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Tulio Halperin Donghi

Recipient of the Kalman Silvert Award for 2014

I would like to open my autobiographical statement with the same words chosen by the last recipient of this distinction, my old and dear friend Peter H. Smith: my academic career, as his, “has followed a serendipitous path . . . marked by abundant opportunity, generous encouragement, unstinting intellectual support—and exceedingly good luck.”

Mine hasn’t lacked in moments lived in anguish (which one in the atrocious twentieth century has?) but those have been essential in creating opportunities to indulge my omnivorous curiosity for the ways of the world, opportunities that I have found as enjoyable as the ones a less agitated career has granted Peter. Thanks to them I have learned—to say it in Kipling’s verse—

“There are nine and sixty ways of
constructing tribal lays

And every single one of them is right!”

(Rudyard Kipling, “In the Neolithic Age”)

This is why I retain particularly enjoyable memories of my brief career at Oxford, a not particularly happy time in my life but one in which I witnessed and passively participated in the construction of tribal lays as bizarre as those that have fascinated several generations of anthropologists who played the role of participant observers in Melanesia. I was then lucky enough to continue my exploration of the world in Berkeley, where the spectacle of (and participation in) ritual combats as fascinating as those witnessed by Clifford Geertz in Bali is as available today as it was in 1971, when I joined the faculty of its Department of History.

To this long exploration of the world I owe fond memories of the many people whom I found on my way, beginning with Kal Silvert, whose house in Hanover, New Hampshire, was the first in this country in which on his invitation I spent a night, followed by a sumptuous breakfast “straight from the shtetl” (Frieda dixit), when he took in charge the help of his former colleagues in Argentinian universities who were forced to continue abroad careers cut short by the military takeover of 1966. They are too many who helped to mention all of them here, but I cannot pass in silence the names of Woodrow Borah at Berkeley, Richard Morse at Yale and then Stanford, and Albert Hirschman at Harvard and then Princeton.

But it was in Argentina and Uruguay where, while I found so much to enjoy in the vast world, too many of my former colleagues found it increasingly difficult to continue doing work along the lines defined before 1966, and I was reminded of how privileged my fate was, and of the responsibilities that such privilege entails. For the moment there was little that I could do in favor of their increasingly heroic efforts, but after 1983, in a country in ruins, I was blessed with the opportunity to play a part in the emergence of a vigorous historiographic community that is one of the depressingly few success stories of the period opened by the return of democracy to Argentina.

As you see, it is only fit that in looking back at my career I close these few words of thanks for this too generous award by repeating the words of Peter Smith: it has indeed “followed a serendipitous past . . . marked by abundant opportunity, generous encouragement, unstinting intellectual support—and exceedingly good luck.” ■

From the President

by MERILEE GRINDLE | Harvard University | merilee_grindle@harvard.edu

Dear Colleagues,

Soon we will be gathering in Chicago for LASA2014. Presenting papers, attending sessions, catching up with old friends, making plans for future research collaborations, enjoying the Windy City and its restaurants, museums, and parks—there is much for all of us to do between May 21 and 24. I'm looking forward to seeing upwards of 3,000 LASA members at the Congress and to a wonderful schedule of events.

The theme for LASA2014 is “Democracy and Memory,” and I have been amazed by how many of the sessions and papers have focused on these two concepts and their relationship to Latin America. Clearly, many have been engaged in reflecting on and questioning this relationship and connecting it to the past, present, and future of the region. It is my hope that many of the papers currently being written will find a future as articles in journals and chapters in books so that even more can be included in discussions and relevant research. In addition, I hope many of you will join us for the interdisciplinary discussion of democracy and memory featured in three presidential panels.

LASA2014 will also be a very inclusive Congress. Thanks to the very hard work of numerous track and Section chairs, and to the even harder work of the Congress co-chairs, Florencia Garramuño and Raúl Madrid, there will be an extensive variety of panels, workshops, and roundtables on an extraordinary number of themes. These dedicated LASA volunteers have worked within strict time and space constraints to

ensure that 93 percent of session proposals were accepted and 80 percent of individual papers found a home. Throughout, they have demonstrated a marked commitment to equity for fields and disciplines as well as for scholars of diverse backgrounds. Florencia, Raúl, and the track and Section chairs deserve our hearty thanks for this “above and beyond” service to LASA's members.

The Congress will also host a workshop of directors of Latin America studies centers and institutes, an initiative begun at the Washington meeting and one I hope will continue in the future. There is much that can be learned about advancing Latin American studies through sharing ideas and networking among those who lead the area studies centers and institutes in our universities and other institutions. I hope all directors who are coming to LASA2014 will join us on Thursday, May 22, for the workshop.

I have been honored to serve as president of LASA since June 2013. This experience has left me with enormous respect for the professional management of the Association, spearheaded by Milagros Pereyra-Rojas and her team at the University of Pittsburgh, and for the large number of members who agreed to serve on committees. This work is central to planning the Congresses and to assessing the work of scholars and others to honor them for advancing Latin American studies. In addition, the guest editors of the *LASA Forum* have put in untold hours to present a series of extremely thoughtful articles, many of them related to democracy and memory, for the publication. We can all be



very grateful that Gratzia Villarroel and Roberto Gargarella agreed to take on this task with such dedication. The work of a LASA president is modest compared to the time and effort so many others have put into making our annual meetings a very good place to be. Thank you so very much for your commitment to this wonderful Association.

See you in Chicago! ■

Trabajo de campo en América Latina: Una perspectiva interdisciplinaria

por ROBERTO GARGARELLA, Associate Editor | CONICET | roberto.gargarella@gmail.com

Agregamos aquí tres breves y muy ricos estudios etnográficos, que nos ayudan a reconocer las dificultades y los desafíos propios del trabajo de campo en América Latina. Los escritos se encuentran vinculados a cuatro países diferentes: el texto de Stewart Prest, se centra en su labor en la región del Chapare, Bolivia; el de Jan Boesten toma como base las entrevistas que realizara en Bogotá, Colombia; mientras que el último texto, el de Bécquer Seguí, se origina en una investigación realizada entre Cuba y México. A pesar de las diferencias en sus miradas, objetos y lugares de estudio, las tres piezas muestran algunas coincidencias notables. Entre ellas, resalta de modo especial el modo en que los tres investigadores debieron modificar (o, en ocasiones, corregir sustantivamente) el foco de sus respectivas investigaciones, a través del mismo proceso de exploración etnográfica que llevaban a cabo.

El trabajo de Boesten es el más teórico de los tres, y se refiere a sus experiencias entrevistando a miembros de la elite colombiana: magistrados y secretarios de la famosa Corte Constitucional de Colombia; académicos vinculados con el derecho; y congresistas. Sus entrevistas estuvieron vinculadas con la reforma constitucional y el establecimiento de límites a la duración del mandato presidencial — un tema que generara enorme polémica en la reciente vida pública colombiana. Boesten reflexiona en su escrito sobre el papel del etnógrafo; sobre algunos textos clave en la materia (en particular, *Designing Social Inquiry*, de King, Keohane y Verba, 1994); y sobre todo, sobre su propia experiencia conversando con la selecta elite bogotana. Tomando “tintos” con sus entrevistados — según parece, una forma ideal para “romper el hielo” de la conversación— Boesten da cuenta del modo en que su investigación se fue enriqueciendo, inesperadamente. A través de sus

encuentros, el investigador va descubriendo “procesos políticos que no figuraban en su propia agenda, ni en la amplia literatura sobre independencia judicial y política legal en Colombia.” El fluir de las propias entrevistas, nos dice Boesten, lo fueron conduciendo hacia “direcciones inesperadas”, que le permitieron dar forma y sentido más precisos a su proyecto de trabajo inicial.

Stewart Prest llega al Chapare, Bolivia, y siente que se encuentra, por primera vez, “en el campo,” por las suyas, y sin el apoyo institucional que le de amparo: vulnerable. En tal espíritu, el investigador presenta un escrito autocrítico, en el que da cuenta del carácter interactivo del trabajo de campo, y del modo en que él y su investigación resultaron impactados y enriquecidos en el proceso de búsqueda. La investigación puede ser muchas cosas, nos dice Prest, pero definitivamente, y sin dudas es un medio de aprendizaje. En su caso personal, dicho proceso le permitió completar su proyecto inicial, y construir a partir del mismo. La clave de dicho aprendizaje — remarca el autor— es mantenerse reflexivo, y humildemente abierto a aprender de aquello que es estudiado.

Finalmente, el texto de Bécquer Seguí nos refiere a su experiencia, entre Cuba y México, siguiendo el itinerario de José Martí, héroe político y literario cubano. Bécquer Seguí se ha formado en la literatura y la historia. Su trabajo, que también toma como herramientas decisivas la utilización de entrevistas en profundidad y la observación de campo, se orienta al encuentro de pistas que le ayuden a completar y entender mejor el perfil de Martí, el sujeto de su investigación. Según nos dice Seguí, su estudio resultó significativamente impactado por el mismo proceso de búsqueda emprendido. Dicho proceso incluyó, de modo especial,

conversaciones con otros investigadores interesados en la misma figura de Martí, y recorridas por ciudades íntimamente marcadas por la presencia del político y poeta. La presencia de Martí se advierte, tanto en Cuba como en México, en los lugares más diversos, que incluyen monumentos, centros culturales y calles que llevaban su nombre. Según se ve a sí mismo, entonces, como llevando adelante una tarea de “detective”, con la que se enriquece, y enriquece su propuesta de trabajo inicial, mientras la investigación avanza. ■

ON THE PROFESSION

When Tintos Break Ice: Elite Interviews in Colombia

by JAN BOESTEN | University of British Columbia | jboesten@interchange.ubc.ca

Can creativity and rationality coexist in formal social science research?

One of the pitfalls of overly rationalizing the research process has been that it somewhat strangles originality. Science is, as Richard Feynman observed, imagination in a straitjacket. Even Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba—in their seminal contribution *Designing Social Inquiry* (1994)—implicitly acknowledged that formal research methods cannot provide substantive answers to what count as interesting research questions. They concur with Karl Popper that discovery contains an irrational element (1994, 14). “Eureka” is difficult to formalize, but some methods and techniques of social scientific research sometimes provide unintentional moments of serendipity. My doctoral research in Colombia showed that intensive elite interviews fall into that category of methods that deepen the research agenda. Even in the process of conducting the research itself, results in interviews alter the topics of questions or add new ones.

I went to Bogotá to conduct interviews with magistrates and clerks to the Constitutional Court, as well as with academics and *congresistas* involved in constitutional reform campaigns on presidential term limits. The Constitutional Court decided the question of reform differently in 2010 from 2005, with the Court siding against the president more recently. In the course of those interviews, I discovered political processes that were neither on my own agenda nor in the extant literature on judicial independence and legal politics in Colombia. Over cups of *tinto*, Colombia’s dark coffee, it was the interviewees themselves that pointed me in unexpected directions. They shed light on relationships that involved the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of governments. In addition, they raised

serious questions about internal competition within the branches of government. It turns out that *tintos* are great icebreakers.

It is crucial that interview subjects be given sufficient space to freely answer and discuss topics. This brings us back to King, Keohane, and Verba. In their only footnote devoted to such social science research practices (112n), they raise a number of validity issues, but only on the side do they note that “asking about motivations is often a productive means of generating hypotheses” (1994, 112). Particularly for small-N or case studies, explicit questions of motivation turn out to be very productive. They not only suggest new meta-hypotheses but provide nuances in arguments that are naturally complex due to the detailed narration and analysis of a given case.

It is somewhat perplexing that methodological imperatives would make elite interviews the bad apple of social science research. After a methods seminar I took at the University of British Columbia that introduced the sophisticated terms and practices of the state of the art of research methodology, a colleague of mine wondered, maybe naively, if you want to find out why and how people acted the way they did, why don’t you simply go and ask them? King, Keohane, and Verba cautioned against this practice, arguing that we should not let the subjects of our study do the work of inferring causal processes for us. Rather, answers are observable implications, which juxtapose motivations “antithetically to facts, indicating a bias in favor of behavior” (Rathbun 2008, 692). Answers that detail motivations might not be equal to facts, but they certainly can contain elements of causal relations, resulting in a more complex structure than this bifurcation between fact and

motivation as observable implication suggests.

Of course, King, Keohane, and Verba are right to warn against simply believing answers given in interviews—not least by politicians, whose job description entails hiding actual intentions behind a smokescreen of rhetorical devices. As is well documented, Colombia is no exception. On the contrary, given the relations between organized crime and formal politics, such tendencies are more pronounced. Nevertheless, we should not entirely disregard the connections drawn by interviewees. The aforementioned relations within each branch of government speak to the internal dimension of the rule of law. Clashes over jurisdiction within the branches affected the coordination and external relations between the branches of government. My interviewees made allusions to those relations and thereby placed a whole new range of actors on my map, namely the other high courts in Colombia. Evidently, such claims must be tested or, more formally, triangulated. Nevertheless, claims, even causal ones, built the substance of the research project. It certainly did not mean that I let interviewees do the work of drawing causal inferences for me, but their answers did affect the scope of my research.

Even the claim that subjects in interviews are almost inevitably not telling the truth does not necessarily hold for social science researchers. Politicians as well as magistrates were very willing to provide detailed analyses of their actions and the processes around them—even painting their institutions in an unfavorable light. *Congresistas*, for example, unequivocally noted that Congress was very corrupted (never themselves, though). In addition, when interviewing legislators in Colombia who were on the side of the referendum for

another presidential term, I expected that some would attack the Court for meddling in political affairs. The fact that no one did speaks volumes, even if those sentiments were not entirely sincere and interviewees did in fact shelter such antagonistic sentiments toward the constitutional tribunal. The mere fact that interviewees in a protected environment would not confront the Court and question its authority speaks to the respect it holds in Colombia, regardless of whether the responses were 100 percent truthful.

Magistrates and their clerks were also very willing to extensively discuss questions and issues such as judicial independence and political pressure in deliberative processes. Some interviews that I scheduled for 45 minutes to an hour ended up lasting several hours because, as one interviewee suggested, “the country had suffered tremendously,” and they figured that social science research, in the long run, could help assuage the anguish Colombia has witnessed over the decades. In short, I can confirm that interviewees feel less threatened by scientists than by journalists. Possibly there was an advantage that I was doing the research as an outsider under the auspices of the University of British Columbia, but my connection to the local university, Universidad de los Andes, was similarly valuable.

Probably the most difficult task for researchers is to bridge the gap of being outsiders while at the same time embedding themselves intimately in the sociopolitical context. This poses challenges for fully understanding what interview subjects or just random people are actually getting at. For example, a taxi driver in Bogotá explained the significance of the late Hugo Chávez in the following words: “In Venezuela there is change without deaths, while here in Colombia there is no change



The Judicial Palace, Bogotá, November 2012. Photograph by Jan Boesten.

with many deaths.” As outsiders, we might be quickly led to think that this is hardly a substantive analysis of the real situation, since already at that time Colombia’s neighbor was leading the world in numbers of violent deaths. The driver was no naïve fan of Chávez, either. He made allusions to high inflation and crime rates. This statement was simply not that much about Venezuela as it was a commentary on the state of affairs in Colombia. Chávez and his followers had put fundamental transformations on the agenda and in fact followed through with action so that opposition candidate Henrique Capriles, too, had to promise to uphold Chávez’s most important achievements (whether the results were positive is another story). This is almost entirely lacking in Colombia’s political class, where the story goes more along the lines of “changing everything so nothing changes.” After President Uribe initiated a program of demobilization of paramilitaries, now sometimes the very same people are killing activists under the name of so-called criminal bands. Various judicial reforms have intended to make the justice system more effective and efficient, yet impunity remains high. In addition, *congresistas* repeatedly tried to use judicial

reforms to get something for themselves—usually in the form of protection against criminal prosecution. In short, there is an evident inconsistency between what is said and what is being done in politics in Colombia, and the frustration was speaking through the somewhat naïve admiration for Chávez’s revolution. This can only be understood, however, if the insider’s and outsider’s perspective are somehow appreciated.

Fieldwork in Colombia can be a tedious task, and King, Keohane, and Verba correctly advise their readers to be as precise and concise as possible in preparing for qualitative research projects. Above all, researchers can save themselves a tremendous amount of time. After I arrived in Bogotá and surveyed the literature on legal politics, my most satisfying sigh of relief was, “I won’t need that.” What doctors are to Cuba, lawyers are to Colombia: a source of human capital with profound know-how. One interviewee said: “Colombia es lleno de abogados” (Colombia is full of lawyers). Those lawyers and experts in constitutional law have written a *mélange* of analyses, and without properly preparing the

ON THE PROFESSION

Compelled to Err: Fieldwork as Iterative Experiential Learning

by STEWART PREST | University of British Columbia | sprest@interchange.ubc.ca

research question, one runs the danger of simply translating their work without much additional academic benefit (and wasting a whole lot of time while doing it). When it comes to some of the techniques of conducting research, we have to read between the lines of *Designing Social Inquiry* to fully grasp the potential of some of the practices that its authors might not have fully appreciated. The literature on methodology has grown since King, Keohane, and Verba's volume, and researchers have rediscovered the advantages of small-N and case studies (Brady and Collier 2002). An appreciation of intensive elite interviews and an understanding of their importance are among methodological rediscoveries (Rathbun 2008). I found interviews to be particularly helpful in an environment such as Colombia, where politics do not necessarily adhere to formal norms.

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During my initial trip to the Chapare region of Bolivia in December 2012—the first time I truly felt “in the field,” in the sense that I was on my own, without immediate recourse to institutional support of any kind—I spent about a week doing introductory interviews with local community leaders and other initial contacts. While there I spent a day exploring a couple of the main towns along the primary highway of the region. During my afternoon stop in Shinahota, I wandered along the streets of its market, the largest in the area. It was such a novel experience, like but unlike the markets of La Paz and Cochabamba I had come to know, that I succumbed to the temptation to take a few pictures of the scene without first seeking permission from those in it, something I had previously resolved never to do in the field. I snapped what I thought were a couple of discreet and anonymous street vignettes. I was not focusing on anyone in particular, just taking in the scene.

I walked onward to the main square, and passed back through the market on the way to the town's transportation stand perhaps half an hour later. I had stopped on a corner to send a quick text message, and when I looked up, I realized with a start that a dozen Shinahotans were approaching me purposefully on all sides, effectively hemming me in. In the six months I spent in Bolivia, it was the only time I felt completely vulnerable, where I had no clear sense of what was transpiring, what would happen next, and how I would handle it.

The questions were quick and to the point. What was I doing in Shinahota? Why was I taking pictures? Who was I working for? Not knowing what would be considered wrong or right answers, I stuck with the truth: I was a student from Canada, visiting

the town for a day. I was in Bolivia to study . . . actually, it didn't matter what I was hoping to study. The moment I opened my mouth, it had become abundantly clear I was not Bolivian, and my interlocutors relaxed and began to disperse. Within seconds the circle surrounding me had bled away back into the busy streets. The woman who had asked the questions stayed long enough to explain that they were worried I was sent by the state tax collection agency to document who used which stalls. Then, just like that, I was alone again.

The photographs were a silly error in judgement, yet in hindsight the ensuing encounter, brief as it was, proved highly illuminating to my understanding of politics and society in the region, pushing me toward an important part of the answer to my own research puzzle. I felt the moment carried meaning as soon as it happened, but it took some time to realize how it had rendered vividly themes I had previously read and heard about elsewhere. It brought out the Chapare's tightly woven social fabric; the limited extent to which the state had penetrated the region, and rural Bolivia more generally, even to this day, with society often pushing back against those efforts;¹ the degree to which communities regulated themselves; and their capacity to mobilize quickly and effectively in response to perceived threats (García Linera, Chávez León, and Costas Monje 2004, 393–394). These topics all now feature prominently in my emerging dissertation, which focuses on the sources, mechanisms, and limits of social conflict in the region between state and society during the government's eradication campaigns under Ley 1008. Though I had read about those topics prior to my arrival in the Chapare and had heard more about them during my initial interviews, until that moment they had simply been selected

insights interspersed among mountains of other theory and data. Now they were a part, however small, of my own lived experience.

So what are the broader implications of this story for fieldwork in Latin America, and elsewhere? To me, a number of points suggest themselves. First, it underscores once again the importance, often flagged elsewhere, of just being there (e.g., Borneman and Hammoudi 2009). There is value to some form of soaking and poking, regardless of subject or method.

Experiential learning is the most vivid and, for some purposes, the most effective kind there is.² The ethnographer, the process tracer, even the formal modeler, all benefit from seeing life in the region up close. Inevitably, some assumptions will be tested and broken, while other intuitions, previously perhaps only dimly felt, will come to the fore. The things one sees, hears, says, and does in the field shape one's understanding in ways that cannot be replicated in the classroom, or in the library, or online. We learn differently in the field; compelled to take positive action, to interact with individuals, groups, and environments in ways that we are by definition incompletely prepared for—it is not fieldwork if we are in a place where we have nothing to learn—we will inevitably make mistakes. It is also in the field that those mistakes will be thrown into the sharpest relief, making it comparatively more likely we will acknowledge and, perhaps, even learn from them.³

Second, it drives home the inevitability not only of acting but of doing so from a place of partial ignorance, and the particular challenge this presents to younger field researchers who inevitably are doing some on-the-job learning about context and technique. Obviously, making peace with the limits of knowledge is something that



The picture that started all the fuss. Photo by Stewart Prest.

every scholar must do. There are constraints on what is knowable, regardless of subject and methodological approach, regardless of theoretical framework, regardless of the financial and time resources available. Even so, I found that those limits were far more vividly etched in the field than in the comfort of a home office or in a research library cubicle. There is no choice but to act, to engage with the communities that one plans to study and accept that they will engage with you right back (or choose not to, in what is surely among the worst nightmares of field researchers). One need not be engaged deeply in poststructural analysis to see the value, indeed the imperative, of reflexivity in such work, an awareness of the contingent and constructed nature of the relationship between interviewer and interviewed, with all that entails for the way interviews are constructed, questions formulated, and responses interpreted and represented. Again, the more time one spends in the field, the more likely it is that one will undertake those inevitable processes of interpretation and representation in a way that is sensitive to the meanings and framings intended and possessed by research subjects, along with the motives that drive them.⁴

Third, it highlights the close interplay of preparation, serendipity, and (more) work. I would not have been in a position to make the mistake I did, and to eventually draw insight from it, had I not done considerable reading beforehand, or had I not sensitized myself to the potential readings that were possible for the event and done the work necessary to put me on a street corner in Shinahota with a camera in my hand. Likewise, the event itself in reality was only a small anecdote, something pushing me to think about life in the Chapare in a different way than I might have previously. It is not definitive evidence of anything that I study directly; indeed, it is not even directly related to my research question that is, in fact, focused on the recent past and not the present. The insights it reinforced had to be tested extensively through rigorous processes of data collection, analysis, and triangulation. It was ultimately just a signpost, and many long months of work lay both before and behind it in order to generate an evidentially supported answer to my research question.

In this sense, the example and the conclusions drawn from it capture in microcosm the larger iterative process entailed in field research. One of the hardest elements of fieldwork, particularly

in a new physical, social, or indeed a new professional or personal context, is simply to anticipate how the hard work of prior research-question formation will translate on the ground. Likewise, one never knows with certainty beforehand where the true challenges will be found. Difficulties come in such varied and unexpected forms that any purely deductive attempt to sketch out a research plan in advance, again regardless of research method, would prove insufficient. Good planning is a necessary prerequisite of effective research but is not a sufficient condition; flexibility in the field is just as important. Contrary to common stereotypes regarding different research methods—that ethnography is inductive and iterative in approach, while more quantitative and model-driven fields are deductive and deliberate—the process of research, as long as it includes an empirical referent, inevitably features an iterative cycle of deductive and inductive reasoning interspersed with observation. Whether the goal is case explanation or hypothesis testing, whether the method is qualitative or quantitative, the same steps are involved in research: plan, execute, assess, repeat. The difference between approaches is one of degree and emphasis, of sequencing, level of detail, and—to the extent that one relies on data collected and analyzed by others—outsourcing; it is not a difference of kind.

Certainly in my case the process of project definition continued after I reached the field, as I went on developing the significant but ultimately incomplete work of project formulation completed as part of an initial prospectus. While in country, I considerably refined my research question and case selection, finding better ways to frame what interested me in the context of the most relevant cases. Likewise, I gradually achieved a clearer formulation of my preferred explanation and competing

alternatives. It was only once I finally had a clear and stable sense of all of the above, along with some conception of how much of that data actually existed and was accessible given my own finite resources, that I was able to focus my energy exclusively on data collection. In short, each step overlapped with the others, and required regular updating as my understanding developed and changed over time.

Whatever else research is, it is a form of learning. By thinking broadly about that learning process and remaining open and reflexive in our approach, researchers have a better chance of achieving a result that corresponds meaningfully to what we study.

Notes

- ¹ The fear of state attempts to render society more legible, and consequent resistance to those efforts, sounds very much like the process described more generally by Scott (1998).
- ² This point is driven home not only in the classical formulations of Aristotle and the more modern thought of John Dewey, but also in a well-established educational research tradition associated with Kolb (1984).
- ³ In political science, the literature I am most familiar with, learning shows up regularly in certain research traditions. Jervis (1976), Hall (1993), and Checkel (2005) provide diverse examples. Likewise, university-based scholars of all disciplines have embraced, however belatedly, pedagogical research in their own teaching, shaping the way courses are taught to suit the way students actually learn. Nonetheless, it is a different matter to speak of our own research as learning, to admit and explicitly incorporate mistakes and experiential learning as intrinsic elements of research methodology.
- ⁴ Fontana (2002) provides an accessible treatment of the influence of postmodernism on contemporary interviewing techniques.

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The Texture of Literary Fieldwork

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For a literary critic, doing fieldwork is a strange task.

For an anthropologist, fieldwork means embedding the scholar in her or his object of study. The colorful texture of ethnographic work largely comes from weaving in-depth interviews and observations with other forms of analysis. Some anthropologists are heavier on the theoretical strands; others are heavier on ethnographic strands. But regardless of how thick each of these strands appears in the final work, any anthropologist will tell you that the richness of the work starts with the lived experiences they narrate on each page.

Literary critics, too, do this kind of ethnographic work. For the few literary critics that do fieldwork, in-depth interviews and observations are sometimes key. I conducted fieldwork in Cuba during the summer of 2011, and interviews and observations were crucial to focusing my project. The first few days I spent in La Habana were dedicated solely to sitting down with researchers and vigorously writing down everything they said.

Figure 2. Martí's statue and the facade of the Sociedad Cultural José Martí, on the corner of Calle 17 and Calle 5, El Vedado, La Habana, Cuba. Photograph by Bécquer Seguí.



But since I went there to study Cuba's national political and literary hero José Martí, interviews were also important for shedding the label of an outsider. Needless to say, they take Martí very seriously in Cuba, so much so that there exists an institution called the Centro de Estudios Martianos, dedicated to investigating, editing, and publishing his work. I spent my three weeks of fieldwork there working with the scholar Mauricio Núñez Rodríguez. Initially we effectively interviewed each other; then we began exchanging notes, fielding each other's inquiries, and collaboratively sketching out Martí's relationship with the novel. (Mauricio is probably the foremost expert on Martí's only novel, *Lucía Jerez* [1885].)

Observations were perhaps even more important. Walking through El Vedado, the neighborhood that is home to the Centro and to the place where I was staying, one can't help but notice the quantity and diversity of Martí iconography. Martí's bust appears on several different street corners in a matter of blocks. In addition to the Centro, the National Library, a number of cultural societies, and parks are named in Martí's honor. Moreover, everyone has something to say about the national poet and independence hero. During one memorable conversation about Martí's poetry, I remember interjecting, "Did you know that Martí smoked *maría*?" "No, but that's fascinating!" replied my comrade, before he began a fifteen-minute explication of *Versos sencillos* (1891) based on this new piece of information I'd given him.

Compared to an anthropologist, however, the embedding of a literary critic occurs at a different level. Our object of study, unlike an anthropologist's, is the text itself, not the interactions among people. The interactions of writers and others are, of



Figure 1. Front page of *El Latino-Americano*, May 15, 1885. Martí's only novel, *Lucía Jerez*, originally titled *Amistad funesta*, was published serially under the pseudonym Adelaida Ral in this Spanish-language New York City newspaper from May 15 to September 15, 1885. Photograph by Bécquer Seguí.

course, very important, but it is not necessary (and it is mostly impossible) for the literary critic to witness these interactions firsthand. Who wouldn't have loved to see Marcos Sastre's *salón literario* in late 1830s Argentina, witnessing the likes of Esteban Echeverría, Juan Bautista Alberdi, Juan María Gutiérrez, and a young Domingo Faustino Sarmiento debating politics and literature? Instead of gathering firsthand accounts, we embed ourselves, like historians, in the minutia of everyday life as it has been recorded on the pages of novels, plays, and poems, but also newspapers, pamphlets, government documents, and many other kinds of sources.

The fieldwork of historians is often characterized as a detective story. I often think of my own work in this way: political, theoretical, and critical, but ultimately historical. My own fieldwork took me from Cuba to Mexico City in search of the raw materials for describing the what, why, when, where, and how of Martí's brief stay in the capital from roughly 1875 to 1877. It began with a curious reference: while in Mexico City, Martí seemed to be very involved in the worker's struggles of the day. So much so, in fact, that the preeminent historian Gastón García Cantú, in his monumental work on nineteenth-century leftist thought, *El socialismo en México: Siglo XIX* (1969), unearthed a document that suggested that Martí had represented a group of workers during Mexico's first Worker's Congress in 1876. Though this seems to have little bearing on Martí's overall work, the passing reference stuck with me.

I quickly scoured everything Martí had ever written while he was in Mexico. It turns out that Martí's participation in the Worker's Congress was not a one-off event. Martí wrote extensively about the plight of labor in his largely ignored "Escenas mexicanas." He chronicled student protests, hatmakers' strikes, and insurrectionary violence at a time when only a handful of newspapers (out of many) were paying attention to labor issues. He even served as an editor to *El Socialista*, Mexico's most important nineteenth-century socialist newspaper and the home of the first Spanish translation of Marx and Engels's *Communist Manifesto* (1848). Why was Martí writing about labor? What interested him about the forms of protest that were being used by workers? And, if labor became his social and political concern, what were his more literary concerns at the time and what was the relationship between the two?

These questions led me to look at nineteenth-century Mexican socialism more broadly. Other characters in this story began to emerge. It was in Mexico that Martí met Manuel Mercado, who would remain one of his closest friends until his death in 1895. Through Mercado, he met the most important Mexican writers of the time: Guillermo Prieto, Ignacio Ramírez, Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, and Justo Sierra. Though it would be difficult to characterize any of these writers as anything other than classical liberals, their ideas and politics were all shaped by the emerging socialist movement of their day.

Arguably, one of the most important leaders of this socialist movement was the Greek émigré Plotino Rhodakanaty. Rhodakanaty, a philosopher and pedagogue by training, arrived in Mexico during the 1860s. He largely helped the Mexico City left get organized and was one of the chief intellectual architects of the Worker's Congress that Martí attended. The work of intellectual historian Carlos Illades was one of my bridges to Mexico City's archives and prerevolutionary Mexican history. During the 1990s and early 2000s, he unearthed Rhodakanaty from historical obscurity, describing him as an important part of "the other ideas" that were neither liberal nor conservative but socialist (Illades 2008).

Curiously, however, as much as Martí had been involved in the Mexican socialist movement, he never once referenced Rhodakanaty. (Not even a misspelling!) Martí was silent, but actively so. These silences, however, often work both ways. Rhodakanaty also did not mention Martí once in his oeuvre. How could this happen? What did it mean? How was I to interpret this mutual disregard? Knowing what I had read about Martí and Rhodakanaty, it was inconceivable that

they had not known each other or read each other's work, let alone collaborated in organizing Mexico City's workers.

These are the kinds of fissures in the story that spur the investigative fieldwork of literary critics who are not satisfied by mere close reading or textual analysis. These forms of interpretation still provide the bedrock for most literature departments in the United States, but historically attentive work has become the norm now for any scholar working on Latin American literature before the twentieth century. Even in twentieth-century scholarship, the tide is flowing toward archival work. In an academic world in which digital humanities is all the rage, there exists a place where ink-tinted gloves, quality cameras, and pens and notebooks are the instruments of literary criticism.

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Democracy and Artistic Production in Latin America in a Digital and Global Era

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The insightful articles in this volume demonstrate that political and economic forces have a powerful impact on Latin America's artistic production. When democratic trends are coupled with strong legal and financial support from the state, the result is a vibrant and diverse artistic production, as we currently see throughout the region. Moreover, when artists have access to high-quality training in their own nations, economic downturns and the resulting scarcity don't inhibit creativity, as we saw in Cuba at the end of the Cold War. When state machineries become intrusive and attempt to curtail artistic creativity, artists find ways to circumvent their influence by joining or creating more autonomous and transnational organizations, as we see in Argentina. Furthermore, when governments place value on cultural heritage, the national awareness that ensues may have a positive impact on the quantity and quality of artistic production, as we now see in Bolivia.

There is no doubt that artists still face many challenges and a delicate balancing act in the early twenty-first-century Latin American political landscape. They seek financial support from their governments but fear being used as propaganda for state historical narratives. They seek to retain native artistic identities while greater international attention threatens homogenization of artistic epistemologies. They hope to benefit from international networks and growing international attention for their artistic production but are also sensitive to the fact that once they step outside their borders they may have to negotiate art, culture, and identity, and they may not always feel comfortable with the results.

In "El cine, la democracia y el círculo vicioso," Leonardo M. D'Espósito, one of Argentina's most highly respected film critics and journalists, argues that the

democratic opening in Argentina and in other parts of Latin America gave rise to a vibrant cinematic production that had not been evident during the military dictatorships. He attributes this resurgence in the arts to the absence of censorship, which contributes to the dissemination of new ideas; strong state support for artistic production; and the existence of high-quality film schools. We can see that Latin America is increasingly represented in multiple international film festivals. The latest example is the Academy Award for Best Director given to Alfonso Cuarón for *Gravity* in 2014.

State support is crucial for the film industry, especially because it is an expensive art form, according to D'Espósito. It was the renewed state interest in the arts that gave rise to prolific and diverse film industries in Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile after the transition to democracy. Important examples of this new era are young, passionate directors such as Pablo Trapero and Lucrecia Martel from Argentina, Pablo Stoll and Juan Pablo Rebella from Uruguay, Hector Babenco in Brazil, and many others.

D'Espósito still sees important challenges for the Latin American film industry. For example, the better-known Argentine film companies have been able to work with the U.S. studios Disney, Universal, and Fox, whereas smaller film companies are limited in geographical reach as well as in access to state funding. In countries with strong political instability, the film industry suffers because theatres simply remain closed rather than risk getting involved in riots. Venezuela's film industry under Nicolás Maduro is an example of this. As D'Espósito concludes, any danger to democracy is also a danger to the film industry.

In "Breve diagnóstico de las artes visuales en Argentina," Carina Cagnolo

(Department of Visual Arts, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba) echoes the trends of vitality and productivity discussed by D'Espósito and also focuses on the challenge of globalization in Argentina's film industry. She argues that the connection between arts and politics increased at the turn of the twenty-first century as the Argentine state purposefully supported artistic production that dealt with human rights and the memory of the years of terror. The new and vibrant art production that emerged found strong support in state-sponsored museums, mega-exhibits, and so on.

Nevertheless, dangers to creative independence still remain, and Argentine visual artists continue with efforts to keep control of their own narratives. These efforts gave rise to the emergence of a series of autonomous and independent artistic organizations that seek to preserve artistic freedom while providing Argentine artists alternative routes for dissemination of their work. Examples of these organizations include Proyecto Trama and Red de Conceptualismos del Sur. Both organizations attempted to distance themselves from state institutions while at the same time finding creative ways to navigate domestic politics and the global neoliberal regime. These organizations had the added benefit of connecting Argentine visual artists with artists from around the world. There is still a danger, however, that globalization may have a totalizing and homogenizing impact on artistic production or promote the otherness of artistic production by categorizing it as exotic. The challenge is to seek to maintain the critical nature of art production while redefining the epistemologies within a South-South axis.

The next two articles zero in on specific challenges that artists face in Cuba and Bolivia. In "Stories that Resonate: New Cultures of Documentary Filmmaking in

Cuba,” Sujatha Fernandes (associate professor of sociology at Queens College) and Alexandra Halkin (director of the Americas Media Initiative) contend that the end of the Cold War brought very difficult economic challenges for the Cuban people. Yet during that same period, the country saw a proliferation of artistic expression. Cuban music, literature, and visual arts made it to international circles, and, contrary to what outsiders might believe, rap music and other art forms helped to shape debates about state censorship in Cuba, police harassment, race, and other issues. The authors argue that one artistic genre that is less well known to international audiences is Cuban documentary filmmaking. New and inexpensive digital technologies have contributed to the growth of Cuban investigative journalism, giving young directors the opportunity to quietly disseminate their productions via flash drives that are shared from home to home.

The state has been receptive to some of these independent productions that attempt to bridge the Cuban government’s propaganda machine and the reality of Cuban’s daily lives. Examples of this type of documentary are Marcelo Martín’s film *Elena*, depicting the deterioration of Cuba’s regular housing stock, and Ariagna Fajardo’s *¿A dónde vamos?*, describing the plight of poor farmers in the Sierra Maestra, which received wide circulation and some attention from government officials.

One of the challenges that young film directors face in Cuba is the inability to legally establish their own production companies. This, along with the desire to keep creative autonomy, has forced them to look elsewhere for funding. While funding would come easily from U.S. donors, the ongoing U.S. economic embargo of Cuba has created a very difficult barrier for funds to reach these artists. Nevertheless, a U.S.

nonprofit organization, Americas Media Initiative (AMI), has been able show Cuban films in multiple U.S. venues, generating revenue from viewings that has translated into laptops, video cameras, and other resources for young Cuban filmmakers. Under the Obama administration’s more lenient policies, AMI has expanded its activities to build contacts between U.S. and Cuban filmmakers. Therefore, despite the stereotypes of lack of freedom of speech in Cuba, investigative journalism is thriving, not only because of the long tradition of excellent film schools in Cuba but also due to the availability of new digital technologies that make it easier to reach domestic audiences.

In “The Problems of Controlling Arts and Cultures in Bolivia: An Ethnographic Report,” Michelle Bigenho (associate professor of anthropology and Africana and Latin American studies at Colgate University) and Henry Stobart (ethnomusicologist and reader at Royal Holloway, University of London) address issues of cultural property, in particular the art/culture divide in a rapidly changing Bolivia under indigenous president Evo Morales. When does “culture” become “art”? When do musical elements that are in the public domain become copyrighted art? What are the implications of “patenting culture as heritage”? The authors addressed these and many other questions through an NSF-funded workshop entitled “Rethinking Creativity, Recognition and Indigeneity.” They observe that in Bolivia, culture is often perceived to transform into art when it enters the urban centers and is rearranged, transformed, and copyrighted. This forced division between art and culture has distinct ramifications for Bolivians of different social backgrounds. Given the Morales government’s focus on Bolivia’s indigenous culture, the authors found that one pressing issue was “the fever of heritagization,” a messy and ongoing

process in Bolivia whereby heritage has increasingly come to be understood as property. Another controversial issue was the differential treatment of those who deliver “music” versus those who deliver “culture” for international audiences.

In a country where the “patenting of culture” has proliferated, piracy issues nevertheless continue to shape new forms of artistic dissemination. The availability of digital devices, home studios, and so forth makes it possible for previously obscure regional music and dance genres to acquire new levels of visibility, although economic returns are often minimal. Such democratization and localization of musical production has led to the emergence of a dynamic market of consumers with limited resources. This is perhaps why the Bolivian government so often turns a blind eye where copyright issues are concerned. Despite heated discussions about piracy in many Bolivian contexts, those who participated in the workshop discussed distinct motivations for creative works and their recognition. While economic remuneration may play a part in Bolivia’s rush to control culture, the authors argue that the trend to control culture is multilayered and multifaceted.

Overall, while Latin American artistic production continues to be influenced by the political and economic nuances of domestic environments, it has benefitted from the democratic opening in Latin America. Still, Latin American artists face the same challenges and opportunities that artists all over the world face with the impact of rapid globalization: the emergence of inexpensive digital devices, social media, and the ongoing debate over property (and cultural) rights vs. open-source dissemination of artistic productions. ■

El cine, la democracia y el círculo vicioso

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Cualquiera que recorra festivales de cine en la última década podrá ver que la presencia latinoamericana ya no es excepcional ni minoritaria. Desde por lo menos mediados de los años noventa, el meridiano del cine también pasa por América del Sur —o México—, y ya no es tampoco una excepción que realizadores formados en el cono sur terminen dirigiendo grandes *blockbusters* de Hollywood.

Recientemente, como ejemplo de ejemplos y más allá de consideraciones estéticas, el mexicano Alfonso Cuarón se convirtió en el primer latinoamericano en ganar el Oscar el mejor director. Las razones son múltiples y no es ajena a este desarrollo la reducción de costos que ha implicado la aparición de las tecnologías digitales. Pero no bastaría con eso: lo que ha decidido el mejor destino de una producción que había quedado estancada —en el mejor de los casos— en el consumo interno y fugaz es el restablecimiento (inestable a veces, solo formal en algunos casos) de sistemas democráticos que no solo permitieron una regulación eficaz en la forma como los gobiernos apoyan la cinematografía sino también el propio crecimiento de los cineastas a partir de la creación de escuelas de cine y de la abolición de la censura.

El caso argentino en este sentido es ejemplar aunque, por cierto, no único. Tampoco está exento de problemas, que provienen —lógicamente de la debilidad democrática. Uno de los primeros actos importantes posteriores a la recuperación democrática de 1983 fue la abolición, a principios de 1984, de la censura cinematográfica. El joven de los 80 no olvidará cómo las pantallas fueron literalmente ametralladas por títulos que habían dormido hasta casi una década el sueño de los injustos: *La naranja mecánica* o *Calígula* —dos arquetipos— fueron repentinos y anacrónicos éxitos de taquilla. Ese primer paso, además, implicó también

un cambio en la calificación de las películas, que dejó la palabra “prohibido” de lado y se volvió, con justicia, más permisiva. Se adoptó un tipo similar al que funciona en los EE.UU.: apta para todo público (G en la categorización estadounidense); apta para mayores de 13 años (PG13); apta para mayores de 16 (R); y solo apta para mayores de 18 años (NC17). Los menores de edad solo tienen vetadas las películas en la última categoría, que son muy pocas; para el resto, si no son aptas para todo público, pueden ingresar a la sala con padre o mayor a cargo. Parece intrascendente pero esto es fundamental: mucho más cine visible para mucha más gente implica mucho más desarrollo y alimento para las ideas.

De todos modos, el cine es un arte caro que no puede existir sin subsidios o financiamiento múltiple (en general, requiere de ambas cosas), y lo que la administración de Raúl Alfonsín no puso en marcha fue un sistema coherente de créditos y subsidios. Algo que se subsanó durante el mandato de Carlos Menem, en 1994, con la sanción de la Ley de Cine (la 24.377) que, con posteriores modificatorias, hoy es la que regula la intervención del Estado en lo audiovisual. Lo importante fue la creación del Fondo de Fomento Cinematográfico, que surge del impuesto del 10 por ciento a cada entrada vendida en los cines del país. De allí surgió el financiamiento, que fue acompañado por las primeras generaciones de realizadores surgidos de escuelas de cine. Fue fundamental la creación a fines de los 80 de la entidad privada FUC, Fundación Universidad del Cine, impulsada por Manuel Antín, ex director del INC (Instituto Nacional de Cinematografía, hoy INCAA, Instituto Nacional de Cine y Artes Audiovisuales). La mayoría de los nombres argentinos que hoy forman parte del circuito de festivales —algunos

emblemáticos como Pablo Trapero, Daniel Burman, Lucrecia Martel, Lisandro Alonso o Celina Murga— provienen de allí y educaron sus gustos con el retorno de la democracia. Los tres factores —ausencia de censura, fuentes de financiación claras y desarrollo profesional— se unieron para crear un campo mucho más amplio y fértil.

Lo que sucedió en la Argentina sucedió también, con sus particularidades, en el resto de América Latina. En el caso de Uruguay, la Ley de Cine (la 18.284) recién se promulgó en 2008, y el fondo de fomento se conforma con aportes del tesoro —estipulados en el texto de la norma—, más lo que estipule el artículo 250 de la ley de presupuesto (la 17.930) y aportes privados y donaciones. El sistema aún está en ciernes, y en gran medida Uruguay coproduce con la Argentina —de allí sus primeros grandes éxitos internacionales como *25 Watts* y *Whisky*, ambos de la dupla Pablo Stoll y Juan Pablo Rebella—, y tiene la desventaja de un mercado interno menor. Mientras que Brasil, la existencia de Embrafilme —el consorcio estatal que financia y difunde la producción de ese país— desde los años 70 logró que la industria se moviera con mayor fuerza, ayudada por un mercado interno importante. Es cierto que Brasil padeció censura y dictadura, pero el mayor problema radicó en la discrecionalidad del apoyo estatal que en problemas eminentemente políticos. Un ejemplo claro: dos films de Hector Babenco de esos años —*Lucio Flavio*, *pasajero de la agonía* y *Pixote*— hubieran sido imposibles bajo la dictadura militar argentina. La primera, de hecho, fue prohibida en el Río de la Plata, y la segunda padeció tremendos cortes.

Hay un hilo conductor en todas estas experiencias, formado por varias hebras. El hilo es que solo la libertad creativa permite el desarrollo de un arte y la

consecuente —muchas veces potencial, es cierto— industria cultural. El cine es especialmente sensible a los vaivenes económicos y políticos porque es un arte caro que depende en gran medida del apoyo del Estado. La censura y el manejo autoritario de las herramientas económicas conspiran contra su existencia. Cuando el Estado se hace completo cargo de la producción, en contrapartida, el cine deriva rápidamente en propaganda —basta los ejemplos solo superficialmente antagónicos del cine que produjo la UFA en la Alemania nazi y los films del realismo socialista en la Unión Soviética de Stalin. De hecho, el riesgo de que el gobierno maneje los subsidios reside en que tales apoyos dependen de un comité que puede sufrir la influencia estatal. En la Argentina se puede producir cine sin el apoyo del INCAA, por supuesto: los casos exitosos de *Historias extraordinarias*, de Mariano Llinás, y *El estudiante*, de Santiago Mitre son paradigmáticos incluso por hallar sistemas de producción alternativos. Pero la presión de los sindicatos, por ejemplo, hacen que todo sea “film de guerrillas”. Hace algunos años, el productor industrial de cine Héctor Olivera acuñó el término “cine artesano” para las películas mal llamadas independientes (después de todo, todos dependen en última instancia de la misma caja) y quizás sea adecuado: el problema reside en una ardua —estéril, además— discusión respecto de qué cine debe ser apoyado por el Estado. Hay dos modelos y los dos presentan problemas. Pero primero, la televisión.

El otro factor importante en el crecimiento del cine o de su industria durante el período democrático es la intervención de la televisión. Los grandes éxitos de taquilla de los últimos quince años han tenido aportes de los canales de televisión que, desde los noventa, se encuentran en manos privadas. La inversión de la televisión en el

cine no es desinteresada, y está bien que así sea: por un lado, implica reservarse los derechos de televisación de un film así como cualquier dividendo producto de la negociación de tales derechos; por el otro, una ayuda del Estado en forma de subsidios e incentivos fiscales. Esto ha llevado a la polémica anexa de si el INCAA debe o no subsidiar a los films “de la televisión”, por lo general de temáticas y formas más cercanas al cine industrial estadounidense (otra vez, no se mide en esto calidad). La ley es ley y es para todos, y al subsidio tienen derecho todas las producciones argentinas —o coproducciones con capital mayoritariamente argentino— que se sometan al proceso de calificación.

Dicho esto, la Argentina presenta un problema diferente del de Brasil —que tiene una distribución efectiva y un circuito de arte y ensayo aceptado— o México, donde la mayoritaria presencia del cine estadounidense no impide el desarrollo de una audiencia local suficientemente grande como para volver sustentable el cine. ¿Cuál es la trampa de la Ley de Cine y el Fondo de Fomento? Léase nuevamente: el 10 por ciento de cada entrada vendida en el país se destina al desarrollo de cine nacional. Pero no hay límites a la cantidad de pantallas que puede ocupar un título. Hace un par de años se estableció un canon simbólico a partir de cierta cantidad de copias equivalente hasta a 12.000 tickets que se cobra por única vez, pero la medida es absolutamente ineficaz. La razón es simple: si *La era de hielo 4* vende cuatro millones de entradas con más de doscientas pantallas (en un país donde a lo sumo hay mil), el Fondo de Fomento recauda —a precios de hoy, y aproximadamente— 2,5 pesos por entrada. Es decir \$ 10 millones (alrededor de un millón de dólares). Un film argentino que no pertenece a una “marca” conocida, que no ha construido su

público, que apunte más al adulto que al niño, será desplazado por los exhibidores y distribuidores a una cantidad ínfima de pantallas. Y aunque existe una cuota de pantalla reglamentada para el cine nacional, su cumplimiento es errático. Es decir: el cine que apoya el INCAA produce puestos de trabajo pero no se ve. En 2013, hubo más de 150 películas, de las cuales solo una decena superó las tres semanas de exhibición. A veces esto genera un espejismo: tres de esos films superaron el millón de espectadores; uno de ellos —*Metegol*—, los dos millones. Pero en la proporción, el cine argentino sigue llevándose la peor parte. De paso: las películas nacionales “millonarias” tuvieron coproducción de *majors* de Hollywood (Disney, Universal y Fox para el caso de *Corazón de León*, *Metegol* y *Séptimo*, respectivamente).

Podrá decirse que esto no tiene que ver con la democracia sino con los vaivenes del negocio en el mundo capitalista. Sea, pero no tanto. Los films que “no se ven” casi, nacionales, terminan rotando en las salas del propio Instituto de Cine, los espacios INCAA, que a veces suplen incluso el déficit de cine europeo o latinoamericano. Sin embargo, dado que el manejo de los fondos sigue en manos de un gobierno que quiere mostrar números altos de actividad, se genera el peligro —muchas veces más que un peligro— de que el cine que se apoye sea aquel que solo representa el punto de vista del gobierno respecto de lo estético o lo político. Es sintomático que la agenda de documentales gire (en su mayoría, no siempre) en torno a la reivindicación de los movimientos revolucionarios de los setenta, los derechos de las minorías y pocas cosas más. No es lo único, pero es lo que abunda, y esos films terminan estrenándose solo en los espacios estatales. Dejemos de lado la idea —demasiado antigua, demasiado falsa— de

que el cine es sobre todo medio de comunicación y material didáctico: lo que vemos es, en resumen, que se deja a las grandes majors dominar las pantallas comerciales y se genera un falso circuito de exhibición subsidiado —desde la producción hasta la exhibición— para inflar los números de producciones nacionales.

Este esquema es similar en Venezuela, cuya ley de cine, modelada respecto de la argentina, se consagró en 2012. Y sucede lo mismo: las majors —cuando se las deja estrenar, dado que en Venezuela se ejerce la censura desde las restricciones a la importación— dominan los multicines. Eso sí: con presión, el Estado logra imponer cierta cuota de pantalla. Un dato curioso es que durante las actuales protestas contra el gobierno de Nicolás Maduro, especialmente fuerte en las grandes ciudades del país, muchos cines cerraron sus puertas, lo que hizo que la comedia *Papita, maní tostón*, primera en recaudaciones con más de un millón de espectadores y gran éxito histórico para el país tuviera una baja del 63 por ciento en las recaudaciones en la semana posterior al 12 de febrero, cuando estaba primera. Solo funciona el teatro en Caracas, en su mayoría el infantil y por las tardes.

En el resto de la región, la situación es de crecimiento en la medida en que hay pocos costes a la producción y la ayuda gubernamental tiene más de una fuente. Esto es muy visible en Chile, sin dudas la cinematografía más pujante y variada del último lustro, donde se combina la acción del gobierno en el apoyo a la producción con una política consistente en cuanto a exhibición y distribución. Y donde el cambio político que permitió una mayor libertad de expresión también redundó en una más amplia y menos prejuiciosa variedad de géneros y estilos. Muchos

cineastas independientes se acercan a los géneros populares sin dejar de lado la mirada personal o las posiciones políticas. Basta ver la comedia dramática *Machuca*, de Andrés Wood —donde el contexto político es parte pero no todo— o *Mirage Man*, de Ernesto Díaz Espinoza, film del “primer superhéroe chileno” que no deja de lado la comedia ni el comentario social sin, por eso, dejar de ser un perfecto ejemplo del género. En Chile se apuesta a la diversidad sin pensar si el contenido sigue o no las líneas del gobierno.

Es evidente que la democracia en la región ha permitido un desarrollo mayor del cine. Y también, de manera recíproca, es evidente que cualquier peligro que amenace a la democracia, amenaza también al cine. La falta de autarquía en la ayuda estatal termina contribuyendo no solo a una falta de variedad y el desprecio del público nacional por su cine —visto como propaganda o como “cine de sustitución de importaciones”, como lo definió con humor el crítico Javier Porta Fouz— sino a consolidar el dominio de las majors en el mercado. En última instancia, al mismo panorama que durante las dictaduras o el cierre de un círculo vicioso: condenar al público a ver, finalmente, menos de lo mismo. ■

Breve diagnóstico de las artes visuales en Argentina: Organizaciones autónomas y redes colaborativas en el contexto de la poscrisis

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El comienzo de siglo signó la apertura de transformaciones en todos los órdenes de la cultura. Particularmente en el campo de las artes visuales, se constatan cambios paulatinos en las representaciones y posiciones de los sujetos, colectivos e individuales, en los modelos de producción, en las epistemologías estéticas y teóricas e, incluso, en los modos de recepción e institucionalización de las prácticas. Estos giros epistemológicos obligaron a pensar en nuevos diagnósticos, sobre todo en relación a las dinámicas de trabajo de regiones periféricas poco “profesionalizadas”, en el marco de la globalización. Tras el período de la propia crisis político-institucional de 2001, acrecentada por la situación mundial, emerge en Argentina con renovada vitalidad la relación *arte / política* (Giunta 2009).

Es importante mencionar que, tanto en *formaciones culturales alternativas* (Williams [1977] 2009), como en los discursos oficiales, se comprueba la emergencia histórica de una agenda programática: Dar visibilidad a los hechos perpetuados por el terrorismo de Estado durante la última dictadura militar argentina (1976–1983). En términos generales, ya no se trata sólo de comunidades de agentes militantes o prácticas artísticas específicas, sino de una sistematización en las búsquedas de representaciones de los sujetos, en las asociaciones y gestiones entre colectivos artísticos e instituciones. La apertura de espacios para la cultura y las artes en torno al rescate de la memoria social; los estudios de campo desde ámbitos académicos, que tienen como objeto los activismos artístico-políticos de izquierda de los años sesenta y setenta; el rescate y la organización de archivos y documentos clave para entender y analizar el pasado, son algunos de los ámbitos donde esta agenda se concreta.

En el ámbito institucional, ligado al Estado, en los últimos años, la creación de numerosos espacios en todo el país (museos, centros culturales) dedicados al rescate de la memoria, en relación con los años de terror, contribuye a darle visibilidad, desde la coyuntura política nacional, a una suerte de apropiación oficial de los discursos sobre memoria social y derechos humanos. Desde el panorama global, la inauguración de infraestructura para las artes visuales refuerza una marca de la cultura contemporánea: la proliferación de museos y centros expositivos. Contra lo imaginado durante la vanguardia anti-institucional, el desarrollo museológico contemporáneo acompaña la era de la “bienalización”; una multiplicación de bienales, mega-exposiciones y eventos que incluye a América Latina.¹

Las transformaciones culturales de poscrisis se evidencian también en la constitución de numerosas organizaciones de trabajo, formaciones alternativas, auto-identificadas como *colectivos, cooperativas o iniciativas de artistas*, “auto-gestionadas” o de “gestión independiente”. Estas denominaciones atienden al sostenimiento de la toma de decisiones y a la libertad de acción respecto de los intereses de las políticas oficiales. Según las voces de los propios agentes, la conformación de estos grupos es necesaria para satisfacer demandas provenientes de los “espacios vacíos” (Editorial Trama 2002) dejados por las gestiones estatales en materia de cultura y artes. La hipótesis afirmaría que la falta de políticas culturales oficiales que den cuenta de las necesidades y problemáticas del campo dan lugar a la emergencia de estas organizaciones alternativas.

Estas formaciones surgen con la apertura democrática de 1983 en Argentina. En ese contexto, posibilitaron el reconocimiento

de identidades y representaciones individuales y colectivas, obturadas durante la dictadura, que encontraron visibilidad en expresiones artísticas y formas culturales diversas. En los ochenta y principio de los noventa, los discursos contra-culturales emergentes tomaron rápidamente posición en la vanguardia. Mientras que las instituciones estatales, por su parte, sufrieron un retraso en la implementación de políticas para la cultura y las artes en la apertura de espacios y programas, en acuerdo con la transformación democrática:

“En el campo artístico, las instituciones demoraron más en su recambio que otros espacios informales de reunión, que se constituyeron en una nueva red de circulación para grupos y prácticas culturales comúnmente denominados *under*. [...], en los primeros años de la democracia no sería posible dar cuenta de lo más característico del período sin incluir a dichos espacios de contornos difusos, donde coexistían productores de diversa procedencia, aunados por el espíritu de libertad que allí se experimentaba” (Cervino 2013).

Paulatinamente, los colectivos auto-gestionados lograron organizaciones menos informales y con mayores posibilidades de obtención de recursos económicos para el desarrollo de sus proyectos. Se afianzaron las identidades y representaciones subjetivas, trascendiendo las fronteras de lo local, regional o incluso nacional. En el contexto de poscrisis, la constitución de plataformas colaborativas excede ya los límites de las naciones para asumir compromisos conjuntos en el marco del eje geopolítico Sur-Sur. Aquí podemos mencionar dos casos concretos desarrollados en los últimos 15 años: el Proyecto Trama, que desarrolló actividades entre 2000 y 2005, y la Red de

Conceptualismos del Sur (RCS), que describiremos más abajo. Aún con ciertos desafíos en común, ambas organizaciones se distinguen en sus propósitos específicos y en las posiciones tomadas frente a la “mundialización” de las prácticas y discursos en las artes. Como plataformas autónomas perfilan el objetivo de desmarcarse de las instituciones estatales, por considerarlas insuficientes, o neutralizantes de su potencial crítico. Trama, desde Argentina con una proyección hacia América Latina y la RCS desde un contexto más amplio (principalmente Latinoamérica y España), en el eje Sur-Sur, asumiendo una posición intelectual desmarcada del *mainstream* del arte contemporáneo internacional.

Constituido por un grupo de artistas visuales con una percepción (diagnóstico) común: que “el contexto no satisfacía las necesidades de intercambios” (Editorial Trama 2002), el Proyecto Trama tuvo entre sus objetivos delinear una cartografía, aunque fragmentada,² capaz de dar cuenta de un estado de situación de contextos particulares en Argentina; hacer diagnósticos del estado de las instituciones y de las estrategias de legitimación de los artistas; promover el debate sobre los discursos hegemónicos, las *tradiciones selectivas* y las tensiones entre modernismos (como estéticas aún en disputa) y discursos contemporáneos.

En torno a la crisis político-institucional de 2001, el programa proponía fortalecer sus acciones y reflexiones, potenciando una “estructura horizontal y rizomática”. Trama se proyectó rápidamente en el circuito artístico nacional, constituyendo un modelo de gestión autónoma capaz de sostener a largo plazo su misión y objetivos. Abrió una plataforma de trabajo *mirando* hacia el interior de la Argentina, desde una perspectiva “mundializada” y

proyectó las artes visuales locales en el contexto de una red latinoamericana. Por último, conllevó dentro de sus propias metas, la determinación de debatir y repensar los modelos de organización de los artistas en cada contexto y de formular nuevos modos de vinculación autónomos y alternativos a las políticas estatales. Como consecuencia, Trama alentó la constitución de nuevos mapas de relaciones interpersonales e interinstitucionales, desde la Argentina hacia el exterior, que dieron lugar a nuevas redes de trabajo colaborativo. Esto significó un aporte a la descentralización de los modelos de organización y gestión, formación artística, circulación de experiencias, poéticas y discursos críticos, respecto de la capital cultural, Buenos Aires.

El diseño de estas nuevas cartografías, el conocimiento de los agentes y grupos activos y las cada vez más afianzadas relaciones entre estos y las instituciones, propiciaron el desarrollo de programas con perfil federal organizados por entidades estatales. Entre otros, Interfaces – Diálogo visual entre regiones se delineó como un programa de cruces de proyectos curatoriales entre ciudades argentinas, por pares, que ponían en diálogo sus producciones artísticas en exposiciones (Fondo Nacional de las Artes 2010). Desde 2005 hasta el presente, a través de Interfaces se llevó adelante un mapeo más completo y federal de las escenas regionales y contextos periféricos.³ El otro programa destacable es el que conforman los “Talleres de análisis y seguimiento de producciones teóricas y prácticas en artes visuales”⁴ (comúnmente llamados “clínicas”) del Fondo Nacional de las Artes, que se imparten en casi todo el territorio argentino.⁵

En el contexto latinoamericano, es significativa la preocupación por rescatar

prácticas y discursos relacionados con las acciones poético-políticas de los años sesenta y setenta, tanto en los estudios de campo, como en la práctica curatorial e incluso en la misma producción artística. Además de ser consustancial a las problemáticas socio-políticas concretas, esta tendencia ha dado lugar a un posicionamiento diferenciado del arte latinoamericano respecto del “gran escenario” contemporáneo internacional (Giunta 2011).

Constituida en 2007, la Red Conceptualismos del Sur expresa la “necesidad de intervenir políticamente en los procesos de neutralización del potencial crítico de un conjunto de ‘prácticas conceptuales’ que tuvieron lugar en América Latina a partir de la década de los sesenta” (Red Conceptualismos del Sur 2009), desarticulado por el terrorismo de Estado. *Conceptualismo* significa, en este contexto, prácticas artísticas asociadas a contenidos socio-políticos, fundamentadas en el pensamiento de izquierda y desmarcadas, críticamente, del arte conceptual canonizado de la Historia del Arte dominante desde los discursos de la Modernidad.

Los agentes que conforman la red (investigadores, curadores, historiadores del arte, artistas...) tienen como propósito “contribuir a la reactivación” de dichas prácticas conceptuales: “Reivindicar la presencia de la memoria sensible de dichas experiencias para que ésta se convierta en una fuerza antagonista en el marco del capitalismo cognitivo actual” (Red Conceptualismos del Sur 2009). Esta red se posiciona críticamente frente a los circuitos de legitimación y visibilidad altamente institucionalizados, implicados en el sistema internacional del arte. La proliferación museística y la “bienalización” contemporáneas redundan

en que museos, centros de artes, coleccionistas, instituciones del ámbito público y privado disputen visibilidad y legitimación, bajo las lógicas del mercado. En este marco, la RCS advierte también sobre la cooptación por parte de las instituciones, sobre todo museos y colecciones, de archivos y documentos clave en el proceso de reconstrucción de la memoria social. Estos archivos sufrieron, en las últimas décadas, un proceso de institucionalización y canonización neutralizador de su potencial crítico (Red Conceptualismos del Sur 2009).

La RCS actúa como catalizadora de una tendencia en las representaciones del arte latinoamericano. Desde esta perspectiva crítica la canonización de las historias del arte producido en contextos periféricos, la conformación de archivos y el estudio de documentos es un aspecto determinante en la reactivación de la memoria colectiva en torno a las acciones artístico-políticas. La poscrisis ha sido también el ámbito histórico para el rescate de registros de acciones y obras, y la construcción de archivos de los años sesenta y setenta, desde donde se proponen nuevos análisis sobre el pasado.⁶ Pero también emerge como una vía posible para el redescubrimiento del potencial crítico de las prácticas artísticas frente a la globalización totalizante.

Estos cambios del último decenio posicionaron al arte latinoamericano en la escena internacional. Artistas y producciones alejados de los centros culturales encontraron espacios para la visibilidad, el debate y la interacción con otros. Un efecto positivo de la globalización en localidades periféricas es la apertura de canales de información, asociación y compromiso colectivo extendiendo los límites de lo local.

Sin embargo, los estudios críticos advierten sobre el acceso a los circuitos de legitimación mundializados del *arte contemporáneo internacional* como un proceso análogo al *internacionalismo* de posguerra; este efecto de la globalización se define hoy como un “nuevo internacionalismo”: “El nuevo internacionalismo del arte contemporáneo —en el que se pretende que aparezcan todas las culturas ‘estéticamente’ bien representadas— extiende la polaridad etnocéntrica de la modernidad hasta tal éxtasis (hasta una ‘sobreidentificación’ con el otro tan extrema) que la alteridad se convierte en su interior en algo geopolíticamente estéril” (Barrieros Rodríguez 2009).

En las periferias (ciudades y regiones provinciales) nos encontramos aún con *tradiciones selectivas* —que se mantienen como lenguajes hegemónicos— reivindicadas por las instituciones, museos y academias. Estas tradiciones se presentan materializadas en estéticas modernistas sostenidas, en general, por prácticas disciplinares (en particular la pintura). Mientras que, hacia los centros (capitales y sedes de bienales) ceden espacio al lenguaje totalizador de la instalación (por antonomasia el lenguaje del arte contemporáneo internacional) (Groys 2008; Smith 2012). En artes visuales, el neologismo *glocal* postula la reflexión sobre las tensiones en regiones periféricas entre estéticas modernistas y estéticas contemporáneas. Para el arte producido en estas latitudes, la cuestión se detiene en cómo el acceso a estéticas contemporáneas “mundializadas” puede sustentar la superación de las tradiciones selectivas hegemónicas importadas de la Modernidad occidental. Pero también cómo, en esta apertura, el efecto de la internacionalización puede contribuir a homologar (totalizar las prácticas bajo el

efecto del *pluralismo*⁷), u otorgarles el lugar de *lo exótico* en el arte mundial (etnocentrismos camuflados en los discursos de la *otredad*). Frente a estas paradojas, el desafío que muchas de estas formaciones culturales han objetivado está en sostener el potencial crítico de las prácticas estéticas y redefinir las epistemologías en el marco del eje geopolítico Sur-Sur.

Notas

- ¹ Por nombrar sólo algunos de estos eventos mencionaremos las bienales de San Pablo y del Mercosur (en Porto Alegre); la Bial del Fin del Mundo (en Ushuaia); la Bial de Panamá y La Habana.
- ² El mapeo de iniciativas de artistas auto-gestionadas del interior del país, tuvo una fuerte actividad en torno a nodos situados allí donde los contextos de producción y pensamiento eran ya menos periféricos: las ciudades de Rosario, Buenos Aires, Mar del Plata y Tucumán.
- ³ En un primer ciclo del proyecto, Interfaces realizó cruces entre: Mar del Plata y Rosario; Tucumán y Río Gallegos; Córdoba y Posadas; Mendoza y Salta; Paraná y Neuquén; San Juan y Bahía Blanca; Gral. Roca y Santa Fe; Comodoro. Rivadavia y Bariloche; La Plata y Corrientes; Tandil y Resistencia. Otros ciclos se desarrollan hasta hoy, incluyendo diálogos entre nodos de todo el país.
- ⁴ Tanto el programa de clínicas como Interfaces son organizados conjuntamente entre la Secretaría de Cultural de la Nación y el Fondo Nacional de las Artes.
- ⁵ Sólo la provincia de Chubut quedó fuera del programa por cuestiones organizativas. Este programa, en funcionamiento desde 2011, tiene una estructura de encuentros anual que convoca a participantes seleccionados (artistas emergentes de contextos periféricos) y coordinadores (artistas con más experiencia en

el campo, curadores, docentes, investigadores, etc.) de diferentes provincias. Los cruces entre ciudades de la misma región y los coordinadores provenientes de otras localidades afianzan redes sociales y promueve nuevos intercambios colaborativos.

- ⁶ La recuperación del archivo y el estudio de la acción artístico-política Tucumán Arde, es un caso clarificador en este sentido (Longoni y Mestman 2000).
- ⁷ “El arte vive actualmente un estado de pluralismo: no hay ningún estilo ni modalidad artística dominante, y ningún planteamiento crítico es ortodoxo. (...) en un estado de pluralismo, el arte y la crítica tienden a dispersarse hasta la impotencia” (Foster 1995).

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DEBATES

Stories That Resonate: New Cultures of Documentary Filmmaking in Cuba

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Ordinary citizens in Cuba faced tremendous difficulties after the collapse of the Soviet Union, but the decades of the 1990s and 2000 ushered in a revitalization of the arts and creative responses to the crisis. Cuban music, literature, and visual arts are some of the more widely known and globally circulated cultural products of this period. Cultural forms such as rap music have helped to create new avenues for democratic debate and discussion within the country, raising such issues as racial discrimination, police harassment, and state censorship. But one cultural form less well known both inside and outside of Cuba has been the newly emerging genre of documentary filmmaking by young Cuban directors.

Young filmmakers have accessed new digital technologies to practice investigative journalism, often outside the structures of the state film industry and government-controlled media. They are using recording devices such as small digital video cameras and even cell phones to document their experiences. Some have received professional training at the Arts Institute (ISA) or the International School of Cinema and Television (EICTV) in San Antonio de los Baños, but there are also numbers of filmmakers who are self-trained. Many filmmakers seek to address the failures of Cuban National Television to cover the day-to-day realities of Cubans. These young filmmakers are teaching themselves how to tell stories that resonate with the Cuban public and to generate internal discussions to improve conditions.

Historically, in the postrevolutionary period, journalism has been under the supervision of the Communist Party-controlled Department of Revolutionary Orientation. But recently, young Cuban directors have been working more independently via coproductions or by raising funds on their own. Many of these independent

productions are screened at the Muestra Joven (Young Director's Festival) or the Havana Film Festival. Because of the lack of access to DVDs in Cuba, films are often copied onto flash drives and then passed from hand to hand for people to watch on their personal computers. There is a saying in Cuba that there should be a "flash drive award" because that is the true indicator of the popularity of a film in Cuba.

A few films make it onto national television, usually animations or films that do not present too much of a challenge to the status quo. But there are cases where a film generates so much public attention that even though it has a strong critical edge, it will eventually be broadcast, like Ariagna Fajardo's 2009 documentary *¿A dónde vamos?* (*Where Are We Going?*).

Produced by TV Serrana and financed by Cuban National Television, *¿A dónde vamos?* was a community video project that began in the early 1990s in the Sierra Maestra. The film opens with a series of scenic shots of the mountain ranges, dotted with palm trees and thatched huts. But amid the idyllic scenery, people are leaving in droves. They carry bundles, boxes, and mattresses on their backs; they pile their belongings onto horses and trucks. The film looks at the massive exodus of farmers from the Sierra Maestra due to an absence of opportunities for them to make a living.

In interviews with the farmers, coupled with footage of their difficult work conditions, the farmers relate the problems of lack of transport, the loss of animals and crops to theft, the devastation wreaked by hurricanes, the loss of money on coffee crops due to fixed prices, and the lack of help from the government. They are told that they need to produce, but they have no tools.

In one particularly devastating scene, a group of workers unload bags of ripe mangoes to a site where they are supposed to be picked up by the government. The fruit sits there, and still no one comes to pick it up. Then there are scenes of the same workers throwing out the fruit, black and rotting. Coffee also sits for days without being picked up, until it too finally goes bad and must be disposed of by the farmers who have worked so hard to grow it.

"People have lost their love for the land because they haven't received much support," says one farmer. Then he adds, cautiously, "I'm not sure if you'll be able to put that in the video. It might be difficult." While indeed these kinds of views may not have had space in official promotional-type videos, in the new investigative journalism they are more common.

The camera pans across a series of empty and abandoned buildings with peeling paint; the name reads "The Polytechnic Institute of Agronomy." A revolutionary slogan adorns the side of one of the buildings: "Venceremos!" (We Will Win!).

One of the farmers suggests that if the government were to plant cassava or corn or other crops on the abandoned cooperative land and the land belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture, then there would be enough food for people to eat. "Did the Americans say not to plant or grow things?" he asks pointedly. "No. So we can't blame the blockade."

At the end of the film, the farmers recall the historical debt that is owed to them by the revolution. "Farmers made sacrifices supporting the revolution mainly when Fidel was fighting in the mountains," says one farmer. He points to an older man gathering wood behind him. "Some are still

here.” It is ironic that the Sierra Maestra, a part of Cuban revolutionary folklore for the mythic role that it played in the guerrilla movement of the 1950s, is now the site of abandonment and poor peasant farmers barely making a living.

This film was eventually shown on Cuban TV. After it was broadcast, TV Serrana received a call from a high-ranking Communist Party official. He told them that he was unaware of the problems that people were having in the Sierra and he was going to see what he could do about it. The VI Communist Party Congress held in April 2011 declared agriculture and food production to be matters of national security, and farmers in the Sierra Maestra received assistance with their tools, were paid higher prices for their produce, and had improved distribution.

At the Young Directors Festival held in Havana in April 2013, Marcelo Martín premiered his new film *Elena* about the collapsing old residential buildings in Central Havana. Martín conducted interviews with workers and residents who showed him their deteriorated homes plagued by leaks and contaminated with raw sewage from broken pipes. One older resident walked on blocks throughout his house to avoid stepping in sewage, and after undergoing major surgery he slept on a park bench while recuperating.

The brigades sent to repair the homes did not finish their work, and they left the homes in worse condition than before. The filmmaker calls the vice president of Popular Power to ask when the homes will be fixed, and she lies and tells him the work will resume on Monday. He closes the film with a snapshot: nearly half of the housing stock in Central Havana is in bad shape, and 230 buildings in the neighborhood collapse every year.

This kind of investigative journalism—exposing official lies publicly and presenting the realities of people’s lives—has found fertile ground among young documentary filmmakers, but it often runs up against the problem of financing and distribution. Martín shot *Elena* over a period of three years on a mini DV camera using the built-in microphone. It was financed independently and received no funds from the Cuban Film Institute (ICAIC) or any other state agency. Interestingly, while shooting the film, Martín was working at the Film Institute in their publicity department. He has now left the Film Institute and works freelance.

Young filmmakers are pushing for the legalization of independent production companies and freelance producers. This issue is now being intensely debated within Cuba. Under current Cuban law, the activities of independent film production companies are considered illegal, so filmmakers are unable to register as legal entities, open bank accounts, and so on. This makes it almost impossible to apply for any outside production funds, except from a Cuban state entity, unless you are able to secure a bank account in a third country.

Fund-raising abroad has been one solution for funding. The U.S. nonprofit organization Americas Media Initiative (AMI) has been a crucial source of help by selling Cuban films in the United States and organizing university tours for the filmmakers. In 2013, AMI signed a distribution collaboration agreement with Icarus Films in New York. All of the Cuban filmmakers being distributed by AMI were given a Spanish-language version of the distribution contract. This was the first time ever that any of these filmmakers had an international distributor and the first time they had seen an actual distribution

contract. Through sales of the films over the last three years, AMI has been able to purchase video cameras, laptop computers, and hard drives for many of the filmmakers who otherwise would have no real income from their films.

But there are also limitations to international funding given the restrictions of the U.S. embargo. The embargo prevents U.S. institutions or citizens from providing Cuban filmmakers with funds for their productions in Cuba. A recent example of this unfortunate regulation was the case of Cuban filmmaker Miguel Coyula. In the summer of 2013, Coyula tried to raise funds through the U.S. crowd-sourcing site Indiegogo for his new feature film *Corazon azul* (*Blue Heart*). Coyula successfully raised \$5,288 but was informed by Indiegogo that because of the U.S. embargo, not only was he not permitted to keep the money he raised, but all funds collected would be transferred to the U.S. Treasury Department. Some of the donors received their money back after applying some pressure, but many did not. The production of the film continues but American citizens have been denied the opportunity to offer their financial support.

AMI sees people-to-people contact of the kind that has expanded significantly under the Obama administration as crucial to bolstering the fledgling work of investigative filmmaking in Cuba. Since 2012, AMI has been organizing the Closing Distances/ Cerrando Distancias documentary film tours in Cuba. In order to do the tours AMI has to apply to the U.S. Treasury Department’s Office of Foreign Asset Controls for special public performance licenses, which can take months to be approved. Working with the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) Film Department in 2012, AMI took U.S. documentary shorts to four provinces in Cuba: Cienfuegos,

DEBATES

The Problems of Controlling Arts and Cultures in Bolivia: An Ethnographic Report

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Camagüey, Holguín, and Havana. The films were screened at public cinemas, galleries, and art schools. Many audience members commented that they had never seen these types of documentaries or knew of these experiences in the United States.

In 2013, AMI brought U.S. filmmaker Minda Martin on a tour to Eastern Cuba. She screened two of her experimental documentary films that portrayed her experiences growing up in poverty in Arizona. At one screening in the small village of Victorino in the Sierra Maestra, over two hundred people showed up, including musicians and local performers. Not everyone could fit in the small video screening room, and the question and answer period had to be held outside. After responding to questions, Minda signed autographs and posed for photos with several people. This was the first time U.S. citizens had visited Victorino. To this day, AMI is still receiving e-mails from audience members from the tour who were moved by Martin's work.

Given the stereotypes of Cuba as a place where journalists and artists cannot practice the kinds of freedom of speech existing outside the island, the growth of a culture of investigative journalism may seem either an anomaly or a temporary opening that will not last. In fact it is neither; the island has long nurtured expressive cultures of filmmaking through its arts institutes and internationally regarded cinema school. The availability of new digital technologies has inspired young people to take those tools and approach their realities—which they don't see being represented elsewhere—with fresh eyes and perspectives.

Americas Media Initiative is organizing a U.S. tour for filmmaker Marcelo Martín (director of *Elena*) in November 2014. ■

In 2005, citizens of Bolivia, a country that boasts an indigenous majority, elected their first indigenous president, Evo Morales. His government came to power with a popular mandate to nationalize hydrocarbon resources and hold a constitutional assembly. Since then, Morales has checked off both agenda items, although not without overcoming obstacles and receiving criticism in relation to both processes. As Morales now comes to the end of his second term and eyes the possibility of a perhaps more controversial third one, we focus on what this “process of change” has meant for the arts.

To talk of the arts in Bolivia, however, particularly under a government that claims to work on decolonizing the state, requires a return to the ever-pesky art-culture divide (Clifford 1988). The country's many community-based indigenous expressions, which are so often linked with participatory practices and attitudes, tend to be placed in the “culture” category. Yet it is also common for elements from these same indigenous expressions to be taken into urban contexts, rearranged, given added value, and converted into forms that are perceived to be “art.” Such transformation often involves commodification, where the artist can claim copyright over the resulting artwork. By contrast, the collective indigenous expressions from which such artworks drew inspiration or materials have been treated often as if they were part of the public domain—albeit officially owned by the state (Sánchez 2001). Nonetheless, in Article 102 of Bolivia's new constitution (ratified by national referendum in 2009), the state commits to registering and protecting both individual and collective intellectual property. Precisely how this might work in practice remains unclear. In the middle of the process of change, a storm of pressing

questions has emerged about ownership of and control over cultural expressions, and here, the lines between art and culture remain blurred. In relationship to these questions, we will detail some of the complexities we are encountering in our ethnographic work, specifically with regards to discussions of intangible heritage and copyright.

Even though each of us has independently researched aspects of Bolivian music over many years (Bigenho 2002, 2012; Stobart 2006), we did not come to address these questions head-on until prompted to do so by our interactions with Bolivians. More recently, in our respective conversations with Bolivian friends, musicians, and consultants, a cluster of themes connecting to intangible heritage, intellectual property, and piracy kept reemerging with such insistence that we felt compelled to join forces and explore them in a participatory project, alongside two Bolivian research assistants.

To initiate the project, in July 2012 we organized a four-day NSF-funded workshop in Bolivia titled “Rethinking Creativity, Recognition and Indigeneity.” For this activity we brought together 23 Bolivians involved in various areas of culture and media, including some of indigenous backgrounds. The aim of the workshop was to open up civil society discussions on issues of cultural property, and to do so with a group of individuals who usually are not in dialogue with one another. In titling the event in terms of “creativity,” “recognition,” and “indigeneity,” we purposely avoided direct references to “cultural property,” “author's rights,” or “piracy”—all hot-button words that in previous dialogues and roundtables had led to rigid positioning, claiming of individual rights, and accusations of theft. By planning workshop activities that were

to span several days, we hoped not to avoid these topics but to open up alternative spaces for more sustained dialogues about them. The workshop discussions, planned to occur through small group and plenary sessions, were structured around the following themes: “Creativity and Motivation,” “Creativity and Recognition,” “Circulation,” and “Heritage and Knowledge.”

During the workshop, a key conflict emerged surrounding what one participant referred to as “the fever of heritagization.” A flurry of heritage registration proposals and projects were happening around the country. Such registration was undertaken at many different levels (municipal, provincial, departmental) and evidently was understood in terms of property claims, equivalent to patenting or copyright. For example, workshop participants mentioned hearing people talk about “patenting culture as heritage.” It is unclear if such claims are really about economics, or identity and cultural rights claims, or even long-standing traditions of cacophonous competition between ethnic groups—reconfigured in a neoliberal or *Ethnicity, Inc.* context (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). While we are aware of the total heritage protection troubles outlined by Michael Brown (2003), many Bolivians seem quite intent on solving these problems through expanding legal protections, the kind of legalistic response that has worked hand in hand with neoliberal politics in many Latin American contexts (Sawyer 2004; also see Albro 2010).

While many voices from around Bolivia seem to be clamoring for heritage registration, as if some kind of legal mechanism could ensure property-like claims over cultural resources, it was striking how some workshop participants

distanced their own motivations for cultural creativity from economic interests. In fact, quite a bit of ambiguity emerged in reference to this discussion theme. One participant insisted that all creative work should be remunerated, but everyone recognized social and spiritual motivations for their own creative processes. In other words, most people around the table agreed that creative work emerges from multiple motivations and that the economic promise of remuneration—which copyright discourse insists is necessary for people to want to engage in creative work—was hardly the primary motivation for creative practice, if it was present at all.

Bolivian musicians do work within a copyright system, however, and one that has come under increasing scrutiny by musicians themselves. One of the Bolivian musicians who pushed us to consider these questions, Juan Carlos Cordero, used to work within the Bolivian musicians’ royalty collection society (SOBODAYCOM, Bolivian Society of Authors and Composers) but has come to take a much more critical view of what this organization actually does. Cordero described his early work on the street as a kind of copyright police, going door to door and making public establishments pay up for use of any music in their establishment. As he became more involved in the workings of the association, he began to look skeptically at what it was actually doing for Bolivian musicians, and what it was doing for Bolivians who may play music in communities but who may not necessarily consider themselves musicians because they fail to fit the rubrics of “author” or “composer” as dictated by Western-framed copyright law (see Woodmansee and Jaszi 2003). As a side note of transnational interest, some of Cordero’s views on these issues began to shift as he participated in a working group, CopySouth/CopiaSur,

which was initiated by Alan Story and focuses primarily on Global South dialogues (see CopySouth Research Group 2006). Cordero has been an invited participant at CopySouth meetings in India and Brazil.

Bolivian musicians typically understand the term “artist” (*artista*) to refer to a musician who benefits financially from his or her performance and probably also makes commercial recordings and videos. This connection between art and commerce was stressed in a conversation with the regionally celebrated indigenous “artist” and music entrepreneur Gregorio Mamani, who observed in an interview with Stobart: “What does ‘art’ mean? For me, it means making money, travelling to Europe to play.” Although Mamani most certainly identified himself as an *artista*, it was clear from his words that art, more generally, was something from which he felt largely excluded. In his view, it was others—most notably urban mestizos with more formal education and cosmopolitan networks—who were able to achieve commercial success and to make lucrative journeys to Europe, the United States, or Japan. What particularly infuriated him was the way these middle-class urban mestizos dressed up in indigenous-style clothing for their international performances and presented themselves as if they were indigenous. For him this was a form of identity theft. Ethnography with some of those mestizo musicians who tour Japan reveals other perspectives on the term *artista*. Musicians classify the prestige of a Japanese tour by whether or not they were “treated like artists.” Such a designation usually means that musicians stay in five-star hotels, travel by bullet train, and perform “music” in theaters rather than “culture” in school assemblies (Bigenho 2012).

Since Morales's rise to power in 2006 alongside a pro-indigenous politics and rhetoric of decolonization, the sense of resentment and exclusion voiced by Mamani soon came to be expressed by many other low-income artists from humble and indigenous backgrounds. Mobilizations among such artists have challenged their perceived marginalization by the country's music royalty organizations like SOBODAYCOM, which are seen to benefit only international media corporations and a small number of successful national artists. In reality, many middle-class artists are also highly critical of SOBODAYCOM and the role of the music copyright system. Like their more indigenous counterparts, most reap negligible benefits from royalties. Yet the venues in which they perform are required to pay for licenses and permits. Similarly, international tours are often far less lucrative than Mamani might have imagined, and in many cases it is the international promoters and audiences, rather than the musicians themselves, who insist that performers wear indigenous-style dress (Bigenho 2002).

Bolivian artists also face the challenges of extreme levels of media piracy, which means that very few musicians now expect to profit from the sale of recordings. As in many other parts of the world, over the past decade the function of recordings and videos has become primarily promotional, to acquire live engagements (see also Lemos 2010). Rather than receive a fee or direct profits as in the 1980s and 1990s, artists now expect to pay a record label to make their recordings and may pay pirate vendors to promote and circulate their work. While this has led to the demise of Bolivia's major record companies and the flight of the multinationals, the low cost of digital technology has given rise to a multiplicity of small-scale studios, many

built on the profits of piracy (Stobart 2011, 2010). Such democratization and localization of music production has stressed regional and more indigenous musical genres, while intense competition together with pirate prices and cheap playback technology has opened up dynamic new markets of low-income consumers. Effective pirate networks mean the availability of a diverse range of international cultural products at affordable prices, access to which would have been inconceivable a decade ago. This access to cultural products, which many Bolivians see as an immensely welcome kind of democratization of the arts, also reflects the government's lack of appetite for copyright enforcement, despite regular rebukes from the IIPA (International Intellectual Property Alliance) for failure to uphold international agreements.

To conclude, concern about copyright law might seem paradoxical in the Bolivian context where so few artists benefit from royalties and the vast majority of music and film is pirated, making its impact almost redundant. Nonetheless, among workshop participants we encountered great interest in finding alternatives to the current intellectual property regimes. Indeed, several workshop participants have continued to work together under the group name Alta-PI (Alternativas a la Propiedad Intelectual). Many activities have been realized since the 2012 workshop, including a roundtable on intellectual property and copyright as part of the first Latin American Conference of Live Communal Culture (Congreso Latinoamericano de Cultura Viva Comunitaria, 2013), and a dissemination program, using regional media and a series of short radio programs, aimed at generating wider debate around the country about intellectual property and heritage issues. However, control over

culture, heritage, and art continues to raise contentious issues at all levels of Bolivian society. The Bolivians' most recent outcry about the (mis)use of Bolivian dances—in this case, the Chilean singer Gepe's performance in the Festival of Viña del Mar (2014)—points to Bolivian demands for dignity and respect more than to a demand to put culture under money-making commercial schemes. In our ethnographic interpretations, we hesitate to squeeze this diverse panorama completely under the totalizing umbrella of neoliberalism. Instead, we prefer to recover what Ilana Gershon has called the "anthropological imagination"—that which will point us to epistemological differences and more specific critiques of neoliberalism itself (2011, 543–544). Without setting aside the possibility that some local communities may indeed be dreaming about striking it rich in a heritage rush, we insist that the fever around controlling culture in Bolivia is multilayered and multifaceted.

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Report from the Program Chairs

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LASA2014 is nearly upon us. The applications have been evaluated and the panels have been scheduled. As we noted in our previous report to the membership, we received nearly 1,800 proposals and accepted approximately 80 percent of the individual proposals and 93 percent of the Section proposals. Although we regret that we could not accommodate everyone, we are pleased to have accepted a high percentage of the paper and panel proposals, and we are confident that the program reflects a wide and pluralistic range of voices. The preliminary program has been published on LASA's website: <https://lasa.international.pitt.edu/eng/congress/program.asp>.

A cast of dozens has helped us put together this conference. The president of LASA, Merilee Grindle, came up with the Congress theme and provided us with congenial and effective leadership from the outset. We are also truly grateful to the LASA Executive Director, Milagros Pereyra-Rojas, and the LASA Congress Coordinator, Pilar Rodríguez Blanco, as well as the other members of the LASA staff who answered all of our questions, provided helpful direction, and oversaw all aspects of the organization of the conference with efficiency and grace. We also owe a huge debt to the track chairs who carefully evaluated dozens of panel and travel grant proposals and put together fantastic special panels of their own. Finally, we would like to thank the panel organizers and participants, the Section chairs, the advisory board members, and the numerous other individuals whose ideas and hard work make LASA Congresses a stimulating experience for all.

LASA2014 will offer a feast of riches, and we only have space to mention some of them here. First, we would like to highlight the presidential panels on the conference

theme of democracy and memory. These panels include "Collective Memory and Democratic Institutions," "Democracy and Memory: Linkages in Literature," and "Democracy and the Public Space for Memory."

Second, we would like to draw attention to a few of the special events, such as the Welcoming Reception to be held on Wednesday evening, the LASA awards ceremony, the Kalman Silvert and Martin Diskin lectures, the workshop for directors of Latin American centers and institutes, and the workshops on academic publishing.

Third, this year, for the first time, we asked the track chairs to put together invited panels to highlight cutting-edge work in their areas. They responded by organizing a fantastic array of panels, which we list below.

If all this is not enough to persuade you to come to LASA2014, there is, of course, the Gran Baile! You will also, no doubt, enjoy the historic Palmer House, where LASA will be held, as well as Chicago itself.

Panels Organized by the Track Chairs

Democracia, instituciones y agencia:
El legado de Guillermo O'Donnell

Democracy after Transition

Diasporas and Home Country Politics:
False Promise or Opportunity?

Globalization and Mass Media and Culture

Knowing the Field: Studying Labor for
What and for Whom?

Large-Scale Acquisition and
Transformation of Natural Resources in
Latin America: What are the Implications
for Rural Development?

"Latin American" in the Arts?
A Roundtable

Latin American Urban Studies and
Planning: Present and Future Research
Directions

Latina/o Studies: A State-of-the-Field
Discussion

Liberalism in Latin American History
and Historiography

Literatura (latinoamericana)
y globalización

Memorias del futuro (los film studies en
América Latina frente a las mutaciones
audiovisuales)

New Approaches to Understanding the
Privatization of Violence in Latin America

New Industrial Policy in Latin America:
A Response to New Manufacturing in
the United States?

LASA2014 Local Logistics

Políticas/estéticas de lo común I:
Políticas del afecto

Políticas/estéticas de lo común II:
Umbral de multitud

Post-neoliberalism and Embodiment

Rethinking Order and Violence:
Views from Latin America

Taking It to the Streets: Perspectives on
Recent Mass Mobilizations in Latin
American Democracies

Teaching Memory? Schooling, Cultural
Transmission, and Democracy

Tensions, Advances, and Setbacks in
Latin American Feminist Agendas

Theorizing Post-Hegemony

Three Decades after the Third Wave
in Latin America: What Have We
Learned from Recent Scholarship on
Political Regimes?

U.S.–Latin American Relations:
Policy Relevance, Academic Relevance,
and the Future

What's Left in Bolivia? Honoring the Life
and Work of Benjamin Kohl

A World Where Many Worlds Fit?
Cosmopolitics and Indigenous Movements
in Abya Yala ■

Registration

As in the past, all LASA Congress participants (presenters, discussants, chairs, and organizers) must be pre-registered. Those failing to pre-register will not see their names in the final Program Book and they will be unable to participate in the Congress. Additionally, panels may be cancelled if participants do not preregister. The deadline for participants to preregister was March 24, 2014.

All attendees, including auditors, are required to register; no exceptions will be made. A registration table is provided on-site.

Registration and check-in areas will be located in the Palmer House Hilton Hotel, on the 4th floor across from the State Ballroom. The LASA registration area will be open for badge, program, and *constancias* collection, as well as on-site registration. Participants are encouraged to check in for the Congress starting on Wednesday, May 21, from 2:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

Registration and Check-In Hours

Wednesday, May 21, 2:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m.
Thursday, May 22, 7:00 a.m.–8:00 p.m.
Friday, May 23, 7:00 a.m.–7:00 p.m.
Saturday, May 24, 7:30 a.m.–2:00 p.m.

Check-In

Registered participants will receive name badges, program books, *constancias*, and other information at check-in.

Participants should give themselves ample time to check in before their scheduled sessions. Individuals planning on attending

Thursday morning sessions should consider checking in from 2:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. on Wednesday, May 21, if at all possible.

(People planning on attending the Welcoming Ceremony and Reception on Wednesday night will be required to wear their badges.)

Congress Sessions and Proceedings

All sessions will be held in the Palmer House Hilton Hotel. Congress papers received by the Secretariat at lasacong@pitt.edu by the May 1 deadline (April 1 for travel grantees) will be posted to the LASA website before the start of the meeting.

Contracted Hotel

Palmer House Hilton
17 East Monroe Street
Chicago, Illinois, 60603 USA
Phone: (312) 726-7500

Transportation from the Airport to Hotel

Chicago-O'Hare International Airport (ORD) is located about 18 miles from the hotel. Bus service, taxis, and limousines are available to the hotel from ORD as well as the subway (Blue Line train to Monroe/Dearborn stop). Cars can be rented at the airport.

Chicago Midway Airport (MDW) is located about 12 miles from the hotel. Bus service, taxis, and limousines are available, as well as the subway (Orange Line to downtown, Adams/Wabash stop). Cars can be rented at the airport.

On Chicago

by JORGE F. CORONADO | Northwestern University | jcoronado@northwestern.edu

Child Care

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

LASA maximum responsibility per family will be \$100.00 for one child and \$120.00 for two or more children. A parent who bills LASA for child care must be a 2014 member of the Association and a registered attendee of LASA2014. To receive reimbursement, the parent must submit the original bill from the caregiver, with the name(s) of the child(ren) and the dates of the service, to the LASA Secretariat on or before July 15, 2014.

Audio/Visual Equipment

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

Constancias

Constancias for LASA2014 will be provided during check-in at the registration area located on the 4th floor across from the State Ballroom. ■

By late May, LASA Congress attendees should find a Chicago that has reached the promise of spring and left behind, this year, a particularly bitter winter. LASA-goers will notice an ebullience in the air and Chicagoans in the streets in large numbers, walking, biking, and enjoying the city's many outdoor cafes and restaurants as well as its parks and gardens, as the city gears up for the traditional beginning of the summer on Memorial Day, May 26. The Palmer House Hilton, where the conference will take place, is located in the center of the **Loop**, which in turn is the heart of downtown Chicago. The downtown, quite rightly, is the prime tourist attraction in Chicago, as much for its vibrant street life and shopping districts as for its world-famous architecture, in which the skyscraper, in all its forms, predominates. The Chicago Architecture Foundation, which has a storefront on Michigan Avenue, offers foot and other tours of the downtown as well as other parts of the city. Chicago's extraordinary museums, which cluster around the Loop as well as the adjacent neighborhood of **Gold Coast**, cannot be ignored. The extraordinary Art Institute is within walking distance from the conference hotel, with the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Adler Planetarium, the Shedd Aquarium, and the Field Museum of Natural History all easily reachable on foot as well.

Transportation in and around the Loop is plentiful and easy. Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bus and train service, the latter locally known as the "El," make a good portion of the city beyond the downtown accessible. Downtown, the Loop is literally defined by the elevated tracks that circle 20-odd blocks and that radiate out north, west, and south to the city's neighborhoods. To get further afield—that is, to the suburbs and some more distant communities—either the

excellent but at times infrequent commuter rail system, Metra, or a car is necessary. Luckily, in May weather, renting a bicycle is a fine option and the city is well appointed with bike-friendly streets and dedicated paths. If the weather holds, bikes are the best option and can be used to reach almost any point in the city.

Chicago is a city of neighborhoods that speak to its identity as an immigrant city since its inception in the nineteenth century. Its population within the official city limits is roughly three million, and its urban area, known as Chicagoland, counts a little under ten million inhabitants. The diversity of its population is immense. The Latino population, in all its Latin American and Peninsular varieties, predominates. It is wildly diverse, including urban, regional, and ethnic varieties of Latin American groups. Roughly a third of greater Chicago's population is Latin American, which translates into well over three million of its inhabitants.

For anyone with an interest in the city's Mexican culture, including music, cuisine, and really anything at all, the South Side neighborhoods of **Pilsen** and **La Villita** are a must. Pilsen has seen heavy gentrification in recent years, with art galleries and tony restaurants moving into the neighborhood, as the neighborhood has strengthened its Mexican roots. Both neighborhoods are easily reached on the El. **Chinatown**, also on the city's South Side, is the heart of Chicago's many East Asian communities and can be reached both by El and water taxi. It offers a rich array of Asian food. **Bronzeville**, centered on 47th Street on the South Side, was the center of the city's African American life in the first half of the twentieth century and has recently seen much renovation and preservation of its architecture. The beautifully designed residences are reason enough to visit.

Immediately west of downtown along Randolph Street visitors will find the appropriately named Near West Side, which hosts a high concentration of restaurants and bars, as well as **Greektown**. Nearby on Desplaines Street, one can find a memorial sculpture commemorating the site of the Haymarket Affair in 1886. Going north along Milwaukee Avenue, **Wicker Park** and **Bucktown** have some of the city's best nightlife, with countless restaurants and bars, and also some wonderful residential architecture, particularly along and around the triangular Wicker Park itself. **Logan Square**, adjacent to the former two neighborhoods to the north, is full of the typical Chicago residential house called the greystone and hosts a major intersection for the city's boulevard system at its eponymous square. The city's North Side is made up of a number of densely populated neighborhoods, including **Rogers Park**, with its small beaches and Latino, African American, and Jewish communities. **Andersonville**, formerly home to the city's Swedish and Peruvian communities, is centered around Clark Street and has an active street life with a small-town feel. Just south of it, **Uptown** has some of the city's prime performance venues, such as the Aragon Ballroom, as well as a storied history of both Appalachian migrants and gangster life (for the latter, the still-operating Green Mill is a must, and its regular jazz and swing shows are superb). **Lake View** further south boasts vintage high-rise buildings, all sorts of restaurants, and spectacular views of Lincoln Park; it is also the center of Chicago's gay community. Speaking of views, the Hotel Lincoln's rooftop terrace, open to the public, offers one of Chicago's finest. **Old Town**, where the hotel is located, hosts some of Chicago's oldest neighborhoods and houses. In any of these neighborhoods and indeed in many others, the visitor will find

remarkable examples of Chicago's residential architecture, as notable in individual examples as in the existence of entire neighborhoods integrally maintained over the years. (**Pullman**, the famous company town on the far south side of Chicago, is worth a visit for those interested, but be forewarned: it's far.)

Chicago's grand tradition of green spaces means that its parks merit special attention. The boulevard system, designed in the nineteenth century as a ring around Chicago, runs through the South, West, and North Sides and includes Garfield, Washington, and Humboldt Parks, all spectacular examples of the city's motto, *Urbs in horto*. Lincoln Park on the lake and Garfield Park both offer wonderful greenhouses, the former's specializing in orchids and the latter's in palm trees. But Millennium Park, a step away from the Loop, is undoubtedly the most popular of the city's recent additions to its green space. It boasts concert venues, public sculpture, elaborate tree and other plantings, as well as examples of the architect Frank Gehry's work. The fact that it opened many, many years behind schedule seems to have been quickly forgotten in light of its splendor.

The Chicago River has seen a slow but steady rebirth over the last few years. Historically used as both industrial pathway and sewage dump, only a small part of the northern branch saw residential development in the early twentieth century. Under the current mayor, plans for the river are ambitious if slow to develop. The Chicago Architecture Foundation runs a highly recommended boat tour that highlights the city's modern skyscraper tradition as seen from the water. The adventurous can rent canoes and paddle the river, an experience that, if exhilarating, also requires dodging the occasional sailboat. Last, but certainly not least, are

Chicago's beaches. While not technically open until Memorial Day, if the weather is warm expect them to be well populated by Chicagoans enjoying their fine sand and cool water. The closest beach to the Loop is at Ontario Street.

LASA attendees will doubtless be interested in the local universities and colleges. Four grand university campuses can be found in the University of Illinois at Chicago, the Illinois Institute of Technology, the University of Chicago, and Northwestern University. The first two are prime examples of modern architecture and midcentury urban planning, with many buildings designed by Mies van der Rohe. Beyond their striking main campuses in Hyde Park and Evanston, respectively, both of the latter two have campuses in downtown Chicago. Other important local institutions include Columbia College, Roosevelt University, DePaul University, Loyola University, and Chicago State University.

You will undoubtedly have many opportunities to eat in Chicago. The city may very well contain every conceivable form of cuisine. Every Chicagoan knows that the best pizza in the world is made here. Try a sizeable slice of deep dish pizza (no more than one slice is necessary, rest assured) or, for the daring, an Italian beef. (Neither is suitable if you fear cholesterol.) Enjoy all that Chicago has to offer! ■

LASA'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY

Kalman Silvert and LASA's Fiftieth Anniversary

by MARTIN WEINSTEIN | Professor Emeritus, William Paterson University | weinsteinm@wpunj.edu

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 essay by Donald C. Bross, "Kalman Silvert as Mentor." 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 as Mentor

by DONALD C. BROSS | University of Colorado, Anschutz Medical Campus
Donald.Bross@childrenscolorado.org

Mentor, whether actually Athena in disguise or merely mortal, could not know how Telemachus would turn out. Like Mentor, Kal Silvert deeply cared about his students, about our world, and about humanity. Kal entered my life during my second spring at Dartmouth in 1962. During that previous fall, Lou (Louis Wolf Goodman) and I were becoming friends as we discussed events in Latin America, agreed that we would like to know more about the Latin world so close to us in many ways, and yet hard to truly know from Hanover, New Hampshire. News reports from the entire region seemed superficial and dissatisfying, as if we were being presented only cartoons of people and nations.

I came to Dartmouth from Denver having studied Spanish in public high school for four years and having traveled two summers before, to Saltillo, Mexico, to study Spanish at the Universidad Interamericana. My host family's interest in me was neither superficial nor intrusive. They warmly welcomed me into their midst, a "host family," but one that seemed to delight in sharing their food, music, and laughter, loaning me proper clothing for the Saturday evening walk on the plaza, and doing everything possible to make feel at home. Despite my personal experience in Mexico, it was a time when many Americans looked south fearfully. Castro had brought revolution and a share of the "cold war" next door, 90 miles from the United States. The Bay of Pigs was interpreted as symbolic of how the Americans of the north were failing in our efforts to understand and respond appropriately to the meaning of events throughout Latin America. Our ignorance of even our closest international neighbors played out against the background of the Sputnik surprise, the downing of the U2, and numerous regional conflicts usually

related to how nation states would govern themselves. These were usually viewed as surrogate conflicts between the Communist world and the United States and its allies.

Lou Goodman and I became friends while taking Spanish classes encouraged by a favorite Spanish professor, Bob Russell. Before Kal Silvert arrived in Hanover, we had heard of the new recruit to the political science faculty—that he was a respected regional expert who had lived for years in several countries in Latin America, that he spoke Spanish fluently, and that he was considered a great "find" for the college. Frank Safford, a historian of Latin America working on his Harvard PhD, had also just been recruited. The news of these recruitments excited us, because it seemed that there was recognition at the college of the importance of the region. Lou and I set out to make Latin America our destination for our junior year abroad instead of Spain.

In our earliest exchange, Kal was wonderfully open and encouraging. I don't know what happened behind the scenes, but at least these three professors and the administration of Dartmouth took our request seriously and together set up the conditions that would satisfy all of them that they should take the risk of sending us south without the established parameters and institutional history of the Dartmouth study abroad program in Europe. I suspect but can't know that Kal's extensive experience in Central and Latin America was crucial to endorsing our time in Peru.

My Dartmouth education was being paid by a Naval ROTC scholarship, and it was necessary for more than one reason to receive a leave of absence from that program to go to Peru. By chance I met ophthalmologist Javier Servat, a cousin of Jaime Cisneros, the noted professor of Spanish language and literature at the

Catholic University in Lima. Javier and I met at the airport in Barranquilla, Colombia, during our stopover on the flight to Lima. Javier invited me on a trip to northern Peru, particularly to Trujillo, where he hoped to establish an eye clinic. He wanted to provide medical care for a population that "didn't even have eye drops." He spoke intensely and alternately in rapid Spanish and English, having been a faculty member in Knoxville, Tennessee, for two years and then at Yale for two years. I shared some of the intensity of Javier's return to Peru after four years' absence. Javier was the son of a great landowner, but he and his three brothers and four sisters all became physicians or married physicians to help their country. He told me he was one of fewer than ten Latin American doctors who had returned from the United States after receiving advance training through a U.S. Agency for International Development program. I couldn't have had a better gift than to travel with a very insightful physician who tutored me on the health and well-being of the people we observed from a doctor's perspective, as he was giving me a larger sense of his country. Foreshadowing my academic career in a distant future, travel with Javier also meant that I experienced Lima as a capital city much differently than if I had stayed in Lima at the beginning. Ten days before we landed in Lima the Peruvian Army drove a tank through the gates of the national palace and took over the government. Later I would read that the Peruvian military thought that one of the features setting military servicemen and officers apart from the rest of society was their assignment to locations all over Peru. All of this context might be excessive, but it also sets the stage for the real beginning of Kal's powerful influence on my life.

I did not have any courses with Kal before we left, and therefore felt I barely knew

him. The only advice I remember him giving me was to stay off balconies during any street demonstrations. He also told me how he obtained the scar on his cheek—when he was seeking cover under a car during riots in Buenos Aires. This made his advice seem practical instead of paternalistic. Still, I really didn't know Kal when I left for Peru. He was, after all, a vastly experienced and renowned professor. As I traveled north with Javier and returned, I thought of research projects for my political science credits. Returning to Lima, I wrote a letter in Spanish to Kal listing several possible topics and asking for his advice. My Spanish was at best a work in progress and my handwriting has never been good. I had written a professor I had only just met and asked for his advice. The days before the formal program would begin were passing quickly, Lou and Fernando DeNiccochea had not yet arrived, and Hanover and the United States seemed far away. I felt like I was on my own moon shot. Left to my own devices, I was immersed in the culture and language, beginning to dream in Spanish; all around me were interesting as well as challenging people and questions. But I was without a clear sense of direction as to any project that would encapsulate my reasons and effort in being in Latin America. In a surprisingly short time I received a letter from Kal.

"Estimado Donald, Me alegre que estas enchufado" began his letter. On a single page, written on airmail onionskin, what Kal did not write me is memorable. He did not tell me what to do. In clear yet succinct fashion he described how I could undertake any of several studies. He provided a brilliantly concise tutorial in different methodologies and deftly sketched the pros and cons of each study. In the process he was rehearsing for me how such decisions might be weighed and made. The only

sentence he wrote in Spanish was the first sentence. He acknowledged my effort by his use of slang and the compliment, and then wrote everything else crucially important in English. As a result of his kind and concise letter, I felt enormously supported, organized, and anchored by a sense of self-efficacy that I recognize most clearly looking backward. Kal did not say that he was treating me as a colleague. He treated me as if I already was his colleague. He was honest and direct. His words allowed me to infer what my best chances were to complete a useful project.

As a result of the intersection between my initial experiences and Kal's remarkable instruction, I conducted a content analysis of the writings of the Peruvian military about themselves. I was attempting to understand how the officers rationalized their repeated military interventions in the government. I used only public sources and did not try to interview any officers. I had been placed by the Experiment in International Living in the home of a retired general of the national police. I kept open notes in my room, but never told my host about the study and asked virtually nothing about his career. I did observe his daily routine, went with him to the Club Militar, also went once to watch a traditional religious procession, and attended with him a soccer game between Peru and a rival Latin American country. Once I heard him wryly tell his family how his pocket had been picked on the tram coming home. This was followed by a grudgingly admiring joke about an international police conference held once in Lima, attended by the leading police and intelligence agencies of the world—and that all of the attendees had their pockets picked before they got out of the airport! He knew I was a midshipman on leave, but neither of us discussed anything about political or military affairs. I could have

lived in a hotel or stayed in the pension where I first lived and obtained the same public-access materials that I used in my research, because all my references were in the national library and bookshops, those selling school books along with the general bookstores of Lima. My own sense of ethical responsibility was that I could use what anyone in the public could see, but that it would be a breach of trust to use associations or friendships, introductions, or even my military background—which I did not discuss with anyone—to gain access to information. It is possible that this self-definition and adherence to a code of research ethics (even though not thoroughly articulated even in my own mind at that time) would not have protected me from accusations of spying in another age or place.

What did I learn from these open sources? There were news magazines, journals, and books written by military men from all of the branches of the Armed Forces, and a great many of them were available in the national library. The military officers of the country wrote commentaries in the journals that articulated or were intended to reconfirm their foundational beliefs, including a belief that they were the only true patriots in the country. Only military men spent their lives on the frontiers of the jungle, the mountains, and the deserts, isolated from civilization and often isolated from their families for long periods. Only members of the military routinely spent a life of sacrifice that included the chance of dying in a war for the *patria*. In one memorable sentence, the "effeminate businessman in his fat chair" with his primary goal of money was compared unfavorably to every member of the Armed Forces who was prepared and could be called upon to sacrifice his very life for the good of others. Important sources were the booklets for Instrucción Premilitar, the

required course for all males in secondary school.¹ The first book was illustrated with drawings and photographs of historical Peruvian military heroes and colored images of Peruvian national flags, and ended with instructions about how to wear a uniform, stand at attention, and march. By the fifth year, students were being introduced to subjects that included topography, fields of fire, calculating estimated times of march over varying terrain, and taking cover. Every male Peruvian high school student was considered part of the military and thus part of national defense. I still have the booklets for these five years of instruction in my library.

I also learned that the Peruvian military had established CAEM, or Centro de Altos Estudios Militares. Reports written about CAEM indicated that economists, political scientists, and other individuals with advanced academic education were running seminars on national development and other topics related to the Peru's well-being and defense. From the descriptions of activities there, it seemed to me that at least some military officers had determined to begin to examine their own role in the life of the nation through the eyes of other, nonmilitary but still competent and patriotic individuals. Learning about this activity, over time I realized that theirs was a dynamic military culture and that there was evidence that, true to their stated patriotism, there were at least some individuals struggling with their definition of themselves. Institutions are composed of and formed by individuals, and both can change. As we look at the world today, these same issues continue to form the foundation for struggles being endured by many emerging economies and societies.

As we began our language and literature tutoring at the Universidad Católica, the

three Dartmouth students there were all living with families. Late in September or early October, I learned about a retired military officer who was writing a history of the Peruvian military. If my memory is correct, I was asking at a book store about histories of the Peruvian military when the owner told me that he knew of someone who was writing on that very topic. Very soon, Víctor Villanueva found me and introduced himself. It turned out that Mayobre Víctor Villanueva had been part of a failed *golpe* in Callao in 1948. Villanueva had become interested in understanding the culture of his own service. We spoke on several occasions, and in November he presented me with his just published *El militarismo en Perú*, autographed "Para Donal Bross, estudiante y estudioso de nuestro problema político. Cordialmente, Villanueva, Lima, Nov. 1962."² This unexpected and treasured book not only revealed a history that spoke for itself regarding the military in Peru, but it provided my first encounter with what Donald T. Campbell and Julian Stanley later referred to as "multitrait, multimethod" research in the social sciences. The book contains a chart which is the history of Peruvian coups d'état along with the charted history of the percentage of the national budget dedicated to the military. From 1912 to 1962, when the percentage of the national budget devoted to the military reached below 22 percent, the longevity of any then current civilian regime became, at best, precarious.

The year and a half of my life at Dartmouth after Peru was a time of intellectual challenge and happiness. Lou and I followed a modified Spanish major that essentially endorsed an emphasis on courses in language, literature, and political and social science related to Central and South America culture, politics, and economy. At the heart of my social science

identity is Kal. In courses he taught we were exposed to Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba through their early book comparing national development in four nations, as well as David McClelland with one illustration of how powerfully social psychology links individual and culture, and Daniel Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society*, with valuable insights that help me understand the world today. The work of Karl Mannheim, a sociologist who grasped the intricacies of ideology and its potential for good and bad, was in the background. Interactions in Kal's classes were often the most growth-producing part of my education. A discussion on population growth, with a background of Malthusian tradition and Harrison Brown's *Challenge of Man's Future*, led to Kal's question: "Is it possible that some human problems require a specific human genius to solve?" How many geniuses of a particular or peculiar genius are needed to solve our most difficult problems? What is the size of human population needed to provide a genius sufficient to answer the most difficult challenge human beings will face in the future? Without some sense of this answer, how could we justify without other reasons having a certain population limit? The idea that any grand theory or causal "explanation" of large-scale or national human development, outside of middle-range theory, would work to guide humanity reliably was repeatedly questioned.

On rare occasions an invitation would be extended for a few students to come by for dinner with Kal and his wife, Frieda. At some point during that year, and my recollection is that he was only speaking with a very few of us, Kal disclosed that he had been part of an American effort in North Africa and Spain during World War II to gather intelligence. It was clear he would not entertain any requests for "war

stories.” This background, however, informs his account, at another time, of doing research for *A Study in Government: Guatemala*.³ At some point, my impression is strong that it was during the 1950s and the McCarthy era, Kal was approached by representatives of the U.S. government for his field notes. Kal informed them that he would have to give them his notes the next day when he had sufficient time to gather them and properly prepare them for delivery. When the representatives returned the next day he delivered a box, or boxes, of ashes. At some point during my year and a half with him, Kal said that the Rand Corporation had asked for the paper I wrote for him in Peru, “Institutional Attitudes of the Peruvian Military.” I thought about it. It wasn’t an accident that Kal had told me various stories, nor an accident that Kal repeatedly seemed to trust me and trust my judgment. We shared an interest and experience in difficult questions of violence, social change, institutions, and individual human beings. At other points, he illustrated his belief in right and wrong by vignettes of encounters in Latin America. An individual in Argentina who was intellectually astute, broadly educated, and seemingly interested in the betterment of humanity was also a committed Communist. At some point, Kal had “tested the waters” with him and asked questions about what this man would do to further his beliefs. Would he murder this person or that person? The answer was always yes. Finally, Kal asked the man if he would kill Kal if it were necessary. The answer was yes and quite evidently Kal no longer trusted nor was revealing to this individual. In contrast, he delighted in describing a very different encounter in Argentina with Professor Wilson of the Dartmouth political science faculty. Referring to the syndicalist nature of the Argentina of that era, and of how certain individuals behaved within that culture,

Professor Wilson spontaneously exclaimed to Kal (possibly astonishing himself with his own candor), “They’re Fascists!” Wilson inherently desired to be objective, but he also had the courage to recognize that which others might ignore, and this combination along with Wilson’s general abilities permanently endeared him to Kal. These stories were my earliest intellectual introduction to a counterpoint to the principle that loyalty to tribe, clan, or party can corrupt civilization and democracy by undermining the recognition of merit, rewarding cronyism, and supporting racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination. Sometimes the individual is everything. In the summer of 1963 I was sent by the U.S. Navy to Colombia in lieu of original orders to a destroyer based in the Philippines. It was part of the Kennedy-created People to People Program. Kal told me to bring back any books I saw that he and the college should have. Among others, I brought back *La violencia en Colombia* by Padre Guzmán.

I graduated, to serve five years of active duty. When I received orders to a Swift Boat in Vietnam my experience in Latin America cautioned me and prepared me differently from many. I sought out Kal on my way to the new assignment. He said he knew of other officers who had gone to Canada. I said that I did not see how I could have any credibility in challenging the war if I was unwilling to personally witness the war. Vietnam was a difficult time, even though neither my crew nor I was wounded. I felt less sure about our policy there the longer I was in Vietnam. With my service extended from only a half year to an extra year and a half in order to serve as an instructor for river patrol boat crews, I committed myself to train them as well as I could but to also be mindful of the dilemmas they would encounter. My task was made easier by my extraordinary

commanding officer, LCDR Roy Boehm, who had been the first enlisted SEAL when those units were constituted. On my own time, out of uniform, I would sometimes quietly canvas for Eugene McCarthy. As I was leaving the Navy, I went to see Kal. We talked about my impressions, and I asked him how one could choose between social science, law, journalism, or the foreign service. I had the good fortune to be able to ask several well-positioned men, some of them quite famous, the same question. Only Kal understood that I was asking him not to sell me on his career or one like it, which he did, but rather to tell me as much as he could about what he knew about the trade-offs involved with each pathway. In all of the time I knew Kal, he never looked askance at any decision I made, but he sensitized me repeatedly to the importance of every decision.

In the spring of 1976, a number of personally momentous events occurred. Our only son was born healthy to two very happy, somewhat elderly, doting parents in March. In May, I began working for C. Henry Kempe, MD, the physician responsible for identifying and naming Battered Child Syndrome, and since then I’ve remained with great satisfaction on the faculty of the Kempe Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Abuse and Neglect. And on June 15, 1976, Kal Silvert died unexpectedly in New York City of a heart attack. It was the best and worst of times, for no other death except that of my wife has been so difficult.

In 1989 I presented a paper in Rio de Janeiro at a Congress of the International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect titled “Children’s Rights and National Development: Five Models.” It was my personal acknowledgement of Kal’s influence and an expression of my

conviction that the work on violence to children relates to the success or failure of people and nations. I have taught in Colombia, Peru, Mexico, and Chile on diagnosis and treatment of child abuse and neglect, law as an intervention variable in managing family violence, and why societies struggle to recognize and respond adequately to what C. Henry Kempe once described as “cancer of the soul.” I think that Kal’s profound ethical and intellectual competencies, and his refusal to accept any one disciplinary or intellectual school of thought as definitive of what we need in order to understand ourselves and those around us, has helped me at every stage of my life since then. Kal tasked me to learn enough so that I could have a career involving many different tools. These have included medical sociology, social psychology, public health law, and now pediatric law, ethics, and policy.

I would not exchange my life for any other odyssey. Great men and women give us ways to live that should be, because we knew them, richer in meaning, experience, and joy. Because we know about them, better yet knew them, or best of all had them teach and work with us, good mentors give us a better future and values that echo over generations. Kal Silvert remains a profound influence on my work and life, and I am told by my students that they have learned of values they associate with him through me.

Donald C. Bross, J.D., Ph.D., is Professor of Pediatrics (Family Law) and Associate Director for Pediatric Law, Policy and Ethics at the Kempe Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Abuse and Neglect, University of Colorado, Anschutz Medical Campus.

Notes

- ¹ *Manual de instrucción premilitar*, 5 vols. (Lima: Ministerio de Guerra, 1962).
- ² Víctor Villanueva, *El militarismo en el Perú* (Lima: Empresa Grafica T. Scheuch, 1962).
- ³ Kalman H. Silvert, *A Study in Government: Guatemala* (New Orleans: Tulane University, Middle American Research Institute, 1954). ■

LASA SECTIONS

Section News

Mass Media and Popular Culture

The Mass Media and Popular Culture Section announces its very first preconference session. It will take place on Wednesday, May 21, 2014, at 1:00 p.m. in the Medinah Parlor, Palmer House Hotel. For inquiries and/or submissions, contact Matt Bush (mab508@lehigh.edu) and/or Silvia Kurlat Ares (silviakares@hotmail.com).

grupo de mujeres víctimas de violencia sexual del caso por genocidio); Dra. Irma A. Velásquez Nimatju (Mecanismos de Apoyo de los Pueblos Indígenas de Guatemala); Dra. Marta Elena Casaús Arzú (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid); Dr. Gilberto López y Rivas (Instituto Nacional) y Dr. Emilio del Valle.

For more information on Section activities, please see the Section page on the LASA website. ■

Ethnicity, Race, and Indigenous Peoples

Reporte ERIP

La 3ª Conferencia ERIP-LASA se llevó a cabo en la ciudad de Oaxaca, Oax., México del 23 al 25 de octubre de 2013, auspiciada por la sección ERIP de LASA, por la Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca (a través del Instituto de Investigaciones Sociológicas), la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, la Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia y el Centro de Investigación y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social.

El comité organizador estuvo presidido por la Dra. Olga Monte (UABJO), Dra. Alicia Castellanos (UAM-I) y Dra. Emiko Saldívar, Coordinadora de ERIP, (UCSB). Se llevaron a cabo tres conferencias magistrales. La primera de ellas dictada por el Dr. Michel Wieviorka (Francia); la segunda por Dra. Mónica Moreno (Mexico), Dra. Mara Viveros (Colombia) y Dra. Irma Alicia Velázquez (Guatemala); y la tercera por Dr. Jorge Hernández Díaz (Mexico). Para clausurar la conferencia se realizó una mesa redonda sobre el Juicio de Ríos Montt en la que participaron María Cedillo Cedillo (Testiga del caso por genocidio y delitos de lesa humanidad, mujer líderesa que ayudo a integrar el

LASA Voluntary Support

by SANDY KLINZING | LASA Assistant Director for Institutional Advancement | sklinz@pitt.edu

Efforts continue strong to advance LASA's mission through enhancing the value of the LASA Endowment as well as securing support for its many other funds. For the LASA2013 Congress the Association was able to count on \$269,821 for travel grants for Latin American and Caribbean scholars. Much of this funding was provided by foundations, but the majority (\$149,000) came from interest on the LASA Endowment. Individual members contributed \$7,284 to the LASA Travel Fund. The Student Fund received \$4,326 and the Indigenous and Afro-descendant Fund, \$3,984.

We also are pleased to report that the LASA Endowment currently stands at \$4.9 million. One of the endowment's chief sources of support is from LASA Life Memberships: a full \$2,200 of the \$2,500 fee is a direct contribution to the endowment. Since our last report in the fall of 2013, LASA has seven new Life Members: Elaine Carey (St. John's University), Todd Eisenstadt (American University), Tulia Falleti (University of Pennsylvania), Jadwiga Pieper Mooney (University of Arizona), Monica Rankin (University of Texas, Dallas), Peter Smith (University of California, San Diego, the 2013 Kalman Silvert Award recipient), and Lynn Stephen (University of Oregon). These generous members bring the number of Life Memberships to 99 and represent a commitment not only to the Association but to future generations of Latin Americanists. We extend to them our most sincere thanks.

A strong effort is also under way to build the endowment through bequests. With members of the LASA Fundraising Committee leading the way, the number of bequest pledges now stands at 24. At the May 2013 Congress a special reception honored members who had already made

their commitments. President Merilee Grindle and the co-chairs of the committee are planning another reception for the Chicago Congress. (For more information about the bequest campaign and plans for honoring donors at LASA2014, please see the article that follows.)

During 2013 nearly 650 gifts were made to LASA funds; these contributions totalled over \$15,800. Many donors once again "rounded up" when renewing their membership or registering for the Congress; others contributed to several funds at once. LASA is extremely grateful to all these donors for their generosity. We wish to particularly acknowledge the following individuals for their gifts since our last report:

Rolena Adorno
Paulo Almeida
Ingrid Ambrogio
Frances Aparicio
Kirsten Appendini
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NEWS FROM LASA

LASA Bequest Campaign Gains Momentum

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

Adriana Pacheco
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David Woken
Enrique Yepes
Marc Zimmerman ■

In 2012 LASA launched a major campaign to build its endowment fund through bequests from its members. The LASA Fundraising Committee is seeking bequests of a minimum of \$10,000 (or a percentage of an estate that will produce a bequest of \$10,000 or more) to benefit the endowment. We emphasize that this initiative is about *bequests*, not current gifts to the Association.

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

Bequest donors become members of the new Kalman Silvert Society. At the Congress in Washington last year, we honored 21 distinguished LASA members for their bequest pledges: Arturo Arias, Cole Blasier, Cornelia Butler Flora, Ron Chilcote, John Coatsworth, Carmen Diana Deere, Merilee Grindle, Evelyne Huber, Jane Jaquette, William LeoGrande, Cynthia McClintock, Kevin Middlebrook, Marysa Navarro, Scott Palmer, Milagros Pereyra-Rojas, Helen Safa, Lars Schoultz, Barbara Stallings, Alfred Stepan, Maria Herminia Tavares, and George Vickers. In recent months, we have welcomed three additional members of the Kalman Silvert Society: Arturo Escobar, Richard Fagen, and Robert R. Kaufman.

President Merilee Grindle will host a special reception at the upcoming LASA Congress in Chicago (Thursday, May 22, 9:00–10:30 p.m.) to honor contributors to this campaign. In addition, Kalman Silvert Society members will be given a special gold ribbon to wear at LASA Congresses, and their names will be inscribed on a

plaque on permanent display at the LASA Secretariat.

We hope that many more of you will join the bequest campaign. None of us can take it with us, and we are confident that many of you will want to demonstrate just how much LASA has meant to you and continue to strengthen the Association.

We are grateful to the members of the Fundraising Committee who have worked hard to bring the bequest opportunity to the attention of LASA members. The 2014 committee includes Edna Acosta-Belén, John Coatsworth, Carmen Diana Deere, Marysa Navarro, Scott Palmer, Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, Lars Schoultz, Gabriela Soto Laveaga, Barbara Stallings, and George Vickers.

For further information about the practical steps involved in making a bequest to LASA, please contact either of us (Cynthia McClintock, mcclin@gwu.edu; Kevin Middlebrook, kevinmiddlebrook@aol.com) or Sandy Klinzing at the LASA Secretariat (sklinz@pitt.edu).

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

LASA Membership Report 2013

Individual Memberships

Total members	6,973	(9 percent decrease from 2012)
New members	1,639	(23 percent of individual memberships)
Renewed from 2012	4,313	(62 percent of individual memberships and 56 percent renewal rate)
Renewed lapsed members	1,021	(15 percent of individual memberships)
Member type		
Traditional members	4,994	(72 percent of individual memberships)
Student members	1,779	(26 percent of individual memberships)
Life members	86	(77 paid and 9 honorary*)
Joint memberships	114	(2 percent of individual memberships)
Member residency		
U.S. residents	3,553	(51 percent of individual memberships)
Non-U.S. residents	3,420	(49 percent of individual memberships)
Latin American residents	2,349	(34 percent of individual memberships)
Other non-U.S. residents	1,071	(15 percent of individual memberships)

* Recipients of the Kalman Silvert Award receive an honorary LASA life membership provided by the Avina Foundation.

Major Disciplines Represented

Political science	703
Literature	668
History	572
Sociology	338
Anthropology	327
Latin American studies	218
Economics	132
International relations	109
Cultural studies	104

Institutional Memberships

Total members	372	(2 percent decrease from 2012)
New members	32	(9 percent of institutional memberships)
Renewed from 2012	312	(84 percent of institutional memberships; 82 percent renewal rate)
Renewed lapsed members	28	(8 percent of institutional memberships)
Institution location		
United States	272	(73 percent of institutional memberships)
Non-U.S.	100	(27 percent of institutional memberships)
Latin America	27	(7 percent of institutional memberships)
Other non-U.S.	73	(20 percent of institutional memberships)

IN MEMORIAM

Peter D. Bell, 1940–2014

An Appreciation

(Prepared by Abraham F. Lowenthal at the request of the *LASA Forum*)

Peter Dexter Bell, an outstanding leader of foundations and civil society organizations, worked tirelessly to advance human rights, social justice, and humanitarianism throughout the world, especially in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Peter's deep internationalism began when he visited Japan on an AFS high school exchange. His restless curiosity, shy charm, warm smile, infectious openness, and sincere caring were evident already in his youth and in his many roles thereafter: as a Ford Foundation officer in Brazil and Chile in the 1960s and '70s and later in New York; as Deputy Undersecretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in the Carter administration; as president of the Inter-American Foundation in the early 1980s; as president of the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation; and as CEO of CARE USA, one of the world's largest private relief and development organizations.

In all these assignments, Peter demonstrated consummate administrative and programmatic leadership; broad vision, strategic instincts, and keen attention to detail; sensitive handling of personnel issues; calm and collected responses to crises; integrity, decency, and courtesy. He left a strong positive impact on each of the organizations he led and on numerous organizations where he served on or chaired governance boards, including the Inter-American Dialogue, the Bernard van Leer Group Foundation, Human Rights Watch, the Refugee Policy Group, the International Center for Research on Women, and the Joint Learning Initiative on Children and HIV/AIDS, among others. In all these organizations, Peter was a recognized leader in mobilizing energies to confront the most important issues.

A soft-spoken man with a tentative affect in speech, Peter was always persuasive when

he addressed a tough question. He was a wonderful promoter and steward of worthwhile institutions, deeply committed to the public good.

On occasion, Peter stepped back to reflect and write. At Harvard's Center for International Affairs, he wrote a pathbreaking essay, "The Ford Foundation as a Transnational Actor," published in *International Organization*. At the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, he wrote and spoke extensively in search of a just and peaceful resolution of Central America's civil conflicts, and published "Democracy and Double Standards: The View from Chile," a trenchant critique of Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's defense of anticommunist authoritarian regimes. He published numerous columns on refugees, public health, education, human rights, and democracy.

Peter traveled the whole world constantly, but his first love and strongest connection was with Latin America, especially with the disadvantaged, the victims of human rights abuses, and the courageous social scientists and civil society activists striving to build democratic governance. In his years with the Ford Foundation, Peter took farsighted decisions, opposed at the time by local governments, U.S. government officials, and powerful private interests, but importantly supported by Foundation president McGeorge Bundy.

Peter was very much a man of Gloucester, Massachusetts, his birthplace, where his parents and siblings were pillars of the community, where he summered throughout his peripatetic career, and where he returned with his wife, Karen, to live for the past few years and to enjoy visits from their children and grandchildren. He loved the sea smells, neighborhoods, scenic vistas, and people of

Gloucester; the hardy resilience of its fishermen; the old Portuguese and new Brazilian influences; and the cultural institutions in which he and Karen became so involved.

I first connected with Peter 50 years ago when we were both newly minted MPAs starting our careers in the Ford Foundation's Latin America and Caribbean program. We stayed in touch from then on, meeting in Gloucester and Boston, then in South America, in Washington in the 1970s, and with increasing frequency over the next years. We worked together with Sol Linowitz to found the Inter-American Dialogue, coauthored its first reports, and continued to exchange ideas frequently until Peter's final months on how to strengthen the Dialogue and its impact. We undertook a Human Rights Watch mission to Chile in 1988 to monitor preparations for the historic plebiscite in which so many of our common friends were engaged, and we worked together on a variety of other issues.

Our own friendship was much more than professional. We became close, together with our wives, participating annually in an eclectic symposium of kindred spirits; taking a Mediterranean cruise; going to Fenway Park together once a year and often commiserating or rejoicing about the Red Sox; counseling each other at various of life's crossroads; commenting on each other's writings (he was a constructively critical editor); and caring about and sometimes advising each other's children. Peter was always thoughtful, insightful, considerate, scrupulous, and fair. I sought and took his advice, even when it wasn't what I wanted to hear. I will miss him greatly. So will the worlds of philanthropy and of Latin American studies and policy.

April 10, 2014 ■

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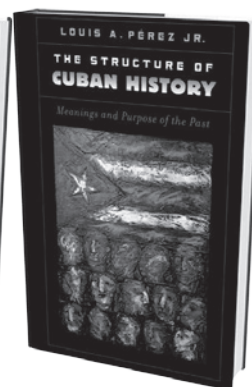
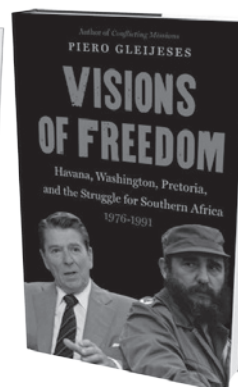
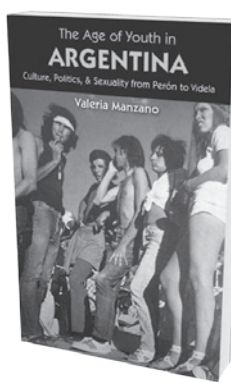
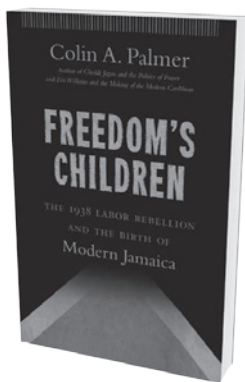
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