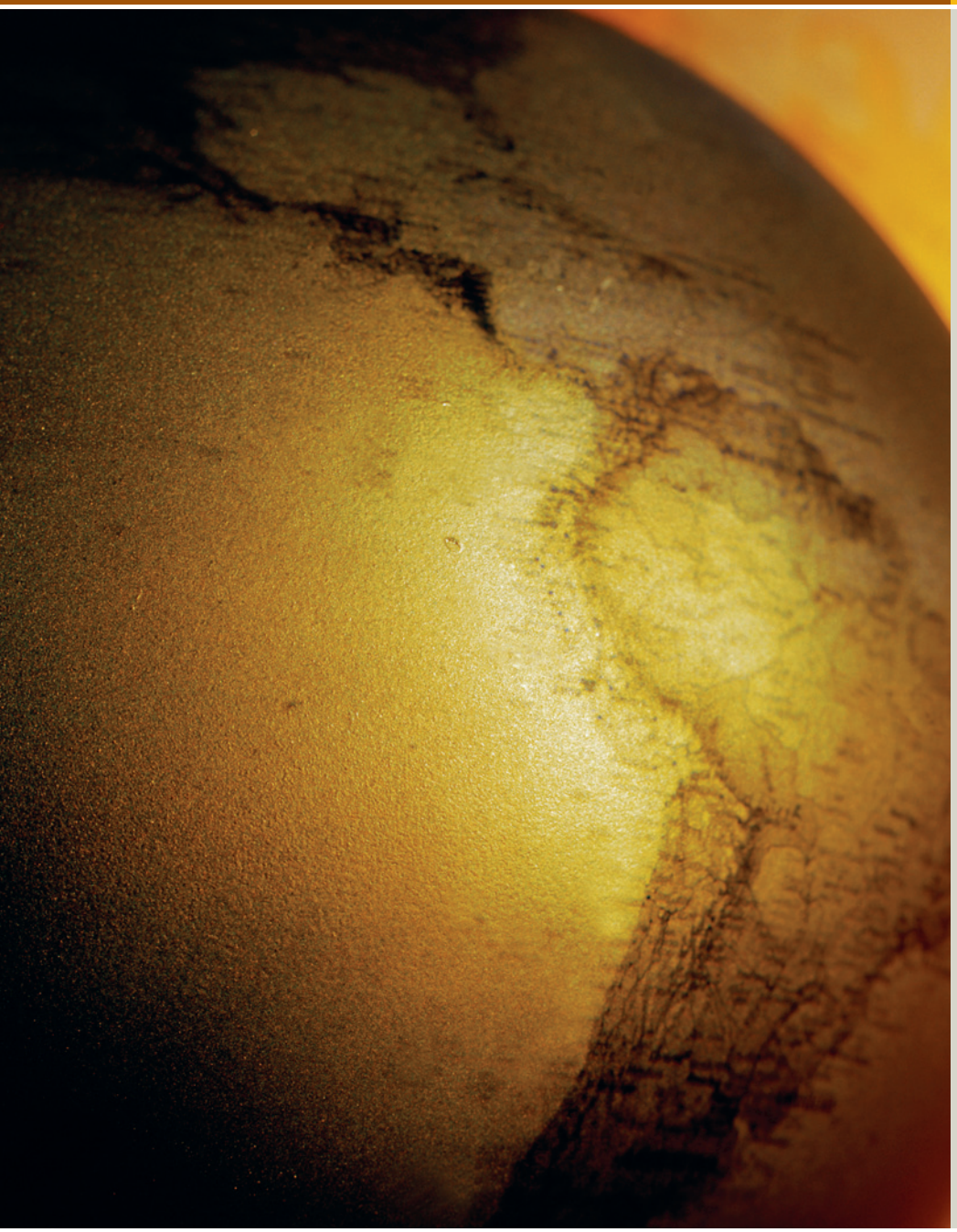
Latin American Studies Association

FORUM

SPRING 2012 | VOLUME XLIII | ISSUE 2



IN THIS ISSUE

Table *of* Contents

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*.

ISSN 0890-7218

Informe de la Presidenta

por **Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida** | Universidade de São Paulo | mhbtdalm@usp.br

Barrington Moore Jr., en su clásico *Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt*, nos recuerda que la migración es la primera forma que asume la búsqueda individual de sobrevivencia frente a las pésimas condiciones de vida. En 2010, según la Comisión de Población y Desarrollo de las Naciones Unidas, alrededor de 214 millones de personas se movieron por el planeta en búsqueda de una vida mejor, o sencillamente para subsistir. América Latina contribuyó con 14 por ciento de ese movimiento de personas, que, hoy como en el pasado se han desplazado, en su gran mayoría, hacia el norte, especialmente hacia los Estados Unidos.

No es, entonces, por casualidad que la migración se ha convertido en uno de los temas más importantes y sensibles de la agenda internacional, así como un tema del debate político doméstico en los países que son el destino preferencial de los que migran. Si migrar es una decisión individual o familiar, que implica siempre un cambio grande en la vida privada de los directamente involucrados, las migraciones también son fenómenos colectivos, fluyen al interior de redes y conllevan cambios importantes a los lugares del destino. En esta edición de *LASA Forum*, publicamos dos artículos que, desde distintos ángulos, hablan de los migrantes latinos en California. Susanne Jonas discute la difícil situación de los trabajadores latinos de bajos ingresos en San Francisco, ciudad conocida por su diversidad étnica, por su *ethos* multicultural y por sus políticas más abiertas respecto a los inmigrantes. Las presiones del mercado de inmuebles han desplazado a los latinos de sus sitios de ocupación tradicional en la ciudad; las presiones políticas amenazan la imagen de *Sanctuary City,* que San Francisco construyó a lo largo de décadas. Por su parte, Lynn Stephen nos presenta un relato fascinante sobre un fenómeno de creciente importancia, producido por el complejo tránsito en la larga frontera entre México y Estados Unidos: el surgimiento de movimientos sociales transfronterizos, que en este caso, entrelazan las ciudades de Oaxaca y Los Angeles. Son dos lecturas sumamente interesantes sobre un tema central de la agenda de investigación y de acción de los miembros de LASA.

En este *Forum* rendimos tributo al gran pensador y querido colega Guillermo O´Donnell, que nos dejó a fines del año pasado. Lo hacemos por medio del testimonio de tres colegas que convivieron y trabajaron con él. Scott Mainwaring, Abraham Lowenthal y Laurence Whitehead hablan de la contribución académica e institucional de O´Donnell, que, en 2003 recibió la distinción máxima conferida por LASA, el Kalman Silvert Lifetime Achievement Award. De la lectura de los tres textos emerge la imagen del investigador riguroso, del pensador vigoroso, del intelectual comprometido con los problemas de su tiempo, y también del colega gentil y solidario. Nos sumamos, así, al gran homenaje organizado por el Kellog Institute de la Notre Dame University, en Marzo último, en Buenos Aires.

Finalmente, recordamos a todos que, en mayo, tenemos cita en San Francisco para el Congreso de LASA2012, que creemos será un gran encuentro de nuestra asociación. Hasta pronto. ■

ON THE PROFESSION

A Tribute to Guillermo O'Donnell

by Scott Mainwaring | University of Notre Dame | smainwar@nd.edu

Guillermo O'Donnell died on November 29 in his native Buenos Aires at the age of 75, following a four-month battle against cancer. He was a giant in contemporary social science, known around the world for his intellectual creativity, his path-breaking originality, and his passion for democracies that function decently. His scholarly work on authoritarianism and democracy established his international reputation as a brilliant and seminal thinker.

O'Donnell's scholarly contributions can be grouped into four phases. Early in his career, he worked primarily on the origins of authoritarianism in South America, especially in the region's more developed countries. First published in 1973, *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism* was a seminal work in understanding the origins of modern authoritarianism in Latin America. Unlike many of his contemporaries, O'Donnell recognized that this was a new kind of authoritarian rule. Again unlike his contemporaries, he also understood that this new pattern of authoritarian rule had profound theoretical implications for understanding the relationship between modernization and democracy. He argued that in Latin America at a certain stage of development characterized by the end of an easy phase of import substitution industrialization, modernization generated pressures toward a new form of authoritarianism that he called "bureaucratic authoritarianism." This new form of authoritarianism emerged precisely in the more industrialized countries of South America: Brazil and Argentina. This argument fostered critical rethinking of modernization theory, which posited that more modernized countries are more likely to be democratic.

In a second part of his career, O'Donnell wrote many important works about the nature of authoritarianism in Latin America. Among them was his book on the Argentine military dictatorship of 1966-73, published first in Spanish in 1982 (*El Estado burocrático autoritario*) and in English in 1988. This work emphasized conflicts among the various forces—especially dominant class groups and the military—that had initially supported the dictatorship. Another brilliant work, "State and Alliances in Argentina, 1956-1976," analyzed his country's cycles between authoritarianism and democracy from a political economy perspective.[1] After the 1976 coup, he authored some work that underscored the micro dynamics of authoritarianism that plagued Argentine society during an extended period, but in a particularly horrific way during the brutal dictatorship of 1976-83.[2]

In a third phase that temporally overlapped somewhat with the second, O'Donnell was the pioneer in anticipating the wave of transitions to democracy that began in Latin America in 1978. With remarkable prescience, when Latin America was at the zenith of authoritarian rule, he correctly and almost uniquely understood that many of the awful dictatorships then in power were likely to be transient. He analyzed the wave of transitions to democracy that resulted in part from the tensions within authoritarianism that he had studied earlier. Once again, he opened a new research question, hugely important both theoretically and in the "real" world. His 1986 co-edited volume *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule* (Johns Hopkins University Press) remains a classic. It is one of the most widely cited works in political science. O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter famously analyzed transition dynamics in terms of four key blocs of actors: hardline and softline authoritarians, and the moderate and maximilist opposition. They argued that transition periods are marked by uncertainty with unpredictable outcomes; they rejected structural approaches to transitions.

Beginning in the late 1980s, O'Donnell's attention turned to the severe deficiencies of most democratic regimes, again with a primary focus on Latin America. While countless other individuals observed these same deficiencies, nobody matched his acuity in the theoretical analysis of new issues that revolve around these shortcomings. He coined many important concepts that remain at the core of analyses of contemporary democracy. His concept "delegative democracy" refers to democratic regimes in which the president and congress are democratically elected, but in which mechanisms of "horizontal" accountability are fragile. He contributed seminal articles on informal institutions, horizontal accountability, the rule of law, and the relationship between the state and democracy. Other leading scholars have subsequently taken on these themes as crucial for understanding contemporary Latin America.[3] His article, "Democracy, Law and Comparative Politics" (*Studies in Comparative International Development*, Spring 2001), won the Luebbert Prize for the best article in comparative politics, awarded annually by the Comparative Politics section of the American Political Science Association.

As a scholar, O'Donnell always focused on great normative issues that confront contemporary humanity—how to build better democracies, how to ensure more effective rule of law and more even citizenship. In the last two decades, he achieved a judicious balance between criticizing the deficiencies of Latin American democracies while at the same time not indulging in facile criticisms that

could fuel anti-democratic sentiment. He constantly moved on to new agendas, and he consistently opened new research questions that were subsequently understood to be highly important.

His scholarship won him wide recognition. A member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, O'Donnell won the 2003 Kalman Silvert Award for Lifetime Achievement, given every 18 months by the Latin American Studies Association. He was president of the International Political Science Association from 1988 to 1991, and also served as vice-president of the American Political Science Association from 1999 to 2000. In 2006, he won the inaugural Lifetime Achievement Award of the International Political Science Association. He was the recipient of countless other fellowships and awards, including the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship.

At the University of Notre Dame, O'Donnell played a pivotal role in creating and developing the Kellogg Institute for International Studies. As Kellogg's first academic director, he defined an exciting research agenda for the institute and built an outstanding program of visiting fellows.

Indicative of the nearly global reach of O'Donnell's work, it has been translated into Korean, Japanese, Portuguese, Chinese, and of course, English. In recent years, several leading Latin American universities awarded him honorary PhDs.

O'Donnell was born in Buenos Aires in 1936. He received his law degree from the Universidad de Buenos Aires in 1958 and his Ph.D. from Yale in 1988. He left Argentina in 1979 as his country experienced its most repressive dictatorship of the twentieth century and moved to Brazil, where he worked at the University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ) in Rio de Janeiro from 1980 until 1982 and at the Brazilian Center of Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP) in São Paulo from 1983 until 1991.

O'Donnell was a person of deep passions and commitments. From 1966 on, he despised military dictatorships, and he also had contempt for quotidian abuses of power. He had great insights into the foibles of his own country even though he was in many respects a world citizen. From the 1990s on, he was critical of mainstream U.S. political science, just as he had been in his pioneering *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism*; he believed that the quest for scientific rigor had sometimes led to neglecting great questions and focusing on the less important. He had a refreshing ability to change his thinking. Having been the pioneer in thinking about issues of democratic consolidation, he later rejected the concept.[4]

Throughout his career, O'Donnell posed fascinating new theoretical questions about tremendously important developments in the contemporary world. He was a deeply learned person who always drew upon the antecedent scholarship, yet one of his extraordinary gifts was recognizing new questions and new problems that had not hitherto been addressed. He stands as one of the most important thinkers about democracy and dictatorships in the history of political science.[5]

A similar version of this tribute appears in the April issue of PS: Political Science & Politics.

Notas

[1] *Journal of Development Studies* 15 No. 1 (October 1978): 3-33.

[2] Three of these essays were published as chapters 3, 4, and 5 in O'Donnell's *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

[3] For example, see Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, eds., *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006)

[4] Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7 No. 2: 34-51.

[5] For O'Donnell's perspectives on authoritarianism, democracy, political science, and his own work, see the lengthy interview with him published in Gerardo L. Munck and Richard Snyder, eds., *Passion, Craft, and Method in Comparative Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp. 273-304. ■

ON THE PROFESSION

Guillermo O'Donnell, 1936-2011

by Abraham Lowenthal | University of Southern California | afl@usc.edu

Most appreciations of Guillermo O'Donnell emphasize his contributions to the literature on authoritarianism, then on transitions from authoritarian rule and the construction of effective democratic governance, and finally on the challenges of getting beyond low intensity and low quality democracy in order to achieve governance that builds citizenship and protects the rights of all citizens. Guillermo O'Donnell contributed brilliant insights and systematic theory building on all these issues. His work is widely recognized around the world, as the many translations of his writings and his many international honors and distinctions, including LASA's Kalman Silvert Award, amply demonstrate. A number of Guillermo's students and colleagues are also providing warm testimony about his qualities as a teacher and mentor: in Argentina, Brazil, the United States, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere.

I wish to comment on Guillermo's major contributions as an institution builder, in Argentina and in the United States. He was one of the founders and the first director of the Center for Studies of State and Society (CEDES) in Buenos Aires, an island of critical inquiry in Argentina's dark days, an incubator of talented critical social scientists and to this day, an important place for research in that always-perplexing country.

Guillermo was also the first and longtime academic director of the Helen Kellogg Institute at the University of Notre Dame. That institute began with high ambition and the vision of Father Ted Hesburgh but with few other assets until Father Ted and Father Ernest Bartell managed to recruit O'Donnell and Chilean economist Alejandro Foxley to build a center of excellence on development and democracy. The Kellogg Institute, now under the able leadership of Scott Mainwaring, has become a world-class center, thanks largely to the highly creative, rigorous charismatic leadership that Guillermo provided during its formative years.

I saw first-hand Guillermo's extraordinary institution-building skills in the early years of the Woodrow Wilson Center's Latin American Program, where he served as one of nine members of its original Academic Council, chaired by Albert O. Hirschman. At the Council's first meeting, Guillermo urged that we identify a few privileged topics to organize our work, and to invite fellows to the Center. He suggested many of the topics we adopted, thus giving the program, from the start, an important focus on thoughtful exploration of normatively driven issues. After the first meeting, Guillermo and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the Brazilian sociologist, later to become that country's president, helped me design guidelines and policies to ensure that the program would achieve credibility in Latin American academic circles, where suspicion of a Washington-based institution could be anticipated. When delicate political issues arose at the center, in the context of political and ideological pressures that reflected changing currents in Washington, Guillermo flew up from Buenos Aires to participate in a half-day meeting of the council with the Center's director and to help protect the intellectual autonomy and academic quality of what we were doing. I will never forget the passion and persuasiveness of his presentation, and his effectiveness in helping to counter the pressures that were being brought to bear on the Program.

Guillermo's exceptional leadership of the Program's influential project on "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule," together with Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead, made a landmark contribution both to the study of comparative politics and to practice. The project's summary volume was consulted by many working to expand the prospects for democratic governance by cracking open authoritarian regimes. Guillermo's convening authority, inspiring leadership, incisive analysis and gifts as a political strategist all came together in the Transitions project.

When I think about Guillermo O'Donnell, I think not only of his professional achievements but of his personal qualities: his sheer brilliance and perspicacity on many questions, cosmic and micro-social; his warmth, sense of humor, friendship and loyalty. He had an enormous capacity for empathy and a strong commitment to equity, qualities that affected his scholarship but also his personal relationships. He courageously overcame the effects of polio, and his mental agility more than made up for his physical limits.

Guillermo O'Donnell cared deeply about justice and about the need to protect rights through institutions and constraints. He understood and wrote clearly about structural and systemic forces but also emphasized the possibility for expanding the scope of rights and justice through political engineering, individual leadership and coalition building. His analysis and insights are as important today as they have ever been. Guillermo O'Donnell will be missed. ■

Guillermo O'Donnell: A Remembrance

by Laurence Whitehead | Nuffield College | laurence.whitehead@nuffield.ox.ac.uk

Guillermo O'Donnell died in November 2011 at the age of seventy-five. He had returned to Buenos Aires after many years of teaching and research abroad, in particular at the Kellogg Institute of the University of Notre Dame. Although a versatile and cosmopolitan citizen of the world—on a short visit to Ireland he rediscovered a forgotten identity as William of Donegal—he was also and ultimately a true *porteño*.

I first met him at the Wilson Center, in Washington D.C. when he was on the academic council of the Latin American Program, which was beginning to set up what became the famous "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule" project. He was already internationally celebrated for his writings about the bureaucratic authoritarian state and for his leadership of the Center for Studies of State and Society (CEDES) in Buenos Aires. But by the end of the 1970s the "dirty war" had made critical scholarship work in Argentina ever more impossible, and the best social scientists of the Southern Cone were being forced into exile and scattered around the western hemisphere. The Carter administration had taken up the cause of human rights, and—at least for a while—parts of Washington seemed to provide something of a shelter.

In the beginning the "transitions" project was more about "thoughtful wishing" than hard evidence based analysis. There were some historical and theoretical reference points, of course, and the post-Franco creation of a Spanish constitution was a particular source of encouragement. But no one knew whether even Spanish democracy would prove durable, and there were good reasons for doubting whether any lessons from Madrid would prove readily transferable to Buenos Aires or Santiago. In a pattern that was to be repeated throughout his career, Guillermo allowed his theorizing to run ahead of the facts, imagining possible scenarios that other less gifted analysts might have dismissed as fanciful. He encouraged well-grounded thought experiments that were driven by what he could persuade himself was possible and desirable, rather than limiting his model-building to what might seem firmly predictable. That is why the celebrated green fourth volume of the "Transitions" project (written jointly with Philippe Schmitter during a period that the three of us spent together in Florence in 1984) was entitled "Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies."

Some might think that imagining possible scenarios that one would like to see realized would be a recipe for fantasy and self-deception, and indeed there are many examples of just such a pitfall. But Guillermo was no naïve idealist. He had been through a rough and tumble of Argentine politics ever since his teenage years at the wrong end of the Perón regime. He had learnt his comparative politics from such judicious authorities as Robert Dahl and David Apter. And he had seen how utopian illusions had misled his Popular Unity friends in Chile. So the scenarios he imagined were well grounded in experience, and attuned to some underlying standards of decency that were perhaps better embedded outside the political arena than within it.

To illustrate this theme one incident particularly sticks in my memory. To the best of my recollection, at the beginning of April 1982 he phoned me about the Transitions book project. "Have you heard the promising news?" he asked me. I was all too aware that Mrs. Thatcher had just authorized the dispatch of a naval mission to retake the Falkland Islands/Malvinas from General Galtieri, a venture that I regarded as perilous in the extreme. "You seem to think this is good news," I commented, perhaps feeling less confident then he was about how such a confrontation must unfold. "Because Mrs. Thatcher will bring democracy to Argentina," he replied without hesitation. (Even then my enthusiasm was less than his. In that case, I replied, "Argentina will probably bring a decade of Thatcherism to the UK.")

Throughout a versatile and fecund lifetime career Guillermo produced many striking analytical insights, sometimes identifying phenomena before they were fully realized. For example, his "delegative democracy" article can be seen as a precursor of Chavismo in Venezuela. Indeed I have teased him with the suggestion that the Venezuelan ruler must have studied his article carefully in order to conform so closely to its specifications. But this analytical skill was not just the product of exceptionally broad comparative experience and a brilliant intelligence. It was also grounded in some deep personal commitments. He was instinctively opposed to the bully. It may be that his own physical disability (he had polio as a child, and always had to cope with one very weak leg) reinforced that trait. That may help to explain the underlying structure of his imaginative thinking.

Again, an example may be pertinent. As President of The International Political Science Association (IPSA) he was presented with a particularly delicate political dilemma. It would have been a great coup to recruit mainland China into the fold—this was, I think, shortly before the 1989 crackdown. But Beijing would not countenance any such move unless Taiwan was expelled from the association. I doubt whether Guillermo had that much prior knowledge of the intricacies of

Chinese internal politics, and I suspect that the KMT regime was not particularly to his liking. But as he explained it to me subsequently, the issue was straightforward. Whatever the secondary arguments, it was essential to stand up to the bully. Taiwan could not be expelled if it was not at fault, simply because a more powerful actor demanded obeisance.

Many years later Guillermo and I visited President Chen Shui-bian in his palace in Taipei. The democratic ruler seemed remarkably similar to the authoritarian predecessors who had sat in the same chair. He had little time to take advice from us visiting experts in comparative democratization (an urgent appointment with Ambassador John Bolton cut short our time before Guillermo could deliver his full remarks). It was not to curry favor with the Taiwanese, or out of any illusions about the quality of their democratic commitments, that Guillermo had taken his stance. It was simply a duty to resist intimidation.

Although he is best known for his large scale and theoretically elaborated works in macro-comparative politics, at least one of his early writings should be highlighted here to demonstrate the range and diversity of his talents. "'¿Y a mí, qué me importa?' Notas sobre sociabilidad y política en Argentina y Brasil" (Estudios CEDES, Buenos Aires, 1984) does not appear in the bibliography of his final magnum opus, but it is—in my opinion—a minor jewel and a clue to his sources of inspiration.

Fortunately he lived long enough to see the publication of his final book, *Democracy, Agency and the State: Theory with Comparative Intent*, (Oxford Studies in Democratization, 2010). This took up most of his energies in the last few years of his life, and draws together the major themes he had worked on for so long. This is not the place for an extended review of that major volume, which I was privileged to help produce. It may suffice to quote one sentence of conclusion that can stand as a testimony to his standpoint:

If my life is enriched by a diverse social context, I should recognize that it is my interest that all individuals, or as many as possible, have the necessary conditions for freely choosing their own functioning under the conditions established by law of an (at least) partially democratized state.

A thoughtful wish, worth imagining—but not one that has been realized as yet. ■

City of Refuge, City of Survival Struggles: Contradictions of San Francisco for Low-Wage Latino Immigrants

by Susanne Jonas | University of California, Santa Cruz | sjonas@ucsc.edu

San Francisco has been widely perceived as a favorable context of settlement for Latin American immigrants because of its ethnic diversity and multicultural values, which in turn reflect its sizeable immigrant communities.[1] The city has also been prominent for its generally progressive politics, and for being one of the most receptive destinations for Central American asylum seekers during the 1980s and 1990s. San Francisco officials extended Sanctuary City provisions to other undocumented immigrants in 1989 and have opposed federal efforts to target, punish, and deport undocumented Latino immigrants during the extended crackdown since 1996.

However, research focusing on the largest low-wage Latino immigrant communities—Central Americans and Mexicans[2]—reveals more complex realities of San Francisco. While suffering very little political intolerance, most low-wage Latino immigrants have faced significant socio-economic difficulties and have achieved only limited upward mobility. As first analyzed by Castells (1983) in his pioneering critical analysis of San Francisco's Mission District as a site for Latino migrants and citizens, cultural capital (e.g., murals, major festivals, restaurants) did not translate into socio-economic or political power. Despite being mobilized around particular issues, Latino communities did not increase their actual political or economic *power* vis-à-vis the city's ruling elites and developers. This is not totally surprising, since the Latino communities had a high proportion of non-citizens, many of them undocumented.

The economic and political dominance of downtown developers, as well as structural transformations in the post-industrial political economy of San Francisco in recent decades, made life more difficult and less secure for low-wage Latinos, especially immigrants. The effects of living in a post-industrial "dot-com" technology-driven economy that was polarized into high-end/low-end service sectors (Sassen 1988), and that underwent spectacular booms and precipitous declines since the 1990s, were felt throughout San Francisco's housing and labor markets. Both boom and bust periods transformed San Francisco into one of the least affordable urban areas for low-income residents with regard to housing and the overall cost of living. In job markets, many newly arriving Latino immigrants tended to remain trapped as the "working poor," often with more than one job and/or at the bottom of the informal sector-—for example, at day laborer street sites (men) or as maids and nannies (women). As a Guatemalan soccer-league organizer described to me in the late 1990s how hard his compatriots had to work to survive, "*Aquí, no se vive, se sobrevive*."

But these low-wage Latino immigrants were not simply passive objects of structural changes. Their very presence diversified San Francisco's culture and politics. Furthermore, organizations based in their communities became collective social actors; together with other movements, for several decades, from the late 1960s to 2000, they challenged downtown developers' plans and resisted the tide of gentrification in the Mission District's inner core. Some areas in "the Mission" suffered from economic deterioration and poverty, dilapidated and overcrowded housing, crime and gangs; it was largely a barrio of the working poor, but it was *their* Latino space. In addition, their organizing initiatives (e.g., by the Salvadoran Central American Resource Center, CARECEN, and numerous other groups) helped maintain San Francisco as a Sanctuary City for several decades. But by 2011, with San Francisco in flux, these relative achievements faced major challenges.

Two Tales of the City

Contested Space: Gentrification and Latino Displacement in "the Mission"

Rapid-fire boom and bust cycles of high-technology sectors after the mid-1990s took a great toll on Latino neighborhoods, mainly the inner Mission District. Increasing poverty resulted from scarce access to decent jobs and, simultaneously, the extraordinarily high cost of living and insufficient affordable housing. By the early 2000s, this was combined with gentrification-driven evictions and Latino displacement. Subsequently, the Great Recession beginning in late 2007 reduced the availability of even low-wage jobs in San Francisco.

As of 2000, Latino ("Hispanic-origin") residents had resisted demographic decline, remaining more or less stable from 1970 to 2000 at 14 percent of San Francisco's population, concentrated mainly in the Mission District and along the Mission Street corridor to Daly City (Godfrey 2004). During the 1980s and 1990s, outright gentrification and eviction/displacement of Latin American immigrants in the Mission District had advanced, but far more slowly than predicted. Unlike other neighborhoods of San Francisco that had been completely transformed by these dynamics in the mid-to-late twentieth century (Hartman 2002), gentrification began on the outer edges of the inner Mission District, but did not yet occur wholesale in the core (lower 24th Street). In addition to the neighborhood's longstanding Latino cultural and

commercial capital, activist organizations such as the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition resisted downtown developers' schemes.

As of 2000, Latinos still made up 60.9 percent of the inner Mission District population, compared to 62.3 percent in 1990 (Godfrey 2006, 339). But by 2010, according to the San Francisco Planning Department (2011), using ACS 2005-09 data, Latinos made up only 41 percent of the Mission District population—a huge decrease from 2000. Meanwhile, the non-Hispanic white population increased notably in the Mission District. Beginning in the late 1990s, gentrification and skyrocketing rents as well as outright evictions, including owner move-in evictions and wrongful evictions, accelerated significantly in the inner Mission District. Increasingly during the next decade, the area lost its status as one of the city's least expensive neighborhoods; rentals and home prices are now far higher there than in the nearby "Outer Mission" and Excelsior districts, and median home prices are virtually as high as in bordering upscale Bernal Heights. New condos are constantly being built, giving developers the most profit out of every square inch.

No longer is lower 24th Street simply a Latino ethnic enclave, although Latinos maintain a significant presence. For example, internet cafes such as "L's," exotic ice-cream parlors, trendy Oriental and organic restaurants (e.g., "Sushi Bistro"), and businesses such as Metro/PCS have taken over spaces previously occupied by Latino restaurants such as La Posta and Margarita's Pupusería, and are spatially interspersed with the remaining Latino businesses. In addition, some of the surviving Latino businesses have begun catering to new clienteles, mainly recently arrived professional/yuppie residents. The longstanding Mexican restaurant and bakery La Victoria survived, but became "La Victoria/Wholesome Bakery," offering upscale cupcakes and expensive fair-trade coffee alongside traditional *pan dulce,* in order to "keep up with the changing neighborhood," as the second-generation owner told us.

In the lower 24th Street apartment building where I had lived from the mid-1980s through 2001, instead of six Latino renters and one Anglo as in 2001, there were by 2011 two Latino, two Asian and three Anglo renters. Gone were the graffiti that had frequently defaced the building's exterior during the 1990s, and there was a good security system at the building's entrance. More broadly, throughout the Mission district, issues of "live-work" loft spaces and zoning regulations remained highly contested. This time, the anti-displacement organizations put up a fight, but ultimately were unable to stop the gentrification/expulsion process, as 10 percent of San Francisco's Latino community left the city between 2000 and 2005 (Mirabal 2009, using Census data).

From a top-down analytical perspective, this re-socialization of space can be seen as a triumph for developers and new middle-class residents. Viewed from the bottom-up, it is best captured by Godfrey's (2004) formulation of a "barrio under siege" in regard to "Latino sense of place" in the inner Mission District, responding defensively to the threats of displacement and neoliberal spatial restructuring. Where Latinos saw their barrio or place, developers saw a prime property location, in the warmest and sunniest neighborhood of the city, a mere ten-minute drive from downtown. One pragmatic response by low-wage Latinos to intensified displacement from the Mission District during the early 2000s has been out-migration to less expensive neighborhoods in San Francisco, and even more to Oakland and farther east. Many new Latino migrants in the early 2000s have skipped San Francisco altogether as a destination.

Sanctuary Contested

During the early 2000s, the city and county of San Francisco faced growing pressures to redefine its Sanctuary City policies. The original Sanctuary ("City of Refuge") policy was adopted in 1985 to protect specifically Salvadoran and Guatemalan asylum seekers who had entered the United States undocumented. Confronting the Reagan administration's denial of 98-99 percent of their asylum petitions, the San Francisco ordinance pledged not to cooperate with federal authorities seeking information about them. In 1989, following increased Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raids in the Mission District and federally legislated employer sanctions, the city's Board of Supervisors unanimously extended Sanctuary City to protect undocumented immigrants in general, and stipulated that information about immigrant status would not be shared with federal authorities in the case of undocumented arrestees unless/until they were convicted of a criminal act—a provision that survived intermittent challenges during the 1990s and maintained San Francisco as a "safe" social space.

Following the Congressional anti-immigrant measures of the 1996 Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), and provisions of the Welfare Reform and Anti-Terrorism laws and their hardening after 9/11 (e.g., in the 2001 USA Patriot Act), massive changes in national immigrant enforcement

reverberated at the local level. In 2003, the enforcement division of the INS was replaced by the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency (ICE) within the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). Within the national security environment, ICE attempted to establish the primacy of national authorities and to carry out raids and deportations without following local norms, practices, or public opinion.

During the early 2000s, this tug of war among national and local authorities and community organizations in the San Francisco area became more intense and complex. ICE stepped up its raids and used the 287(g) provision of IIRIRA, which allowed local police to routinely share immigration information with ICE in preparation for deportations. The 287(g) agreements were voluntary, and were resisted by many local police forces throughout the country, including San Francisco's. But in 2008, ICE initiated "Secure Communities" (S-Comm), also designed to identify deportable immigrants through police sharing fingerprints with ICE; this program was intended to be mandatory. While both programs were supposed to focus on immigrants who had committed serious violent criminal acts, both caught up and deported many non-criminal immigrants. And in San Francisco, both programs challenged longstanding sanctuary policies.

Beginning in 2008, local events also set the stage for a showdown over the specific meaning of Sanctuary City in San Francisco, with a few high-profile cases in which juvenile undocumented immigrants committed serious felonies after having been freed from jail for previous crimes. Additionally, some Mexican and Central American youth were involved with gangs and drug dealers. These circumstances created a backlash, with politicians (including the mayor), the mainstream media (particularly the *San Francisco Chronicle*), and some strains of public opinion viewing Sanctuary City as systematically "protecting" undocumented juvenile criminals.

On July 2, 2008, the mayor unilaterally declared that police would share information with ICE about juvenile undocumented immigrants at the time they were first arrested and *charged* with committing a crime. With strong community pressures against the mayor's action, in the fall of 2009, the Board of Supervisors passed a veto-proof (8-3) ordinance, mandating that information about these juveniles should be shared with ICE not at the time of arrest for a crime, but only at the time of their actual *conviction,* in order to protect their due process rights. This measure was spearheaded by Guatemalan-American Supervisor David Campos,[3] the first Latino ever elected to represent District 9, which included most of the Mission District as well as neighboring Bernal Heights, with its base of progressive upper middle class voters. The ongoing battle between the mayor, who refused to implement the law, and the Board of Supervisors was somewhat defused in 2011, when a new mayor compromised, preserving due process for many, but not all, undocumented juvenile arrestees.

But by the early 2000s, unconditionally pro-immigrant policies could not be taken for granted outside of District 9. Both in 2004 and in 2010, for example, San Francisco voters soundly defeated initiatives to allow immigrants, regardless of status, to vote in elections for the Board of Education—a measure that some major cities had adopted. The mainstream media further polarized public opinion. Gentrification as well as new bio-tech and nearby high-tech jobs were changing the electoral demographics of San Francisco, bringing in older, better-off, generally non-Hispanic white and Asian voters who would not necessarily defend immigrant rights. In 2010 and 2011, officials elected to the Board of Supervisors and as mayor were "moderate" centrists.

Simultaneously, enforcement controversies erupted regarding the ICE S-Comm program. Mandated by a strong Board of Supervisors' resolution that passed 9-2 in June, 2010, the San Francisco Sheriff, a progressive, formally petitioned to "opt out" of S-Comm for undocumented residents who had committed minor offenses. After months of mixed messages, in mid-2011, the DHS took a definitive stance against allowing state or local jurisdictions to opt out. In perhaps the bitterest irony, San Francisco County had among the highest rates of deportation of non-criminals or minor offenders under S-Comm: 77.6 percent (of 241 cases) between October 2008 and February 2011.

All of these struggles have sparked grassroots and immigrant rights advocacy mobilizations, with broad coalitions that include many Central American, Mexican, pan-Latino, Asian, Asian-Pacific Islander, African, Arab and overall legal immigrant support organizations. These proactive coalitions have provided support for immigrant rights measures, suggesting an accumulation of political capital over the years by organizations based in San Francisco's immigrant communities, even though they could not stop ICE arrests and deportations.

The mixed record described here reveals some fault-lines of twenty-first century San Francisco immigration politics. The structural issue of how much autonomy can exist for a politically pro-immigrant

local jurisdiction is unresolved. As of early 2012, San Francisco and other cities and states appear to have lost some of their relative autonomy, but this tug-of-war continues. Additionally, at the local level, the scenario is more complex, and there is a denser field of actors, with some local players representing state or federal authorities.[4] From the perspective of many low-wage Latino immigrants themselves, the future looks uncertain in regard to their economic survival, their neighborhoods, and some basic rights in San Francisco.

Endnotes

[1] Quantitatively, of all U.S. urban areas, San Francisco City and County (coterminous) have had one of the highest percentages of the foreign-born in its population (34.1 percent in 2009: Batalova and Terrazas 2010). The larger San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont Metropolitan Area ranked fourth in the entire United States in 2010 (Wilson and Singer 2011), although Asian immigrants outnumbered Latino immigrants.

[2] In addition to the studies cited here (and many others), my research for the San Francisco chapter of an in-progress book co-authored with Nestor Rodríguez, *Al Norte: Guatemalans in a Changing Migration Region,* focuses on Guatemalans, but covers many elements shared by other low-wage Latino immigrants in San Francisco from the late 1970s through the first decade of the twenty-first century.

[3] See Campos' website <http://www.sfbos.org/index.aspx?page=2129>.

[4] It is worth noting, for example, that even as ICE raids and arrests/deportations increased after 2008, there were mixed messages from other San Francisco-based federal authorities. Throughout the 1990s and even as late as 2010, the San Francisco Asylum office (under the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services branch of DHS) continued to receive and approve significant numbers of asylum applications throughout Northern California and the Northwest.

References

Batalova, Jeanne and Aaron Terrazas.

2010. "Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States." Washington: Migration Policy Institute: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/USFocus/display.cfm?ID=818>.

Castells, Manuel.

1983. *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Godfrey, Brian.

2006. "New Urban and Ethnic Landscapes." In *Contemporary Ethnic Geography*, edited by Christopher Airries and Ines Miyares, 331-354. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

2004. "Barrio Under Siege: Latino Sense of Place in San Francisco, California." In *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places*, edited by Daniel Arreola, 79-102. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hartman, Chester, with Sarah Carnochan.

2002. *City for Sale: The Transformation of San Francisco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mirabal, Nancy.

2009. "Geographies of Displacement: Latina/os, Oral History, and The Politics of Gentrification in San Francisco's Mission District." *The Public Historian* Vol 31(2): 7-31.

San Francisco Planning Department.

2011. San Francisco Neighborhoods: Socio-Economic Profiles: American Community Survey 2005-2009. San Francisco.

Sassen, Saskia.

1988. *The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, Jill and Audrey Singer.

2011. "Immigrants in 2010 Immigrant America: A Decade of Change." Washington: Brookings Institution. Metropolitan Policy Program. ■

Oaxaca in Los Angeles, Los Angeles in Oaxaca: Transborder Organizing in California

by Lynn Stephen | University of Oregon | stephenl@uoregon.edu

In June 2006 the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO), a coalition of over 300 organizations, was formed in the Mexican state of Oaxaca to support striking teachers and to construct a more inclusive and participatory political vision for the state. During the summer and fall of that year, what had begun as a peaceful occupation of Oaxaca City's historic colonial square by teachers demanding higher salaries and better educational benefits for students was transformed into a widespread, militant social movement. The transformation, and the creation of the APPO, took place as state police violently attempted to evict the teachers from the square (see Stephen 2009). The teachers belonged to Section 22 of the National Union of Education Workers (SNTE), a famously independent local of about 60,000 teachers and education workers within the larger national union. Its members come from all over the state of Oaxaca and many have relatives who have migrated to other parts of Mexico or to the United States. In particular, many members of Section 22 have relatives—and retired former colleagues—in the Los Angeles, California area. It came as no surprise, then, that after its inception, the movement began to develop links with family members and organizations in Los Angeles.

Soon after its formation, the APPO held "mega-marches" of thousands of supporters, occupied state and federal buildings and offices, took over the state's television and radio stations, constructed barricades in many neighborhoods, and developed neighborhood and community councils that elected representatives to a statewide provisional council of the APPO in the fall of 2006. The coalition questioned the legitimacy of the state government of then-governor Ulises Ruiz and the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which had ruled in Oaxaca for eighty years (see Stephen 2011).

Transborder Activism: APPO Los Angeles

The Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations (FIOB)[1], which includes significant numbers of teachers and indigenous leaders, was one of the Los Angeles organizations most directly connected to Section 22 and to the APPO.[2] As Oaxacans in Los Angeles became concerned about repression against the teachers and saw live reports of the militant demonstrations taking place in Oaxaca City, they began to talk with FIOB leaders to find out what they could do to support the movement.

A group of FIOB members from Los Angeles and Fresno made a trip to Oaxaca in August 2006 and met directly with APPO leaders, leaders of Section 22, and others in Oaxaca City, Juxtlahuaca, and in Huajuapan de León. Rufino Domínguez, who was the general coordinator of the FIOB at the time, met with Enrique Rueda Pacheco who was the head of the teacher's union. Odilia Romero, who served as coordinator of women's affairs of the FIOB, also went on the trip and visited the women who had occupied the public television and radio stations and went on to occupy several commercial radio stations in Oaxaca as well.

One of the decisions the FIOB leadership had to make was to distinguish between the indigenous and migrant rights struggles that were front and center on the FIOB agenda and other broader issues. Since not all FIOB members were in agreement with the other organizations that wanted to support the APPO and Section 22 in Oaxaca, it was decided to form a separate APPO in which FIOB members could participate. The new group was called APPO Los Angeles.

Members of the newly formed APPO Los Angeles decided to engage in a series of local public mobilizations to call attention to the repression faced by the movement of Oaxaca. These continued through the fall of 2006 and into 2007 and included actions such as those on the Day of the Dead with coffins to represent those who had died in the Oaxaca conflict, and an APPOsada in December that combined the traditional posada marking the search of Mary and Joseph for shelter before Christ's birth with support for the APPO.

This series of marches, protest actions, rallies, and meetings at the Mexican Consulate intensified the network of relations not only between different parts of the Oaxacan community, but also between Oaxacans and other Mexicans and Latinos in Los Angeles. In addition, the ways in which the marches were organized suggested the power of simple telecommunications and electronic information sharing in binational organizing and mobilization.

Cell phone communication not only played an important role in helping APPO leaders from different regions of Oaxaca to communicate with one another, it also facilitated some of the most emotionally intense and dramatic moments of transborder organizing between APPO Oaxaca and APPO Los Angeles. During the Los Angeles marches, APPO leaders in Los Angeles began to establish direct connections with APPO leaders in Oaxaca, frequently calling them on their cell phones and then holding the phones up to microphones so that they could be broadcast throughout the park for everyone to hear. FIOB activist Gaspar Rivera-Salgado describes this:

It was very interesting to hear these reports from Oaxaca at night in MacArthur Park. When the leaders from Oaxaca were speaking, a great silence would go over the crowd because people were paying such careful attention. They were absorbing every word that was said, listening very carefully to the description of the movement in Oaxaca. This really united people here who were mobilizing. This would happen in the park in front of the Mexican Consulate here. And of course they would say, "Thank you so much for your solidarity in Los Angeles."

Odilia Romero remembers these moments of broadcast phone-calls as having a great emotional impact on her and others.

I think that for me, the moment that caused me the greatest personal impact was when we would hear the compañeros crying over the phone when we had our connections with them. I remember another time when a band from the community of Solaga played the Canción Mixteca for them on the other end of the telephone and Ezequiel Rosales Carreno said, "This really moves me."

The transborder ties that were strengthened through APPO Los Angeles went on to play an important role in the electoral organizing and campaigning for the Oaxaca governorship in 2010. The election of Gabino Cué, the state's first non-PRI governor in modern times, who ran as a candidate of the opposition alliance (PRD-PAN-Convergencia) in 2006, was helped by the strong ties forged through the FIOB with Section 22, APPO, and other Oaxacan organizations. Cué invited one of FIOB's founders, Rufino Domínguez Santos, to serve in his administration as director of the Oaxacan Institute for Attention to Migrants. Domínguez Santos accepted, signaling a new era in the FIOB's relationship with the Oaxaca state government. This new relationship was manifested at the binational assembly held in 2011.

The Seventh General Assembly of the FIOB in Oaxaca

In October 2011, the FIOB elected new leaders and developed binational policy and strategy through a series of discussions and a plenary assembly. Delegates included seasoned leaders who had been at many prior assemblies as well as a significant number who were coming to their first general assembly. What was most notable at the opening ceremonies of the assembly was the open embrace of the FIOB by representatives of the progressive wing of the Oaxacan state government. While prior congresses and FIOB participation in the APPO were received with veiled hostility at best and attempts at repression at worst, the seventh assembly signaled the open support of Gabino Cué's government for the FIOB. It also suggested the maturity and political clout of the FIOB as an organization in having people from the governor's cabinet present. This change in relationship was most strongly marked by the presence of Domínguez Santos and Gerardo Albino, Secretary of Social Development in the Cué government (Cano 2011). Another notable aspect of the assembly was that of six newly elected leaders, two are young women from California (FIOB 2011).

Discussion and debate took place in four working groups where delegates debated intensely for five hours the recommendations they would take to the plenary to be voted on. Broad themes included for discussion were development, migration and the right *not* to migrate; binational migration policy; and binational organizational strategy. I attended the working group on binational organizational strategies. There, about twenty-five people focused on themes including gender equity, housing, cultural revitalization through indigenous languages, traditional medicine, the participation of the elderly in education, and strategies to recruit and retain women and young people in the leadership of the FIOB. There were also discussions on sustainable economic development and how to promote locally produced products such as food and crafts, as well as the need for indigenous interpreters, doctors and health workers. Delegates also proposed adoption of local measures that could be taken to preserve water sources, forests, and to promote recycling.

The general assembly also bared some of the cultural differences that frequently emerge in the various local and national contexts in which the FIOB operates. One of the most interesting exchanges took place during the plenary discussion. The first set of proposals to be discussed included amendments to the statutes of the FIOB. A delegate from California raised his hand and proposed, "that we add to the statutes that decisions be made by means of a secret ballot." The proposal sparked a lively debate, primarily critical of the suggestion. "With all due respect to the compañero," replied another delegate, "we do not want a secret vote. We want to keep following our *usos y costumbres* (customary law and governance practices) to vote. We are indigenous and our form of governance is to vote openly in our assemblies." A discussion ensued about the importance of continuing the assembly form of governance found in many indigenous communities in Oaxaca. Some delegates, however, also raised the problems associated with open voting. One of them stated, "People might not

feel free to vote if they had to vote against someone who was a relative or someone who had more power than them in the organization." In conventional elections the secret ballot is a defense mechanism against political party manipulation, but here, the proposal was defeated in a vote by delegates who raised their hands with their credential cards waving to be counted, for and against. This moment captured the hybrid nature of experience and ideas that are found within the FIOB.

The past six years have seen the FIOB move from a position of direct conflict with the state government of Oaxaca to one of coalition and cooperation in areas that make sense for its agenda. With more women and youth in its leadership, the FIOB continues to broaden its appeal through a transborder discourse of indigeneity, along with economic, human, political, and labor rights for migrants. Its broad reach and claim on the region known as Oaxacalifornia (the states of Oaxaca, Baja California del Norte, and California) offers innovative strategies for building regional political power and presence through sustained and coordinated transborder organizing at local, regional, and national levels.

Endnotes

[1] The FIOB was founded in Los Angeles California in 1991 with the name Frente Mixteco Zapoteco Binacional (FMZB). Three years later the organization changed its name to the Frente Indígena Oaxaqueño Binacional (FIOB) to reflect the presence of Triquis, Chatinos, and Mixes. In 2005, at its Fifth General Binational Assembly in Oaxaca, Mexico the organization changed its name again keeping the same acronym. It became Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales to include Purépecha members from Michoacán and Mixtecos from Guerrero.

[2] Ed Kissam (2012) estimates that there are approximately 1.4 million residents in Los Angeles county born in Mexico based on the 2010 American Community Survey (ACS) data and approximately 52,000 Oaxacan indigenous migrants in Los Angeles county. This is calculated using ACS data and correcting for an undercount and racial misclassification. In addition there are likely another approximately 17,000 U.S.-born children of Oaxacan indigenous migrants. This makes a total of approximately 69,000 indigenous Oaxacans in Los Angeles County.

References

Cano, Arturo.

2011. Suprimir leyes antimigratorias, exige frente binacional a Obama y Calderón. La Jornada. 18 Octubre, 2011. Available at: <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2011/10/18/politica/010n1pol>. Accessed on January 24, 2012.

Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB).

2011. Indígenas eligen en Oaxaca nueva dirigencia del FIOB y celebran 20 años de lucha. 8 Octubre, 2011. Available at: <http://fiob.org/2011/10/indigenas-eligen-en-oaxaca-nueva-dirigencia-del-fiob-y-celebran-20-anos-de-lucha/> Accessed on January 24, 2012.

Kissam, Ed.

2012. Personal communication. Rough Population Estimates—Indigenous People in Los Angeles County.

Stephen, Lynn.

2009. "Making Rights a Reality: The Oaxaca Social Movement 2006 – Present." Bilingual (Spanish-English) Digital Ethnography with thirty-five video testimonials supplemented with text, photographs, and documents. Launch date: May 28, 2009. <http://www.mraroaxaca.uoregon.edu>.

2011. "Testimony and Human Rights Violations in Oaxaca." *Latin American Perspectives* 38(6): 52-68, November 2011. ■

ON LASA2012

On the Eve of San Francisco 2012

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

The 30th International Congress of LASA is just weeks away. As we noted in our last report to the membership, the response to the call for papers for the San Francisco Congress was truly outstanding, with the total numbers of individual and panel proposals having increased almost 70 percent above the number of proposals for LASA 2010 in Toronto. Clearly there is enthusiasm about the attractive setting of the Congress and about the chance to reflect with LASA colleagues on the conference theme, the bicentennials of independence. We continue working closely with LASA President Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, with the LASA Secretariat in Pittsburgh, with the 68 track chairs who have organized our program, and especially with the Bay Area Local Arrangements Committee in advance of the Welcoming Reception on Wednesday, May 23rd.

The conference theme, "Toward a Third Century of Independence in Latin America," invites us to historical reflection, but this meeting will also be notably marked by geography. This LASA Congress will be the first in the continental United States since 2004, and this is also the first West Coast LASA since Los Angeles in 1992. Latin America's relationship with Asia has changed dramatically in recent years, and we are using our beautiful local setting of San Francisco to recognize the deepening ties with the Pacific world. The startling pace of commercial and economic interaction between the two regions has far outstripped the growth of relevant academic expertise, but LASA can play a role in enhancing Asian understanding of Latin America and vice versa. Thus you will notice a large number of events focused on Asia and particularly on China. For example, on Saturday evening there will be a special session featuring the presidents of LASA's counterpart associations in China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. For our colleagues in Asia and the Pacific, travel to this LASA meeting will be unusually convenient, and we look forward to the enhanced dialogue that is sure to result.

Following the innovation of our predecessors in Toronto, Javier Corrales and Nina Gerassi-Navarro, LASA will once again hold Pre-Congress Workshops on Wednesday afternoon, prior to the official opening of the conference. These workshops represent LASA's ongoing commitment to the professional development of our membership, particularly young scholars, and the response has been enthusiastic. In addition to the publishing workshop run by *LARR* editor Philip Oxhorn—a tremendously useful event that has become a popular fixture at our Congresses—we will have thematic *talleres* on "Latin American Independence in the Age of Revolution," "Radical Women: Body and Space in Latin American Art between the 1960s and the 1980s," and "Getting the Most out of Large-Scale Survey Projects: Developing and Analyzing LAPOP's AmericasBarometer." Registration for these Wednesday events is now closed, but we wish to draw attention to the intellectual creativity and excellent networking opportunities offered by this new LASA tradition.

All LASA members can fondly name the two special social events that are held at every Congress, and it is time to mark your calendars. The Welcoming Reception on Wednesday evening will be held in the beautiful setting of the Contemporary Jewish Museum <www.thecjm.org>, located at 736 Mission Street adjacent to the Marriott Marquis, our official conference hotel. The *Gran Baile* will be held on Friday evening in the Marriott itself, and hopefully will conclude in time for the 8:30 a.m. panels on Saturday!

The San Francisco Congress will have almost too many highlights to mention in this space, but nonetheless we would like to draw your attention to a few. Former Uruguayan president Tabaré Vázquez is scheduled to address the LASA membership on Friday evening. A special presidential panel on "Wikileaks, Transparency, and Investigative Journalism" will analyze the impact of Wikileaks on Latin America. Other presidential panels will include "Latin America and China in the 21st Century," "Cuba in Times of Change," "The Power of Numbers: What Latin Americanists Can Learn from 200 Years of Caribbean Economic History," and "*E pur se muove*: New Middle Classes in Latin America." On Thursday evening, LASA will hold a special memorial session in honor of Guillermo O'Donnell, the distinguished political scientist (and LASA's Kalman Silvert Award recipient in 2003) who sadly passed away in November.

Another highlight of the San Francisco Congress will be a major technological advance for LASA. Working with a firm called Ativ Software, the LASA Secretariat has designed a "LASA 2012" app that will run on smartphones and tablet computers. The app has both an Apple iOS version (compatible with iPhones and iPads) as well as an Android version compatible with numerous other handheld devices. This ingenious application lets you browse the LASA program, create your own personal schedule, view maps of the meeting rooms and exhibit areas, subscribe to the LASA Twitter feed, and take notes at panels and email them to yourself. If you are searching for a friend or colleague at LASA, just touching their name on the screen will

show you all of their conference roles—no more flipping to the index in the back of the printed program. Most brilliantly, the app can be updated by LASA in real time (e.g. to reflect new programming or a last-minute room change). Of course the hard-copy program book will continue to be distributed, but we are certain that LASA members will find the new app to be extremely user-friendly. You will shortly receive emailed instructions on how to download the app.

As the Congress approaches, we would like to emphasize that we have made an energetic efforts to reach out to many scholars and researchers in the United States and abroad, many of whom were not acquainted with LASA or have participated infrequently in the International Congresses. The diversity of our 68-member Program Committee is testament to these efforts, as is the continued generosity of LASA with regard to international travel grants. Thanks to the generosity of the Open Society Institute, the Tinker Foundation, and the Inter-American Foundation, LASA has been able to offer over 250 travel grants to members residing in Latin America and the Caribbean, including at least 50 grants to graduate students.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge that there has been some dissatisfaction with our inability to find room for every panel and paper proposal that was submitted for San Francisco. In part this has to do with the dramatic growth in LASA over the past decade, but in part it also has to do with the sharp increase in demand in a single 18-month conference cycle. There were 663 individual paper proposals for Toronto compared to 1362 for San Francisco; the equivalent figures for panel sessions rose from 744 to 1020. With LASA sites scouted and contracted years in advance, leading to a fixed quantity of meeting rooms and little room for maneuver, it is impossible for the Association to adjust smoothly to such fluctuations. What is sometimes interpreted as excessive "selectivity" is often an adaptation to imperfect information and changing circumstances. In our final report to the Association, we will have more to say on this matter, but for now we agree wholeheartedly with the EC and with many LASA colleagues that the move to annual Congresses is long overdue. At the same time, we are tremendously grateful to each and every one of our 68 Track Chairs, who reviewed and ranked several thousand LASA proposals while maintaining the highest standards of dedication and professionalism throughout the process.

We look forward to seeing you in the architectural and cultural jewel that is San Francisco, California, in less than two months. The Bay Area, with its colonial, political, multicultural, plurilingual, and transnational background, is an appropriate and inspiring setting for the dialogues conducted by our Association. ■

ON LASA2012

Film Festival at LASA2012

by Claudia Ferman | University of Richmond | cferman@richmond.edu

This new edition of the Festival offers three intensive days of documentary and fiction cinema, which range from important recent historical drama productions to experimental cinema. An important innovation for this edition is the work we are inaugurating with specialists in Latin American cinema, whose special curatorship for the festival features recent cinema from Colombia and Uruguay: Pedro Adrián Zuluaga and Juana Suárez (Colombia); and Gustavo Remedi (Uruguay). In addition to these two Festival foci and in keeping with the theme of the Congress, "Towards the Third Century of Independence," the Festival presents a series on the *Libertadores*, the national heroes of American Independence, four films made in connection with the Bicentennials focusing on the figures of José Artigas, Manuel Belgrano, José Martí, and José de San Martín.

This edition of the Festival also includes documentaries on Liberation Theology, with a film about Bishop Oscar Romero, and another on *comunidades de base* in El Salvador (*La palabra en el bosque*).

The violence of the 1970s and 80s is revisited from new perspectives, with testimonial documentaries by and about the children of Chilean militants (*The Chilean Building* and *Generation Exile*). Also, the Festival is presenting a film exploring the less-known question of children abducted in El Salvador during the armed confrontation (*Children of Memory*). Other themes explored in the festival are: Labor and the Environment, Puerto Rican Studies, Staged Dance, Memory, and Trials of the Paramilitary.[1]

The festival will also pay deserved homage to the commitment of filmmakers and lovers of Latin American cinema. There will be an impeccable documentary on the filmmaker Jorge Prelorán, and two films on "cinematographic activism": a fictional and comic evocation of the work of the Uruguayan Cinematheque (*A Useful Life*), and a documentary on the Cinematheque of the Third World (C3M).

A group of directors and producers will attend the festival: from Colombia, directors Samuel Córdoba (*Tumaco Pacífico*), and Manuel Ruiz (*Meanders*); and from the USA, director Maria Teresa Rodríguez and producer Kathryn Smith Pyle (*Children of Memory*); Professor Jeff Gould (*La palabra en el bosque*); and scholar, author, filmmaker, and recipient of multiple awards Saul Landau (*Will the Terrorists Please Stand Up*). Santhosh Daniel, Director of Programs for The Global Film Initiative, will introduce the work of the organization.

I would like to extend special thanks for the support and collaboration offered to the LASA Festival by the ICAU (Uruguayan Film and Audiovisual Institute), INCAA (National Institute of Cinema and Audiovisual Arts, Argentina), and the producer and distributor Wanda Vision.

Hope to see you all in San Francisco.

[1] Due to space constraints we are including here only film titles. For a complete record, please glance at the festival program. ■

LASA2012 Exhibitors

Alternative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples

Altexto. Editoriales Universitarias y Académicas de México

Americas Media Initiative (Chiapas Media Project)

Association Book Exhibit

Bolerium Books

Cambridge University Press

Center for Latin American Studies, University of California, Berkeley

CIDE (Centro de Investigación y Docencias Económicas)

CIESAS (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social)

CSIC: Departamento de Publicaciones

Cubanabooks

David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Stuides (Harvard University)

Duke University Press

El Colegio de la Frontera Norte

El Colegio de México

First Peoples: New Directions in Indigenous Studies

FLACSO Ecuador

FLACSO México

Gale, Cengage Learning

Global Exchange

Hackett Publishing Co.

Haymarket Books

Hispanic American Periodicals Index/ Latin Americanist Research Resources Project

Iberoamericana Editorial Velvert

Institute of International Education and IAF Fellowship Program

Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana (IILI)

Latin American & Caribbean Art and Culture

Latin American Book Source, Inc.

Latin American Perspectives

Lexington Books

Libros Latinos

Lynne Rienner Publishers

Macmillan

Middlebury Language Schools and Schools Abroad

Nicaragua Photo Testimony

OCEAN PRESS

Oxford University Press

Palgrave Macmillan

Pathfinder Press

Penguin Group (USA)

Penn State University Press

Project Muse

Random House

Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group

Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group

Stanford University Press

The Edwin Mellen Press

The Scholar Choice

The University of Texas Press

The University of Wisconsin Press

Universidad de Chile/ Economics and Business

University of Arizona Press

University of California Press

University of New Mexico Press

University of North Carolina Press

University of Notre Dame Press

University of Oklahoma Press

University of Pittsburgh Press

University Press of Florida

US Air Force/ Air & Space Power Journal

Vanderbilt University Press

Visual Aids For Latin American Studies

Washington Office on Latin America

Wiley-Blackwell

LASA Combined Table

Pluto Journals

Temple University Press

Lectorum Publications

Kumarian Press (Stylus Publishing)

Federal University of São Carlos/ Sociology Department

Begoña Leyra Fatou

Berghahn Books, Inc.

Saint Joseph's University Press

Ingrid Galster, Universidad de Paderborn

Syracuse University Press

Food First/ Institute for Food and Development Policy

The University of Chicago Press

The MIT Press

ON LASA2012

LASA2012 Local Logistics

Registration

As in the past, all LASA Congress participants and attendees must be registered; no exceptions can be made. The deadline for paper presenters to preregister was December 15, 2011. The Secretariat extended the deadline through the end of March 2012 in order to give participants more time to make arrangements to attend. Preregistered participants should have received their name badges by postal mail.

Registration and Check-In Areas will be located in the San Francisco Marriott Marquis, at the Yerba Buena Ballroom (Lower B2 Level) for LASA2012. Participants are encouraged to check in for the Congress starting on Wednesday 23th from 7:00pm to 10:00pm.

Registration and check-in hours:

Wednesday 23, 7:00 pm – 10:00pm
Thursday 24, 7:00 am – 8:00 pm
Friday 25, 7:00 am – 8:00 pm
Saturday 26, 7:30 am – 2:00 pm

Check-In

For LASA2012, registered participants will receive in advance a name badge and badge holder by postal mail. The program book and other information will be given at the time of check-in.

Participants are urged to give themselves ample time to check in before their scheduled sessions. Individuals planning on attending Thursday morning sessions should consider checking in at 7:00 pm to 10:00pm on Wednesday, if at all possible. (At any rate, people planning on attending the Welcoming Reception and Awards Ceremony on Wednesday night will be required to wear their badges.)

On-Site Registration

Individuals registering on site should proceed to the On-Site Registration area to pay the required fees and receive their materials. MasterCard and Visa credit cards, checks written on U.S.-based banks, and U.S. currency will be accepted.

Congress Sessions and Proceedings

Sessions will be held in the San Francisco Marriott Marquis Hotel. Congress papers received by the Secretariat by May 1st deadline will be posted to the LASA website before the start of the meeting.

Contracted Hotels

The San Francisco Marriott Marquis is the main site for LASA2012.

San Francisco Marriott Marquis
(Congress Hotel)
55 4th Street
San Francisco, CA 94103
Tel: (415) 896-1600

Overflow hotels:

Intercontinental San Francisco
888 Howard Street
San Francisco, CA, 94103
Tel: (415) 616 6500

Holiday Inn Golden Gateway
(LASA will provide a 3-day transportation ticket upon your registration at the hotel)
1500 Van Ness Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94109
Tel: (415) 441 4000

The Mosser Hotel
54 Fourth Street
San Francisco, CA 94103
Tel: (415) 986 4400

Transportation from the Airport to Hotels

San Francisco International Airport (SFO) is located about 14 miles from the hotel. Airport shuttles, taxis and limousines are available to the hotel from SFO as well as the subway, BART. (Go to the transportation tab to find different discounts). Cars can be rented at the airport and the hotels.

Audio/Visual Equipment

LASA will be providing an LCD projector and screen as well as a laptop with the proper connections in each session meeting room. Separate audio and video equipment will not be provided. Any video presentations should be recorded on DVD or any other media so they may be viewed via the laptop. Presenters will be required to provide their own speakers if needed. AV staff will be available if participants experience any problems with the equipment. Internet connections will not be available in session meeting rooms.

Child Care

LASA will subsidize the cost of child care for accepted participants who are taking their children to San Francisco. LASA will provide reimbursements at the rate of US $10.00 per hour for one child and US $12.00 for two or more children, for a maximum of 10 hours.

LASA maximum responsibility per family will be $ 100.00 for one child and $120.00 for two or more children. A parent who bills LASA for childcare must be a 2012 member of the Association and a registered attendee of LASA2012. To receive reimbursement, the parent must submit the original bill from the caregiver, with the name(s) of the child(ren), and the dates of the service, to the LASA Secretariat on or before July 15, 2012.

Constancias

Constancias for LASA2012 may be picked up on Saturday 26 at the Registration Area located in the San Francisco Marriott Marquis Hotel at the Yerba Buena Ballroom (Lower B2 Level). If you are leaving earlier, you may pick it up after your panel presentation. ■

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Can Latin America Escape the Middle Income Trap? Lessons from a Trans-Regional Comparison

by Eva Paus | Mount Holyoke College MA | Project leader | epaus@mtholyoke.edu

In the fall of 2009, we received a Mellon-LASA grant to explore policy solutions for overcoming the middle income trap. Our working group met several times, and we presented preliminary findings at the LASA meetings in Toronto (fall 2010), at a conference in Costa Rica organized by José Cordero from the University of Costa Rica (spring 2011) and at the SASE meetings in Madrid (summer 2011). The final results of the project will be published in *Studies in Comparative International Development* this summer. The forthcoming special issue includes an introductory article that lays out the common analytical framework and summarizes the main results (Eva Paus, Mount Holyoke College), and five articles with individual country studies: Chile (Esteban Pérez Caldentey, ECLAC); the Dominican Republic (Diego Sanchez-Ancochea, Oxford University); Jordan (Luis Abugattas Majluf, international consultant); Ireland (Eva Paus); and Singapore (Penelope Prime, Mercer University). Below is a brief summary of the project and some of the main findings.

The high road to economic development involves a process of structural changein which production shifts increasingly towards activities with greater value added and knowledge-intensity. The failure of Washington Consensus policies to engender such structural transformation has become more apparent in recent years, as international competition has intensified and China has become a strong competitor in low as well as high-tech goods. Middle income countries find themselves between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, they have not made headway in catching up with the high-income countries of the OECD, with a persisting income gap of more than 80 percent. On the other hand, they have lost ground vis-à-vis China at an astonishing rate. In 1980, their average GDP percapitawas seven times higher than that of China; by 2010, it had fallen below that of China (see accompanying chart).

Producers in Latin American countries increasingly find that they can no longer compete with producers in low wage countries in the export of standardized products, but that they have not developed the capabilities to compete, on a broad basis, in the exports of skill and knowledge-intensive goods and services. Middle income countries in Latin America and elsewhere now run the risk of being trapped, of being pushed onto the low road of change, where declining wages, not rising productivity, form the basis for competitiveness and growth.

To understand better how countries can achieve broad-based upgrading to confront the middle income trap, we developed an analytical framework that links the macroeconomic context with microeconomic behavior and mesoeconomic conditions. This capabilities-based approach advances the theoretical debate by merging structuralist, evolutionary and global value chain analysis. It deliberately shifts the focus from growth to upgrading, and thus to learning processes, policy interventions, and the interactions among social and firm-level capabilities in the context of path dependency and location and time-specific contingencies.

The country studies use the capabilities-based approach to analyze upgrading processes and outcomes in five small latecomers. We focused on small countries because most middle income countries are small and do not have the advantages of internal market size and bargaining power of large latecomers like Brazil, India, and China, and thus tend to be more open to trade and investment. We chose countries that narrowed the income gap with high-income countries under a liberal foreign trade and investment regime and have been considered success stories in their own regions, and sometimes beyond. Finally, we chose countries from different parts of the world to explore the importance of location and time in a comparison of upgrading experiences.

Each author examines the nature of structural change and productivity growth in one of the five countries. We analyze how the development and interaction of social and firm level capabilities, the nature of foreign direct investment (FDI), the role and impact of different government policies, and location and time-specificity account for the particular upgrading outcomes of the countries. Due to space constraints I limit the discussion of the project results to three lessons.

First, the case studies show that income convergence does not necessarily imply capability convergence and broad-based upgrading. In at least three of the cases, an assessment of development success based on growth differs considerably from an assessment based on capability advancement. Second, the country studies demonstrate that strategic, proactive and coherent government policies for the advancement of social and firm-level capabilities are a critical determinant of upgrading, both at the country level and in the development of "pockets of excellence." Thus, the project makes an important contribution to the ongoing discussion about the role of industrial policies in addressing pro-growth structural change and broad-based upgrading.

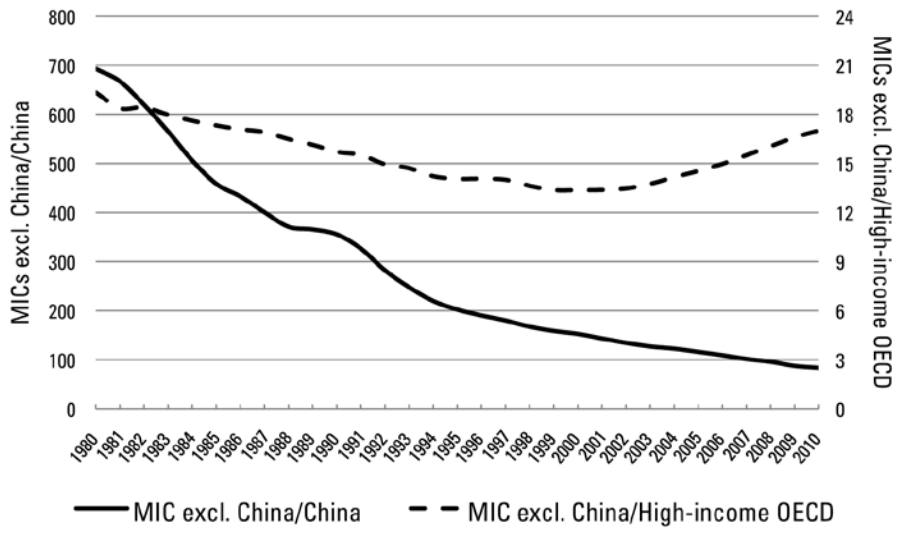
Third, the trans-regional comparison demonstrates the peril of neglecting the development of local firm capabilities Small countries are more prone to rely on FDI for upgrading. Indeed, in all five countries,

governments envisioned FDI to play a key role in the country's development. But the case studies demonstrate that production by Transnational Corporation (TNC) affiliates in the host country does not automatically contribute to increasing local firm capabilities, and that, in the context of changing national and global conditions, reallocation ofTNC production may be more likely than upgrading of TNC production in the host country.

The comparative case studies suggest that the best shot at an escape from the middle income trap is a shift in the analytical focus from growth to capability-accumulation and a shift in the policy focus from the current faith in a market-led process of upgrading to an embrace of a proactive state to support the synergistic advancement of social and firm-level capabilities. Effective states may be hard to build, but they have become essential in the current process of China-dominated globalization.

GDP p.c. of Middle Income Countries excl. China
Relative to China and to High-Income OECD

(constant 2005 PPP)



Source: Calculations based on World Development Indicators.

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.

Latin American Studies Association

416 Bellefield Hall
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

lasa.international.pitt.edu