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From the President

by EVELYNE HUBER | University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill | ehuber@unc.edu

The LASA Executive Council (EC) met on November 10, 2012, to deliberate and decide on a number of issues. To begin with the highlights: LASA as an organization is thriving. We have surpassed a membership of 8,000 individuals and institutions combined. This is true despite the fact that institutional membership has declined, particularly among libraries. This downturn is certainly in part due to the spread of electronic access to journals and other information. The EC decided to convene a focus group of institutional members at the Washington Congress, to explore what new needs these members might have and how LASA could better address them. We shall also reach out to Centers of Latin American Studies who are not now but might become members. Vice President/President-elect Merilee Grindle will chair that meeting and follow up on the issue during her presidency.

As expected, the number of submissions for the coming Congress, the first one on the new annual schedule, declined, with the desired result that the acceptance rate climbed steeply. The track chairs and program co-chairs deserve our thanks for their hard and concentrated work. For more information, please read the report from the program chairs in this issue.

One of the positive aspects of the growth of LASA membership has been the growth of Sections. Since the last Congress, four new Sections have been approved. This demonstrates a high level of involvement of our membership. However, there is also a potential downside to the proliferation of Sections. The formation of the Sections requires a good amount of time and energy on the part of both the members who are organizing a new Section and the Secretariat. When Section membership declines and falls below the minimum of fifty required to maintain a Section, this

means a loss of the invested time and energy. To alleviate this problem to the extent possible, the EC decided to raise the minimum number of members required to form a new section from fifty to seventy-five. The minimum number of members required to maintain a Section once it has been formed remains at fifty, unchanged.

The EC also discussed the issue of resolutions. Apparently, there is some confusion about the process. Here is how it works: Once a resolution has been approved by the LASA members present and voting at the business meeting, it is sent to the membership at large for a vote. Under the rules adopted by the EC at its meeting in San Francisco, in order for a resolution to be formally adopted by LASA, at least 20 percent of the membership must vote, and a majority of those voting must vote in favor. So, if fewer than 20 percent of members vote, the resolution is not formally adopted. This is what happened to the resolutions adopted by the LASA business meeting in San Francisco and subsequently sent to the membership for a vote. ■



ON THE PROFESSION

Analytic Resources for Emerging Methodological Repertoires

by THOMAS MUSTILLO | Purdue University | tmustill@purdue.edu

Novel methodological approaches are ablaze in the humanities and social sciences. Early adopters of network science, spatial data analysis, and digital humanities are enriching our fields with surprising findings. New methodological repertoires diversify the questions we can ask and the knowledge we can build across a variety of substantive themes.

But novel methods often demand novel resources to enable their deployment. In this edition of “On the Profession,” we feature cyber-infrastructure and analytic tools that enable fresh treatment of research themes old and new. Our purpose is to raise the profile of methodological innovators operating near the margins of the LASA community and thereby facilitate an expansion of our collective imagination about the kinds of questions we can ask and the types of tools we can use. We hope to inspire cross-fertilization over disciplinary and methodological boundaries that are often too impervious.

Paul Pierson in *Politics in Time* (2004) noted the poverty associated with a methodological specialist who claims, “I can model that,” when confronted with a unique or complex theoretical proposition, but whose “theoretical imageries” never lead her to imagine such propositions in the first place. We concur, but note that it can also apply in the opposite direction: methodological traditions have their own imageries, and so scholars who try on new methodological eyewear might be inspired with new propositions.

We feature two contributors, both of whom are partners to initiatives that exploit data intensity, computational capacity, and ingenuity. Historian Jo Guldi describes “Paper Machines,” a textual analysis and visualization tool she developed with colleagues to study vast collections of

documents, in her case with an eye toward the study of twentieth-century property law reform across the globe. Geographer Steven Manson, a member of the Scientific Leadership Group of the Terra Populus project, describes TerraPop and U-Spatial, two bits of cyber-infrastructure that underlie spatial data analysis applications across a wide range of disciplines—in his case for the study of changing urban and rural landscapes. ■

Paper Machines: A Text Analysis and Visualization Toolkit for Zotero Libraries

by JO GULDI | Brown University; Harvard Society of Fellows | guldi@fas.harvard.edu

From the 1790s on, official government minutes and reports were printed for most Western governments. Printing was expensive and occasioned only by meetings of official bodies. From the 1820s on, these state papers were supplemented by occasional propaganda from nongovernment bodies like the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. By the 1880s and the rise of Fabian socialism, this form of para-governmental reporting had become a standard apparatus of professional groups, each of which, from doctors to lawyers to property surveyors, had its own professional journal, routinely distributing professional reports. Modern history is the moment of too much paper to read, a problem that traps historians in a game of characterizing the institutions of power even when their social and disciplinary commitments lead them to critical stances toward those institutions.

This summer, my team of researchers released Paper Machines, a digital toolkit designed to help scholars like myself parse the massive amounts of paper involved in any comprehensive, international look at the over-documented twentieth century. Its purpose is to make state-of-the-art text mining accessible to scholars across a variety of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences who lack extensive technical knowledge or immense computational resources.

Paper Machines was designed with the range of historians' textual sources in mind. While tool sets like Google Books Ngram Viewer utilize preset corpora from Google Book Search that automatically emphasize the Anglo-American tradition, Paper Machines works with the individual researcher's own hand-tailored collections of texts, whether mined from digital sources like newspapers and chat rooms or scanned and saved through optical

character recognition (OCR) from paper sources like government archives. Paper Machines is an open-source Zotero extension; Zotero is a program that allows users to create bibliographies and build their own hand-curated libraries in an online database. These libraries may be large or small—as minute as a particular literary author or as large as the discipline of economics in the nineteenth century—and the libraries may overlap (for example, novels about economic life could appear in an economics library). Zotero also provides for scholarly collaboration. Nested inside Zotero, Paper Machines works with Zotero's provision for multiuser text collections, allowing a class, a group of scholars, or scholars and activists together to collect and share archives of texts. These group libraries can be set as public or private depending on the sensitivity and copyright restrictions of the material being collected. Indeed, I have heard reports of historians of Panama using a Zotero group library to collect and share the texts of government libraries for which no official finding aid exists. The scholars

themselves are thus engaged in preserving, annotating, and making discoverable historical resources that otherwise risk neglect, decay, or even intentional damage.

In Paper Machines, these hand-tailored libraries are visualized with data-mining techniques like geoparsing, named entity recognition, and latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA). The results of these processes can then be translated into a variety of categorical, chronological, and geographical visualizations to show the distinctive features of textual corpora. With Paper Machines, scholars can create visual representations of a multitude of patterns within a text corpus using a simple, easy-to-use graphical interface. One may use the tool to generalize about a wide body of thought—for instance, things historians have said in a particular journal over the last ten years. Or one may visualize libraries against each other—say, novels about nineteenth-century London set against novels about nineteenth-century Paris. Using this tool, a multitude of patterns in text can be rendered visible

Figure 1: Geoparser map showing mentions of place-names in a corpus of texts about land law, with time slider at top left.



through a simple graphical interface. For example, Figure 1 is a map of place-names mentioned in a corpus of texts on land law. In the interactive version, a time slider would allow the scholar to watch the appearance of new place-names over time.

Paper Machines itself, as a piece of infrastructure, is both a work in progress and a community initiative. As the grant writer behind a collaborative effort involving several people, I designed Paper Machines to help scholars like myself by capitalizing upon the masses of texts already available online, digitized by thoughtful digital archivists, and also drawing upon the work already developed by our colleagues in computer science. To this end, it provides an easily extensible framework for combining data sources—including JSTOR Data for Research and the user's own corpus of texts—with techniques such as geoparsing, named entity recognition, and latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA), each of them the product of graduate work by computer scientists. For instance, David Mimno, a Princeton postdoctoral student, wrote Mallet, the timeline used by Paper Machines for visualizing topic modeling. Figure 2 shows a timeline designed with Mallet wherein the computer identifies particular topics (sets of words that probabilistically appear near each other in a book) over time. Designed to work with English, it was released as an early open-source alpha version of code this summer, with the idea that scholars interested in retooling the code to work with Spanish-corpus place-names or alternative historical gazetteers might do so, hiring computational research assistants of their own to adjust the tool to their specific needs.

Applying Paper Machines to text corpora allows scholars to accumulate hypotheses about *longue-durée* patterns in the

influence of ideas, individuals, and professional cohorts. By measuring trends, ideas, and institutions against each other over time, scholars will be able to take on a much larger body of texts than they normally do. In my own work I have begun applying Paper Machines to a text corpus that I hand-curated for my *Long Land War* monograph project. It is already proving useful to the problem of “distant reading” large numbers of bureaucratic texts from the twentieth century, which is a major problem for scholars asking large-scale questions in my field. However, scholars from other fields will be able to imagine new and innovative uses for Paper Machines’ functions—or new and innovative functions altogether.

Working with Paper Machines allows me to trace the conversations in British history from the local stories at their points of origin forward, leaping from microhistorical research in the British archive into *longue-durée* synthesis of policy trends on a worldwide scale. That digitally enabled research operates through a threefold process: digitally synthesizing broad swaths of time, critically inquiring into the microhistorical archive with digitally informed discernment about which archives to choose, and reading more broadly in secondary literatures from adjacent fields. For example, in Figure 2, the topic-modeling algorithm Mallet has been run on a corpus of scholarly texts about land law. The resulting image is a computer-guided timeline of the relative prominence of ideas—some mentioning Ireland and some mentioning India—that can then be changed and fine-tuned. This visualization of changing concepts over time guides me to look more closely in my corpus at the 1970s, when the intellectual memory of land struggles in Ireland was helping to guide contemporary policy in Latin America.

The Long Land War tells the story of the global progress of land reform movements, tracing ideas about worker allotments and food security, participatory governance, and rent control from the end of British Empire to the present. British lawyers wrestled with ideas of peasant proprietorship in India, Ireland, and Scotland, inventing patterns of land reform that appealed to administrators at the United Nations and the postcolonial governments of the global south. Throughout my reading in the history of British property law, I have used Paper Machines to synthetically characterize the nature of particular debates and their geographic referents, making for instance timelines and spatial maps of topics and place-names associated with rent control, land reform, and allotment gardening.

Paper Machines also makes the scholar better able to discern which archives to choose and in which parts of archives to invest her reading time. I came back from visiting Rome this summer with 4,600 OCR documents from the archive of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, one of the chief offices to preside over midcentury land reform. Paper Machines was designed as a tool for hacking those bureaucracies, for forming an instant portrait of their workings, giving an immediate context to documents from the archive that is more substantial than the high-profile events, schools of thought, or individuals—Milton Friedman, John F. Kennedy, and so on—who tend to dominate our understanding of history. Instead, the user of Paper Machines can afford to pay attention to the field agents, branch heads, and directors-general of UN offices, or indeed to the intermediate faculty of the University of Wisconsin and the University of Sussex who offered so much advice to both heads of state and generations of undergraduates on their way

to the civil service. Paper Machines allows us to instantly take the DNA of each of these organs, identifying the ways in which they diverge and converge. All of these fields spoke a common language of modernization theory: of national governments, democratic reform, government-provided extension, training and management and the provision of new equipment that resulted in quantitatively verifiable increased production.

Reading with a digital finding aid renders possible intentional reading, as for instance in reading for dissent. Traditional research, limited by the sheer breadth of the non-digitized archive and the time necessary to sort through it, becomes easily shackled to histories of institutions and actors in power, for instance characterizing universal trends in the American Empire from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations' investments in

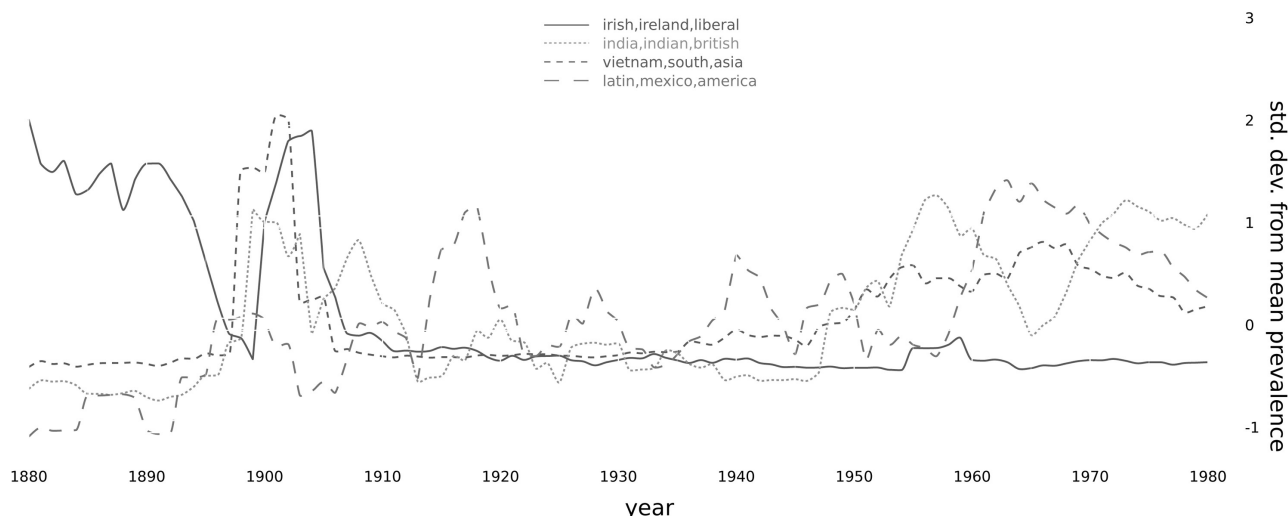
pesticides, as some historians have done. By identifying vying topics over time, Paper Machines allows the reader to identify and pursue particular moments of dissent, schism, and utopianism—zeroing in on conflicts between the pesticide industry and the Appropriate Technology movement or between the World Bank and the Liberation Theology movement over exploitative practices, for example. Digitally structured reading means giving more time to counterfactuals and suppressed voices, realigning the archive to the intentions of history from below.

For the scholar writing as a British historian, that gesture implies an end to scholastic isolation of Anglo-American traditions from debates in other corners of the world. My work with Paper Machines has required me to spend more and more of my time reading contemporary literature

on Latin American and South Asian history, coming to grips with the way land stories unfold on a global scale, and thus seriously addressing the import of my subject through dialogue with colleagues in neighboring fields. Digital synthesis, by allowing me to look at the grander sweep of time, has made me, as a historian of Britain, better able to write as a citizen of the world.

My hope is that tools like these can teach historians how to take our own questions more seriously. I also hope that open-source, reusable tools like Paper Machines, building upon existing resources, will encourage historians and indeed the public to look at events in their deep contexts, drawing out the most important narratives possible for a history of the present. ■

Figure 2: Mallet, topic modeling software by David Mimno, modeling the relevant prominence of mentions of India, Ireland, and other topics in relationship to each other over time.



ON THE PROFESSION

Public Cyber-Infrastructure for Spatial Analysis

by STEVEN MANSON | University of Minnesota | manson@umn.edu

Spatial science is a fast-growing field that studies spatiotemporal aspects of people, places, and processes using information technologies. It encompasses technologies ranging from satellite imaging and geographic information systems (GIS) to spatial data and models of data derived from social networks and fieldwork. Key research agencies—including the National Science Foundation and National Institutes of Health in the United States—have targeted spatial science for dramatically increased funding. Scientific bodies, including the U.S. National Academies and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, herald spatial science as an integrative approach and a research topic of vital importance to a wide array of disciplines encompassing Latin Americanists. Importantly, these agencies point to a need for better spatial science infrastructure, including physical systems centered on computing and communication as well as scientific data standards for archiving, discovery, and dissemination.

This spatial science infrastructure takes many forms, but we describe two examples here. The first is Terra Populus (TerraPop), spatial data infrastructure designed to create new opportunities for understanding the relationship between population and the environment at scales ranging from the local to global <<http://www.terrapop.org>>. The second is U-Spatial, the University of Minnesota Spatial Sciences and Systems Infrastructure, which coordinates and supports spatial data, training, and research on campus <<http://uspatial.umn.edu>>. In addition to examining specifics of each project, we use these examples to examine some of the larger institutional and resource dimensions of large-scale spatial data infrastructure.

TerraPop

Terra Populus: A Global Population/Environment Data Network, is an ambitious project to create population-environment data that are both locally accurate and global in coverage. TerraPop will combine two centuries of census data from close to a hundred countries with global environmental data, including land cover, land use, and climate records. Beyond the goal of integrating this information into a common database, the team plans to disseminate the newly available data to researchers around the world. Many high-quality environmental and population data sets exist, but they are widely dispersed, have incompatible or inadequate documentation, and often include incompatible or incomplete spatial locational information. Newly available population data closely integrated with data on the environment will more clearly describe the unfolding transformation of human and ecological systems.

TerraPop aims to accomplish four specific tasks over the coming years:

- Collecting, preserving, integrating, and describing datasets that measure changes in the world's population and environment over the past two centuries.
- Developing tools and procedures to manage and disseminate the data collections. This work involves spatiotemporally harmonizing census data by addressing statistical and mathematical challenges of integrating large socioeconomic datasets.
- Carrying out education and outreach to engage the scientific community and the public and reach the broadest possible audience. This involves outreach at professional conferences, specialized

workshops and training sessions, and an Internet presence.

- Establishing an organizational structure to ensure the long-term sustainability of the project, including development of an endowment fund and cross-institutional ties with leading data archives around the world. TerraPop is also a partner in the National Science Foundation's Sustainable Digital Data Preservation and Access Network (DataNet). The DataNet initiative aims to provide reliable digital preservation, access, integration, and analysis capabilities for science data over a decades-long timeline.

U-Spatial

Over five hundred researchers in over fifty departments at University of Minnesota (UMN) actively conduct spatial science research, and many more have expressed interest, yet the university has had no organized research infrastructure in this area until now. U-Spatial focuses on modest yet critical coordinated infrastructure improvements to enhance the university's spatial science activities. U-Spatial is a network of research nodes that enhances existing UMN research strengths, eliminates duplication and fragmentation of scientific resources, and provides a framework of data, equipment, expertise, and resources. These nodes provide the U-Spatial infrastructure via four infrastructure cores:

Central Core. The central core provides general assistance and resource coordination. Services include walk-in help desks and online services to provide general assistance with analysis and simple mapping. Assistants will also direct advanced problems to secondary nodes and

experts. The central core also provides training via a program of short workshops that cover spatial science basics all the way through to advanced courses tailored to specific domains (e.g., public health or humanities). For example, we offer a GIS 101 course, a free one-day workshop introducing participants to GIS fundamentals. Last year, almost 150 people participated in the workshops, and the sessions remain oversubscribed. Many GIS 101 participants learn the basic skills needed to use GIS in their research, while others contact the help desk for more specific training.

Data Core. A recent special issue of *Science* titled “Dealing with Data” (February 11, 2011) argues that we must better deal with the “deluge” of huge and complex data sets in the face of critical shortcomings in data archiving and discovery. These needs are writ large for spatial science research on campus. U-Spatial helps researchers archive their data and make it discoverable and reusable by others. U-Spatial provides expertise in data management, archiving, and discovery services that greatly improve data reuse and citation capabilities. Access to spatial data is being addressed by two groups. The first group is piloting a web-based system to make spatial data easy to discover and access, while the second is focusing on the long-term archiving and preservation of data.

Imaging Core. Remote imaging, or digital images of the earth made from planes and satellites, is critical to research domains ranging from deforestation measurement to urban growth analysis. Given the vast amount of data involved and the expertise and systems necessary for converting raw data into a format suitable for scientific analysis, researchers cannot currently take full advantage of these resources. U-Spatial

is making remote imaging fully accessible to UMN researchers, which involves managing data from multiple-sensor platforms and offering expert help on image collection and analysis.

Analysis Core. Research on complex, pressing problems such as climate variability and rapid social change requires advanced spatial analysis. One part of the core is developing modeling infrastructure, including a library of open-source models and expertise for applying it to various domains. U-Spatial is also developing specific datasets which are currently in great demand (e.g., a spatially enabled public health database that is tied to census data). Another focus of U-Spatial is on geodesign, the application of technology to allow decision makers to collaboratively construct and evaluate landscape plans using spatiotemporal modeling and three-dimensional visualization. Geodesign nodes will each host touch tables and multiple display facilities that will be synchronously interactive. The final focus is mapping, where U-Spatial is building on successful GIS and web-mapping programs that provide data and expertise to researchers working on scientific problems in Minnesota and elsewhere.

Outlook

Spatial science infrastructure is necessary. For example, we identified the need for U-Spatial infrastructure through a comprehensive assessment of existing capacity, including surveys, a strategic assessment in which we interviewed dozens of stakeholders, and a nationwide comparison where we interviewed leaders and users of similar spatial science infrastructure at a dozen top research universities. We surveyed faculty and students in a single academic unit, for

example, and over two hundred respondents across the arts, humanities, and social sciences wanted to use spatial science in their work, but only a handful had the requisite support and available expertise. Desired projects included representing shifting perception of Latino immigrants over time to quantitative sociological studies of racial inequality in cities. Many similar issues held true for TerraPop, where literally hundreds of researchers around the globe have started to use the underlying harmonized census data and have expressed great interest in linking it to environmental data. TerraPop and U-Spatial provide just two examples of the larger needs for spatial science and data.

Spatial data infrastructure is complex and therefore expensive. While the accessing of spatial data—such as free satellite data via the Internet or the global reach of Google Maps—is increasingly easy and inexpensive, using the data and their associated methods and theory usually necessitates deeper infrastructure. U-Spatial is funded by \$2.5 million over 2012–2017, two-thirds of which is from the University of Minnesota’s Infrastructure Investment Initiative, with the remaining third contributed by seven colleges, three large research centers, and three central administrative bodies including libraries and information technology. It involves dozens of staff, faculty, and students. TerraPop is similarly complicated. It was awarded a five-year, \$8 million grant from the U.S. National Science Foundation’s Office of Cyberinfrastructure, which requires cooperation among many institutions, given the complexity and depth of the issues involved. The Minnesota Population Center leads the effort with support from the Institute on the Environment, the University of Minnesota Libraries, and faculty from the College of Liberal Arts and the College of

DEBATES

Evolving Practices of Citizenship amid Institutional Reform

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Science and Engineering. Additional partners include the Center for International Earth Science Information Network at Columbia University (CIESIN), a leading research and data center focused on human-environment interactions, and the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) at the University of Michigan, the world's largest social science data archive. The Minnesota Population Center is home to the largest collection of census data in the world, while the Institute on the Environment has one of the most extensive databases of global land use in the country.

Learn more at uspatial.umn.edu and www.terrapop.org. ■

The *Debates* section in this issue explores the ways in which political institutional reform has altered the manner in which citizenship is expressed and practiced.

The third wave of democratization in Latin America has been accompanied by reforms in representative as well as participatory institutions. Countries have followed diverse paths. In some cases, pacts among the elites materialized during processes of transition. In other cases, bottom-up processes of social mobilization allowed for radical transformations of the political systems—usually through the approval of new constitutions. In some cases, sequential modest reforms have allowed political actors to adapt institutions to changing environments.

In all these processes, three main issues are at stake. First, reformers have scrutinized representative institutions, such as electoral systems, and the effectiveness with which they channel and aggregate citizen interests. Second, political and social actors have addressed the question of empowering citizens within the decision-making process. Debates on the promotion of direct mechanisms of citizen participation are central at local and national levels and reflect bottom-up approaches toward democratic politics. Finally, in several countries organized indigenous groups have advanced a political agenda concerning self-determination and cultural and political recognition and autonomy. Thus, institutional shifts are reflecting new democratic challenges in a highly dynamic political landscape. ■

When Constitutions Shape National Identity

by ZACHARY ELKINS | Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin |
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Some of the most intriguing clauses in national constitutions are those that define the nation and its members. I mean the kind of emphatic statements typically prefaced by the stem words, “Brazilians are those who...,” followed by a host of criteria. Compared to other sources of national identity, these clauses are not particularly subtle. Indeed, it is hard to imagine a more prominent source (the constitution) or a clearer definition of membership than these provisions. Of course, the purpose of these citizenship clauses is to bestow membership privileges on some but not others. And, just as obviously, these clauses can vary in their exclusivity. By international standards, citizenship rules in Latin American constitutions have historically been remarkably inclusive. What, if anything, is the effect of such inclusivity? I suspect that this citizenship tradition has had an appreciable effect on the degree of national unity.

Clearing Some Conceptual Underbrush

Let us first wrestle to the ground the concept of “citizen,” as well as its synonyms and its related terms. The relevant “semantic field” (Sartori 1984) includes the terms “national” and “subject,” as well as the titular designation (e.g., “Brazilian”) and its equivalents. A basic distinction has to do with whether the term refers simply to membership in the state’s community or to something more than membership—membership plus some set of political rights, principally voting rights. The latter sense is what Aristotle had in mind by *politai*, which is often translated as “citizen” in English and, indeed, has defined that concept for many.

Many constitutional drafters maintain this Aristotelian sense of the term. Actually, a

fair number of drafters make the distinction between, on the one hand, nationals, subjects, and “Brazilians” (all understood as members), and on the other hand, citizens (members with voting rights). Here and below I refer to data that I have been collecting with my collaborators on the Comparative Constitutions Project. According to our data, about one-fifth (22 percent) of the world’s constitutions since 1789 have distinguished between the two classes (or at least referred to both terms).¹ Another 71 percent of constitutions use either “citizen” or some variation of “national/Brazilian” (but not both “citizen” and “national/Brazilian”). Generally, those that refer to citizens without mentioning nationals (such as the drafters of the U.S. Constitution) seem to mean simply membership in the state. Citizens, in this non-Aristotelian sense, are entitled to a passport, but they may not be entitled to vote. A final two percent of constitutions use the term “subject.” Clearly, this term is meant to refer to membership only. My concern in this essay is simply with the idea of membership, not membership with political privileges.

Whether it is about citizens or nationals, a discussion of some class of national identity is one of the few topics that are common to nearly every constitution. Roughly 96 percent of constitutions since 1789 say something about either citizenship or status as a national, and a full 70 percent provide the criteria for eligibility for one or the other designations. What is more, fewer than half (44 percent) of those constitutions that do *not* address these criteria include a clause indicating that the criteria are to be specified by ordinary law. These latter drafters seem to acknowledge, perhaps apologetically, that such criteria are something that readers should have expected to read in the document.

What Do Constitutions Say about Citizenship?

Citizenship clauses can vary in interesting ways, but one of the most important and characteristic differences has to do with *jus soli* versus *jus sanguinis* provisions. The provision of *jus soli* (right of the soil) entitles those born in the territory to citizenship, while *jus sanguinis* (right of blood) entitles those with national parentage. The division of *jus soli* from *jus sanguinis* makes sense historically, since there are very few conditions other than blood and soil that have alone been sufficient to grant citizenship. Since 1789, 43 percent of the 626 constitutions in our sample have offered a path to citizenship in which birth in territory is sufficient, and in 42 percent descent alone is sufficient. Constitutions, of course, can provide for both paths: almost all countries that offer *jus soli* (89 percent of *jus soli* constitutions) also offer *jus sanguinis*. Effectively, then, the question is whether countries offer *jus soli* or not. If they do, we can think of them as comparatively inclusive.

Two historical facts concern us here regarding *jus soli*. First, the right of *jus soli* is in relative decline. According to our data, roughly 60 percent of constitutions throughout most of the 1800s provided the right; only 35 percent do so now, a decline that started at the beginning of the twentieth century. Second, a large majority of constitutions that provide (and have provided) the right are from the Americas.

What do they look like? Article 23 of the Honduran constitution of 1982 is typical of the unconditional version of the right:

Hondurans by birth are:

1. *Those born in national territory, except those of diplomatic agents*

2. *Those born abroad of a Honduran mother or father*
3. *Those born aboard boats and planes of Honduran nationality and those born aboard merchant ships in Honduran waters*
4. *An infant of unknown parentage found in the territory of Honduras*

The Honduran law gives right of membership not only to those born on soil but also to those born on Honduran sea or air (*jus mari* and *jus caeli*, perhaps)—an exceedingly generous version of *jus soli*. On the other hand, some *jus soli* constitutions require a period of residence prior to granting membership (call this *jus soli et domicilium*). For example, Article 22, subsection v of the Portuguese constitution of 1822 states:

Portuguese citizens by birth include:

- v. *The sons of a foreign father, who [the sons] are born and acquire residence in the kingdom and who upon gaining the age of majority declare that they wish to be Portuguese.*

This version of *jus soli* is similar to the current law in Germany, a country that has long been associated with *jus sanguinis* policies. The German Nationality Law, as revised in 2000, allows the children of legally resident immigrants to apply for citizenship by their twenty-third birthday. More commonly, *jus soli* policies exclude those working in the diplomatic corps of another country and those in transit, as in Article 10 of Chile's 1980 constitution:

Chileans are:

1. *Persons born in the territory of Chile, with the exception of children of*

foreigners who are in Chile in the service of their government, and of the children of transient foreigners. However, all may apply for Chilean nationality.

Common law is thought to exclude these categories of people (diplomats, transients, and foreign armies) by convention, but in fact the exact conditions attached to *jus soli* are at the heart of the debate over birthright citizenship in the United States. There, advocates of a more restrictive policy have pushed a limited reading of the Fourteenth Amendment that would exclude children of undocumented immigrants. Still, these various examples of *jus soli* provisions put the Americas in stark relief with the rest of the world, for which *jus soli* is no longer common.

None of this is to suggest any sort of homogeneity with respect to citizenship clauses in the Americas, which admittedly can vary substantially. Consider two contrasting bookends, Haiti 1805 and Bolivia 2009, the oldest and most recent constitutions from the region, respectively. Contemporary Latin Americanists will be familiar with Bolivia's plurinational constitution of 2009, which not only invites any and all to adopt Bolivian identity but also encourages multiple national identities. Haiti's revolutionary constitution of 1805 sets a startling tone, though in keeping with its revolutionary beginning:

Article 9: No person deserves to be a Haitian who is not a good father, good son, a good husband, and especially a good soldier.

Article 11: Every citizen must possess a mechanic art.

Consequences

These decisions likely have real consequences, some welcome and some unwelcome. One could argue that a more demanding set of citizenship requirements might lead citizens to value membership more, an attachment that could, in turn, imply a deeper commitment to society and participatory governance. Certainly, those who push for a more "consensual" (effectively meaning not automatically granted) citizenship take that view (Schuck and Smith 1986).

However, there is another consideration having to do with national unity. Citizens of multiethnic Latin American countries with inclusive citizenship rules tend to live together in comparable harmony. As one indicator, across seven multiethnic countries in Latin America included in the World Values Survey, citizens of various ethnicities express the same high level of national attachment when asked to respond to survey questions such as "How proud are you to be an Brazilian?" This is not so in other countries. Whatever the validity of these sorts of survey items, this is a remarkable finding that deserves further scrutiny.

It is hard to say whether *jus soli* has fostered such remarkable unity in these countries or whether other correlated factors are more relevant. Still, a *jus soli* effect on national unity makes sense. Granting membership to otherwise alienated and marginalized individuals and their children is a simple but fundamental gesture. It tells the individual and members of their ethnic community that—whatever perceived and real ostracism and discrimination they face—they are full-fledged members of society. It is also a gesture that validates long-cherished principles of inclusion and opportunity. As

Instituciones de representación y calidad de la democracia: Agenda de estudio

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constitutional drafters tinker with citizenship clauses, the relatively costless benefits of inclusion seem worth securing.

Endnote

¹ All data come from the Comparative Constitutions Project (CCP). At this point, CCP investigators have examined 85 percent of constitutional systems once (i.e., by one coder), 75 percent twice (by two coders), and 59 percent three times (by two coders, with any discrepant codings reconciled by one of the principal investigators). In this paper we use cases from each of the three groups. If there are cases with two codings that have not been reconciled, we select one of the codings randomly.

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Se ha vuelto una rutina afirmar que en América Latina las instituciones de representación han recibido una notable atención desde las transiciones y democratizaciones que comenzaron treinta años atrás. No es tan frecuente, por el contrario, reconocer que en el proceso de acumulación de conocimiento ha habido una cierta incapacidad para su aplicación en las sucesivas reformas.

Además de la tendencia a las “mesas separadas” entre académicos y *policymakers*, el inevitable desacompañamiento entre la realidad y su análisis tampoco ha ayudado. Un ejemplo sirve para ilustrar este hecho. La crisis de representación que el mundo andino vivió en la década pasada apenas había sido anticipada por los estudiosos de instituciones. Sin embargo, una profunda reforma de las instituciones de representación fue uno de los buques insignia de los nuevos gobiernos de Ecuador y Bolivia. Para evitar futuras faltas de anticipación, es necesario un esfuerzo sostenido por definir una agenda de investigación sobre instituciones actual y relevante.

Un nuevo eje atraviesa los debates sobre reformas institucionales pendientes en la región: la calidad de la democracia. Si trasladamos la concepción de calidad de la democracia de Levine y Molina (2011) al estudio de las instituciones, vemos que son varias las dimensiones que éstas han de perseguir. En este sentido, las posibles reformas habrán de profundizar en la consecución de instituciones más participativas e inclusivas, con una composición que dependa de procesos electorales, sometidas al control ciudadano y soberanas con respecto a presiones domésticas de grupos variados (como los militares o grupos económicos del país) y externas (como las que puedan ejercer

terceros países u organismos internacionales). La amplitud de estos objetivos dificulta, en algunos casos, que las instituciones cumplan con unos estándares mínimos en todas estas dimensiones de la calidad de la democracia. Pero, a la vez, este reto apremia y anima a que la academia y los *policymakers* continúen su reflexión sobre el funcionamiento de las instituciones democráticas. Aquí se proponen tres ámbitos de estudio que, bien por su novedad, su impacto, o su desatención, respectivamente, reclaman la atención de la agenda de los estudiosos de las instituciones.

En primer lugar, el intento de incorporación de la sociedad civil a las instituciones de representación constituye una novedad que la convierte en materia de análisis obligado. Los presupuestos participativos y las revocatorias de mandato entrarían dentro de esta categoría si bien con resultados dispares y, en lo que se refiere a las revocatorias de mandatos, generando una gran controversia. Se trata de un mecanismo que algunos países han incluido para destituir a las autoridades y que ha comenzado a ser utilizado en el ámbito local (Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú y Venezuela son algunos ejemplos de países con esta normativa). El espíritu que inspiró la introducción de esta figura combinaba el objetivo de adquirir mayores niveles de *accountability* y de prevención de abusos, así como el acercamiento de la política al ciudadano. Además de valorar el grado de cumplimiento de estas metas, merecería la pena analizar otros daños colaterales como la inestabilidad política que pueden generar, el uso de recursos desmedidos para afrontar coyunturas electorales adicionales y sobrevenidas, así como la utilización de dicha figura de forma interesada por parte de algunos grupos de poder con fines no necesariamente democráticos. Hasta la fecha este tema ha sido abordado

fundamentalmente desde una perspectiva jurídica pero es necesario un enfoque politológico que analice la huella de esta figura sobre los procesos de representación en los regímenes democráticos. Desde una perspectiva más amplia, este tipo de procesos de (re)conexión de las instituciones con los ciudadanos se encuentran también en el análisis de la relación entre partidos y ciudadanos. El interés por el efecto de las reglas electorales en la organización de los partidos y en su comportamiento en diferentes arenas como la legislativa; o los análisis sobre democracia interna en los partidos o sobre la gestación de partidos más controlables por el aparato estatal pero también por los ciudadanos/afiliados, así como la formalización de ello en las leyes de partidos, son ejemplos de la atención renovada al papel de los ciudadanos en el proceso y mecanismos de representación de sus demandas e intereses.

El segundo tema que podría integrar de una nueva agenda de estudio de las instituciones es la administración electoral. Se trata de una temática donde ya hay importantes aportaciones (Hartlyn, McCoy y Mustillo 2008; Mozaffar y Schedler 2002, por citar dos exponentes) pero su impacto sobre la calidad de la democracia y las nuevas reformas de los organismos electorales la convierten nuevamente en epicentro. La tendencia manifiesta a la complejización de la estructura y burocratización de los procedimientos de estos organismos electorales (OE) aún no ha sido abordada. Es necesario plantear los límites del crecimiento de los OE que se mantienen con los recursos públicos, y donde no siempre más inversión en éstos se traduce en que los procesos electorales o las decisiones en materia contencioso-electoral sean percibidos como legítimos por parte de los ciudadanos. Por ejemplo, varios organismos electorales de la región han

modificado recientemente sus estructuras, tales como Ecuador y República Dominicana. Este escenario anima a estudiar los criterios utilizados en éstas y otras reformas de los OE, los indicadores de desempeño de estos organismos, así como el grado en que se han satisfecho las expectativas según actores tan relevantes como son los partidos políticos y los ciudadanos.

El tercer tema de esta propuesta de agenda de investigación aborda las instituciones como variable dependiente. ¿Por qué los países optan por unos diseños institucionales? Se trata de desnudar las razones y presiones que guían los procesos de reforma. Quizá los *policymakers* encuentren que no es tan relevante esta reflexión, pero sin duda es útil profundizar en la línea iniciada por trabajos como el de Weyland (2011). Ello permitiría trazar un mapa de las importaciones y exportaciones de instituciones entre países latinoamericanos y con respecto a otras regiones, así como de los actores más relevantes de estos procesos. Dentro de esta temática podrían tener cabida estudios, por ejemplo, sobre el legado de algunos programas de cooperación en fortalecimiento institucional (como el de modernización de poderes legislativos del BID o la inclusión del Consejos de la Magistratura por parte de la cooperación española) o sobre el efecto contagio de los procesos refundacionales entre países como Ecuador y Bolivia. El estudio de estos procesos permitiría desvelar el peso de factores domésticos (liderazgo, presión partidista, ideología...) internacionales (disponibilidad de recursos económicos, incorporación de *expertise* extranjero...) en los procesos, a veces erráticos, de reforma de las instituciones de América Latina que no siempre conducen a una mayor calidad de la democracia.

Es obvio que el análisis de las instituciones no agota ni su interés ni su vigencia en los objetos de estudio descritos. Junto a estas tres propuestas hay una cascada de otros muchos temas relevantes. Los cambios constitucionales que se han sucedido en muchos países latinoamericanos (Negretto 2013); las reformas pendientes en materia de financiación de los partidos políticos; el entramado institucional de los procesos de integración; la parlamentarización del funcionamiento de algunos regímenes presidencialistas, junto con la concentración de poderes en la figura de presidente o las claves de la variación en el grado de estabilidad de los regímenes (Llanos y Marsteintredet 2010); así como la interacción entre políticos e instituciones de representación (Alcántara 2012) son otras avenidas de la agenda actual sobre instituciones y vínculos con la calidad de la democracia.

¿Quién ocupa la silla vacía? La participación como representación en la vigente innovación democrática latinoamericana

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La Silla Vacía (SV) aparece como un sui generis mecanismo participativo estipulado por la nueva Constitución del Ecuador. Se trata de un dispositivo que, consagrado en el Título IV sobre "Participación y organización del poder", otorga a los ciudadanos un asiento en las sesiones de los gobiernos locales con el objeto de que tomen parte directa del proceso de toma de decisiones en función de las problemáticas de su interés.

Aunque la Carta Magna es pródiga en la implantación de múltiples instancias de participación pública, apenas se aprobó el texto constitucional —vía consulta efectuada en septiembre 2008— se multiplicaron las demandas ciudadanas por hacer uso del innovador mecanismo. Algunos gobiernos locales debieron incluso expedir ordenanzas *ad hoc* para regular la utilización de la SV mientras el legislativo expedía la normativa que regulara su existencia. La ley de participación ciudadana fue aprobada en 2010.

¿En qué consiste exactamente dicha novedosa figura participativa que tanto interés ha despertado entre organizaciones y ciudadanos? El Artículo 101 de la Constitución señala simplemente que "las sesiones de los gobiernos autónomos descentralizados serán públicas, y en ellas existirá la silla vacía que ocupará *una representante o un representante ciudadano en función de los temas a tratarse*, con el propósito de *participar en su debate y en la toma de decisiones*".

A primera vista dicha definición constitucional sitúa a la SV como parte de la ya extensa corriente de innovación institucional abierta, desde hace al menos dos décadas atrás en diversos países de América Latina, en torno al imperativo de la participación ciudadana en el proceso democrático. Propulsada por la puja de los

movimientos sociales por la inclusión política de las mayorías y en el marco del ascenso de diversos partidos de izquierda al poder local desde los años 80 del siglo pasado, dicha corriente participativa ha ganado en generalidad al punto de redefinir, en diversos países de la región, las coordenadas generales de sus regímenes políticos. Las reformas constitucionales efectuadas en Brasil hacia fines de los ochenta y la Constitución colombiana de 1991 abrieron la ruta para dicha redefinición. Son, sin embargo, las asambleas constituyentes en Venezuela, Bolivia y Ecuador —ya en el siglo XXI— las que han conferido en su concepción de la soberanía popular igual estatus a las instituciones de la democracia representativa que a la participación directa de la ciudadanía.

Más allá de las diferencias en cada régimen político, y al interior mismo de los actores que la impulsan, esta corriente de innovación participativa procura la profundización de la democracia apelando a la más amplia implicación de ciudadanos y organizaciones sociales en la discusión pública que atraviesa la toma de decisiones gubernativas y en los procesos de control social de las instituciones públicas. La "democracia participativa" procura así relativizar el poder de fijar la agenda pública que guardan para sí elites políticas y decisores tradicionales —representantes, funcionarios, expertos— mientras empodera, a través de la puesta en marcha de específicos mecanismos institucionales (consejos de política pública, veedurías ciudadanas, presupuesto participativo, etc.), a los actores sociales que allí se involucran. Dicho orientación normativa abrió un campo de disputa teórico-política con las concepciones elitistas de la democracia tanto por la centralidad que otorgan al monopolio decisorio de los electos como

por su estricto apego a una visión liberal de la representación política.

Al observar con detenimiento la especificidad institucional de la SV se aprecia, no obstante, que se trata de un mecanismo de innovación democrática que pone en crisis la simple contraposición analítica entre ciudadanos y elites políticas, entre participación y representación. En efecto, tal como señala el Artículo 101 de la Constitución ecuatoriana antes citado, la SV es fundamentalmente un dispositivo que, pensado desde el imperativo de la participación popular, otorga *representación* a los ciudadanos en un cuerpo deliberativo —los consejos de los gobiernos locales— con poder de tomar decisiones que afectan al conjunto de la sociedad local.

Aunque cualquier procedimiento participativo exige ciertos niveles de delegación y representación de los ciudadanos en algún tramo del proceso, la regulación de la SV coloca a la representación de la sociedad civil en el primer plano de la puesta en funcionamiento del dispositivo. Ello exige, al igual que en relación a otros experimentos democráticos de la región¹, desplazar el campo de indagación del problema de la innovación participativa al terreno del surgimiento, y la legitimidad, de las nuevas formas de representación que brotan del interior mismo de un sinnúmero de instituciones que procuran ampliar la participación directa de la ciudadanía en la comunidad política.

En pocas palabras, más que hacia el dinamismo de la participación popular —sobre el que se ha centrado el debate académico especializado durante las dos últimas décadas— el eje de interrogación apunta a las formas en que dicho dinamismo va aparejado con el aumento de

“representación ciudadana”. Se trata de indagar en las modalidades y vías de legitimación de *la vigente pluralización de las prácticas de representación democrática* que atraviesan los procesos de innovación institucional de la región².

¿Qué primeras señales deja al respecto la configuración institucional y la reciente evolución de la SV en el Ecuador? En primer término se observa que la definición constitucional de la SV articula al menos dos aristas de la participación ciudadana: la posibilidad de los ciudadanos de tomar parte en los debates que encuadran la adopción de decisiones, y la que concierne la puesta en marcha de una específica dinámica de representación de lo social en el espacio de la política. La SV prefigura así la conjunción de la participación como deliberación y como representación. En la medida en que, por la vía del voto, la ciudadanía está además en capacidad de incidir de modo directo en la toma de decisiones también se sugiere que dicho mecanismo forma parte del universo de la democracia directa. Todo ello abona a favor de los argumentos que señalan que viejos y nuevos mecanismos participativos tienen, por lo general, un carácter mixto o híbrido que no se circunscribe al ideal del ciudadano operando contra y por fuera de las instituciones representativas.

En cuanto al específico procedimiento de estructuración de la representación de la sociedad civil a través de la SV se aprecian tres grandes principios regulatorios:

- a) *La designación asamblearia*: la ley estipula que aquellos ciudadanos que ocuparán la SV serán elegidos en “asambleas locales, cabildos o audiencias”;
- b) *La representación temática*: los pedidos para ocupar la SV se harán en función de temas específicos que la ciudadanía procura

someter a discusión del consejo local. Así, los delegados a la SV representan problemas públicos y no personas; y,

- c) *La responsividad política de los nuevos delegados*: los representantes ciudadanos —al igual que los representantes políticos— pueden ser objeto de rendición de cuentas y de eventuales sanciones administrativas, civiles y penales.

Estos principios engranan una base de configuración de la representación ciudadana que toma distancia del canon liberal-representativo. Éste último se sustenta en la designación electoral de los representantes, en la participación individualizada (por la vía del voto) en dicho proceso eleccionario, en la vinculación entre representación, circunscripción territorial y partidos políticos, y en una dinámica de control supeditada a la lógica de pesos y contrapesos institucionales o como efecto de la misma competencia electoral³.

De este modo, la vigente producción de una nueva representación de la ciudadanía se forja desde modalidades (¿post-liberales?) ajenas a la experiencia electoral convencional. Tal innovación no está exenta de dificultades de legitimación democrática. Cabe señalar dos de ellas. Por un lado, la emergente representación de la sociedad civil no cuenta siempre con un requisito explícito de autorización y vincula como base de la representación a grupos sociales (asambleas, organizaciones) cuyo carácter es inevitablemente ambiguo. Por otro, aún si los delegados ciudadanos a la SV pueden ser objeto de sanciones de diverso tipo, el diseño institucional no contempla especificaciones sobre el control propiamente social al que deberían someterse. Las posibilidades de autonomización del delegado respecto a las problemáticas que representa no son

entonces menores a las de cualquier representante político. El imperativo de pasar por una instancia asociativa como requisito para que determinado ciudadano ocupe la SV abre la opción, en todo caso, para que tales instancias —aún si difusas— demanden a sus delegados rendir cuentas sobre el sentido de sus actuaciones.

Se trata, en suma, de dilemas complejos que no escapan a los mismos desafíos de la representación política tradicional. No existe, de hecho, discontinuidad entre ambas formas de representación. Al contrario. Hacia futuro la cuestión es observar cómo los cuerpos representativos electivos se articulan y se complementan con la representación de la sociedad civil en diversas arenas de interacción socio-estatal y, sobre todo, si aquello contribuye a la re-legitimación global de la política democrática. El empoderamiento de los sectores estructuralmente excluidos de la toma de decisiones aparece como un foco de particular relevancia para evaluar el potencial democratizador de tal pluralización de las prácticas de representación en la región.

Notas

¹ Los casos emblemáticos en la región serían la elección de representantes de las comunidades populares a los Consejos Municipales de Salud en el Brasil. Ver al respecto Vera Schattan P. Coelho, Barbara Pozzoni y Mariana Cifuentes, 2005, “Participation and Public Policies in Brazil”, en John Gastil y Peter Levine, eds., *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2005).

² Algunas referencias de este debate se pueden encontrar en Leonardo Avritzer, “Sociedade civil, instituições participativas e representação: Da autorização à legitimidade da ação”, *Dados, Revista de Ciência Sociais* (Rio de Janeiro) 50, no. 3 (2007): 443–464; Adrián Gurza Lavalle, Peter P. Houtzager y Graziela Castello, “Democracia, pluralização da representação e sociedade civil”, *Lua Nova*

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³ Ver al respecto Philippe Schmitter, “Un posible esbozo de una ‘democracia post-liberal’”, en Benjamín Arditi, ed., *¿Democracia post-liberal? El espacio político de las asociaciones* (México: Anthropos, 2005). ■

DEBATES

Movimiento indígena: La lucha por la autodeterminación mapuche en Chile

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Uno de los elementos más novedosos de la política posdictadura en Chile, desde el punto de vista de las ideas políticas, ha sido la emergencia del discurso de la autodeterminación en las minorías nacionales de Chile¹. Y es novedoso porque expresa un intento de ellas por convertirse en sujetos políticos, a diferencia de épocas políticas anteriores en que actuaban como clientela electoral o acompañamiento de clases sociales a las que se atribuía roles liberadores mesiánicos (el proletariado, por ejemplo). En el caso de los mapuche², la minoría étnica más importante de Chile, pioneros en este tema y de quienes se habla en este texto, dicho discurso aparece enarbolado por organizaciones e instituciones mapuche a partir de comienzos de la década de los 1990s³.

El discurso de la autodeterminación ni es consensual ni es propio a todas las organizaciones mapuches. El discurso de la autodeterminación es propio a un segmento del movimiento mapuche (el más activo hoy), que reúne nuevos liderazgos y nuevos militantes. Las organizaciones que surgieron al calor del ciclo movilizatorio anterior, originado en el intento de la dictadura (1973–1990) de dividir y enajenar las tierras mapuche (Decreto Ley —indígena— 2.568 del 1979), y que dio origen a las organizaciones que en los 1980s enfrentaron la dictadura (principalmente Ad-mapu, de cuyo fraccionamiento surgen otras), terminaron cooptadas por la nueva institucionalidad del Estado al fin de la dictadura (CEPI–CONADI) y comienzo de la transición a la democracia.

El discurso de la autodeterminación inaugura un nuevo ciclo de movilizaciones mapuche, en el contexto de una nueva arena política, caracterizada por el fin de la dictadura (1990) y el surgimiento de una

democracia acotada en el país, producto de las negociaciones entre militares y políticos opositores, que además consagró la región mapuche a la depredación de las industrias forestales, energéticas y celulosas. Militantes mapuche que abrazaron las nuevas ideas, habrían tenido un pasado vinculado a organizaciones de izquierda anti dictadura, pero hacía fines de los 1980s y en el contexto de descrédito en que cayeron las ideas socialistas al colapso del mundo socialista, experimentaron desapegos de sus afiliaciones pasadas, más cuando vieron a dichas fuerzas acomodarse a las nuevas reglas de la democracia pactada y el modelo neoliberal impuesto por los militares. ¿Cuál es el derrotero que siguen las ideas autodeterministas mapuche? Y ¿cuáles son los obstáculos que enfrentan para desarrollarse exitosamente?

El quid de las ideas autodeterministas de los mapuche

Las ideas autodeterministas mapuche bajo la forma de propuestas de autonomía específicas, están asociadas en gran medida a la vida gremial-política (viceversa) de las organizaciones siguientes. Primero, el Consejo de Todas las Tierras (CTT) que nace en 1991 y que domina en gran medida la década de los 1990s. El CTT propuso a la sociedad chilena autonomizar un área del país (1991), que cubre las regiones VIII, IX, XIV y X. En esa área propusieron un co-gobierno con un intendente mapuche y otro chileno empoderados igualitariamente. El CTT tomó como referencia administrativa la institucionalidad vigente en Chile, a excepción de duplicar la autoridad política. En 1992 el CTT introdujo correcciones a esa propuesta, hablando de gobierno paralelo. Esto es, dos autoridades investidas del mismo poder, pero con ámbitos de incumbencia relacionados estrictamente a su grupo de

pertenencia. Bajo la autoridad mapuche debería haber además un consejo de autoridades tradicionales. Este último elemento le da un sello tradicionalista a su propuesta, que influirá en muchos autonomistas a posterior. A fines de los 1990s el CTT demandará cupos en el parlamento chileno para los mapuche.

Le siguen al CTT dos organizaciones que nacen durante la segunda mitad de los 1990s y que se inspiran en él: la Identidad Territorial Lafkenche (ITL) y la Coordinadora Arauco Malleco (CAM); que desplazarán al CTT en popularidad hacia fines de los 1990s y sobre todo la primera mitad del 2000. Ambas bebieron del arsenal ideológico que instaló el CTT en la sociedad estado-nacional. Sin embargo, la ITL planteó un programa autonómico minimalista, que no mostró interés en el conjunto de los mapuche, sino en un segmento particular de ellos; los lafkenche o costeros. Para ellos propuso un Consejo que gobernara seis comunas de la Provincia de Arauco (VIII Región), y una Asamblea Territorial. Los ITL jugaron mezclando elementos tradicionales y modernos de gestión administrativa. Así, el consejo y los consejeros debían ser elegidos democráticamente. Su propuesta tampoco es una modificación del aparato político administrativo del Estado, aunque introduce elementos novedosos.

La CAM, en cambio, nunca ha propuesto algo más allá de la confrontación directa con los intereses económicos del capitalismo, operando a través de compañías madereras y energéticas en territorio mapuche. Un territorio que nunca ha definido en sus contornos, pero que guarda estrecha relación con su lucha por recuperar tierras usurpadas en el pasado a reducciones mapuche. La explicación para no avanzar en formular ideas autonomistas más allá del enunciado,

ha sido la creencia en ellos, de que el proyecto se hace en la lucha y por el pueblo (no por intelectuales), aunque su líder ha avanzado algunas ideas rudimentarias este último año, que toman la forma de un discurso de vuelta atrás, al pasado, algo que no está muy bien definido por ahora, pero a lo cual ellos prefieren llamar “vuelta a los principios del mundo mapuche”⁴.

La última organización en abrazar las ideas autodeterministas nació a mediados del 2000, y si bien nunca ha podido asentarse bien en el mundo mapuche, aún sigue con vida y en las recientes elecciones municipales obtuvo un alcalde y un par de concejales. Estoy hablando de Wallmapuwen. WMW recogió una propuesta de autonomía, elaborado en sus ideas gruesas por intelectuales mapuche a comienzos de los 1990s⁵, y con pequeñas modificaciones la transformó en su programa político. Se trata de la demanda de autonomía para la región mapuche del país (la IX región y comunas adyacentes). Allí promueven la existencia de una Asamblea Regional elegida democráticamente por toda la población pluriétnica local, reglamentada por un Estatuto de Autonomía, y regida por un Gobierno Regional Autónomo emanado de dicha Asamblea. El resumen, un modelo que emula las autonomías españolas.

Logros y estancamiento

Con dos décadas de existencia al interior de la sociedad mapuche, las ideas autodeterministas han puesto un sello particular a la política, en el seno de la sociedad estado-nacional chilena. Enfrentamientos entre empresarios de la madera-energéticos y mapuche que promueven la recuperación de tierras usurpadas en el pasado y la reconstrucción de un territorio mapuche para el

autogobierno, han dejado como consecuencia daños a la propiedad y el encarcelamiento en calidad de terroristas, de jóvenes activistas mapuche vinculados a estas ideas. En el presente, son los militantes mapuche que sostienen ideas autodeterministas, quienes se confrontan al poder de las empresas y del Estado chileno; mientras los mapuche que no comparten dichas ideas, en general fueron co-optados por las políticas asistencialistas gubernamentales.

Entre los logros más destacados de las ideas autodeterministas, está el hecho de que ellas han permeado a una generación de nuevos líderes, entre los cuales destacan profesionales universitarios con altos grados académicos, que podrían en el futuro elaborar mucho más propuestas de este tipo (por lo pronto la producción de literatura por estos sectores nos ha provisto de cuatro libros este 2012). También es importante mencionar la recuperación efectiva de tierras mediante los métodos de la recuperación u ocupación productiva de hecho de propiedades de latifundistas de la zona, que ha obligado al Estado a comprar propiedades para devolverlas a los mapuche y tratar de contener la movilización.

Sin embargo, para poco más de 20 años de desarrollo, las ideas aún son embrionarias. Y no se desarrollan en parte por un fuerte discurso anti-intelectual al interior de las organizaciones mapuche. Este divorcio entre intelectuales y activistas prácticos no le ha hecho un favor al desarrollo del movimiento autonomista ni a sus ideas. Igualmente opera como un obstáculo a logros más importantes, la guerra paralela por la representación nacional de los mapuche, entre organizaciones que promueven este discurso. Al igual que el pasado —siglo XIX— en que se enfrentaban mapuche entre ellos al mismo

tiempo que enfrentaban un enemigo común, el presente nos muestra que la tendencia al aislamiento de las organizaciones y pensarse mesiánicamente cada una de ellas como “la” llamada a conducir la lucha del pueblo mapuche hacia su victoria, no ha producido buenos dividendos. Los liderazgos mapuche no construyen puentes entre unas organizaciones y otras, sino por el contrario tienden a combatirse con crítica descalificatoria, que no favorece la cooperación política.

¿Prosperarán estas ideas o quedarán en el recuerdo? Solo el tiempo lo dirá.

Notas

- ¹ Este artículo sigue en su desarrollo las ideas de este autor presentadas en su libro *Autodeterminación: Ideas políticas mapuche en el albor del siglo XXI* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial LOM, 2012).
- ² Se usa *mapuche* en plural o singular invariable pues la partícula *che* indica gente. En otras palabras, ya es un plural. Se respeta así el uso que los propios mapuche hacen del concepto.
- ³ Si bien se pueden rastrear antecedentes del discurso de la autonomía en la organización que dominó la década de los 1980s: Ad-mapu, y su resolución de un Congreso en 1983 en que proclama su deseo de elaborar un “proyecto Histórico”, es solo en los 1990s donde intelectuales mapuches escriben sobre el tópico y organizaciones mapuche colocan la idea en sus programas políticos reivindicativos.
- ⁴ Diego Calderón y Felipe Correa, “Entrevista a Héctor Llaitil desde la cárcel de Angol”, *La Chispa*, <<http://www.mapuexpress.net/?act=publications&cid=6870>>, 11 septiembre 2012.
- ⁵ José A. Marimán, “Cuestión mapuche, descentralización del Estado y autonomía regional”. *Caravelle* (Toulouse, France) 59 (1992): 189–205. ■

Note from the LASA2013 Program Chairs

by GWEN KIRKPATRICK | Georgetown University | mgk7@georgetown.edu
and KENNETH M. ROBERTS | Cornell University | kr99@cornell.edu

As we write in November 2012, LASA's 31st International Congress in Washington, D.C., is only months away. The Congress theme, "Latin America: Toward a New Social Contract," encourages multidisciplinary explorations of the prospects for achieving social, economic, political, and cultural inclusion in a region marked by deep historical inequalities. With its international outlook and rich cultural, intellectual, and political traditions, our host city, Washington, D.C., is an especially appropriate setting for scholarly dialogue on this theme and its public policy implications.

Congress headquarters will be at the Washington Marriott Wardman Park, very close to the Metro and to the National Zoo, and a location amenable to participants and their families. The opening reception of the Congress will be held at the campus of Georgetown University, with co-sponsorship of LASA and Georgetown University.

The response to LASA's call for papers for the Washington Congress was vigorous. A total of 1,524 proposals were submitted, distributed across 33 different program tracks. Nearly 40 percent of these proposals were for pre-assembled panels, ensuring coherent and focused panels. LASA has made every effort to include as many participants as possible in the final conference program. We are deeply grateful to the 47 track chairs and co-chairs who volunteered their time and expertise to evaluate these proposals, form panels from individual paper submissions, and organize their tracks. We also thank LASA's organized sections for the panels they have created and for their ongoing commitment in their areas of interest throughout the years.

In coordination with LASA President Evelyne Huber, we are planning a series of preconference workshops, special events, and theme-related panels and roundtables. The workshops will include "Publishing in Latin American Studies," led by Philip Oxhorn, editor of the *Latin American Research Review*; "Data Bases on Latin American Political Institutions," led by Michael Coppedge and Gerry Munck; and "Latin American Resources of the Library of Congress," on site at the Library of Congress and led by Georgette Dorn, Director of the Hispanic Division, and her associates. Presidential panels will include "U.S.-Latin American Relations," featuring OAS Secretary General José Miguel Insulza, as well as panels on "Basic Universalism and Social Policy in the New Social Contract" and "Political Parties and the New Social Contract." Featured theme-related panels will include sessions on "The Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America," "Social Movements and the New Social Contract," and "The Future of Studies of Latin American Political Economy." Special invitation panels will include sessions organized by CEPAL, the World Bank, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and a session featuring the Mexican writer Jorge Volpi.

More details on these events and other Congress festivities will be forthcoming. We look forward to seeing all of you in Washington, D.C.! ■

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FULL EXHIBIT SPACE (10' x 8')

☐	\$855 Commercial/ University Press	☐	\$755 each additional commercial
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☐	\$450 + \$80 (sharing fee) Booth Share (\$530 total)		
Total # of Booths:	☐ one	☐ two	☐ three
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ADVERTISING

Deadlines

Reservations: March 15, 2013
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Cancellations

If an exhibitor is forced to withdraw from participation by February 15, 2013, all sums paid by the exhibitor less a \$350 service fee will be refunded. No refunds will be issued after February 15, 2013. Cancellations are not effective until received in writing by LASA. No refund will be made if an exhibitor fails to occupy the space. No refund on late or no arrival of materials.

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A minimum deposit of 50% of the total booth rental fee is required. Booths will not be assigned without the 50% deposit. Failure to remit payment for the booth rental by January 15, 2013 constitutes cancellation of the contract, and the space will be subject to resale without refund.

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FILM FESTIVAL LASA2013
XXXI INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
Towards a New Social Contract?

May 29 – June 1, 2013 – Washington, DC, USA

Claudia Ferman, Director

You may submit a film or video (not integrated into a panel, workshop, or other regular Congress session) for selection to participate in the LASA Film Festival & Exhibit. Selection criteria are: artistic, technical, and cinematographic excellence; uniqueness of contribution to the visual presentation of materials on Latin America; and relevance to disciplinary, geographic, and thematic interests of LASA members, as evidenced by topics proposed for panels, workshops, and special sessions at recent Congresses.

These films and videos will be screened free of charge in the LASA2013 Film Festival, and compete for the juried designation of LASA2013 Award of Merit in Film, which is given for "excellence in the visual presentation of educational and artistic materials on Latin America."

Films and videos released after January 2012 and those that premiere at the LASA Congress will be given special consideration, if they also meet the above criteria. LASA membership is not required to compete.

Films must be received **no earlier than October 1, 2012, and no later than February 1, 2013**. Selection will be announced by April 1, 2013. Entries constitute acceptance of the rules and regulations of the LASA Film Festival. Film screeners will not be returned and will be deposited in the festival archives.

LASA2013 FILM FESTIVAL SUBMISSION FORM

Submissions for the Film Festival will be received **only from October 1, 2012 through February 1, 2013**.

Title of work enclosed _____

Format: _____

Director _____

Producer _____

Year of release _____

Format _____

Running Time _____

Language/s
/subtitles _____

Brief description of subject matter, including countries or areas treated (or attach descriptive brochure)

Distributor _____

Email _____

Phone / Fax _____

Address _____

Your name _____

Address _____

Affiliation _____

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To enter the competition for the LASA2013 Film Festival

Mail the completed submission form, along with a DVD copy of your film to the Festival director. To ensure consideration, all submissions should be mailed through express services (i.e., UPS, DHL, FedEx). Please, keep your tracking number to guarantee delivery. Films without a submission form will not be considered.

Claudia Ferman / Director, LASA2013 Film Festival

LAIS – CWIC 334 -- University of Richmond – 28 Westhampton Way – Richmond VA 23173 – USA

Email: cferman@richmond.edu

Campaign for Bequests for the LASA Endowment

by CYNTHIA MCCLINTOCK and KEVIN MIDDLEBROOK | Co-chairs, LASA Fundraising Committee

LASA is launching a major campaign to build its endowment fund through bequests from its members. Specifically, we are seeking bequests of a minimum of \$10,000 (or a percentage of an estate that will produce a bequest of \$10,000 or more) to benefit LASA's permanent endowment. We emphasize that this initiative is about bequests, not current gifts to LASA.

The endowment fund is the principal source of travel grants to LASA Congresses. It also supports many of the Association's special projects. The generosity of donors to the endowment benefits future generations of Latin Americanists by nurturing their scholarship for many years to come.

Between now and the Washington, D.C., annual meeting (May 2013), we hope to

attract a group of donors who will be identified as the founding members of a new Kalman Silvert Society. The names of Silvert Society members will be inscribed on a plaque on permanent display at the LASA Secretariat.

We have already received commitments from sixteen LASA members: Cole Blasier, Ronald Chilcote, John Coatsworth, Carmen Diana Deere, Cornelia Butler Flora, Merilee Grindle, Evelyne Huber, Jane Jaquette, Cynthia McClintock, Kevin Middlebrook, Marysa Navarro, Scott Palmer, Helen Safa, Lars Schoultz, Barbara Stallings, and George Vickers. We hope that other members who attach high professional and personal importance to our association will join in this important initiative.

President Evelyne Huber and President-elect Merilee Grindle will host a special reception at the upcoming LASA Congress (Thursday, May 30, 8:00 p.m.) to honor contributors to this campaign.

We hope that many of you will join this effort. For further information and the practical steps involved in making a bequest to LASA, please contact either of us (mcclin@gwu.edu; kevinmiddlebrook@aol.com) or Sandy Klinzing at the LASA Secretariat (sklinz@pitt.edu).

We look forward to seeing you in Washington in May. ■

SECTION NEWS

Haiti/Dominican Republic Award

The Haiti/Dominican Republic Section is proud to announce the creation of an award for the best paper presented at LASA2013 on Haiti, the Dominican Republic, or both. Section members and nonmembers alike are eligible to submit their work; all disciplines are welcomed. The winner will be announced at LASA2013 in Washington, D.C. ■

SPECIAL PROJECTS

¿Experimentos para exportar? ¿Es adecuada la metodología experimental para estudiar América Latina?

por FERNANDA BOIDI | Universidad de Montevideo y LAPOP, Vanderbilt University | fernandaboidi@gmail.com

y Rosario Queirolo | Universidad de Montevideo | rqueirolo@um.edu.uy

Es la metodología experimental, y en particular, los experimentos de conducta, adecuada para entender los problemas sociales y políticos en América Latina? Desde que Vernon Smith y Daniel Kahneman ganaron el Premio Nobel en Economía en 2002, los experimentos de conducta se volvieron más populares en economía, sociología, ciencia política y antropología. A priori, todo indica que esta metodología podría ser muy útil para entender dilemas sociales también presentes en la región. Sin embargo, sólo raramente es usada en los estudios comparados en América Latina, y los académicos latinoamericanos ven aún con mucho escepticismo su potencial para entender los “verdaderos problemas” de la región. Esta fue la razón que motivó el proyecto “Experiments for Export? Assessing the Suitability of Behavioral Experiments in Latin America”, el que desarrollamos junto a Ryan Carlin (Georgia State University), Gregory Love (University of Mississippi) y Abby Córdova (University of Kentucky), y fue ganador de una beca Mellon-LASA 2011–2012 que se destinó a la organización de un seminario interdisciplinario para discutir la capacidad de la metodología experimental de “viajar” hacia América Latina.

El objetivo del proyecto fue ayudar a integrar este abordaje metodológico y las teorías del comportamiento al campo de los estudios sobre América Latina, incorporando las perspectivas analíticas de investigadores que trabajan en otras partes del mundo en las discusiones sobre nuestra región, y a su vez desafiar las tradicionales fronteras de los estudios de área. Para ello, realizamos un workshop en Georgia State University, Atlanta, los días 19 y 20 de abril del 2012. Además de la beca Mellon-LASA, este evento recibió el auspicio de ExCen (Experimental Economics Center), del CEAR (Center for the Analysis of

Economic Risk), y del Departamento de Ciencia Política de Georgia State University.

A este evento convocamos a expertos de distintas áreas geográficas y disciplinas en las que los experimentos han sido usados extensamente. La jornada se organizó en cinco grandes temas: 1) Los límites de trasladarse del laboratorio al campo; 2) Experimentos en perspectiva comparada; 3) Haciendo experimentos en contextos en desarrollo; 4) Trabajo experimental reciente en América Latina; y 5) Uso de experimentos de conducta para entender fenómenos políticos¹.

Los participantes que expusieron en el taller fueron (siguiendo el orden de sus exposiciones): Juan Camilo Cárdenas (Economía, Universidad de Los Andes, Colombia); James Cox y Urmimala Sen (Economía, Georgia State University); Catherine Eckel (Economía, University of Texas at Dallas); Donald Green (Ciencia Política, Columbia University); Clark Barrett (Antropología, University of California, Los Angeles); Fernanda Boidi (Comunicación, Universidad de Montevideo y LAPOP, Vanderbilt University); Rosario Queirolo (Comunicación, Universidad de Montevideo y Ciencia Política y Economía, Universidad de la República, Uruguay); Roberto González y Jorge Manzi (Psicología, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile); Raymond Duch (Ciencia Política, Oxford University); Tara Grillos (Harvard University, Kennedy School); Carolyn Lesorogol (Trabajo Social, Washington University); Glenn Harrison (Negocios, Georgia State University); Peter Loewen (Ciencia Política, University of Toronto); Elizabeth Zechmeister (Ciencia Política, Vanderbilt University); Marco Castillo (Economía, George Mason University); Rosario Aguilar (Estudios Políticos, CIDE-México); Ragan Petrie (Economía,

George Mason University); Cindy Kam (Ciencia Política, Vanderbilt University); Abby Córdova (Ciencia Política, University of Kentucky); Ryan Carlin (Ciencia Política, Georgia State University); Gregory Love (Ciencia Política, University of Mississippi); y Rick Wilson (Ciencia Política, Rice University).

También participaron como moderadores de las discusiones: Elisabet Rutstrom (Negocios y Economía, Georgia State University); Sean Richey y Daniel Young (Ciencia Política, Georgia State University); Amy Erica Smith (Ciencia Política, Iowa State University); y Christopher Dawes (Ciencia Política, New York University).

La consigna para los participantes fue que realizaran presentaciones y dialogaran sobre los potenciales beneficios teóricos, los desafíos metodológicos y las consideraciones prácticas de realizar experimentos de comportamiento en América Latina. El resultado fueron exposiciones muy interesantes y profundas, y en algunos casos, acaloradas discusiones sobre la definición, alcance y potencialidades de la metodología experimental. El compromiso y entusiasmo de los expositores, de los moderadores y de aquellos que asistieron como oyentes a la conferencia permitió tener una jornada muy fructífera, que significó un mojón en la discusión sobre el alcance y capacidad de trasladarse a otros contextos de la metodología experimental².

Como corolario del *workshop* de Atlanta, sus principales hallazgos y una profundización de la discusión se trasladaron a la XXX Conferencia de LASA en San Francisco. Allí, en un panel especial “¿Experimentos para exportar? ¿Es adecuada la metodología experimental para estudiar América Latina?” se extendió el debate llevándolo a un público más

amplio. En el mismo, además de las exposiciones de quienes organizamos el workshop, hubo presentaciones de Noam Lupu (Fundación Juan March); Matthew R. Cleary (Syracuse University); Thad Dunning (Yale University); Juan Pablo Luna (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile) y Kirk A. Hawkins (Brigham Young University). Algunos aspectos positivos de la metodología experimental que fueron resaltados son que son fáciles de hacer, y que sus resultados son fáciles de presentar y entender, la utilidad que tienen para medir conceptos, y que los experimentos son sencillamente replicables. Entre las desventajas que mencionaron los expositores está que no son muy aplicables a varias de las preguntas más importantes que tiene para responder actualmente América Latina. Otro tema que se trató es el de no sacrificar la riqueza de los diversos contextos culturales de la región, y las preguntas que surgen de ello, sólo a cambio de probar hipótesis causales. También se mencionó que es difícil llevar a cabo una correcta asignación aleatoria de los individuos y tener un tamaño de muestra adecuado, y que muchos de los experimentos que se realizan en la región no cumplen con estas condiciones.

La metodología experimental, y en particular los experimentos de conducta, son un abordaje útil para analizar muchos de los temas sociales, políticos y económicos a los que América Latina se enfrenta. Con esto no decimos que sean ni la única, ni la mejor forma de contestar las preguntas relevantes que hoy tiene la región. Simplemente son una herramienta más a la que recurrir cuando la pregunta de investigación lo amerite.

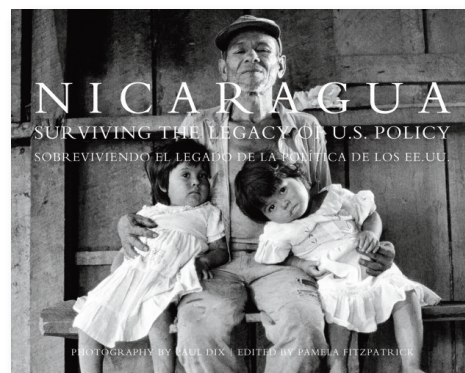
Notas

- ¹ Ryan Carlin y Gregory Love resumen los principales resultados del workshop en *The Experimental Political Scientist*, la newsletter de la sección de Ciencia Política Experimental de APSA: <http://scholar.harvard.edu/dtingley/pages/exppolisci>.
- ² El programa completo del evento, así como varias de las presentaciones se pueden leer en: <https://sites.google.com/site/ryanecarlin/research/experiments-for-export>. ■

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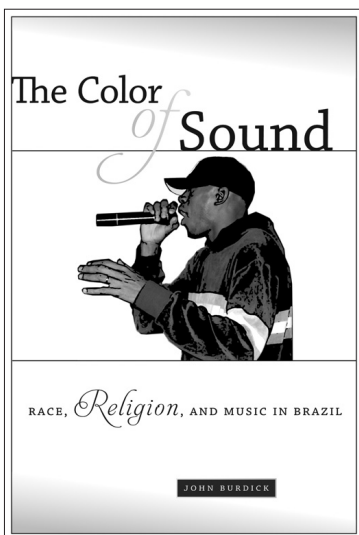
Boston University is currently accepting applications for its Latin American Studies Master's Program (LASMA). The interdisciplinary program involves two semesters of coursework at Boston University, one semester of study in Latin America (ideally with an internship) to master a high level of language competency, and one semester to complete a master's research or policy paper. Working closely with diverse faculty, students can take courses on globalization and development, politics and civil society, U.S. foreign policy and inter-American relations, history, archaeology, literature, art, and culture.

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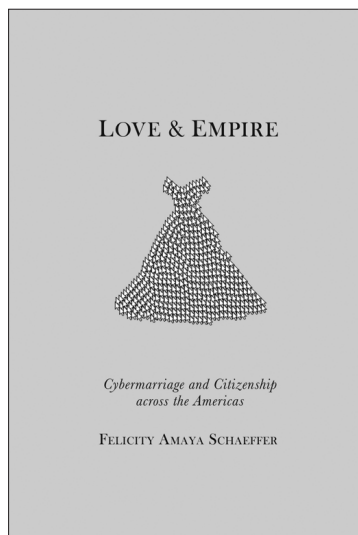
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