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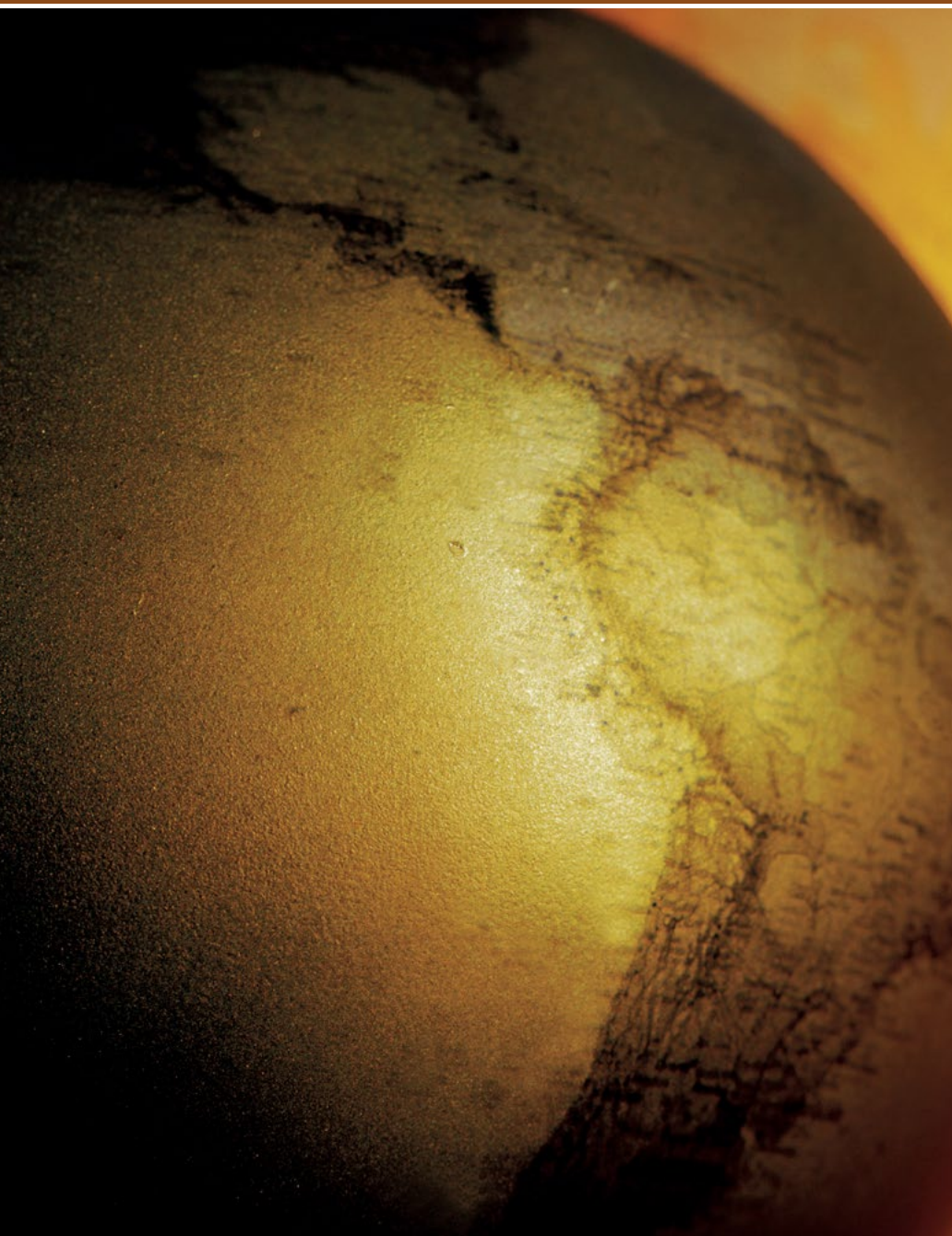
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# From the President

by MERILEE GRINDLE | Harvard University | merilee\_grindle@harvard.edu

In a recent conference I attended, Sergio Bitar reflected on the Pinochet regime in Chile, its antecedents, and its consequences for democracy in the country. “There is not one history, there are many memories, many histories,” he said, reminding us of the diversity of ways in which democracy and memory interconnect, not just in Chile, but throughout the world. His comment caught my attention. What do we remember? What do we choose to forget? Do we remember the same events in similar or different ways? Are memories sometimes so overwhelming that they make it difficult to move forward? How do diverse histories and cultures contribute to reconciliation or conflict? How do we learn to understand the foundations of so many memories and so many histories?

These are just a few of the questions that are being asked in numerous panels selected for LASA’s 32nd Congress to be held in Chicago this coming May.

As I have watched the Congress take shape under the skillful guidance of program co-chairs Florencia Garramuño and Raúl Madrid, and as I have come to appreciate the serious and difficult work that 52 track chairs did in assessing proposals, I have also been struck by the extent to which the theme of “Democracy and Memory” will be reflected in panels, papers, and workshops. Even more striking is the diversity of ways in which scholars across numerous disciplines have interpreted this theme, using it to reflect on literature, theater, film, politics, history, sociology, and a plethora of other disciplines. Equally impressive is the extent to which LASA members have taken this theme and applied it to situations as diverse as political party formation in the aftermath of authoritarian regimes of the recent past and the impact of colonial policies on indigenous groups in

more distant times. Indeed, LASA2014 will reflect many memories and many histories.

This issue will certainly be reflected in the three presidential panels that are scheduled for the Congress. One panel will focus on collective memory and democratic institutions. Panelists will address questions such as “How can we understand relationships between collective memories of violence and repression, on the one hand, and the creation, consolidation, and functioning of democratic institutions, on the other?” and “What enduring political conflicts are linked to collective memories of repression?” A second panel will consider how relationships between democracy and memory are reflected in literature. Here, panelists have been asked to discuss the extent to which patterns have emerged in literary works that deal with the theme, strategies that writers have used to explore it, and linkages between literature and particular political projects under democratic regimes. To what extent does addressing the theme of democracy and memory make the writer a political actor? A third panel will explore public space for memory, drawing together leaders of some of Latin America’s most interesting “memory museums.” The panelists will reflect on how memory is represented in space, the relationship between such representations and democratic values and praxis, and the political dilemmas that museum leaders must address in their work. These panels consider the basic theme of democracy and memory from numerous and important perspectives.

I hope you share my excitement in anticipating these major panel discussions and plan on attending them. Nevertheless, I am aware of the difficulties facing everyone who attends a LASA Congress. There are always too many choices to make! Which panels should I attend?



Which ones simply cannot be fit into my schedule? Which workshops or meetings will I miss because it’s important to have a cup of coffee and catch up with a colleague I have not seen for a year? Will I wake up in time to make it to an 8:00 session? How can it be that my panel is scheduled for the morning after the Gran Baile? How can I keep track of where I’m supposed to be at every hour of the day?

There are few fully satisfactory ways to answer these questions. LASA2014 will feature 902 panels and workshops scheduled over the three days of the meeting. There will inevitably be sessions whose timing conflicts with others we’d like to attend, however hard Raúl, Florencia, and Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas have tried to minimize such difficulties. The primary reason for the unwelcome choices that each of us will face is actually very good news. The LASA Congress will represent a significant achievement—the time slots and rooms will stretch to incorporate 93 percent of all panel proposals submitted. All of those who have been involved in the planning and scheduling process—Raúl and Florencia, Mili, the track chairs, the Secretariat staff—have my deepest gratitude for the extraordinary work of planning for Chicago. I now have a first-hand view of how difficult a job they have had. The end result, however, is a Congress you can anticipate with excitement and interest. I am certainly looking forward to it. ■

## Diversifying Democracy in Latin America in the 21st Century

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While various intellectuals decry the erosion of democratic institutions in Latin America due to overpowering leaders in various Latin American countries, the articles that we introduce in this issue of the *LASA Forum* discuss a series of developments in Latin American democracies that give us cause for optimism. As the authors argue, Latin American governments have developed various mechanisms in recent years that are likely to enhance and deepen the democratic character of the region. From the diversification of democratic mechanisms, to accountability and direct popular participation, to effectively utilizing the legal system as a tool for social redress, and to the rise of indigenous rights, Latin American democracies appear to be developing various devices that are likely to deepen the democratic character of the region in the years to come. While these trends sometimes lead to contradictory and even chaotic practices, if allowed to grow and continue they are likely to create a powerful democratic culture in the region.

According to Maxwell Cameron, professor of political science and director of the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions at the University of British Columbia, the new institutionalized mechanisms of direct participation may potentially strengthen democracies in Latin America as they create direct (rather than delegated) participation and deliberation at the grassroots level. Direct participation may ultimately lead to collective decision making that can have an impact on state policy. Cameron argues that these new mechanisms can provide a series of democratic goods including (1) inclusion and accountability, (2) disruption of patron-client relations, (3) the exercise of active citizenship, and (4) the tools to make governments more responsive and representative. He warns, however, that

these new mechanisms are a double-edged sword: political parties may reinforce clientelism, and central authorities may decide to bypass representative institutions and establish direct connections with voters, practices that tend to erode democracy.

Cameron further argues that democracies involve “a whole ecology of institutions,” of which elections are only one dimension. Other characteristics to observe include signs of constitutionalism, the rule of law, judicial independence, civilian supremacy over the armed forces, and leader accountability. While these new dimensions of democracy can build resilience among citizens, they also have the potential to address long-standing democratic deficits in the region including the tyranny of minorities, historical inequalities that are reproduced by traditional forms of representation, and lack of deliberation and active citizenship. Cameron concludes that the new form of direct, institutionalized participation sweeping Latin America today is an indication that citizens seek to participate in collective deliberation and decision making over matters that affect them directly. Traditional representative institutions are insufficient to generate this particular democratic good.

In an effort to observe additional forms of citizen participation to fully understand democratic changes in the region, Sharon Lean, associate professor of political science at Wayne State University, contends that while several recent reports raise serious concerns about democracy in Latin America, these concerns should be moderated because of the promise of institutional and civic innovation in the area of government accountability. Lean focuses on twin trends that are likely to reap democratic gains in Mexico: (1) the

proliferation of autonomous governmental agencies with specific oversight on the state, and (2) civic associations and civic networks that engage with these autonomous agencies to ensure that they fulfill their role. She discusses a series of agencies that have been created or reformed by the Mexican government in order to provide them with more autonomy and the power of oversight. These include the Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE) and Instituto Federal de Acceso de la Información (IFAI). She also describes a sui generis network, Red por la Rendición de Cuentas (RRC). These and other similar organizations are designed to bring greater transparency and accountability to the government and the democratic process while enhancing collaborative initiatives that link the state with civil society.

Gabriela Delamata, CONICET researcher at the Universidad de San Martín in Argentina, contends that modern democracies are not only characterized by institutionalized political regimes but also by the types of rights that the citizens enjoy. The normative recognition of civil, political, and social rights is the end result of social struggles that have redefined the limits of liberty and equality in the region. The powerful social struggles that consumed Latin America in the late twentieth century resulted in recent constitutional reforms that have expanded the list of citizen rights in multiple Latin American countries.

Using Argentina as a case study, Delamata argues that the organization and activism of social movements in Argentina underwent a process of transformation that is evident in the growing number of lawsuits in defense of the rights of Argentine citizens. She further argues that when social movements use the legal system as a tool to advocate for the rights



of citizens, the impact of these legal instruments often surpasses the concrete demands of the lawsuit. In essence, they impact the procedural rights of citizenship and ultimately have the capacity to strengthen democracy. Current struggles for greater recognition of citizen's rights (such as same-sex civil unions or environmental demands) demonstrate the strengthening of judicial activism and the confluence of social and judicial actors as a basic link for organizing social movements. The rapid transformation of social movements and their impact is visible through the increase in public interest lawsuits in Argentina, the greater presence of human rights specialists in different circles, and the incorporation of young and innovative lawyers into the legal process. Overall, the state is setting the precedent for deeper forms of democratic engagement in the future.

Roberta Rice, an adjunct professor at the University of Guelph, maintains that the rise of indigenous peoples as social and political actors is a positive development for Latin American democracies. She claims that contemporary indigenous struggles are doing for the plight of indigenous peoples what unions did for workers in early twentieth-century Latin America. The emergence of autonomous forms of organization and mobilization by indigenous groups is challenging existing models of citizenship and democracy in the region. An example of this is the constitutional recognition of plurinationality in Ecuador and Bolivia, which marks a watershed moment in indigenous and state relations in Latin America in which the goal of indigenous movements is no longer to control state power but rather to transform power within the context of the state. Indeed, plurinationality challenges long-standing efforts by Latin American states to divide

indigenous peoples in ways that obscure their ethnicity, exclude them from national policy debates, and/or denigrate them as obstacles to development. The plurinational state recognizes the plurality of cultural, legal, and political systems that exist within a nation-state, and places indigenous communities on an equal footing. Indigenous mobilization plays a much-needed role in broadening democratic representation and participation for the masses.

Pablo Stefanoni, from the Center for Intellectual History at the Universidad Nacional de Quilmes in Argentina, provides a glimpse of the transforming nature of Latin American democracies in an era of globalization by focusing on Bolivia's experience since Evo Morales took over the presidency in 2006. Economic, political, and social change are linked to webs of "globalization from below." Examples include greater connections to China and other Asian countries, the popularity of Asian soap operas and K-Pop music, and so on. Stefanoni contends that this somewhat chaotic and contradictory model of ethnic revival in an increasingly globalized society in Bolivia leads to unexpected results. For example, recent census results demonstrated that the population above 15 years of age that self-identified with being indigenous declined from 62 percent in 2001 to 42 percent in 2012, despite Evo Morales's Indianist policies. Some have argued that this was due to "the revenge of the mestizo," while others maintain that these results were proof of a policy of "nationalist re-colonialism" promoted by the Morales government to diminish the power of indigenous communities. Census results could also be due to a rising middle class (an explanation favored by the World Bank) or the changing nature of the Bolivian indigenous communities, which

are often no longer rural. Indeed, indigenous people can be either rural or urban, rich or poor. However, many Bolivians still believe that being indigenous goes hand in hand with being rural, a belief that could influence recent census results. Finally, while Evo Morales has done much to modernize Bolivia's political system, there is no doubt that the legitimacy of his government is based on an economic bonanza that is unprecedented in that country.

Overall, these articles give us reason to believe that despite the challenges still facing Latin America, mechanisms are in place that are likely to strengthen the region's democratic structures in the long run. ■

## DEBATES

# New Mechanisms of Democratic Participation in Latin America

by MAXWELL A. CAMERON | University of British Columbia | Max.Cameron@ubc.ca

Direct forms of institutionalized participatory democracy have proliferated in Latin America in recent years. Despite their diversity, emerging participatory innovations—community councils, participatory budgeting, policy conferences, consultative councils, and indigenous autonomies—share many common features. Although they may involve electoral processes, they are not primarily electoral institutions. For example, participatory budgeting may culminate in voting over alternative proposals; but the most novel feature of these mechanisms is that they involve direct (rather than delegated) participation in deliberation leading to collective decisions.

New participatory mechanisms typically operate on a small scale, but in some cases, like the policy conferences in Brazil, they can be scaled up to national-level processes. They may involve participation in the implementation of policies, as is the case of community councils in Venezuela. And they are institutionalized in the sense that they occur within established political arenas rather than in the streets, although in some cases they are fostered as models of constituent power and used to destabilize and transform existing institutions.

New mechanisms of institutionalized, direct participation hold the promise of transforming and deepening democracy. They may, for example, provide democratic goods such as inclusion and accountability, disrupt patron-client relationships, encourage the exercise of active citizenship, and provide participants with tools to make governments more responsive and more representative. To fulfill their promise, however, a number of pitfalls must be avoided. Political parties frequently use participatory mechanisms for partisan ends, thereby reinforcing clientelism and undermining deliberation.

Central authorities may use direct and institutionalized participation to bypass representative institutions like parties and legislatures and establish direct and unmediated connections with voters.

Many of the boldest innovations in participation have occurred in countries where representative institutions—especially parties and legislatures—have lost the trust of the public. As a result, some observers downplay the importance of participation, stressing the dangers inherent in substituting direct participatory mechanisms for representative democracy. For participation to enhance democracy it must happen within democracy institutions; it should not be construed as an alternative to democracy. As Scott Mainwaring (2013, 959) puts it, “To be a participatory democracy, a regime must first be a *democracy*.” Conversely, there are models of democracy that provide few opportunities for direct participation, and this can lead to apathy, frustration, and disengagement of citizens from their political system (Selee and Peruzzotti 2009, 2). Chile has a highly institutionalized representative democracy with low levels of direct participation and consequently a strong sense of exclusion among youth, indigenous minorities, and workers (Altman and Luna 2010, 306). This largely explains the electoral appeal of Michelle Bachelet’s call for constitutional as well as educational and fiscal reform. Happily, the choice for Latin America is broader than nondemocratic participation or nonparticipatory democracy.

Democracies involve whole ecologies of institutions (see Appendix 1 in Cameron and Luna 2010, 513–537). Elections are one dimension: all contemporary democracies involve some form of representation or delegation based on voting. But elections alone are insufficient.

Constitutionalism and the rule of law, including judicial independence and civilian supremacy over the armed forces, are necessary to ensure that elections express the will of the people within the rule of law and that elected officials are able to govern effectively. Finally, citizenship and participation ensure that democracy is more than a system of aggregating individual votes. Deliberation in the public sphere subjects rulers to criticism and holds them accountable for their actions. These various dimensions of democracy can work together to build resilience and adaptability, on the one hand, or they can work at cross-purposes leading to fragility and dysfunction, on the other.

Brazil’s policy conferences offer an example of direct, face-to-face participation within robust representative institutions. They date to 1941 and are enshrined in the nation’s 1988 constitution. Under PT (Partido dos Trabalhadores) governments they have become routine. They are convened by the executive and involve inclusive public deliberation on guidelines for the development of public policy—some of which have resulted in legislative initiatives (Pogrebinschi 2012, 53–74). In policy conferences, governments work with civil society, starting at the state or municipal level and ultimately feeding into national politics. They are, as Thamy Pogrebinschi (2012, 70) notes, “participatory experiments that strengthen formal political representation and potentially reinforce the functions and activities of traditional political institutions.”

Whereas Brazil offers an example of the compatibility of representation and participation, Bolivia’s new constitution is a hybrid in which three distinct conceptions of democracy coexist: representative democracy is supplemented with the use of

referenda and citizen initiatives as well as communitarian democracy (Exeni Rodríguez 2012, 207). In the latter, rural municipalities are authorized to create “indigenous autonomies” in which communities “can elect, designate, or nominate their authorities and representatives in accordance with their own norms and procedures” (Exeni Rodríguez 2012, 215). Such innovations provide models for how to address democratic deficits arising from a purely electoral and representative understanding of democracy.

These democratic deficits include the tyranny of minorities. In liberal democratic theory, fear of the tyranny of the majority is a major preoccupation, one that is often used to justify mechanisms to restrain popular sovereignty and ensure that the rights of individuals and minorities are protected—above all, those who own property. In Latin America, powerful economic groups, especially business and the media, use their great wealth and influence to block structural reforms. Majoritarianism is often a reaction to such *de facto* powers. This brings us to a second deficit: representative democracy is not good at attenuating inequalities. Indeed, inequalities are often reproduced through mechanisms of representation (Manin 1997, 134–149). Elections create and perpetuate political elites that resemble other privileged sectors of society. A third deficit lies in the weakness of active citizenship. Representative democracy does not demand participation in deliberation and collective action, only the passive citizenship of voting. Without a voice in deliberations over the decisions that affect them directly, many citizens become disengaged. This malaise may be especially acute in indigenous communities with strong traditions of collective decision making.

These deep, underlying deficits in representative democracies can undermine the realization of democratic goods every bit as much as problems associated with electoral features of democracy. The primary good supplied by elections is the possibility of alternation in power by political parties—and with it, the ability of voters to exercise their power to dismiss officeholders before they become entrenched in power. Alternation in power can be undermined by the lack of a level playing field for the opposition and the violation of basic civil and political rights (Levitsky and Way 2010, 8–13).

It would be naive to presume that popular participation can guarantee the integrity of electoral democracy, though it may contribute to its vitality. Deficits of representation can be exploited to promote forms of participation that reinforce governmental power and control over civil society. Venezuela’s community councils offer an example of direct, institutionalized participation within the context of the erosion of representative institutions. Community councils bring neighbors together to propose concrete projects that are funded by the government and implemented by the council members themselves. The opportunity for direct participation in deliberation and decision making is clearly a major source of regime legitimacy, and it also reinforces partisan support for the government (McCarthy 2012, 137–140). Critics worry that community councils offer an alternative to representative institutions. It is far from clear, however, that Venezuela’s voters have lost the power to “throw the rascals out” of office. Nor does voting appear to be losing its central place in legitimating the Bolivarian republic, as recent municipal elections show.

Despite the fact that elections have been held with frequency and intensity in Venezuela, they have not served as effective mechanisms for resolving conflicts between the government and opposition. They have served more as plebiscitary expressions of popular sovereignty, and mechanisms for constitutional restructuring. In “refounding” the Bolivarian republic, President Hugo Chávez appealed to the idea of the constituent power of the people. Constituent power means, in essence, that democracy as a system of self-rule implies the sovereign right not only to periodically choose among rival office seekers but also to decide the defining features of the system of rule itself. In practice, it means the use of majoritarian power to rewrite the constitution, often in ways that favor the executive branch over other deliberative bodies.

Ecuador and Bolivia have, like Venezuela, been sites of experimentation with constituent power. Referenda have been called to legitimate elections for constituent assemblies in order to redraft constitutions, which have then in turn been submitted to referenda. There are dangers inherent in this process. All too easily the sovereign right of the people to decide on the constitutional order can become the sovereign power of the president to rewrite the constitution to perpetuate himself (or herself) in power. It is not a given that the outcome will be a more participatory democracy. Carlos de la Torre (2013, 27) puts it well: “Whereas in Ecuador participation is reduced to voting in elections, participatory institutions were created in Venezuela and Bolivia. And whereas mobilization in Bolivia comes most from the bottom up, in Venezuela and Ecuador it comes from the top down.”

To conclude, no single model of democracy fits Latin America today. Enormous

diversity in the types of democratic regimes, and variation in their quality, can be observed across the region. Active experimentation with democracy is responsible for producing some of this diversity, which bespeaks a certain vitality in the region's democratic cultures. Failure to appreciate this vitality can lead to unwarranted pessimism about the resilience of democracy (for example, Weyland 2013; Sanchez-Sibony 2013). If we assume that democracy means *liberal* democracy, of course, many of the countries in the region must be excluded from the set of democratic regimes. There is, however, more than one model of democracy.

The most important form of democratic participation—namely, voting—remains the central and irreplaceable pillar of electoral democracy in the region. Voting coexists, however, with a wide range of practices and institutions that aim to produce diverse democratic goods. The appropriate balance between democratic goods varies according to the institutional ecology of each system. The new forms of direct, institutionalized participation that are sweeping the region today offer insight into the nature of the goods that the people want democracy to deliver—including the right to participate in collective deliberation and decision making over matters that affect citizens directly. Representative institutions may simply be insufficient to generate this democratic good.

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## Enhancing Accountability in Mexico: Civil Society in a New Relationship with the State?

by SHARON F. LEAN | Wayne State University | [sflean@wayne.edu](mailto:sflean@wayne.edu)

According to recent reports, the state of democracy in many parts of Latin America is precarious. The Fall 2013 issue of the *LASA Forum* painted a picture of “deeply flawed” democracies with power hyperconcentrated in the executive: a modern *caudillismo* (Gargarella and Villarroel 2013). The July 2013 issue of the *Journal of Democracy* featured a set of articles on Latin America’s authoritarian drift. And the recently released 2013 Latinobarómetro report reveals a region divided by rising inequality in which demands for greater democracy remain unmet. The Latinobarómetro survey reveals a trend of diminishing support for democracy in 7 of 18 countries, and Mexico stands out as the state reporting the lowest overall support for democracy. In 2013, just 21 percent of Mexicans reported being “satisfied” or “very satisfied” with the functioning of democracy. And only 37 percent of those surveyed said that “democracy is preferable to any other form of government,” a shocking drop of 26 percentage points from 2002, when Mexico enjoyed some of the highest support for democracy in the region (Corporación Latinobarómetro 2013, 19, 36).

These reports raise serious concerns about democracy in the region and in Mexico, concerns that revolve around problems of voice, accountability, and equality. This note will highlight a more positive view. I suggest that sweeping concerns about the state of democracy in Latin America should be moderated because of the promise of institutional and civic innovation in the area of accountability. Throughout the region, we can discern signs of twin trends: on one hand, the proliferation of autonomous governmental agencies with specific oversight responsibilities, and on the other, civic associations and civic

networks engaging these agencies to ensure that they fulfill their promise.

Mexico today exemplifies these interconnected trends. Since the 1990s, the Mexican government has created (or reformed and granted autonomy to) an expanding array of public agencies in areas critical for democracy. These include the Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE) and Instituto Federal de Acceso a la Información (IFAI), among others. At the same time, we see changes in civil society. The energies of Mexico’s pro-democracy civic activists in the 1990s were largely focused on elections. After the transition from one-party rule, the civic sector lost focus. Today we see a new focus emerging: from the movement Yo Soy 132 to the work of think-tank-style civic associations such as FUNDAR, the civic sector in Mexico has begun to hone a shared agenda around the themes of transparency and accountability.

The Red por la Rendición de Cuentas (RRC) represents a particularly innovative effort. It is a hybrid type of organization which I call a cross-sectoral network, bringing together civic associations, academics, and state institutions for direct and regular collaboration and discussion in an effort to improve the content, coherence, and implementation of public policies designed to promote good governance, transparency, and accountability. The RRC was founded in 2011 after more than a year of deliberation among a diverse array of social actors interested in addressing the challenge of accountability. It has its institutional home in the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) in Mexico City. Its 75 members include civil society organizations working on access to information and transparency; university research centers; journalists organizations; and a number of

autonomous public agencies, including the IFE, IFAI, Auditoría Superior de la Federación (ASF), and Archivo General de la Nación (AGN); and some (but not all) of the state-level agencies that are the counterparts to these federal agencies. Groups join by signing the network’s declaration of principles and *convenio de colaboración*.

The network’s vision, as set out in the formal agreement among members, is to be “an inclusive and dynamic network capable of aggregating and coordinating action among the largest possible number of academic and social organizations, public institutions, and the media.” Its goal is “the design, implementation and monitoring of a real policy of accountability in Mexico” (RRC 2011). The network is built on the premise that one impediment to achieving accountability and good governance is the fragmentation among the different social actors that work on accountability. It works across branches and levels of government. The RRC provides a unique space in which academic researchers, public administrators, civic advocates, and journalists can share experiences, debate practices, and seek consensus.

Although the RRC has been in existence only a few years, there are already indications of its efficacy in influencing an accountability agenda for Mexico. In 2012, the Senate called on the RRC for testimony to help inform legislative debate on political reforms. Representatives of various member groups of the RRC, each speaking for themselves, gave testimony before the parliamentary groups of the PAN (Partido Acción Nacional), PRD (Partido de la Revolución Democrática), and PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional). Participants agreed that this level of access to policy makers was meaningful and might not have been

available without the RRC as the channel. After lengthy debate, the RRC recommendations were incorporated into a package of constitutional reforms related to transparency that was passed by both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate in late 2013.

Another example concerns the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo (PND) for 2013–2018. By law, the president must consult with the public before introducing the PND, but the mechanism for public consultation is not specified. The IFAI encouraged the RRC to participate in the public consultations and suggested that the RRC develop a proposal for a public policy for greater accountability. The RRC brought together representatives of nearly 70 organizations to deliberate and present their proposal in April 2013 (RRC 2013). When the final version of the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo was published in May 2013, some of the exact language from the RRC proposal had been incorporated. The RRC has also been successful in promoting constitutional reform to harmonize right-to-information laws across states and to raise awareness about these new laws among politicians, civil servants, and citizens.

The RRC cross-sectoral network gives Mexican civic associations greater access to policy makers and public agencies than they might otherwise achieve. As Keck and Sikkink (1998) recognized some time ago with regard to transnational advocacy, the network structure allows civic associations to use information and moral argumentation to help shape the agenda and to influence more powerful actors. It works precisely because it brings together diverse actors with different sources of authority. However, access to policy makers is not the only benefit. Staff and leaders of the RRC and of member groups,

when interviewed, highlight the fact that the RRC has helped to build working relationships among actors in the network who otherwise often find themselves in competition with one another, whether for funding, recognition, political resources, or control over policy space. The RRC also draws academics out of their ivory towers and into conversation with the objects of their study.

Finally, it is important to note that the very existence of this network represents acknowledgement from civil society of the significance of institutional reforms in Mexico over the past decade. Despite problems, governmental transparency and access to information have improved, and the guarantor institutions created by the state are increasingly viable. Because institutions like the IFE and the IFAI have their shortcomings, the tendency of civil society is often to see the glass as half-empty. Indeed, civil society throughout Latin America has long defined itself principally in opposition to the state, a stance born while fighting for political space during the region's transitions to democracy. In this sense, a collaborative role for civil society and state, through a network like the RRC, represents a sea change. Critically, support from civic associations, academics, and journalists through the RRC can help reformers within public agencies defend gains against those within government who would see them reduced.

All of this said, when it comes to measuring the impact of civil society on democracy it is important not to exaggerate. As a number of recent studies have documented, Mexican civil society is relatively disorganized and distrustful and its impact is uneven at best (see Layton and Moreno 2010; Somuano 2011). Without making sweeping claims, we can see that the RRC

has at least opened channels of communication between civic associations and public agencies. It has amplified and focused social and political demands for greater accountability. For member organizations, the RRC has enhanced trust and reciprocity and provided allies and access. These are valuable gains.

As Omar Sánchez-Sibony (2013, 8) wrote in the previous issue of *LASA Forum*, “The domestic barriers that can avert democratic breakdowns via a thousand blows are essentially two: the strength and vitality of civil society, and the strength of political institutions.” Through the RRC, civic associations, academics, and journalists in Mexico are engaging with state institutions in an effort to strengthen each other's capacity to foster democratic and accountable policies and practices of governance. There are many well-established civic associations and networks in the region that work on good governance and accountability: Corporación Participa in Chile, Transparencia in Peru, and Poder Ciudadano in Argentina, to name a few. None that I know of have attempted this type of cross-sectoral network design. The experience of the Red por la Rendición de Cuentas provides a useful, if not yet fully proven, model for civic actors in other states as they seek to negotiate the long-standing puzzle of how to develop a collaborative stance vis-à-vis the state without becoming co-opted.

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# Transformaciones del campo social activista y cambio democrático en Argentina

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Lo que identifica a las democracias modernas no es sólo el marco institucional del régimen político, sino, de manera sustantiva, los derechos que constituyen el status de ciudadanía. La enunciación normativa de derechos civiles, políticos y sociales, siguiendo el andamiaje histórico-conceptual de H. T. Marshall, es fruto de luchas sociales que, a través de nuevas interpretaciones de la vida social, redefinieron las fronteras de la libertad y la igualdad, a partir del reconocimiento del carácter público y legal a las relaciones entre particulares (Marshall [1950] 1998; O'Donnell 2010). Reformas constitucionales recientes ampliaron las listas de derechos en varios países de la región, acogiendo un acumulado de luchas sociales previas, en particular, mediante procesos constituyentes de carácter participativo, como sucedió en Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, y había ocurrido antes en Brasil. La reforma de la Constitución argentina, en 1994, recibió el influjo del movimiento de derechos humanos, actor protagónico de la refundación democrática y de su articulación institucional, e incorporó al plexo constitucional un extenso catálogo de derechos, principalmente mediante la importación de tratados internacionales. Entrado el siglo XXI, este reconocimiento constitucional de derechos viene representando un paso fundamental en los avances logrados por nuevos movimientos sociales, mediante su apropiación.

Se plantea aquí la existencia de cambios en el campo organizativo y el perfil activista de los movimientos sociales en Argentina, como un factor clave de la inscripción de un número creciente de demandas colectivas bajo la exigencia de cumplimiento de derechos. Se argumenta también, a partir de algunos ejemplos, que en tanto la incidencia legal, como herramienta de los movimientos sociales,

ha tenido éxito, su impacto ha ido más allá de las medidas concretas alcanzadas, para abarcar aspectos tanto formales (procedimentales) como sustantivos (semánticos) de la ciudadanía y la democracia. La nota está dividida en dos secciones. En la primera, se hace referencia al pasaje de la protesta social, como formato de acción colectiva preponderante en la década de los noventa, a la conformación de nuevos movimientos y movilizaciones sociales, progresivamente orientados hacia la acción legal, en el presente, subrayando tal discontinuidad. En la segunda sección, se señalan condiciones y efectos de la movilización socio-legal contemporánea.

## De la protesta social a la acción legal

Hacia fines de los años noventa, distintos ciclos de protesta social contra las consecuencias de la política pública implementada por los sucesivos gobiernos a lo largo de la década, recorrieron el país. Para la sociología política, la noción de protesta —en contraste con la de movimiento social— apunta a la ausencia de una fundamentación transformadora que unifique y dote de sentido a la acción colectiva, lo cual no significa que la misma no produzca identidades, demandas y efectos (Schuster 2005). En la Argentina finisecular, la protesta social emitía un mensaje inclusivo (no quedar afuera de la Ciudad), pero distaba de producir nuevos vectores de inclusión, en un momento en que la ciudadanía socio-laboral estaba en crisis y su articulación al formato estatal y corporativo de creación de derechos —en la tradición inaugurada por el peronismo en la primera mitad del siglo XX— permanecía viva en el imaginario de los actores de la protesta. Tras las movilizaciones de 2001, que confluyeron en el descrédito generalizado de la *clase*

política que ocupaba las instituciones del Estado, adquirió visibilidad pública la dinámica deliberativa que distintas organizaciones y movimientos albergaban en su seno, como uno de sus aspectos más innovadores, y tomó fuerza, sobre todo en las asambleas barriales cuyo epicentro fue Buenos Aires, la idea de construir una “democracia participativa y directa”, como herramienta de ciudadanía y mecanismo de toma de decisiones. Se trataba de la misma ola de profundización democrática que recorría otros países de la región y que, en el caso de algunos de ellos, acabaría por traducirse en el plano institucional, incorporándose a las nuevas constituciones.

A partir de las elecciones generales de 2003, los gobiernos kirchneristas impulsaron una recuperación y expansión de los derechos laborales y sociales, activando instituciones de la vieja matriz (Etchemendy 2013). Por otro lado, la combinación de acción directa y reclamo de democracia participativa pasó a permear luchas emergentes hasta verse transformados sus tejidos organizativos y formatos de acción. Estos nuevos conflictos encuentran su origen, como en el resto del continente, en la expansión de los mercados hacia nuevos territorios, tanto rurales como urbanos, y responden, también, por otra parte, a la consolidación de demandas referidas a libertades y planes de vida personales, las mismas que a su vez interpelan las agendas *progresistas* de otros gobiernos en Latinoamérica, con variada suerte. En este último registro, en 2010, el movimiento LGBT logró que se sancionara la ley de *matrimonio igualitario*, tras largas jornadas de controversia experta llevadas adelante en sesiones legislativas, alrededor de la lectura e interpretación de la Constitución. Con antelación, decisiones judiciales favorables al matrimonio entre personas del mismo sexo, habían anticipado a la legislatura una

interpretación del derecho. Finalmente, el régimen matrimonial establecido en el Código Civil no sorteaba el “test de constitucionalidad” y el derecho a contraer matrimonio a cualquier pareja era legalmente reconocido, mediante argumentos de autonomía personal e igualdad/no discriminación apoyados en la normativa constitucional e internacional (Fernández Valle 2010; Clérico 2010).

Distinto es el recorrido, pero similares las características del proceso activista desarrollado por actores sociales del campo ambiental, cuyas demandas se extienden en todo el país, y también en el marco de los reclamos por hábitat y vivienda movilizadas en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires durante los últimos años. Se trata en ambos casos de actores que inicialmente rehusaban la acción legal o desconocían los derechos, pese que éstos ya contaban con una sólida protección constitucional desde las reformas institucionales de los años noventa. En ambos casos se registra el pasaje desde la movilización/protesta abierta y el reclamo de instancias participativas de decisión a una expansión de la movilización de derechos en la instancia legislativa y judicial. Para tomar un ejemplo que recoge la trayectoria de una década, baste considerar la sanción de leyes que prohíben la minería a cielo abierto en varias provincias argentinas, entre 2003 y 2011, y de una ley nacional que protege las fuentes de agua dulce (los glaciares) desde 2010, en lo que representa la creación de una institucionalidad ambiental “desde abajo”, iniciada por asambleas ciudadanas locales y regionales, con el asesoramiento y la participación de técnicos y profesionales del derecho en la incidencia. En el campo de las luchas por la vivienda, la Ciudad de Buenos Aires es testigo de un ciclo de movilización, con un punto fundamental de inflexión en una serie de demandas judiciales colectivas presentadas ante los tribunales locales, que atiende los reclamos

de los pobladores más afectados por la marginación socio urbana y la expansión inmobiliaria, los habitantes de villas, y ha dado lugar a la constitución de un entramado de actores activistas, sociales e institucionales, en un esfuerzo articulador tendiente a reformular la política pública hacia las villas (Delamata, Sehtman y Ricciardi 2013).

Se trata sólo de algunos ejemplos que permiten observar en un plazo mediano, el pasaje de la protesta social, como formato crónico de las acciones colectivas públicas en la década de los noventa, a un nuevo repertorio de lucha política o interacción entre ciudadanos y autoridades —en la formulación de Tilly (1984)— dirigida a obtener el reconocimiento legal de derechos y/o su efectividad.

### Condiciones y efectos de la movilización socio-legal

Como ha sido señalado para Argentina, las nuevas constituciones, nacional y locales, generosas en derechos y mecanismos de protección colectiva, representan una condición o factor habilitante del activismo legal contemporáneo (Smulovitz 2008). Esta idea se completa con la renovación de las cortes y el cambio de interpretación constitucional. La renovación de los miembros de la Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación en 2003 y la conformación de los tribunales porteños, tras la consagración de Buenos Aires como Ciudad Autónoma en 1996, en particular, atravesaron procesos meritocráticos de selección de los ministros y los funcionarios judiciales, asimismo muy atentos a sus antecedentes formativos.

Por otra parte, algunos cambios tendientes a la incorporación de grupos en el proceso decisorio institucional, vienen permitiendo



la participación social y experta, tanto en audiencias y mesas de diálogo en la instancia judicial, como en comisiones y sesiones legislativas. En la esfera judicial hubo reformas de carácter institucional, impulsadas por la Corte Suprema, orientadas a garantizar la transparencia y la participación ciudadana en la tramitación de los casos, que los autores en general remiten a un imperativo de relegitimación del Poder Judicial (Böhmer 2013). En la esfera legislativa, el visto bueno al avance de proyectos de ley que no eran parte de la agenda de gobierno y la apertura del debate a los actores de la sociedad civil, constituyen momentos de oportunidad política que aparecen vinculados a la búsqueda de popularidad entre los actores políticos y los gobiernos (Hiller 2010; Cheresky 2010). Sin embargo, como afirma Tilly, entre la aparición de nuevas estructuras de oportunidad legal y política y la disponibilidad de nuevos medios de acción, es preciso situar a los actores que conectan ambas instancias y pueden producir cambios en la lucha política (Tilly 2008, 94).

Lo que las luchas actuales por derechos muestran es el fortalecimiento del campo activista jurídico y la alianza entre actores sociales y actores jurídicos como rasgo fundamental del tejido organizativo de luchas y movimientos y de su intervención en instancias institucionales para la deliberación y la incidencia de demandas y proyectos. El crecimiento del litigio de interés público, de la mano de las ONG de derechos, la mayor presencia de constitucionalistas y especialistas en el derecho de los derechos humanos en los distintos foros, la expansión de nuevos campos del derecho a través de abogados jóvenes que intervienen en los conflictos emergentes, como es el caso del derecho ambiental, todo ello ha permitido una

rápida renovación o incorporación de marcos y estrategias en los movimientos y grupos sociales. Sin embargo, éste es sólo el nodo de una malla más amplia, que comprende asimismo a actores del Poder Judicial y legisladores en distintas causas, con lo cual una fundamentación de sus intervenciones solamente en términos de legitimación o popularidad podría requerir un análisis más detallado.

Como se adelantó, la incidencia legal en instancias institucionales ha tenido una serie de consecuencias que involucra los procedimientos y contenidos de la ciudadanía y la democracia. Por una parte, el progreso de las acciones de incidencia legislativa en los casos arriba mencionados, dio lugar a votaciones transversales a distintas fuerzas políticas en los parlamentos, que estuvieron basadas en la “libertad de conciencia” de los legisladores, e intersectaron la dimensión electoral de la democracia comúnmente basada en lealtades gregarias. En segundo lugar, la exigencia de aplicación de derechos consagrados constitucionalmente no sólo desafió una arraigada tradición, según la cual es el Estado el que otorga los derechos, sino que también desplazó de los mecanismos de toma de decisión a la democracia directa. Tanto la incidencia para lograr las leyes que regulan los procesos mineros como asimismo para obtener la ley de Matrimonio Igualitario buscaron derrotar, mediante el imperativo de los derechos y la extensión de la ley, el recurso a audiencias públicas y plebiscitos para decidir sobre esos asuntos (Delamata 2013; Corrales y Pecheny 2010).

Por último, el reconocimiento legal y público de nuevas identidades sociales tiene efectos más sustantivos (y conflictivos). El crecimiento del principio de igualdad vinculado a la autonomía personal, o la nueva relación solidaria entre sociedad y

naturaleza, o el “nacimiento” de un nuevo derecho, en detrimento de su subsidiaridad anterior, como el derecho a la vivienda social, o, si cabe, a la ciudad, a través del activismo socio-legal, incorporan narrativas de la ciudadanía a las ya existentes y añaden nuevos contenidos a la democracia. O caso, están produciendo una vertebración renovada entre sus principios fundamentales.

Se ha dicho que estas demandas y transformaciones siguen a la Constitución y no al revés. De este modo, el “caso” argentino puede ser materia de un análisis comparado que explore cómo las nuevas constituciones se están activando o pueden hacerlo.

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## Indigenous Political Engagement: A Second, More Meaningful Chance at Incorporation

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The rise of indigenous peoples as important new social and political actors is a positive trend in Latin American democracies. Indigenous peoples' interests have long been excluded from national political agendas, that is, until the 1990s when indigenous peoples began to mobilize on a variety of fronts in defense of their rights. Contemporary indigenous-movement struggles represent an opportunity to address the indigenous question, in much the same way that worker organization and protest in early twentieth-century Latin America prompted ruling elites to respond to the social question (Collier and Collier 1991). Indigenous peoples were first incorporated into the polity as national peasants in the mid-twentieth century through corporatist measures that imposed a unidirectional relationship between the state and indigenous groups. In the current era, the emergence of autonomous forms of organizing and mobilizing on the part of indigenous groups has challenged existing models of citizenship, democracy, and the state in Latin America. In the cases of Ecuador (2008) and Bolivia (2009), the constitutional recognition of plurinationality can be said to represent a second phase of indigenous incorporation, with the potential to develop a bilateral or government-to-government relationship between the state and indigenous groups. The demand for plurinationality that is spreading in Latin America may be a means to transform exclusionary state structures. This will surely benefit the region's indigenous peoples as well as serve the interests of the broader society.

Indigenous peoples are a marginalized majority in Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Peru and a significant minority in most other Latin American countries. National attempts to link this excluded segment of the population to the state have generally followed on the heels of major crises.

According to Drake and Hershberg (2006), Latin America faced two such crises in the twentieth century; both precipitated by economic disruptions that upset the existing contract between state and society. The first of the major crises occurred in the 1930s with the Great Depression, the impacts of which were felt worldwide, and the second in the 1980s owing to the international debt crisis. In both instances, economic dislocations opened the door to new models of development, growth, distribution, participation, and inclusion in the region. The 1930s crisis led to inward-looking development, redistribution, and import-substitution industrialization (ISI) as a means to decrease Latin America's economic dependency. The state-led model of development was accompanied by corporatist measures that offered a modicum of popular inclusion into national life, though according to the terms set out by the state. The 1980s crisis led to free-market reforms as part of the general shift to the neoliberal economic model. The multicultural policies that accompanied the market-led development model privileged policies of recognition over those of redistribution as a means of managing difference (Hale 2002). Although state-sponsored corporatism and multiculturalism proposed distinct models of state-society relations, both approaches sought to reshape society along the lines desired by governing elites. They also both targeted indigenous peoples as the problem in need of change.

The latest bid for indigenous incorporation was prompted by the massive tide of protest against neoliberalism that, in some cases, managed to topple successive national governments in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Silva 2009). The imposition of neoliberal-inspired policies of stabilization and adjustment has had dramatic social, political, and economic

consequences in the region. Free-market reforms have weakened many of their obvious opponents, particularly the labor movement. Empirical evidence indicates that the number of general strikes across Latin America has diminished substantially since peaking in the late 1980s. As noted by Kurtz (2004), there was a flurry of resistance on the part of organized labor at the time of initial liberalization, but once the reforms were consolidated, the mobilizing capacity of the labor movement declined remarkably. Noninstitutionalized forms of resistance, such as riots and antigovernment demonstrations, follow a trend similar to that of labor resistance up until the late 1990s. Then a gap between the two emerges, as strikes continue to decline and riots and demonstrations increase. By the end of the 1990s, a second wave of resistance against neoliberalism had emerged around new types of claims and demands and employing new repertoires of action (Rice 2012). Indigenous peoples have been at the forefront of this new wave of resistance.

In Ecuador and Bolivia, indigenous movements have artfully linked indigenous peoples' demands to issues of political and economic inclusion for the masses to produce powerful movements that draw support from a broad spectrum of society. In addition to their larger indigenous populations, the success of these countries' indigenous movements is the result of their two-pronged strategy based on opposition in the streets and in parliament. By forming their own electoral vehicles, indigenous peoples have been able to participate in formal politics on their own terms as part of a strategy of "autonomy in participation." In Ecuador, the Movement for Plurinational Unity Pachakutik–New Country (MUPP-NP) party was a major organizational force behind the winning electoral coalition in the presidential race

of 2002. Since then, however, the party has lost much of its appeal owing to a complex set of factors, including its ill-fated electoral alliance and its perceived shift to a more ethnicist stance. The left-turn administration of Rafael Correa (2007–present) has now taken up most of the political space formerly occupied by the Pachakutik party. In Bolivia, the indigenous-based Movement toward Socialism (MAS) party led by Evo Morales managed to obtain a majority vote in the presidential election of December 2005, a feat that had not been achieved by any Bolivian party since the transition to democracy in the early 1980s. President Morales has since been reelected by an even wider margin in the December 2009 elections. The emergence of indigenous parties and movements has prompted society to rethink the meaning of democracy itself and how best to govern in the context of ethnic pluralism.

Recent constitutional reforms in Ecuador and Bolivia have sought to repair the relationship between indigenous peoples and the state by formally recognizing and affirming cultural rights in society as well as the plurinational character of the state (Nolte and Schilling-Vacaflor 2012). The constitutional recognition of plurinationality marks a watershed moment in indigenous-state relations in Latin America. It represents an opportunity for governments to reconceptualize their political relationship with indigenous peoples as sovereign and self-determining peoples or nations. The goal of indigenous movements is not just to take control of state power but to transform the nature of that power. Plurinationality challenges previous governmental attempts to divide indigenous peoples, to categorize them in ways that obscure their ethnicity, to discount them from national policy debates, and to

denigrate them as obstacles to development. In other words, it means doing government differently. A plurinational state recognizes the plurality of cultural, legal, and political systems that exist within a nation-state and places them on an equal footing. It is the first step in the long process of the political empowerment of the region's indigenous populations. Without question, this historic accomplishment has been the result of the independent organizing and mobilizing efforts of indigenous movements in the two countries and their capacity to bridge protest and electoral coalitions.

The new constitutional texts of Ecuador and Bolivia incorporate indigenous rights to an extent unparalleled in the region. Yet significant challenges remain in bringing its promises to fruition. First, the process is heavily dependent on the political will of the president to support reforms to enhance the plurinational state. President Correa, in particular, has been reluctant to cede authority to indigenous groups. The concentration of executive power, in both cases, is at odds with the exercise of local power by self-governing indigenous bodies (Gargarella 2013). Second, the dismantling of inherited state structures, institutions, and practices is fraught with difficulties. The situation is more precarious in Ecuador, where the plurinational nature of its constitution is comparatively limited. For instance, whereas the Bolivian Constitution recognizes all 36 indigenous languages as official languages of the state (art. 5), indigenous languages in Ecuador are recognized only in the sphere of intercultural relations (art. 2). Finally, there are serious tensions between indigenous autonomy and the resource-dependent, state-led model of development pursued by the governments of Bolivia and Ecuador. This dynamic has produced significant clashes between governments and

indigenous communities over issues of natural resource extraction and state-sponsored development projects within indigenous territories. The experiences of Ecuador and Bolivia indicate that while the latest period of constitution making in support of indigenous rights in Latin America represents a rupture with previous models of indigenous-state relations, it has yet to transform state power.

I have suggested in this essay that the emergence of powerful indigenous rights movements in Latin America should be viewed as an opportunity to deepen the region's democracies. The political exclusion of indigenous peoples, especially in countries with substantial indigenous populations, has undoubtedly contributed to the weakness of party systems and the lack of effective representation of the popular sectors by the region's democracies. The promotion of indigenous rights and representation does not undermine democracy or the state; it may in fact strengthen them. In the context of a hostile political environment, indigenous peoples have chosen to participate in political institutions and to attempt to bring about change from within. They have done so not through assimilation but by politicizing ethnic identities. Nevertheless, the appeals of indigenous movements and parties have tended to be inclusionary rather than exclusionary. For these reasons, indigenous mobilization plays a much-needed role in broadening democratic representation and participation for the masses. Indigenous political engagement is challenging Latin America's exclusionary state structures and the failure to incorporate, represent, and respond to large segments of the population. The meaningful incorporation of indigenous peoples into democratic nation-states will require a focus on transforming the state to better serve and



## Las dimensiones del cambio en Bolivia

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reflect the interests of society, instead of the other way around.

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Desde que Evo Morales asumió la presidencia boliviana el 22 de enero de 2006 —primero en las ruinas de Tiwanaku y al día siguiente en la ceremonia oficial en el Parlamento— Bolivia vive una serie de transformaciones que retoman una tradición profundamente inscripta en su cultura política: el antiliberalismo, sustentado en un ejercicio corporativo de la ciudadanía. Pero desde antes de este nuevo ciclo político, iniciado a partir de fuertes convulsiones sociales, esta nación andino-amazónica viene experimentando una reconfiguración de su estructura social, mediante procesos de movilidad social ascendente, especialmente transitados por sectores comerciales populares de origen indígena-mestizo. En ese marco, Bolivia vive, a su escala, un proceso de inclusión socio-simbólica mediante el consumo similar a otros países de la región, que constituye una de las fuentes de legitimidad del “nacional-populismo” vigente. En gran medida, estos procesos de desborde económico popular están asociados a redes de “globalización desde abajo”, motorizada por los vínculos crecientes con China<sup>1</sup>.

Una faceta interesante de estos procesos es que los mismos no son lineales, y las interconexiones entre dimensiones materiales y simbólicas presentan pliegues y recovecos que no siempre resultan fáciles de descifrar en tiempo real. La llamada “emergencia indígena” combina, sin duda, tendencias a la revalorización de la autoestima étnico-cultural con contratendencias a una modernización que conlleva una matriz de consumo globalizada, inclusive en la esfera cultural. La llamada “ola coreana” es uno de sus componentes<sup>2</sup>. Ahí están, por ejemplo, las populares telenovelas del país asiático y el exitoso k-pop que atrae a miles de jóvenes bolivianos de extracción popular<sup>3</sup>. En ese marco, no puede sorprendernos que los procesos de indianización y

desindianización de la sociedad sean contextualizados, inestables y a menudo contradictorios<sup>4</sup>.

Un ejemplo de ello es el último Censo de población de Bolivia, realizado el 21 de noviembre de 2012, cuyos resultados se conocieron este año. De manera sorprendente —y paradójica si asumimos que Bolivia está regida por un gobierno indianista— la población mayor de 15 años que se autoidentifica con un pueblo originario bajó del 62 por ciento (según el censo de 2001) al 42 por ciento actual. Aún no existen explicaciones exhaustivas de estos cambios, sino hipótesis provisionales. Hay varias entradas posibles, aunque aún son especulaciones más o menos sustentadas mientras no contemos con estudios y datos más desagregados.

Desde las aceras liberales y nacionalistas está operando una suerte de “venganza del mestizaje”: a partir de la lectura algo apresurada de que quienes no se identificaron con ningún pueblo originario se considerarían automáticamente como mestizos, se propone revertir el Estado plurinacional y retornar a la República (mestiza) de Bolivia. Desde el indianismo/katarismo opositor se especula con teorías conspirativas: como el gobierno del MAS “es antiindígena” habría buscado que la población indígena se reduzca para impulsar su proyecto “nacionalista recolonizador” (la polémica carretera por el TIPNIS sería un ejemplo de ello)<sup>5</sup>. Como se ve, hay opciones para todos los menús.

Otro argumento es el “aumento de la clase media” o de las autopercepciones de pertenecer a ella que surgen de algunos estudios. Varios gobiernos de la región junto al Banco Mundial están contribuyendo a alimentar el mito de la *clases mediarización* del mundo. En Brasil,

paradigma de esa transformación, muchos de los intelectuales del PT no aceptan, sin embargo, el discurso oficial sobre la explosión de las clases medias, y ensayan otras interpretaciones centradas en nuevas categorías de trabajadores<sup>6</sup>. En muchas de las visiones sobre el auge de las clases medias se termina por invisibilizar por completo las clases trabajadoras, viejas y nuevas, y clase media deviene un concepto ideológico cargado de valoraciones positivas hacia el “justo medio”<sup>7</sup>.

Pero volviendo al censo, también es posible que hayan incidido las variaciones en la pregunta. En 2012 se preguntó: *Como boliviana o boliviano, ¿pertenece a alguna nación o pueblo indígena originario campesino? Si-NO ¿a cuál?* (lista de 36 pueblos, con la instrucción al encuestador de “no leer al entrevistado” dicho listado). Entretanto, en 2001, la pregunta había sido diferente: *¿Se considera perteneciente a alguno de los siguientes pueblos originarios o indígenas?* Las opciones eran quechua, aymara, guaraní, chiquitano, mojeño, otro nativo, ninguno (y el censista sí debía leer las opciones).

La nueva Constitución incluyó a la categoría “IOC” (Indígena-originario-campesino) como una solución aritmética a las complejas interrelaciones entre identidades étnico-sociales; muchos campesinos —una adscripción popular muy importante en Bolivia desde los años cuarenta— no se sienten contenidos como indígenas aunque a menudo utilicen esa identidad de manera contextualizada o como “esencialismo estratégico”. En este sentido, hay que remarcar que el actual es un gobierno en muchos sentidos más campesino que indígena y en la última década operó una “campesinización” de la *indianidad* que construye fronteras frente a los indígenas urbanos en un contexto en el que ya la mayoría de la población vive en

ciudades o pueblos. La cuestión en este punto es sencilla: para llegar al 62 por ciento fue necesario construir una *indianidad* muy laxa, que incluía a los urbanos y los campesinos, a pobres y ricos, a empresarios y trabajadores. Parte de esa generalidad se perdió con la fórmula “IOC” que aunque es una suma termina ruralizando discursivamente el *ser indígena*.

Dicho esto, cabe destacar que la popularidad y la capacidad hegemónica de Evo Morales se basa, precisamente, en que su indianidad “impura” —asentada en una cultura sindical— expresa a esta Bolivia popular “abigarrada”, que combina formas comunitarias “ancestrales” con capitalismo salvaje, a veces en un mismo espacio, como la Feria 16 de Julio en la ciudad de El Alto.

Evo Morales reactualizó, así, un antiliberalismo que desde los años treinta, con un punto culminante en la década del cincuenta —tras la Revolución Nacional de 1952 y rebotes en los primeros setenta y ochenta— se propone construir formas de “democracia funcional” basada en un tipo de ciudadanía no-liberal mediada por las adscripciones gremiales/corporativas. A ese horizonte —que convive, de todos modos, con una democracia representativa efectiva y que tiene como condición de posibilidad el liderazgo fuerte de Morales— el oficialismo lo denominó “gobierno de los movimientos sociales”. La legitimidad de tal esquema se basa, además, en un contexto económico de bonanza desconocido en la historia boliviana, que provee al gobierno de ingentes recursos para aumentar la inversión pública y expandir las políticas sociales. También para embarcarse en proyectos cargados de simbología, como la construcción del Satélite Túpac Katari (en China), que será lanzado al espacio el 20 de diciembre de 2013<sup>8</sup>.

Es, en nuestra opinión, en esta clave de lectura que hay que leer los avances de los últimos años en esta nación andino/amazónica así como las visibles inercias del pasado y los límites internos a las perspectivas refundacionales ancladas en el no menos complejo y contradictorio proceso constituyente, que dio forma jurídica a la actual “Revolución democrática y cultural”.

#### Notas

<sup>1</sup> “Esta alianza [sino-boliviana por abajo] se alimenta también de complicidades mutuas, a partir de un origen rural compartido o de la vivencia de operar fuera de los circuitos de la formalidad. Se tejen así otras dimensiones interculturales en el marco de una relación de ida y vuelta. Al inicio, fueron los comerciantes aymaras los interesados en viajar a la China en busca de negocio; después, los representantes fabriles chinos empezaron también a viajar a Bolivia para entender mejor las dinámicas económicas locales y mejorar las estrategias de producción. Y no tardaron en utilizar los canales locales de distribución y provisión, que se asientan en redes familiares reproducidas a partir de eventos sociales de gremios y fraternidades religiosas”. Las importaciones desde China se multiplicaron por diez desde 2003 hasta 2011 (Nico Tassi, Carmen Medeiros, Antonio Rodríguez-Carmona, Giovana Ferrufino, “‘Hacer plata sin plata’: El desborde de los comerciantes populares en Bolivia”, La Paz: PIEB-Reino de los Países Bajos, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> Véase Stéphane Thévenet: “Les séries télévisées mondialisent la culture sud-coréenne”, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, París, mayo de 2013.

<sup>3</sup> “La movida del K-pop crece y estalla en un gran festival”, *La Razón*, La Paz, 20 de febrero de 2013.

<sup>4</sup> No incluimos aquí los procesos de expansión del evangelismo entre los indígenas, y las reconfiguraciones modernizantes de la comunidad propiciadas por los “hermanos”.

## Interim Report from the Program Chairs Chicago, 2014

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<sup>5</sup> Ver Pablo Stefanoni, “Algunas claves del conflicto del TIPNIS”, *Red Bolivia Mundo*, 2 de octubre de 2011, <http://www.boliviainmundo.net/algunas-claves-del-conflicto-del-tipnis/>.

<sup>6</sup> Jean Tible, “¿Una nueva clase media en Brasil? El lulismo como fenómeno político-social”, *Nueva Sociedad*, N° 243, enero–febrero de 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Ezequiel Adamovsky, “Clase media: reflexiones sobre los (malos) usos académicos de una categoría”, *Nueva Sociedad*, N° 247, septiembre–octubre de 2013.

<sup>8</sup> “Ministro anuncia viaje del Presidente a China para el lanzamiento del satélite Túpac Katari”, *La Razón*, La Paz, 27 de noviembre de 2013. ■

As we write this, LASA2014 is beginning to take shape. We have waded through a vast number of proposals and chosen the panels and workshops to be included in the program. We have put together a large number of additional events and sessions to highlight the theme of the Congress and draw attention to the cutting-edge work being done in the field. We have released the preliminary program and posted it on LASA’s website: <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/eng/congress/program.asp>.

LASA2014 will be held in the historic and elegant Palmer House Hilton in Chicago from May 21 to 24. The Palmer House is located in downtown Chicago and thus offers easy access to the city’s many attractions, including great restaurants, fabulous parks and museums, and the city’s Magnificent Mile shopping district. The city also boasts excellent air connections to Latin America and Europe as well as cities throughout the United States.

The theme of this year’s conference is “Democracy and Memory.” We encourage scholars to reflect on the legacy of authoritarian regimes and human rights violations in the region and what democracies have done to confront those legacies. LASA president Merilee Grindle created a number of panels that address this theme, and numerous LASA members have also submitted proposals focusing on this topic.

But LASA2014 will also address a tremendous variety of other topics. This year for the first time we asked all of the track chairs to create invited sessions to highlight some of the most exciting work being done in their fields. The track chairs responded to this request with great enthusiasm. The result is a fantastic array of panels, workshops, and roundtables that include prominent scholars addressing a

wide range of issues of importance to Latin American studies.

LASA’s track chairs also had the difficult task of evaluating the nearly 1,800 proposals we received this year, including 1,174 individual paper proposals and 622 session proposals. They carried out this task with great efficiency, and we used their evaluations to guide our decisions about which proposals to accept. The acceptance rate for session proposals has traditionally been higher than that of individual paper proposals (in part because of the difficulty of forging coherent panels from disparate paper proposals), and this year was no exception. We accepted approximately 80 percent of the individual paper proposals and 93 percent of the session proposals. To ensure equal treatment of the various fields and disciplines, we maintained the same acceptance rates across all of the different tracks.

Unfortunately, limits on space meant that we were unable to accept some worthy papers and panel proposals. Nevertheless, LASA remains one of the most inclusive congresses around, and we are proud of the program that we have helped assemble.

We would like to thank the LASA staff, the track chairs, and LASA president Merilee Grindle, for all of their help and hard work in putting together the Congress. Our greatest debt, however, is to the thousands of LASA members who came up with and submitted proposals on a vast variety of subjects. You are the ones who make LASA the truly great conference that it is. ■

**LASA2014 RESERVATION FORM**

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**FULL EXHIBIT SPACE (10' x 8')**

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## Cancellations

If an exhibitor is forced to withdraw from participation by January 15, 2014, all sums paid by the exhibitor less a \$350 service fee will be refunded. No refunds will be issued after January 15, 2014. Cancellations are not effective until received in writing by LASA. No refund will be made if an exhibitor fails to occupy the space. No refund on late or no arrival of materials.

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A minimum deposit of 50% of the total booth rental fee is required. Booths will not be assigned without the 50% deposit. Failure to remit payment for the booth rental by January 15, 2014 constitutes cancellation of the contract, and the space will be subject to resale without refund.

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**FILM FESTIVAL LASA2014**  
**XXXII INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION**  
*Democracy & Memory*

May 21 - 24, 2014 – Chicago, IL, USA

Claudia Ferman, Director

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

These films and videos will be screened free of charge in the LASA2014 Film Festival, and compete for the juried designation of LASA2014 Award of Merit in Film, which is given for "excellence in the visual presentation of educational and artistic materials on Latin America."

Films and videos released after January 2013 and those that premiere at the LASA Congress will be given special consideration, if they also meet the above criteria. LASA membership is not required to compete.

Films must be received **no earlier than November 1, 2013, and no later than February 1, 2014**. Selection will be announced by April 15, 2014. Entries constitute acceptance of the rules and regulations of the LASA Film Festival. Film screeners will not be returned and will be deposited in the festival archives.

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**LASA2014 FILM FESTIVAL SUBMISSION FORM**

Submissions for the Film Festival will be received **only from November 1, 2013 through February 1, 2014**.

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**Film title** (original title, and published translations) \_\_\_\_\_

**Director** \_\_\_\_\_

**Producer** \_\_\_\_\_

**Year of Release** \_\_\_\_\_

**Country** \_\_\_\_\_

**Running Time** \_\_\_\_\_

**Language/s** \_\_\_\_\_

**Subtitles** \_\_\_\_\_

**Original Format** \_\_\_\_\_

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

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**Email** \_\_\_\_\_

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**Your Name** \_\_\_\_\_

**Email** \_\_\_\_\_

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**To enter the competition for the LASA2014 Film Festival:**

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

**Claudia Ferman** / Director, LASA2014 Film Festival  
University of Richmond – 28 Westhampton Way – LAIS – CWIC 334 -- Richmond VA 23173 – USA  
Email: [cferman@richmond.edu](mailto:cferman@richmond.edu)

## CALLING ALL MEMBERS

## Elections 2013 Nominating Committee Slate

The LASA Nominating Committee presents the following slate of candidates: two candidates for vice president and six candidates for three open positions on the Executive Council (EC). The winning candidate for vice president will serve in that capacity from June 1, 2014, to May 31, 2015, and as president from June 1, 2015, to May 31, 2016. The three winning candidates for EC membership will serve a two-year term from June 1, 2014, to May 31, 2016.

### Nominees for Vice President

Gil Joseph  
*Yale University*

Nora Lustig  
*Tulane University*

### Nominees for Executive Council

Carmen Martinez Novo  
*FLACSO and University of Kentucky*

Alberto Moreiras  
*Texas A&M University*

Angela Paiva  
*Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro*

Gina Saraceni  
*Universidad Simón Bolívar (Venezuela)*

Jorge Vargas Cullell  
*Estado de la Nación, Costa Rica*

Chuck Walker  
*University of California, Davis*

### The Candidates

#### Gil Joseph

**Gilbert M. Joseph** received his PhD from Yale University in Latin American history in 1978. In 1993, after 15 years at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, he returned to Yale, where he is presently the Farnam Professor of History and International Studies. In 2005 he finished an 11-year term as director of Latin American Studies (Yale's Title VI Center). He has also been a visiting professor at Duke University, Florida International University, and the University of Connecticut.

Joseph's research and teaching interests focus on the history of Mexico and modern Latin America, revolutionary and social movements, and U.S.-Latin American relations. He is the author of *Revolution from Without: Yucatán, Mexico, and the United States, 1880-1924* (1982; rev. ed. 1988; trans. 1992); *Rediscovering the Past at Mexico's Periphery* (1986); (with Allen Wells) *Summer of Discontent, Seasons of Upheaval: Elite Politics and Rural Insurgency in Yucatán, 1876-1915* (1996; trans. 2011); and (with Jürgen Buchenau) *Mexico's Once and Future Revolution: Social Upheaval and the Challenge of Rule since the Late Nineteenth Century* (2013). He is working on a new book project, *Transnational Lives in the American Century*, and is the convenor of Yale's Latin American Cold War History project. The author of numerous articles on modern Mexico, social movements, rural crime and protest, and urban history, he is also the editor or coeditor of 13 books, including *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (1994; trans. 2002); *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural*

*History of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (1998); *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940* (2001); *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society since Late Colonial Times* (2001); *Reclaiming the Political in Latin American History* (2001); *In from the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War* (2008); *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence during Latin America's Long Cold War* (2010); and *Peripheral Visions: Politics, Society, and the Challenge of Modernity in Yucatán* (2010).

Joseph edited the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (with Stuart Schwartz) from 1997 to 2002 and has served on the editorial boards of journals in the United States, Mexico, Venezuela, and the UK. With Emily Rosenberg, he edits the series *American Encounters/Global Interactions* for Duke University Press (over 50 titles published). He sits on the Editorial Advisory Board of Oxford Bibliographies Online: Latin American Studies. He has advised on a PBS television series on the Mexican Revolution, served on the Latin American Regional Advisory Committee of the Social Science Research Council and the Twenty-First Century Committee of LASA, and is the former North American Chair of the Joint Organizing Committee of the Conference of Mexican, U.S., and Canadian Historians. Joseph has sat on screening and selection committees for SSRC, ACLS, and the Fulbright program. He was nominated for the presidency of the Conference on Latin American History (American Historical Association) and served as president of the New England Council on Latin American Studies.

Among Joseph's academic honors are the Sturgis Leavitt Prize (twice awarded for the best article on a Latin American subject); induction into the Academia Yucatanense

de Ciencias y Artes; the Tanner Award (for excellence in undergraduate teaching at UNC-CH); the inaugural Graduate Mentor Award from Yale University; and the Marshall Mentoring Award, bestowed by the Northeastern Association of Graduate Schools. He has directed 52 PhD students (44 at Yale and 8 at UNC). He has been awarded resident fellowships at the National Humanities Center, the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. His research has been supported by a multiyear NEH Interpretive Research Fellowship, and yearlong research grants from SSRC, Fulbright, and the OAS, among others.

During the 1980s, Joseph participated in several interfaith delegations to Nicaragua (one of which gave rise to Witness for Peace). He has directed the Mellon Fellowship Program in Latin American History at Yale and served on the advisory boards of the Roothbert Educational Fund, Yale's Center for Public Service and Social Justice, the New Haven/León Sister City Project, and Yale's Program in Agrarian Studies. He currently sits on the boards of Yale's Lamar Center for the Study of Frontiers and Borders, the Gilder-Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition, the Albert Schweitzer Institute for International Human Rights, and Just Foreign Policy.

#### *Joseph Statement*

I am deeply honored by the nomination to serve as vice president and president of LASA, and I would relish the opportunity to work closely with LASA's seasoned Secretariat and diverse and far-flung membership. Since my days as a grad student of Latin American history, LASA has been my principal affiliation; the *Latin*

*American Research Review* has been the outlet for my most widely disseminated essays; and Latin American studies has been at the very center of my efforts to build institutions, foment intellectual border crossings, and promote social justice. My participation on the Social Science Research Council's Latin American regional advisory board; my role in building and directing Yale's Title VI Center for 11 years; my experience in crafting cross-campus academic and social justice programs in the North Carolina Triangle and later in the Greater New York and New England areas; and my commitment over decades to create interdisciplinary hemispheric discursive communities through the editing of journals, anthologies, and a popular book series have all helped prepare me for the challenge of leading the world's largest and most robust area studies association as it approaches its 50th anniversary.

My intellectual and activist commitments have always focused on broad interdisciplinary problems (state and nation formation; social movements and forms of resistance and survival; the United States's multi-stranded involvement in Latin America; changing notions of "the political"); and my ideas have always been nurtured by colleagues in neighboring fields and disciplines, particularly political economists, anthropologists, and international relations and cultural studies scholars. My conferences and editing projects have similarly been international affairs, arranged in collaboration with Latin American and European universities, research institutes, and NGOs. These partnerships have enabled me to engage with colleagues across national borders, disciplines, and generations. For example, when LASA moved to create sections, I was one of the North American organizers of the hemispheric working group dedicated

to law and society. In 2000, I helped found the Latin American Cold War History Project (initially based at Yale and CIESAS-Mexico City), which has identified colleagues in the North and South (as well as in the former eastern bloc) who are wrestling with new ways of researching and narrating Latin America's cold and dirty wars and their legacies.

My leadership of LASA would be guided by this abiding commitment to cross borders, integrate knowledge and practice, and build community. Owing to the impressive efforts of LASA's recent officers and Secretariat, our association has never been in better financial shape nor embodied so well its goal of constituting a broad umbrella for scholars, professional practitioners, and activists working in and on the region. LASA's website and *Forum* serve as outlets for a wide range of discussions and debates that I would do my best to encourage and to move in new directions (I would hope to promote a deeper comparative discussion of immigration policy and reform, within the hemisphere and globally). Like my predecessors I would seek ways to encourage the free flow of ideas and fund the participation of younger Latin American scholars in our sections and at annual Congresses. I would also endeavor to incorporate members of less-represented fields (e.g., music, visual culture, and archaeology) and nonacademics into our discussions and events. I would feature more plenary sessions at our Congresses that bring state leaders, journalists, and activists into dialogue with scholars. Over the course of the past year I have visited the meetings of the Middle Eastern Studies Association and the American Studies Association to inform my broader goal of encouraging LASA to contribute to a cross-fertilization of area studies approaches. My presidency would give

special attention to the 2016 Congress in New York (my own base of operations), which will mark LASA's 50th anniversary. As a historian I would promote a conference theme that would facilitate an assessment of the evolution of Latin American studies over the past half-century, paying special attention to how the locus of the field has changed in terms of transnational actors and flows, and the shaping of new identities. At the same time, this watershed meeting should also explore the challenges of creating a more participatory, diverse, and socially just future for the region and its interlocutors.

#### Nora Lustig

Nora Lustig is the Samuel Z. Stone Professor of Latin American Economics at Tulane University, where she holds a joint appointment in the Department of Economics and the Stone Center for Latin American Studies. She is also an associate of Tulane's Center for Inter-American Policy and Research.

Her research has focused on inequality, poverty, and social policy in Latin America and on Mexico's economic development. She has published more than 70 articles and 15 books and edited volumes. A sample of her most recent publications include "The Impact of Taxes and Social Spending on Inequality and Poverty in Latin America: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay," a coauthored introduction to a special issue of *Public Finance Review* (2014); "Latin America's Inequality Success Story: The Case of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico," *Current History* (2013); "Multidimensional Indices of Achievements and Poverty: What Do We Gain and What Do We Lose?" *Journal of Economic Inequality* (2011); and *Declining Inequality in Latin America: A Decade of*

*Progress?* (coeditor and chapter author, 2010). Lustig was codirector and lead author of the World Bank's 2000/1 World Development Report *Attacking Poverty*, and lead author of the report of the Mexican Commission on Macroeconomics and Health. Currently, she directs the Commitment to Equity, a joint initiative of Tulane University and the Inter-American Dialogue focused on assessing the impact of social spending and taxation on inequality and poverty.

Her book *Mexico: The Remaking of an Economy* (1992, 1998) was selected by *Choice: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* as an Outstanding Academic Book. She has been a member of the Mexican Academy of Sciences since 1987 and, while living in Mexico, she was a member of the National Researchers' System at the highest level. At Tulane, Lustig received the School of Liberal Arts Outstanding Research Award (2012) and the Simon Rodriguez Award for undergraduate teaching in Latin American Economics (2010).

She was president of the Latin American and Caribbean Economic Association (LACEA) and is currently a member of its Executive Committee. She has served on LASA's Program Committee twice as well as on the Premio Iberoamericano Committee and the Mexico Prize Committee for evaluating the best PhD dissertation on Mexico. She is editor of the *Journal of Economic Inequality's* Forum and coeditor of *Vox-LACEA*, and serves on the editorial boards of *Feminist Economics*, *Fondo de Cultura Económica*, and *Latin American Research Review*. She has also served on numerous selection committees and has been a peer reviewer for leading academic journals.

Lustig is a member and nonresident senior fellow of the Inter-American Dialogue, where she codirects the Latin American Economies Roundtable. She is also a nonresident senior fellow at the Center for Global Development. Recently, she joined the High-Level Expert Group of the Stiglitz et al. Commission on Measuring Economic Performance and Social Progress. Lustig is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Institute of Development Studies and of the Global Development Network as well as of the advisory boards of the Center for Global Development and Columbia University's Earth Institute. She serves on the Executive Council of the Society for the Study of Economic Inequality, and the advisory committees for the United Nations Development Programme's Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean and the Human Development Report 2012–2013.

Nora Lustig received her PhD in economics from the University of California, Berkeley. She was born and raised in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and has lived for extended periods in Mexico and the United States, where she now resides. Prior to joining Tulane, Lustig was Shapiro Visiting Professor of International Affairs at George Washington University; director of the Poverty Group at UNDP; president and professor of economics at Universidad de las Américas, Puebla, Mexico, where she oversaw its reaccreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS); senior advisor and chief of the Poverty and Inequality Unit at the Inter-American Development Bank; senior fellow at the Foreign Policy Studies Program of the Brookings Institution; and professor of economics at El Colegio de México. In addition, she has been a visiting scholar at MIT, the University of California, Berkeley, and the Indian Statistical Institute.



### *Lustig Statement*

Thanks to the unwavering commitment, creativity, and dedication of its leadership and membership, LASA is a strong and thriving organization. It is strong because of its professionalism, diversity, inclusiveness, and civic engagement. If elected president, I would ensure that all of its strengths are sustained and enhanced. In particular, I would place emphasis on the goals of diversity and inclusiveness. Through an assessment of the composition of LASA's membership and participation in the annual Congress as well as an online survey, I would investigate where the remaining obstacles to inclusiveness persist and work toward eliminating them. In addition, I would reach out to underrepresented disciplines such as economics and the life sciences and create spaces that attract leading scholars in those fields. For example, I would revitalize the links with the Latin American and Caribbean Economic Association (LACEA), which have been dormant for many years, and seek ties with the newly created Red de Economía Política de América Latina (REPAL). In addition, I would seek advice from the membership and beyond on other organizations and individuals with which to connect. I would also place emphasis on increasing LASA's global reach. One place to start would be to engage with the Global Development Network, an organization that shares LASA's commitment to inclusiveness and multidisciplinary. This and many other international and nongovernmental organizations as well as individuals in the scholarly and policy community would be delighted to be able to tap the plethora of intellectual, grassroots, and practical resources available in and through LASA. Lately, I have become convinced that experiences and knowledge from Latin America—from both its successes and failures—represent a

tremendous resource for the rest of the world, and that this resource has remained largely unexploited. Latin America's experience with authoritarianism and democratization could be valuable to the countries in North Africa and the Middle East, for example. The benefits and limitations of innovative social policies such as Bolsa Família in Brazil and Oportunidades in Mexico can yield important policy lessons for African and Asian countries. After decades of recurrent economic crises, many Latin American countries have learned to better manage economic volatility and adverse shocks, and this knowledge could be valuable for the so-called European periphery and countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The fight against corruption, drug trafficking, and organized crime as well as the management of natural disasters and environmental policies can greatly benefit from global cooperation and exchange. These are just some examples. Interdisciplinarity is essential to finding solutions to most of the world's plights. All too frequently, policy solutions to the global challenges have been U.S.-centric and driven by security and military concerns, where a more balanced transnational or plurinational approach is necessary. Latin America can play a leadership role in advancing this shift in approach and LASA could be a great facilitator and promoter of this transformation. If elected president, I would work with the leadership and membership of LASA to seek ways in which Latin Americanists and Latin American scholars and practitioners—from all disciplines—can share their knowledge and experiences where it can make a difference, not just within the region, but also in other parts of the world.

### **Carmen Martínez Novo**

Carmen Martínez Novo holds a PhD from the New School for Social Research, New York, and is director of the Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies Program and associate professor of anthropology at the University of Kentucky. Before that, she was a professor and researcher for eight years (2003–2011) at the Latin American Faculty for the Social Sciences (FLACSO) in Quito, Ecuador, where she chaired the Anthropology Department in the year 2007–2008. With colleagues from the department, she started a program in visual anthropology that has been successful and continues to this day. She is the author of *Who Defines Indigenous? Identities, Development, Intellectuals, and the State in Northern Mexico* (2006) and editor of *Repensando los movimientos indígenas* (2009) as well as numerous journal articles and book chapters on indigenous identities, *indigenismo*, racism, and paternalism in Mexico and Ecuador. She is currently working on a book manuscript on contemporary forms of *indigenismo* in Ecuador. Her areas of interest are indigenous and indigenista politics, political economy, anthropology of the state, and anthropology of elites. She has been visiting professor in the Latin American Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins University (2008–2009); a John R. Heath Visiting Professor at the International Studies Center, Grinnell College (fall 2010); and visiting professor at Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Universidad Iberoamericana de México, and Lleida University in Spain (2009, 2010, 2011). She has received predoctoral and postdoctoral grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the MacArthur Foundation, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, among others.

Martínez Novo has been chair of the Ecuadorian Studies Section of the Latin American Studies Association (2009–2011), a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* since 2009 (renewed in 2013), and a member of the advisory board of the International Association of Inter-American Studies (2009–present), located at the University of Bielefeld in Germany. In regard to teaching, Martínez Novo has been committed to her graduate and undergraduate students, including a good number of indigenous graduate students whose master's and PhD theses she directed at FLACSO. Her students have conducted and published research on racism in elite schools and in the judicial system, the crisis of the indigenous movement in Ecuador, the political economy of periurban indigenous communities, the spirituality of the Ecuadorian middle class, and *interculturalidad* in higher education in Latin America, among other topics. She speaks Spanish, English, and some Ecuadorian Kichwa (a dialect of Quechua), a language she studied intensively for three years and has continued to practice.

#### *Martínez Novo Statement*

My varied experiences have allowed me to become acquainted with, and to embrace, several scholarly traditions and world academic contexts. I studied for my undergraduate degree in Spain and for my graduate degrees in the United States. I have taught in Ecuador for many years, as well as in other Latin American countries, the United States, and Spain. During my dissertation fieldwork, I was affiliated with Colegio de la Frontera Norte in Tijuana, Mexico (1996–1997). I have collaborated with Latin American, North American, Spanish, German, and British scholars. More recently, I have become involved in a project with Latin Americanists teaching at

the University of Sydney, Australia. These experiences uniquely position me to support a task that LASA has conducted successfully so far: the encouragement of greater membership affiliation and meeting participation from outside of the United States, and particularly from Latin America. LASA's efforts to include world and subaltern epistemologies and methodologies have resulted in rich exchanges and debates, and I feel that this task must continue. This is particularly important at a moment when interest in Latin America is growing in other parts of the world, such as Asia and Australia, as discussed at the editorial board meeting of the *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*.

I believe that the main role of scholarship is to critically analyze reality. Critical scholarship certainly contributes to adequate policy making and engaged social work. However, I also believe that scholars and scholarly associations should resist the seductions of political power. If elected to the LASA Executive Council, I will support scholarship that is politically engaged but also keeps enough distance from political power so that Latin Americanist intellectual endeavors remain analytical and independent.

I have been committed to diversity, inclusion, and social justice both in my research efforts and at the different academic settings in which I have worked. My research has explored racist and particularly subtle paternalist ideologies and practices in order to challenge inequality and injustice in Latin America. I have attempted to meet this goal by “studying up” on those who hold power and influence in society, while also working and collaborating with subaltern sectors and social movements. At FLACSO, I contributed to a master's program for

indigenous students and supported, with other FLACSO colleagues, indigenous and Afro-Latin American graduate students. When I was chair of the Anthropology Department, I hired one of the first Ecuadorian indigenous professors to teach at FLACSO. At the University of Kentucky I am also committed to increasing diversity among professors and students, supporting minority students, and promoting greater understanding and desire for diversity and inclusion among mainstream students. If elected to the Executive Council, I plan to continue institutional efforts to encourage diversity among members and conference presenters. I will also support efforts to bring more indigenous and Afro-Latin academics to our Congresses.

Finally, I will advocate that membership and meeting registration fees remain as affordable as possible for scholars coming from Latin America, untenured professors, and students. This has already been promoted by LASA officials through differential rates for Latin American participants and students, and through LASA grants to bring Latin American, indigenous, and Afro-Latin American academics to meetings. I believe that these crucial efforts should continue. To sum up, I have been a member of LASA since I was a graduate student and would be very happy to continue working for its institutional betterment and vitality.

#### **Alberto Moreiras**

Alberto Moreiras is professor of Hispanic studies at Texas A&M University, where he has had an appointment since 2010. Before that he was the Sixth Century Chair in Modern Thought and Hispanic Studies at the University of Aberdeen in Scotland (2006–2010), the Anne T. and Robert M. Bass Professor of Romance Studies and

Literature at Duke University, where he taught from 1992 to 2006, and an assistant professor of Spanish at the University of Wisconsin–Madison (1987–92). At Duke Moreira directed a program in Latin American Cultural Studies, the Center for European Studies, and an Interdisciplinary Seminar in Race in the Americas; in Aberdeen, he directed the program Literature in the World Context. He has been a visiting professor at Emory University, Giessen University in Germany, Johns Hopkins University, Federal University of Minas Gerais in Brazil, University of Chile, and University of Buffalo.

Moreira's work focuses on contemporary political thought, Latin American cultural history, and subaltern studies. He has published over 110 essays, and his books include *Interpretación y diferencia* (1992); *Tercer espacio: Literatura y duelo en América Latina* (1999), *The Exhaustion of Difference: The Politics of Latin American Cultural Studies* (2001); *Pensar en la postdictadura* (2001), coedited with Nelly Richard; and *Línea de sombra: El no sujeto de lo político* (2007). He has also published about ten edited monographic collections of essays in journals or multivolume works and is currently preparing two more, one of them on the work of Álvaro García Linera. His work in progress includes three forthcoming books, provisionally entitled “Y tan alta vida espero: Fragmentos de innovela,” “Piel de lobo: Essays on Posthegemony and Infrapolitics,” and a collection of previously published writings on Latin American cultural history. A small book on the Spanish liberal Antonio Alcalá Galiano will be published in 2014. He is also working with Federico Galende on a jointly authored monograph, “The Ends of Democracy: Perspectives on Italian Thought.” He is coeditor of the Latin

American section of a multivolume “Encyclopedia of Postcolonial Studies” to be published by Wiley Blackwell in 2015.

Moreira has been involved over the years in the creation of three journals, namely *Nepantla: Views from South*, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, and *Política común*. He is coeditor of the last two. He is also coeditor of *Res publica: Revista de pensamiento político*, and coeditor of a new University of Texas Press book series entitled “Border Hispanisms.” He created and runs the Facebook group *Crítica y Teoría*, which has over six hundred members, and is a founder of the Texas Research Group on Luso-Hispanic, Caribbean, and Latino/a Thought. He is or has been a member of the editorial boards of an additional 20 publishing ventures, from *Diacritics* and *Cultural Studies* to *Traces* and *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*. He is a frequent reader of manuscripts for five major U.S. academic presses and routinely reads essays for a dozen journals beyond the ones already mentioned.

Moreira is proud of having signed over 25 dissertations as director and an additional 25 as committee member. Mentoring is part of his professional self-understanding and explains his commitment to the organization of working groups, workshops, and other professional activities. Recently he has organized or co-organized and conducted working groups on “Psychoanalysis and Terror,” “Contemporary Life Philosophies,” “Latin American Democracies,” and “Hegel and Critical Theory,” and international workshops on “Democracy in the Andes: The Work of Álvaro García Linera,” “Posthegemonía: El final de un paradigma teórico-político,” “Contemporary Central American Writing,” “Iberian Postcolonialities,” “Marrano Perspectives on Empire and Democracy,” and

“Modalities of Imperial Reason.” He is an active member of the field in other relevant ways—he has given almost two hundred papers over the years. And he has never taught the same course twice.

#### Moreira Statement

At a time of unprecedented questioning of the importance and role of the humanities for contemporary reflection, and not just for education, institutions such as LASA become even more crucial. The interaction between the humanities and the social sciences in the field of Latin American studies, which LASA pioneered, has a still untapped potential that is not to be found solely in the promotion of interdisciplinary studies but perhaps first in the deepening of reflection on the substantiality of the divisions that exist—themselves the result of a long history. It is in the wake of discussions concerning the specificity of the different fields that a new kind of conversation on interdisciplinarity could start. I see the latter as decisive for the future of Latin American studies as a whole, if done in the right way. On the humanities side we would not want to smother all internal differences for the sake of some sort of a unified discourse on culture, or on politics, or on political economy. And we cannot give up on the specificity of social scientific claims, which must remain separate from the sort of ideological momentum that the humanities display even at their best. If literary or visual or cultural studies are to illuminate our understanding of the Latin American present or future, they cannot do it properly on their own, or by subsuming social knowledge that they cannot themselves produce. Alternatively, exposure to the social and historical strata that the arts and humanities try to explore can provide a self-reflective critique that will help the social sciences to make a new

contribution to the self-understanding of the Latin American peoples.

As an argument for the continued support of basic research in the humanities, it is not just a matter of reopening the issue of symbolic production (in literature, media, art, criticism, and public discourse in general) and its impact on the social or the economic. We need to explore the connections between symbolic production and political mobilization in the same way we need to explore the conditions under which symbolic production should be preserved from an undue contamination by political mobilization. Social science can help the humanities reestablish their ostensible legitimacy, at the same time helping themselves to go beyond policy designs, if we create or re-create the institutional conditions for the kind of thought that can contemplate division and commonality, heterogeneity in goals as much as planes of alliance and parallel objectives. Not enough attention has been paid to these issues over the last generation or so. The ongoing weakening of the area studies paradigm needs to be compensated by sustained reflection on its new historical figure, as yet nameless. Supporting it would be my task.

Launching a conversation regarding the new and necessary phase of the organization of knowledge post-area studies is an imperative for our organization. It will have momentous implications at all levels of professional and academic life. At issue is not just the reproduction in the university of knowledge on Latin America but potentially new forms of knowledge production whose foundation on radical shifts in the political economy of the world is yet obscure and inchoate, but real. We are witnessing not just a realignment of political and social elites in the

subhemisphere but a veritable pressure from below in a situation of epochal crisis in social and political legitimacy. It is incumbent on LASA to reflect on the conditions for the emergence of new legitimacies that may be rising in plain sight but which will demand adequate critical attention for a long time to come.

#### Angela Randolph Paiva

Angela Randolph Paiva is associate professor of sociology at Pontifical Catholic University in Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), where she teaches in the graduate program in the Department of Social Sciences. She holds a PhD in sociology from Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, 1999 (IUPERJ), a master's degree in sociology (IUPERJ, 1995), and a master's degree in education (University of Connecticut, 1978). In 1997 she was a visiting researcher at Stanford University, where she investigated the civil rights movement and the American emancipation process to complete her dissertation. Her PhD thesis, a comparison of religious values in the social construction of citizenship in the United States and Brazil, won the IUPERJ prize for best thesis in 2000. She was also a student at FLACSO in Santiago, Chile, in 1984 in a graduate program for young researchers.

In 2012 she completed postdoctoral studies at the University of Campinas in the School of Education, where she was able to intensify her analysis of the implementation of affirmative action in Brazilian public universities and the impact of recent public policies in changing access to higher education in Brazil.

She has done extensive research in the social construction of citizenship and inequality in Brazil. She also has developed

research projects on social movements and participation in the public sphere, including aspects of the role of religion in political mobilization, inequality in the educational system, race relations, and youth and affirmative action in higher education. The axis of all such analyses is Brazilian inequality. She has coordinated research on racial discrimination, schools in the slums of Rio, youth and citizenship, and affirmative action in higher education, sponsored by the Ford Foundation, FAPERJ, and FINEP, respectively. These projects have resulted in several publications and have been presented in multiple seminars.

In 2003 she was one of the founders of NIREMA (Interdisciplinary Center for Afro-descendent Studies at PUC-Rio) and was its first coordinator from 2003 until 2007, organizing several seminars, forums, and lectures about Brazilian race relations. She was head of the Department of Social Sciences at PUC-Rio from 2007 to 2011, when the graduate program was being reformulated, and she enlarged its staff with three senior professors. Since 2010 she has been the director of the Fulbright Distinguished Chair and has hosted several American scholars in her department in political science (John Portz, David Samuels, and Sandy Maisel), anthropology (Suzanne Oboler), and sociology (John Stanfield). She has coordinated projects of international cooperation, one under the auspices of FIPSE/CAPES with the Universities of North Carolina at Charlotte and Winston-Salem, and another with the University of Johannesburg in South Africa, funded by CAPES. She leads a CNPq research group, Grupo de Estudos Direitos, Reconhecimento e Desigualdade (rights, recognition, and inequality) with other professors, graduate students, and undergraduates.

She has been a member of several commissions at PUC-Rio, including the University Council, and serves on the executive council of ANPOCS, Brazil's main social science association. She has also taken part in several international meetings organized by LASA and the International Sociological Association (ISA), and the Brazilian associations ANPOCS and the Sociedade Brasileira de Sociologia.

#### *Paiva Statement*

When I was asked if I accepted to be a candidate for LASA executive council, I felt a strong commitment to say yes for the reasons I list below.

As a Brazilian professor and a professor in the social sciences, I would seek to strengthen academic dialogues among scholars of other universities in Brazil, always looking for the interdisciplinary approach that pressing social problems now require. I believe that the analysis of social and cultural issues present in our globalized world demand interdisciplinary dialogues in the humanities, encompassing history, geography, education, law, international relations, and communication, among other fields.

As a member of the executive council of ANPOCS, I am in constant academic interaction with scholars from different parts of the country, which could enhance future plans for more involvement of Brazilian researchers and professors in LASA activities. I have established academic dialogues with professors in different fields, since my projects have always had a comparative approach and an interdisciplinary perspective that require constant interaction with history, law, and international relations in addition to the social science fields of anthropology,

sociology, and political science. I believe that a closer interdisciplinary approach is the natural trend for humanities in the near future.

This belief is reflected in my directorship of the Fulbright Distinguished Chair at PUC-Rio. The Chair is one of the opportunities for PUC to receive American scholars, and I have been fortunate to host several prestigious professors from different fields and universities.

I am convinced that an association such as LASA needs to reflect continually on future actions, and I am willing to contribute to such an enterprise. In order to face the constant challenges that Latin America in general and Brazil in particular bring to the fore, as new cultural and political arrangements are conceived, there is a strong need to tackle persistent problems of all sorts concerning inequality, migration, political representation, and social participation in the social scenarios of most of the countries. All these social and cultural issues require close attention in order to make LASA the forum it has always been—a space that supports academic thought and research collaboration among its affiliates.

My commitment to future involvement in LASA's Executive Council will go in the direction mentioned above. I am enthusiastic about the prospect of new responsibilities in an organization that has built its prestige through the serious work and commitment of such a variety of scholars. I am most strongly motivated to contribute to making the humanities a priority, in order to foster LASA's role in making the world a better place to live as well as better understood.

#### **Gina Saraceni**

Gina Saraceni is a member of the faculty of the Departamento de Lengua y Literatura, Universidad Simón Bolívar, Venezuela. [No statement is available.]

#### **Jorge Vargas Cullell**

I am a scholar, intellectual entrepreneur, and public intellectual with a background in public management and policy making. As a scholar, my areas of research are the quality of democracy and citizen support for democracy, and my area of expertise is Central America. My research on the quality of democracy began with a citizen audit in Costa Rica (*Auditoría ciudadana sobre la calidad de la democracia*, 2001). I later followed this line of inquiry in a book coedited with Guillermo O'Donnell and Osvaldo Iazzetta (*Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications*, 2004) and in several articles. My research on citizen support of democracy includes my PhD dissertation and management of survey analysis for the United Nations Development Programme's 2004 *Report on Democracy in Latin America*. Since 2003 I have collaborated with the University of Vanderbilt's Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) in the planning and implementation of surveys; I cowrote the 2004 and 2006 reports for Costa Rica (*La cultura política de la democracia en Costa Rica*, 2004, 2006). As a scholar I gladly collaborate with other scholars such as the Varieties of Democracies Project of the Kellogg Institute of the University of Notre Dame.

I also consider myself an intellectual entrepreneur, someone capable of generating and implementing new ideas that influence research agendas. As head of a research institution (Programa Estado de



la Nación), I have personally been involved in promoting new research topics and implementing databases, for example, on public institutions in eight Latin American countries, social protests in Costa Rica (1994–2013) and in Central American countries (2009–2012), enforcement of rulings of the Costa Rican Constitutional Tribunal (with Jeffrey Staton from Emory University), and tax exemptions in Costa Rica (1953–2013).

Publishing the “State of the Nation” reports requires building up and managing interdisciplinary research networks. In each of the 19 annual reports, 30 to 50 researchers assess Costa Rica’s developmental performance. Between 60 and 110 researchers participated in each of the four Central American reports. I oversaw the preparation of four reports on the state of education commissioned by the president of Costa Rica. All of these publications are highly influential in Costa Rica and/or Central America. With exposure come new risks, which one minimizes with quality controls and institutional networking. This is one of my everyday tasks. My job is to find ways to make sound and innovative research relevant for public deliberation and policy making.

I consider myself a public intellectual, someone who takes part in public deliberation and wields influence over public opinion. Since 2006, I have been a weekly columnist for Costa Rica’s leading daily newspaper, *La Nación*. I am frequently interviewed by national and/or international media, personnel from embassies and foreign governments, and Costa Rican public officials. I focus on issues substantiated by personal research and/or research undertaken by the Programa Estado de la Nación, avoiding

the traps of “over the counter” opinions on unfolding events.

Finally, I would like to mention my background as a consultant in public policy issues and my nowadays rather distant experience as public manager. In the 1990s I worked for SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency), U.S. Agency for International Development, and Inter-American Development Bank designing and/or evaluating social policies in Latin American countries. This experience stemmed from my stint as Costa Rica’s first director of the Housing Subsidy Fund at the National Mortgage Bank (1987–1990). At that time, our experience was well regarded internationally. Although I abandoned this line of work long ago, it deeply influenced my inclination toward devising ways to connect abstract ideas with concrete needs.

#### *Vargas Cullell Statement*

If elected a member of the Executive Council of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) I will work hard to strengthen dialogue and cooperation among Latin Americanists from all disciplines.

One of my ranking interests is to improve the participation of Central American scholars in LASA. As a Central American, I am acutely aware that our region lags far behind in the scholarly development of the social sciences and humanities disciplines and will greatly benefit from forging new and closer ties to LASA. Undoubtedly, LASA currently offers scores of opportunities for academic exchanges and information. Nonetheless, I believe that teamwork at the Executive Council can help us devise new ways of expanding Central Americans’ access to and participation in LASA events.

I certainly think LASA must remain as open as ever to all disciplines and theoretical and methodological schools of thought. Naturally, I have my own particular preferences and rather long history of involvement in public deliberation and policy making. Nonetheless, I have always considered LASA to be a “big tent” that brings home scholars of all perspectives. I strongly believe that no one should be excluded from LASA based on their viewpoints, nor should anyone be placed at any sort of disadvantage. LASA should be equally open to all schools of thought, without committing itself to, or favoring, any particular viewpoint except the core values on which it was founded decades ago. This is something I sincerely believe.

I will pay special attention to expanding and/or maximizing opportunities for promising young Latin American scholars, particularly those who do not have the means to study in leading U.S., Canadian, or Latin American universities. Scholarships, grants, and/or internships are never enough to meet the needs of the ever-expanding demand for graduate studies. I am convinced LASA can reach out to these aspiring scholars by enabling short-term exchanges and visits by leading scholars to second- and third-tier Latin American universities, among other possibilities.

I hope that my mixed background (as scholar, intellectual entrepreneur, and publicly recognized intellectual) may contribute a distinctive voice for devising ways to expand the breadth and scope of exchanges between LASA members and social and political leaders within the region. At a time when several Latin American nations are at a crossroads, dialogue between academia, policy makers, and civil society regarding a wide and

eclectic range of issues such as inequality, the business climate, the rights of indigenous populations, democratization, or the rule of law may help forge new approaches to pressing Latin American developmental concerns.

#### Charles F. Walker

Charles Walker is professor of history and director of the Hemispheric Institute on the Americas at the University of California, Davis. He studied Latin American studies at UC Berkeley (BA) and Stanford University (MA) and has a PhD in History from the University of Chicago. He lived a year in high school in Tucumán, Argentina, and spent a year as an undergraduate at Universidad Católica, Peru. He has lived in Peru for a total of ten years. He has been associated with Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas in Cuzco since 1988 and has taught at the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cuzco.

His books include *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780–1840* (*De Túpac Amaru a Gamarra: Cuzco y la creación del Perú republicano*); *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and Its Long Aftermath* (*Colonialismo en ruínas: Lima frente al terremoto y tsunami de 1746*); and, forthcoming in April 2014 from Harvard University Press, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*. He has also coedited several volumes in Peru, including a compilation of his essays, *Diálogos con el Perú*, and edited and translated, with Carlos Aguirre and Willie Hiatt, Alberto Flores Galindo's *Buscando un Inca/In Search of an Inca* (2010). He has held fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, University of California President's Fellowship in the Humanities, American Council of Learned Societies,

Social Science Research Council, the American Philosophical Society, the Tinker Foundation, and the MacArthur Foundation. He lived in Seville for 18 months and has conducted research throughout Peru.

As director of the Hemispheric Institute he has created interdisciplinary programs and incorporated students and community members into the Institute's multiple activities. He has developed short-term faculty exchanges in Chile, Argentina (forthcoming), and Peru. He has won two teaching prizes at UC Davis.

He has been active in LASA, serving on the 2009–2010 Nominations Committee, participating in more than ten International Congresses, and writing on the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission for *LASA Forum*. His article "When Fear Rather than Reason Dominates: Priests Behind the Lines in the Tupac Amaru Rebellion (1780–1783)" won the José María Arguedas Prize from the Peru Section in LASA2013. He serves on editorial boards in Chile, Peru, Spain, and the United States, and is the Andes editor for the Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History. His research interests include social movements, natural disasters, environmental history, truth commissions, and sports and empire.

#### Walker Statement

Latin American studies has always defined my work, and LASA has been the professional organization closest to my heart. I was part of one of the first *promociones* to receive a BA in Latin American studies at UC Berkeley and then moved across the bay to the MA program in Latin American studies at Stanford University. As a graduate student in history at the University of Chicago I worked

closely with the Center for Latin American Studies there. In 2013 I enjoyed organizing with Professor Emilio Kouri and the Center at the University of Chicago a two-day conference celebrating the life and work of Friedrich Katz.

I have been fortunate to be a part of a thoughtful and innovative Latin Americanist community at Davis. When I arrived 20 years ago, Charlie Hale, Carol Smith, and Stefano Varese had overseen the creation of the Hemispheric Institute on the Americas, defining in the title its transnational and hemispheric nature. Graduate students participated actively. Tom Holloway, former LASA President, helped transform it into a larger center. As director for the last six years, I've been able to continue their vision. We serve all of the campus—including the often-overlooked undergraduates, staff, and the local community—and work throughout Latin America. We have collaborated with departments across campus and hosted the first all-California meeting of Latin American Studies Centers in 2011. We have initiated thriving short-term faculty exchange programs in Chile and Peru (with one forthcoming in Argentina) and have sponsored a wide spectrum of events. With internal funds and support from the Tinker Foundation, the Hemispheric Institute has supported nearly 100 graduate students for summer research in the Americas.

I am particularly excited about a conference that the Hemispheric Institute has co-organized with Professors Claudio Barrientos and Cristián Castro García to be held at the Universidad Diego Portales (Chile), titled "Rethinking Latin American Studies" (Santiago, August 2014). We have confirmed participation from 15 scholars from eight countries and plan to hold a follow-up meeting at the San Juan LASA meetings in 2015. The conference will

## LASA'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY

## Kalman Silvert and LASA's 50th Anniversary

by MARTIN WEINSTEIN | Professor Emeritus, William Paterson University | [weinsteinm@wpunj.edu](mailto:weinsteinm@wpunj.edu)

examine the concept of Latin American studies in the context of the (slow) decline of the Cold War, particularly its current relevance in Latin America itself.

In my own work, I have managed to maintain strong ties in Peru, Spain, Mexico, and elsewhere. I have published widely in Peru and I collaborate with students, scholars, journals, and NGOs throughout Latin America. I can't imagine working in any other way.

This is my vision for LASA—a multidisciplinary, transnational focus that brings together not only different disciplines and perspectives but also serves as a forum for scholars, activists, and professionals interested in Latin America. I have wholly supported the efforts to incorporate more participants from Latin America and the Caribbean and to hold conferences outside of the United States (Rio 2009 was a delight). I also support efforts to include Cuba. I was in Havana in February 2013, rebuilding UC Davis's exchange program with Casa de las Américas and la Universidad de La Habana. I believe that LASA is moving in the right direction and I hope to have the opportunity to deepen my collaboration. ■

The 50th anniversary of LASA is an appropriate time to recall Kalman Silvert's extraordinary life and contributions to Latin American studies. Silvert served as LASA's first president; was the program advisor for the social sciences in Latin America at the Ford Foundation from 1967 until his untimely death in 1976; and was teacher, mentor, and institution builder at universities in the United States and 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.

Abe Lowenthal and I have been coordinating a project on Kal's many roles and contributions. We invite you to read the following essays by Julio Cotler and Tommie Sue Montgomery concerning Kalman Silvert and the influence he had on them both personally and professionally. If the spirit moves you, send some thoughts or reminiscences of your own to the email above. All of the material will be published on the LASA website in the 50th year. ■

## Kalman Silvert, amigo y compañero de ruta

por JULIO COTLER | Instituto de Estudios Peruanos | jcotler@iep.org.pe

A pesar de que mi relación con Kalman Silvert se forjó a través de esporádicos y distanciados encuentros, logramos establecer una relación de confianza que dio cabida a un valioso intercambio intelectual que contribuyó a orientar mi actividad académica y, más importante, a fijar mi adhesión a los postulados democráticos.

Mi primer encuentro con Kalman Silvert fue en Caracas. Al poco tiempo de haber culminado mis estudios en Francia, me incorporé al Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo, CENDES, de la Universidad Central de Venezuela, cuyo propósito era (es) estudiar las condiciones del subdesarrollo de Venezuela y de los países latinoamericanos, y elaborar propuestas originales para remontar esta situación, en circunstancias que la épica de la Revolución Cubana competía con la fría imagen tecnocrática de la Alianza para el Progreso.

Esos propósitos propiciaron que CENDES invitara a distinguidos académicos de distintas disciplinas, provenientes de Estados Unidos, Europa y América Latina, para que presentaran sus puntos de vista sobre dichas cuestiones. Entre ellos, Kalman Silvert y Frank Bonilla, con la experiencia adquirida con los trabajos que habían realizado para el American Universities Field Staff, expusieron con conocimiento de causa los complejos problemas de la región que Silvert incorporó en *The Conflict Society: Reaction and Revolution in Latin America* (1961) y en *Expectant Peoples: Nationalism and Development* (1963). En la introducción de este último libro y en el capítulo que escribió sobre Argentina, Kalman recogía y renovaba la concepción sobre el nacionalismo, al tiempo que las contribuciones de diversos autores, como el de Richard Patch sobre la revolución

boliviana y el de Frank Bonilla acerca de la ideología nacionalista en Brasil abrían nuevas pistas de investigación.

Pero la presentación del estudio que Kalman Silvert y Frank Bonilla estaban desarrollando sobre educación y nacionalismo despertó un especial interés en el plantel docente, lo que influyó para que la dirección de CENDES invitara a Frank a desarrollar un plan de investigaciones, al tiempo que continuaba colaborando con Kalman Silvert, quien combinaba la actividad académica con la consultoría en la Fundación Ford.

A partir de entonces, en los encuentros que tuvimos en diferentes lugares compartimos la preocupación por los problemas de la región, especialmente la incidencia de la guerra fría en el desarrollo de ideologías y de comportamientos políticos anti-democráticos. La exposición de esta posición y la cerrada defensa de la democracia liberal en diversos escenarios fue motivo para que intelectuales latinoamericanos de izquierda criticaran duramente a Kalman, aduciendo que la defensa de los valores burgueses propios de ese régimen contrariaba la posibilidad de fundar una democracia auténtica, directa. (Años más tarde, las dictaduras militares inducirían a muchos de ellos a retractarse).

Después de Caracas, recuerdo que el siguiente encuentro con Kalman Silvert fue en Lima, en circunstancias que el Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, al que me había incorporado después de cinco años en el CENDES, en Caracas y Cambridge, atravesaba por una seria crisis que hacía peligrar su existencia. Esto era así porque los directivos de la institución tomaron posiciones antagónicas con relación a las reformas decretadas por los militares; debido a que el gobierno cortó la subvención oficial porque nos negamos a

convertir al instituto en vocero intelectual del régimen; y por las amenazas provenientes de personajes oficiales, a raíz de las críticas al hecho que las reformas se ejecutaban aplicando métodos autoritarios, motivo para afirmar que el gobierno de las fuerzas armadas pretendía “democratizar la sociedad por la vía autoritaria” (como hoy, los gobiernos del Alba).

En estas circunstancias, Kalman Silvert, discretamente, trató de averiguar nuestra disposición a recibir apoyo económico de la Fundación Ford para mantener nuestra independencia, corriendo el riesgo de ser acusados de estar al servicio del imperialismo; tiempo después supe que ante nuestra respuesta positiva, Kalman en su condición de consultor de la Fundación recomendó conceder apoyo al IEP, lo que se hizo realidad así como las acusaciones por esta relación.

Esta fue una ocasión propicia para que Kalman expresara su disposición a defender las libertades y los derechos de los ciudadanos, por sobre toda otra consideración, reivindicando los principios republicanos y liberales, como condición para afincar la igualdad y la autonomía de los individuos. Esta lección de civismo no pasó desapercibida y por defenderla tuve que pagar un costo inesperado.

En efecto, a los pocos días del golpe de Pinochet, fui expulsado por el gobierno militar a Buenos Aires donde coincidí con Kalman Silvert quien preparaba el plan de salvataje de científicos sociales que describe Richard Dye. En esta oportunidad nuevamente lo encontré defendiendo con denuedo las instituciones liberales y criticando a los que irresponsablemente habían creado las condiciones para desatar las fuerzas reaccionarias. Aparentemente, la trágica lección serviría para que muchos reconocieran el valor de los planteamientos

## Kal Silvert: A Personal Appreciation

by TOMMIE SUE MONTGOMERY

que Kalman sustentaba en conversaciones, en artículos y en libros (ver, por ejemplo, *The Reason for Democracy*, 1977).

A raíz de mi incorporación en el Joint Committee del Social Research Council junto con Fernando Henrique Cardoso y Osvaldo Sunkel tuve oportunidad de reunirme en New York con Kalman y su colaborador, Joel Jutkowitz, continuando el intercambio relativo a la naturaleza de los problemas latinoamericanos y de sus posibles soluciones democráticas. Al tiempo que compartíamos con Frida y sus hijos no cesaba de advertir que cualquier solución autoritaria era contraria a la dignidad humana y tenía una deriva criminal, como lo mostraban las experiencias nazi-fascista y las versiones estalinistas.

En uno de esos viajes, la noticia de la muerte de Kalman Silvert me conmovió. Perdía un amigo y un valioso interlocutor con el que hoy podría seguir compartiendo ideas, proyectos y hasta esperanzas. ■

Lima, octubre 2012.

Kalman Silvert was, at first, just one more name on a text that was required reading in a Latin American politics course at a southern university in the late 1960s. *The Conflict Society: Reaction and Revolution in Latin America* was an important introduction to the region and an antidote to the comparative-development tomes that were all the rage. This was a book that made Latin America and its people come alive in all their complexity rather than reducing them to numbers and generalizations about the extent to which they didn't meet Western (read North American) standards of progress and development—and probably never would. I kept *Conflict Society* close at hand.

In 1970, with my academic career on the verge of disaster, I looked for another graduate program at which to complete my doctorate. New York University offered the program of choice so I applied. Kal was at NYU by this time; he was close friends and colleagues with a senior individual from my current institution, and Kal argued for, indeed shepherded my application through to admission. If it weren't for Kal Silvert, I wouldn't have some fancy initials hanging after my name and I would not be writing this.

Kal welcomed me to NYU as though he had known me forever and make it clear that I should call on him for help and support as needed. It didn't take long. About six weeks into my first semester I was totally overwhelmed by a far more demanding program than I had left. Doubting whether I could make it, I called Kal and he invited me around to his famous apartment on the south side of Washington Square.

I don't remember much of the hour-long conversation, but I will never forget his words as I took my leave: "Remember,

Tommie Sue, your success is as much *our* responsibility as it is yours." That was the first—and only—time in my life that a teacher acknowledged his and his colleagues' role and responsibility in the academic success of their students. Heretofore my experience and observation was a dominant if not universal professorial attitude that "if you make it, it's your glory; if you fail, it's your fault."

I know, because Kal once told me, that I wasn't the only doctoral student he had "rescued" from a dysfunctional program. In this case, a doctoral candidate at Yale had the rug pulled out from under him during his dissertation defense. Kal participated in the oral review of the dissertation, under Yale's system, the only defense of a dissertation. The student's adviser gave a glowing review of the work to date. However, when the dissertation was presented in its final form, the same adviser refused to defend it and raised new issues that went to the heart of the dissertation and its thesis, framework, and analysis. For the professor in question the dissertation did not merit a pass and, indeed, was so flawed that revisions were out of the question. Kalman Silvert thought the action of the adviser was arrogant and his comportment unreasonable and unethical—and said so. Kal brought his student to NYU. Within a year the student had his doctorate and went on to a successful career.

It was clear from these experiences that Kal Silvert did not suffer fools; I was honored and delighted to be excluded from their company.

Later, in a course with him, I was continually impressed by the ways in which he drew students into the conversation of the day, getting all of us to think and to use our analytic abilities and improving them



as the semester continued. The course was a joy, but my only clear memory of that term has nothing to do with Latin America. It has to do with Kal's sartorial choices. Kal never wore a tie unless he had to; his preferred shirt (as I recall) was a mock turtleneck. But Kal always wore a shirt and tie to class. One afternoon a student asked him why. His answer surprised us: "It is my way of honoring the classroom," he said.

*Man's Power: A Biased Guide to Political Thought and Action*, published in 1970, was Kal's attempt to put down on paper his overarching theory of political action in the broadest sense. One sentence has remained with me: "Ideology," he wrote, "is the set of ideas around which people organize for political action." Ideology, then, is not just—or even—an "ism." In the 1970s this was (and still is) a refreshing idea. "Ideology" had been usurped by, and then confined to, "communism," "fascism," "socialism." Kal's point was that *all of us* have an ideology, which is informed by our values and worldview. In the United States, Democrats, Republicans, Tea Partiers, Greens, all take political action based on their ideology. One may quarrel with this formulation but its beauty is that it frees the analytical thinker from the strictures of a narrowly defined term.

In the few years I knew Kal Silvert I came to regard him as possibly the most moral man I had ever met. He wasn't rigid but there was no moral ambiguity in him. He knew right from wrong and, in Latin America, this meant knowing that human rights abuses, perpetrated by right-wing, often military, governments, were inexcusable and unforgivable. It meant knowing that people were not poor because of incompetence or sloth; they were poor because they lived in a system that kept them in poverty. And it meant

understanding that U.S. government policy in Latin America was perpetuating these conditions, not alleviating them. These weren't just soft-headed ideas; they were backed up by solid field research (especially in Chile, Venezuela, and Guatemala), rigorous analysis of the data, and the skill to report it in plain English.

Kal was one of two men in my life whose moral clarity was evident and unflinching. The other was the martyred archbishop of San Salvador, Óscar Arnulfo Romero, whom I was privileged to know in the months before his March 1980 death. I like to think that Romero would have agreed with Silvert's analysis (much of what he wrote on Guatemala applied to El Salvador), and Silvert certainly would have appreciated Romero's unwavering ability to speak truth to power.

The relevance of Kal's writings endures to the present. In *The Reason for Democracy*, published after his death in 1976, Kal provided an eerily contemporary description of false patriots: "People who wrap themselves in the flag and proclaim the sanctity of the nation are usually racists, contemptuous of the poor and dedicated to keeping the community of 'ins' small and pure of blood, spirit and mind" (384). This prescient description of a too-large part of the United States' twenty-first-century body politic reminds us how much has been lost in civil discourse over the last quarter-century.

Kalman Silvert's spirit and wisdom are still with us.

*Tommie Sue Montgomery received her PhD from NYU in 1977. Two years later she began doing research in El Salvador—and continued there for 25 years. She has held three Fulbrights, published three books and numerous articles on El Salvador, edited two other books, and written many other academic and nonacademic articles. In retirement she writes travel articles and is an award-winning photographer. She resides in Newcastle, Ontario. ■*

## NEWS FROM LASA

## LASA2013 Resolutions Results Resolutions Are Approved

As stated by the LASA By-laws, Article VI, Item #7: All proposed resolutions shall be automatically emailed for electronic voting to each individual who is a member during the year in which the Congress is held, no later than 15 days after the close of the Business Meeting. Votes must be received within 60 days of receipt of the email transmission. At least 20 percent of the current LASA membership must vote regarding a proposed resolution, and the majority must vote in favor of it for the resolution to pass. The results of the vote shall be posted in the subsequent issue of the *LASA Forum* and posted on the LASA Internet site.

The two resolutions approved by the Executive Council at its May 2013 meeting to be presented to the membership for a vote did meet the requirements specified by the LASA By-laws and therefore have passed. The resolutions were the following:

### Resolution on Wikileaks and Whistleblowers

Whereas: the United States government has sought to censor the website Wikileaks, a publisher of classified documents that are shedding unprecedented light on U.S. actions overseas;

Whereas: the U.S. government has begun criminal proceedings against accused Army whistleblower Private Bradley Manning, whom it has held in military detention since May 2010 under conditions condemned by United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture Juan Méndez;

Whereas: Wikileaks has made a strenuous effort to avoid endangering persons named within the released documents by offering to let the U.S. government redact individuals' names, and has not released

information such as nuclear weapons codes which, unlike the documents released, actually could endanger global security;

Whereas: the Obama administration has prosecuted more government whistleblowers than all previous U.S. administrations combined, sending an ominous signal for the future of academic and journalistic freedom;

Whereas: open access to information about government activities is essential to the functioning of a democratic society, the enforcement of international law, and the pursuit of scholarly knowledge;

Whereas: scholarly organizations have a special responsibility to defend the principles of government transparency and academic and journalistic freedom;

Whereas: the Latin American Studies Association is the world's largest professional association devoted to the study of Latin America, a region that has been the target of frequent U.S. interventions and whose history is closely intertwined with that of the United States;

Therefore be it resolved:

1. The Latin American Studies Association calls upon the Obama administration to recognize Wikileaks's right to publish information in the public interest;
2. The Latin American Studies Association condemns the imprisonment and cruel treatment of Bradley Manning, including the period of over nine months in which Manning was kept in solitary confinement;
3. The Latin American Studies Association calls upon the Obama administration to extend protection for Bradley Manning and

other whistleblowers under the Whistleblower Protection Act of 1989.

This resolution will be mailed to President Barack Obama, all members of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, Secretary of State John Kerry and Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs Roberta Jacobson, the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*.

### Resolution on Obama Policy

Whereas: The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) is the largest professional association in the world for individuals and institutions engaged in the study of Latin America and the Caribbean. With over 7,000 members, 45 percent of whom reside outside the United States, LASA is the one association that brings together experts on Latin America from all disciplines and diverse occupational endeavors, across the globe. For decades, LASA members have spoken in defense of democracy and human rights in the Western Hemisphere and in support of peaceful and respectful relations among states in the region.

Whereas: President Obama's policy toward Latin America has so far failed to fulfill the hopes engendered by his appearance at the Summit of the Americas in 2009 that the United States would strongly and consistently support democracy, human rights, social justice and national sovereignty; and

Whereas: the embargo of Cuba has not been lifted, despite the unanimous call by the members of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) to end it, Cuba is still listed as a state sponsor of terrorism, and travel to Cuba by

U.S. citizens remains severely restricted; and

Whereas: the Obama administration has demonstrated persistent hostility toward progressive governments in Latin America, particularly toward Venezuela and Bolivia, and has pursued close relations with governments with poor human rights records, such as Mexico, Colombia, and Honduras; and

Whereas: the militarism of Plan Colombia and Plan Mérida and the deployment of the Fourth Fleet have been reinforced with the increasing militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border and construction of new military and police bases as part of counter-narcotics policy, especially in Central America; and

Whereas: a number of current and former Latin American presidents as well as significant civil society organizations in the most affected countries oppose current U.S. counter-narcotics policies as ineffective and counterproductive with devastating consequences for the civilian populations;

Therefore be it resolved that:

1. The Latin American Studies Association urges President Obama to reduce the U.S. military presence in Latin America, to reverse the militarization of U.S. regional and border policies, especially counter-narcotics operations, and to suspend or reduce aid to military and police forces in countries with on-going human rights abuses, especially Mexico, Honduras, and Colombia;

2. The Latin American Studies Association urges President Obama to normalize relations with Cuba, including eliminating as many travel restrictions as possible by executive order, making the certifications

necessary to end Cuba's designation as a state sponsor of terrorism, and actively working to obtain congressional lifting of the embargo and restoration of full freedom of travel for U.S. citizens to Cuba;

3. The Latin American Studies Association urges President Obama to fully respect the sovereignty of Venezuela and Bolivia and to actively pursue improved relations, including resumption of full diplomatic relations;

4. The Latin American Studies Association urges President Obama to reject all direct and indirect United States participation in or support for actions or policies that undermine democratically elected governments in Latin America.

This resolution will be mailed to President Barack Obama, all members of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, Secretary of State John Kerry and Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs Roberta Jacobson, the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*.

## Results

2013 Individual members  
(as of August 19, 2013): 5650

### Wikileaks and Whistleblowers:

Total votes received: 1465 or  
26 percent of the membership  
In favor: 1249 or 85 percent  
Against: 216 or 15 percent

### Obama Policy:

Total votes received: 1494 or  
26 percent of the membership  
In favor: 1304 or 87 percent  
Against: 190 or 13 percent ■

NEWS FROM LASA

# LASA Resolutions Procedures and Guidelines

## Calendar of Dates and Deadlines (for 2014)

April 21, 2014	Deadline for receipt of resolutions. Proposals intended as official LASA resolutions must be sponsored by at least thirty LASA members in good standing. Sponsors may support a proposal by signed mail, signed fax, or by electronic communication to the Secretariat that indicates the name and address of the sponsor.
April 23, 2014	Proposed resolutions are reviewed by a Subcommittee, consisting of the LASA Vice President and two other members of the Executive Council appointed by the LASA President. This Subcommittee may seek advisory opinions from all sources it deems appropriate, and may recommend revisions.
April 28, 2014	The Sub-committee on Resolutions informs the proponents of a resolution of any changes they recommend as well as the rationale behind those changes.
April 28–May 2, 2014	Period during which proposers can revise resolutions based on feedback provided by the Subcommittee and modify or supplement the background information.
May 5, 2014	Resolutions reviewed by the Subcommittee are sent to the Executive Council along with background information provided by proposer(s). The Subcommittee recommends actions to be taken.
May 20, 2014	LASA Executive Council meets to conduct the constitutionally required review of all resolutions approved by the Subcommittee; the council will either forward a resolution to the membership for ratification or return it to the Subcommittee along with a report on the reasons for the council's decision to return the resolution.
24 hours before the LASA business meeting	<i>Emergency Resolutions:</i> Motions other than those dealing with procedural matters will be accepted only when they address unforeseen new events that preclude the use of normal resolution procedures. Such motions must be signed by thirty LASA members and presented in writing to the President of the Association at least twenty-four hours before the Business Meeting. See submission checklist for emergency resolutions.
LASA Business Meeting (TBD)	Open hearing on resolutions is held during the LASA conference. All proposed resolutions approved by a two-thirds majority vote of the Executive Council shall be read at the Business Meeting. Discussion of each proposed resolution may take place, but attendees at the Business meeting shall not vote on the proposed resolution. Amendments to resolutions may be presented at the LASA Business Meeting, and if accepted as a friendly amendment by a duly empowered person present at the meeting, the resolution as amended will be sent out for a vote to the membership. If not accepted, the resolution will be sent out for vote in its original form.
June 16, 2014 (change date once we know the date of the business meeting).	All proposed resolutions shall be automatically emailed for electronic voting to each individual who is a member during the year in which the Congress is held, no later than 15 days after the close of the Business Meeting.
June 16–August 16, 2014	Resolutions vote balloting period
July 16, 2014	Resolutions first email reminder ( <i>for internal purposes only</i> )
August 1, 2014	Resolutions final email reminder ( <i>for internal purposes only</i> )
August 16, 2014	Deadline for receipt of votes. Twenty percent of the current LASA membership must vote regarding a proposed resolution and the majority must vote in favor of it for the resolution to pass.
August 20, 2014	Any actions stipulated in ratified resolutions are carried out; the results of the balloting are published in the Fall issue of the <i>LASA Forum</i> ; resolutions ratified by the membership are posted at the LASA website.

## Preparing the Content and Meeting Other Submission Requirements

1. The content of a resolution must be consistent with the purposes of LASA, as set forth in article II of the Constitution.
2. The resolution may not contain erroneous, tortious, or possible libelous statements.
3. The resolution, if adopted, must not pose a threat to the Association's operation as a tax-exempt organization.
4. The entire text of the resolution is limited to 100 words.
5. The resolution must be accompanied by material that provides evidence in support of the resolution(s) claims. Supporting documentation is limited to 24 single-sided pages.
6. The resolution (and emergency resolutions) must be accompanied by the signatures of at least 30 current members of the association. Signatures may be submitted in any of the following ways:
  - a. As a collection of signatures mailed with the resolution;
  - b. As a collection of signatures faxed with the resolution text; with the original of the fax forwarded to the LASA office within seven business days; or
  - c. As a collective statement of support e-mailed with the resolution text, with printouts of the original e-mail messages signed by each originator or supported and forwarded to the LASA office within seven business days.

## Form of the Resolution

1. A resolution consists of a resolved clause or clauses that set forth the resolution's objectives. It may also contain a preamble that sets forth the reason or reasons for the resolved clause or clauses. A preamble is, in essence, free debate; that is, it puts before the voting body some of the arguments in support of the resolution in advance of the meeting, during which debate is strictly limited. However, a preamble has some disadvantages. It may work against adoption if members agree with the resolved clauses but do not agree with the preamble or find the content of the preamble overstated or poorly expressed. Also, of course, a preamble uses some of the 100-word limit imposed on LASA resolutions and may

therefore interfere with the careful and complete statement of the resolved clauses.

2. Writers of resolutions should avoid references to unknowable future events and activities since a resolution should not commit the Association to a particular course of action in the absence of clear knowledge of a situation. By the same token, writers of resolution should state facts, not opinions.
3. LASA conventionally uses the following form for a resolution without a preamble.

Be it resolved that \_\_\_\_\_; and  
Be it further resolved that \_\_\_\_\_.
4. LASA conventionally uses the following form for a resolution with a preamble.

Whereas \_\_\_\_\_;  
Whereas \_\_\_\_\_; and  
Whereas \_\_\_\_\_;  
Be it resolved that \_\_\_\_\_; and  
Be it further resolved that \_\_\_\_\_.

"Be it resolved that" should be followed by verbs in the subjunctive form.

## Submission Checklist for Regular Resolutions

A regular resolution is one that is received by LASA no later than April 21, 2014. Only LASA members in good standing for the current year may submit resolutions.

The following materials must be received by the deadline by the chair of the Subcommittee on Resolutions c/o the LASA Executive Director at the LASA Secretariat. Materials may be submitted by postal mail or e-mail. See below for address information. The proposer of record must identify himself or herself and provide full contact information.

- text of the resolution (limited to 100 words, inclusive of preamble, if any, and resolved clause or clauses)
- thirty supporting signatures (see note 1, below)
- complete background information (i.e., "material that provides evidence in support of the resolution's claims"; see note 2 below)



Note 1: Original signatures are required. Only LASA members who are in good standing for the current year may offer their signatures in support of a resolution. Signatures may be submitted in any of the following ways: 1) The proposer of record may gather original signatures in advance and submit them by postal mail, to arrive at the LASA office by April 21, 2014. 2) Individual supporters of a resolution may send their signatures separately by postal mail, to arrive at the LASA office by April 21, 2014. 3) Signatures may be faxed (412-648-7929), collectively or individually, to meet the April 21, 2014 deadline. The original of the fax must then be mailed to the LASA office so that it arrives within seven business days of the deadline. 4) A statement of support for a resolution may be e-mailed to meet the April 21, 2014 deadline. A printout of the e-mail message signed by the supporter must then be mailed to the LASA office so that it arrives within seven business days of the deadline.

Note 2: The proposer of record should submit background information that he or she deems necessary to support the resolution's claims. The background information may either be submitted by mail or in electronic form (PDF files or MS Word files are strongly preferred). Faxed materials are not acceptable. Limit supporting documentation to 24 single-sided pages.

#### Submission Checklist for Emergency Resolutions

Resolutions that are "occasioned by emergencies arising after April 21, 2014" are designated emergency resolutions. Emergency resolutions must be submitted at least 24 hours before the scheduled start of the LASA Business Meeting during the LASA Congress.

The following materials must be submitted to the chair of the Subcommittee on Resolutions or in care of the LASA Executive Director. The proposer of record must identify himself or herself and provide full contact information.

- text of the resolution (limited to 100 words, inclusive of preamble, if any, and resolved clause or clauses; see note 3 for an additional restriction on the resolution text)
- thirty supporting signatures (see note 4, below)

- complete background information (i.e., "material that provides evidence in support of the resolution's claims"; see note 5, below)

Note 3: Emergency resolutions shall not name individuals or institutions in such a way that, in the determination of the LASA Executive Council, a response from the named party must be sought.

Note 4: Original signatures are required. Only LASA members who are in good standing for the current year may offer their signatures in support of a resolution.

Note 5: The proposer of record should submit all the background information that he or she deems necessary to support the resolution's claims. The background information must be submitted on paper.

#### Address Information

The postal address to use for submitting a resolution and related materials is:

Latin American Studies Association  
LASA Executive Director  
315 South Bellefield Avenue – Suite 416  
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

The fax number for submitting a resolution and related material is: 412-624-7145

The electronic address for submitting a resolution and related material is: [lasa@pitt.edu](mailto:lasa@pitt.edu) ■

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# LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

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