

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

# FORUM

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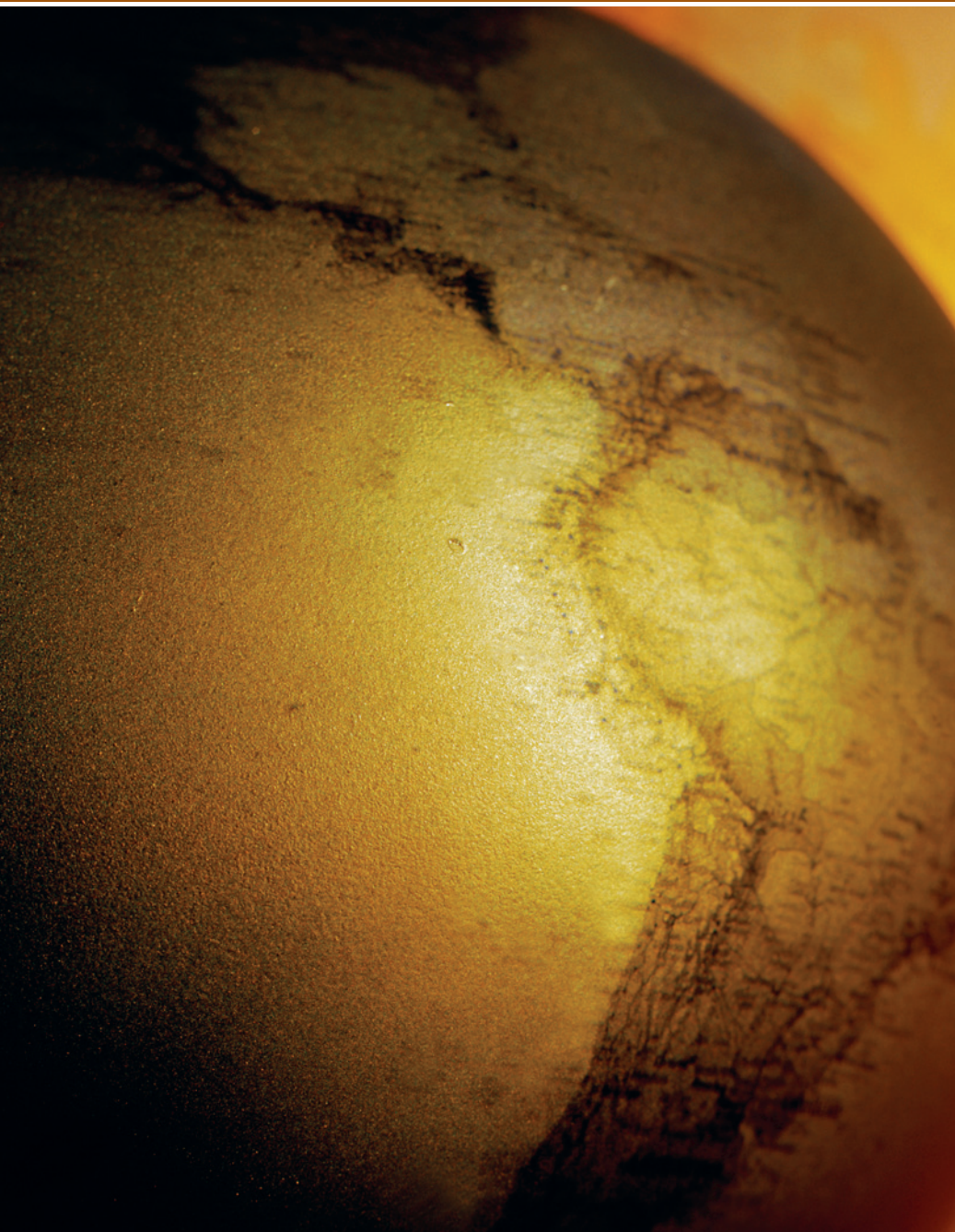
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Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Latin American Studies Association or its officers.

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# Peter H. Smith

*Recipient of the Kalman Silvert Award for 2013*

## Autobiographical Statement

My academic career has followed a serendipitous path. It has been marked by abundant opportunity, generous encouragement, unstinting intellectual support—and exceedingly good luck.

The journey began many years ago when I yearned to take a summer trip to Europe, as many of my college classmates did at the time. The problem was a lack of funds, so I set out on a less expensive venture: a bus ride from New York City to Mexico City. I knew no Spanish, no Mexican history, no Latin American politics, nothing. Talk about a *tabula rasa!*

That trip changed my life. Mexico was vivacious, energetic, exuberant, still in its postrevolutionary phase. I was utterly captivated. I witnessed student protests, listened to expositions about all sorts of political values, and heard discussions (and diatribes) about Fidel Castro and U.S. imperialism. Most of all, I observed silent dignity in the face of social injustice. Ashamed of my own ignorance, I became troubled by the historic roles of the United States. I cast my lot with *los de abajo*. My self-appointed mission would be to ferret out the truth.

Fortunately I enrolled for graduate study in history at Columbia University in 1961, just in time for the inauguration of its renowned Institute of Latin American Studies. I was able to study with such luminaries as Albert O. Hirschman, Juan J. Linz, Frank Tannenbaum, and the indefatigable Lewis Hanke. My student cohort was itself remarkable—knowledgeable, accomplished, intelligent, and unceasingly supportive.

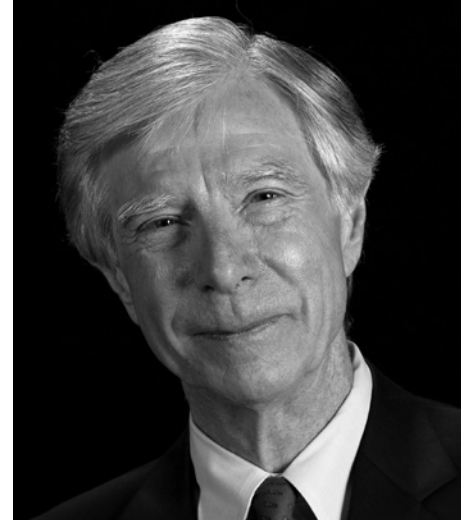
In subsequent years I embarked upon a program of self-education in political

science, initially by auditing courses at the University of California, Berkeley. With the encouragement of Kalman Silvert, I determined to acquire a working command of quantitative methodology. This linkage of history and political science would define a core concern of my scholarly efforts: to analyze long-term patterns of political change in Latin America through the judicious application of cutting-edge methods in political science.

This bifocal approach to history and political science had its occasional downsides. Sometimes I felt that I fit into neither discipline, somewhere on an empty borderland with no one else in sight. Said one friend about this dilemma: “Isn’t that exactly where you want to be?”

My first corpus of research focused on Argentina and resulted in two books: *Politics and Beef in Argentina* (1969), which examined political struggles over a key sector of the national economy from the 1880s to the 1940s, and *Argentina and the Failure of Democracy* (1974), based on a statistical analysis of roll-call votes in the Chamber of Deputies from 1904 through 1955. The latter book suffered from methodological asphyxiation at the time, but it seems to have caught a second wind in light of recent interest in legislative behavior in a democratizing Latin America. These efforts also resulted in a book chapter on the breakdown of Argentine democracy in 1930.

I then turned to Mexico and sought to unravel the political logic of its authoritarian regime. After some deliberation I decided to examine the structure and transformation of the nation’s political elite from 1900 through the 1970s. I gathered and computerized data on the political biographies of more than 6,000 officeholders—not a task for an



old man, I can assure you!—and produced a book entitled *Labyrinths of Power* (1979). One significant by-product of this effort was a roll-call analysis of voting patterns in Mexico’s constitutional convention of 1917.

In the mid-1980s I received an invitation from the Ford Foundation to serve as co-staff director (along with Rosario Green) of a major project on U.S.-Mexican relations. Headed by a blue-ribbon bilateral commission, the program was intended to improve understanding, design practical initiatives, and rejuvenate a relationship that was under considerable pressure at the time. This brought me face-to-face with two additional dimensions of analysis: international relations and public policy. The project produced a book-length study titled *The Challenge of Interdependence* (1988), led to encounters with presidents and dignitaries in both countries, and resulted in the publication of five volumes of background papers. We think the project did some good; at the very least, it did no harm. (One spin-off for me was a subsequent volume on drug trafficking in the Americas.)

Scholarly work since the 1990s has consisted primarily of synthesis. Wary of the triumphalist tone of American commentary after the end of the Cold War (and inspired by a quote from Mark Twain), I could not resist the temptation to write *Talons of the Eagle: Latin America, the United States, and the World* (1996), now in its fourth edition. Also unhappy with bland and blasé assessments of

patterns of democratization around the world, I managed to compose a book entitled *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective* (2005), now in its second edition. The goal of this volume was to combine historical, institutional, and behavioral elements of political conduct into a holistic and coherent interpretation of democratic transformation. This from someone who had devoted so much effort to the study of authoritarian regimes!

In the meantime my colleague Thomas Skidmore and I worked on the textbook entitled *Modern Latin America*, first published in 1984 with numerous subsequent editions (including an eighth edition, now in press, with the collaboration of James N. Green). This has posed serious challenges. It is not just a chronological recounting of events and personalities: we tried from the start to construct a conceptual framework, apply it with consistency, and tell meaningful human stories.

Over the years I have edited or coedited more than a dozen anthologies on subjects ranging from historiography and methodology to regional economic integration, Mexican politics, U.S.-Mexican relations, drug trafficking, Latin America–East Asia relations, and women’s roles in Asia and Latin America. These projects have continually expanded my intellectual horizons, brought me into close contact with a large number of colleagues, and allowed me to support the work of promising young scholars around the world. I have benefited greatly from these collaborations.

Teaching has been one of my great pleasures. I learn from every class I give. I take every session as an opportunity to convince students about the importance of the subject matter—its moral significance, not just its analytical relevance—and to demonstrate my commitment to the endeavor. Not surprisingly, this focus has strengthened my resolve to help make *Modern Latin America* the best book that it can be. There is ego in this activity. In addition, I have drawn special satisfaction from teaching students in other countries—Argentina, Brazil, China, Ecuador, Mexico, Spain, and elsewhere. These young people do not have to be convinced to care. Often laboring under subpar conditions, they strive to do the best—and learn the most—that they can. I have treasured them.

All this work has allowed me to do an unexpected variety of things. I have traveled to most parts of the world; exchanged thoughts and ideas with public figures, prominent colleagues, and ordinary citizens; been the moderator for a monthly TV show; and expressed my opinions through op-eds and columns in national and international newspapers. I have even served as president of LASA.

This career has been a privilege. It has been a responsibility as well. My profession has been my passion (and vice versa). I have relished the challenges, accepted the setbacks, and savored the satisfactions. To borrow a phrase from Maya Angelou, “wouldn’t take nothing for my journey now.” ■

# From the President

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

LASA2013, our 31st International Congress, is about to take place in Washington, DC. We are looking forward to an intellectually exciting event—and to seeing lots of old friends and making new ones. LASA Congresses have always served the dual function of promoting scholarly exchange and nurturing social networks. Our Congress will start with an opening ceremony that includes official recognition of winners of LASA awards, followed by a welcoming reception, both at Georgetown University. We greatly appreciate Georgetown's hospitality. Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, José Miguel Insulza, will honor us with his presence and offer opening remarks. For more information on planned activities before and during the Congress, please see the Report from the Program Chairs in this issue.

Our excitement about the Congress has been affected by an acute concern about visas for our Cuban colleagues who are invited to attend. In early April we heard that a number of visas had been denied by the United States Interest Section in Havana. In a collective effort, present and former LASA presidents wrote an open letter to Secretary of State John Kerry urging him to ensure that visas will be granted to Cuban scholars headed for LASA. The letter is posted on our website, and a short article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* gave wider exposure to the problem and our efforts to deal with it (see <http://chronicle.com/blogs/ticker/academic-group-calls-on-state-dept-to-grant-visas-to-cuban-scholars/58067>).

As we informed in an earlier issue of the *Forum*, in response to petitions from the membership, the Secretariat solicited several bids from childcare providers for an

on site childcare option. Based on the least expensive bid, an enrollment of at least 25 children would have been necessary to make the operation financially viable. Accepted Congress participants were offered the option to sign up and prepay for on-site childcare. Since fewer than 25 children were signed up, the plans for on-site childcare had to be cancelled; instead, the old LASA policy of subsidizing childcare expenses for Congress participants is in effect again. Details about the policy can be found at the LASA website at <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/eng/congress/childcare.asp>.

In response to an incident at the San Francisco Congress, where aggressive media representatives disrupted a panel, the following rules will be in effect: All members of the media must wear a badge of identification (available at the LASA registration desk). Filming and recording by media representatives are permitted only with the prior written permission of LASA. Members of the media must hold their questions until the end of the formal presentations and avoid any disruption of the proceedings. Session organizers may call hotel security and have any disruptive spectators removed. Let me stress that LASA welcomes media interest in its International Congress sessions and events. The Association also welcomes the opportunity to share information and to have media presence in particular at special venues. The above rules have been developed with the sole purpose of protecting scholarly presentations and debates from undue interruptions.

In the Winter issue of the *Forum* we published a call for bequests to the LASA endowment. The Kalman Silvert Society, composed of members making a bequest of



at least \$10,000 to the LASA endowment, will be officially inaugurated at the Washington Congress. The endowment fund is crucial for LASA's operations as it constitutes the main source of travel grants to LASA Congresses. It also supports many special projects undertaken by LASA. We need donors to the endowment in order to ensure LASA's capacity to support scholarship on Latin America by future generations. For further information and to join the Kalman Silvert Society, please contact Cynthia McClintock <[mcclin@gwu.edu](mailto:mcclin@gwu.edu)> or Kevin Middlebrook <[kevinmiddlebrook@aol.com](mailto:kevinmiddlebrook@aol.com)> or Sandy Klinzing at the LASA Secretariat <[sklinz@pitt.edu](mailto:sklinz@pitt.edu)>.

The *Debates* section in this issue of the *Forum* takes up a topic that is at the heart of the Congress theme: *Towards a New Social Contract?* Education is a key determinant of individual and societal success in the information age. The distribution of educational attainment is highly correlated with the distribution of income; in other words, societies with high average levels of education and in particular a high floor of skills have lower income inequality. By the same token, societies with a highly skilled labor force are better able to compete in world markets in the information age. As the articles point out, educational enrollment in Latin America has expanded greatly over the recent decades, which is an important positive development. However, differential quality of education between public and private primary and secondary

DEBATES

## Education in Latin America: Advances and Challenges

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schools along with differential access to postsecondary education remain serious issues to be addressed. Financial resources for private and public education of course play a key role for access and quality at all levels. The contributors to our *Debates* section take up these issues, outlining problems and sketching some proposals for solutions. They provide an excellent entry into related debates that will be pursued at the Congress about more and less promising avenues towards new social contracts. ■

In recent decades educational enrollment in Latin America has increased greatly, especially among women and the poor. At the primary level it is now close to universal. Since education has long been viewed as a tool for achieving social mobility, national integration, and economic progress, this is undoubtedly a positive development. Nevertheless, rather than allaying concerns about education, increased enrollment has only served to focus them on a number of unresolved issues. Do existing educational practices adequately serve an increasingly diverse student population? How can learning outcomes be improved in order to bring students closer to international standards? Should universities base their admissions decisions purely on merit, or should they favor disadvantaged groups? Should public universities charge tuition, or should the state guarantee a free college education to all who are admitted?

The articles featured in this *Debates* section address these and other questions. Néstor López examines the evolution of Latin America's primary and secondary schools over the past 20 years. He stresses the rapid gains in enrollment in the 1990s and the subsequent slowdown in the last decade. López argues that poverty poses a key obstacle to the achievement of universal education, but he points out that school practices that "deny the identity" of an increasingly diverse student body also impede retention, especially at the secondary level. Christian Daude's contribution examines intergenerational educational mobility, or the extent to which people tend to surpass the educational level achieved by their parents. He paints a relatively somber picture, presenting evidence that Latin America lags behind other regions on this variable. At the same time he offers suggestions for increasing mobility, including early childhood

interventions in health, nutrition, and education.

The article by Edward Telles and Marcelo Paixão explores one of the more surprising trends in tertiary education in recent years: the rapid rise of affirmative action in Brazilian university admissions. Since 2001, a society that once resolutely denied the existence of racial discrimination has seen the majority of its federal and state universities adopt quota systems aimed at increasing the number of poorer and darker-skinned students. María del Carmen Feijóo examines how educational systems have treated another group that has traditionally faced discrimination, women. While acknowledging the importance of the major increase in female educational enrollment in Latin America in recent decades, Feijóo stresses the persistence of a wide array of formal and informal practices that hold women back from pursuing the most prestigious and remunerative career tracks.

Finally, José Joaquín Brunner delves into the increasingly contentious question of how to finance public universities. He surveys the different approaches in the region, ranging from the entirely public formula in Cuba to the predominantly private one in Chile, where tuition payments have contributed to massive students protests. In the coming years, he says, rising university enrollments will only intensify the dilemma faced by policy makers, forcing them to make the difficult choice between increasing the financial burden on students and their families and seeking new sources of revenue. ■

# La educación primaria y secundaria en América Latina: Balance y desafíos

por Néstor López | IPE-UNESCO Buenos Aires | n.lopez@iipe-buenosaires.org.ar

Un análisis de la situación educativa en América Latina nos confronta con la evidencia de que la región está viviendo, desde hace ya dos décadas, un clima de intenso debate, profundos cambios, avances significativos y complejos desafíos. En los últimos 20 años se verificaron importantes transformaciones en la institucionalidad que regula y da lugar a las prácticas educativas, y que permitieron, entre otras cosas, avances claros en la búsqueda de la universalización del acceso al conocimiento. Al mismo tiempo, la irrupción de las tecnologías de la información y comunicación o la creciente y manifiesta diversidad identitaria y cultural de los estudiantes —en especial en el nivel medio— imponen desafíos frente a los cuales las respuestas son aún insuficientes. El presente artículo apunta a hacer un ligero balance de la situación actual de la educación en la región, y esbozar algunos de los principales desafíos que se presentan hacia el futuro inmediato.

Las transformaciones de los sistemas educativos que se inician a comienzos de la década de los años 90 en la región tienen como punto de partida un hecho fundamentalmente político. En el esfuerzo por promover en la región un modelo de desarrollo centrado en economías de mercado, se concibe a la educación como la principal política social que debe ser llevada a cabo por los Estados. Es a través de la formación de las nuevas generaciones que se ofrece a todos los recursos básicos necesarios para integrarse al mercado de trabajo, y así participar de la producción y distribución de la riqueza de cada sociedad. En consecuencia, la década se inicia con un intenso clima de debate sobre qué educación necesita cada país para integrarse productivamente en un mundo ya globalizado, y como resultado de ello varios países iniciaron sus reformas educativas, en la mayoría de los casos a

través de la sanción de nuevas leyes de educación.

Ampliación de los años de obligatoriedad, programas de becas para los sectores más postergados o diferentes políticas compensatorias conformaron, entre otras, el espectro de acciones de políticas que comenzaron a implementarse, teniendo como uno de los principales resultados una inclusión masiva de niños, adolescentes y jóvenes a las escuelas. Según se destaca en el Informe de Tendencias Sociales y Educativas del SITEAL (Sistema de Información de Tendencias Educativas en América Latina) publicado en el año 2010, durante la década de los años 90 el incremento anual de las tasas específicas de escolarización de la región fue de 1.7 por ciento. Esto es, año a año las tasas de escolarización crecieron a ese ritmo, lo cual da para el conjunto de la década un incremento acumulado que se acerca al 20 por ciento. En aquellas edades en que el proceso de expansión estaba menos generalizado, como lo son las correspondientes al nivel inicial o al secundario, el ritmo fue aún mayor: la escolarización de los niños de 5 años creció a un 4.7 por ciento anual, lo cual da para la década un total cercano al 50 por ciento, y entre los adolescentes de 15 a 17 años la expansión se dio a un 2.8 por ciento anual, poco más del 30 por ciento para el decenio (SITEAL 2010). Los procesos de expansión educativa favorecen habitualmente a los sectores más postergados en cada uno de los países, reduciendo las disparidades internas. Ello se debe a que los grupos más privilegiados (en especial los niños y adolescentes blancos de familias urbanas de clase media y alta) ya tienen un acceso casi universal a la educación desde hace ya varias décadas. En consecuencia, si las tasas de escolarización de un país crecen ello se debe fundamentalmente a la inclusión educativa de los indígenas, los

afrodescendientes, los sectores más pobres o los rurales. Como consecuencia de ello, los grandes ganadores de la intensa expansión educativa de la década de los años 90 han sido estos grupos históricamente más postergados.

El panorama cambia con el inicio del nuevo siglo. El agotamiento de las economías de mercado en muchos de los países de la región instala un clima político que da lugar a un nuevo debate sobre su modelo de desarrollo, y en consecuencia del lugar de la educación en la sociedad. Una nueva ola de reformas se inicia, fortaleciendo la concepción de la educación como derecho, y ampliando en varios casos el ciclo obligatorio hasta el final del nivel medio, llevando así a un ciclo de entre 12 y 13 años de educación obligatoria. Pero hacia finales de esta primera década el balance instala alertas que definen claramente el debate actual en la región. El hecho más contundente es, tal vez, la constatación de que se estaría ante la amenaza del fin de la expansión educativa. El mismo informe de SITEAL antes mencionado muestra que en este período el incremento anual de las tasas de escolarización para la primera década de este siglo decayó sensiblemente. La global se redujo de 1.7 por ciento a 0.6 por ciento, sufriendo así una caída del 65 por ciento; a este ritmo, el crecimiento acumulado para una década no llega al 7 por ciento. El ritmo de expansión de la escolarización entre adolescentes se redujo en un 70 por ciento, quedando en un 0.9 por ciento; la que menos decreció es la de los niños de 5 años de edad, un 44 por ciento. Esto es, en esta última década los avances han sido mucho menos significativos, y esto no responde, como podría esperarse, a que ya se está llegando a la meta de universalización. Por el contrario, ocurre cuando aún queda mucho por avanzar. En el caso de los adolescentes, los

por ejemplo, aún hay un 25 por ciento desescolarizados.

Un artículo recientemente publicado analiza el fenómeno de la expansión educativa en el nivel medio, y con datos publicados por el SITEAL llega a la siguiente conclusión: “el proceso de incorporación de adolescentes a las escuelas se encuentra hoy con un techo que está en el 86.7%. ¿Qué nos quiere decir esto? El comportamiento de los datos permite predecir que hoy —tal como están las cosas— no es posible llegar al 100% de escolarización de los adolescentes en la región. [...] Pareciera entonces que la universalización del acceso a la escuela por parte de los adolescentes no está siendo posible. Hay aproximadamente un 13% de adolescentes frente a los cuales actualmente no se cuenta con políticas o prácticas que permitan retenerlos o reinserterlos a las aulas” (López 2012). De consolidarse esta tendencia, quienes han sido los grandes beneficiados de la expansión de la década anterior serán quienes se verán más afectados por el fin de la expansión: los indígenas, los afrodescendientes, los sectores más pobres o los rurales. La mayoría de los países de la región, desde sus particularidades y su historia, se enfrenta hoy con el dilema de cómo avanzar en la escolarización de sus niñas, niños y adolescentes, y garantizar así una educación de calidad para todos.

¿Dónde está el origen de los límites a la expansión educativa? Una primera causa puede encontrarse en las profundas desigualdades económicas que caracterizan a los países de la región. Si bien la última década muestra leves mejoras en la distribución de la riqueza, América Latina concentra las mayores desigualdades económicas del planeta. Aun cuando la gran mayoría de sus países no son pobres, cada uno de ellos tiene una alta proporción

de sus habitantes viviendo en condiciones de pobreza.

La escolarización de los niños y adolescentes representa un gran esfuerzo para sus familias. Para que puedan completar una educación de 12 o 13 años es necesario que puedan responder a las exigencias diarias que implica la escolarización, afrontar los gastos que ello acarrea, estar saludables y quedar librados de las responsabilidades que se desprenden de las tareas productivas y reproductivas del hogar. La educación escolarizada presupone una base de bienestar que no está garantizada para una parte importante de las familias de cada uno de los países de la región. Muchos de los niños y adolescentes que dejan la escuela lo hacen porque no pueden responder a estas exigencias, o porque las urgencias económicas del hogar los llevan a involucrarse tempranamente en el mundo del trabajo o en las tareas de cuidado en el hogar. La meta de garantizar una educación de calidad para todos requiere sin dudas de una profundización del debate sobre el modelo de desarrollo que debe adoptar cada país. Hoy los mismos Estados que se asumen como garantes del derecho a la educación muestran escasa capacidad de orientar los procesos económicos y sociales necesarios para que este compromiso se haga efectivo.

Sin embargo, un informe publicado por el SITEAL en el año 2008 muestra que casi la mitad de los adolescentes desescolarizados no son pobres, señalando así que al menos para el caso del nivel medio de educación la pobreza explica la mitad del problema. ¿Por qué se van estos jóvenes de la escuela? Una hipótesis muy fuerte de trabajo aquí es que lo hacen como consecuencia de la violencia que ejercen sobre ellos las instituciones escolares en su dificultad de establecer con las nuevas generaciones un

vínculo que permita generar un clima adecuado para las prácticas educativas (SITEAL 2008).

Los niños y adolescentes de hoy poco tienen que ver con quienes lo eran hace dos o tres décadas. La creciente diversidad identitaria y cultural de los estudiantes en las aulas es tal vez el mayor desafío que enfrentan hoy las instituciones, y frente al cual las respuestas aún son escasas. Lejos de promover vínculos basados en el respeto y el reconocimiento del otro, aún prevalecen en la mayoría de las escuelas prácticas que tienden a negar la identidad de sus alumnos desencadenando un complejo entramado de pequeñas acciones discriminatorias que terminan siendo expulsivas para una parte importante de ellos. Al desafío de la desigualdad se suma así el de la diversidad.

La amenaza del fin de la expansión educativa lleva a la necesidad de avanzar en políticas sociales y educativas que articulen de un modo innovador acciones de redistribución, que apunten a garantizar la base de bienestar necesaria para que las prácticas educativas sean posibles, con otras de reconocimiento, que promuevan en el aula vínculos basados en el respeto a la identidad y la no discriminación. Esta compleja tarea es la que define hoy algunos de los principales ejes del debate educativo en la región.



# Education and Social Mobility in Latin America

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Latin America has witnessed an important expansion in educational coverage over the last two decades. On average, enrollment rates in primary (net) and secondary education (gross) increased from 85.9 percent and 49.6 percent in 1980 to around 94.0 percent and 89.7 percent in 2011, respectively. Many countries in the region are on track to meet or have already attained the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) in this dimension. Furthermore, this increase in educational coverage has been identified as an important driver of the observed reduction in earning inequality in the region (López-Calva and Lustig 2010), at a time when income inequality is rising within many developed and developing countries all over the world (see OECD 2011a and 2011b).

Despite this important progress, many challenges remain. In this note, I highlight two interrelated issues: 1) intergenerational mobility continues to be low; and 2) the quality of education is low, with significant differences across social classes in the opportunities of accessing high-quality education. Next, I will briefly discuss the empirical evidence relevant to each issue and outline some policies that could address these challenges.

## Low Intergenerational Educational Mobility

Social mobility is a multidimensional concept. Economists (e.g., Solon 1992) have traditionally focused on intergenerational income mobility, i.e., the link between a person’s permanent income level and that of his or her parents, based on the stream of income a person or household receives stripped of short-term fluctuations. Yet it is clear that other dimensions such as social status, often related to type of job or level of formal

education, are also relevant. (For an interesting case study of Chile, see Torche 2005.) In what follows, I focus on educational mobility in terms of how parental education and family background affect educational attainment and achievement. This focus has an important practical advantage: relatively good-quality and comparable data for these variables are available for a significant number of countries in Latin America.

Several studies have addressed the issue of how family background affects educational outcomes of the next generation in Latin America. Behrman, Gaviria, and Székely (2001) present several alternative measures of educational and social mobility in Latin America and find that intergenerational mobility is much lower in Latin America compared to the United States. This finding is also confirmed by Daude (2011; 2012) and Gaviria (2007), considering the correlation between parental and child education outcomes using alternative data sources. Furthermore, in terms of correlation—that is, how much of the variation in the child’s education is explained by the variation in parental education—there are no significant changes over time (Daude 2011). In addition, a study of a large number of developing countries also shows that Latin American countries rank poorly compared to other regions in terms of these measures of intergenerational mobility in education (Hertz et al. 2007). However, other studies find a recent improvement in mobility using alternative measures (Conconi et al. 2008). For example, they find that the importance of family background in explaining the “schooling gap”—defined as the difference between the years of education completed and the hypothetical years the child should have completed in the absence of repeating grades or dropping out—for children currently of compulsory enrollment age has

declined between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s in several Latin American countries. In particular, they rely on a Fields decomposition (1996, 2003) proposed by Andersen (2001) that takes into account the household's income per capita and the highest level of education between the mother and the father. However, these measures of mobility do not take into account differences in the quality of education, which are large in Latin America.

### Low Quality of Education

Considering education achievement measures such as the OECD's Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) scores, Latin American education systems tend to score poorly on two dimensions. First, the average achievement in terms of testable knowledge is low. For example, while on average within the OECD less than 20 percent of 14- to 15-year-old students do not reach a minimum level of reading comprehension, in Latin America it is almost 50 percent. Second, the relationship between performance and socioeconomic background is much stronger in Latin America than in the OECD (Figure 1). This shows that external circumstances—such as the household's income level, parental education, gender, or geographical location—are key to student performance (Brunori, Ferreira, and Peragine 2013). In part, the lower levels of average achievement are due to a composition effect: as more poor students with lower performance reach higher levels of schooling and stay for more time within the system (expanding coverage), in the short run performance falls. Some countries such as Brazil, Chile, and Mexico have shown significant improvements over the past decade in reducing the importance of family background in educational

achievement outcomes. However, problems in terms of performance and inequality of opportunities are still prevalent. (See also Ferreira et al. 2012 regarding the evolution of social mobility and inequality of opportunities in Latin America.)

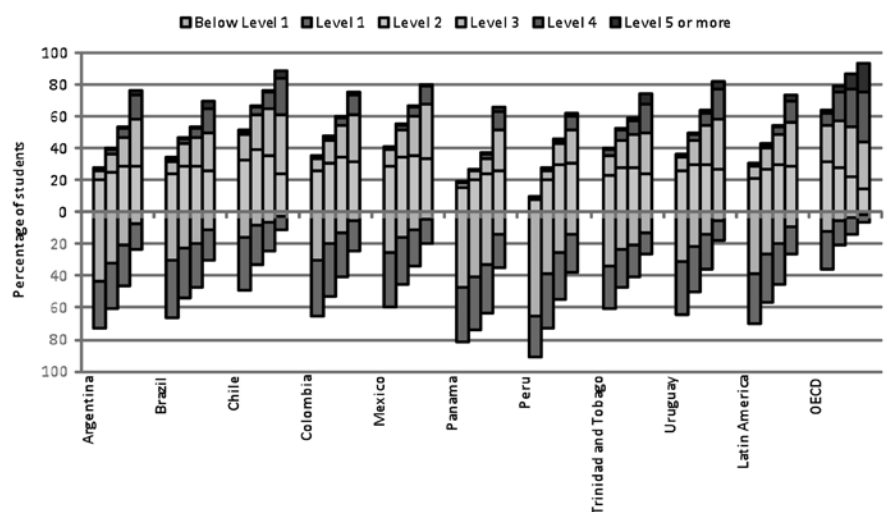
Another interesting empirical fact from the PISA surveys is related to the social mix within schools. If one decomposes the variation in the index of socioeconomic status indicator and separates variation between and within schools, some OECD school systems (such as Finland) show that most of the variance comes from within schools, while for Latin America most of the variance is between schools. This means that schools in Latin America are socioeconomically very homogeneous. The

poor go to the same schools as the poor, while the rich gather only with the rich. Interestingly, the aggregate evidence shows that there is no trade-off between having socially mixed education systems and attaining high levels of educational achievement (OECD 2010a). Thus, education systems in the region continue to be an instrument for reproducing the current social order rather than a way to facilitate social mobility and opportunities for the poor.

### Conclusions and Policy Discussion

The evidence shows that Latin America is not only the most unequal region in the world in terms of income distribution but

**Figure 1: Distribution of test scores in PISA reading tests according to socioeconomic and cultural household background quartiles, 2009\***



\*The distribution by performance levels in Latin America and OECD refers to the simple mean of attainment level weighted at the national level for participating countries in PISA 2009. Level 1 or below means that students are not able to make simple connections and inferences from reading a text. On the other end, Level 6 represents students able to "deal with unfamiliar ideas, in the presence of prominent competing information, and to generate abstract categories for interpretations" (OECD, 2010b). Source: OECD-ECLAC (2011) based on data from PISA 2009.

that it also exhibits very low levels of intergenerational mobility. Of course, more research into the particular transmission mechanisms are needed at the country level to establish policy priorities. However, some policies seem instrumental in reducing the influence of family background and exogenous circumstances on educational outcomes. Research on early childhood programs shows that investments in health, nutrition, and education in the early stages of life can significantly reduce inequality of opportunities for the poor (see Doyle et al. 2009). In combination with conditional cash transfers, such support can create the right incentives and relax some constraints on familial investment in education. Furthermore, policy makers in the region have to think about how to increase opportunities for students from less favored backgrounds to access high-quality schools. When schools can freely choose their students—and students are assessed only by standardized tests—they tend to admit mainly people from the same social background. Furthermore, in Latin America private schools are an important part of the system. Therefore, mechanisms that give parents some choice and help them to make informed decisions are needed. Financial support through grants and student loans are also useful tools to facilitate access, especially to higher education.

Finally, it is important to point out that in some countries in the region, expected returns on education for minorities or women are still low due to discrimination in the labor market. In these circumstances, education policies have to be complemented with policies that reduce discrimination.

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## Affirmative Action in Brazil

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The sudden announcement in 2001 of affirmative action programs in Brazil would have been surprising to just about anyone at that time. The very idea of affirmative action, which largely sought to increase the number of nonwhite students at Brazilian universities, was widely considered as anathema to Brazilians' long-established idea of their country as a racial democracy. Although significant race-based policy initiatives had been taken in a few municipalities, these were the first implemented on a large scale and at the federal level. Implementation of affirmative action was seen as a top-down policy, although it was brought on by pressure from the black movement and Brazil's international commitments, particularly at the U.N. Conference Against Racism in 2001 (Telles 2004). Since then, affirmative action has progressively expanded to many public universities, and federal law now requires it at all federal universities. Moreover, affirmative action has engendered much discussion about race and racism, including lively debate about affirmative action, whereas public discussion of race and racism was rare prior to 2001 (Telles 2004).

The progressive nature of university councils has made universities especially fertile grounds for affirmative action, and Brazil's most competitive universities tend to be public. As a result, the vast majority of affirmative action programs are located in public universities. Moreover, the general expansion of university slots in Brazilian universities has prevented affirmative action from being a zero-sum policy, further increasing its popularity.

Paradoxically, public universities, which are completely free of charge, tend to be superior to private universities, so that the students who are enrolled in public universities disproportionately come from

the private secondary schools that Brazil's privileged classes attend. On the other hand, most Brazilians attend the poorly resourced public schools, and those who graduate and go on to college predominately go to private universities, which account for 70 percent of higher education students in Brazil (Paixão and Carvano 2008). Thus, attendance at public secondary schools is an indicator of low socioeconomic status in Brazil and has become an important class-based criterion in Brazil's new affirmative action policies in public universities.

Quota systems have become the default affirmative action program, especially because they fit well with the Brazilian system of university admissions, which tend to be based entirely on an entrance exam. Quota-based programs guarantee a certain percentage of university admission slots to students on the basis of race and/or class. A few universities like the State University of Campinas and Federal University of Minas Gerais have begun to use point systems instead, which give additional "points" to the applications of those from disadvantaged class, schooling, or race backgrounds. Unlike the quota system, the point system does not guarantee a number of beneficiaries.

Affirmative action grew from its implementation at the State University of Rio de Janeiro in 2002 and spread to a large number of higher education institutions. Today, a majority of Brazil's federal and state universities, which are attended by about 80 percent of Brazilian students in public higher education, have some kind of quota system, while less than one-third of the remaining institutions (municipal universities, isolated public college-level courses, and technical schools) do. According to data compiled in 2010 by the Instituto de Estudos e Pesquisas

Educacionais Anísio Teixeira (INEP), 49 of 95 federal and state universities had quota systems (unfortunately such information is not collected for universities that use the point system). In terms of the number of students affected, 45 thousand students were beneficiaries of affirmative action in 2010, comprising 11 percent of all students in public higher education (LAESER 2012). However, a 2012 law approved by the National Congress (Quota Law) requires that by 2016 all federal higher education institutions implement quotas on the basis of attendance at public high school; family income; or being indigenous, black, or brown. We project that after four years of implementation the number of quota students in Brazilian higher education will increase by roughly three times its current amount (calculation by Marcelo Paixão using data from LAESER 2012 and the 2010 Census of Higher Education).

### Class- versus Race-Based Policies

Although there is some opposition to quotas or affirmative action of any kind, class criteria have become more acceptable than race for redressing Brazil's enormous social and racial inequalities. Data from the 2010 INEP show that class quotas have become more common than race quotas, even though the debate has been almost entirely about race quotas. The most common class criterion is attendance in public secondary schools, which accounts for fully 74 percent of all quota students. A few universities use a combination of class and race quotas, and as of 2012, when the University of Brasília began to also use class-based criteria, none exclusively use race quotas.

Until recently, opposition to affirmative action was especially strong because of the use of race/ethnic criteria. This largely

reflects the resistance of Brazilian society to recognizing racism's role in creating educational disadvantages and thus adopting race-based policies to redress them.

### Public and Legal Support

Although the issue of racial quotas continues to be very polemical in Brazil, most Brazilians actually support them. The most recent poll in 2008 produced by Instituto Datafolha showed that 44 percent of the population strongly agreed and another 18 percent agreed in part that quotas for blacks and browns (*negros*) are fundamental to improve the access of all persons to education. However, most opposition is from the middle class and sectors like the media, especially the principal newspapers and news magazines.

At the beginning of affirmative action, many persons alleged that affirmative action and quotas were unconstitutional. However, in 2012, the 11-member Brazilian Supreme Court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of both class- and race-based quotas. Article 3 states that the Federal Republic of Brazil “fundamentally” seeks to create a free, just, and undivided society; eradicate poverty and marginalization; reduce social and regional inequalities; and provide special incentives to protect women in the labor market. The article goes as far as suggesting the use of affirmative action for women and the physically disabled.

### Racial Classification and Quotas

Brazil is known to have much more racial ambiguity than the United States, where there were clear rules about who was black and intermarriage was forbidden. The

issue of racial ambiguity, which was originally seen as an impediment to affirmative action policies in Brazil, comes up occasionally, as might be expected (Francis and Tannari-Pianto 2012), but not as often as many opponents would have expected. At the extreme, a handful of universities have created commissions to decide if candidates could use racial quotas.

The emergence of a racial awareness in Brazil, largely around the quotas debate, has also led to changes in racial identity in Brazilian society. Certainly, it could have been expected that university applicants, especially those who had previously identified as white but who have some African or indigenous ancestry, might begin to identify as nonwhite to take advantage of the racial quotas. White, just like any racial category, never required that it be ancestrally pure as in the United States. Indeed, a rigorous study of applicants at the University of Brasília revealed systematic reclassification toward nonwhite with the quota system (Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2012). More surprising is that there has been a general tendency toward identity as nonwhite, as Guimarães (2010) has documented and as reflected in the changing racial composition of Brazil (LAESER 2012).

### Affirmative Action in the Labor Market

Though important for many symbolic and material reasons, affirmative action in the university affects a small proportion of the black population. So the issue of what to do in the general labor market is very important. Since most of the Brazilian population and the vast majority of the *negro* population are in working-class jobs, ideally Brazil should seek to expand employment in sectors where there are plentiful jobs that require the nine years of

average education of Brazilians or less, while improving access to higher-status jobs for *negros*, if the country is to experience significant reductions in racial inequality. A disproportionate number of informal-sector workers are Afro-descendants. Minimum-wage laws directly help those in the formal sector and indirectly those in the informal sector, where blacks predominate. Nevertheless, there has been very little affirmative action in the labor market. Governments have been very timid in labor market affirmative action. A few large enterprises have voluntarily adopted affirmative action, but these scattered initiatives appear to have gained little traction.

### Final Comments

The unexpected implementation of racial quotas occurred despite a near absence of discussion about them, catching policy analysts and public opinion off guard. However, without their sudden imposition, serious discussion about race in Brazilian society and policies to redress racism probably would never have occurred. Regardless of the design or potential benefits of these policies, their implementation has projected the issue of race and racism to a level never before seen in modern Brazilian history. In particular, it broke with several decades of a strongly held racial democracy ideology. Although there is much discussion about the appropriate policy solutions, Brazilians now largely agree that racism exists and that racial inequality is high, thus arguing that something must be done to alleviate these problems.

Large-scale reductions in racial inequality are possible in Brazil, but this will be a long process, and the reductions are likely to materialize only if Brazil makes serious

## Educación y equidad de género

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policy attempts to include its large Afro-descendant population at all levels of society. This will require utilizing not only affirmative action but other policy measures, whether universal, race-based, or both, that extend beyond the university.

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La situación educativa en América Latina desde la perspectiva de la equidad de género ya no responde a la caracterización de la exclusión lisa y llana de las mujeres del acceso a la educación. Pero tampoco puede situarse en el marco de un triunfalismo bobo que desconozca la persistencia de patrones discriminatorios que afectan a veces a las mujeres y a veces a los hombres en contextos específicos determinados, entre otros, por la etnicidad, la condición rural o urbana, y la pobreza. También, deben tenerse en cuenta los efectos encadenados de estas discriminaciones en el desarrollo de los ciclos de vida, durante los cuales estas desigualdades se mantienen y, en la mayoría de los casos, se profundizan.

Los compromisos establecidos por los gobiernos alrededor de acuerdos internacionales como el programa de Educación Para Todos de UNICEF, los Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio de la ONU (ODMs) y las Metas 2020 de la Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos (OEI) generaron contextos adecuados para avanzar en la expansión de la educación desde una perspectiva de derechos e igualdad de género. De ellos, el compromiso más importante es el que surge de los ODMs, que en su Objetivo Tercero, "Promover la igualdad de género y el empoderamiento de la mujer" incluyen dos metas obligatorias para los Estados, la 3ª "Eliminar las desigualdades entre los géneros en la enseñanza primaria y secundaria preferiblemente para el año 2005 y en todos los niveles de la enseñanza antes de finales de 2015" y la 3.1 "Relación entre niños y niñas en la enseñanza primaria, secundaria y superior". Estos compromisos permitieron concretar políticas para satisfacer las persistentes demandas de los pueblos de la región dirigidas a la expansión de la educación, agenda que —con variaciones por países—

se extendió desde fines del siglo XIX hasta la fecha.

Existe abundante información estadística al respecto. SITEAL (2010) muestra la tasa neta de escolarización primaria para varios países en 2011 y las diferencias en la cobertura de los indicadores. Veamos algunos: para el nivel primario, por sexo, Panamá, alcanza al 97.7 para hombres y mujeres; Guatemala, el 91.9 para hombres y 91.2 para mujeres y Argentina, 95.14 para hombres y 94.8 para mujeres. Los datos regionales agregados provenientes de CEPALSTAT <[http://estadisticas.cepal.org/cepalstat/WEB\\_CEPALSTAT/Portada.asp](http://estadisticas.cepal.org/cepalstat/WEB_CEPALSTAT/Portada.asp)> muestran, para el nivel primario, una razón de 0.968 (favoreciendo a los hombres); para la secundaria, de 1.078 (favoreciendo a las mujeres) y para el nivel terciario de 1.276 favoreciendo todavía en mayor proporción a las mujeres. Estos datos pueden implicar importantes ventajas relativas de las mujeres o puntos de partida más desfavorable para los varones (menor inscripción) y las razones de estas diferencias deben ahondarse con estudios específicos caso por caso. En todo caso, el abordaje cuantitativo de la cobertura no da cuenta de las demandas crecientes que se hacen a los sistemas, que se centran en el objetivo de alcanzar cobertura junto con calidad. Deben formar parte de la cuestión de la calidad, todos los temas de la equidad, principalmente la de género. Es en esta dimensión en que hay que tener sintonía fina para explorar cómo, pese a que la información estadística a nivel agregado favorezca —en dos de los tres niveles a las mujeres— la discriminación se sostiene a nivel del *currículum*, de las prácticas escolares y, más avanzado el nivel, en las orientaciones que las chicas toman en el marco de las ofertas de especialización de los sistemas educativos. Adicionalmente, la discriminación también se reproduce en la forma en que las prácticas no visibles del

sistema educativo, refuerzan estereotipos de género que retroalimentan los modelos de división sexual del trabajo, que definen como mundo propio de las mujeres principalmente el doméstico, incluyendo en el mismo no sólo la vida de “las familias” sino también opciones laborales ligadas a la economía del cuidado.

La cuestión de la equidad de género lucha con frecuencia con el tema de la “clase”. El *Anuario estadístico 2012* de CEPAL (CEPAL 2012) brinda valiosa información al respecto. Al mirar la asistencia escolar en áreas urbanas por quintiles de ingreso per cápita del hogar según sexo y grupos de edad para el 2011, surgen interesantes interrogantes. Nuevamente en Guatemala, país en el que las poblaciones originarias tienen un alto peso relativo, la asistencia escolar del primer quintil del grupo etario 7–12 es de 87.1 y la de mujeres de 85.7; en el de 13–19, de 55.7 para todos y de 45.6 para mujeres y el de 20–24, de 7.6 para todos y de 5.1 para mujeres. En cambio en el quintil más alto, quinto, el grupo de 7–12 tiene 98.7 para el total y 99.7 para las mujeres, el de 13–19, 84.4 para el total y 83.3 para las mujeres y en el de 20–24, 44.5 para el total y 43.5 para las mujeres. Estos datos muestran los logros en la dinámica del acceso al ingreso y el género. ¿Cuál sería en este caso la estrategia para mejorar la equidad de género? ¿La del mejoramiento en la distribución del ingreso? Podría serlo, sino tuviéramos evidencia indirecta como en toda América Latina aun en los establecimientos educativos a los que concurre el V quintil, se mantienen en su interior las mismas prácticas sexistas en las que se enraza la desigualdad entre hombres y mujeres. En fin, no alcanza con ingresar, aunque es bueno por sí mismo, si a la vez no se califica la oferta en términos igualitarios. No sólo hay que pensar en el derecho de las niñas a la educación sino en a qué

educación acceden niños y niñas. De todas maneras, ese escenario es un avance y trae la evidencia de que ahora el proceso de lucha por la erradicación de la discriminación y por la igualdad de género debe producirse dentro del sistema educativo y no fuera del mismo. No se trata de luchar por entrar, sino de tener estrategias para que esa inclusión no retroalimente los modelos de discriminación.

Pero hay otras dimensiones. Si bien el acceso a la educación es un derecho humano, es necesario pensar su articulación con el sistema productivo, donde se concentra hoy la discriminación de las mujeres post escuela. Aun las que llegaron al nivel superior neutralizan esa ventaja por el tipo de orientación que eligieron —o que la cultura les impuso— concentrándose en carreras más ligadas con los roles de género tradicionales, de menor prestigio social y menores niveles de remuneración. Ese proceso de selección refuerza el deber ser de los roles tradicionales, la instalación de la desconfianza sobre sus capacidades cognitivas, y la falta de estímulos para la potenciación de otras dimensiones de su inteligencia. Menos matemáticas, físicas, químicas y más auxiliares de laboratorio, enfermeras, asistentes personales calificadas o simples trabajadoras del servicio doméstico. Así, la concentración femenina es más alta en actividades como la docencia, el trabajo social, la enfermería, las tareas de cuidado. Reiteremos que en la región la tasa de actividad es menor que la de los hombres, la de desempleo es mayor, el acceso a la seguridad social y al trabajo decente es menor, y todavía 14 de cada 100 trabajadoras se dedican al empleo doméstico. En fin, la existencia de un “techo de cristal” ampliamente conocido. Siguiendo este patrón, cuando las mujeres se involucran en actividades como las de investigación, reservadas a las de más alto

nivel educativo, sus carreras siguen estando afectadas por sus responsabilidades en el hogar.

Antes de dejar la escuela, hay que mirar también las características de la vida de las niñas y adolescentes que articulan con su desempeño escolar, su condición de sujetos sexuados cuyos comportamientos sexuales y reproductivos interactúan con su desempeño escolar, el ser víctimas de violencia, femicidio, temas como el embarazo temprano y las nuevas diversidades sexuales. Algunos países están generando alternativas educativas para adolescentes con hijos en la escuela a la vez que las privan antes de sus derechos a tomar decisiones, vedando el acceso a la educación sexual y a los insumos reproductivos. Después de la escuela, es necesario recomponer una mirada sobre el continuum educación-trabajo que supere la perspectiva de la “tasa de retorno” y recomponga un debate progresista sobre ambos, vistos como derechos de las personas. La discusión debe incluir la articulación con la familia y los temas de la corresponsabilidad de hombres y mujeres. Esto es especialmente necesario para la fase que suceda al fin de los ODM y que se conoce como el “post-2015”.

A pesar de estos problemas hay innovaciones interesantes, entre ellas, la producción de libros de texto sensibles a los comportamientos de género, los programas de capacitación para la identificación de las prácticas sexistas en la vida diaria de las escuelas, la mayor concientización sobre la discriminación, el desarrollo de institucionalidad y políticas públicas para las mujeres. Sin embargo, pequeñas trampas saturan la vida diaria de los sistemas. Por ejemplo, el hecho de que en algunos países el registro escolar enumere primero a los varones que a las mujeres, incluyendo en este dispositivo una

asignación de orden y jerarquía frente a listas en las que deberían figurar solo por orden alfabético sin tener en cuenta el sexo. Más recientemente, y mirando lo que pasa afuera de la escuela, es necesario prestar atención a la difusión de culturas juveniles que confinan a las mujeres a posiciones subalternas y desvalorizadas, interpeándolas solo como objetos sexuales: véase por ejemplo, el rap y sus letras, el “perreo” como baile, la cumbia villera en el Cono Sur y las tantas veces mencionadas telenovelas cuyos contenidos refuerzan posiciones subordinadas de las mujeres. Aparece así un proceso en el que el espacio de fuera de la escuela retroalimenta las prácticas discriminatorias de dentro de la escuela. La persistencia del lenguaje sexista, justificado por el presunto universalismo masculino, es otra pauta adicional de la resiliencia de la discriminación.

Pese a todo, los avances de las mujeres en materia de participación política colocan un escenario positivo y propositivo que muestra que la condición sexual ha dejado de ser para algunos sectores una restricción a su desarrollo. El surgimiento de una historiografía feminista también ha llevado a las aulas cierta oxigenación en materia de construcción de referentes. Sin embargo, todavía las niñas y adolescentes tienen que aprender a tener una mirada crítica sobre los espacios públicos cuyas posiciones de poder aparecen generalmente ocupadas por hombres. No es fácil imaginar un espacio que tenga más ventajas comparativas que la escuela —por su cobertura casi universal, por el número de horas que los estudiantes pasan en ella, por ser la primera agencia pública a la que todos entran después de la familia— para producir ahí estrategias de trabajo y construcción de subjetividades que puedan resistir y superar la inequidad, abriendo caminos para el desarrollo pleno

de mujeres y hombres en sociedades más justas.

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# Financiamiento de la educación superior en América Latina: Viejas y nuevas prácticas

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En el mundo entero el financiamiento de la educación superior es un asunto intensamente debatido: dentro de las oficinas gubernamentales, en los parlamentos y al interior de los partidos políticos, a nivel de los medios de comunicación y la opinión pública, por las familias, entre expertos y, ahora también, en las calles, donde es objeto de manifestaciones y protestas. Durante los últimos años, América Latina en particular ha presenciado intensas luchas en torno al financiamiento de las instituciones de educación superior (IES), con amplias movilizaciones estudiantiles en Chile, Colombia y México por ejemplo, junto con apasionadas discusiones sobre gratuidad, aranceles, costos, becas y créditos, subsidios e impuestos específicos en prácticamente todos los países de la región.

## Regímenes mixtos: Provisión y coordinación

Tres son los rasgos característicos de la educación superior o terciaria latinoamericana: (i) la mayoría de los estudiantes de pregrado se matricula en instituciones de educación superior (IES) privadas; (ii) la mayoría de las IES existentes son privadas, y (iii) una proporción de los recursos para la educación superior proviene de fuentes privadas (para las estadísticas de base puede consultarse Brunner y Ferrada 2011; Levy 2011 y OECD 2012). Lo anterior significa que los países latinoamericanos con pocas excepciones poseen sistemas mixtos (público-privados) de provisión de educación terciaria, donde coexisten IES estatales y privadas sin subsidio estatal, además de una franja intermedia de IES privadas subsidiadas directa o indirectamente por el Estado.

Dentro del sector de IES privadas puede distinguirse un subsector de instituciones confesionales, especialmente universidades católicas; un subsector de universidades privadas no confesionales de elite y un amplio grupo de IES privadas universitarias y no-universitarias con un carácter más marcadamente vocacional-laboral, con baja o nula selectividad académica, intensivas en el uso de docentes-por-hora, y que en conjunto impulsan la masificación de la matrícula atendiendo a alumnos provenientes de los grupos medio-bajos y bajos de la sociedad.

La coordinación de los sistemas descansa en medida importante en mecanismos de mercado. Hay competencia entre instituciones, un mercado para docentes de educación terciaria y una mayoría de estudiantes paga directamente su educación. Por lo general los gobiernos tienen escasa influencia sobre las IES privadas de sus países y, bajo el concepto tradicional de autonomía universitaria prevaleciente en la región, que en la práctica equivale a una autarquía, tampoco inciden mayormente sobre las universidades estatales, nacionales o federales. Sin embargo, los gobiernos latinoamericanos se preocupan actualmente de guiar y regular las fuerzas del mercado, garantizar estándares de calidad, proteger a los estudiantes del fraude y regular la provisión en función de prioridades del desarrollo nacional y de objetivos de equidad social y competitividad económica. Últimamente, los gobiernos de Brasil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Perú y República Dominicana impulsan políticas que apuntan en esas direcciones.

El peso gravitante de los factores privados no significa que los sistemas se hayan privatizado por completo o se encuentren sometidos exclusivamente a las dinámicas del mercado. Al contrario, las dimensiones

públicas de la educación superior mantienen un lugar importante. Primero, las políticas gubernamentales proclaman la importancia de la educación superior para el crecimiento económico, la competitividad internacional, la movilidad social, la deliberación pública y la preservación de las identidades nacionales. Segundo, en la mayoría de los países de la región los Estados son la principal fuente de financiamiento de la educación superior y las actividades de investigación y desarrollo (I+D). Tercero, el Estado justifica esta inversión subrayando el carácter de bien público de la educación superior, sus beneficios sociales y el impacto del capital humano y el conocimiento avanzado sobre el desarrollo de las regiones y los países. Cuarto, las universidades insignias (*flagship universities*) continúan siendo todas ellas instituciones públicas, como la U de São Paulo, la UNAM, la U de Buenos Aires, la U de Chile y la U de Costa Rica. Asimismo, son estatales las universidades más antiguas del continente (v.gr, la Autónoma de Santo Domingo y San Marcos en Lima) y aquellas que producen el 90 por ciento de los artículos científicos y técnicos publicados en revistas registradas de corriente principal.

En cuanto al financiamiento de las IES, dos modelos ocupan hoy los extremos del eje estatal-privado según las fuentes de origen de los recursos. En un extremo se sitúa Cuba, donde 100 por ciento del financiamiento es estatal y, en el otro, Chile donde la proporción de financiamiento privado representa un 60 por ciento del gasto total. Los demás países se distribuyen a lo largo de este eje según la *ratio* de gasto fiscal (contribuyentes) y gasto privado (estudiantes y sus familias). Brasil ocupa justo el punto medio de este eje, con una *ratio* 1:1. Uruguay, Argentina, México y Colombia ocupan posiciones a lo largo del segmento izquierdo del eje, entre Cuba

y Brasil. Y Paraguay, República Dominicana y Perú se hallan situados al lado derecho, entre Brasil y Chile, con un peso relativo mayor de recursos privados que públicos.

El modelo imperante en cada país es producto del desarrollo histórico de los distintos sistemas nacionales y de las estrategias empleadas por los gobiernos para masificar la educación superior. Ciertamente, Cuba y Chile optaron por estrategias diametralmente opuestas. Cuba aumentó la oferta a través de IES estatales; Chile mediante la creación de un mercado para el desarrollo de la provisión privada. De hecho, la mayoría de los gobiernos latinoamericanos privatizó la masificación, concentrando sus recursos en un número limitado de universidades públicas. Típicamente esta fue la estrategia seguida por Brasil, Chile y Perú, por ejemplo. Otros países siguieron un camino distinto, otorgando un rol activo a las IES estatales en la masificación, incluso creando numerosas (nuevas) instituciones estatales, como sucedió en Argentina y México.

### ¿Costos compartidos?

Una cuestión decisiva es la medida en que los diferentes países aplican una estrategia de costos compartidos (*cost sharing*); es decir, la medida en que el costo (siempre en ascenso) de la educación superior es compartido entre el Estado y los privados, en especial los estudiantes mediante el pago de aranceles (*fees*). En la mayoría de los países de la región, los estudios de pregrado son pagados en su totalidad, o casi, ya bien por el Estado (contribuyentes) en el caso de las IES públicas o bien por los propios estudiantes y sus familias en el caso de las IES privadas donde los aranceles cubren un 100 por ciento del costo del servicio. Bajo

estas dos modalidades no hay costos compartidos.

En cambio, allí donde las IES estatales cobran un arancel por una parte significativa del costo por estudiante, o donde las IES privadas reciben un subsidio directo o indirecto del Estado, puede hablarse efectivamente de costos compartidos y de una diversificación de las fuentes de ingreso.

Chile posee un régimen de financiamiento de este último tipo. Las universidades estatales financian en promedio alrededor de la mitad de su presupuesto anual mediante ingresos provenientes de aranceles y de la venta de servicios. A su vez, hay un grupo de IES privadas que reciben un subsidio directo del presupuesto nacional, el cual financia una parte significativa de sus gastos operacionales y de inversión. Las demás IES privadas reciben financiamiento indirecto del Estado a través de los aranceles pagados por los estudiantes que, en gran número, gozan de becas y/o de préstamos para este efecto, los cuales tienen implícito un subsidio a través de la tasa de interés y la parte no pagada del crédito que es asumida por el Estado al momento de cumplirse el plazo de su devolución. Además existen costos compartidos en la mayoría de los programas de posgrado (especialmente de maestría) de las universidades públicas latinoamericanas, pues allí los alumnos pagan aranceles cuyo valor se aproxima al costo unitario del programa. También las universidades públicas de ciertos países —como Colombia y México, por ejemplo— cobran aranceles en los cursos de pregrado, los cuales generan ingresos que pueden llegar a representar entre 5 y 15 por ciento del presupuesto anual de la institución.

Finalmente se discute cuáles modalidades e instrumentos debería utilizar el Estado para entregar recursos del presupuesto nacional a las IES: si mecanismos destinados a subsidiar preferentemente la oferta (o sea las instituciones, especialmente estatales), o bien la demanda (es decir, los estudiantes, incluso aquellos matriculados en IES privadas).

En América Latina predomina sin contrapeso el subsidio a la oferta, con excepción de Chile. Esto lleva de inmediato a la siguiente pregunta: ¿cuáles mecanismos conviene utilizar para subsidiar la oferta (i.e., IES públicas)? Si acaso mecanismos de tipo *block grant*, no vinculados a metas, condiciones, desempeño o resultados, o bien mecanismos basados en el desempeño, vinculados a resultados, como fondos competitivos y otros arreglos de cuasimercado? En América Latina los países usan *block grants* para financiar a las universidades públicas, cuyo monto se fijó en el pasado y se repite inercialmente cada año. Como estos fondos se entregan independientemente de la performance y resultados de las instituciones, suele decirse que no las estimulan para mejorar la calidad y la pertinencia de sus programas y la eficiencia de su gestión.

Sin embargo, un número creciente de países —como Argentina, Chile, Colombia y México, por ejemplo— ha introducido mecanismos del tipo fondos competitivos para iniciativas de calidad, convenios de desempeño, financiamiento basado en fórmulas y financiamiento por proyectos para transferir recursos adicionales al *block grant*, con el fin de impulsar objetivos de política pública, innovaciones pedagógicas y actividades de I+D.

A medida que se extienden los esquemas de costo compartido y se ensancha la parte de la educación superior que opera en el mercado, el Estado necesita extender también su protección a los estudiantes y sus familias, quienes se hallan expuestos al riesgo de fraude o engaño por efecto de asimetrías de información y el precario autocontrol ético de muchas instituciones (privadas y públicas). Para esto son imprescindibles reglas exigentes de *accountability* institucional y órganos públicos especializados que supervisen con independencia y profesionalismo la administración económico-financiera de las universidades y demás IES. En efecto, el monto de recursos gestionados anualmente por esta “industria” es cuantioso, pudiendo estimarse en más de 85 mil millones de dólares (internacionales, valor PPC). Más de la mitad de estos recursos proviene de los contribuyentes y el resto de los estudiantes y sus familias. Hay por tanto un interés público directo comprometido en la manera como estos recursos son usados y gastados. A su turno, la mayoría de las IES son empresas sin fines de lucro (públicas o privadas), que generan excedentes cuyo destino debe ayudar a reforzar las dimensiones de bien público de la educación superior. Corresponde al Estado asegurarse de que sean utilizados con ese fin.

En los años que vienen, las IES latinoamericanas y los sistemas nacionales se verán tensionados por la continua expansión de la cobertura y los mayores costos de las funciones docentes, de investigación, transferencia y extensión. A su vez, los gobiernos tendrán que hacer enormes esfuerzos para siquiera mantener o incrementar marginalmente el subsidio a la educación terciaria, mientras se ven forzados a focalizar el gasto público en los niveles preescolar y de la enseñanza obligatoria. Necesitarán por lo mismo

promover y favorecer políticas de costos compartidos o encontrar vías alternativas para incrementar el gasto público en este sector. No habrá por consiguiente una solución fácil que perseguir.

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## Report from the Program Chairs

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With the 31st International Congress of LASA just days away, we are pleased to provide a final preview of the program that awaits your arrival in Washington, DC. Our conference theme, “Latin America: Towards a New Social Contract?,” encourages scholarly reflection on the public policy dimensions of social, economic, and cultural relationships and highlights the entry of new social actors and new configurations of influence in Latin America. We have worked closely with LASA President Evelyne Huber, the LASA Secretariat in Pittsburgh, and 47 track chairs to organize a program that encourages in-depth analysis of policy questions, while still reflecting the multidisciplinary richness of scholarship and artistic production in the Latin American field.

As noted in our last report, we received a strong response to the call for papers for the Washington Congress, despite LASA’s shift from an 18-month to a 12-month cycle. As expected, this shorter conference cycle led to a drop in the total number of proposals, from 2,382 last year in San Francisco to 1,524 proposals for 2013 in Washington. This latter figure, however, still is higher than the 1,407 proposals received for the Toronto Congress in 2010. Proposals this year were submitted across 33 different program tracks, and nearly 40 percent of them were for completed panels rather than individual paper submissions. We are confident that this healthy number of complete panel proposals will enhance the intellectual coherence and coordination of panel presentations. We are also pleased that we were able to accept a higher percentage of paper and panel proposals than in other recent LASA congresses, due to the decline in the number of proposals and our relatively large number of meeting spaces in our host hotel, the Washington Marriott Wardman Park.

We are deeply grateful to those 47 track chairs and co-chairs, who read, evaluated, and ranked over 1,500 separate proposals. The track chairs came from the United States, Canada, and numerous countries in Europe and Latin America; we were very fortunate to have such a diverse, distinguished, and conscientious group of reviewers. Although we regret that the final program could not include everyone who submitted a paper proposal, we are confident that the program incorporates a wide and pluralistic range of voices from diverse countries and different fields of scholarship.

We would like to thank the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and the Center for Latin American Studies at Georgetown University for helping to organize the Welcoming Reception on Wednesday evening, May 29, on the beautiful campus of Georgetown University. Prior to the Welcoming Reception, we will continue the LASA tradition of sponsoring pre-Congress workshops on Wednesday afternoon. These workshops are designed to enhance the professional development of the LASA membership, particularly young scholars, and they typically generate an enthusiastic response. Back by popular demand, *LARR* editor Philip Oxhorn will once again lead two workshops titled “Exploring the Ins and Outs of Academic Publishing” for journals and monographs. A third workshop on databases on Latin American political institutions will be led by Michael Coppedge and Gerardo Munck. The fourth workshop will explore Latin American resources on-site at the Library of Congress, and led by Georgette Dorn, Director of the Library’s Hispanic Division.

An impressive range of presidential panels, special theme-related panels, and special invitation panels is also scheduled for the three main days of the Congress from Thursday through Saturday. LASA President Evelyne Huber teamed up with Cynthia Arnson, Director of the Latin American Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, to organize a presidential panel on “U.S.-Latin American Relations.” This panel will feature the Honorable José Miguel Insulza, Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, along with other ambassadors from the region. Other presidential panels include “Basic Universalism—the Way Forward or a Dead End? Or, What Kind of Social Policy in the New Social Contract?,” and “Parties and the New Social Contract—Creators or Followers?”

Special theme-related panels will include “Social Movements and the New Social Contract,” “The Future of Studies of Latin American Political Economy” (organized by Juan Pablo Luna and Andrew Schrank), and a two-part session on the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA), led by Edward Telles. Special-invitation panels and events will include an address by Alicia Bárcena, Executive Secretary of CEPAL, “Structural Change for Equality in Latin America and the Caribbean”; “Contemporary Latin American Literature,” led by the distinguished Mexican writer Jorge Volpi; a panel titled “How to Write an Application for a Research Grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities,” led by Mark Silver of the National Endowment for the Humanities; and a three-panel series titled “The Economy and the Social Contract,” organized by Augusto de la Torre, Chief Economist for Latin America and the Caribbean of the World Bank.

## LASA2013 Film Festival

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No LASA Congress could be complete without the Gran Baile, to be held on Friday night starting at 10:00 pm in the Marriott; nor without the Film Festival, directed by Claudia Ferman, which will be ongoing throughout the Congress dates.

Thanks to the generosity of LASA, its members, the Open Society Institute, the Tinker Foundation, and the Inter-American Foundation, we have been able to offer 278 travel grants to members residing in Latin America and the Caribbean and three to members in China, including 52 grants to graduate students. LASA is deeply committed to broad participation by its membership in international meetings, and we express our gratitude to the organizations and individuals that have helped us provide financial assistance to scholars from the Latin American region.

Last year the introduction of the app for the electronic program was a resounding success, and it will be offered again this year with the same provider, ATIV.

This LASA Congress continues a long tradition of personal interaction among scholars and actors of Latin America who are energized by these experiences. It will certainly be a site of dialogue, learning, meeting new colleagues, and renewing friendships from years past. We anticipate that this Congress, "Latin America: Towards a New Social Contract?," will open new areas of inquiry, foment dialogue, and provide inspiration for individual and collaborative projects. We look forward to joining the discussion with you in Washington, DC. ■

El Festival de LASA se propone como un foro más dentro del Congreso, es decir, un espacio de actualización de debates, de presentación de materiales de investigación en estadio avanzado, pero también como un espacio en el que se exploran nuevas ideas y nuevas formas de expresión de esas ideas. Se propone también como una fuente de recursos, es decir, como un inventario al que los miembros de LASA pueden acudir en busca de materiales tanto para su investigación como para sus clases. Por ello, el festival busca atender distintos intereses en relación con las distintas áreas de trabajo de los miembros de LASA. Esto constituye un enorme desafío para un festival de cine, y redefine indudablemente la naturaleza misma de lo que se entiende por un festival. El festival de LASA es un festival de cine, pero también se ocupa de cuestiones que no son el cine, porque interpreta que el cine es un lenguaje privilegiado en el que la complejidad cultural e histórica de comunidades, naciones, individuos y sociedades encuentra expresión. Y si esto fue cierto desde el propio inicio del cine, hoy la revolución digital obliga a revalorar e interpretar la producción en este lenguaje. Los objetivos expuestos exigen que la selección de materiales se realice más allá de los acotados y poco académicos catálogos de los distribuidores de los EEUU y Europa, y obligan a un verdadero rastreo para encontrar los materiales audiovisuales que se están produciendo en Latinoamérica y el mundo que constituyan voces poderosas que interese escuchar.

LASA2013 pone el énfasis en el tema EDUCACION; en la producción cinematográfica de MÉXICO; y en la región del CARIBE ANTILLANO, tanto en cuanto a su producción cinematográfica como en cuanto a los debates de la región.

La educación constituye hoy un área de intenso debate en todos sus niveles, y es, por supuesto una cuestión que involucra directamente a los miembros de LASA. Las películas que hemos seleccionado presentan algunas temáticas medulares más allá de las cuestiones presupuestarias que sin duda también se reflejan en estos filmes: las abundantes conexiones entre las formas de participación estudiantil y los espacios políticos tradicionales del ámbito latinoamericano, en *El estudiante* (ficción) y *Escuela Normal*; la multiculturalidad, el plurilingüismo y la familia como sitios de formación educativa, en *El Etnógrafo*; el peligro de la marginación educativa que sufren los latinos, desplazados y jóvenes madres, en EEUU, en contraste con la educación por el arte como una herramienta liberadora (en el sentido "Freireano"), en *Baby Mama High e Inocente*; la colosal tergiversación de valores y contenidos en la educación bajo gobiernos militares, en *El premio* (ficción); y por último, los inmensos desafíos que se presentan en el cuidado y la educación de niños en situaciones de crisis sociales y familiares en *Journey to Hope*, una película que también pertenece al grupo de películas sobre Las Antillas que describimos a continuación.

La repetida ausencia del registro cinematográfico del Caribe Antillano (salvo, claro está, en el caso de Cuba) nos llevó a trabajar con el Festival de Trinidad y Tobago para presentar un grupo de películas de y sobre la región. La muestra incursiona en la gastrocrítica (historia y análisis del alimento humano), la preservación del ambiente, y el comercio justo, en *Nothing Like Chocolate*; presenta el DanceHall jamaquino y la sociedad y la cultura con que esta música está asociada, en *Hit Me with Music*; investiga el duelo de los haitianos después del terremoto y del conocido fracaso de la ayuda a los

damnificados en *Goudougoudou*, una de las recientes películas que se han producido sobre el tema; expone una escalofriante visión de la colonialidad en *Curaçao*; y, por último, se muestra cómo en Cuba, una de las infinitas actividades económicas alternativas de la isla dio lugar a la excelencia en la edición de libros, en *Ediciones Vigía: Poéticas visuales*.

Uno de los países pioneros de la industria cinematográfica, México, a pesar de las cíclicas crisis que ha atravesado, se presenta hoy con una producción cinematográfica de enorme vitalidad y calidad. Nuestra selección no hace verdadero honor a la gran madurez y potencialidad mexicana en el cine; solo presenta un breve muestrario de su enorme versatilidad, y de su capacidad para examinarse y examinar Latinoamérica. La muestra que incluimos revisa precisamente una parte de la historia de la industria del cine en México, en *Perdida*; debate una de sus recientes crisis políticas, en *0.56%*; presenta un extraordinario testimonio de vida que involucra el activismo político, la discapacidad y los debates de género, en *Morir de pie*; investiga El Salvador y la supervivencia de su pueblo en *El lugar más pequeño*; y como se dijo más arriba, se ocupa de la educación bajo las dictaduras en la película ya citada, *El premio* (ficción).

El festival no se acaba aquí. De Bolivia, se presenta la tala indiscriminada y el trabajo forzado, en *Habilito: Debt for Life*; y la supervivencia de culturas africanas, en *Saya: Dance and Survival in an Afro-Bolivian Village*. De Colombia, la lucha de las mujeres indígenas que batallan entre dos fuegos, en *We, Women Warriors*. De Perú, un extraordinario testimonio de la viuda de José María Arguedas, en *Sibila*. De Argentina, un escalofriante testimonio sobre un individuo de las fuerzas de inteligencia de la dictadura pasada, y una

presa clandestina, en *Confesiones*. De Brasil, dos filmes que tocan desde dos ángulos muy distintos el debate sobre la violencia y el control de armas: el documental *Armados*, y la ficción *O Som ao Redor*. Asimismo, presentamos una contribución al debate sobre la legalización de las drogas que en este momento está cobrando vigencia en Latinoamérica, con la película británica *Cocaine Unwrapped*; y una contribución a la historia del cine mundial y del cine chileno en particular, con el sorprendente documental chileno *Marker 72*.

Muchas de estas películas han recibido premios y distinciones. Por razones de espacio no hemos podido incorporar esta información al programa, pero ésta puede encontrarse en hoja suplementaria en el libro del programa. Por las limitaciones de tiempo (solo tres días de congreso), películas admirables han quedado fuera de la selección. Con mucho dolor, hemos tenido que dejarlas a un lado para priorizar la coherencia y la diversidad académica y formal del festival.

La presentación de *El Etnógrafo* está acompañada por la presentación de una muestra fotográfica organizada por la asociación civil Rumbo Sur (Argentina), bajo el título “Viaje al Chaco Central”, que se exhibe en la sala del festival, Maryland A.

LASA2013 quiere agradecer muy especialmente el decidido apoyo de IMCINE, el Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía de México, en la persona de Iván Gutiérrez Araico; y del Festival de Trinidad y Tobago, en las personas de Jonathan Ali y Bruce Paddington. Por segundo año consecutivo, el Global Film Initiative nos ha permitido exhibir una de las películas que distribuye. También debemos agradecer a las autoridades de

LASA, y muy especialmente a Milagros Pereyra, su Directora Ejecutiva, por el apoyo decidido a este festival; sin él, este esfuerzo sería absolutamente irrealizable. Por último, agradecemos a la Universidad de Richmond, institución a la que pertenezco, por brindarnos infraestructura; y a Susana Miranda, quien ha acompañado, ya por varias ediciones, los ritmos muchas veces desenfrenados que conlleva la producción de este festival. A todas y a todos, muchas gracias. ■

## On Washington, DC

by Gwen Kirkpatrick | Georgetown University

LASA is happy to welcome you to Washington, District of Columbia, the nation's capital city. The LASA Congress at the Marriott Wardman Park is in one of the city's most pleasant locations, the Woodley Park neighborhood, with the Metro just steps away and with easy access to shops and restaurants. The National Zoo, a beautiful space for people of any age, is a short walk from the hotel. The weather in late May is usually free from the notorious heat and humidity of July and August, and the lovely late spring days often extend into mid-June.

As the nation's capital, **Washington** has changed in recent years to become a vibrant, multilingual, and multicultural city, with notably improved local government and municipal financial stability. The city has escaped the worst of the recession, although its neighborhoods still offer stark contrasts in economic disparity, and attempts to reform and improve its schools have gained national attention. Washington's overall increase in prosperity and the entry of many new businesses into the city have created debates about gentrification and how it pushes long-standing low-income residents farther out into the suburbs in Maryland and Virginia, a debate familiar to cities undergoing growth.

**The Latino community** is an important force in the area. In the 1970s and 1980s refugees and immigrants from Central America, especially El Salvador, developed into an important cultural and political force. In the past few decades the growing presence of a wide range of Latin Americans in the larger Washington area has transformed neighborhoods, schools, sports, cuisine, and government. The Bolivian community is so numerous that Arlington, Virginia, is nicknamed "Cochabambina" because of their presence.

Peruvian restaurants are joining more established Salvadoran, Mexican, and Nicaraguan offerings, along with Cuban and Brazilian restaurants. In addition, several decades of African immigration, especially from Ethiopia and Eritrea, has contributed to the city's cultural mix. For American cuisine, the U Street corridor and other neighborhoods offer notable soul food restaurants.

**Transportation in DC:** Traffic in DC is usually heavy and drivers are aggressive, but public transportation is quite efficient. Find maps, directions, and schedules for buses and the Metro on [wmata.com](http://wmata.com). You can purchase tickets online. The Metro stations display instructions for buying tickets, but they are not always easy for newcomers to comprehend. Station attendants or veteran passengers can usually answer questions. Credit cards as well as cash can be used at many locations. Washingtonians are generally hospitable, but they are unforgiving about Metro escalators: stand on the right and walk on the left. If you prefer to bicycle, the District of Columbia's Department of Transportation and Arlington County in Virginia launched Capital Bikeshare in 2010 to help decrease car emissions and increase healthy activity. The number of bicycle stations is constantly increasing because the service is very popular. For membership, pricing, and station locations, visit Capital Bikeshare at [capitalbikeshare.com](http://capitalbikeshare.com).

**Tourism:** A useful website for visitors is [washington.org/find-dc-listings/attractions](http://washington.org/find-dc-listings/attractions). There you can order free guides and search for attractions, transportation, restaurants, tours, and events.

**Family favorites** in Washington are the National Zoo [nationalzoo.si.edu](http://nationalzoo.si.edu) (near the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel) and the Air

and Space Museum [airandspace.si.edu](http://airandspace.si.edu) on the National Mall, both with free admission. (For hard-core air and space fans, the Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center near Washington Dulles International Airport is the companion facility to the museum on the Mall.) Another family favorite is the Museum of Natural History on the Mall ([mnh.si.edu](http://mnh.si.edu)).

For those who haven't visited Washington for a while, an extraordinary and beautiful museum constructed less than a decade ago is the American Indian Museum, "home to one of the largest and most diverse collections of Native art and historical and cultural objects; exhibitions are designed in collaboration with Native communities from across the hemisphere" ([nmai.si.edu](http://nmai.si.edu)). Latin Americanists interested in indigenous cultures throughout the Americas will find historical displays as well as an important presence of contemporary indigenous cultures. The emphasis on contemporary cultures distinguishes the museum from most museums devoted to indigenous cultures. On the Mall near the Capitol, the building itself is a beautiful structure of sandstone with curving walls meant to evoke flowing water. (Its interior design has not received the same acclaim.) The museum's cafeteria, specializing in American foods, is rated as the best on the Mall.

The Smithsonian Latino Center [latino.si.edu/aboutus/](http://latino.si.edu/aboutus/) promotes a wide variety of cultural programs, often in collaboration with other museums.

**For art lovers**, museums on the Mall with free admission include the National Gallery of Art [nga.gov/](http://nga.gov/), the Freer and Sackler Galleries [asia.si.edu](http://asia.si.edu), the African Art Museum, and other art museums. A full list is at [si.edu/Museums](http://si.edu/Museums). (For the National Gallery, the Gallery Place Metro stop is

closer than the Smithsonian stop.) Two important art museums that charge admission are the extraordinary Phillips Collection near Dupont Circle and the Corcoran Gallery of Art on 18th Street near the Mall. The National Museum of Women in the Arts is near the Metro Center metro stop.

For researchers, on Wednesday, May 29, from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m., a LASA Congress pre-conference program will introduce the resources of the Library of Congress and its Hispanic Reading Room and Maps Division. For those who don't attend the workshop, the Library of Congress building has been magnificently restored and merits a tour. Its Reading Room is known as the most beautiful room in Washington. (The library is very near a Metro stop or you can walk from Union Station.) The National Archives building, also an important research site, faces the Mall.

A stunning nighttime tour is a visit to the **monuments**, especially the Lincoln and Jefferson Monuments. (You will need an organized tour or your own transportation.) At any time of day, the Vietnam Memorial is a powerful tribute to those lost in that war. Recently constructed are the monuments to World War II veterans and to Korean War veterans. The most recent addition is the memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King. The Holocaust Museum is just off the Mall. The Washington Monument is closed for repairs after the earthquake of August 2011.

The historic core of **Georgetown** is easily walkable. Also in Georgetown, the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection ([doaks.org](http://doaks.org)) specializes in antiquities, especially pre-Columbian. A visit to the extensive and beautiful

Dumbarton Gardens should be very rewarding in late May. The Georgetown Waterfront (on the Potomac River) has undergone a transformation. There is a boardwalk, restaurants, a nearby park, and bicycle trails. For those who like to shop, Wisconsin Avenue and M Street are the core areas in Georgetown.

Just outside of DC and accessible by Metro, **Arlington Cemetery** ([arlingtoncemetery.mil](http://arlingtoncemetery.mil)) receives many visitors each year. A bit farther out, a short trip by bus or car to George Washington's **Mount Vernon** ([mountvernon.org](http://mountvernon.org)) offers a beautiful drive near the river.

**Old Town Alexandria** is accessible by boat or by Metro. Boats leave from Georgetown and other locations. Although not as fast as the Metro, the boat gives you a chance to get your bearings geographically, and it's just nice to be on the water. Historically dense and easily walkable, Alexandria offers architecture from the colonial period and a lesson in American history from its streets and museums. It also includes shopping areas, art galleries, antiques, clothing shops, and restaurants.

The past decade has seen an upsurge in **theater** activity in the area. There are several area theaters devoted to Spanish-language productions. The *Washington Post* [washingtonpost.com](http://washingtonpost.com) has up-to-date information.

Washington is rich in **universities**: in DC are American University, Catholic University, Gallaudet University, George Washington University, Georgetown University, Howard University, Trinity Washington University, and the University of the District of Columbia. There are also many specialized educational institutions such as the Corcoran College of Art and Design. Just outside of DC are two major

universities: the University of Maryland and George Mason University, as well as many other institutions.

**Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston?** You'll have plenty to do in Washington, but just in case.... In addition to air travel, trains depart from Union Station (Metro Red Line). Buses are a much less expensive alternative, as low as \$20 to New York. The Greyhound terminal is near Union Station; other companies pick up at various sites around the city.

We hope you will enjoy your stay in Washington and take extra time to explore the city! Combining an exciting LASA Congress with Washington's many cultural offerings will make your experience memorable. ■



## Kalman Silvert and LASA's Fiftieth Anniversary

by Martin Weinstein | Professor Emeritus, William Paterson University | weinsteinm@wpunj.edu

The Martin Scorsese movie *The Departed* opens with a monologue by the Irish mob boss played by Jack Nicholson who declares: "I do not want to be a product of my times. I want my times to be a product of me." Kalman Silvert rejected this braggadocio and false dichotomy in favor of a vision of the future: the future of teaching and policy making about Latin America in both the United States and the region; the future of U.S.-Latin American relations; and the future of democracy.

Silvert accomplished his vision through the creation or use of institutions such as LASA, where he served as the organization's first president; the Ford Foundation, where he was the program advisor for the social sciences in Latin America from 1967 until his untimely death in 1976; and the university—as teacher, mentor, and institution builder—in the United States and throughout Latin America. During the darkest days in Latin America in the late 1960s and early 1970s, accompanied by the tumult and constitutional crisis in the United States, he turned his energy, intellect, and his institutional position to saving lives and institutions in Latin America, and defending democracy and strengthening democratic theory and practice throughout the Americas.

The 50th Anniversary of LASA is an appropriate time to recall Silvert's extraordinary role and contribution.

Abe Lowenthal and I have been coordinating a project on Kal's many roles and contributions. We have collected, with the help of others, some two dozen reminiscences about Kal from former students and colleagues. We invite you to read the essay below by Louis Goodman and, if the spirit moves you, add some thoughts of your own or submit your own reminiscence/vignettes to the email above. All of the material will be published on the LASA website in the Fiftieth year.

Respectfully submitted. ■

## Kal's Gift

by Louis W. Goodman | Professor and Dean Emeritus | American University

Kalman H. Silvert left this world prematurely after 55 intense years. He should have been with us many decades more. As his student, mentee, grantee, doubter, admirer, and collaborator, I was directly and profoundly enriched by Kal for the last 13 of those years. Today, 49 years after meeting Kalman Silvert, I continue to be influenced by him. During that time my thoughts about Kal, the nature of his influence and the character of his thinking have continually changed. Had Kal been with us additional decades his thinking doubtlessly would have continued to evolve. He would have been disappointed by many things that came to pass at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries. He also would have been delighted and/or puzzled by many things, some of which would have been the same things which disappointed him. I wonder at how additionally inspired, frustrated, entertained, puzzled, enlightened, and amazed I would have been had Kal lived, as I had expected, into his 80s or more. Perhaps my greatest hope is that our relationship, which, in 1976, was just beginning to evolve from that of teacher and student, would have deepened into fuller personal friendship and affection. There is much I would have liked to have discussed and shared with Kal since 1976. He was such an inspiring and admired individual.

Knowing Kal was complicated. He presented himself unvarnished. Few people have so inspired my respect, have given me so much guidance, have I taken so seriously, or have so frustrated me as Kal. Kal rendered things directly with all of their human complexity, with gut-wrenching humor, and with the clear intention to inspire.

Frank "Pancho" Safford, the distinguished Colombianist historian, first told me about Kal. Pancho was finishing his first year as a Dartmouth assistant professor and I was ending my sophomore year, studying Latin American literature, preparing to travel to Mexico to work in a rural village with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) en route to a semester abroad at the Catholic University in Lima, Peru. Pancho said something like, "Things here at Dartmouth will be changed when you return from Peru. We will have a new and amazing Latin America specialist who will challenge all of our thinking about the region."

Pancho was right. For my last two years at Dartmouth I had a double major, Latin American literature and Kalman Silvert. I made an appointment to meet Kal in his Reed Hall office before classes started in January of 1963. I had signed up for his "Theory and Methods of Political Development" course and I wanted Kal to know about my six-year-old interest in Latin America. I had become fascinated with the region in 1957 when I began high school Spanish in Danbury, Connecticut. Since that time I had taken every course I could find and had read every book I could locate about Latin America. I had topped that off with my six months in Mexico and Peru. At Dartmouth there were few students focused on Latin America, although John Fishel also went to Mexico that summer with the AFSC and Donald Bross and Fernando DeNecochea shared the time in Lima which had been arranged by our Spanish language professor Robert Russell. My main Latin Americanist companions had been Professors Safford and Russell and the utterly amazing 3,000-square-foot "Epic of American Civilization" frescos that had been painted on the walls of the reserve corridor of Dartmouth's Baker Library in the 1930s by

the Mexican muralist Jose Clemente Orozco.

When I opened the door of Kal's office that snowy morning in January of 1963, Kal was 42. To me he was physically large, deadly serious, very mature, and highly intellectual. I was prepared to be in awe of his erudition and insight and expected him to be pleased with my interest in Latin America. What transpired was a brief, "nice to meet you" exchange. To my surprise I was the newcomer, just having returned to Dartmouth after six months abroad, and Kal was the established senior professor, already firmly set in his milieu. It was an important meeting but without the emotional impact I had expected.

The reading list for "Theory and Methods of Political Development" was like nothing I had ever before encountered. There were no books about Latin America per se. We were expected to read one book a week and to come to class prepared to discuss it, sometimes to actually lead the discussion. We started with Max Weber's *Methodology of Social Sciences*. That 1949 volume translated by Edward Shils and co-edited by Shils and Henry A. Finch is still read by me every year as I restart my teaching. We continued with books like Daniel Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society*, David McClelland's *The Achieving Society*, Tomás Fillol's *Social Factors in Economic Development*, and Everett Hagen's *On the Theory of Social Change*, published respectively in 1958, 1961, 1961, and 1962. These were new books destined to become classics. I had never before been challenged to analyze such works in my college classes. While such teaching is commonplace today among Kal's students and their academic offspring, this was new and exciting in Cold War/post-McCarthy era America.

The class discussion was equally uplifting. During the first session Kal started talking about something I thought I understood: institutions. But I quickly became confused. He was not talking about the Department of State or the Social Security Administration, but merely patterns of behavior that had become regularized. As a sociologist, really understanding the true nature and place of institutions, both formal and informal, later became a critical part of my intellectual apparatus. More important, as Kal pointed out, when we discussed Weber's *Methodology* (for weeks), concepts like "institution" are abstractions from presumed reality and merely represent attempts to communicate and describe what we believe we have observed. Mistaking these concepts for reality is to commit "the fallacy of misplaced concreteness" (from the philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead), something that has plagued all-too-many scholars and many politicians. These and other insights, like there is no such thing as value-free social science, that hypotheses can be tested using metrics created from "ideal-types," that you can speculate about outcomes using something called a "counter-factual," were all taught to us by Kal in that amazing class, and taught through the mind of Max Weber. I still think about that class; I still reread Weber's work—and I am still learning about theory and method from Kal.

We also learned many things from Kal outside of class. If any of us took the United States for granted, we were disabused of that orientation after exposure to Kal Silvert. Kal loved to talk about his family, his wife Frieda, his sons Hank, Ben, and Alex and his parents Henry and Ida. He reminded us that his family, and all of our families, particularly those of us who, like Kal, were Jewish, would be living very different lives if we were in any country

other than the United States. Kal also told us that he was worried about the United States, whether it would offer the same prospects to future generations. He was particularly shaken by the lack of respect he found U.S. policy makers showing to democracy through their foreign policy. The not-so-hidden agenda of Kal's discussions of political development was that the political ideals of the United States could also grow in other nations and benefit humans around the world. He told us that he feared that the United States might not be working toward that goal in developing nations, something he had concluded regretfully when carrying out research for his 1954 monograph, *A Study in Government: Guatemala*.

Kal also taught us about development, largely using Latin America as his laboratory. Much of what he taught when he began at Dartmouth can be found in the books he published during those years: *The Conflict Society* (1961), *Expectant Peoples* (1963), and *Discussion at Bellagio* (1964). These works drew powerfully from his experience as associate and director of studies of the American Universities Field Staff. Founded in 1952, in its time AUFS was a cutting-edge organization designed to bring accurate knowledge about the rest of the world to the United States, especially to higher education. Supported by a few U.S.-based universities, it employed a dozen "experts" who lived and wrote from different parts of the world, shared their writings through the sponsoring universities, and then spent an academic year visiting those universities before returning for another cycle. Kal had lived and worked in Argentina for AUFS; he was AUFS's leading theorist; and he and his colleagues were at the forefront during those years of respectfully depicting "the other" to young Americans. Through his books and his AUFS writings Kal tried to

explain that the nationalism and the strangeness of developing nations need not be feared and that it could produce mature responsible nations and citizens if properly encouraged. He also tried to explain that development is a complex, asynchronous process and, in particular, that social and political development had to be understood together with, not derivative from, economic development. He also exposed us to a range of particular issues like education and development (examined in his co-authored 1961 AUFS monograph *Education and the Social Meaning of Development*), the limits of modernization as a process, and modernism as an individual attribute. All of this was cutting against the grain of development thinking in the 1960s—a time when the canon was Walt Rostow's *Stages of Economic Growth* and Alex Inkeles's concept "modernism."

During my remaining time at Dartmouth I got closer to Kal. He agreed to supervise "independent studies" and he advised me on where and how to apply to graduate school. Kal had attracted many of the best students in the Dartmouth Class of 1964, but I was the only one whom he encouraged to go on immediately in sociology. (His other students mainly applied to and were accepted by the best political science doctoral programs.) My interest in poverty alleviation and development in Latin America was key to Kal's advice about my future studies. I remember clearly Kal's advice about where to apply. He said something like, "You do not want to get a degree from what are known as the 'top-ranked' departments. There you will only get an 'establishment' education." He advised me to apply to departments that were challenging establishment views, so on Kal's advice I applied to Northwestern, Tulane, and Washington University in Saint Louis. To hedge my bets I also applied to

Michigan and Yale. In February 1964 I was surprised to receive a phone call from Leonard Reissman of Tulane's Sociology Department offering me admission and a full fellowship. Soon thereafter I received phone calls from Joseph Kahl of Washington University and Arnold "Akie" Feldman of Northwestern. From Michigan and Yale I received March letters offering fellowships. Reissman, Kahl, and Feldman were, like me, admirers of Kalman Silvert. While I eventually decided to study with Akie at Northwestern, I was later fortunate to meet and spend time with Kahl, Reissman, and many others of Kal's intellectual soulmates. I am not sure that I agree with Kal about where one might get, or not get, an "establishment education," but getting a doctorate in sociology under the direction of Kal's friend Akie Feldman in Northwestern's up-and-coming department became the next level of the professional foundation for a career initiated by the guidance of Kalman Silvert.

Before heading off to the far side of the Appalachians to commit myself to the study of a region no one else in my family had ever visited and a discipline that was new to me, I decided to look for validation from "gurus" whose work I had been introduced to by Kal and whom I held in the highest esteem. I never made it to Columbia to ask Frank Tannenbaum (and regretfully I never met him) but I did travel the 30 miles from Danbury to New Haven during spring break and was able to meet with Brazilianist historian Richard Morse and Caribbeanist anthropologist Sidney Mintz, both of Yale University. They listened to my plans for my future and both concurred that they seemed eminently feasible, and, with Kal's support, all the more so. (Both Richard and Sidney were still at Yale when I arrived as an assistant professor five years later and both had

significant additional impacts on my career.)

At Northwestern I set about trying to learn a discipline I had barely touched at Dartmouth. I had taken just one sociology course as an undergraduate and it had been taught by Bernard "Bernie" Segal, a young assistant professor specializing in medical sociology who completely changed his focus to Latin America after Kal Silvert became his senior colleague. I later came to spend "quality time" talking with Bernie about Kal and his magnetism when my wife Nancy and I arrived in Santiago, Chile, in August 1967 for my dissertation fieldwork and we began our time there living with Bernie, his wife Anne, and their children. When I was 14 I had had an idea that learning about Latin America would be a worthwhile endeavor. Kal had reinforced this mightily in me when I had just turned 20. He had gotten Bernie fascinated by Latin American social structure through his impassioned analyses and fascinating accounts. We were two of many. When I meet any of Kal's students, now decades after his untimely passing, we still talk about his impact and his vision.

In graduate school I wrote to Kal from time to time hoping to get his blessing for my intellectual trajectory. I even once had him meet my parents and my new wife Nancy so they could know the mentor whose intellectual depth had so influenced me. Reengaging with Kal always inspired me but it often also disappointed me. I never could tell if I had his approval, and I desperately wanted it. Kal so clearly articulated his thoughts about political development, about the value of freedom, about the place of the United States in the world, but when I told him about my work he simply listened. He did smile, he never denied me an opportunity to talk, but I

never got the definitive approval I so wanted.

Kal continued to be my totem after graduate school. He was a reference when I landed my first academic position, in Yale's Sociology Department, but he surprised me when I learned from another source that he had left Dartmouth to go to New York City to take a position at New York University and to advise the Ford Foundation. Kal had said that he had left Tulane in 1962 because he thought that at Dartmouth he could influence generations of elite individuals who would impact United States relations with Latin America and the rest of the world. From what I understood, Kal was achieving that at Dartmouth. The best students and the best faculty were seeking him out to help frame their careers and their ideas about the world. I was disappointed that that would not continue at a place where he seemed so successfully established, but I later understood that Kal imagined he could have the best of both worlds. Living in New York, teaching at NYU, advising the Ford Foundation and maintaining his home in Norwich, Vermont, Kal thought he could broaden his impact and maintain his Dartmouth ties.

Perhaps Kal was right. That decision also allowed me to reconnect with him. In 1972 I was invited to succeed Bryce Wood as director of the Social Science Research Council's Latin America Program. This allowed me to work directly with scholars like Albert Hirschman, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and Osvaldo Sunkel, all of whom I idolized. It also required that I write proposals every year requesting Ford Foundation support. The person in charge of reviewing the annual SSRC request was none other than Kalman Silvert. My conversations with Kal about those proposals fell into a familiar pattern.

They would be approved without much comment except for explanations about the levels which Ford's budget could support in those years of high inflation.

In 1973 this did change. Both the SSRC and Ford concluded that social science in Latin America and dialogue between North and South America could best be sustained by ensuring that highly capable Latin American scholars be able to continue their careers. This was being made increasingly difficult (sometimes fatally) by the repression of intellectuals by Latin American military regimes. As a result Bryce Wood was asked to head an effort to rescue Latin American scholars whose lives and careers were threatened and to place them in countries where they could continue their work. Kal led this effort for Ford and I was the lead for SSRC. Given the nature of our institutions, the work had to sustain social science, not politics, so great care and planning needed to be carried out by our offices and by the hundreds of individuals who became involved with the effort. I believe that much good social science was sustained by this effort; that many lives were sustained and physically saved; and that future Latin American politics and U.S.-Latin American relations benefitted. Many of those rescued became political and intellectual leaders in their countries when it was safe to return. Kal was always clear-eyed about what we were doing. He believed that cosmopolitan individuals committed to social justice were essential for improving the human condition, and he made sure that Ford understood the benefits that would result from our efforts. In the midst of the Cold War this required nuance and persistence to make sure that as many scholars as possible were rescued and that the governing boards and top leadership of Ford and SSRC understood that our work was enhancing prospects for science-based knowledge

creation. This was essential as we transferred funds internationally, worked with U.S. and other officials to obtain visas for these scholars, bargained with universities to find them employment, and helped volunteers in North America, Latin America, and Europe to help them and their families adjust to new circumstances, often following harrowing experiences. Once again Kal and I did not talk much about what we were doing, but the resulting actions spoke for themselves.

On October 17, 1976, I received a phone call telling me that a memorial service would be held for Kalman Silvert in the Maison Française in New York near the Ford and SSRC offices. In disbelief I learned that Kal had suffered a massive heart attack while driving back to New York from his home in Norwich. The next day I went to the ceremony. The room overflowed despite the short notice required by Jewish burial tradition. I stood in the crowd. I listened to the eulogies. I offered my condolences to Frieda and her sons. I was dumbfounded. I had suffered a great loss, and the loss of many there was far greater than mine. Mine was that I would lose Kal's counsel, his hoped-for future friendship, and that I would never gain the unambiguous approval I had sought from him for 13 years. Now that I reflect, perhaps that denial of approval was intended as Kal's gift. He let me find my own way; he accompanied me on my path without dictating its direction; he let me be myself. Thank you, Kal. ■

SECTION NEWS

## LASA Pre-Conference Session

Save the date! The LASA pre-conference “Gender, Sexuality and Struggles for Justice in Latin America: Legal, Political and Social Dimensions” will be held May 29, 2013, from 9 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. at American University.

Seat of various legal and administrative continental bodies, Washington, DC, is a strategic site from which to address the history and current trends in legal activism on gender and sexuality issues in the Americas, and their intersections with other relations of power.

Convened by the Gender and Feminist Studies and Sexualities Studies Sections, and sponsored by the Center for Latin American and Latino Studies at American University, this third co-organized pre-conference will bring together scholars, legal experts, activists, and anyone interested in learning about and debating the successes, challenges, and meanings of the struggle for social justice. It will include two panels—“Legal Struggles” and “Social Justice, (In)equalit(ies), and Rights as Practice: Learning from Lived Experience”—and conclude with a discussion session, “A Dialogue across Differences.”

The pre-conference is free and open to the public.

For more information, contact Veronica Schild <vschild@uwo.ca> or Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel <yolamsm@rci.rutgers.edu>. ■

SECTION NEWS

## Film Studies

The LASA Film Studies Section is devoted to promoting scholarship, exhibitions, and critical public dialogue (through social media) concerning the production, distribution, and circulation of audiovisual texts by and about Latino Americans in various genres and media, from the analog to the digital and electronic. With an aim to addressing the current state of the field, as well as fostering scholarly exchange on issues that affect spheres of media practice as well as media studies, the section will host four sessions at this year’s LASA Congress, from May 29 to June 1:

**Section Presentation, Thursday, May 30 5:00 p.m.–6:45 p.m. “Latinoamerican Media Archives and the Social Contract”**

Chair:  
Catherine L. Benamou (UC Irvine)

Participants:  
Dona Kercher (Assumption College);  
Rielle Navitski (UC Berkeley)  
Filmmaker – *TBA*

**Workshop, Friday, May 31, 3:00–4:45 p.m.: “The Role of Film Festivals in Funding, Producing, and Distributing Latin American Film”**

Chair:  
Catherine L. Benamou (UC Irvine)

Presenters:  
Carlos A. Gutiérrez (Cinema Tropical, New York City)  
Claudia Ferman (Director, LASA Film Festival, University of Richmond)  
Beatriz Urraca (Widner University)

**Workshop, Saturday, June 1, 8:30 a.m.–10:15 a.m.: “Towards a Lexicon of Radical Aesthetics in Latin American Cinema”**

Chair:  
Catherine L. Benamou (UC Irvine)

Discussant:  
Gilberto Blasini (U Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

An informal breakfast reception to follow, co-sponsored by the Brazil Section.

**Panel, Saturday, June 1, 10:30 a.m.–12:15 p.m.: “State Interventions, Community Engagement and Audiovisual Representations of a New Social Contract”**

Chair:  
Clara Garavelli (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Panelists:  
Tomás Crowder-Taraborrelli (Soka University)  
Álvaro Baquero-Pecino (University of Alabama)

Discussant:  
Luis Duno-Gottberg (Rice University)

The Film Studies Section also will host a reception at its annual meeting, Friday, May 31, 7 p.m.–8:45 p.m. ■

## III Jornadas de la Sección de Estudios Venezolanos de la Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos LASA

Caracas, Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 17 y 18 de junio de 2013.

A cinco años de la exitosa realización de las II Jornadas de la Sección de Estudios Venezolanos de LASA, llevadas a cabo en mayo de 2008 en los espacios de la Universidad Central de Venezuela, con más de 150 participantes y 33 ponencias, la conveniencia de una nueva reunión de este tipo es tanto o más grande que entonces. Es muy importante crear espacios para que los integrantes de la Sección puedan reunirse, den a conocer sus trabajos y entren en contacto con otros investigadores; sobre todo cuando la atención en Venezuela por la comunidad académica internacional es cada vez mayor y la sociedad venezolana muestra una creciente demanda de información para comprenderse a sí misma y enfrentar sus grandes retos. Hacer, por lo tanto, que las investigaciones presentadas en los congresos de LASA lleguen al espectro más amplio posible de venezolanos, fomentar el intercambio académico y la investigación entre académicos interesados en Venezuela, tanto residentes en el país como en el exterior, y fomentar redes y discusiones, son los objetivos de las jornadas a las que estamos invitando.

### Fecha y Lugar de la Reunión

La *Reunión de LASA Venezuela* tendrá como sede la Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, en Caracas, durante los días 17 y 18 de junio de 2013.

### Las Ponencias

Queriendo fomentar en Caracas el diálogo e intercambio de conocimientos, así como reunir y presentar la riqueza de sus investigaciones y reflexiones a un público más amplio:

- Hemos convocado a que presenten las *ponencias aceptadas y/o presentadas en los Congresos de Toronto y San Francisco y Washington DC. Se incluye aquí sus modificaciones y actualizaciones.* Para efectos del financiamiento de algunos de ustedes entendemos que será necesario que reformen o cambien el nombre de sus ponencias presentadas con anterioridad.

Podemos enviar las invitaciones institucionales necesarias para la tramitación de sus financiamientos en sus universidades.

### Idiomas

El idioma de las ponencias será preferiblemente en español y en inglés.

### Información Hoteles

Estamos consolidando la información de hoteles cercanos a estaciones del Metro de Caracas que abarquen diferentes tarifas.

### Costo de Inscripción

Profesionales: Bs.150,00  
Estudiantes: Bs. 100,00

Cualquier duda adicional favor comunicarse con <lasacaracas2013@gmail.com>

Muchas gracias,

El Comité Organizador de la Reunión de miembros de LASA en Venezuela ■

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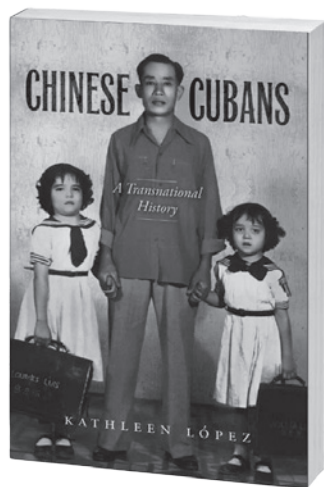
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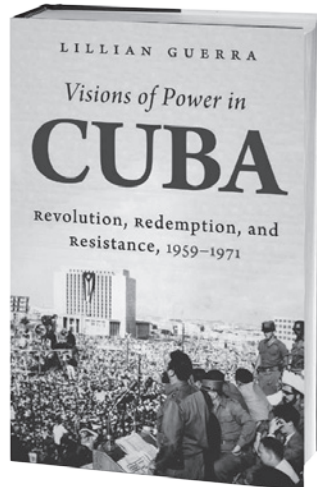
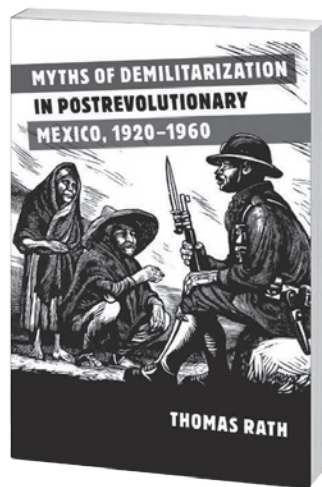
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