, leyes, decretos y programas estatales y municipales. Cada trayectoria tiene valor singular y cobra sentido en un contexto social, con relación a culturas políticas, morfologías estatales y coyunturas específicas. No obstante, sin postular un análisis comparativo ni una abstracción de las condiciones de posibilidad y contexto de emergencia de cada acción, propongo observar el conjunto de los principales frentes jurídicos abiertos en ambos países, para discutir sus alcances, compromisos, impasses y los debates que han suscitado.

Abre este recorrido una experiencia de activismo legislativo. Los militantes

homosexuales vieron en la Constitución brasileña de 1988 y la reforma constitucional argentina de 1994 la oportunidad de introducir la no discriminación por orientación sexual en esos pilares jurídicos fundamentales. El Grupo Triángulo Rosa, de Rio de Janeiro, y Gays por los Derechos Civiles, de Buenos Aires, respectivamente, prepararon esa entrada. En Brasil el tema fue intensamente debatido pero la oposición encontrada hizo que el movimiento no tuviera éxito (Cámara, 2002), a pesar del impulso democratizador y amplio espacio dado a la equidad de género en la nueva Constitución brasileña (Carrara y Vianna, 2008). Alerta desde entonces la resistencia opuesta por sectores conservadores, impulsada por la jerarquía católica en ambos países, e iglesias evangélicas en el Brasil, pero también difusamente presente en la moral media que desconfiaba de causas minoritarias y particularmente de la politización de la intimidad.

En la Argentina, la apuesta pasaba por la candidatura de Carlos Jáuregui a la Convención Constituyente, aunque con pocas chances de ser elegido (Bellucci, 2010). La propuesta nunca llegaría a ver la luz en la Asamblea, aunque la participación en ese proceso generó una alianza con el movimiento feminista contra la introducción de un artículo en defensa de la vida desde la concepción que hubiera operado un blindaje constitucional contra cualquier alternativa de aborto legal (Petracci y Pecheny, 2007). No obstante la ausencia de resultados inmediatos en términos de reconocimiento del derecho a la no discriminación por orientación sexual, en ambos países el proceso constituyente se convirtió en un escenario de intensa visibilización de las políticas sexuales. Ante el embate conservador, se despliega un horizonte común de demandas en conexión con causas feministas como la representación

parlamentaria equitativa y los derechos sexuales y reproductivos.

La experiencia rindió un aprendizaje que fue capitalizado con éxito en años posteriores. Dos años más tarde, en 1996, fue votada la Constitución de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, cuyo texto garantiza el “derecho a ser diferente” y especifica la orientación sexual entre los motivos de discriminación reconocidos. Algo análogo sucedería a partir de entonces en el Brasil, donde numerosos reglamentos municipales y leyes de los estados, hoy especifican la prohibición de discriminar a las personas en virtud de su orientación sexual. La demanda de reconocimiento jurídico luego se desdoblaría en diversas iniciativas en el frente legislativo, judicial y ejecutivo. Si hoy por un lado persiste la no mención de la orientación sexual en los textos constitucionales de ambos países, el marco amplio de derechos humanos y la mención del sexo admiten interpretaciones en el sentido de proteger el derecho a la libre expresión de la sexualidad (Rios, 2010).

Las principales consignas de los movimientos homosexuales organizados en Argentina y Brasil, cuando estos comenzaron a actuar públicamente en las décadas de 1970 y 1980, fueron la libre expresión de la sexualidad, la despatologización de conductas e identidades homosexuales y la movilización contra la violencia y el abuso policial. Al llegar los 1990, la lucha contra el SIDA, cuyas demandas fueron configuradas en términos de “derecho a la salud”, y contra la discriminación, pasaron a encabezar la lista de reivindicaciones. Concomitantemente el movimiento se expandió y segmentó, con las demandas particulares de colectivos lésbicos y trans (Facchini 2005).

Como parte de ese mismo horizonte, el reconocimiento legal de las uniones ha

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estado en la agenda de los movimientos LGBT argentino y brasileño desde mediados de la década de 1990. La situación legal de las parejas se convirtió en tema urgente ante la inminente posibilidad de desaparición física que trajo la epidemia del SIDA. En el Brasil, el primer proyecto de ley federal para reglamentar la *parceria* (sociedad) civil entre homosexuales, fue presentado por la entonces Senadora Marta Suplicy (PT-SP) en 1995, aunque más adelante sufriría modificaciones. En vista de la oposición montada en su contra, organizada a modo de frente inter-partidario de legisladores religiosos, si bien el tema del “casamiento gay” ha dado gran visibilidad a los derechos LGBT, el movimiento hasta el presente no ha visto la oportunidad de llevar ese proyecto a votación en el Congreso. Del mismo modo, si bien en la Argentina el movimiento había discutido la posibilidad de promover una ley del mismo tipo en el Congreso Nacional, por las inclinaciones conservadoras de la mayoría de los miembros de ambas cámaras antes de la nueva década, se evaluaba que su valor sería meramente testimonial.

Sin embargo, una ventana de oportunidad se abriría pasada la crisis del 2001 en la Legislatura de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Una intensa campaña de lobby parlamentario, gestión de apoyos políticos, producción de argumentos y movilización pública liderada por la Comunidad Homosexual Argentina (CHA), enfrentando una dura oposición conservadora, tuvo como resultado la aprobación, en diciembre de 2002, de la primera Ley de Unión Civil en América Latina, que rige en la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires. Le siguieron otras dos jurisdicciones municipales y una provincia.¹ Aunque esta ley no contempla la comunión de bienes, el derecho a la herencia ni el acceso a la maternidad o paternidad compartida, establece el reconocimiento oficial de las uniones. Dicha legislación local allanó el camino —simbólica, política y

judicialmente— para la equiparación de derechos mediante el acceso al matrimonio.

El siguiente paso del movimiento, ahora liderado por la Federación Argentina LGBT (conformada en 2005), fue formular demandas de inconstitucionalidad ante la negativa del Registro Civil a celebrar matrimonios entre personas del mismo sexo. Las mismas no llegaron a ser debatidas, pues antes, el 15 de julio de este año, fue aprobada la citada reforma del Código Civil. Esto fue posible debido a una serie de alianzas gestadas a lo largo de dos décadas con movimientos de derechos humanos, feministas, y parlamentarios de todo el espectro político. Paradójicamente, las amenazas desbocadas y el intento de instalar un pánico moral por parte de la derecha católica, produjeron tal polarización que ni siquiera fue necesario negociar el término medio que hubiera significado una ley de unión civil (instituto diferenciado del matrimonio, cuya definición heterosexual se pretendía que continuara intacta) de alcance nacional. El oficialismo, con el apoyo de la propia presidenta Cristina Fernández terminó de inclinar la balanza a favor de la reforma que consagra la igualdad civil para todas las ciudadanas y ciudadanos.

A diferencia de ambos instrumentos argentinos (la Unión Civil y el Matrimonio), que actualmente contemplan a parejas hetero y homosexuales indistintamente, el proyecto sustitutivo actualmente vigente en el Congreso Nacional del Brasil, contempla exclusivamente las uniones “entre personas del mismo sexo”.² Por otro lado, su texto veta expresamente la adopción o tutela conjunta, niños o adolescentes, por parte de parejas homosexuales. Si bien es posible separar analíticamente los asuntos que atañen a la constitución de familias, de los que hacen a la regulación de las uniones y la convivencia, es decir, del casamiento (Golin, Pocahy, Rios 2003), esas restricciones al

proyecto de *parceria civil registrada* actualmente tramitado en el Congreso brasileño, como argumentan Carrara y Vianna (2008), asignan a las uniones homosexuales un estatuto subordinado, como mero contrato entre dos partes.

Tanto los intentos de restringir el alcance de la reforma jurídica argentina como las poco discutidas limitantes a la unión civil brasileña llaman la atención acerca de los valores disputados en el proceso abierto por el reconocimiento civil de las uniones homosexuales. El debate abierto ante la posibilidad de legalizar dobles paternidades o dobles maternidades, la movilización de argumentos pseudo científicos y variedad de reparos (no siempre manifiestos) opuestos contra ella indican que la resistencia ante un reconocimiento igualitario completo no proviene apenas de sectores religiosos, sino que se extiende a diversos ámbitos — inclusive científicos— donde impera un sentido común heterosexista. Resta observar los efectos de la innovación jurídica argentina tanto en el debate público como en el terreno de las subjetividades.

En el Brasil, otros ámbitos estatales han sido más permeables a acciones restitutivas a favor de derechos de personas LGBT. Como en otros países, antes de la sanción de leyes que pasaran a garantizar el acceso universal a servicios sociales y de salud, las personas viviendo con VIH lo habían obtenido por la vía judicial. Esas primeras causas allanaron el camino para implementar una variedad de demandas por esa vía (Carrara y Vianna 2008). Existe ya un cuerpo importante de jurisprudencia y acciones administrativas que garantizan derechos de herencia y cobertura social para parejas del mismo sexo en “uniones estables”. Lo mismo se aplica al “nombre social” de acuerdo con la identidad de género escogida por personas trans y a la cobertura de tratamientos hormonales y cirugías de transgenitalización por parte del

Sistema Único de Salud. En ambos casos, a los fallos judiciales siguió una pléyade de leyes, decretos y normas administrativas que progresivamente van generalizando ese reconocimiento, fundamentado en la no discriminación. Del mismo modo y solapando el debate social y legislativo acerca del reconocimiento de familias LGBT, fallos recientes han comenzado a reconocer la co-parentalidad a cargo de parejas homosexuales.

Por otro lado se destacan casos judiciales que involucran acciones punitivas.³ El primero a mencionar sancionó el asesinato brutal de Edson Nêris a manos de *skinheads* en São Paulo, motivado por expresiones de afecto entre la víctima y otro hombre. El alegato del fiscal y la sentencia ejemplar (de hasta veintidós años de prisión) aplicada a los declarados culpables por el crimen tipifican el “crimen de odio” por primera vez en la jurisprudencia brasileña, basados en el derecho de la víctima a la igualdad, independiente de su orientación sexual. En el segundo caso fue una acción civil promovida en São Paulo contra la cadena televisiva RedeTV y el presentador del programa *Tarde Quente*, que cotidianamente emitía chistes que ridiculizaban y humillaban a personas por su orientación sexual. La causa resultó en un acuerdo por el cual la red debió pagar una multa de aproximadamente 200.000 dólares y emitir treinta programas sobre derechos humanos a cargo de las organizaciones que promovieron la acción.

Completa el elenco de acciones de reconocimiento y justicia restitutiva para personas LGBT el Programa Brasil sin Homofobia, emprendimiento de gran envergadura promovido por el Gobierno Federal en articulación con la Asociación Brasileña LGBT.⁴ Este Plan Nacional contempla un abanico de acciones entre las cuales se cuenta el control social sobre

políticas y acciones de gobierno que afectan a las personas LGBT, la garantía de políticas específicas de salud y una serie de iniciativas destinadas a combatir el prejuicio en el ámbito escolar. Si por un lado estimula proyectos de sensibilización en ámbitos educativos, de la salud y de la administración estatal, la idea de combate a la homofobia se traduce también en respuestas concretas a la violencia y discriminación sufrida por personas LGBT. Como parte de las políticas de enfrentamiento de la violencia motivada por prejuicio sexual, cabe señalar la creación de “Centros de Referencia” que proveen contención y asesoramiento a las víctimas.

El tema nos lleva de regreso al proceso legislativo. Se tramita en el Congreso brasileño desde 2006 el Proyecto de Ley 122, que condensa cuestiones abordadas por las políticas públicas y casos judiciales citados. El proyecto representa actualmente la apuesta más fuerte del movimiento, articulado por la Asociación Brasileña LGBT, que congrega a más de 200 organizaciones afiliadas en todos los estados de la Unión. Aprobado en la Cámara de Diputados en 2008, está en trámite en el Senado y su votación es inminente. El proyecto propone alterar la redacción de la Ley 7716 de 1989, que define los crímenes motivados por la discriminación por raza o color de piel. Según la nueva redacción, la ley pasaría a incluir “raza, color, etnia, religión, origen, condición de persona de edad avanzada o discapacitada, género, sexo, orientación sexual o identidad de género”.⁵ Asimismo, el proyecto establece penas de uno a tres años de prisión y multa a quien indujera o incitara a la discriminación o prejuicio según la definición citada.

La tipificación de los “crímenes de odio”, por un lado, y la criminalización del discurso homofóbico como *hate speech*, por otro,

adquieren sentido para el movimiento LGBT si tenemos en cuenta el grado expresivo de relatos de violencia homofóbica denunciado en ciudades brasileñas (Mott, Cerqueira 2001; Carrara, Vianna 2004; Carrara, Ramos 2005) y el camino ya trazado por legislación que, fundamentada en los Derechos Humanos, aborda la violencia ejercida contra sujetos oprimidos mediante una combinación de políticas de asistencia a las víctimas y castigo de los agresores. Es el caso de la Ley María da Penha, que aborda integralmente la violencia contra las mujeres y, si comprendemos la injuria como una expresión que produce daño, de la Ley 7716 y el PL 122.

Sin embargo, sectores religiosos cuya prédica involucra la condena o cuestionamiento de la homosexualidad han recibido esta iniciativa como un ataque a la libertad de expresión, que en su caso es comprendida como condición para la libertad religiosa, también contemplada en el texto de la Ley. Este impasse abre un debate que no debe ser soslayado. Por otra parte, críticas provenientes del campo de la criminología advierten acerca de intervenciones punitivas y de abordajes que privilegian la comprensión de fenómenos sociales como la homofobia dentro de un paradigma de seguridad. En cambio, iniciativas como el Programa Brasil sin Homofobia promueven políticas integrales que procuran comprender la interacción del género, la clase y la raza, etnia o color de piel en la producción de los prejuicios, las agresiones y la violencia simbólica vivida cotidianamente por personas LGBT en situaciones donde la invisibilidad o violencia ostensiva les impiden vivir su sexualidad plenamente y con dignidad.

La criminalización del habla homofóbica, con su mensaje espectacular y dudosamente atento a las sutilezas involucradas en la caracterización de un acto de habla como

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“injuria”, impone también cierta cautela, pues entraña el potencial agravamiento de una situación de injusticia tanto para la víctima como para el victimario. ¿Cómo entran en la ecuación, por ejemplo, las complejas jerarquías construidas sobre el color de piel y el capital cultural del agresor y de la víctima? ¿En qué contribuyen esas configuraciones para la propia caracterización del lugar de víctima y victimario? Del mismo modo, la expansión del derecho civil que permite el acceso al matrimonio no es punto final de una carrera ni los hitos de esa lucha puntean un recorrido teleológico. El valor de este avance debe ser analizado también a la luz de los compromisos que implica. Cuenta, por ejemplo, el potencial generador de nuevas exclusiones a partir de una nueva sacralización de instituciones y de la naturalización de determinadas elecciones afectivas (por ejemplo, la monogamia o la idea de estabilidad del vínculo amoroso). El ejercicio y administración de estos nuevos derechos impone también nuevos desafíos.

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Endnotes

¹ Río Cuarto y Villa María, en la provincia de Córdoba, y la provincia de Río Negro.

² El proyecto fue presentado por el entonces Diputado Roberto Jefferson (PTB-RJ).

³ Extraído de Carrara y Vianna (2008).

⁴ http://www.abglt.org.br/port/planos_gov.php. Para un análisis de la implantación del Programa, ver De La Dehesa (2010), Capítulo VI.

⁵ <http://www.abglt.org.br/port/plc122.php> ■

Latin American Research Review: Living in Actually Existing Democracies

by PHILIP OXHORN, McGill University and Nancy Postero | University of California, San Diego

By now, many of you are familiar with the first-ever special issue of the *Latin American Research Review: Living in Actually Existing Democracies*. As is often the case with unprecedented endeavors, unanticipated problems can catch one off guard. In this case, it was only after the volume was in the mail that we learned that Nancy Postero of the University of California, San Diego, was not recognized as the Guest Editor for the special issue. Working closely with me, her invaluable contribution made the issue much better than it otherwise would have been, and on behalf of the LARR editorial committee, I want to formally thank her. We also discovered that the introduction we co-wrote was omitted from the special issue. That introduction is reproduced here, and will also be available at LARR Online.

Like the proponents of Latin American democracy, we are learning from our mistakes and expect the next special issue to reflect that. In the meantime, we hope that the special issue and our introduction will be of value to those strive to understand the region's complex socio-economic and political dynamics.

Philip Oxhorn
Editor in Chief
Latin American Research Review

Living in Actually Existing Democracies: An Introduction To LARR Volume 45, Special Issue, 2010

PHILIP OXHORN / McGill University /
LARR Editor in Chief

NANCY POSTERO / University of California,
San Diego / Guest Editor

It seems that the value of Latin America's current generation of democracies has been challenged virtually since its origins in the democratic transitions of the late 1970s and early 1980s. For some, the "problem" was rooted in flawed, elite-dominated transitions that ensured that little, if anything, would actually change with inauguration of regimes based on relatively free and competitive periodic elections (MacEwan 1988; Petras and Vieux 1994). Such extreme pessimism was only reinforced (albeit unintentionally) by the so-called "transitologists" who welcomed the return of political democracy at the same time that they cautioned against the dangers posed by transitions that seemed to favor the popular majority at the perceived expense of the political and economic elites most closely associated with the outgoing authoritarian regimes (O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986). Indeed, the historical record strongly suggested that the most enduring democracies in Latin America were based on elite agreements or pacts (Karl 1990), which by definition constrained voter alternatives and deliberately erected obstacles to the kinds of structural changes necessary to tackle historical problems of poverty and inequality.

Now that formal democratic transitions are a thing of the past (even Mexico, which was the last country to experience a democratic transition, has had a second presidential election since its historic 2000 elections), attention has turned increasingly to the effectiveness of elected governments in

meeting the electorates' expectations, not to mention winning their trust. While public opinion surveys consistently show that, in general, more Latin Americans than ever before believe that political democracy is the "best" form of government, they are consistently unsatisfied with the governments that are actually elected, and substantial minorities (and sometimes even majorities) suggest they would support an authoritarian regime under various circumstances.¹ In an effort to understand why this is the case, a growing body of literature has focused on the problematic *quality* of Latin American democracies, (Oxhorn 2006b; Oxhorn and Ducatenzeiler 1998; United Nations Development Program 2002). Central to this approach has been the noting of unequal or "disjunctive" access to citizenship rights, as societies continue to be divided by race, ethnicity, and class (Caldeira and Holston 1999, Postero and Zamosc 2004). Such structured inequalities have been exacerbated during the last two decades of neoliberal economic policies, which have widened the gaps between rich and poor and deepened the distrust of political elites who are seen as accountable more to the global market than to their own constituencies. Continuing inequalities and deepening distrust have had a significant impact on democratic processes in recent years. In the so-called "turn to the left," politicians and civil society have not only critiqued the neoliberal policies put in place under the "Washington Consensus," but they have also pushed alternatives to electoral democracy, focusing instead on popular or "multitude"-like forms of participation (Arditti 2008:65, Postero 2007).

Scholars studying this era have generally distanced themselves from the earlier critiques of the transitions themselves, yet the question that the earlier literature raised nevertheless remains: How much of a difference has democracy actually made for

OXHORN and POSTERO *continued...*

the common citizen? As Guillermo O'Donnell cogently points out, we need to seriously question "the effectiveness of political citizenship when referring to individuals who are severely deprived of civil and social rights" (O'Donnell 2004: 31).

With that question in mind, *LARR*'s Editorial Committee decided to commission the journal's first special issue, *Living in Actually Existing Democracies*. The choice of titles was deliberate, harking back to the height of the Cold War when theorists and policymakers alike tried to interpret the significance of "actually existing socialisms" based on the dramatically differing realities of socialist experiments in countries as far flung as the USSR, China, Vietnam and Cuba, to name but a few. Socialism, like democracy, is an ideal that is at best only approached by actual governments; the question then, as now, is whether existing regimes approach the ideal "well enough" to make a positive difference in the lives of people. Recognizing that each case demonstrates "limited" or "incomplete" democracy when compared to the ideal, particularly in Latin America today, we ask whether political actors are imagining, moving towards, or re-signifying democracy in different places in the contemporary moment and, if so, how? What new sorts of practices might come to characterize "democracy" in this post-transition era? Tackling such a broad topic required a bit of imagination, and we decided to leave that up to the contributors as much as possible. We were therefore pleasantly surprised that all the authors were largely talking about the same issues in generally comparable ways.

As editors, we chose four countries—Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Mexico—we felt would represent a wide range of experiences along several dimensions.. Most importantly, we chose cases that could demonstrate the tension between the movement toward a

more participatory democracy and the preservation of existing democratic institutions. As one of our anonymous reviewers pointed out, the cases exemplify four contrasting options, as captured on the following two-dimensional table:

		<i>Are there strong, stable democratic institutions?</i>	
		YES	NO
<i>Is there a movement toward a more participatory democracy?</i>	YES	Brazil	Bolivia
	NO	Chile	Mexico

Chile is an example of a well-established and stable electoral democracy with strong representative institutions that operate within the context of the rule of law, but Chile's democracy has few participatory features. Bolivia, on the other hand, has seen an explosion of participation. It is the one case in which social movements have come to power, but this has happened in the context of a virtual collapse of the party system and the erosion of political pacts that have underpinned democratic stability in the current democratic era. Bolivia is also a case where indigenous mobilization plays an important role in the redefinition of democracy.

Brazil's democracy has passed a number of tests of "consolidation." Brazil has also become an important site of democratic innovation, known globally for its participatory budgeting processes. The most discouraging case among this set is obviously Mexico. According to Alberto Olvera's contribution, Mexico "suffers from the structural political and legal stalemate created both by a constitution and a political system that represent an obstacle to

processes conducive to the consolidation of democracy." At the same time, Mexico exhibits "the weakness of both civil society and the culture and practices that can push democratic innovation." (Actually Existing Democracies: 79).

For each country, we asked three prominent researchers to contribute an original paper that focused on a particular aspect of "democracy" drawing on their particular area of research expertise.² Because *LARR* is an interdisciplinary journal, we tried to solicit articles from various academic disciplines, and perhaps more importantly, from differing points of view. There is often an assumption that traditional disciplines are homogeneous in terms of their approaches and conclusions, and the competing perspectives in this special issue are a powerful reminder that differences within disciplines can be as great as between them. We particularly wanted to open the discussion about democracy to those outside political science, which has traditionally dominated the topic, but also to different perspectives from within political science. Thus, there are political science analyses of institutions and electoral politics alongside chapters by sociologists, anthropologists, and historians focusing on social movements, indigenous organizations, and women's movements. Like democracy, the best we can hope for is to approach the "ideal" in terms of a multidisciplinary perspective on a crucial question facing all Latin Americans. Given that there are often marked differences of opinion among the authors, we feel we made a good start. For example, the authors of the Chilean chapters largely agree on the facts, but take divergent positions in their interpretations. The Bolivian chapters show perhaps the strongest disagreements, with Laserna and de la Fuente representing polar opposites in the facts they present as well as in their analyses of Evo Morales' strategies. While the

differences of opinion are perhaps less pronounced in the articles on Brazil, the contrasts and similarities in perspectives offer important insights into what “democracy” means for different actors. We hope these debates will be productive. We are particularly happy that so many Latin American authors contributed to this effort.

In this brief introduction, we focus on three central crosscutting themes that stand out: the definition of democracy, the role of participation and social heterogeneity in a democracy, and the relationship between democracy and the economy.

Minimalist, Maximalist or Simply Appropriate: Defining the Nature of Democracy

In many ways, the early debates about the nature of “democratic” transitions turned on competing definitions of what democracy actually entailed, leading to quite contradictory criticisms of the same body of work (e.g., Levine 1988; MacEwan 1988; Petras and Vieux 1994). What stands out in our collection of essays is that all the authors have essentially moved beyond these often polemical debates about what democracy *is* to focus more on the potential that political or liberal democracy has for achieving accountable, responsive governments that strive to ensure greater social inclusion. This is not to suggest that there is a universal consensus on what constitutes the basic institutional and social parameters of democracy, but rather to emphasize that the authors in this special issue generally take as their common starting point a procedural definition that draws on the classic work of Schumpeter (1950) and Dahl (1971). For example, some authors clearly remain more faithful to this more traditional understanding (e.g., Laserna, Navia and Power).³ Yet they also generally recognize a

greater social component of democratic governance than is normally attributed to this perspective—originally and forcefully criticized as “elitist” democratic theory (Bachrach 1967)—even if they simultaneously warn about the possibility that more participatory understandings of democracy might undermine the pillars of representative governance (see below). The other authors, however, stress that while the institutions of representative governance are a core element of democracy, these need to be complemented by various mechanisms for increased citizen participation that can encapsulate democracy “as a form of relationship between the state and civil society that may lead to a process of social and political inclusion” (Actually Existing Democracies: 182). While elections and the prominent role played by political parties in elections are generally accepted as necessary components of political democracy by these authors, they also stress that they are by no means sufficient. They need to be complemented in a variety of ways, including the actions of social movements (Carter) and civil society actors more generally (Avritzer, Delamaza, Olvera) as part of what Olvera (Actually Existing Democracies: 81) labels a “democratic participatory project.” In particular, both Hernández Díaz and de la Fuente emphasize how such participation, especially of indigenous peoples, can add a distinctly cultural dimension to the definition of democracy, while Valdés, Ortiz-Ortega and Barquet underscore its importance for ensuring greater gender equality. Although such an expansive definition of democracy goes far beyond what Dahl and, in particular, Schumpeter imagined decades ago in many fundamental ways, it does so in a way that is not mutually exclusive with a narrower procedural definition, even if it simultaneously tests the limits of democratic liberalism (see Postero). This is a major change in the way Latin Americans,

particularly on the left, have historically viewed the elitism of “democratic politics.” As Delamaza notes, this reflects a new understanding of democracy that recognizes the importance of “deepening democracy with a representative foundation” rather than replacing it with some form of “popular protagonism or direct democracy” (Actually Existing Democracies: 280).

Benjamin Arditti has discussed this change in some depth in his important 2008 *LARR* article on the left in Latin America. He argues that the left has responded to the “hits and misses” of the last few decades, arriving at an understanding that the goals of achieving equality, solidarity, and a change in the status quo are more important than ideological orthodoxy. As a result, he says, the left has downplayed the socialist agenda in favor of a wide acceptance of multiparty democracy. But, he argues, across the continent, the excluded have expressed dissatisfaction with electoral democracy, “motivated by the belief that there was something fundamentally wrong with representation and that it was worth experimenting with alternatives like *cabildos abiertos*, exodus, multitude, self-government, recall, and so on” (Arditti: 66). This has caused the left to adapt its definitions and its agendas. He concludes that “[e]ven if multiparty electoral democracy—the heart of the liberal conception of politics—is a fixture in the imaginary of the left, so is the experimentation with post-liberal formats of political participation” (Arditti: 67).

The authors here generally follow this line, and are largely concerned with whether greater participation and inclusion can be achieved within the framework of liberal institutions. That is, none suggest that “actually existing” and “participatory” democracies are mutually exclusive alternatives. They do differ, however, in the degree to which they believe the two can be

OXHORN and POSTERO *continued...*

reconciled. Again, the Bolivian chapters provide the starkest contrasts. Postero describes the tensions at play in the Morales government: an urgency on the part of the MAS and the social movements for radical political change to overcome legacies of colonialism and neoliberalism and the need to work within the constraints of a liberal democratic system. De la Fuente takes one side, focusing on the long-delayed demands of the indigenous social movements, and arguing that Bolivia requires another model of democracy and new social relations to overcome the limitations of Western representative democracy. Laserna takes the other side, arguing that the mob mentality of popular sectors in street protests and the undemocratic tactics of the Morales government fundamentally threaten democracy. Taking a position somewhere in between, Postero describes the MAS's struggle between its commitment to existing democracy and its aspirations for radical change, and concludes that this process may be producing a reworked or "vernacularized" form of liberalism (or what Arditti calls post-liberalism) that is more democratic and more relevant to Bolivia's indigenous populations.

This idea of democratic deepening and the expanded concept of democracy that it implies diverges from the classic Schumpeterian/Dahlian conceptualization in another way that is important to highlight: Democracy is viewed as inherently conflictual. Although competition (or contestation for Dahl) has always been central to democratic theory, the general presumption was that consolidated democracies reflected a high level of underlying social consensus that minimized trade-offs and the kind of zero-sum politics that frequently undermined Latin American democracies in the past. Indeed, it was a rejection of this assumption as unrealistic, if not inherently unjust in Latin American

societies marked by the high levels of inequality, that led many across the political spectrum to adopt an instrumental view of democracy, supporting it only insofar as it allowed different actors to pursue their own narrow interests (Garretón 1989; O'Donnell 1979).⁴ For the authors in this special issue, democratic institutions are ideally viewed as mechanisms for resolving conflict peacefully, even if they disagree on the precise nature of those institutions or the relative balance between representative and participatory structures. For them, this is how social, economic and cultural heterogeneity can be addressed in a constructive way that brings societies together rather than tear them apart, as was frequently the case prior to the last wave of democratic transitions.⁵ As Olvera (Actually Existing Democracies: 99) eloquently points out, "in the real world, urban and rural, Indian or not, it is not possible to get rid of plurality, difference, conflict and multiple power relations, which have to be processed politically (in a democratic way)." Indeed, Carter emphasizes in his article on the MST of Brazil how non-violent conflict may actually be required to force democracy to live up to its full potential by demanding greater levels of responsiveness and accountability from elected leaders.

Ironically, this new appreciation for political democracy also reflects a more realistic appraisal of the role of political elites. For the first time, there is now a general agreement that democracy is perhaps the best safeguard against abuses by political elites; rather than looking for nondemocratic alternatives to "elitist" political democracy, political democracy is now seen as the best way to counter the political and economic power of elites. The inevitability of having political elites is now more or less a given, as attention turns to the central importance of elite consensus. In some cases, elite agreement stands out because of the political

and economic successes it can bring as a result (Navia, Power). For most of the authors in this special issue, it is even more important to recognize the problems that a lack of elite consensus can generate (De la Fuente, Laserna, Olvera, Ortiz-Ortega and Barquet, Postero, Power). There can also be too much of a good thing, and in some cases an excessive level of elite consensus can lead to political inertia, if not stagnation, which prejudices the prospects for greater social inclusion and equity (Carter, Delamaza, Valdés). Ultimately, for all of the authors, regardless of their particular perspective, the challenge for currently existing democracies is to find an appropriate balance between the pursuit of elite consensus and the level of citizen participation beyond the electoral moment.

Participation and Social Heterogeneity in Democracy: In Search of a New Democratic Equilibrium

Once the role of elites and the centrality of conflict are acknowledged, the challenge then is to minimize the latter and circumscribe the influence of the former in ways that are consistent with democratic inclusion. For all the authors, the key to meeting this challenge is to determine an appropriate role for citizens to play in complementing representative institutions linked to free and fair elections, even though they may disagree on what that role should be. This is more than a theoretical issue. Defining this role in practice has become a central element of the political dynamics in all the countries examined in this special issue; even if there is a consensus that there is more to democracy than elections and that elites cannot do everything, people are still struggling to figure out what kind of "other" participation is called for. This search—both in theory and in practice—for new models of democracy that combine important elements

of representative democracy with innovative channels for civil society to influence democratic politics can be understood as a new search for a “democratic equilibrium.” In particular, new forms of participation are generally viewed as mechanisms for increasing governmental responsiveness and accountability, at the same time that they subvert the elitism and hierarchy of clientelism (and, perhaps, representative democracy more generally).

The idea of democratic equilibrium highlights the ways current perspectives on democracy contrast with dominant perspectives of the not-too-distant past. Holding elections for the sake of having elections regardless of whether they are meaningfully free and competitive is no longer tenable. It is only when elections are meaningful in this sense that the political rights which are the lynchpin of political democracy can “be used for conquering other rights” (O’Donnell 2004: 49). Rather than the search for “stability” or “order” that was the *quid pro quo* for elite and middle class acquiescence to democratic rule in the past, there is general agreement that stability cannot be disassociated from the quality of democratic governance. At a minimum, most of the authors would agree that while political stability may be necessary, it is not sufficient and it may even be undesirable if the regime is not democratic, regardless of whether it is linked to measurable material improvements in the quality of life for the majority. In particular, popular participation can be seen as an essential mechanism for correcting the shortcomings and institutional flaws rooted in the nature of the transition process itself (Delamaza, Valdés, Carter).⁶

As a number of authors explain, achieving such a democratic equilibrium is often problematic for a variety of reasons. It may even reflect inherent contradictions between

liberal democratic ideals and institutions, and the types of democratic institutions that may come to typify what Arditti (2008) calls new “post-liberal” models of democracy (Postero). At one extreme, civil society may be mobilized at the expense of representative institutions (Laserna, Navia), even when such mobilization has the explicit goal of strengthening their democratic qualities in order to make them more inclusionary (de la Fuente, Postero). This perspective contrasts with one that argues that excessive elite consensus can severely limit the space available for civil society—and citizens more generally—to participate in democratic politics independently of periodically held elections (Delamaza, Valdés). What is striking is that in all of the countries examined in this special issue, there are no guidelines for what such a balance between representative democracy and its socio-political complements *should* consist of, either in terms of some consensual normative ideal or in what it currently means to “live in an actually existing democracy.” While some authors (e.g., Avritzer, Delamaza, Olvera) offer the outlines of what such a balance may entail, it is still, at best, a goal that various actors in each country are still striving to achieve.

Achieving this goal is complicated for many reasons. One important reason is that in general, citizen participation is most easily achieved at the local level. This creates important challenges when local governments themselves enjoy limited autonomy from the central state (Hernández-Díaz). It also creates challenges of trying to “scale up” from the local to influence national politics and policies. In many ways, this problem of scaling up goes to the heart of the current political debates in Bolivia (de la Fuente, Laserna, Postero), as well as Chile (Delamaza, Navia, Valdés), even if the authors in this special issue do not necessarily agree on the most

appropriate way to achieve this balance, or even what that balance might entail. Similarly, the contrasting perspectives offered by Avritzer and Carter in many ways reflect the difference between participation in a local rather than national or regional political arena.

Even more important for achieving this balance is the fact that there is an inevitable tension between political parties and civil societies created by the centrality of elections themselves. Political parties in many instances seem to compete with civil society actors for political influence (Oxhorn: 1995), with the result that political parties have come to undermine civil society in many instances when their role has become too dominant (Delamaza, Valdés, Olvera Ortiz-Ortega and Barquet).⁷ Indeed, one of the principal conflicts that democratic regimes struggle to address is this tension between political parties and civil society. Perhaps the most poignant example of this is the “puzzle” of democracy in Brazil, which “is strongly legitimate at the elite level but weakly legitimate at the mass level” (Actually Existing Democracies: 220).

More generally, this tension may also reflect the very different roles that political parties and civil society actors play in any democracy. Political parties are quintessential aggregators of citizen interests, and their “success” is often measured in terms of the breadth, if not depth, of their public support. Civil society, on the other hand, is itself an arena for mediating conflict and difference, even if the literature often treats it as a unified actor (Oxhorn 2006a). Depth, not breadth, of support is key to understanding the role a strong civil society can play in democracy by giving voice to different segments of society so as to maximize political and social inclusion. To a certain extent, this adds yet another dimension to the possible limits of liberal

OXHORN and POSTERO *continued...*

democracy as suggested by Postero in her contribution to this special issue. From the perspective of civil society, this role raises two challenges.

The first challenge for civil society is to mediate its own heterogeneity. Such heterogeneity has multiple dimensions, including class, race, ethnicity, language, religion and gender, and struggles for democratic deepening reflect a deliberate effort to ensure that the groups associated with these sometimes competing identities are included in democratic politics (e.g., Carter, Delamaza, Valdés). Thus, we see important moves to expand existing democratic institutions in places where indigenous peoples who have been marginalized for centuries have now begun to exercise citizenship rights and participate in local and national politics (Postero, Hernández-Díaz). Many of the post-liberal forms of democratic practices our authors describe reflect indigenous influences, as these new citizens begin to mold liberal institutions to their own culturally specific values and customs (Postero). But such heterogeneity is also the source of much of the conflict in democratic politics, making consensus difficult to achieve in practice (de la Fuente). Even social groups that we sometimes treat as unified actors are, in practice, divided along a variety of dimensions, including indigenous identity (Hernández-Díaz) and gender (Ortiz-Ortega and Barquet). All of this makes it difficult to arrive at any consensus, at the same time it warns us that such efforts at consensus building need to be sensitive to the various perspectives—including elite perspectives, as Laserna, Navia and Power remind us in different ways—that are contained within any national context. Democratically working through these complexities is often a central aspect of democratic politics as discussed in the various articles in the special issue.

The second challenge, however, has more to do with the strength of civil society. Very simply put, is civil society necessarily up to the task? In other words, does civil society possess the autonomy and organizational capacity to allow it to influence in positive ways how democratic politics unfolds in each country? Several authors here describe forceful actions by social movements, such as indigenous and popular organizations taking part in the Constituent Assembly in Bolivia (de la Fuente, Laserna, Postero) and the landless movement in Brazil (Carter). These can be contrasted to other less successful movements, like the feminist movements in Chile and Mexico (Valdés, Ortiz-Ortega and Barquet). The experiences of each country, and often within the same country, are quite varied in this regard.

Democracy and the Economy

A third and final issue that the authors in this collection focus upon is the relationship between democracy and economic development. As Navia points out, there has been a longstanding debate about whether development is a precondition to democracy or whether democracy is necessary to foster development (see, e.g. Przeworski et al. 2000). Not surprisingly, this dualistic opposition has not proven helpful, and most scholars have ended up agreeing that, whatever the causal relation, these factors are mutually reinforcing in practice. O'Donnell has recently provided a compelling argument about why that might be (2004). He suggests that the discourses of democracy, development, and human rights are all based upon a similar moral, and in some cases legally established conception of the human being as an agent, with rights and potential capabilities. This builds on the work of economist Amartya Sen, who has argued that all humans have the right to achieve their most basic

capabilities, “such as living a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and enjoying a decent standard of living” (UNDP 2000: 20). O'Donnell suggests that attainment of those rights and capabilities—a process we might call human development—is not merely the result of an increase in material resources, but rather, comes about through political and very often conflictive processes. While it is theoretically impossible to identify precisely the set of rights and capabilities that would be necessary to generate an “adequate” level of human rights and development, he concludes that democracy is important as “an enabling milieu for the struggles usually needed in order to inscribe need-claims as effective rights.” (2004:11)

This argument points to a fundamental question about democracy: What rights do citizens as agents expect from a democratic society? Most would argue that citizens are entitled to political, civil, and cultural rights; but what about economic rights? This is, of course, the subject of a very old debate. Under classic liberal notions of democracy, the economic sphere is considered to be separate from the public sphere, where “politics” are carried out. What a liberal order guaranteed was the freedom to contract and engage in the market and the protection of private property. This limited notion of rights was expanded in the twentieth century, when, as T.H. Marshall famously documented, so-called welfare states also extended “social” rights to their citizens (Marshall 1949). Under a Keynesian version of liberalism, citizens were entitled not only to negative rights such as the freedom from unfair arrest, but also to positive rights such as the right to health, education, and housing security (Brown 2003).

In Latin America, during the 1960s and 70s, states (democratic or not) following this

development model embraced Import Substitution Industrialization, invested in state-owned industries, and began to develop social services and welfare programs. During the 1980s, however, newly democratizing governments rethought this form of economic development, often under pressure from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, opting instead for a neoliberal strategy to let market mechanisms determine what sorts of economic benefits their citizens could enjoy. In some countries, like Chile and Brazil, neoliberal strategies led to economic growth and stability, albeit with high poverty levels and marked inequalities between rich and poor. In others, like Bolivia and Mexico, structural adjustment programs led to tremendous suffering among the poor, high unemployment rates, and loss of rural livelihoods. To be sure, popular resentment against the costs of neoliberal restructuring was a central factor in the popular impeachment of Bolivia's neoliberal president, Sánchez de Lozada, and the election of its current president, Evo Morales (Postero 2007). In Mexico, opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement fueled the Zapatista uprising in the mid-1990s. Disagreements with the neoliberal model are also motivating the general turn to the left across Latin America, from Venezuela to Ecuador to Paraguay, as societies re-evaluate the need for state involvement in the economy.

Thus, Latin Americans do not assume that democracy necessarily entails protection of economic rights or that it necessarily produces development and growth. But what is the relationship? What role does the economy play in fostering or undermining democracy? And how does it interact with the other fundamental shift that occurred during democratization, the rise of civil society? The authors in this collection bring to this discussion a variety of case studies

and quite different interpretations of their meanings.

Navia and Delamazza describe the contemporary Chilean case. They describe how the Concertación alliance took over the government in the first post-Pinochet democratic elections, accepting a limited form of democracy that was the legacy of the Pinochet era. Elected under a constitution that included authoritarian enclaves and an electoral system that made any radical legislation impossible, the four successive Concertación governments opted for a strategy of slow and gradual political change while concentrating on producing economic growth and bringing down the poverty rates. In his article, Navia suggests that the Concertación strategy of “democracy to the extent possible” was based on the fear that any more radical changes would produce either a return to authoritarianism or to social conflicts. For democracy to flourish, says Navia, the government had to show that it could maintain a stable country and better distribute economic growth. . Navia argues that this was a successful strategy, as the Concertación governments have “helped heal deep social and political wounds and have presided over Chile’s most successful period of economic growth, social inclusion and democratic progress in the nation’s history.” (Actually Existing Democracies: 298) Thus, in his analysis, economic growth was necessary for continued popular and elite support for democracy. Slowly, with this support, the governments have been able to adopt political and constitutional reforms that minimize the power of the country’s authoritarian enclaves, and deepen democratic consolidation.

Delamazza is not so sanguine about the results. In his article, he argues that the fundamental dilemma of the Chilean society has not changed since the 1970s: how to

make democracy more inclusive, and change the relations of power. This unresolved dilemma was the cause of the end of democracy in the first place, but the return to democracy has not resolved it either. Instead, the Concertación governments chose to engage in a long-term political pact with the right (and the elites) while gradually trying to bring down poverty. The problem, says Delamazza, is that the electoral system inherited from Pinochet has kept the political and economic elite in power, and blocked any real participation from civil society. As a result, neither the goals nor the practices of the pact have produced the hoped-for transformations. Instead, the neoliberal economy has segmented society and produced a political system that is rapidly losing its representative character. Thus, for Delamazza, despite economic growth, the failure of the Chilean government to adopt participatory processes that address the “need of development and social integration” makes it difficult to obtain the social adhesion necessary for democracy to flourish. (Actually Existing Democracies: 280)

So, what does a democratic country need to do to win the support of its people? Power’s article about Brazil demonstrates that it may be fairly difficult. He shows that although Brazil’s recent democratic governments have maintained moderate growth and low inflation, and have brought down poverty and inequality, support for the democratic process is remarkably low among Brazil’s public. While democracy enjoys strong backing from elites, Power concludes that Brazil’s public “remains unimpressed with democracy.” Part of this may be a generalized distrust factor among Brazilians, but Power argues that a more plausible explanation to this puzzle is public recollection of pre-democracy economic growth levels. The glory days of the 1950s to the 1970s, during which the military

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oversaw an economic boom period with 7 percent average growth rates, raised Brazilians' expectations about what the country could achieve. As a result, although Brazilian democracy has been wildly successful in maintaining economic growth, reducing inequalities, and putting a broad social welfare safety net into place, the failure of the democratic government, especially during the first phase (1985-1994), to match these levels leaves many Brazilians ambivalent about democracy.

Leonardo Avritzer's article about participatory budgeting processes suggests a different reading of the Brazilian case. He agrees that Brazilians, like most Latin Americans associate the harsh economic conditions of the neoliberal years with democratic regimes. But that is only part of the story. Democracy, he reminds us, also opened venues for new democratic experiences, especially at the local level. Participatory budgeting, which has altered the political landscape at the municipal level, could not have come into being without the restoration of democracy. Bottom-up organizing has had major impacts: It has created a political process that included the poor in the political field for the first time; it has changed the priorities of allocating public goods, giving the poor greatly expanded access to them; and it has inserted a new political group coming from below into politics. Participatory budgeting has not resolved the legitimacy problems of the new Brazilian government that Power outlines, but it has "provided the poor citizen in Brazil with a vision that democracy may also create mechanisms to help him in spite of drawbacks related to the general situation of the country." Participatory budgeting allows the poor to take into their own hands the process of decision-making on urban policies and resource allocation. Although it did not resolve the problems of the poor, it did allow them to see democracy

as providing "a new method for the solution of these problems" (Actually Existing Democracies: 183)

In like manner, Hernández-Díaz points to the importance of local participatory processes to mediate the harsh effects of neoliberal economic restructuring in Mexico. He describes how indigenous groups, empowered in part by the democratic process, have taken advantage of political decentralization to become key actors in local and municipal government. While at the national level, elites have pushed for a mestizo nation-state, at the local level, indigenous people have maintained collectivities that are culturally distinct. Over the last decade, indigenous groups have used municipal government platforms as a geopolitical space from which to demand recognition of their ethnic difference and their vision of Mexico as culturally and linguistically plural. A central part of this is a recognition that by designing their own strategies of economic development and social life, "as well as being recognized as subjects of the inalienable (*intransferible*) task of transforming their own reality, it will be possible to establish a new social pact that will include them in the life of the nation" (Actually Existing Democracies: 155). This is an excellent illustration of O'Donnell's argument about the relation between democracy and development.

As all the authors included here suggest, such experiences are central to an understanding of what it means to live "in an actually existing democracy" in Latin America today.

Endnotes

- ¹ See the regional public opinion polls from *Latinobarómetro*, various years.
- ² In place of *LARR*'s normal internal review, each paper was revised in accordance with the comments of the issue's two editors. The entire draft issue was then sent to two anonymous reviewers for additional comments and suggestions.
- ³ It is also worth noting that this perspective is also the one adopted by most, if not all, of the authors associated most closely with the transitology literature.
- ⁴ This was most obvious for the left, which at best viewed political democracy as a "bourgeois trap." But the bourgeoisie, along with the oligarchy and middle classes more generally, did not feel that they inevitably were the beneficiaries of the so-called trap they alleged set. This is why, historically, they were even more antagonistic toward a type of regime that offered the potential to empower a majority who could then enact changes they fundamentally opposed.
- ⁵ As Laserna and Carter stress, however, this aspiration may be difficult to achieve in practice.
- ⁶ It is important to remember that this requisite "balance" also requires ensuring that civil society's role does not displace or supplant the central institutions of representative political democracy, a point emphasized by Laserna and Navia.
- ⁷ This tension is often pronounced within political parties that have a strong foundation in social movements and civil society. This is particularly true for Evo Morales' Movement toward Socialism (MAS) in Bolivia, and to a lesser extent the Workers Party in Brazil.

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CALLING ALL MEMBERS

Nominations Invited

Nominations Invited for 2012 Slate

Deadline: *April 1, 2011*

LASA members are invited to suggest nominees for Vice President and three members of the Executive Council, for terms beginning June 1, 2012. Criteria for nomination include professional credentials and previous service to LASA. Each candidate must have been a member of the Association in good standing for at least one year prior to nomination. Biographic data and the rationale for nomination must be sent by *April 1, 2011*, to: LASA Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas <milagros@pitt.edu>.

The winning candidate for Vice President will serve in that capacity from June 1, 2012 until May 31, 2013, as President from June 1, 2013 to May 31, 2014, and as Past President for an additional year. Executive Council members will serve a two-year term from June 1, 2012, to May 31, 2014.

Members of the Nominations Committee are: Scott Mainwaring, Notre Dame University, Chair; Orlandina Oliveira, Colegio de México; Emilio Kouri, University of Chicago; Marie Louise Pratt, New York University; Carlos Waisman, University of California, San Diego; and Gwen Kirkpatrick, Georgetown University, who will serve as the liaison with the LASA Executive Council.

Call for Silvert Award Nominations

Deadline: *May 1, 2011*

The Kalman Silvert Award Committee invites nominations of candidates for the year 2012 award. The Silvert Award recognizes senior members of the profession who have made distinguished lifetime contributions to the study of Latin America. The Award is given at each LASA International Congress. Past recipients of the Award were: John J. Johnson (1983); Federico Gil (1985); Albert O. Hirschman (1986); Charles Wagley (1988); Lewis Hanke (1989); Victor L. Urquidí (1991); George Kubler (1992); Osvaldo Sunkel (1994); Richard Fagen (1995); Alain Touraine (1997); Richard Adams (1998); Jean Franco (2000); Thomas Skidmore (2001); Guillermo O'Donnell (2003); June Nash (2004); Miguel León-Portilla (2006); Helen Safa (2007); Alfred Stepan (2009); and Edelberto Torres-Rivas (2010). The selection committee consists of: John Coatsworth (chair), LASA immediate past president; Eric Hershberg and Charles R. Hale, past presidents; Philip Oxhorn, editor of the *Latin American Research Review*; and Edelberto Torres-Rivas, 2010 Kalman Silvert awardee. Nominations should be sent to LASA Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas <milagros@pitt.edu> by *May 1, 2011*. Please include biographic information and a rationale for each nomination.

Call for Bryce Wood Book Award Nominations

Deadline: *July 15, 2011*

At each International Congress, the Latin American Studies Association presents the Bryce Wood Book Award to the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in English. Eligible books for the 2012 LASA International Congress will be those published between January 1, 2010 and June 30, 2011. Although no book may compete more than once, translations may be considered. Anthologies of selections by several authors or re-editions of works published previously normally are not in contention for the award. Books will be judged on the quality of the research, analysis, and writing, and the significance of their contribution to Latin American studies. Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Persons who nominate books are responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to each member of the Award Committee, at the expense of the authors or publishers.

All books nominated must reach *each member* of the Award Committee by *July 15, 2011*. By February 1, 2012, the committee will select a winning book. It may also name an honorable mention. The award will be announced at the Award Ceremony of the LASA2012 business meeting, and the awardee will be publicly honored. LASA membership is not a requirement to receive the award.

Members of the 2012 committee are:

John French, Chair
History Department
Carr Building (East Campus)
Duke University
Durham, NC 27708-0719

Joanne Rappaport
4531 46th St NW
Washington, DC 20016

Mauricio Font
80 Park Ave, 12D
New York, NY 10016

Santa Arias
University of Kansas
Department of Spanish and Portuguese
1445 Jayhawk Blvd
Lawrence, KS 66045-7590

José Antonio Cheibub
3003 Weeping Cherry Dr.
Champaign, IL 61822

Fiona Macaulay
University of Bradford
Dept of Peace Studies, Richmond Road
Bradford BD71DP West Yorkshire
UNITED KINGDOM

Claudio Fuentes
Grajales 1775, Tercer Piso
Santiago
CHILE

Joseph F. Tulchin
109 Coonamessett Circle
E Falmouth, MA 02536

Latin American Studies Association
Attn: Bryce Wood Book Award Nominations
University of Pittsburgh
315 South Bellefield Avenue
416 Bellefield Hall
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Call for *Premio Iberoamericano* Book Award Nominations

Deadline: *July 15, 2011*

The *Premio Iberoamericano* is presented at each of LASA's International Congresses for the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in Spanish or Portuguese in any country. Eligible books for the 2012 award must have been published between January 1, 2010 and June 30, 2011. No book may compete more than once. Normally not in contention for the award are anthologies of selections by several authors or reprints or re-editions of works published previously. Books will be judged on the quality of the research, analysis, and writing, and the significance of their contribution to Latin American studies. Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Individuals who nominate books are responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to *each member* of the award committee, at the expense of those submitting the books.

All books must reach each member of the committee by *July 15, 2011*. LASA membership is not a requirement for receiving the award. The award will be announced at the Award Ceremony of the LASA2012 business meeting, and the awardee will be publicly honored.

Members of the 2012 committee are:

Evelina Dagnino, Chair
Depto Ciência Política - IFCH
Universidade Estadual de Campinas
R. Cora Coralina, s/n
Cidade Universitária
13083-896 Campinas, SP
BRAZIL

Marianne Schmink
PO Box 115530
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-7305

Marta Núñez Sarmiento
Ave 35 N° 3011, Playa
La Habana
CUBA

Olivier Dabène
49 Place Charles de Gaulle
86000 Poitiers
FRANCE

Latin American Studies Association
Attn: Premio Iberoamericano Book Award Nominations
University of Pittsburgh
315 South Bellefield Avenue
416 Bellefield Hall
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

CALLING ALL MEMBERS *continued...*

LASA Media Award

Deadline: *July 15, 2011*

The Latin American Studies Association is pleased to announce its competition for the year 2012 LASA Media Award for outstanding media coverage of Latin America. These awards are made at every LASA Congress to recognize long-term journalistic contributions to analysis and public debate about Latin America in the United States and in Latin America, as well as breakthrough journalism. Nominations are invited from LASA members and from journalists. Journalists from both the print and electronic media are eligible. The Committee will carefully review each nominee's work and select an award recipient. The award will be announced at the Award Ceremony of the LASA2012 business meeting, and the awardee will be publicly honored. LASA may invite the awardee to submit materials for possible publication in the *LASA Forum*. Recent recipients of the awards include: Carlos Dada, *El Faro* (2010); Mario Osava, América Latina Inter Press Service (2009); Hollman Morris, Colombia (2007); Maria Ester Gilio (2006); Julio Scherer, journalist, Mexico (2004); Eduardo Anguita, freelance journalist, Buenos Aires (2003); Guillermo González Uribe of *Número*, Bogotá (2001); Patricia Verdugo Aguirre of Conama, Chile and *Diario 16*, Spain (2000); Gustavo Gorriti of *Caretas*, Lima, Peru (1998)

To make a nomination, please send one copy of the journalist's portfolio of recent relevant work to LASA Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas <milagros@pitt.edu> by *July 15, 2011*.

Members of the Media Award committee are: Peter Hakim, Inter-American Dialogue, Chair; Heloisa Buarque de Hollanda, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro; and Graciela Mochkofsky, Revista Digital *El Puerco Espín*.

LASA/Oxfam America Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship

Deadline: *July 15, 2011*

The Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship is offered at each LASA International Congress to an outstanding individual who combines Professor Diskin's commitment to both activism and scholarship.

This distinguished lectureship is made possible largely by a generous contribution from Oxfam America, an organization committed to grassroots work, and one with which Martin Diskin was closely associated. Ricardo Falla, S.J., was the 1998 Diskin Lecturer. Professor Gonzalo Sánchez Gómez of the Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, was the Lecturer in 2000. At LASA2001, Professor Elizabeth Lira Kornfeld, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago, Chile, delivered the Memorial Lecture. In 2003, the Lectureship was shared by Rodolfo Stavenhagen, El Colegio de México, and Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, CIESAS, Mexico City. Professor Jonathan Fox, University of California/Santa Cruz was the 2004 Lecturer. Professor William Leogrande, American University, held the Lectureship in 2006; Dr. Orlando Fals Borda delivered the Lecture in 2007; Professor Terry Karl, Stanford University, was selected in 2009; and Dr. Carlos Ivan Degregori, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, in 2010.

Nominations, including self-nominations, are welcome. A nomination should include a statement justifying the nomination, the complete mailing address of the nominee, telephone and fax numbers, and e-mail address. To nominate a candidate, send these materials no later than *July 15, 2011*, to LASA Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas <milagros@pitt.edu>.

Members of the 2012 Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship Committee are: Jeremy Adelman, Princeton University, Chair; Teresa Valdés, CEDEM; Antônio Sérgio Guimarães, Universidade de São Paulo; Cynthia Arnson, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; and Jonathan Fox, Oxfam America.

**LASA/Oxfam America
Martin Diskin Dissertation Award**

Deadline: *July 15, 2011*

The Martin Diskin Dissertation Award is made possible through the generosity of Oxfam America, LASA, and LASA members. This award is offered at each LASA International Congress to an outstanding junior scholar who combines Professor Diskin's commitment to the creative combination of activism and scholarship. The award will be presented to an advanced doctoral student or recent Ph.D. All advanced Ph.D. candidates must demonstrate that they will complete their dissertation prior to the LASA International Congress. LASA limits recent Ph.D. recipients to those individuals who received their degrees after the LASA Congress prior to the one at which the award is to be received. LASA welcomes dissertations written in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. The Award Committee will employ three criteria in its evaluations: 1) Overall scholarly credentials, based upon the candidate's curriculum vitae; 2) The quality of the dissertation writing, research, and analysis as determined by the dissertation outline and sample chapter submitted; 3) The primary advisor's letter of recommendation. The definition of activist scholarship shall remain broad and pluralist, to be discussed and interpreted by each selection committee.

Applicants should submit a current curriculum vitae; a dissertation abstract of 250 words; the dissertation outline or table of contents; one sample chapter, which exemplifies the author's approach to activist scholarship; a letter of recommendation from the candidate's primary advisor which focuses explicitly on the candidate's qualifications for the Martin Diskin Dissertation Award.

All application materials must be submitted electronically to <milagros@pitt.edu> and received by **July 15, 2011**. The Martin Diskin Dissertation Award recipient will receive a \$1,000 stipend. Wide circulation of this call for nominations to faculty colleagues and students would be greatly appreciated.

The 2012 selection committee consists of: Jeremy Adelman, Princeton University, Chair; Teresa Valdés, CEDEM; Antônio Sérgio Guimarães, Universidade de São Paulo; Cynthia Arnson, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; and Jonathan Fox, Oxfam America.

**Charles A. Hale Fellowship
for Mexican History**

Deadline: *July 15, 2011*

This fellowship will reward excellence in historical research on Mexico at the dissertation level. It will be awarded at each LASA International Congress to a Mexican graduate student in the final phase of his or her doctoral research in Mexican history, broadly defined. Selection will be based on the scholarly merit, and on the candidate's potential contribution to the advancement of humanist understanding between Mexico and its global neighbors.

Members of the 2012 selection committee are: Mauricio Tenorio, University of Chicago; Alan Knight, Oxford University; Pablo Piccato, Columbia University; Peter Guardino, Indiana University and Javier Garciadiego, El Colegio de México.

A qualified applicant must hold Mexican citizenship and be in the final phase of her/his doctoral program, i.e. finished with coursework and exams, but not yet granted the Ph.D. Applications must be accompanied by 1) verification by the dissertation committee chair of the student's good standing in the doctoral program; 2) one-page (single space) statement that summarizes the dissertation project, in either English or Spanish; 3) brief (two pages maximum) curriculum vitae.

To nominate a candidate, send these materials no later than **July 15, 2011**, to Milagros Pereyra-Rojas, LASA Executive Director <milagros@pitt.edu>. ■

CALLING ALL MEMBERS *continued...*

Luciano Tomassini Latin American International Relations Award

Deadline: *September 1, 2011*

The Latin American Studies Association is pleased to announce the establishment of the Luciano Tomassini Latin American International Relations Award to the author(s) of an outstanding book on Latin American Foreign Policies and International Relations published in English, Spanish or Portuguese in any country. Eligible books for the 2012 award must have been published between January 2008 and June 2011. Anthologies of selections by several authors are not eligible. Books will be judged on the originality of the research, the quality of the analysis and writing and the significance of their contribution to the study of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The name of the award recipient will be announced at the Award Ceremony of the LASA 2012 business meeting and the awardee publicly honored on that occasion.

Nominations from LASA members and publishers are welcome. A nomination should include a statement justifying the nomination, five copies of the nominated book (one for each member of the award committee), the complete mailing address of the nominee, telephone and fax numbers, and e-mail address. Each nomination packet should be sent directly to individual award committee members by *September 1, 2011*.

Names and addresses of members of the Tomassini Award selection committee will be published in the Summer 2011 *LASA Forum* and posted on LASA's website.

The award has been made possible by a generous contribution from the Ford Foundation.

LASA2010 Survey Report

by MILAGROS PEREYRA-ROJAS, Executive Director

As was the case for two previous LASA International Congresses, LASA2010 meeting participants were asked to respond to a survey on a range of Congress-related issues. The slightly expanded 2010 questionnaire, with over 20 items, was again conducted on line.

Seven-hundred four LASA2010 participants responded. Although in total numbers this was a decrease of 57 percent from 2009, the number of 2010 respondents represented 23 percent of LASA2010 participants, a respectable response rate.

There were three survey categories: demographics; LASA2010; and future Congresses. Wording of the questions was kept as constant as possible to ensure maximum comparability between the LASA2009 and LASA2010 surveys.

The 2010 survey allowed respondents to indicate satisfaction with several specifics of the Congress, such as panels, receptions, the Film Festival, child care, etc. Overall satisfaction dipped only slightly from LASA2009, from 79 percent to 75 percent.

The last question of the LASA2010 survey was open-ended and allowed respondents to leave both commendations and criticisms. We received 268 unique comments from 244 (or 35 percent of) respondents. Suggestions/criticisms were associated with the three primary areas of the 2009 survey: logistics/scheduling, papers/panels, and cost.

On logistics and scheduling, several respondents were displeased that similarly themed panels and sessions were scheduled at the same time. Some respondents also expressed disappointment that the Congresses are moving from an 18-month cycle to an annual cycle, since it may adversely affect the availability of university funding.

Similar to previous Congresses, respondents commenting on papers insisted on the need for increased quality and selectivity of the papers; panel-related comments were focused on absent panelists or cancelled panels. Additionally, many respondents said some rooms were overcrowded; others wrote that more papers should be accepted and more sessions scheduled. LASA looks forward to seeking the elusive balance between a process of increased quality/selectivity and a schedule that maximizes thematic diversity and opportunities.

Respondents reported that the costs of attending the Toronto Congress were between one and two thousand dollars, roughly equivalent to LASA2009 in Rio de Janeiro. While costs remained nearly constant, ten percent more LASA2010 respondents than for LASA2009 (seventy-three percent in 2010) received partial or full reimbursement from a range of sources, most notably university funds and LASA grants.

LASA takes comments and suggestions about the Congresses very seriously. Many respondents to the LASA2009 survey were displeased that both the book exhibit and *gran baile* were missing in Rio; both returned at LASA2010.

Responses to past surveys have been extremely helpful as the Association has moved to a following Congress, and the present survey will help provide significant guidance as the Association prepares for LASA2012 and beyond. That many respondents also took the time to write in detailed comments, both positive and negative, is especially appreciated. Information that respondents provide ensures that LASA is able to continue what is working and improve on aspects of the Congress that are not.

Once again, our gratitude! ■

NEWS FROM LASA

LASA Voluntary Support

by SANDY KLINZING

The LASA2010 Congress was a major success on many levels. One very important measure was the number of colleagues, Latin American, Caribbean, and student, who were able to participate through some level of travel support. Of the 420 eligible requests for funding, 306 individuals were selected for travel grants provided by one of the various sources of support, including the LASA Endowment (\$323,848), foundation grants (\$156,230), and the LASA Travel (\$6,263), the Student (\$6,204), and the Indigenous and Afro-descendant Funds (\$14,642). In addition, LASA contributed \$25,000 in \$500 grants to facilitate student participation in Toronto.

A most sincere thank-you to the generous contributors to the success of the Congress and to LASA funds during the past year!

The LASA Endowment continues to grow, thanks to a somewhat healthier return on investment in recent months and new contributions. One chief source of new support for the Endowment is LASA Life Memberships, where a full \$2,000 of the \$2,500 total is a contribution to either the General or the Humanities Endowment Fund. During the past year, six LASA members have committed to a Life Membership: **Timothy Scully, Kathryn Sikkink, Kenneth Roberts, John Stephens, Brian Loveman and Terry Karl**. Adding the honorary Life Membership provided to Kalman Silvert Award recipient **Edelberto Torres-Rivas** brings the number of current paid and honorary Life Memberships to 88. An effort to attract more Life Memberships was undertaken during the past 18 months by the members of the LASA Fundraising Committee. Many of the newest commitments came as a result of contacts made by Committee members. Again, thank you!

We gratefully acknowledge the following donors for their contributions to one or more of the LASA funds since the previous report in the spring issue of the *LASA Forum*. (Note that in the interest of conserving space, donors are named only once, regardless of the number of contributions or gifts to multiple funds. A special thank-you to those donors who frequently designate more than one fund for their support!)

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For information about contributions to
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<sklinz@pitt.edu>. ■

From Toronto to San Francisco Looking Ahead to LASA2012

by GABRIELA NOUZEILLES, Program Co-Chair | Princeton University | gnouzeil@princeton.edu
and TIMOTHY J. POWER, Program Co-Chair | University of Oxford | timothy.power@lac.ox.ac.uk

Some six months before the hugely successful LASA2010 meeting in Toronto, the LASA Secretariat was already laying the groundwork for a conference to be held more than two years later. LASA will next convene in San Francisco May 23-26, 2012. This will be the Association's landmark 30th International Congress. It will also be the first Congress to be held in the continental United States since Las Vegas some eight years earlier, and it will be the first LASA meeting in California since Los Angeles in 1992. The Congress theme, apropos of the decade that is now beginning, is "Toward a Third Decade of Independence in Latin America."

As the newly appointed Program Co-Chairs for LASA2012, we are honored to be working with LASA president Maria Herminia Tavares de Almeida and Executive Director Milagros Pereyra on the organization of this major event. We are also grateful for the strong support and wise insights of our two predecessors for the Toronto Congress, Javier Corrales and Nina Gerassi-Navarro, who organized such a marvelous conference in Ontario. Javier and Nina will prove a tough act to follow, but we intend to show them that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery.

We have been preparing the LASA2012 program since last summer, and we are pleased to report that our work has so far run smoothly. Our first task was to identify the co-chairs for the 34 thematic tracks approved for San Francisco. Following recent LASA practice, we recruited not one but two colleagues for every track, and we divided the outreach efforts between the two of us. In general terms, Gabriela was in charge of identifying and contacting scholars who were more linked to the humanities, while Tim focused on scholars closer to the social sciences. Although the criteria used in the selection were varied, we made an effort

to find people who have strong reputations and whose research represented, in our view, the most interesting and/or innovative trends in their fields. We also sought to achieve a good mix of senior and junior faculty, as well as representatives of U.S. and foreign academic institutions, including Latin American, Canadian, European, and Australasian universities.

The selected track chairs were subsequently approved by LASA and were invited to a very useful organizational meeting (chaired by Javier) at the LASA Congress in Toronto. Fortunately, we were able to round out the full Program Committee two months before the Toronto meeting, so that a full Call for Papers—including the names and institutions of all 68 of our selfless co-organizers—was printed in the program book at LASA 2010. You can also download the 2012 CFP from the LASA website.

The initial meeting of the Program Committee (held on October 8th, 2010, in Toronto) proved both instructive and productive. The track co-chairs will play a crucial role in assembling the final program for San Francisco 2012. During this meeting, we considered some rather pressing issues of demand and selectivity as we shaped a strategy for program development. As is well known throughout the Association, the last decade saw a massive increase in paper proposals submitted to LASA conferences—the aggregate number increased from 1,406 in 2004 to 4,184 in 2009. As the situation became increasingly unsustainable, individual paper proposals had to be discouraged in favor of pre-assembled panels. Because LASA has been successful in making these changes known to the membership, the number of *individual* paper proposals (i.e. not submitted as part of a panel) fell sharply from 3202 in 2009 (Rio de Janeiro) to only 651 in 2010 (Toronto), while self-assembled panels were far more

stable at 962 and 741, respectively. In addition to driving notable gains in selectivity and quality, the massive decline in individual submissions has simplified the work of the track chairs, who no longer have to assemble large numbers of panels from disparate abstracts. When panels are self-initiated by groups of like-minded colleagues ahead of time, the result is a much more coherent conference program.

LASA's new system overwhelmingly favors submissions of complete panels rather than individual paper proposals, and the feedback from the Toronto meeting was very positive. For 2012, the practice will once again favor pre-formed panels, and we expect demand to be very high due to the attractiveness of San Francisco as a conference site. Therefore, we strongly urge colleagues to begin their discussions and networking now, so that whole panels can begin to take shape well in advance of formal application to LASA. That being said, there is a finite number of panels that can be accommodated in three days, so we expect selectivity to continue to rise for the San Francisco meeting.

Although it was challenging at times to undertake the necessary downscaling of the acceptance rate for Toronto, Javier and Nina did a terrific job of rationalizing the programming process, and we aim to build on their example. We view the high demand for Congress participation not as a problem, but as a sign of LASA's energy and dynamism—in fact we have lost track of the number of times that colleagues have told us that LASA is their favorite conference to attend! Holding the next Congress in the spectacular surroundings of the Bay Area is sure to add to the attractiveness of LASA 2012. Along with the President, the Executive Council, and the Secretariat, we look forward to working with the Program Committee to produce a memorable 30th International Congress. ■

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Section Reports

Asia and the Americas, formerly “Latin America and the Pacific Rim” Neanthro Saavedra-Rivano, Chair

The Section Business Meeting was called to order at approximately 6:30 p.m. on Thursday, October 7, 2010, with Neantro Saavedra-Rivano presiding as Chair. After verifying the presence of thirteen Section members, including the Secretary-Treasurer (Vladimir Rouvinski) and all five members of the Executive Council, the Chair proposed the following meeting agenda: Section's Chair report on the Section activities; Secretary-Treasury's report on the Section's finances; Election of new Chair(s) and members of Executive Council.

Professor Saavedra-Rivano commented on his participation as the Section's Chair for three (non consecutive) terms and emphasized the need for renewal of the leadership. He indicated that the work of the Section after the Rio Congress had been mostly concerned with two issues, the organization of the Section's panel at the Toronto Congress and the Section's web page. The Section's panel “Responses to the Financial Crisis in East Asia and Latin America: Lessons from a Comparative Analysis,” was chaired jointly by Neantro Saavedra-Rivano (University of Tsukuba) and Adrian H. Hearn (University of Sydney); Professor Ricardo Ffrench-Davis (Universidad de Chile) served as discussant. The session was attended by 20 people. Saavedra-Rivano reminded attendees that the Section has a page at Facebook, which, however, does not attract enough attention. Since other LASA Sections have shared similar concerns, it was decided that LASA would be in charge of hosting a number of Sections' pages. The webpage is important in order to have a space for interaction among members, and it was expected that a web page template common for all Sections will be ready by November 2010.

Secretary-Treasurer Vladimir Rouvinski informed Section members that currently the Section has 57 members and that there had been no spending between the Rio and the Toronto Congresses. The participants then proceeded to the nomination and election of the Chair. Dr. Enrique Dussel Peters (Universidad Nacional, México) and Dr. Adrian Hearn (University of Sydney) were accepted as Co-chairs with unanimity by those present. Professor Vladimir Rouvinski (Icesi University) will continue as Secretary-Treasury until the next LASA Congress. Elections of the Executive Council will take place by email, and the new Co-chairs will be responsible for conducting those elections according to LASA rules.

Members of the Section then talked about their activities and current academic interests: Vladimir Rouvinski (Colombia), the study of the emergence of new actors in the Andean region (China, South Korea and Russia); Adrian Hearn (Australia), the promotion of collaborative research on Chinese communities in Mexico and Cuba, Hong Kong and Chinese foreign policy, security issues, perceptions of the Chinese on foreign relations; Neantro Saavedra-Rivano (Japan) commented on his research on official development assistance of China at the University of Tsukuba; Kathleen M. López (USA), continuing research on Asian Diasporas in Latin America; Ursula Prutsch (Germany) collaborative research on Japanese immigration to Brazil; Kevin Gallagher (USA), his new book *The Dragon in the Room: Chinese and Latin American Business*; Enrique Dussel Peters (Mexico), changing the way of sharing information among the Section members; Benjamin Creutzfeldt (Colombia) discussed his translation book project *Construyendo el Pacífico* and his particular interest in researching Colombian relations with China; Ricardo Ffrench-Davis (Chile) conducted research on economic development policy,

comparative work on trade and financial experience, and development finance; Ariel Armony (USA, advancing a research agenda on China at the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Miami; Julia Strauss (UK) talked about her work as editor of *China Quarterly* and her interest in organizing a workshop on China and Latin America; Simon Shen (Hong Kong), establishing contacts with researchers in Latin America, in particular, with regard to courses on China; and Wo-Hon Kim (South Korea), research on policymaking in the Korean government related to Latin America.

The following members of the Executive Council were subsequently elected: Ariel Armony (University of Miami); Benjamin Creutzfeldt (Universidad Externado de Colombia); Jorge di Masi (Universidad de La Plata); Ricardo Ffrench-Davis Muñoz (Universidad de Chile); Kevin Gallagher (Boston University); Won-Ho Kim (Hankuk University of Foreign Languages); Kathleen López (Rutgers University); Gonzalo Paz (George Washington University); Neantro Saavedra-Rivano (University of Tsukuba and Universidade de Brasília); and Simon Shen (Hong Kong Institute of Education).

Bolivia Chris Krueger, Chair

La Sección fue formada después del Congreso de 2009 en Rio y tuvo su primera reunión en el Congreso de Toronto. Ha sido coordinada por un Comité Interino formado por Chris Krueger (Consultant); Miguel Buitrago (German Institute of Global and Area Studies); Miguel Centellas (University of Mississippi); Martín Mendoza (Tulane University); y Victor Unda (Utepsa University). Actualmente cuenta con cerca de 100 miembros; unos 37 de ellos estuvieron presentes durante la reunión en

Toronto. La Sección está en proceso de elegir formalmente a un consejo con la ayuda del Secretariado de LASA.

Desde las primeras conversaciones, los interesados en la Sección han expresado su interés en colaborar en lo posible con la Asociación de Estudios Bolivianos y otras instituciones bolivianas o internacionales que promueven estudios e intercambios entre estudiosos. Otro objetivo es poder ofrecer publicaciones digitales de documentos profesionales sobre Bolivia, especialmente las de los socios de la Sección. Existe la esperanza de contar con una pasantía desde la Universidad de Pittsburgh para ayudar en este sentido.

En el período 2011-2012, se apunta a consolidar la Sección, ampliando tanto la membresía como el intercambio y la colaboración entre los socios. Una vez formalmente definido el Comité Coordinadora, se planificarán las actividades para el período, priorizando la colección y publicación de materiales, el reclutamiento de miembros, y la preparación para LASA San Francisco con eventos previos/posteriores en San Francisco y otras ciudades.

Brazil

César Braga-Pinto and Eduardo R. Gomes, Co-chairs

The Brazil Section Business Meeting was held on October 8, 2010 and conducted by the Co-chairs. The Treasurer Emanuelle Oliveira presented the annual report about the membership and financial situation of the Section. As of September 15, the Section had approximately 381 members.

After considering other proposals on how to improve Section performance in the LASA meetings, the members who were present (about 40) came to the conclusion that it should keep its "prize policy," but substitute the student term prize for a best dissertation prize, with the same value as the prize for best article, i.e., US\$200.

The Executive Council had three vacant positions. After the nominations, Karl Erik Schollhammer (Pontificia Universidade

Católica do Rio de Janeiro); Pedro Erber (Rutgers University); and Amy Chazkel (City University of New York/Queens College) were elected to these positions.

The Brazil Section offered its traditional reception to its members and guests on Thursday, October 7th, when the prizes for best book, and for best article on Brazil were announced: Amy Chazkel won the latter with "Social Life and Civic Education in the Rio de Janeiro City Jail," (March 2009 edition of *Journal of Social History*); Jan Hoffman French was awarded the prize for the best book, *Legalizing Identities: Becoming Black or Indian in Brazil's Northeast* (The North Carolina Press). The Executive Committee decided to offer a special Award of Merit to Professor James Green for the publication of his book *Apesar de vocês – Oposição à Ditadura no Brazil* (Companhia das Letras Press). The members had decided to keep the reception on a Thursday, rather than at the same day as the other Sections (Friday/Saturday).

Central America

Chris Chiappari, Co-chair

The Central America Section held its Business Meeting on Friday, October 8, 2010, at 6:30 pm. Thirty-one Section members attended the meeting, along with Section Co-Chair Chris Chiappari (Co-Chair Yajaira Padilla could not attend the conference), Section Secretary Ellen Moodie, Section Treasurer Aaron Schneider and Advisory Board member Héctor Perla. At the time of the meeting, Section Membership stood at 238 members, entitling the Section to four panel sessions.

The first item on the agenda was an update concerning the CAS website. Chris Chiappari informed Section members that LASA would be in charge of designing and maintaining a new webpage for the Section. In light of this change, the Section will need to reevaluate the current position designated for a Section Webmaster and how best to manage the Section listserv.

The second item was the organization and finances of the Section, including possibly raising membership dues. Members

indicated that they wanted clearer explanations regarding the specific tasks of each officer of the Advisory Board, as well as information on the total amount of Section funds available, and how they have been used in recent years. It was felt that this information needed to be circulated before members could contemplate whether or not membership dues should be increased. This information would also facilitate the planning of future activities and projects. Chris Chiappari offered to look for this information and send it to all members via the listserv, along with a link to the *LASA Manual on Sections*.

Arturo Arias requested that Section members vote for candidates to the LASA Executive Council that would best represent the interests of our Section. And he reminded us that as a Section, we also have a right to nominate candidates for the Executive Council.

There was a discussion of plans and activities for the coming term. These include: offering graduate student scholarships (it was resolved that members of the Section's Advisory Board would be responsible for outlining the specific requirements for these scholarships as well as evaluating applications); preparing the CFP for LASA2012 in San Francisco; and updating the Section's Statement/Declaration concerning Honduras.

Other announcements included the news that Dr. Edelberto Torres-Rivas had garnered the Kalman Silvert Award (following his nomination by Section members), and that there had been an on-line election for Section Officers (1 Co-Chair, 2 Advisory Board Members, 1 Student Representative). As of November 23, 2010, the newly elected officers of the Section are: José Juan Colín (University of Oklahoma), Co-chair; William Clary (University of the Ozarks) and Sonja Wolf (UNAM), Advisory Board Members; and Verónica Ríos (University of Texas/Austin), Student Representative.

SECTION REPORTS *continued...*

Colombia

Virginia M. Bouvier, Chair

The Colombia Section Business Meeting took place on Friday, October 8, 2010 at 6:30 p.m. with some 39 Section members present. The meeting opened with words of welcome from Virginia (Ginny) M. Bouvier, Chair of the Section. She noted the increased participation of members in Section activities, the establishment of new committees, and the vibrant Colombian scholarship represented in more than a dozen panels at LASA2010. She reviewed the development of a Constitution and By-Laws over the last two years that outlines the roles and responsibilities for the Section leadership, and encouraged Section Members to find ways to bring their graduate students into LASA and Section activities. She noted that the Section currently had 150 members.

Officers discussed the work of the various committees. The Program Committee (chaired by Vice-Chair María Clemencia Ramírez) had reviewed LASA proposals and recommended 3 panels for Section sponsorship; Juana Suárez ably oversaw publication of 17 editions of the Section's monthly *Boletín*; Leah Carroll discussed anticipated changes in the Section website that she has maintained for many years; Ana María Bidegain presented a proposal by the Human Rights Committee (chaired by Winifred Tate) for the Section to continue its activities on the Palace of Justice case; and Juana Suárez and Lina del Castillo presented a proposal from the prize committee to improve the functioning and capacity of that committee. Section members were invited to add more funds to the Michael Jiménez Book Prize, which has exhausted its initial donation. These activities will be continued and recommendations acted upon in the coming term.

New officers elected at the Business Meeting include: Juana Suárez (University of Kentucky) Chair; Lina María Del Castillo Senn (Iowa State University) Vice Chair; Virginia M. Bouvier, (U.S. Institute of Peace) Secretary/Treasurer and Advisory Council; Brian Joseph Burke (University of Arizona), Webmaster; Leah Carroll (U.C. Berkeley), Listserv maintenance; Patricia Tovar Rojas

(CUNY John Jay College) Advisory Council; Marc Chernick (Georgetown University) Chair, Human Rights Committee; Elvira Sánchez-Blake (Michigan State University) and Brett Troyan (State University of New York/Cortland) Chairs of the Montserrat Ordóñez and Michael Jiménez Prize Committees. Additional members of the committees were also elected.

Hayley Froyland, Juan Guillermo Gómez García, and Lina del Castillo served as Committee members for Book Prizes for 2009-2010. They elected Debra Castillo, Caterina Vallejo, and Carmen Elisa Acosta as jurors for the Montserrat Ordóñez Prize, and James Sanders, Patricia Londoño, and Michael LaRosa (who withdrew before completion of the process due to technological issues with book retrieval), as jurors for the Michael Jiménez Prize. Based on the review of approximately one dozen entries for the two prizes, the Section awarded the \$500 first prize for the 2010 Montserrat Ordóñez Book Prize to Marta Elena Montoya Vélez (autora), Françoise Escarpit (trans.), *Rompre le silence, Je t'accuse Pinochet: Chroniques du 11 septembre 1973 au Stade national de Santiago* (Elytis, 2009); second prize to Lucy Guamá, Avelina Pancho, Elena Rey, *Antigua era más duro: hablan las mujeres indígenas de Antioquia*, Colección Autonomía Indígena, No. 3 (Bogotá, D.C.: Centro de Cooperación al Indígena-CECOIN; Organización Indígena de Antioquia-OIA, 2009); and third prize to Mónica Espinosa Arango, *La civilización montés: la visión india y el trasegar de Manuel Quintín Lame en Colombia* (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, Departamento de Antropología, Centro de Estudios Socioculturales-CESO, 2009). First place for the Michael Jiménez Book Prize was won by Alejandro Reyes Posada and Liliana Duica, *Guerreros y campesinos: el despojo de la tierra en Colombia* (Bogotá: Norma, 2009), with honorable mentions to Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, *¿Lo que el viento se llevó? Los partidos políticos y la democracia en Colombia, 1958-2002* (Bogotá: Norma, 2007), and Carlo Nasi, *Cuando callan los fusiles. Impacto de la paz negociada en Colombia y en Centroamérica* (Bogotá: Grupo Editorial Norma – Universidad de los Andes, 2007).

Cuba

Sheryl Lutjens, Co-chair

The Cuba Section has continued to face the challenges of maintaining academic relations among Cuban, U.S., and other scholars in the face of U.S. governmental regulations and restrictions. The Section worked actively to promote the participation of academics and intellectuals resident in Cuba in the October 2010 Toronto Congress. The efforts of individuals, organizations, and the Section are seen in the total of 76 Cubans who traveled to Toronto for the Congress, funded wholly or in part by LASA, the Ford Foundation, SSRC, and the Reynolds Foundation, among other institutions. A special thanks to Carmen Castillo and Lourdes Pérez for the tremendous contribution they made this year!

On the eve of the Congress, the Section had more than 400 members! The Section Business Meeting in Toronto was attended by approximately 100 members. Highlights of the Business Meeting included: the presentation of Fidel Castro's new book, *La victoria estratégica* (2010), by Miguel Barnet, President of UNEAC; the posthumous celebration of the life and work of Dr. José Juan Arrom, a noted philologist who studied and taught at Yale University, with a letter honoring Arrom written by Roberto Fernández Retamar and read by Esteban Morales; and the awarding of the Section prize for lifetime contribution to Cuban Studies to Dr. Jorge I. Domínguez of Harvard University. The resolution calling for a change in U.S. policy in general and with regard to academic exchanges, prepared by Reid Reading and others for adoption and dissemination by LASA, was shared with the membership. The first stage of Section elections was conducted at the end of the Business Meeting, followed by the Section reception.

The Section sponsored four panels at the Toronto Congress, some of which had standing-room only attendance: "La sociedad cubana y la crisis global: impactos, estrategias y perspectivas"; "Cultura, comunicación y esfera pública cubanas"; "Cuba-U.S. Academic Exchange: Experiences and Expectations"; and "El Conflicto Bilateral Cuba - Estados Unidos."

Other activities undertaken by the Section between the Rio and Toronto Congresses include the maintenance and upgrading of the Section website and planning with the leadership of *Revista Temas* for a “best essay in Cuban Studies” competition for young scholars. Initiatives for the coming year include further work with new generations of scholars in the area of Cuban Studies as well as organizing for the celebration of 35 years of Cubans’ participation in LASA.

Electronic voting by those unable to participate in Toronto constituted the second stage of the Section elections. Three members of the Section Executive have completed their three-year terms; the service to the Section of Phil Brenner (Executive Committee), Milagros Martínez (Executive Committee), and Iraida López (Treasurer) is greatly appreciated. The Section recognizes, with great gratitude, the deep dedication and longstanding contributions of Milagros Martínez to the development of academic exchanges with Cuba and the Section’s efforts to sustain Cuban participation in LASA Congresses. Milagros has played a vital role in the life of the Cuba Section and her leadership will be missed! The results of the 2010 elections are: Jorge Mario Sánchez (Co-chair/in Cuba); Sheryl Lutjens (Co-chair/outside of Cuba); Carlos Alzugaray Treto (Executive Committee/in Cuba); Iraida López (Executive Committee/outside of Cuba); and Douglas Friedman (Treasurer). The continuing members of the Section Executive are Miren Uriarte (Executive Committee/outside of Cuba) and Mayra Espina (Executive Committee/in Cuba).

Culture, Power and Politics (CPP)

Sylvia Escarcega, Chair

The Section Business Meeting took place on Saturday October 9, 2010 at 2:30 p.m. with the presence of three members. Attendees talked about the need to encourage member participation, how to better use LASA’s resources, and the convenience of having LASA host the Section website. Members also discussed CPP’s sponsored sessions which were well attended and successful as well as the implications of having an annual LASA Congress hosted in Canada, the United States, Spain, or Latin America.

Participants suggested making a call to the membership to make decisions about how the Section can better allocate its funds given the new circumstances and CPP’s interests.

As per the Section’s customs, Benjamin Ardit (UNAM, Mexico) left his post as vice-president and began his term as president during the Business Meeting. Due to scarce member participation during the Business Meeting, the elections for two new board members will take place on November 30, 2010.

Given the rising costs of travel, the reduction in university budgets for conference travel, and to ensure better funding for prizes and travel awards for the next LASA Congress, the 2009-10 board decided to save the Section’s financial resources this year. For this reason, the Section did not offer prizes or awards.

Decentralization and Sub-national Governance

Tyler Dickovick, Chair

The Decentralization and Sub-national Governance Section meeting in Toronto counted 11 participants, representing the approximately 75 members in the Section as of October 2010. The meeting centered on discussion of recent activities, new initiatives for the Section, and the election of new officers.

Activities over the past year included the organization of two panels for LASA2010. The panels reflected Section members’ research on sub-national politics and governance, decentralization policy, and consequences of these for social policy. The first panel held was on Sub-national Governance and featured Jacqueline Behrend, Julian Durazo-Herrmann, Imke Harbers, Al Montero, and Sandi Chapman Osterkatz, with Kent Eaton serving as discussant. The second panel focused on Social Policy in Sub-national Perspective. Panelists were: Tulia Falleti, Laura Flamand, Veronica Herrera, and Maria Teresa Miceli Kerbauy, with Nancy Thede serving as discussant. The Section will be offering a paper prize for a top paper presented at LASA2010, to be announced prior to the

next LASA Congress. Besides taking into account the merit and quality of the paper, the selection committee will consider a preference for supporting young scholars, particularly graduate students and post-doctoral fellows.

Moving forward into 2011, the Section will prepare its website and strengthen avenues of communication among its members. This will include the creation of an open-source bibliographic reference, with particular attention to working papers and conference presentations.

The final item of business was the election of new officers. Julian Durazo-Herrmann (Université du Québec à Montréal) was elected Section Chair for 2010-2012, and Tyler Dickovick (Washington and Lee University) will be the Secretary-Treasurer.

Defense, Public Security and Democracy

Bertha García-Gallegos and Orlando Pérez, Co-chairs

The meeting was called to order and a quorum was established with the presence of 23 members of the Section. The co-chairs informed the membership that as of 9/15/10 the Section had 97 members. The Section awarded two travel grants of \$350 each to participate in the Toronto meeting, to Bertha García-Gallegos from Ecuador and Ciro Alegría from Peru. Selection was made by the executive council after the co-chairs consulted regarding Section members who had applied but had not received LASA travel funding. The Section did not award the best paper prize from the Rio Congress because of insufficient submissions. Efforts will be made to encourage greater participation in this competition from participants at the Toronto meeting.

Bertha García-Gallegos (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador) and Orlando J. Pérez (Central Michigan University) were reelected as co-chairs to serve until the San Francisco meeting. The executive council was selected as follows: David Pion-Berlin (University of California/Riverside) and Maria Celina D’Araujo (PUC-Rio) will continue to serve until the San Francisco meeting; Deborah Norden

SECTION REPORTS *continued...*

(Whittier College) and José Manuel Ugarte (Universidad de Buenos Aires) were elected for a three-year term. The Section thanked Kristina Mani and Hector Saint Pierre for their service on the executive council for the past three years.

The co-chairs reported that the Section sponsored two well-attended workshops at the Toronto meeting: *Nuevos y recurrentes interrogantes en las relaciones civil-militares: defensa y seguridad en América Latina I*; and *Nuevos y recurrentes interrogantes en las relaciones civil-militares: defensa y seguridad en América Latina II*. Participants and the Section co-chairs will seek to continue and enhance the dialogue initiated at the conference by pursuing suitable publications from the presentations.

Discussion ensued about ways of communicating more effectively among members and attracting additional members. It was agreed that the Section would participate in the LASA-sponsored webpage for Sections. The co-chairs will report to the members as the process for selecting the webpage template proceeds. It was agreed that the Section would continue to seek engagement with organizations such as RESDAL (Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina), as well as the RC24, Armed Forces & Society, of IPSA. Members were encouraged to participate in the RC24-sponsored conference in Ankara, Turkey, June 17-19, 2011.

Discussion ensued about the relation between the Section and the thematic tracks for the LASA Congress. Some members expressed consternation at the limitation of panels available to the Section. It was agreed that the Section will continue efforts to increase membership so as to increase the number of panels it may sponsor. Nevertheless members recognized the increased number of panels in areas of interest to the Section members that resulted from the change of title for the "Defense, Violence and (In) security" track. The addition of "defense" enabled the track to accept more panels related directly to the research focus of Section members. It was agreed that the co-chairs, as well as individual members, will pursue greater cooperation between the Section and the

track chairs for the upcoming meeting. Fortunately, one of the track chairs for the San Francisco meeting also is a member of the Section, which hopefully will facilitate dialogue and cooperation.

Economics and Politics

Diego Sánchez and Andrew Schrank, Co-Chairs

Economics and Politics is dedicated to the promotion of policy-relevant dialogue as well as pure scholarship at the intersection of economics and politics. The Section therefore organized two roundtables for the 2010 LASA Congress. The first roundtable focused on "policy space" in Latin American in the wake of the global crisis. Panelists with experience in government and academia discussed the prospects for heterodox policies in areas like trade and capital flows in the years to come. The second roundtable addressed the question of institutional analysis in Latin American politics. Panelists discussed the contributions and limitations of a number of different approaches to institutional analysis and entertained an array of questions and comments from a crowded and vibrant audience.

The Section Business Meeting was attended by seven members. Members discussed the Section's history and goals; the year's activities and achievements; the possible uses of Section resources; and Section governance. Mahrukh Doctor (University of Hull) was nominated to serve as Section chair for the coming year; Diego Sánchez (Oxford) agreed to serve as secretary-treasurer; and Paul Haslam (University of Ottawa), Andrew Schrank (University of New Mexico), and Ken Shadlen (London School of Economics and Political Science) agreed to serve on the advisory council. Officers were later approved by the Section membership via email.

Ecuadorian Studies

Carmen Martínez Novo, Chair

As of September 15, 2010, the Ecuadorian Studies Section had 107 members, a few more than the previous term. In 2010 the Section sponsored two invited panels at the Toronto Meeting, one on "Race, Gender, and Sexuality," organized by Manuela Picq and the other on "Neoliberalism, Post-neoliberalism, and Social Movements," organized by Carmen Martínez. Distinguished scholars in Ecuadorian studies participated in each of the panels, both of which were well attended. The Section also organized the Business Meeting with approximately 20 people present, and a reception. Ecuadorian Studies gave a travel grant to Alejandra Zambrano, a graduate student in literature at the University of Texas, Austin. The travel grant was advertised to the Ecuadorian Studies and general LASA list. The directory chose among participant student proposals. Marc Becker updated the Section website for another year. Section plans for the next term are: 1) to have a Section-sponsored conference in Quito, Ecuador in June 2011; 2) to sponsor a prize for the best monograph on Ecuadorian Studies. Rudi Colloredo of University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill will write a proposal for the prize; and 3) to have two sponsored panels for the next LASA Congress, with tentative topics of "Cultural Expressions of the Bicentenary" and "Ecuadorian Literature." Other proposals will be accepted. The Section decided to continue with the same directory for one more year with the addition of Alejandra Zambrano (University of Texas/Austin) as a liaison with graduate students. The directory is as follows: Chair, Carmen Martínez (FLACSO-Ecuador); Vice-Chair, Manuela Picq (Amherst College); and Secretary/ Treasurer, Julianne Hazelwood (National University of Ireland, Galway). The vocals are: John Walker (St. Charles Community College); Victor Breton (University of Lleida, Spain); Ketty Wong (University of Kansas); and Alejandra Zambrano.

Educación y Políticas Educativas en América Latina

Danilo R. Streck, Martha E. Nepomneschi and Elías García Rosas, Co-chairs

The Section Meeting at the LASA Congress took place as scheduled and was attended by 41 members. Presently, the Section counts a total of 101 members. The Section presented two sessions at the Congress in Toronto, which reflected some of the basic interests of the participants at LASA: “Educación y crisis en América Latina en el contexto del bicentenario: Matriz histórica y política” and “La formación docente en la crisis financiera latinoamericana: realidad y perspectivas.” The planning for the new term includes a greater integration of its members through cooperation in research projects and participation in specific activities developed by institutions in the regions. There will also be an incentive for the development of comparative studies. The website, in preparation by the LASA office, is considered to be an indispensable instrument for communication among members and other researchers on education in Latin America. For the next Congress, the Section sessions will emphasize the issues of integration and social inclusion, as well as the role of some personalities and authors important in the Independence movement and in the promotion of public education in Latin America, such as Simón Rodríguez, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and José Martí.

The Section elected the following officers: Section Chair, Danilo Streck (UNISINOS/Brazil); Co-chair, Martha E. Nepomneschi (UBA/Argentina); and Council members María Ester Mancebo (Universidad de la República/Uruguay), Mark Abendroth (SUNY Empire State College/US), Felipe de Jesús Pérez Cruz (Universidad de la Habana/Cuba) and Pat Somers (University of Texas at Austin).

Environment

Sherrie Bayer and Kate McCaffrey, Co-chairs

At the Environment Section Business Meeting there was a lengthy discussion among about fifteen attendees. The Co-Chairs Sherrie Bayer (CUNY) and Kate McCaffrey (Montclair State) reported that as of the last tally before the Congress, the Section had 121 members. Second, the Section Travel Grant awardees were recognized—Erin Finzer (University of Arkansas) and Christine Beitzl (University of Georgia).

This year, the Section sponsored one panel and one workshop. The panel was on “Environmental Democracy” and the workshop was titled “Emerging Research Issues in Latin American Environmentalism.” This was the second Congress in which we used this topic in a workshop format, and we agreed to try it again. Unlike the standard panel approach, the workshop allows several more scholars to present their work, to present it in an abbreviated form, and to receive significant feedback from the workshop members as well as the audience.

A proposal that came out of the meeting was to set up the Environment Section’s own networking site to support interactive discussions with members, if this feature was not already on the website being created by LASA for each Section. Finally, the Co-chairs decided to step down after serving for two terms and were replaced by Jennifer Horan (UNC-Wilmington) and Gregory Cushman (University of Kansas).

Ethnicity, Race and Indigenous Peoples

Douglas Carranza Mena, Chair

The Ethnicity, Race and Indigenous Peoples (ERIP) Section held its Business Meeting on Friday, October 8, 2010. Fourteen members attended the meeting along with Section Chair Douglas Carranza Mena, and Council Member Richard Stalhler-Sholk. At the time of the meeting, Section membership stood at 284 members, entitling the Section to four LASA sessions.

The Agenda included an Introduction that welcomed the members present at the

Business Meeting. The second item included a brief report on membership, an approximate financial balance and lastly, the next ERIP election.

According to the Sections manual “... Sections with over 100 members must have a quorum consisting of 10 percent of their paid membership.” This lack of quorum led members to postpone the internal election until November. This electoral process will include the election of the Chair, the Secretary/Treasurer and three Council members. It was also suggested to consider the election of a Co-chair to maintain continuity and to establish a gender balance, but the decision was postponed due to the logistical difficulties in the procedures.

The third item included a discussion on the importance of the Second ERIP Conference. One of the issues discussed was the site of the next Conference. In the previous report it was stated “The current proposal is for the next ERIP Conference to be held at the California State University, Northridge, in 2011.” However, in the Business Meeting there was a suggestion to accept other proposals including one from the UCSD, the place where the first Conference was held. Other important elements to be included in the proposals are funding, institutional support and possible dates.

Europe-Latin America (ELAS)

Miriam Gomes Saraiva, Secretary-Treasurer, and Carlos Quenan, Chair

The ELAS successfully participated in the Toronto Congress with two panels: “Latin American and European Experiences with Populism;” and “Learning from Latin America.” The discussion brought forth new ideas about the two subjects. Many people attended the first session; the room was full and some people sat on the floor. For the second one, the audience was smaller. The Section also sponsored two other panels in the International Relations Track: “Theoretical Implications of the New Regional, Interregional and Extra-Regional Relations of Latin America;” and “Spain-Latin America Relations: Challenges and Opportunities while Commemorating the Bicentennials.”

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The two Section grantees, Susanne Gratius and Carlos de la Torre, received their grants without any problem and contributed to the discussion in the panel with new reflections.

There were just 16 members present at the Business Meeting, due to the departure of several members prior to the meeting. The activities and expenses of the Section from June 2009 were presented. The only expense of this period was the two travel grants (a tradition of the Section). No dissertation prize was awarded for 2009-2010. The number of Section members increased a little during the period (to 92 members in September 2010). Several members have submitted proposals to establish links between the ELAS and other networks working on international relations and regional integration (like the Institut des Amériques in France, European Union Studies Association and World International Studies Committee). Some news about the procedure and organizational responsibility for proposing a panel (as a chair) were mentioned. Several topics were suggested during the meeting, notably the relevance of the summit between the EU and Latin America and comparing migration policies in both regions.

Section members showed preference for two co-chairs (one in the EU and the other in Latin America). Elected as co-chairs were Carlos Quenan (University de la Sorbonne Nouvelle) and Miriam Gomes Saraiva (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro). The elected members of the Executive Committee include Bert Hoffmann (GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg); Anna Ayuso (Cidob, Barcelona); Sebastián Santander (Université de Liege, Liege); and Erica Simone A. Resende (Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro).

Film Studies

Dorian Lugo-Bertrán and Cynthia Tompkins, Co-chairs

En la reunión celebrada el sábado 9 de Octubre de 2010, con la asistencia de 15 miembros, se leyó el balance de la gestión: Pese a la crisis la Sección aumentó un 40 por ciento a 156 miembros. Se profundizó el

diálogo internacional sobre el estado del cine con propuestas de beca (LASA/Mellon), presentaciones (Marcela Parada sobre Chile) y sesiones (Emperatriz Arreaza Camero sobre Cine Latino en la diáspora). Lauro Zavala (México, SEPANCINE) difundió su publicación y Andrea Molfetta (ASAECA, Argentina) organizó un dossier (Imagofagia).

Para explorar áreas innovadoras Dorian de Lugo y Aída Pagán distribuyeron una bibliografía sobre "Intermediality and Cinema".

Se acordó cambiar los términos de los co-directores, para proveer continuidad, de modo que uno permanezca y el otro sea vocal. Realizadas las elecciones los nuevos integrantes del comité son Dorian Lugo-Bertrán (Universidad de Puerto Rico) y Beatriz Urraca (Widener University), Co-chairs; Isabel Arredondo (SUNY Plattsburgh), Javier Campo (Doctorando en la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, FCS-Universidad de Buenos Aires y becario del Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET) sede, Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani (FCS-UBA), Eduardo Ledesma (doctorando, Harvard) y Cynthia Tompkins (Arizona State University), Council Members.

Para las mesas de la Sección se decidió promover talleres y refrendar los temas. Los elegidos son: Talleres: Industry and History in Latin American Cinema y Intermediality and Latin American Cinema. Panel: National Identities and Migrant Subjectivities in Latin American Cinema.

Gender and Feminist Studies

María Amelia Viteri and Clara Araujo, Co-chairs

On October 8, 2010, Gender and Feminist Studies held its Business Meeting. Section Co-chair María Amelia Viteri presided, with some 50 of the 285 dues-paying members of the Section in attendance.

The Business Meeting started with an homage to Helen Safa. For this event the Section invited Carmen Diana Deere, Edna Acosta Belén, and Alice Colón as speakers who celebrated the important contributions

of Helen to the field of Gender and Feminist Studies. The homage was followed by a brief presentation of the Section Members' book entitled "Women's Activism in Latin America and the Caribbean: Engendering Social Justice, Democratizing Citizenship," coordinated by Elizabeth Maier and Nathalie Lebon, an important collection of articles of many of the Section Members including Helen Safa.

Sara Poggio announced and presented first place for the Elsa Chaney Award, awarded to "The Role of Women in the Tupamaros and the Greater Uruguayan Left," by author Lindsey Churchill, Ph.D., Mount Holyoke College who was present to receive the prize (\$700). Both the second place and the honorable mention were declared 'deserted' as those remaining submissions didn't have the requirements nor the quality expected. It was decided that the Section will include Ph.D. candidates (ABD) for the next *convocatoria*. The Elsa Chaney Award started in 1998 thanks to an UNIFEM grant brought by Sarah Poggio who has been coordinating these efforts throughout the years.

Elections were conducted and the newly elected officers of the Section are: Co-chairs Millie Thayer (University of Massachusetts) and Montserrat Sagot (Universidad de Costa Rica); Secretary-Treasurer, Elizabeth Jay Friedman (University of San Francisco); and Advisory Board Members María Amelia Viteri (FLACSO-Ecuador), Christina Ewig (University of Wisconsin), Sara Poggio (University of Maryland/Baltimore County), Elizabeth Maier (El Colegio de la Frontera Norte), Graciela Monteagudo (University of Massachusetts/Amherst) and Constanza Tabush (University of London) with Web Manager Gabriela Torres (Wheaton College).

María Amelia Viteri reminded the audience that the Section had four sponsored sessions that looked at gender, democracy, inequality in Latin America. Two of these panels looked at feminists and Sandinistas in Nicaragua from a historical perspective.

María Amelia Viteri then summarized the Section activities of the previous 18 months emphasizing the organization of the

Pre-Conference, the first time in which the Section joined efforts with the Sexualities Studies Section to work in an interdisciplinary way inviting academics and activists working in these fields to discuss issues that affect women and LGBT communities in Latin America and the Latino/a population in the United States and Canada. Among the most important ‘lessons learned’ discussed by many members was the difficulty of attending the Pre-Conference as it was scheduled two days before LASA started. María Amelia highlighted how the Pre-Conference’s organizers equally weighted gender issues and sexualities issues. Members that attended the Pre-Conference as well as those that didn’t agreed on the need to have a discussion/debate space that was left pending from the Pre-Conference. Together with the Sexualities Section, the Section will have a continuation phase at the LASA Congress in San Francisco that will take the form of a half-day workshop, as proposed by Elizabeth Friedman. In this sense, newly-elected co-chair Millie Thayer spoke about the importance of side streaming feminism: how feminism intersects with other fields such as sexualities, race and ethnicity. Generally speaking, it was agreed that the Pre-Conference was a big success and that working in an interdisciplinary way provides excellent possibilities to continue much-needed debates in the areas of Gender, Feminism and Sexualities Studies.

Sara Poggio and María Amelia Viteri invited all members working on issues around immigration to, and from, Latin America, to join their group. Following the meeting a reception was held, where members and their guests socialized and enjoyed drinks and *hors d’oeuvres*.

Some of the pending issues to be discussed/decided by the new board are the following: the use of funds to finance the pending book publication of the seven articles that won the Elsa Chaney Award during the past two years; the use of Facebook and Twitter in order to further spread the word about the Section and forthcoming activities such as the Pre-Conference; possibly a new election format (in particular an electronic format); the selection of a new board prior to the next Business Meeting at San Francisco; and the continuation of the interdisciplinary

format of the Pre-Conference (looking at 2014) and the possible joining of forces with the Latino Studies Section since many areas and interests overlap.

Haiti/Dominican Republic

Henry (Chip) Carey, Chair

The Haiti/Dominican Republic Section has new leadership. Emelio Betances and Chip Carey, who have served as Section coordinators, happily handed over the leadership to April Mayes of Pomona College and Kiran Jayaram of Columbia University. They will continue the tradition of leadership with expertise in each country, the Dominican Republic and Haiti respectively, while staying committed to the goal of the merger of the two Sections eight years ago, designed to foster scholarly exchange and cooperation.

The Section qualified for a panel at the Toronto Congress, which produced interesting papers and discussion on “Perennial Challenges of Democracy and Development in Haiti and the Dominican Republic.” The papers presented were: “Boca del chivo: Demonic Animals and the Poetics of Deforestation in the Haitian-Dominican Borderlands,” Robin Lauren H. Derby (University of California/Los Angeles); “Circumventing the Barriers to Democratization: Civil Society and Reforms in the Dominican Republic,” Christopher Mitchell (New York University); “The Return on NGO Development: Haiti and the Dominican Republic Compared,” Henry (Chip) F. Carey (Georgia State University); “Third Space: Gender and Women’s Rights in the Struggle for Democracy in the Dominican Republic,” April J. Mayes (Pomona College); and Jonathan Hartlyn (University of North Carolina.) et al., “Civil Society Attitudes in Haiti and the Dominican Republic.” The discussant was Emelio Rafael Betances Medina (Gettysburg College).

The Section will be announcing various plans for scholarly cooperation. The first initiative will be a conference at Georgia State University on 2 February 2011 entitled “Haiti after the Apocalypse: International, including Dominican Responses to the Earthquake and the Cholera Epidemic and

the Future of Hispanola.” Among the speakers participating are Robert Fatton (University of Virginia), Alex Dupuy (Wesleyan University), Karen Richman (University of Notre Dame), Bob Maguire (Trinity College, Washington, DC), Elizabeth Zeahmeister (Vanderbilt University), Gregory Love (University of Mississippi), Leara D. Rhodes (University of Georgia School of Journalism), Leslie Desmangles (Trinity College, Hartford), Patrick Sylvain (Brown University) “Haiti’s Structural Vulnerability and the Junction of Ineptitude,” Joanna Mendelson Forman (Center for Strategic and International Studies), Kiran Jayaram (Columbia University), Kathleen Felix (Fonkoze, Haiti), Guyma Noel (Georgia State), Barbara Lynch (Georgia Institute of Technology) discussant, Cornelia Butler Flora (Iowa State University), April Mays (Pomona College), Ryan Carlin (Georgia State), Chip Carey (Georgia State), Tess Kulstead (University of Florida), Matthew Kaye (University of Florida), and Ira Lowenthal, anthropologist.

Health, Science, and Society

Adam Warren and Mariola Espinosa, Co-chairs

At the 2010 Congress in Toronto Health, Science, and Society held two Section sessions: “Between Foreign Approaches and Domestic Priorities: The Forging of International Health in Twentieth-Century Latin America,” and “Construyendo Solidaridad a Través de las Fronteras: Creando una Comunidad sobre Salud y Sociedad entre América Latina y los Estados Unidos.”

The Section also co-sponsored a one-day workshop at the University of Toronto, “The History of Science and Medicine in Cold War Latin America.” This event brought together experts from Latin America, Canada, and the United States and was made possible through collaboration with two co-sponsors at the University of Toronto: the Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology and the Latin American Studies Program. Many current Section members attended. The Section owes a special thank you to Raúl Necochea, Anne-Emanuelle Birn, and

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Nikolai Kremmentsov for their hard work in organizing the event. Anne-Emanuelle and Nikolai also kindly held a party for Health, Science, and Society members at their home during the LASA Congress.

Health, Science, and Society held its Business Meeting on October 8, 2010 with 21 people present. The Section elected Alexandra Puerto (Occidental College) and Mariola Espinosa (Yale University) to serve as co-chairs, and Pablo Gómez (Texas Christian University) to serve as secretary/treasurer. Tânia Salgado Pimenta (Fundação Oswaldo Cruz) and Rebecca Hester (University of Texas Medical Branch) were elected to the board, where they join continuing board members Marcos Cueto (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos) and Nielan Barnes (CSU—Long Beach).

Historia Reciente y Memoria

Peter Winn, Chair

Historia Reciente y Memoria/Recent History & Memory Studies is a new Section, so most energy was directed to establishing and consolidating the Section, including stabilizing its membership, creating its internal governance and establishing a means of communication among its members. However, the Section did begin to address the ambitious agenda suggested at the first Business Meeting at LASA-Rio in 2009. The major new initiative was to organize a competition for best Master's Thesis, a priority of the Section's many Latin American members, with the goal of encouraging young Latin American scholars just entering this emerging field. The response demonstrated that the Section had made the right choice: 25 MA theses were submitted and juries were chosen for the phased evaluation process, completed in 2010. In addition, the Section organized a panel for LASA-Toronto on "Recent History and Memory in Latin America: Between the National and the Regional Gaze," which was well attended and provoked a lively and insightful discussion.

Some of the issues in that discussion were present as well at the Business Meeting of the Section at LASA-Toronto, including the suggestion that the Section sponsor a

workshop on the theory and methodology of Historia Reciente and Memory studies. Other proposals adopted at the Business Meeting were to create an interactive website with the help of LASA and to organize a competition for best book published in the field, which would alternate with the best master's thesis competition. There was also support for improving ties with European scholars and institutions, and sponsoring sub-regional workshops between LASA Congresses.

Lastly, the Section elected new officers at Toronto; the choices were confirmed by email consultation with Section members who were unable to come to LASA-Toronto. The officers of the Section for 2010-12 are: Claudio Barrientos (Universidad Diego Portales, Chile) and Peter Winn (Tufts University, USA), Co-chairs; Hillary Hiner (Universidad Diego Portales, Chile/USA), Secretary; and Pablo Yankelevich (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México), Vania Markarian (Universidad de la República, Uruguay), Denise Rollemberg (Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brasil), and Florencia Levín (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, Argentina), Council Members.

Labor Studies

Kirsten Sehnbruch, Chair, and Maggie Gray, Secretary/Treasurer

The Labor Studies Section offered a diverse selection of papers and panels at the 2010 Congress including excellent panels on labor markets, gender, youth, precarity, corporate social responsibility, and the financial crisis, among others, including country-specific panels. The Section is grateful for the rich work of its members.

Kristen Sehnbruch just completed her term as Chair and the Section is pleased to announce that Fernando Groisman was recently elected the new Chair. Fernando is a researcher at the Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas de Argentina (CONICET) and a Professor at la Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA). In addition, Section council members are Mark Anner (Penn State), Carolina Bank-Muñoz (Brooklyn College), Andrew Shrank

(University of New Mexico, Albuquerque), and Cecilia Senén González, CONICET, University of Buenos Aires, UNLAM. Maggie Gray serves as the Secretary/Treasurer.

The Toronto meeting offered an opportunity to brainstorm about panels for the next Congress and much of the discussion was focused on the increasing casualization of work and the deepening economic crisis. Members also agreed at the meeting to once again offer an award for the best published paper in labor studies.

Finally, members are sad to report that long-time member of the LASA Labor Section, Hank Frundt, died on September 16th. He was the author of books on worker rights in Latin America, including *Refreshing Pauses: Coca-Cola and Human Rights in Guatemala*, and *Fair Bananas: Farmers, Workers and Consumers Strive to Change an Industry* (2009). He will be sorely missed and fondly remembered.

Latina/o Studies (LSS)

Katynka Z. Martínez and Nancy R. Mirabal, Co-chairs, and Carlos Alamo, Secretary

The Latina/o Studies Section of LASA sponsored three panels at the 2010 Toronto Congress, and presented the following awards. The Best Book Award was presented to Arlene Dávila for *Latino Spin* (\$500). Honorable Mentions went to Lionel Cantú for *The Sexuality of Migration* (Edited by Nancy A. Naples and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz); Laura Loma for *Translating Empire*; and Deborah Paredez for *Selenidad*. The Best Article Award was presented to Pat Rubio-Goldsmith et al. for "Ethno-Racial Profiling and State Violence in a Southwest Barrio" (\$400). The Best Dissertation Award went to Rebecca Hester for "Embodied Politics: Health Promotion in Indigenous Mexican Migrant Communities in California" (\$300).

The Book Award Committee was comprised of Sergio de la Mora (UC Davis) Chair, with Ruth Behar (University of Michigan), Alejandro Madrid (University of Illinois at Chicago), and Lisa Sánchez González (University of Connecticut). The Best Article

Award Committee consisted of Ana Patricia Rodríguez (University of Maryland) Chair, with Maribel Álvarez (University Arizona), Cynthia Duarte (University of Notre Dame), and Tania Triana (University of Oregon). The members of the Dissertation Award Committee were Dolores Inés Casillas (UC Santa Barbara) Chair, with Karina Céspedes (Colorado State University) and Omar Valerio-Jiménez (University of Iowa).

Approximately 25 people attended the LSS Business Meeting. The discussion at the meeting included the importance of bringing back the LSS Public Intellectual Award as well as concerns regarding LASA's policy of requiring LSS-sponsored panelists to be LASA members. This requirement could have a negative impact on prospective participants, including artists, students, and scholars not familiar with the organization. Themes and topics for the next LASA Congress LSS Section panels include how to make the website/listserv more effective and how to expand LSS membership.

The new Section Co-Chairs were introduced. They are Gabriela Núñez (University of Louisville) and Michael Innis-Jiménez (University of Alabama). Katie Dingeman is the graduate student representative.

The Section reception was a joint reception with nine other LASA Sections and also co-sponsored with Palgrave, the publisher of Latino Studies, edited by Suzanne Oboler. Four awardees were present at the reception.

Law and Society in Latin America

Kif Augustine Adams

At its Business Meeting in Toronto, the Law and Society in Latin America Section elected Cath Collins (Universidad Diego Portales) to serve as a new Co-chair. Collins will work with Mauricio Rojas, whose term as Co-chair continues to the San Francisco Congress.

The Section awarded its Maggi Popkin Award to two projects: 1st place (\$400), "Human Rights Abuses in Guatemala: How Cultural and Forensic Anthropologists Work Together to Document Crimes," by Victoria Sanford and Heather Walsh-Haney; and 2nd place (\$300), *Las voces de la justicia: Delito*

y sociedad en Concepción (1820-1875), a book by Mauricio Rojas. Sanford and Walsh-Haney presented their project in Toronto. Rojas presented various parts of his book at previous LASA Conferences. The Section sent out several calls for nominations for the Maggi Popkin Award, each of which included the criteria by which the selection committee would judge submissions. The criteria are that the paper 1) be written by a current Section member; 2) be presented at LASA, and 3) reflect scholarly excellence and a commitment to the values Maggi Popkin exemplified, broadly understood. Popkin was a tireless scholar and activist who dedicated her life to promoting human rights in Latin America. Kif Augustine-Adams and Mark Ungar, who in the past served together as co-chairs for the Section, acted as the selection committee.

The Section sponsored two panels in Toronto and identified one person on each of the panels to receive a travel grant. On the "Disciplining Migrants through Law" panel, the individual who was to receive the travel grant ultimately did not attend the Toronto conference. On the panel "Construyendo hegemonías y articulando resistencia: sociedad y políticas de desarrollo estatales en América Latina," Mauricio Rojas received a travel grant of \$500. As a co-chair of the Section, Rojas recused himself from decisions regarding travel grants.

Mexico

Nohemy Solórzano-Thompson, Secretary/
Treasurer

The Mexico Section was officially established in 2010 and has 448 members, making it the largest within the organization. In its first year of activity, the Section sponsored three panels for the Toronto Congress; these were on Chiapas, the Iniciativa Mérida, and contemporary Mexican politics. The Section also co-sponsored the Presidential Session on the Mexican Revolution.

For 2010, the Section established four prizes to recognize the best scholarship on Mexico by its members, awarding prizes for the best essays and books in the humanities and

social sciences. At its Business Meeting in Toronto, the Section approved the creation of two new prizes: a best dissertation award to be given to a Section member and a travel award for graduate students who are Section members and Mexican citizens based in Mexico to help them travel to the next Congress. A listserv for the Mexico Section was established through Whitman College. Currently the list is managed by the Secretary/Treasurer of the Section. The listserv is open to current members only and is for Section business, announcements of conferences, publications, fellowships, or other issues pertinent to the Section.

The Section Essay and Book Awards winners were: Humanities (essay): Ignacio Sánchez Pardo (Department of Romance Languages and Literature, Washington University in St. Louis), "Claiming Liberalism: Enrique Krauze, Vuelta, Letras Libres and the Reconfigurations of the Mexican Intellectual Class," Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos (Winter 2010). The Committee was co-chaired by Cynthia Steele (University of Washington, Seattle) and Nohemy Solórzano Thomson (Whitman College). The Humanities (book) Award went to Ignacio Sánchez Pardo for *Naciones intelectuales: las fundaciones de la modernidad literaria mexicana, 1917-1959* (Purdue University Press, 2009). The Committee was chaired by Gladys Ilarregui (University of Delaware). The Social Sciences (essay) Award was presented to Paul Gillingham (University of North Carolina-Wilmington) for "Maximino's Bulls: Popular Protest after the Mexican Revolution, 1940-1952," Past and Present (Fall 2009). The Committee was chaired by Sallie Hughes (University of Miami). And lastly, the Social Sciences (book) Award went to Edward Wright-Rios (Vanderbilt University) for *Revolutions in Mexican Catholicism: Reform and Revelation in Oaxaca, 1887-1934* (Duke University Press, 2009). The Committee was chaired by Nora Hamilton (University of Southern California).

Since no candidates were put forward for Section co-chairs, Kevin Middlebrook and Sandra Kuntz Ficker will continue in those roles for another term. The new members of the Mexico Section Council include Nora

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Hamilton (University of Southern California), Wil G. Pansters (University of Groningen and Utrecht University, The Netherlands), and Guadalupe Rodríguez Gómez (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Guadalajara).

Peru

Elena Álvarez, Chair

Twenty-nine members of the Section were in attendance as the meeting was called to order. Those present discussed the report sent to the membership on activities from June 2009 to October 2010. The main activities had been selecting panels for the LASA Toronto Congress, managing the Book and Article Awards, developing a quarterly bulletin, and providing travel grants to three professionals.

The Book and Article awards were presented. The Flora Tristan Book Award was granted to Lucy Conger, Patricia Inga, and Richard Webb for *El Árbol de la Mostaza*. Dr. Richard Webb (Director, Instituto del Perú--Universidad San Martín de Porres) attended the Toronto Congress to receive the certificate. He became a LASA and Peru Section member. Dr. Webb is a well-known Peruvian economist who has been the Chair of the Board of Governors of Peru's Central Reserve Bank for at least two different Peruvian governments. The José María Arguedas Article Award was presented at the Business Meeting to Tracy Devine Guzmán (University of Miami) for her article "Rimanakuy" 86 and Other Fictions of Dialogue in Peru."

A Lifetime Achievement Award was presented to Dr. Carlos Ivan Degregori, a distinguished Peruvian anthropologist who, among other issues, has studied the Shining Path movement in Peru and was a Committee member of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Peru that was established by Interim President Valentín Paniagua. Professor Cynthia McClintock read a letter sent from Dr. Degregori thanking the Section for the award. He was unable to attend the Congress this year.

Also discussed were changes to the criteria for travel grants. Support for young professionals was continued.

The Peru Section organized three panels for LASA2010: "Peru in Comparative Perspective: New Directions in Political Science in Peru," organized by Alberto Vergara Paniagua (University of Montreal); "El Qosco: On Becoming Cosmopolitan," organized by Aviva Sinervo (Ph.D. candidate); and "Environmental and Public Health Issues in Peru," organized by Elena Álvarez (Empire State College-SUNY).

Elena Álvarez will continue as Co-chair for an additional term. Iliana M. Carrasco-Díaz (CIES, Consorcio de Investigación Económica y Social) was elected Co-chair. Angelina Cotler (University of Illinois) was elected Secretary and Enrique Mayer (Yale University), Treasurer. Council Directors include Laura Balbuena González (Institute for Study Abroad, Butler University), continuing; Elena Sabogal (William Paterson University); Diana Avila Paulette (Consultant, Human Rights, Lima, Peru), continuing; and Rocío Quispe-Agnoli (Michigan State University), continuing.

Continuing Ex Oficio Members/ Miembros Ex Oficio include Mark Cox (Presbyterian College) and Óscar Espinosa (Universidad Católica del Perú). Enrique Mayer will chair the Book and Article Awards Committee and will revise the current guidelines.

In regard to the Peru newsletter, it was discussed that CIES (Consortio de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales) would be a great resource to put together the future bulletins.

Following the meeting many members attended the common reception.

The Section was able to collect \$1180 from member donations to the Peru Travel Fund. The Section received five applications for travel grants and the selection committee made up of Elena Álvarez, Angelina Cotler and JoAnn Burt selected three grantees based on merit and the criteria agreed upon during the Peru Section Business Meeting at LASA2010. Each candidate was required to present a budget and each received a partial

grant to cover travel and other expenses. Grantees included Dr. Sergio Recuenco (Peruvian citizen MD, MPH Ph.D. in Public Health—Centers for Disease Control and Prevention); Jacqueline Fowks (Peruvian citizen; Catholic University of Peru); and Carlos Gálvez (Peruvian citizen; Ph.D. Candidate in Latin American and Early Modern European History, Columbia University).

Political Institutions (LAPIS)

Todd Eisenstadt, Chair

The Latin American Political Institutions Section in 2010 inaugurated a book award named after deceased LAPIS colleague Donna Lee Van Cott, and awarded two works that high honor. We also elected new Section leadership at the October 8, 2010 meeting in Toronto (attended by some three dozen people), announced the Section paper award, as well as several travel awards, and established a couple of policy positions for deliberation over the course of this year.

On September 15, 2010 the Section had 145 members, which was a slight increase over one year ago, when the membership was 131.

The 2010 Van Cott Award Winners were Tulia Falleti (University of Pennsylvania) for *Decentralization and Subnational Politics in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) and Gisela Zaremberg (FLACSO (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales/Mexico) for *Mujeres, Votos, y Asistencia Social en el México PRIísta y la Argentina Peronista* (FLACSO-Mexico, 2009). The award committee, consisting of Todd Eisenstadt (American University), Agustina Giraudy (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales/ Buenos Aires), and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán (University of Pittsburgh) thought very highly of both books.

Other Awards included the LAPIS Best Paper Award for a paper presented at the 2009 LASA Congress. This was presented to Tulia Falleti, for "Infiltrating the State: The Evolution of Health Care Reforms in Brazil, 1964–1988." The committee was chaired by Bruce Wilson (University of Central Florida,

last year's winner), and also included Flavia Freidenberg (University of Salamanca) and Charles Kenney (University of Oklahoma).

Travel grants were judged by a committee consisting of Felipe Botero (Universidad de los Andes and last year's winner), Committee Chair; Miguel Centellas (University of Mississippi); and Joy Langston (CIDE Mexico City). Recipients of the 2010 LASA travel grants were Santiago Basabe Serrano (FLACSO/Ecuador), Víctor Leonel Juan Martínez (Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca), Tânia Pinc (University of São Paulo), and Julieta Suárez-Cao (Northwestern University).

Two measures were approved by the Section members in attendance at the Business Meeting: 1) LAPIS should solidify a relationship with the *Journal of Politics in Latin America* (JPLA), although the exact nature of that relationship is to be established through consultation via the listserv this year, and perhaps via further discussion at the next LASA meeting; and 2) LAPIS should consider broadening the name of the Section to perhaps encourage affiliation by political scientists beyond those whose work is formally on institutions. Suggestions for Section names will be sought during the course of the year via the listserv.

Executive Council Member Miguel Centellas (University of Mississippi) was unanimously elected Section Chair. Former Section Chair Todd Eisenstadt (American University) passes to Secretary/Treasurer, and three new members joined the executive council: Ryan Carlin (Georgia State University), Matthew Cleary (Syracuse University), and Tulia Falleti (University of Pennsylvania). The new officers were welcomed. The Section also extends hearty thanks to the 2010 LAPIS executive council members who are stepping down: Felipe Botero (Universidad de los Andes), Kirk Hawkins (Brigham Young University), and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán (University of Pittsburgh).

Rural Studies

Kirsten Albrechtsen de Appendini, Chair

The Rural Studies Section's activities have focused mainly on the events around the LASA2010 Congress. Throughout the year the Section members have continuous contact through the Section email list, sharing information and news.

The Rural Section Business Meeting was held Friday October 8th, with a quorum of 19 members. Elections of the new council for the 2010-2012 period were held with the following results: Steve Zahniser (USDA Economic Research Service), Chair; Kerry Preibisch (University of Guelph), Chair-Elect; Clifford Welch (Universidade Federal de São Paulo), Secretary; and Yolanda Massieu (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana/Xochimilco), Eduardo Baumeister (Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios del Desarrollo), Roberto Diego, and Kerry Preibisch (University of Guelph), Council Members.

At the meeting Kirsten Appendini reported on the membership and financial status of the Section and activities held during the term. Members present then had a general discussion on activities and issues of concern, such as increasing Section membership, increasing proposals for the AGR track, and enabling consultation with the Program chair for next LASA Congress. These concerns will be addressed during the next term; also agreed was to participate more actively in the *LASA Forum*, contribute to the new LASA Sections website; and continue to sponsor activities at the next Congress, such as Section sessions and a fieldtrip. Also agreed was to support a travel grant for a participant to attend LASA2012, which the Section was not able to do at the past Congress. After the meeting a reception was held.

At LASA2010 the Section sponsored two sessions: a workshop on Agrarian Reform in Latin America, chaired by Carmen Diana Deere; and a panel "The Food Crisis under the Neoliberal Regime and Impact in Latin America," chaired by Gerardo Otero. Both panels were well attended and gave rise to lively debate on the floor.

The Section has now established a Congress-related tradition of undertaking a fieldtrip to a rural region to visit local agricultural activities with the opportunity of looking first hand at issues of interest. On October 6th the trip was to the Niagara region to visit two Greenhouses that employ migrant workers, as well as to stop at the regional office for the Agriculture Workers Alliance. Thirty-two people participated.

Scholarly Research and Resources (SSRR)

Holly Ackerman, Interim Chair

The Section examines issues that enable scholarship. Membership is drawn from faculty members, publishers, independent researchers, archivists and librarians. Section activities allow LASA to keep abreast of trends in publishing, alert the membership to new sources of information and spot emerging issues. Led by Interim Chair Holly Ackerman, the Section is currently comprised of fifty-six members of whom only six could attend this year's Business Meeting.

In 2010 the Section focused on the damage to university libraries and archives in Chile and Haiti. Brooke Wooldridge, Florida International University, summarized efforts to coordinate aid to Haitian institutions and Holly Ackerman from Duke University summarized the situation in Chile. In the coming year the Section plans to: 1) act as a clearinghouse on best practices for aiding university libraries in disaster recovery; 2) offer support to LASA staff and officers on this subject; 3) coordinate with other organizations to assist institutions in Chile and Haiti; 4) organize the SSRR panel at LASA2012 around the theme of library/archival recovery in Haiti and Chile; 5) use Section funds to support the travel of a Chilean and a Haitian librarian to LASA2012; and 6) ask each member of LASA to poll their University Librarian about whether the institution is willing to assist Haitian and Chilean universities.

The Section wants to form a network of library administrators willing to make collective requests of publishers regarding the need for extended free or below cost

SECTION REPORTS *continued...*

access during emergencies and post-disaster recovery and to stimulate exchange between staff at affected libraries and U.S. institutions through the use of Fulbright awards, Title VI travel grants and other institutional resources.

Sexualities Studies

Shawn Schulenberg, Co-chair, and Guillermo de los Reyes, Secretary-Treasurer

This year the Section had two panels at the conference in Toronto: "Latin American Sexualities: Past, Present and Future," and "Contemporary Ethnographic Approaches to the Study of Latin American Sexualities." Both panels were well attended and good discussions took place. During the business meeting, members discussed the fact that the Section needs to recruit more members in order to have more panels in the future since some good proposals had to be rejected due to lack of space.

At the business meeting, members evaluated the pre-conference and decided that the Section would like to continue the tradition of organizing a pre-conference at LASA2012. In addition, members discussed the success of the panels sponsored by the Section and agreed that the themes for next year's conference should be in tune with the LASA main theme.

Members elected the new board of directors for the next cycle: Shawn Schulenberg (Marshall University) and Dara Goldman (University of Illinois-Urbana Champagne) were elected as co-chairs. Guillermo de los Reyes was reelected secretary/treasurer. In addition, the recipients of Section awards were named.

The Sexualities Studies Section gave two awards this year recognizing outstanding scholarship on gender, queer and LGBT: Sylvia Molloy Award for the Best Academic Essay in the Humanities; and Carlos Monsiváis Award for the Best Academic Essay in the Social Sciences. The winners received an award certificate and a small cash prize of \$200. The award winners were announced at the Section's business meeting in October 2010. The winner of the Sylvia Molloy Award was David William Foster

(Arizona State University) for his article "Of Gay Caballeros and Other Noble Heroes," in *Visual Communication: Urban Representations in Latin America* *Comunicación visual: representaciones urbanas en América Latina/Comunicação visual: representações urbanas na América Latina*, ed. David William Foster and Denize Correa Araujo. Porto Alegre: editora-plus.com, 2009. Ramón Gutiérrez (University of Chicago) received an honorable mention for his article "A History of Latina/o Sexualities," in Marysol Asencio, ed., *Latina/o Sexualities: Probing Powers, Passions, Practices, and Policies*, New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2010. The winners of the Carlos Monsiváis Award were Salvador Vidal-Ortiz (American University), Carlos Decena (Rutgers University), Héctor Carrillo (Northwestern University), and Tomás Almaguer (San Francisco State University) for their article "Revisiting Activos and Pasivos: Toward New Cartographies of Latino/Latin American Male Same-Sex Desire," in *Latina/o Sexualities: Probing Powers, Passions, Practices and Policies*, Marysol Asencio, ed., New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010. Julieta Lemaitre Ripoll received an honorable mention for her article, "Anticlericales de nuevo: La iglesia católica como un actor político ilegítimo en materia de sexualidad y reproducción en América Latina," en *Derecho y sexualidades*, Marcelo Alegre et al. 1a edición. Buenos Aires: Librería, 2010. The prize committee members were Dara E. Goldman, Chair (University of Illinois-Urbana Champagne), Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel (Rutgers University), and María Amelia Viteri, (Catholic University of America).

Southern Cone Studies

Luis E. Cárcamo-Huechante, Chair, and Leila Gómez, Treasurer

Led by the Section's former chair, Professor Álvaro Fernández Bravo, the Business Meeting of the Southern Cone Studies Section (Toronto, October 2010) brought together a significant group of members (35 attendees). Previous officers of the Section designed and oversaw an electronic voting procedure, which produced a new Chair and

Treasurer. The Chair is Luis E. Cárcamo-Huechante (University of Texas, Austin).

One of the peculiar strengths of the Section has been its transnational nature, establishing debates which incorporate scholarship on Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. In the 2010 LASA Congress, the Section organized three sessions around the following themes: the State, everyday practices and urban spaces in the Southern Cone; readings and cultural representations of the Independence in the Centennials' narratives in South America; and territories, borders and visual representations in contemporary Argentina.

In the coming years, the Section plans to further strengthen its transnational scope while at the same time developing its interdisciplinary potential. Specific areas of debate to be considered are: first, poverty, as an economic, social and ethical issue in the region; second, immigrant communities in the major urban centers of the Southern Cone; third, the status of indigenous peoples, their self-representation and their rights, especially in Chile and Argentina; and fourth, the Bicentennials and the "transnational shift" or the emergence of other "imagined communities" in the realm of social, aesthetic and cultural imagination, including the role and impact of the Internet in this process.

A more specific goal for the 2011-2012 period is to establish a space for the Section on the web, a virtual tool that will increase communications and dialogue. Finally, the Section agreed to institute the granting of awards for books and articles in Southern Cone Studies in order to recognize the intellectual and academic production in the regional field.

Venezuelan Studies

By Daniel H. Levine, Chair

The Section is in reasonably good shape, in terms of membership, despite the growing difficulty that Section members resident in Venezuela face in getting access to dollars. The problems of access to foreign currency affect members' ability to pay for membership in LASA and in the Section, not

to mention covering the costs associated with participating in LASA Congresses, which can be substantial if we combine the costs of getting a visa, airfare and lodging. This is a growing problem and addressing it was the central item of business in the meeting.

The Section Business Meeting was held on Friday October 8. The agenda of the meeting included the announcement of elections for officers and council of the Section, the announcement of awards for prizes (given at every LASA meeting for best paper) and a discussion of ways to address the economic hurdles the Section's members resident in Venezuela are encountering.

The electoral results were: David Smilde (University of Georgia), Chair of the Section for the next period and Jana Morgan (University of Tennessee), Secretary-Treasurer. Newly elected members of council for the next period include: 1) Members resident in Venezuela, Ángel Álvarez (University of Notre Dame), whose term has not expired and who joins continuing members Verónica Zubillaga (Universidad Simón Bolívar), Francisco Rodríguez, and Tomás Straka (Universidad Católica Andrés Bello); and 2) Members resident outside Venezuela including David Hellinger, Sujatha Fernandes (City University of New York/Queens College), Jun Ishibashi (University of Tokyo), Kim Morse (Washburn University), Elizabeth Nichols (Drury University), and Alejandro Velasco (New York University). Continuing members are Charles Briggs, Luis Gómez Calcaño, Patricia Márquez, and Jennifer McCoy.

The prize for best paper in the Humanities was awarded to Luis Duno for "Geographies of Fear in Venezuelan Cinema: *Soy Un Delincuente* (1976) and *Secuestro Express* (2008)." There was no award this year for best paper in the Social Sciences.

Most of the time in the meeting was dedicated to a discussion of economic difficulties facing members resident in Venezuela and an exploration of possible strategies for addressing these problems. The problem has several facets. First, as mentioned above, members experience

notable difficulties in getting access to foreign currency. Second, members at autonomous universities report that university budgets are very restricted and funds to support research and conference travel are no longer available.

These problems have been with us for some time. The Section created a fund in support of travel by members resident in Venezuela but this fund has not drawn support. David Smilde is exploring other alternatives including the possibility of foundation support. The experiences of various other LASA Sections were also discussed as possible models to emulate. The discussion centered on these problems and on various possibilities for solution. There was also discussion on the prospects of involving staff at the Bolivarian universities in joint panels as a way of stimulating a broader participation in the Section, and in LASA. ■

Section News

Sexualities Studies and Gender and Feminist Studies Sections Host Pre-Conference

On October 5, just prior to the opening of LASA2010, the Sexualities Studies Section and the Gender and Feminist Studies Section together organized and facilitated a full-day pre-conference hosted at the Bonham Centre for Sexual Diversity Studies at the University of Toronto. The event, entitled “Dialogues between Women’s and LGTB Rights in the Americas,” featured several panel discussions focused on interrogating the relationships between these movements in their struggles for expanded rights.

Within this framework, the theme for this year’s event was “Dialogues” with discussions along four different lines: 1) North and South viewpoints; 2) academics and social activists outlooks; 3) various migration experiences; and 4) LGTTTBI and gender/feminist perspectives. Panels were then organized on the topics of success stories, counter-movements, migration, and intersectionality. The event concluded with a viewing of the documentary *¿Oye qué bola? Cuban Voices on Sexual Diversity*. Presenters and attendees included not only academics and researchers but also featured many grassroots activists and policymakers. For example, Dr. Leticia Bonifaz, legal advisor to Mexico City Mayor Marcelo Ebrard, spoke about the city’s recent decriminalization of abortion, while Esteban Paulón, President of Federación Argentina LGBT, discussed the country’s recent passage of same-sex marriage legislation.

Participants of both the Gender and Feminist Studies Section and the Sexualities Studies Section overwhelmingly considered the event a great success and hope to expand on its accomplishments with another jointly hosted pre-conference in San Francisco at LASA2012.

The Reinvention of the Film Studies Section

The many debates around audio-visual language in the digital age have led to the reinvention of film theory and practice as we know it. The LASA Film Studies Section is no exception.

The Film Studies Section promotes the study of Latin American, Latino, and diasporic cinema, as well as cinema on topics related to Latin America. It also fosters cinema studies (including New Media and other audiovisual modalities) within LASA through specialized approaches as well as those that allow for interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary dialogue. Its goal is to attract members that include cinema lovers, academics (faculty and students), critics, and cinema professionals working in different parts of the world, who represent a plurality of approaches and interests, methodologies, and theories in the fields of academic research, artistic creation, and the cinema industry.

The activities of the Section are oriented toward collaboration among members as well as toward coordination with other LASA Sections whose objects of study intersect with cinema studies. These goals will be facilitated through the creation of interactive online forums that will allow members to share resources (calls for papers, events, reviews, databases, a virtual library), to exchange ideas, and to plan the activities of the Congress, and will encourage the creation of group research and management projects. The Section also supports financially the LASA Film Festival. We are interested in a membership that reflects the rich and complex experience of the cinematic apparatus. ■

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The Latin American, Caribbean & Iberian Studies Program (LACIS)-Summer 2011 Intensive Portuguese Institute-U of Wisconsin - Madison



This special eight-week course is designed for people wishing to study intensively beginning Brazilian Portuguese. Graduate students, faculty and other researchers, and advanced undergraduates who need to develop communication skills and reading knowledge for research will find this special Institute particularly useful. The Institute will take place during the eight-week summer school session at UW-Madison, June 13-August 5, 2011. Instruction is five days a week, four hours a day, and the course (listed as Portuguese 301-302) carries eight (8) semester hours of credit.

The institute will be directed and taught by Professor Severino Albuquerque who will be assisted by a lecturer or teaching assistant. Knowledge of Spanish is required (2-3 years equivalency). The application deadline is May 6, 2011. Forms and details are available from the UW-Madison Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 1018 Van Hise, 1220 Linden Drive, Madison, WI 53706, (608) 262-2093, <http://spanport.lss.wisc.edu>. A limited number of Title VI FLAS Fellowships are available to graduate students in conjunction with the Institute. Please visit the FLAS website at flas.wisc.edu and select the language center, Latin American, Caribbean and Iberian Studies.

The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) is the largest professional association in the world for individuals and institutions engaged in the study of Latin America. With over 5,500 members, thirty-five percent of whom reside outside the United States, LASA is the one association that brings together experts on Latin America from all disciplines and diverse occupational endeavors, across the globe.

LASA's mission is to foster intellectual discussion, research, and teaching on Latin America, the Caribbean, and its people throughout the Americas, promote the interests of its diverse membership, and encourage civic engagement through network building and public debate.



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