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From the President

by DEBRA CASTILLO | Cornell University | dac9@cornell.edu

Yet Again, the Threshold

I've been at Cornell University a very long time, long enough that when Allan Bloom, who once taught at my institution, returned to campus to give a talk about his controversial and much-discussed 1987 book, *The Closing of American Mind*, I was already around to be in the massive audience for his lecture. Lest you are mislead by the book's title, let me hasten to remind you that the "closing" Bloom was talking about, the way he saw higher education as failing its students, was that it was becoming too open to new ideas and approaches, too unstructured, too leftist, too distant from the best that has been thought and said—the "Great Books" of the West. Perhaps the most controversial thing he said that afternoon, among many hotly contested points, was his response to a question about his work's universalizing claims, in the face of its curious lack of attention to thousands of years of Chinese art and literature. As I remember it, Bloom's response was straightforward: when the Chinese produce something worthy of the world's attention, then he would gladly pay attention to it. Meanwhile, he stood by his defense of the Western canon.

Around the same time, a senior colleague of mine in the Spanish program made a parallel comment when I asked him (on behalf of a group of students who came to me and asked me to speak to him) why there were no women writers in his survey course on Latin American literature. He responded gently (he was a gentleman) that he had no prejudices at all, and would be happy to include a woman in his syllabus when there was one able to write at the same level as the other great authors included in his course.

Signs of the times, you might say. Ancient history.

I love the hoary Great Books—it's hard to imagine becoming a scholar without finding these magnificent works irresistible and feeling goose bumps when returning to them again and again: "En un lugar de la Mancha, de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme . . ."; "Muchos años después, frente al pelotón de fusilamiento, el coronel Aureliano Buendía había de recordar aquella tarde remota en que su padre lo llevó a conocer el hielo"; "Vine a Comala porque me dijeron que acá vivía mi padre, un tal Pedro Páramo." Still, you can see how it came about that I have dedicated much of my professional career to writing and thinking about exclusions in Latin American literary and cultural history, and to questions of exclusions based specifically on gender and sexuality, mostly wishing I could write myself out of that job, imagining a day when such a history might, indeed, become ancient and irrelevant, and finding to my dismay that the exclusionary practices remain all too persistent, and deeply rooted.

In her much-cited 1972 poem, "Meditación en el umbral," Mexican Rosario Castellanos captures vividly and unforgettably the sense of potentiality and frustration that might be said to define the early days of second-generation women's rights and cultural work, her struggle with the often-unwritten codes of institutional and social exclusion that she fought against, in poem after poem, essay after essay, book after book. There will be an end to tokenism and exclusionary social practices, she intuitively feels, and she can imagine crossing the threshold but can't yet see what is on the other side:



Debe haber otro modo que no se llame Safo

ni Mesalina ni María Egipcíaca
ni Magdalena ni Clemencia Isaura.

Otro modo de ser humano y libre.
Otro modo de ser. (316)

For Castellanos, and for many other activists of her generation (and mine), that struggle was punctuated by still-potent names like Tlatelolco, the Sorbonne, and Kent State, in a way that echoes, for me, how the Occupy/Indignados movement has swept through nations and imaginations across the globe more recently. Castellanos's struggle, which is still our struggle today, was to put human rights on national and international agendas: to raise consciousness about issues relative to wage work, domestic labor, motherhood, the body, reproduction, race, identity, sexualities, violence. Hers was the effort to promote recognition of women's creativity and women's claim to the life of the mind.

The literary/academic side of this struggle against continued exclusionary practices was on the first level a labor of rescue (to identify authors and reissue works by women, LGBT individuals, indigenous people, and Afro-Latin Americans) and evaluation (to integrate these "marked" categories into the largely heterosexual, male, dominant cultural understandings of national and international literary projects). Concomitantly in Latin America in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries there was an explosive growth of presses, galleries, exhibitions, and performances; of

grassroots activism, position papers, and theoretical writings; of creative work and multiplatform media projects. These exchanges were further instantiated in the creation of gender studies programs in many countries throughout the hemisphere and in the sharing of information and resources through NGOs and increasingly complex websites, action networks, and social media outlets.

Then came the backlash. The case of the *testimonio* is a particularly evident one: identified with underclass political activism and women testimonialists, this was one of hottest genres for analysis in the 1980s and early 1990s, but it seems obsolete now, to judge by our course syllabi and scholarly production. In a few years, people like Rigoberta Menchú and Domitila Barrios became celebrities, their works made ubiquitous in academic courses across many fields, and in quick succession they were canonized, absorbed into the mainstream, decried, had the potency of their message diluted, and are now almost ignored.

What, to use Castellanos's term, is the current threshold for scholars and creators who are concerned about the history and implications of exclusionary practices? In an environment where it seems that two steps back are taken for every difficult step forward, activists like Rosario Castellanos, for good or ill, continue to set the agenda for contemporary thinkers. I confess, I find cause for renewed optimism in some of the exciting, transnationally engaged writers like Cristina Civalé, Cristina Rivera Garza, or Belén Gache (all of whom comfortably inhabit cyberspace as well as more traditional paper forms), and the many authors with bases in the United States, Europe, or Asia as well as Latin America: Lina Meruane (Chile and New York), Mario Bellatin (Mexico, Peru, and an

imaginary Japan), Giannina Braschi (Puerto Rico and the United States), Anna Kazumi Stahl (U.S.-born of Japanese-German descent, she lives in Argentina and writes in Spanish). Less overtly militant than their activist mothers, their gender consciousness often seems more integral. They use parody and pastiche to show, between the lines, the association among power, knowledge, and gender.

There is another book that is getting a lot of attention in the U.S. press lately, William Deresiewicz's suggestively red, white, and blue enrobed *Excellent Sheep*, with its nostalgic championship of traditional humanities and its worry about the future of elite education. The best and brightest thinkers, more or less the same folks familiar to us from Bloom, are, in Deresiewicz's world as well, all that stands between us and what one reviewer calls "a corps of academic zombies." There have been enough critiques of Deresiewicz's own elitism that it is unnecessary to add to the flood of print. I can only sigh despondently when curricular discussion once again turns on, and returns to, the usual white male subjects. The lesson from literature, Deresiewicz writes, is that "Mailer wanted to be Hemingway, Hemingway wanted to be Joyce, and Joyce was painfully aware he'd never be another Shakespeare." And no one, apparently, aspires to be another Rigoberta Menchú.

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Preface: Exclusiones

by DEBRA CASTILLO | Cornell University | dac9@cornell.edu

LASA2015 program co-chair Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo has coordinated this issue of the *Forum* around another part of the Congress theme, “Exclusiones,” following upon “Precariedades” in the Fall 2014 *Forum*. In this important issue, she has collected short interventions by scholars and activists from Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Mexico, and Paraguay, as well as Canada, Finland, India, and Spain. Several of these scholars look at institutional marginalization: of social studies research in the neoliberal academy (Luis Ortiz and José Galeano), of robust South-South studies (Vasundhara Jairath), and exclusion of Francophone scholarship on Latin America (Anahi Morales Hudon). Others explore the painful questions of people that are still considered “*deshechable*” in Latin America, including emigrants (Liliana Suárez Navaz), LGBT individuals (Horacio Sívori), and people whose ethnicities and epistemologies do not always align with the dominant cultures in their countries (Gladys Tzul Tzul, Olivia Gall). Finally two of the articles look at the intersections of gender (Verónica Schild) and religion (Elina Vuola). As I write this note, Mexico continues to agonize over the painful revelations in Iguala around the 43 missing Ayotzinapa students, while around the globe November 20 was witness to massive vigils, protests, video messages, and tweets under the hashtag #YaMeCansé. This global call to action reminds us that even in the most desperate tragedies of the excluded we can also find hope for change and inclusion. ■

Racismos y exclusión en América Latina: Interdisciplina, otros saberes e interseccionalidad

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La exclusión es definida por Cornelius Castoriadis como “la negación sistemática, a lo largo de la historia, de la idea —y de las prácticas a ella asociadas— de que el otro es simplemente eso: otro” (Castoriadis 1985, 19). Para determinar si un tipo de exclusión es racista o no, hay que intentar determinar hasta qué punto la percepción que se tiene del otro y el trato que se le da tienen, como base esencial, “el no permitirle abjurar” (Castoriadis 1985, 19). Y ello independientemente de si el argumento tras el rechazo al otro es culturalista (por ejemplo de naturaleza religiosa o basado en la “diferencia cultural”), biologicista o bien una combinatoria de ambos (étnico-racial).

Bauman coincide cuando escribe que la esencia del racismo es la convicción de que “el ser humano es antes de que actúe. Nada de lo que haga puede cambiar lo que es” (2004, 171).

La definición reciente de “raza” de Peter Wade, elaborada tras una exhaustiva investigación histórica, teórica y conceptual, nos puede ayudar, dentro del marco arriba planteado por Castoriadis y Bauman, a mejor cernir el fenómeno:

¿Qué es la raza? ¿Qué entendemos por ese término? ¿Se trata de un concepto que se refiere al color de la piel u otras características físicas como las facciones faciales o el tipo de cabello? ¿Se trata de un discurso sobre “la sangre”, es decir la ascendencia, la genealogía y los orígenes ancestrales? ¿Se trata tal vez de la cultura —por ejemplo, el modo de hablar, la música que se escucha, la ropa con se viste? ¿O se trata más bien de la referencia a ciertas categorías históricas de gente, como son “los blancos”, “los negros”, “los indios” y quizás “los asiáticos” o “los africanos”? En mi opinión, el concepto raza está vinculado a todos estos criterios y no hay una

definición sencilla del concepto. La palabra y el concepto han existido durante mucho tiempo y en muchos lugares del mundo; a veces la misma palabra no aparece pero las ideas asociadas con la palabra sí parecen estar presentes.

De acuerdo a [...] una cronología convencional del concepto raza [...] [éste] cambia de ser una idea basada en la cultura y el medio ambiente, a ser algo biológico, inflexible y determinante, para luego volver a ser una noción que habla de la cultura. [...] la idea de raza ha cambiado a través del tiempo, enfocando los diferentes discursos de índole *natural-cultural* sobre los cuerpos, el medio ambiente y el comportamiento, en los cuales las dimensiones culturales y naturales siempre coexisten. “La naturaleza” no puede ser entendida solamente como “la biología” y ni la naturaleza ni la biología necesariamente implican solo el determinismo, la fijeza y la inmutabilidad. Estar abiertos a la coexistencia de la cultura y la naturaleza y a la mutabilidad de la naturaleza nos permite ver mejor el ámbito de acción del pensamiento racial. (Wade 2014, 35)

El racismo ha sido y sigue siendo uno de los fenómenos estructurales que, ligado en cada sociedad en forma estrecha al ámbito de lo cultural —construcción histórica de identidades/otredades colectivas— también lo está al poder político, económico y social, y coloca a un gran número de personas, de pueblos, de minorías étnicas y de naciones (en el sentido ya sea de pueblos o de países) en diversas y complejas situaciones de exclusión, aderezadas ya sea de marginación, inferiorización, segregación, asimilación discriminatoria o, en casos extremos, exterminio.

Me parece que son seis las grandes temáticas alrededor de las que los racismos latinoamericanos deben ser estudiados y analizados, para poder combatirlos mejor:

(1) Las complejas construcciones de las identidades étnicas en cada nación y la interrelación entre ellas, tanto de tipo cultural como en relación con la desigualdad de derechos y oportunidades y la desigualdad de trato.

(2) La pre-modernidad en comparación con la modernidad, en lo que toca al nacimiento y al desarrollo de los diversos tipos de racismo. Este es un tema crucial para el análisis del racismo en contextos coloniales y poscoloniales como los latinoamericanos:

Como lo escribe George Fredrickson (2002, 5), algunos piensan que el racismo es una idea peculiar de la modernidad, sin mucho precedente histórico; otros piensan que el racismo es simplemente una manifestación del antiguo fenómeno del tribalismo y de la xenofobia; otros, finalmente —entre ellos Fredrickson y la autora de estas líneas— tratan de construir una definición de trabajo que cubre más que el racismo científico o biológico pero menos que el tipo de prejuicio de grupo basado en la cultura, la religión, o simplemente un sentido de familia o de parentesco.

Quienes defienden la primera de estas posturas (Wieviorka 1994; Moreno Feliú 1994) sostienen el racismo no podría haber existido antes de la Ilustración, porque, arguyen, lo peculiar del racismo no es que haya pasado paulatinamente de la formulación del odio o rechazo a los “otros” expresada, por ejemplo, en el terreno religioso de la Europa medieval a una racionalización basada en la biología (Moreno Feliú 1994); y argumentan: es cierto que en tiempos antiguos, previos a

“la modernidad”, la discriminación, la exclusión, la segregación e incluso el exterminio del “Otro” se debía a que no le rendía culto al Dios correcto o bien a que no había nacido en una cultura digna de ser mirada por este Dios correcto. Pero, a partir del nacimiento de las relaciones modernas de producción y de las ideas, leyes y conformaciones nacionales a ellas asociadas, la discriminación, exclusión, segregación e incluso exterminio del “otro” se debe a que es visto como “biológicamente”, naturalmente, irremediamente, inferior al “nosotros”. Eso no significa, concluye Moreno Feliú, que el racismo se explique por esa ruptura de las lógicas de discriminación, porque “no hay línea de continuidad [entre ellas]: el racismo es una doctrina nacida de la misma ruptura con lo antes conocido” (Moreno Feliú 1994, 57).

Sin embargo, en su muy interesante libro *Ni una gota de sangre impura: La España inquisitorial y la Alemania nazi cara a cara*, la filóloga Christiane Stallaert cuestiona esta visión cuando afirma:

La comparación entre la persecución inquisitorial y la Alemania nazi [...] resulta un ejercicio intelectual muy instructivo [...] a pesar de que los estudios sobre la Inquisición y aquellos sobre el Holocausto siguen siendo especialidades académicas muy replegadas sobre sí mismas. Pero estimamos que, al igual que el Holocausto, la Inquisición española es una ventana por la que se vislumbran cosas que suelen ser invisibles, cosas de la mayor importancia, [...] para todos los que estamos vivos hoy y esperamos estarlo mañana. Desde esta perspectiva, ni el Holocausto debería ser tratado como un asunto exclusivamente judío, ni la Inquisición española reducida a un fenómeno de interés exclusivamente español”. Soy consciente de lo

aventurado de esta empresa. La distancia temporal y espacial que media entre los dos términos de la comparación puede suscitar escepticismo. No obstante, [...] acepto el reto lanzado por Marcel Detienne (2002) a historiadores y antropólogos de embarcarse juntos en un proyecto constructivo de comparar la incomparable, sin detenerse ante fronteras temporales o espaciales. (2006, 5)

Desde el campo de estudio del racismo latinoamericano también se ha cuestionado (Fanon 1952; Wade 2010 Quijano 2000) esta postura que defiende que el racismo propiamente dicho no pudo haber nacido sino hasta el período post-Ilustración. Si no se ve la presencia del racismo durante el período colonial en América Latina es porque se está definiendo el concepto de raza, no en forma amplia como lo hacen Castoriadis, Bauman o Wade líneas arriba, sino centrándolo únicamente en una argumentación irreductiblemente biologicista de la diferencia, introducida por el pensamiento moderno de los Siglos XVIII y XIX en torno a lo racial.

En América Latina, los “racismos de la desigualdad” dirigidos contra los pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes —a quienes la colonización construyó como inferiores y excluidos, realidades que la moderna colonización interna profundizó— han adoptado caras diferentes de la exclusión: el segregacionismo (Guatemala), el asimilacionismo inferiorizante (México), o una combinación de ambos (Chiapas).

(3) Las diversas modalidades que adoptan la xenofobia (el odio por el extranjero que viene de otros estados nación) y el rechazo excluyente a diversas minorías étnicamente determinadas que viven en nuestros países producto de la inmigración. Estas “otredades” suelen ser vistas en función de la construcción identitaria nacional

étnico-racial de cada uno de nuestros países, de la que depende que se las perciba y trate ya sea como deseables, “inferiores” o “no asimilables”.

(4) La necesidad de abordar los racismos latinoamericanos desde dos perspectivas complementarias:

a) La interdisciplina y la integración de otros saberes. El racismo es un fenómeno complejo, provocado, habitado y alimentado por causas y lógicas diversas, y que por tanto debe ser observado, estudiado, analizado y combatido por equipos de académicos, activistas sociales, testigos, víctimas y funcionarios de derechos humanos, echando mano de diversos marcos disciplinarios, sociales, culturales, políticos, legales e institucionales. Como parte de estos equipos y ya sea que estén abordando dimensiones teóricas, discursivas o prácticas del problema, los académicos debemos hacer acopio de nuestras certezas disciplinarias combinadas con una modestia y una apertura perenne frente a otras disciplinas académicas y a otros saberes que trascienden la academia.

b) La interseccionalidad. “El análisis de la *interseccionalidad* busca captar el entrelazamiento de los distintos ejes identitarios en situaciones históricas y contextos específicos. Entre ellos destacan la clase, la raza y/o etnicidad y el género, que provienen de divisiones sociales y bases ontológicas diferentes (Yuval-Davis 2006). Por esta razón, un análisis estructural de las opresiones no pueden dar primacía a una sola división social, como es la clase o el género, sino que habría que resaltar la articulación entre ellas: “un análisis satisfactorio de la dominación y explotación en las sociedades contemporáneas tendría que —sin minimizar la importancia de clase— dar

una atención considerable a los fenómenos interrelacionados del racismo, sexismo y sistema de estados nacionales” (Thompson 1984, 130). Ahora bien, es posible que en situaciones específicas un eje pueda adquirir mayor importancia que otros. Dependiendo del contexto, también pueden adquirir importancia otros ejes identitarios como son la sexualidad, la edad y la nacionalidad, entre otros. (MacLeod 2014, 87)

(5) El marco jurídico internacional, interamericano y nacional en relación con el racismo y la discriminación étnica y, finalmente,

(6) Las políticas racistas y antirracistas, en el ámbito público, social (organizaciones civiles y comunidades) y privadas (empresas), y la vigilancia en su concepción y aplicación.

En este último aspecto, tan ligado en cualquier nación latinoamericana con las particularidades de sus propias ideologías y prácticas racistas, no puedo ni quiero dejar de mencionar hasta qué punto varios elementos ligados a él están activamente presentes, entre muchos otros, en la profunda y dramática crisis estructural en la que se encuentra sumido en este momento mi país, México. Tanto desde los partidos políticos como desde instituciones gubernamentales y otras brotan las muestras claras de hasta qué punto muchos de los grupos y/o de las personas que, como en el caso de los normalistas de Ayotzinapa, están sufriendo en carne propia el horror sin nombre de la corrupción: violencia, impunidad, represión —podredumbre de la narco-política, imbricada con el imaginario racista-clasista que está vivo y actuando. Vayan como muestra dos botones: Hace unos días, la hija de Araceli Velásquez, dirigente del Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Comisión de Agua Potable y

Alcantarillado del estado de Hidalgo, posteó, en referencia a los normalistas: “¿Por qué luego los queman...? NACOS”;¹ y el 15 de noviembre de 2014, Francisco Victoriano Pagoaga Lamadrid, Subdirector de Becas Nacionales del Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACyT), posteó en su Facebook, “Pues es un crimen de hermanos, morenacos [sic] matando a otros morenacos.....Caray, entonces es un perricidio [sic] morenaco.”²

Notas

¹ Dinorath Mota López, “Exhiben a priista por comentario sobre caso Ayotzinapa”, *El Universal*, 15 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion-mexico/2014/exhiben-a-priista-por-comentario-inapropiado-sobre-caso-ayotzinapa-1054233.html>; y “Jóvenes priistas sobre #Ayotzinapa: ‘Luego porqué los queman, nacos; que regrese Díaz Ordaz’”, *Aristegui Noticias*, 11 de noviembre de 2014, <http://aristeguinoticias.com/1111/mexico/jovenes-priistas-sobre-ayotzinapa-luego-porque-los-queman-nacos-que-regrese-diaz-ordaz/>.

² Emequis, 15 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.m-x.com.mx/2014-11-15/morenacos-matando-a-otros-morenacos-expreso-en-facebook-un-funcionario-del-conacyt-sobre-ayotzinapa/>.

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Rezago epistémico y (auto)exclusión académica: Las ciencias sociales paraguayas en el concierto internacional

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La presencia marginal de las ciencias sociales paraguayas en el concierto latinoamericano y mundial constituye la expresión de un *rezago* de la institucionalidad científica en el país. Este rezago responde a varios factores, algunos de los cuales cruciales en el campo de las ciencias sociales: (1) el bajo reconocimiento social de su estatuto científico; (2) su baja institucionalización en la universidad; (3) la debilidad de mecanismos de difusión de resultados de investigación; y (4) la poca vinculación entre investigación y políticas públicas (Ortiz 2011). En ese sentido, la participación de científicos sociales en las discusiones sobre problemáticas compartidas en América Latina y el escenario mundial, así como el aporte con marcos conceptuales y abordajes metodológicos originales, se vio fuertemente limitada por dichos condicionamientos.

Pero un fenómeno adicional caracterizó a las ciencias sociales de Paraguay a lo largo de las dos décadas que sucedieron a la apertura democrática en el año 1989: la regresión del pensamiento crítico en la producción académica respecto de la época del régimen autoritario en que la “autocensura” en torno a determinados temas, problemas y marcos teóricos no impidieron una producción cuestionadora de la realidad de ese periodo (Robledo 2011). La investigación en ciencias sociales fue renunciando a dar cuenta de las situaciones que impiden el desarrollo social, la institucionalización democrática del Estado, la construcción de una sociedad de bienestar, ajustándose más bien, y progresivamente, a los requerimientos de organismos internacionales que insertan sus líneas y temáticas a un campo académico precario y con limitado financiamiento. En este marco ciertas universidades y centros de investigación extranjeros vinieron proponiendo líneas de

investigación acerca de Paraguay que los científicos sociales locales no avizoraban.

El escaso avance en el conocimiento científico de la sociedad paraguaya no permitió la generación de debates nacionales donde dialoguen líneas de investigación, métodos y resultados, y menos aún hizo posible hacer parte de espacios internacionales para exponer las discusiones locales a la luz de las discusiones regionales y mundiales actuales, generando un círculo virtuoso para el desarrollo del campo científico paraguayo por el aporte y aprendizaje en publicaciones y eventos académicos.

Los acuciantes problemas en la sociedad paraguaya, a saber, la desigualdad social, la exclusión social y la pobreza, no cuentan con un campo científico que aborde rigurosamente sus determinantes, sus consecuencias ni las prospectivas para superarlos. El limitado desarrollo institucional de las ciencias sociales impide dotar al Estado y a la sociedad civil, de evidencias suficientes para pensar alternativas políticas atinadas a los problemas actuales (Caballero 2011). Esa es una de las principales razones por las cuales las ciencias sociales en Paraguay ocupan una posición subordinada a saberes tecnocráticos, en general empaquetados, para formular políticas públicas pertinentes y oportunas.

De este modo, algunos factores condicionantes del protagonismo de las ciencias sociales en Paraguay y de su escasa inserción internacional los constituyen las pocas universidades con carreras de sociología, ciencias políticas e historia. Asimismo, es llamativa la ausencia de una carrera o programa de estudios en antropología. (Paraguay cuenta con una rica variedad cultural: 20 etnias indígenas, varias poblaciones de origen europeo y

asiático, afrodescendientes, entre otras expresiones de la diversidad sociocultural, que no cuentan con un marco institucional universitario de formación académica ni de investigación científica para su estudio.) Al mismo tiempo, una de las universidades que imparten programas de formación en ciencias sociales se propone cerrar carreras como historia o filosofía, alegando que no son rentables en términos financieros.

Por otra parte, la oferta de estudios de posgrado de ciencias sociales es escasa y de baja calidad, salvo el esfuerzo de la FLACSO Paraguay con un programa de maestría en ciencias sociales de cierta solvencia académica que carece, empero, de una formación para la investigación. A esto se suma que las universidades con oferta de disciplinas de las ciencias sociales no cuentan con profesores-investigadores de tiempo completo y con estudiantes dedicados de forma exclusiva a su formación académica (teniendo que estudiar y trabajar).

En la actividad de la investigación científica, ante la ausencia de la universidad, el papel de las organizaciones no gubernamentales fue crucial aunque su naturaleza trajo consigo el problema de la fragmentación, donde los investigadores y grupos de científicos sociales se diseminaron en múltiples pequeños centros de investigación, consultoras y gabinetes de estudio. Esto a su vez generó la diseminación segmentada de los resultados, en función de las agendas de los organismos y fuentes de financiamiento.

Por otra parte, las revistas científicas paraguayas de calidad reconocida (estandarizadas, arbitradas e indexadas) no pasan de cinco. Algunas eminentes publicaciones que tuvieron un gran peso en los años 60, 70 y 80 fueron perdiendo terreno ante el debilitamiento institucional

de sus centros editores. Este aspecto limita fuertemente la acogida de contribuciones internacionales que permita al campo de las ciencias sociales de Paraguay hacerse eco de las discusiones y avances a nivel regional latinoamericano y mundial.

Finalmente, debe entenderse la tendencia de la economía paraguaya y la configuración del Estado paraguayo, sobre las cuales descansa las posibilidades de desarrollo de las ciencias sociales en Paraguay y su contribución a las ciencias sociales de la región. Cada vez más el interés de las inversiones privadas en la educación superior apunta a la apertura y potenciación de universidades que ponen el acento de la formación en las disciplinas y programas relacionados con la lógica empresarial, los agronegocios (como ejemplo y respuesta al proceso actual de impulso sojero) y el comercio internacional para responder a la predominancia de la importación de productos manufacturados en consonancia con la exportación de *commodities* agrícolas.

Ante este último escenario, que genera una fuerte exclusión social y desigualdades socioeconómicas en el país, las oportunidades que la educación superior pudiera generar para el desarrollo social son escasas, cumpliendo más bien una función de servicio al capital internacional y a la reproducción de conocimientos “empaquetados”, que la inserción dependiente del país en el mercado mundial promueve. Es por ello que la producción de conocimiento en ciencias sociales carece tanto de apoyo institucional y financiero: innecesaria en la inserción económica externa del país, se vuelve el campo de un sector minoritario de la población que recurre a ella más como una apuesta vocacional que como una proyección profesional.

Esto no se contradice con el hecho de que en los años recientes se hayan dado algunos pasos significativos en la institucionalización de la ciencia en Paraguay, con la dotación histórica e inusitada de fondos para la investigación a través del Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACYT) desde el gobierno constitucional de 2008–2012 y el que le sucede, el de 2013–2018. Ahora bien, esta entidad y el proceso referido se inscriben también en la lógica socioeconómica esbozada más arriba, lo que repercute en la financiación de los proyectos de investigación según las disciplinas científicas así como en la distribución de los investigadores categorizados en el Programa Nacional de Incentivo a la Investigación (PRONII), donde las ciencias “duras” (ciencias exactas, naturales, ciencias agrarias y de la salud) cobraron mucho más peso que las sociales.

Este conjunto de características, sin embargo, no fue una limitación para que diferentes científicos sociales nacionales e internacionales, especialistas en áreas temáticas disciplinarias (historia social, pueblos indígenas, sistema político, lengua y bilingüismo), se hayan abocado al estudio de la sociedad paraguaya a fin de mostrar sus especificidades y su contribución en el abordaje de problemáticas similares en otros países de América Latina.

En este sentido, lo más destacado se da indudablemente en el terreno de la diversidad sociocultural y lingüística, donde Paraguay constituye una experiencia *sui generis*, tanto en la adopción histórica de un patrón bilingüe (y diglósico) de comunicación social como en el estudio de las experiencias sociales y representaciones simbólicas de grupos con identidades socioculturales particulares. En consonancia con estas áreas temáticas, se suman contribuciones significativas acerca

de la especificidad de la economía y la sociedad paraguaya en términos de su modelo productivo, los intercambios en el mercado y las tensiones en la distribución con la naturaleza restringida y apocada del Estado. Finalmente, líneas de estudio en torno a la desigualdad social, la exclusión social y los conflictos sociales, cobran notoriedad, no sólo en la descripción y explicación factual de los fenómenos sino sobre todo en el carácter interdisciplinario de su abordaje, formulando estrategias metodológicas que conjugan perspectivas ingeniosas en la combinación cuantitativa y cualitativa del tratamiento de las evidencias.

El rezago epistémico es resultado de una larga y marcada debilidad institucional académica en Paraguay, que generó una autoexclusión del campo académico internacional de las ciencias sociales más que de la exclusión por parte de las instituciones allende las fronteras de dicho país. El desafío se presenta para los centros de investigación en ciencias sociales de la sociedad civil, a fin de apuntalar la construcción y consolidación del campo científico en el marco de la educación superior y con la promoción sostenida desde el poder público para avizorar su institucionalización.

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Homofobia na América Latina: Exclusão, violência e justiça

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O panorama latino-americano com relação à diversidade sexual é marcado por contrastes. Para os defensores dos direitos de lésbicas, gays, bissexuais, travestis e transexuais (LGBT), as grandes vitórias são ofuscadas pela inusitada vigência do discurso anti-homossexual agitado por atores que fazem do ódio sua bandeira política. O mesmo ódio se manifesta em atos de brutal violência contra dissidentes sexuais, noticiados com frequência alarmante em todos os países. Se de um lado uma onda de reformas legislativas e de decisões judiciais coloca o continente na vanguarda do reconhecimento de direitos como o casamento e co-parentalidade entre pessoas do mesmo sexo ou a mudança de identidade civil para pessoas transgênero, de outro lado somos cotidianamente lembrados do quanto a diversidade sexual incomoda atores com suficiente poder para exercer pressão publicamente contra qualquer política de hospitalidade com a diferença. No entanto, a cada semana novas mortes engrossam a triste estatística de crimes violentos contra gays e travestis (Mott 2001; Carrara e Vianna 2004 e 2006; Parrini e Brito 2012; Castilhos 2014). Do mesmo modo, o âmbito escolar continua sendo pouco questionado como espaço de reprodução da hostilidade contra toda dissidência sexual (Junqueira 2009; REPROLATINA 2011); assim como na intimidade do âmbito doméstico junto às suas famílias, as jovens lésbicas e bissexuais sofrem em silêncio violências que combinam sexismo com preconceito sexual.

Entretanto, lideranças conservadoras ligadas à Igreja Católica e a congregações evangélicas pentecostais se empenham em demonizar o que elas denominam “ideologia do gênero” e “estímulo ao homossexualismo”, que elas rapidamente associam à pedofilia e à promiscuidade. Sua atuação em rede e sua forte influência

na esfera estatal parecem constituir hoje o principal obstáculo para a equidade de gênero e o exercício da sexualidade como direito humano. Um episódio dessa contenda foi a controvérsia suscitada no Brasil, em 2011, em torno do Programa Escola sem Homofobia, do Ministério da Educação (Leite 2014). Parlamentares evangélicos articularam uma campanha para denunciar materiais audiovisuais destinados a combater o preconceito contra lésbicas, gays e pessoas trans no ensino médio. De acordo com a versão dos seus detratores, amplamente veiculada na imprensa, o efeito do discurso de enfrentamento à homofobia promovido pelo “kit gay” (como passou a ser conhecido o material) mascararia o “aliciamento” e “desvirtuamento das crianças” (Leite 2014, 185) para torná-las homossexuais, presumiam. Como resultado dessa pressão por dentro da base aliada ao governo, o projeto foi suspenso por decisão da Presidência da República.

Convivem atualmente nas Américas, em ostensivo conflito, dois regimes de regulação da diferença sexual. Esta é, por um lado crescentemente “administrada” sob três formas: a sua proteção como direito; sua celebração como patrimônio cultural; e seu rendimento como mercadoria. Entretanto, por outro lado, um regime de exclusão radical da dissidência sexual gera violências de todos os tipos: desde os efeitos materiais e simbólicos de sistemáticas omissões que fazem com que determinados sujeitos sejam construídos socialmente como não pessoa —ou menos pessoa que seus congêneres— até as formas mais torpes de violência verbal e física que buscam ostensivamente ora seu silêncio, ora sua eliminação.

A homofobia, expressão desse regime de exclusão radical, não é um fenômeno autoevidente. Embora seus efeitos possam

ser observados claramente na estruturação de nossa experiência e que quem objetiva suas manifestações construa dela uma fenomenologia leiga ou erudita, precisamente por seu papel estruturante da experiência social contemporânea, captar e compreender quando e como ela se produz requer treinamento. Explicar a sua operação —assim como sua articulação com a produção social de outras diferenças— requer um exercício de reflexão. Por sua vez, dar conta da sua variedade requer investigação sistemática e comparativa.

Na América Latina, como parte do Ocidente moderno, a partir de uma forma peculiar de identificação como coletivo, os homossexuais historicamente têm aprendido a se defender contra agressões e a criar circuitos seguros onde interagir e expressar a própria subjetividade sexual. Junto a sucessivos processos de busca de justiça e reconhecimento iniciados em diferentes campos já desde finais do século XIX, essas expressões têm se tornado cada vez mais públicas, ao ponto de adquirir legitimidade como representação política e demanda de reconhecimento legal, e de contestar narrativas que explicam a dissidência da norma heterossexual como pecado, vício, doença, defeito ou crime. Entretanto, em variados contextos públicos e —sobretudo— privados, a consciência reflexiva gerada a partir da experiência do estigma continua servindo para reprimir, silenciar, corrigir, adaptar. Assim como a motivação homofóbica de determinadas agressões e formas de menosprezo é muitas vezes implícita ou deliberadamente ofuscada. Nem sempre é evidente para a sociedade ou mesmo para as vítimas desses atos de violência e situações de discriminação a existência de uma relação direta ou indireta destas com a sua orientação sexual. É muito nova e instável

a ideia, o conceito de homofobia, e sua operação é pouco conhecida.

Há uma série de relatos de casos recentes, tristemente emblemáticos, de jovens espancados, torturados e assassinados por outros jovens como uma reação à sua maneira de ser, como o de Daniel Zamudio em Santiago de Chile ou o de Alexandre Ivo em São Gonçalo, um subúrbio do Rio de Janeiro, ambos em circunstâncias semelhantes, vítimas de gangues de jovens da sua mesma idade. Assim como da violência muitas vezes letal que as travestis sofrem nas ruas todos os dias, cujos casos são quase sempre arquivados, esses crimes são a expressão crua do valor negado às suas vidas. Entretanto, a publicidade desses casos marca uma mudança significativa: já não passa despercebida para o público ou permanece inadvertida a conexão entre eles e o contexto do tratamento violento e discriminatório que os torna possíveis, e os discursos reacionários que os promovem.

Tramitou sem sucesso no Brasil, desde 2006, um projeto de lei que iria criminalizar a homofobia, conhecido como PL 122. O projeto ampliaria o alcance da Lei 7.716 de 1989 (Lei Caó), que pune o racismo no país. No debate presidencial deste ano o pleito veio à tona através da ferrenha oposição de setores religiosos conservadores com representação parlamentar a essa reforma jurídica, sob a justificativa de que esta ameaçaria a liberdade de expressão de quem quiser pregar contra a homossexualidade. O argumento confunde, em palavras do jurista Roger Raupp Rios, “a proteção antidiscriminatória com censura e, pior ainda, com restrição da liberdade religiosa” (Rios 2014). A proteção contra toda forma de discriminação e violência se mostra como uma necessidade urgente, perante um evidente aumento das expressões públicas

de ódio por parte desses atores. Entretanto os efeitos desse clima e intolerância são mais profundos.

A homofobia não é apenas uma. Não me refiro apenas à distinção não suficientemente reconhecida das diferenças qualitativas entre homo, lesbo e transfobia, ou à necessidade de uma análise interseccional que envolva outros feixes de produção de diferenças para compreender a sua operação; mas também ao que acontece com o termo quando este transita de um campo para outro: da psiquiatria, onde foi cunhado no final da década de 1960, para o direito, onde é operacionalizado como fundamento para desenvolver ferramentas de proteção, e para a educação. Neste último campo cabe atender à importância recentemente atribuída ao fenômeno do assédio violento, o denominado *bullying* escolar, cuja motivação é em grande medida homofóbica. Outro exemplo de expressões caracteristicamente atuais dessa hostilidade é a agressão espontânea em resposta a expressões públicas de afeto entre homens, como no caso de um pai e filho que foram atacados em um rodeio no interior de São Paulo. A cena deve ter evocado o fantasma da associação entre homossexualidade e pedofilia em um contexto político de crescente visibilidade e legalidade da conjugalidade homossexual no Brasil.

Nestes outros focos é relevante como a homofobia viaja do íntimo para o público e vice-versa. Embora um achado feliz no intuito de criar consciência sobre violências muitas vezes invisíveis, quando a aplicação da categoria homofobia fica restrita no âmbito jurídico, seu uso ressoa muito diretamente com suas origens psiquiátricas, configurando-se como fenômeno individual. Parece instigante também promover pesquisas e desenvolver políticas que possam dar conta da sua variabilidade

e os matizes que a homofobia adquire em diferentes contextos —particularmente os latino-americanos mais atuais, onde a intolerância é frequentemente amplificada e inclusive celebrada como resposta a avanços na garantia de direitos para LGBTs.

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¿Cómo construyen crítica las comunidades indígenas? Un acercamiento a las formas de la exclusión epistémica

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Las comunidades indígenas a lo largo de la historia han construido sistemas de interpretación política; éstas han tenido efectos al interpelar y fracturar el orden de dominación y explotación colonial prolongada en la república y que hoy día da cuerpo al sistema político en Latinoamérica.

Nuestras interpretaciones se construyen en espacios cotidianos y son el resultado de un largo proceso acumulativo de experiencias y estrategias políticas en el hacer de la vida. Cobran forma y fuerza desde el ejercicio de actualización de las experiencias políticas inspiradas en las rebeliones anticoloniales, y permanentemente disputan y construyen un orden simbólico. En suma, las comunidades han construido una inteligencia colectiva con capacidad de negociar y asediar a la dominación.

Conocemos de la existencia y el efecto de un gran repertorio político comunal, que van desde los que emergen de tácticas de organización para la producción y auto regulación de los medios concretos para sostener la vida cotidiana, así como de las persistentes deliberaciones para interpretar la ley con el objetivo de erosionar las formas de poder dominante. Las marchas y manifestaciones públicas resultan ser tácticas dentro de una amplia estrategia. Sabemos que muchas veces estas formas de rebelión abierta han tenido una gran efectividad, pero ciertamente éstas sólo pueden sostenerse en la organización de la vida cotidiana.

Nuestras interpretaciones hacen uso de ciertas herramientas teóricas producidas por alguna universidad, pero que tienen una elaboración propia y que van cobrando cuerpo según el espacio territorial y temporal desde donde se producen. No es la universidad el lugar en el que tiene origen la construcción de estas políticas

interpretativas, aunque, yo no puedo negar el aporte, el diálogo y las interrogantes planteadas desde cierta intelectualidad universitaria.

Antes de continuar, vale la pena dejar en claro que no hay una esencia comunitaria en las sociedades indígenas. Lo comunal no es algo ya dado y a histórico que solo pertenece a las sociedades indígenas. La política comunal en las sociedades mayas es fundamentalmente una relación social atravesada por una serie de complejidades. Dicho de otra manera, lo comunal funciona como trama que tiene por lo menos tres hilos: el trabajo comunal para producir colectivamente de los medios concretos para la reproducción de la vida, las alianzas de parentesco como estrategia jurídica para el uso soberano de las tierras comunales y la asamblea como principal forma de deliberación.

Contrario a quienes piensan que las sociedades indígenas son entes a quienes hay que llevarles el conocimiento, o que si los “subalternos” pueden o no pueden hablar, debate que ha sido controversial en la academia en estos últimos años. Las mujeres, hombres, niñas y niños de las sociedades mayas han ideado y creado estrategias de análisis y conocimientos *ambivalentes y también contradictorias* pero que han asediado al poder.

Quiero cerrar mis argumentos enunciando dos mecanismos que excluyen del espectro académico a las políticas de interpretación que las comunidades indígenas construyen.

El despojo de la riqueza política a las interpretaciones indígenas por quienes hacen uso de discursos que jerarquizan y otorgan estatuto de científico y político únicamente a las teorías que se produce en centros de investigación y universidades, así como aquellas que privilegian a las que

The Exclusions of Gender in Neoliberal Policies and Institutionalized Feminisms

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piensan el cambio a partir de la transformación desde estructuras estatales o partidarias.

La especialización académica sobre las luchas políticas indígenas. El acto de especialización produce un efecto de eclipse, porque devalúan los nombres y las significaciones de la dominación y el pensamiento emancipatorio propio.

“1992 ni una hacienda más en el Ecuador”. Esa frase tuvo uno de los efectos más movilizadores y provocó un sismo al interior del sistema político ecuatoriano. Condensaba tiempo y luchas por la recuperación de la tierra y la desarticulación de las haciendas. Esas formas de inteligencia colectiva son las que en la academia se fueron erosionando y quedaron relegadas para dar salida a una serie de codificaciones académicas. ■

In light of the precarious conditions most women continue to face in urban and rural Latin America and increasingly visible and multivocal feminist challenges, what assessment do we draw about the gender justice achievements of institutionalized, “pragmatic” feminism in neoliberal times? This question has preoccupied me for some time.

There is a growing concern among critical feminists in Latin America and elsewhere about the convergence between institutionalized feminism and neoliberal capitalism. Nancy Fraser has recently suggested that there is a “subterranean affinity” between second-wave feminism—firmly rooted in the United States and with a subsequent transnational reach—and neoliberal capitalism (Fraser 2013). Other critics have claimed that the affinities are explicit and structural and involve a liberal variant, rather than a generalized homogenous feminism (Sangster and Luxton 2013; Eisenstein 2010). I have argued for some time that there are distinctly Latin American features of the convergence between pragmatic feminism and neoliberal projects (Schild 2003, 2013). My own position is that while the institutionalized feminist agenda has resulted in some important legal gains for women, it has failed to challenge the increasing class- and race-based divide among women which is a key outcome of capitalism. Furthermore, this pragmatic adaptation and transformation of a feminist justice agenda lies at the heart of the conscription of some contemporary feminist ideals and practices to the service of legitimizing the transition to neoliberal capitalism in the region. With its emancipatory focus on the pursuit of empowerment as autonomy in the market, pragmatic feminism has become a key element in the regulation of women and of gender normalization, and more broadly of

the management of individuals and communities in an exclusionary, dispossessive capitalist economy.

Pragmatic feminism refers to the choice made by some—but not all—in the feminist and women’s movements to work within the project of political democratization. Gender experts from the academy, from the world of nongovernmental organizations and research centers, and from government agencies and ministries have made undeniably significant contributions to policy-related knowledge and practice. It is also clear, however, that they have generated their own exclusions. Hitching pragmatic feminist politics to the broader project of political democratization shaped by local and geopolitical forces, while ignoring its capitalist underpinnings, has come at a cost. This privileging of “democratization” as a political form by some sectors of the feminist movement and their abandonment of the critique of capitalism in favor of a defense of a “politics of the possible” have had a price. Who, for instance, became the interlocutors of UN-based efforts to knit together a transnational agenda of women’s equality premised increasingly on the deployment of gender as a technical concept and framed in the language of liberal human rights? Who are the winners and who the losers of the processes that have institutionalized contemporary feminisms in Latin America, and with what effects?

For the past 25 years, the advancement of some women has been accompanied by the marginalization of others, a trend that is not unique to Latin America. A report drawing up an assessment of gender justice achievements in Britain, for example, asks whether or not feminism has till now been a “middle class story of progress” with “gender justice gains at the top and indifference to the plight of the majority of

women” (Institute for Public Policy Research 2013). Recent capitalist developments in Latin America, especially the increased presence of extractive industries and agribusiness and their devastating effects on rural communities and environments, have broadened the gulf between winners and losers in neoliberal capitalism (Robinson 2008; Olivera 2005; Hernández Castillo 2010a). Increasingly, institutionalized feminist agendas have been incapable of challenging the widening class- and race-based differences among women, which are a key outcome of this “dispossession” capitalism. Indeed, while feminist institutional inroads have opened up opportunities for advancement for some women, namely those with the proper level of education or professional accreditation, it has also marginalized those who lack resources, often turning them from erstwhile “sisters” into clients.

The trends of the last two or three decades show that women’s entry into the workforce has intensified. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), more than half of women of working age in Latin America are in the labor force, or an estimated 100 million, and a significant percentage, 53.7 percent, has attained ten or more years of formal education, compared with 40.4 percent for men. Women’s labor force participation has increased from 49.2 percent to 52.9 percent between 2000 and 2010 (Tinoco 2014). However, in a context where labor flexibilization predominates as a modality of work in the private sector and increasingly in the public sector, women are the lowest paid, most vulnerable workers. The overwhelming majority of women are employed in precarious, poorly paid jobs, typically with limited contracts or no contracts at all. It bears remembering that those who are out of the formal workforce are not simply unemployed homemakers.

Instead, they are engaged in income generating activities that are not formally registered and that are, therefore, not measured. Increasingly, these include participation in the parallel drug economy, where they typically engage in *narcomenudeo* (small-scale drug dealing). According to a report of the International Drug Policy Consortium, growing numbers of women who are sole income providers, not just for their children but often for elderly relatives, too, engage in the drug economy to either generate or supplement their incomes (Giacomello 2013). Furthermore, household structures have been significantly transformed. Nuclear, male-breadwinner households, never a dominant form to begin with, are now even less common. According to estimates, only one-fifth of households in the region followed this traditional model by the mid-2000s (Gerhard and Staab 2010, 12). Whatever the household form, those women living in low-income areas and toiling in insecure and poorly paid jobs are, in any case, already burdened by the effects on their households and communities of persistently underfunded social services, eroded infrastructure, and precarious work with minimal wages. Recognizing this means coming face to face with the question of the persistent invisibility of women’s care activities. Women’s invisible but critical work—work without which society would not be able to survive and reproduce itself—is being stretched to include those responsibilities that then appear in the ledgers as Latin America’s policy achievements in the areas of poverty and crime prevention.

Women and above all “gender” occupy a central place in Latin American social policy agendas today and in the ostensible gains made in tackling historically intractable problems like poverty and inequality. In fact, women are now visible

as preferential targets of a panoply of social programs, including novel poverty alleviation strategies. These novel social programs have caught the world’s imagination as a Latin American policy success and an exportable good that is promoted by multilateral agencies and governments alike as the current fix for breaking the cycle of poverty, and even that of violence. While it is true that these policies and programs are made possible by the contributions of pragmatic feminists invested in making changes at the institutional level, their success depends on the largely invisible work of women in their capacity as preferential clients, frontline workers, and experts. This success should be taken, then, as a warning about the potential traps for women through their recruitment as “empowered” citizens and as “natural” caregivers for the tasks of lifting households and communities out of poverty, of ensuring the success of future generations, and of underwriting their communities’ right to security (García Castro 2001; Sorj and Gomes 2011; Schild 2013, 2014a, 2014b).

In such contexts, some of us have argued, therefore, that these novel programs premised on emancipating women through institutional means are themselves mechanisms of exclusion (Schild 2013). By now a network of feminist experts, practitioners, and scholars extends nationally and transnationally and includes the multilateral aid agencies and the United Nations. These programs include the much vaunted panoply of conditional cash transfer programs and more recent initiatives linked with crime prevention and the broader projects of rendering societies “secure.” Yet few who celebrate these policies are willing to consider the implications of a politics of the possible in the present context of restructured neoliberal capitalism. The reconfiguration

of the social state during the past 30 years, or its neoliberalization, is the clue for understanding why efforts in different regions of the world to advance women's civil and political rights have made important gains, while those linked to social inclusion through the pursuit of social-economic rights for the majority of women have not. Recent studies have begun to address this, although attention to the restructuring state is scant, much less to the question of the relation between gender politics and state reconfiguration.

Overall poverty levels in Latin America have been reduced significantly—a fall of 15.7 percent of the poverty rate and 8 percent of the indigence rate since 2002, according to the latest ECLAC report—and inequality, as measured by the GINI coefficient, appears to have gone down slightly (ECLAC 2013; World Bank 2014). At the same time, the region remains the most unequal in the world, and levels of violence have increased exponentially, earning Latin America a reputation as the most violent region in the world (United Nations 2013; Arias and Goldstein 2010). Of course, there are important subregional variations in the forms and intensity of violence and in the specific conditions that give rise to them and help perpetuate them. There are also distinctive forms of violence experienced by women, with serious consequences for their well-being (UN Women 2013). Most Latin Americans, or roughly 80 percent, live in urban centers, and an estimated 111 million (out of the 588 urban million) live in poor neighborhoods or shantytowns (UN-Habitat 2012). Latin America “has become the continent in which in most of its countries a significant segment of the population is at once, poor, informal and excluded” (Koonings and Kruijt 2007, 9). Paradoxically, then, as governments and multilateral agencies highlight the social

gains made in places like Brazil, Mexico, or Chile, millions of Latin Americans live in everyday contexts marked by violence, precariousness, and marginalization associated with exclusions based on class, gender, race, age, and sexual identity. Most prominent today is the overt use of state violence to control the marginalizations and exclusions generated by globalized economies and the effects of crisis-driven neoliberalism. What is noteworthy is that—as justified in the name of equality and inclusion—women are increasingly recruited at the local level to manage insecurity and prevent crime (Sorj and Gomes 2011; Schild 2014b). Moreover, although males constitute the great majority of those in prison throughout the region, women are the fastest growing incarcerated group, among them single mothers. The proportion of women among those incarcerated for drug crimes is very high throughout the region, ranging, for example, from 75 to 80 percent in Ecuador, 70 percent in Argentina and Venezuela, and 89 percent in Nicaragua (International Centre for Prison Studies 2014). In Mexico, where the number of women in prisons increased by nearly 20 percent between 2000 and 2010, compared with a 5 percent increase in the male prison population, between 30 and 60 percent of these women are incarcerated for drug crimes (Hernández Castillo 2010b, 11). This figure rises to 75 to 80 percent in the U.S. border region (Parkinson 2013). Women who end up behind bars are usually there because of their participation in *narcomenudeo*. Typically, most of them are poor, many of them are single mothers, and in areas with significant indigenous and Afro populations many also belong to these marginalized groups.

In summary, violent, arbitrary, and also illegal forms of neoliberal government of marginality coexist with novel antipoverty

programs and a modest expansion of social programs. The disciplining and self-disciplining of the market is supplemented with the actions of an “enabling” or “investing” state that relies on women's labor and “caring” capacities for the regulation of social insecurity, including crime prevention, and uses punitive regulation for those whose lives are rendered precarious, and this includes not only that segment of the working class that is a marginalized (mostly male) “surplus population” but also those many others whose lives are rendered vulnerable.

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The Exclusion of (the Study of) Religion in Latin American Gender Studies

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Much of contemporary scholarship on women and gender in Latin America has been guided by a twofold relationship to religion: on the one hand, religion is not seen or, even less, analyzed as a factor in women's lives. I have called this a *feminist blindness* to the importance of religion, especially in its aspects that women might experience as positive and life-sustaining. On the other hand, when feminist scholars do take religion into account, they often do so through something that I have called a *religious paradigm* or *religion-as-a-lens* type of theorizing, in which religion is seen as the main explanatory factor of women's lives in a given culture, but mainly as a monolithically negative, misogynist, and immutable force over people's lives. Such a depiction does not necessarily take women's own interpretations into account, nor does it interpret "religion" as lived religion, shaped by people, but rather as an institution.

There is a strong tendency in feminist Latin American studies to see all established religion, including popular Catholicism, as harmful and alienating for women. The favorite woman of the Catholic Church, the Virgin Mary, is a case in point. Women's love of her and devotion to her is seen as the worst sort of alienation: the well-known *marianismo* thesis, in spite of having been questioned by various scholars, is being reproduced in social scientific Latin American gender studies. Hardly any differentiation is made between institutional, official religion, on the one hand, and lived religious practices, on the other.

The exclusion of religion and its interdisciplinary study (anthropology, religious studies, theology) in Latin American studies is especially accentuated in gender studies. It is problematic, because issues related to gender, women, family, and

sexual ethics are at the heart of religion's interaction with the secular world, globally and in Latin America, specifically.

Among social scientists, the lack of knowledge of research done in fields such as religious studies and theology is a result of understanding religion narrowly, on the one hand, and in the case of Latin America, of a specific institutional academic situation in which religion is studied either in seminaries, institutions and universities of different churches, or as a theme among others in fields such as anthropology, history, and political science. The academic field of the study of religion in Latin America thus differs from the United States and Western European countries, in which the study of religion, including theology, is part of secular universities. The exclusion of religion—understood critically, broadly, and from the perspective of various disciplines—is thus partly a result of the meagerness of scientific study of religion in Latin America.

At the same time, from the perspective of theology, it is Latin America that has produced one of the globally most significant theological currents—liberation theology and its feminist, Afro-Latin American, indigenous, and ecological variants. The work of Latin American feminist theologians is usually best known and discussed by feminist theologians from other latitudes, like myself, not by Latin American male liberation theologians or feminist theorists. The lack of dialogue between (liberation) theologians and secular gender theorists leads to a situation in which religion is understood not only narrowly and stereotypically but often simply wrongly. Again, the figure of the Virgin Mary is instructive.

The cult of the Virgin Mary was embedded in Latin America at the very beginning of

the conquest in the early sixteenth century. Often, she replaced pre-Columbian female deities, whose attributes were fused into a syncretistic Latin American Mary. Later, with the import of African slaves to American lands, the same happened in relation to African deities and beliefs. Thus the various representations of Mary in Latin America are a fusion of European, African, and indigenous American elements. This is clearly discernible in popular religiosity even today. The "official" and the "popular"—which should not be too sharply separated—live side by side, blended into each other. Popular practices and beliefs can live half-officially as part of the more recognized devotion, sometimes creating a distance between what is formally (doctrinally) accepted by the Church and what are seen as customs of the common people. From the perspective of ordinary religious women, Mary represents not only continuity with pre-Columbian goddesses but also a source of empowerment in concrete life situations, including economic uncertainty. The feminist overthrow and dislike of Mary may thus look like not only inadequate scholarship but also class privilege.

Further, feminist theological understanding of the relationship between gender and religion is also about women gaining authority and positions of power (both within academic theology and religious institutions) and creating new sexual ethics from within the respective religious tradition. Feminist theology has from its very beginning been interreligious, ecumenical, and global. This has meant that the voices and critiques of women from the global South were very early included in feminist theology. Ecumenical and interfaith organizations offered a concrete network of collaboration and mutual critique between feminist

theologians from different parts of the world already in the 1960s and 1970s.

This narrative of global, ecumenical, and interfaith feminist theology is largely untold, which is why scholars in other fields can maintain somewhat narrow and stereotypical views of theology and feminist theology.

One concrete example of this somewhat different history and development of feminist theology is the early inclusion of what today is called intersectionality. For example, the Catholic feminist theologian Rosemary Ruether wrote already in 1975: “Any women’s movement which is *only* concerned about sexism and no other form of oppression, must remain a women’s movement of the white upper class, for it is *only* this group of women whose *only* problem is the problem of being women, since, in every other way, they belong to the ruling class. . . . Thus it seems to me essential that the women’s movement reach out and include in its struggle the interstructuring of sexism with all other kinds of oppression, and recognize a pluralism of women’s movements” (Ruether 1975, 125, emphasis in the original).

Ruether and other first-generation feminist theologians stated already in the 1970s that gender should always be analyzed in relation to class and race. Ruether uses the term “interstructuring,” not “intersectionality.” She is an example of a feminist theologian who was practically and conceptually linked to liberation theology, which was both a theoretical and practical—even political—movement mainly in the global South. The emphasis on the “interstructuring of oppression” in feminist theology, since its very beginning, was an outcome of its connections to the global movement of liberation theologies,

especially as they were practiced and theorized in the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT), founded in 1976. This was a forum for liberation theology-minded Christian theologians from all over the world, focusing on changes not only in theology but also in churches and society. Besides EATWOT, the ecumenical movement in general, especially the World Council of Churches, has been a key factor in the early development of both feminist theology and liberation theology globally, including black theology in the United States, Africa, and Latin America.

In the case of feminist theology, this meant an earlier inclusion of the perspective of the global South in feminist theorizing, before any other field of gender studies. Neither liberation theology nor feminist theology is adequately understood without this larger context. Ruether (together with other first-generation feminist theologians active in EATWOT) is an example of how some ideas, such as intersectionality, were present in feminist theology in fact earlier than in other fields of gender studies, as a consequence of this global interaction. This is not recognized in either secular feminist theory or feminist studies of religion.

Feminist theorizing has often been both blind and sometimes openly negative toward any positive synergy between feminism and religion as well as toward the experiences of religious women. Even theories of intersectionality, which explicitly pay (self)-critical attention to the blind spots of feminist theory and the myriad of differences between women, have by and large not been able to see religion as an important factor in women’s lives. Has religion thus remained the last way of “othering” women—especially

those of a different culture or subculture—in feminist theory?

If religion is analyzed as one “difference” between women or as an important social division and producer of power asymmetries, it is possible to take it into account also in intersectional analyses. This may be especially crucial in societies that are strongly marked by religion and, in the case of women, by religious traditions that explicitly foster women’s subordination and wish to expand their constellations of gender and sexuality into national legislation. This is clearly the case of most Latin American societies. However, it is as important to analyze carefully how in fact religion—in the case of Latin America, principally Roman Catholicism—creates and sustains subordination and how people, especially women, interpret that influence. My own research has shown that the single most important female figure in Christianity, the Virgin Mary, can be used and interpreted both in obviously sexist ways and in ways that empower women, often the most disadvantaged women (Vuola 2009, 2012). Thus, no large generalizations about the power of religion in societies and individuals should be made without also paying attention to how women interpret their religious traditions and how their identities are constructed also by religion, spirituality, and faith.

It is central that scholars of religion pay attention to sexist interpretations and practices within religions, but this should be done in relation to women’s religious agency. In intersectional analyses, this means not only seeing religion as a “difference” between women (of different cultures and religions but also within a given religious tradition and society) but also bringing gender as an intersectional category to the study of religion. This

makes it possible to understand religion both as a structure of power (institution) and as a source of empowerment and positive identity (individual, community).

Secularism as the norm in Latin American studies is not neutral either. Careful, contextualized analyses of how religion interacts with gender in different times and cultural contexts are needed. As long as both the religious and the secular are understood narrowly—implying that only “the religious” is the problem—a situation is maintained in which true interdisciplinarity does not inform truth claims about the reality of religion, and especially its interplay with gender.

In order for scholars to understand and analyze the complex and often contradictory relationship between women and their religious traditions, identities, and beliefs, it is important to recognize that women have different ways of opposing cultural stereotypes concerning them, including some of those represented by feminists. The image of women as passive victims of religious indoctrination is one of the most common ones, as in the case of the *marianismo* thesis. It is of utmost importance that feminist scholars do not present a simplistic or flawed view of religious women. In this sense, understanding women’s many-sided, rich, and controversial relationship to their religious traditions is of direct political importance.

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Exclusions dans les études latino-américaines francophones au Québec

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Considérant que dans le champ des études latino-américaines la principale division géographique et linguistique est celle entre le Nord global anglophone et le Sud global latino, on peut se demander comment situer et comprendre la place que le milieu francophone y occupe. À ma connaissance, il n'y a pas eu à ce jour d'analyse des dynamiques spécifiques découlant de la position des études latino-américaines francophones et leur effet dans la production et la diffusion du savoir au Québec. Si le français est une langue minoritaire dans le champ des études latino-américaines en Amérique du Nord, l'espace de production des études latino-américaines francophones en est un qui s'insère dans un Nord global.

Pour comprendre cette posture spécifique des études latino-américaines francophones en science sociales au Québec je suggère qu'il est nécessaire d'entreprendre une analyse des enjeux de pouvoir, et plus précisément, des exclusions produites par les enjeux liés à la langue et à la production des connaissances. Cet article cherche à identifier quelques pistes de réflexion afin de contribuer à lancer cette discussion. Le regard que je porte sur cette question est nécessairement influencé par ma propre positionalité en tant que femme mexicaine-québécoise. C'est à partir des réflexions basées sur mon expérience personnelle mais aussi sur des discussions avec des collègues latino-américains que je propose une réflexion sur cette position particulière du monde francophone dans les études latino-américaines.

La recherche francophone sur l'Amérique latine a un statut assez particulier. Pour celles et ceux dont la langue première est le français, il est incontournable de parler l'espagnol et/ou le portugais, mais aussi, de plus en plus, l'anglais.¹ Cela soulève la question de la place faite aux chercheurs-es

francophones dans les réseaux internationaux, qu'ils soient Haïtiens, Québécois, Belges, etc. La place assez marginale du français comme langue de communication dans des congrès internationaux comme ceux de LASA en est une illustration claire. Les francophones présentent la plupart du temps dans une autre langue. Ceci n'est pas surprenant étant donné que leurs recherches portent sur l'Amérique latine et qu'il est attendu qu'elles et ils dominent soit l'espagnol ou le portugais. Toutefois, cela démontre ce statut particulier des latino-américanistes francophones au Québec qui se positionnent à la fois en dialogue avec l'Amérique latine mais aussi avec le monde anglophone qui domine les études latino-américaines en Amérique du Nord.

La recherche portant sur l'Amérique latine depuis le monde francophone est importante, mais il est difficile d'évaluer son influence dans un monde où c'est plutôt l'anglais qui domine comme langue de communication/production. La pression de publier en anglais est extrêmement forte si l'on veut diffuser nos recherches le plus largement possible. Cela implique de publier en français mais aussi en anglais, surtout pour les jeunes chercheurs et chercheuses qui visent à se faire une place dans ces deux réseaux. La production dans les deux langues est aussi manifeste dans le besoin de créer du matériel pour l'enseignement. Cela pour assurer que des non francophones aient accès à nos recherches tout en produisant des textes pour nos collègues et étudiants/étudiantes. En effet, quand vient le temps d'intégrer des textes en français sur l'Amérique latine dans nos cours, on se retrouve avec des choix plus restreints. Cela représente une charge de travail supplémentaire car une traduction est souvent nécessaire pour la préparation du matériel pour les cours. Bref, afin de s'insérer dans les débats mais

aussi afin d'assurer un accès à la littérature, la production et la communication en anglais est favorisée, parfois au détriment de celle en français.

Cette marginalisation du français dans la production majoritairement anglophone dans le Nord global ne traduit pas à elle seule les dynamiques d'exclusion des études francophones latino-américaines. Il y a sans aucun doute une marginalisation du monde francophone dans le champ des études latino-américaines. Mais, qu'en est-il des exclusions produites et reproduites au sein des recherches francophones?

Nous pouvons tenter de répondre à cette question en prenant différents angles, notamment en observant les cadres théoriques que nous utilisons, tout comme les expériences, enjeux et problématiques que nous étudions. Les cadres théoriques et analyses produites dans le Sud global sont encore trop peu connues et intégrées dans les recherches et l'enseignement dans les études latino-américaines au Québec. Si la langue est une fois de plus un facteur important expliquant cette marginalisation, il n'en reste pas moins qu'il y a une faible diffusion des apports théoriques des auteures et auteurs latino-américains dans le monde francophone. Les expériences et enjeux étudiés en Amérique latine constituent encore souvent des cas d'études que l'on approche avec des cadres théoriques et des concepts du Nord global, surtout du milieu anglophone mais aussi, dans une moindre mesure, du milieu francophone. Pour prendre un exemple, je constate que la place faite aux approches décoloniales, issues d'auteurs et d'auteurs latino-américains et produites surtout en espagnol, est assez restreinte, comparativement à la littérature postcoloniale émanant majoritairement du monde anglophone.

Le choix des cadres théoriques et auteurs et auteures que nous étudions traduisent un rapport de pouvoir Nord/Sud qui se reflète aussi dans les enjeux ciblés et nos méthodes de recherche. Ce sont davantage les mobilisations et expériences du Sud qui sont documentées et diffusées, cela bien plus que les cadres théoriques ou les approches méthodologiques des chercheurs et chercheuses du Sud. Par exemple, une attention particulière est portée aux mouvements sociaux et leurs impacts sur la redéfinition des relations entre société et État, comme les recherches sur les mouvements autochtones. Toutefois, les propositions alternatives des peuples autochtones pour penser l'organisation sociale et politique sont, quant à elles, invisibilisées dans la recherche. De plus, il y a des propositions assez importantes au Mexique notamment sur des recherches collaboratives, qui ne sont pas connues ou diffusées dans le milieu francophone. Je pense notamment au travail de collaboration en recherche que l'on trouve dans «Gobernar (en) la diversidad: Experiencias indígenas desde América Latina; Hacia una investigación de co-labor» édité par Xochitl Leyva, Araceli Burguete et Shannon Speed ou encore le travail de Aída Hernández Castillo dans «Bajo la sombra del Guamuchil. Historias de vida de mujeres indígenas y campesinas en prisión». Aussi, les apports théoriques des chercheurs décoloniaux comme Boaventura de Sousa Santos et Aníbal Quijano sont encore largement connus en Amérique latine mais peu étudiés dans le monde francophone.

Ces dynamiques seront, espérons-le, amenées à changer. Parmi les facteurs qui peuvent contribuer à cette transformation on peut compter sur la diversification du corps professoral et étudiant de nos universités. Comme le soulignait Catherine LeGrand dans son allocution lors du

lancement du tout nouveau Réseau d'études latino-américaines de Montréal (RELAM), nous assistons au Québec à un phénomène nouveau, soit la venue de davantage d'étudiantes et d'étudiants latino-américains au Québec pour y réaliser leurs études supérieures sur l'Amérique latine.² Apparemment, ce n'est plus seulement les institutions des États-Unis ou de l'Europe qui sont choisies par ces étudiants et étudiantes. Cela amène une diversification intéressante des études latino-américaines francophones à travers le partage d'expériences et de connaissances distinctes. Toutefois, c'est une diversité qui tarde encore à se faire voir au niveau du corps professoral ou des professionnels de recherche, où ce sont encore majoritairement des Canadiens, Européens et Américains qui y enseignent les études latino-américaines. Depuis une perspective intersectionnelle, nous ne pouvons que constater également que très peu de femmes d'origine latino-américaine ont des postes de recherche dans le milieu universitaire (comme professeure ou encore professionnelle de recherche).

Les observations avancées ici ont comme objectif de nous amener à réfléchir à la multiplicité des dynamiques de pouvoir au sein de la communauté latino-américaniste francophone québécoise, non seulement vis-à-vis l'extérieur mais aussi vers l'intérieur. Toute comme nous pouvons créer des réseaux de recherche francophones au Québec pour faciliter le positionnement de nos recherches dans les études latino-américaines, ne serait-il pas possible de travailler également à la réduction des exclusions qui se vivent au sein des études latino-américaines au Québec? Ces exclusions ne sont probablement pas uniques au monde latino-américaniste francophone québécois, et il serait intéressant d'analyser les parallèles que l'on peut faire avec les études

latino-américaines en Haïti ou en Martinique, pour ne prendre que ces deux exemples.

Chose certaine, je crois que nous gagnerions à rendre explicites ces exclusions et à reconnaître davantage l'apport des chercheuses et chercheurs latino-américains. La réflexion que je partage ici est donc une invitation à adopter une posture réflexive sur nos pratiques ancrées dans la complexité des rapports de pouvoir Nord-Sud, non seulement en ce qui a trait aux thématiques étudiées tout comme pour ce qui est considéré comme légitime dans la production du savoir. Et ceci implique non seulement de mieux intégrer les travaux des latino-américains à nos analyses ou de rendre nos espaces de recherche et d'enseignement plus diversifiés, mais bien au-delà, cela implique aussi de se questionner sur les rapports de pouvoir implicites dans la légitimation de certaines formes de savoir et certaines expériences dans la production de la connaissance et la construction d'alternatives.

Notes

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¹ Ce qui est aussi le cas pour les chercheuses et chercheurs dont la langue première est une langue autochtone

² La mission du Réseau d'études latino-américaines de Montréal/Latin American Studies Network of Montreal (RELAM) est de créer un espace d'échange, de collaboration et de diffusion dans les études latino-américaines en sciences sociales, dans les deux langues. En effet, le RELAM a cette particularité de regrouper des universités francophones tout comme des universités anglophones.

Challenging Northern Hegemony: Toward South-South Dialogue in Latin American Studies A Perspective from India

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The United States of America, which has stood in a historical relationship of dominance vis-à-vis Latin America, has also remained the center of academic pursuits on the region. There is, of course, its geographical proximity to account for this concentration. However, the concentration in the United States of advanced centers of learning on the region may also be viewed within this broader unequal relationship. In this article I do not concern myself with a detailed history of this dominance. Instead, I draw on my own location in India to present a starkly contrasting picture. I do this to point to the gap between two regions of the global South, Latin America and South Asia, and the several challenges for scholars in South Asia working on Latin America. The disproportional distribution of resources between the United States and a region like South Asia is in many ways merely reflective of the global political economy. In this article I look at the repercussions of this global political economy for the field of Latin American studies, an aspect that is often ignored in the way that it has been shaped. It is also worth stating at the start that a call for greater dialogue and collaborative work between Latin America and South Asia is not limited to these two regions but may be seen as a call for such work more broadly between all countries and regions of the global South.

In contrast to the umpteen centers of Latin American studies in the United States, India has only three. Two of these are based in New Delhi—at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) and Jamia Millia Islamia—and one in the former Portuguese colony Goa, at Goa University. The Delhi University, where I am based, provides history students with the option of taking an undergraduate-level course on Latin American history in addition to American history and Russian history. However, out

of the 68 colleges affiliated with Delhi University, only one actually offers this option. In contrast to the number of centers that teach courses and pursue research on Latin American society and politics, there exist a far greater number of centers for Latin American languages and literature. The state of the centers for Latin American studies is further reflected in the number of faculty they house. The Goa University Centre for Latin American Studies has two faculty members, while the center at JNU has all of one faculty member who works on Latin America in a center for Canadian, U.S., and Latin American studies. The dearth in India of teaching and research institutions on Latin America is, therefore, stark to say the least. It is hardly surprising then to note the obstacles for a doctoral candidate like me who chooses to undertake a comparative project between India and Mexico as part of my research.

Three significant issues may be highlighted in this regard. The first has already been noted above—the absence of thriving centers of learning on Latin America for students with such academic interests. Without a community of scholars that work on the region, students are disadvantaged from the start. Those who do pursue such an interest are often left to fend for themselves, starting from the task of gaining access to books and other literature. My own experience in pursuing my master's in Mumbai, when I chose to work on race in Brazil, led me to gather books all the way from Bangalore in the south to New Delhi in the north. The lack of attention to this field has meant few universities and institutions house a substantial collection of academic literature on Latin America. The matter of books and resources brings us to the next big obstacle, that of language. While literature in English on the region is itself limited, the

academic community is ever more removed from ongoing debates in Latin American social sciences as a result of this language barrier. Even where Spanish and Hispanic literature is pursued in several centers across the country, as mentioned above, this mastery over language and literature has rarely translated into the field of social sciences. These issues are then compounded significantly by a third and key element, a question of resources. In many ways the lack of resources of educational and research institutions is not specific to the field of Latin American studies in India and constitutes a more generic resource crunch, particularly in the broader field of social sciences. With increasingly little political will of the Indian government to encourage academic dialogue between the two regions, most scholarships for academic exchange between India and countries of Latin America are limited to the field of science and technological innovation, areas of focus chosen by the State. Research travel grants are scant and limited to short-term projects. Academic dialogue, particularly with other countries of the global South, besides a few exceptions like Brazil, are low on the agenda of the State, which is more focused on its race to achieve superpower status.

If one were to explore the range of funding institutions across the United States, Canada, and Europe, where most funding sources are concentrated, one might chance upon several fellowships and grants for area studies, particularly for regions of the global South including Latin America. However, with the exception of Sephis, which has been in financial crisis for a few years now, there are few funding institutions that emphasize South-South academic collaboration. Instead, while such fellowships may especially target scholars of Latin America, scholars from

other parts of the world are merely ignored, particularly those from the global South, which is pressed for resources. As a result, we have a community of scholars of Latin America that either belong to the region or are predominantly based in the United States and to some extent in Europe.

Moving away from the logistical barriers of scholars from the global South outside of Latin America working on this region, it is also worth addressing the important academic project at hand in building greater dialogue between countries and regions of the South. The politics of funding and its seminal role in the process of knowledge production has been amply discussed and written about. A continued hold of the global North, in this case disproportionately in the hands of the United States, over financial resources in the field of research on Latin America implies a continued hold over what is studied. This is in no way to insinuate the working of a grand conspiracy that controls every research project, meant merely to serve the corridors of power. It is worth mentioning that a large body of critical and important work has emerged from the United States that has contributed significantly to our understanding of the region and its nuances. However, this has come, if I may state it provocatively, at the cost of South-South collaborative work. The critical importance of such an academic project that creatively brings together the sometimes diverse and at other times strikingly similar conditions of the South in dialogue with each other lies precisely in the political project of decentering the North from its position of dominance in the sphere of critical thinking and knowledge production. While such a process has taken place among the countries of Latin America, something that can also be located within broader processes of growing Latin American

solidarity and collaboration such as the establishment of Mercosur, no conscious effort has been made to establish a broader process of dialogue and exchange in the realm of academic research between Latin America and different regions of the global South.

In the political project of decolonization of knowledge and the social sciences, such relations play a particularly important role. By moving centers of knowledge production out of the dominant North and into the South, we arrive at a process of knowledge production more grounded in the conditions of the South. If the historically constructed division between white Western researchers studying the nonwhite incommensurate other is to be challenged not only at the level of individual endeavor but as a structural and systemic challenge, it is through this conscious move toward greater academic collaboration and exchange among the countries of the global South. Given their long histories of colonization, even while exceedingly diverse, the South is placed in a particularly critical position in the project of the decolonization of knowledge. While this is in no way to point to merely moving the epicenter of Latin American Studies to the South as sufficient in the project of decolonization of knowledge, it is certainly a necessary step in that direction. Further, in the context of a highly globalized world where we are drawn together into a global structure of dominance, control, and exploitation, we have more than one reason to build worldwide solidarities and transnational political alliances in the realm of academics. For those committed to the pursuit of knowledge with an aim not only to understand the world but to change the structures of inequality that sustain it, an active move toward changing the conditions within which academics is pursued is the first imperative.

My own experience in my doctoral research project, which involves comparative work between India and Mexico, has led me to organize several of these thoughts. The struggle for funding to be able to successfully carry out this project has illuminated the disproportionate distribution of resources across the world in the field of social sciences and the consequent inequalities that result in the exclusion of large parts of the South in the field of Latin American studies. It is often assumed that Latin Americans study Latin America, Africans study Africa, and Asians study Asia. Financial and institutional resources are made available so as to reinforce such a practice in a way that South-South collaborative projects find little mention. Most reflective of this is the complete absence of the category of the global South as a region that is worthy of targeted funding. While this does not ignore the inequalities within this South, it does point to identifying regions in the world that occupy similar positions in the global political economy and the need, despite their diversities and differential relations with each other, for greater dialogue, particularly within the field of more actively political research, as in research on social and political struggles.

My research area, which is concerned with indigenous politics in the context of anti-dispossession movements, falls within this arena. The process of data collection and ethnography in a discipline such as social anthropology is deeply marred by a historically unequal relationship between the researcher and the subjects of research; this is valid more generally for all academic pursuits. While postcolonial countries have most often experienced this process in their colonial pasts through the interaction between the colonizer and the colonized, they are now faced with the novel challenge of addressing some of these power

asymmetries on their home ground, or, as in my case, in other Third World contexts. As part of the global South we are forced to reckon with the way we ourselves are imbricated in power structures, both global and local, and it is in engaging with this task that we may locate a special significance in the need for greater dialogue and exchange within these regions.

To the limited extent to which I was able to overcome some of the barriers to comparative work between Mexico and India, this has proved to be most educational and illuminating in more ways than one. However, what was merely a glimpse may translate into an important stepping-stone to envision broader processes for collaborative projects across the two regions of Latin America and South Asia. There is much to learn between the two regions, a space of dialogue that has remained unexplored for the most part. While few processes like greater dialogue between Indian and Brazilian social scientists have taken place in the past, such processes have been driven more by international policy and bilateral state relations between the two countries rather than by academic concerns. Instead, a consciously articulated move toward the promotion of South-South dialogue and collaborative research projects serves more pointedly to focus on the issue of decolonization of knowledge and challenging power structures that shape academic institutions and practices across the globe. ■

Exclusiones crónicas y ciudadanías flexibles: La soledad de los migrantes latinoamericanos en el espacio transatlántico

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El país que se pudiera hacer con todos los exiliados y emigrados forzosos de América Latina tendría una población más numerosa que Noruega. . . . como si no fuera posible otro destino que vivir a merced de los dos grandes dueños del mundo. Este es, amigos, el tamaño de nuestra soledad.

—Gabriel García Márquez,
La soledad de América Latina

Las palabras de Gabriel García Márquez en la recogida del Nobel tienen hoy eco en los millones de Latinoamericanos de las diásporas. Hoy, más incluso que en 1982, América Latina se desborda en densos y precarios tránsitos migratorios hacia Estados Unidos y hacia Europa. Dependencias neocoloniales y exclusiones crónicas agudizadas en la era neoliberal.

Treinta años más tarde esta población diaspórica se ha triplicado.¹ Según el último informe de la Naciones Unidas (ONU), los migrantes y descendientes de latinoamericanos constituyen el segundo grupo diaspórico continental del mundo. Siguiendo el símil del escritor colombiano más universal, los latinoamericanos desterrados podría hoy poblar el conjunto de los cuatro países nórdicos (Suecia, Noruega, Finlandia, y Dinamarca). Son millones los que encarnan la condición migrante, ciudadanos del sur global arraigados en el norte, la mayoría en Estados Unidos, pero muchos millones ya en Europa, que se ha convertido en un destino preferente desde finales del siglo XX.

Otro tipo de vínculos históricos y culturales han primado en esta emigración, que es mucho más heterogénea que la predominantemente México-Americana asentada en Estados Unidos. En España y Portugal, antiguas metrópolis coloniales, se

han establecido comunidades de latinoamericanos y caribeños en toda su diversidad étnica, racial y de clase. La intensidad de estos flujos de inmigración en la primera década del siglo XXI en España ha sido la más alta del mundo según la Organización para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo Económico (OCED) (2008), convirtiendo un país en el que apenas el 0,6 de su población eran extranjeros en 1981 hasta más de un 12 por ciento en 2012 (Padrón municipal, Instituto Nacional de Estadística). De los más de 5 millones de ciudadanos extranjeros, casi un 45 por ciento de los residentes y más de un 60 por ciento de los trabajadores son de origen latinoamericano. Por ello hablamos de la “latinización” de España,² frente a otros colectivos inmigrantes “vecinos” que antaño tenían más visibilidad y arraigo.

Esta diáspora, este desbordamiento, es consecuencia del impacto del modelo neoliberal en América Latina desde los años ochenta y noventa. Millones de latinoamericanos se han visto forzados a emigrar y establecerse en el norte global, donde luchan por una voz y vida propia, por un acceso en igualdad de condiciones a la ciudadanía. Como mostraré a continuación para el caso de la diáspora latinoamericana en España y Europa, esta lucha se enfrentó a una Europa fortaleza que gestionaba ciudadanías precarias y flexibles, a un régimen neoliberal que favoreció el consumo y endeudamiento a la par que recortaba políticas públicas. Una amiga ecuatoriana, lideresa indígena que conozco hace más de 10 años, lo resume a través de su propia experiencia:

Vinimos por un corto tiempo, porque había mucho trabajo y en Ecuador se nos habían cerrado todas las puertas. Pero no fue así y se fue alargando el tiempo para cumplir objetivos. Ya con trabajo, ya habiendo pagado las deudas queríamos

traer a nuestras familias, pero la normativa exigía tener una vivienda, y fíjate que nos era más difícil alquilar que comprar porque en aquél entonces nos ofrecían hipotecas por nada. Ahora ni podemos volver ni nos es fácil quedarnos. Los bancos se quieren quedar con nuestras casas y desahuciarlos, las familias destrozadas, los estados no nos dan respuesta. Hemos sido víctimas de una gran estafa global... Es un proyecto neoliberal criminal, que nos ha perseguido desde América Latina a Europa, algo que no podremos resolver solitos, no es posible. Nuestra cosmovisión nos ayuda a entender que juntos, pensando a futuro, podremos seguir luchando por nuestra dignidad.³

La diáspora latinoamericana navega en un sistema de exclusiones múltiples que precarizan y ponen en peligro sus vidas en Europa. Un modelo del que, con matices, participan los países de América Latina de donde proceden estos migrantes. La soledad de estos migrantes es transnacional y profunda.

Exclusiones crónicas y “ciudadanías flexibles” en el espacio transatlántico

La solidaridad con nuestros sueños no nos haría sentir menos solos, mientras no se concrete con actos de respaldo legítimo a los pueblos que asuman la ilusión de tener una vida propia en el reparto del mundo

—Gabriel García Márquez,
La soledad de América Latina

El legado colonial ha marcado las relaciones entre el sur de Europa y de América. Este *espacio transatlántico iberoamericano*, aunque configurado por un cronotopo distinto y en alguna medida

alternativo al anglosajón, se arraiga en exclusiones epistémicas neocoloniales que pueblos indígenas y afroamericanos están buscando revertir teórica y políticamente, y otras minorías, como los herederos de sefarditas, gitanos o moriscos, visibilizan desde imprevisibles periferias.

El imaginario de pertenencia y fraternidad “iberoamericana” se reproduce aún hoy por los discursos y prácticas de élites a los dos lados del espacio Atlántico. El gobierno de la movilidad a través de este espacio transatlántico ha sido siempre regulado por las élites, quienes además de transitarlos durante siglos en ambas direcciones, expulsaban a la población “excedente” o “exiliada” de tanto en tanto. Las dictaduras del siglo XX marcaron la huida de españoles o portugueses hacia América Latina, y después de argentinos, chilenos, uruguayos o brasileños en la península Ibérica. Este imaginario de pertenencia y fraternidad, por tanto, se sostiene sobre un estrato profundo de exilios y destierros.

Hacia finales de siglo XX, las crisis económicas y la ausencia de futuro expulsa a cientos de miles de latinoamericanos quienes, ante el bloqueo de la frontera norteamericana se dirigen hacia una España que acababa de firmar el tratado de adhesión a la Comunidad Económica Europea en 1986 y estaba en plena expansión económica. Este segundo flujo de emigración latinoamericana ya no es de clase media blanca como la anterior ni está políticamente perseguida. Huyen más bien de las consecuencias de las políticas de ajuste y el mal gobierno que priva a la gente corriente de posibilidades de futuro. Aprovechando los vínculos históricos que no exigían visas o permitían solicitar la nacionalidad heredada de abuelos y otros ancestros, las clases populares y medias latinoamericanas se instalan en la península

ibérica y otros países europeos con vocación de permanencia.

Las nuevas leyes de extranjería del sur de Europa están vinculadas a una lógica securitaria que refuerza la construcción de una “Europa fortaleza” y criminaliza a todos los inmigrantes del sur, los denominados “no comunitarios”. Las dos primeras normativas logran con éxito cerrar una primera fase de “refronterización del Mediterráneo”, en la que los mecanismos de exclusión jurídica blindan la entrada legal a los “no comunitarios”, o inmigrantes del sur. El “pánico social” se crea mediáticamente con los iconos de las pateras que cruzan el estrecho y más recientemente los “asaltos a las vallas” en el territorio africano de las ciudades autónomas de Ceuta o Melilla. Mientras tanto, millones de latinoamericanos acceden silenciosamente al país a través de los principales aeropuertos del país con la complacencia de los agentes fronterizos, sin focos ni atención mediática. Algunos autores han descrito esta estrategia como un esfuerzo no confeso de sustitución de colectivos africanos por latinoamericanos, representados de forma más amable en la prensa y los discursos políticos como cómo “culturalmente más cercanos” y parte de la “familia hispano-ibero-americana”.

Pero al igual que el resto de mano de obra no cualificada internacional de la que depende el desarrollo económico neoliberal del sur de Europa, los latinoamericanos que entraron con visados de turistas pronto caen en una “irregularidad sobrevenida” de la que es muy difícil escapar. Esta segunda la denominamos la “refronterización del Atlántico”, en la que bajo un discurso neocolonial hispanista se reabren las exclusiones crónicas heredadas de la etno-estratificación colonial —un sistema de “castas” adaptado a la nueva retórica

del “racismo igualitario”—, en una particular articulación con las nuevas exclusiones específicas al mercado laboral global neoliberal. En un país como España, con un sector informal de la economía que llega a alcanzar del 20–30 por ciento y que afecta sobre todo a los sectores económicos donde se insertan los inmigrantes (construcción, servicios, agricultura), es complicado obtener el contrato que permite obtener los “papeles” y salir de esa “irregularidad sobrevenida”.

Etnográficamente hemos constatado como esta peregrinación por los papeles cristaliza en una posición subalterna, dependiente, y que nunca parece resolverse. La exclusión legal puede solucionarse temporalmente con el acceso a un permiso o a la nacionalidad, pero para el resto de la familia y el colectivo se mantiene la búsqueda de salidas a través de los varios cauces administrativos puestos en marcha por el estado bajo la lógica de la “excepcionalidad”: “cupos”, regularizaciones masivas, “contingentes” de trabajadores “reclutados en origen” y otras medidas de gobernanza del espacio migratorio Atlántico.

Una vez abierta la crisis, una nueva Ley de Extranjería, 2/2009, hizo más restrictivo el acceso a los derechos de ciudadanía y a los programas de integración. Con el “pinchazo” de la burbuja inmobiliaria la fragilidad económica del sur de Europa se hace evidente. La creciente pobreza desencadenada afecta a los inmigrantes de manera dramática con casi un 40 por ciento de desempleo. La tragedia de los desahucios, efecto del colosal engaño de los créditos “abusivos” de los bancos con las personas humildes, afecta en un 40 por ciento a los inmigrantes con cadenas de avales entre amigos y familiares que han entrampado en una situación imposible a cientos de miles de latinoamericanos.

En los últimos años, detenciones arbitrarias, los redadas racistas, y la explotación laboral se han acentuado. La Directiva de retorno 2008/115/CE, conocida con el sobrenombre de “la directiva de la vergüenza” crea un clima de pánico entre los migrantes y notas de prensa de varios países Latinoamericanos y asociaciones de derechos humanos en las dos costas del Atlántico. De poco han servido estas declaraciones. Eufemísticamente denominada “retorno voluntario”, la directiva ha creado un nuevo giro en las políticas migratorias hacia la detención, expulsión, y/o retención de cualquier inmigrante que tenga irregularidades administrativas en centros habilitados al efecto: “los Estados deben legalizar a los inmigrantes o pedirles que se vayan, para lo que se dará un periodo de salida mínimo de 7 días. Si no se van, tendrán que expulsarlos. ... La retención se limita a un máximo de 6 meses, que puede extenderse hasta 12 meses más”. Son los nuevos “Guantánamos” que han proliferado en una Europa carcelaria, CIE’s (Centros de Internamiento de Extranjeros) donde cientos de latinoamericanos han sido sometidos a este régimen medieval de privación de derechos.

La soledad de la condición expatriada y las estrategias emergentes en la diáspora

El desafío mayor para nosotros ha sido la insuficiencia de los recursos convencionales para hacer creíble nuestra vida. Este es, amigos, el nudo de nuestra soledad

—Gabriel García Márquez,
“La soledad de América Latina”

La globalización ha creado *campos migratorios transnacionales* donde estados y sociedad civil, migrantes en la diáspora y

sus familias en América Latina participan de forma diversa y a menudo perversa en la “reproducción de sujetos móviles y lógicas de pertenencia incompletas”. Este sistema de gobernanza transnacional ha producido importantes transformaciones políticas y teóricas que han revalorizado la diáspora como un actor económico y político relevante en la globalización. Los estados involucrados han diseñado programas de atracción de remesas y turismo, se han firmado acuerdos de reciprocidad en materia de seguridad social, se ha redefinido las estrategias electorales a nivel transnacional y ha habido cambios legislativos para incorporar el voto emigrante. A nivel constitucional ha habido cambios para permitir la doble ciudadanía, y en los procesos constituyentes se ha redefinido el espacio parlamentario para incorporar la voz y el voto de asambleístas en el exterior.

No obstante, estas medidas están más pensadas para la época de bonanza donde las remesas cotizaban en los mercados de valores del PNB. El dramático impacto de la crisis neoliberal en los trabajadores latinoamericanos de la diáspora no ha sido apropiadamente gestionado por los estados involucrados. Ante la tragedia de las diásporas latinoamericanas, los estados actúan como si condición migratoria fuera anómala y temporal, remediable si “se da vuelta atrás”, como parece sugerir el énfasis en los programas de retorno desde ambas orillas del Atlántico. Desde América Latina los nuevos programas de retorno (“retorno positivo” en Colombia, “Bienvenido a casa” desde Ecuador, entre otros como Perú o Bolivia), usan retóricas nacionalistas que actúan como mero bálsamo para una exclusión profunda, porque los programas apenas se dotan con recursos y no adquieren credibilidad ante el migrante. Desde España también se pusieron en marcha tres programas de apoyo al retorno

voluntario basados en la capitalización de prestaciones para trabajadores extranjeros o el apoyo a planes de negocios, pero con la contrapartida de renunciar a volver al país en tres años y al permiso de trabajo obtenido. El impacto de estos programas ha sido anecdótico.

Frente al énfasis de los estados en el “retorno” y la “vuelta atrás”, los migrantes parecen convencidos del vínculo positivo entre movilidad y desarrollo. Aunque los estados sigan categorizando a las diásporas bajo la lógica de la excepcionalidad, parece que los migrantes siguen valorando su movilidad sectorial o geográfica, diversificando sus estrategias laborales y educativas como respuesta a la crisis. Algunos jóvenes vuelven a Ecuador, por ejemplo, para estudiar una carrera universitaria de forma más accesible (dadas las subidas de tasas y recortes en España), pero teniendo en mente el mercado laboral europeo. En otros casos, los que se desplazan son alguno de los progenitores, hacia Alemania o Gran Bretaña, dejando el “cuartel general” en España.

Los migrantes saben que ahora son “desechables” por el sistema neoliberal. Se diseñan políticas públicas desde los estados de origen o destino bajo la más evidente descoordinación y negligente gobernanza de los circuitos migratorios. Los clientelismos nacionales se replican a nivel transnacional y las garantías jurídicas adquiridas en los tránsitos migratorios se transan a cambio de dinero para el retorno. Pero los tránsitos no se han realizado en vano, y en las diásporas emergen nuevas herramientas de concienciación, información, y lucha ante la nueva situación. Las poblaciones migrantes latinoamericanas navegan en el espacio transatlántico a través de la más dramática de las contradicciones neoliberales: el hecho de que la movilidad de los

Ayotzinapa: ¿Fue el Estado? Reflexiones desde la antropología política en Guerrero

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trabajadores es potenciada a la vez que criminalizada, ensalzada a la par que ninguneada.

Notas

- ¹ Organización Internacional para las Migraciones, “Informe sobre las migraciones en el mundo 2013: El bienestar de los migrantes y el desarrollo”, http://www.iom.int/cms/wmr2013_sp.
- ² Estadísticamente las personas de origen latinoamericano son más del 45 por ciento de la población extranjera en España. A esto hay que añadir aquellos que han obtenido la nacionalidad española, para cuyo acceso tienen preferencia por sobre el resto de extranjeros (junto con sefarditas, filipinos, y guineanos): casi un 80 por ciento de las más de 800.000 nacionalidades concedidas desde 2002 hasta 2012 eran latinoamericanos.
- ³ Lideresa kichwa ecuatoriana en Madrid, representante de la Coordinadora Nacional de Ecuatorianos en España y de la Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca en Madrid. ■

Como socias de LASA y como antropólogas que desde hace varios años venimos trabajando en torno a temas relacionados con la violencia, la seguridad y los derechos humanos en el estado mexicano de Guerrero, queremos aprovechar el espacio que *LASA Forum* nos brinda para compartir algunas de nuestras reflexiones en torno a la crisis de Estado que se vive actualmente en México y al papel de nuestra disciplina en contextos de emergencia nacional. El asesinato de seis personas y la desaparición forzada de 43 estudiantes de la Escuela Normal Raúl Isidro Burgos de Ayotzinapa, Guerrero, en manos de policías municipales que presuntamente los entregaron a sicarios de la organización Guerreros Unidos el 26 y 27 de septiembre del 2014, ha despertado la indignación de la sociedad mexicana en su conjunto. Por primera vez en años, por no decir décadas, la respuesta ha sido no solo espontánea, sino masiva; estudiantes, maestros, familias, sindicatos, colectivos han tomado las calles a todo lo largo y ancho del país exigiendo la aparición con vida de los estudiantes y el alto a la impunidad, utilizando consignas que inyectan una dosis de realismo crudo, incluyendo interrogantes como, ¿Qué cosecha un país que siembra cuerpos? ¿Qué cosecha un país que mata y desaparece su futuro?

La participación del presidente municipal de Iguala, José Luis Abarca, y su esposa María de los Ángeles Pineda Villa como autores intelectuales de los asesinatos y desapariciones, puso una vez más en evidencia lo que desde hace años ha sido un secreto a voces: que en muchas regiones del país las fronteras entre el crimen organizado y el Estado son diluidas o incluso inexistentes. En este caso, de acuerdo a declaraciones oficiales de la

Procuraduría General de la República (PGR), tanto Abarca como su esposa mantenían lazos estrechos con Guerreros Unidos, grupo vinculado al tráfico de narcóticos y otros negocios ilícitos. No es que la pareja se corrompió por el crimen organizado o se coludió con actores externos al gobierno, sino que tanto Abarca como Pineda Villa, formaban parte de la misma estructura delictiva. Si desde 2009, ambos habían sido acusados de estar al frente de este grupo, la pregunta es por qué ninguna autoridad tomó medidas en el asunto (ver *Excélsior*, 4 de noviembre de 2014).

Desde los primeros días posteriores al 26 y 27 de septiembre, el gobierno federal intentó disminuir y aislar los hechos, primero reduciéndolos a un fenómeno municipal, en todo caso estatal, separando el papel del Estado de la delincuencia organizada. No fue sino hasta ocho días después de los sucesos que la PGR atrajo el caso; hasta entonces la dependencia había declarado que era un asunto meramente local y de competencia de la Procuraduría Estatal. En la conferencia de prensa el viernes 7 de noviembre, Jesús Murillo Karam, Procurador General de la República, intentó deslindar al Estado de los hechos, eliminando de la evidencia presentada la participación de los Policía Preventiva Municipal, silenciando el papel de las Fuerzas Armadas, y dirigiendo la atención exclusivamente a los sicarios de Guerreros Unidos. Según la versión dada a conocer a los medios de comunicación los sicarios llevaron a los 43 normalistas a un basurero donde fueron asesinados e incinerados hasta dejar sólo ceniza como evidencia. Murillo Karam argumentó que la incineración prácticamente imposibilita la recuperación de muestras de ADN para la identificación de los restos.

En sentido contrario a las declaraciones del ejecutivo, las denuncias y reclamos en las calles, durante los paros universitarios y en los plantones, regresan una y otra vez con insistencia a señalar: Fue el Estado. Así lo escribieron con la luz de cientos de veladoras en el Zócalo capitalino manifestantes al culminar la marcha en la Ciudad de México el 24 de octubre. Entre la complejidad del papel de diversos actores involucrados en el caso de Iguala y el señalamiento explícito escrito en las plazas públicas, encontramos un desafío importate para el trabajo de investigación desde nuestra disciplina. ¿Cómo hilar distintas fuentes de datos para ubicar la ejecución extrajudicial y la desaparición de los normalistas como parte de fenomenos más amplios? ¿Cómo dar cuenta de la formación del Estado en esta zona gris que poco separa el crimen organizado de las instituciones y de los funcionarios estatales de tal manera que abona a los debates públicos, más allá de la academia?

En este artículo queremos compartir algunas reflexiones que surgen de nuestros trabajos de investigación de antropología jurídica y política sobre la violencia militar y paramilitar en regiones indígenas de la Montaña de Guerrero, en el caso de Rosalva Aída Hernández, y en torno a la criminalización de la pobreza, la violencia policial y los derechos humanos, en el caso de Mariana Mora. Los respectivos trabajos de campo de los últimos años nos permiten trazar algunas coordenadas para la mayor comprensión de la crisis política que se vive actualmente en México. En primer lugar colocan el caso de Iguala en procesos históricos más amplios; en segundo lugar, ubican el papel de las instituciones de seguridad, y de funcionarios públicos en estas redes de violencia e impunidad en la región.¹



Foto: Adolfo Vladímir/Cuarto Oscuro

En cuanto al primero, nuestras investigaciones refuerzan lo que actores políticos locales vienen señalando en las marchas y mítines: el caso de Iguala, más que un acto aislado representa la permisibilidad de una política Estatal de la muerte, lo que Achille Mbembe se refiere como una *necro política*, que lleva a la reproducción sistemática de impunidad en la que permanecen actos de violencia del pasado.² En Guerrero, integrantes de la Coordinadora Estatal de Trabajadores de la Educación de Guerrero (CETEG), normalistas e integrantes del Movimientos Popular Guerrerense (MPG) entrevistados en semanas recientes recuerdan que Iguala fue posible porque han quedado en la impunidad la masacre de Aguas Blancas en 1995, la masacre del Charco de 1998 y la ejecución extrajudicial de dos normalistas de Ayotzinapa por parte de elementos de la Policía Ministerial (PM) en Chilpancingo el 12 de diciembre 2011, junto con los sin número de casos de ejecuciones y de desaparición forzada. En su totalidad, representan un *continuum de violencias* de

larga data, que tienen como uno de sus nodos principales el papel del ejército y de grupos paramilitares durante la llamada “guerra sucia” de las décadas de 1960 y 1970, y la transformación de tácticas de contrainsurgencia de esa época a la lucha contra el narco que justifica el papel del ejército en la vida cotidiana de centenares de comunidades en el estado.

El papel de las fuerzas armadas en actos represivos en el pasado lo muestra el informe de la Comisión de la Verdad de Guerrero presentado el 15 de octubre pasado (ver <http://comverdadguerrero.org.mx/>). Este informe elaborado por académicos y activistas de derechos humanos que durante dos años se dedicaron a documentar las desapariciones y violaciones a los derechos humanos cometidas en Guerrero durante la “guerra sucia” (1969-1979) presenta pruebas de la responsabilidad del gobierno mexicano en la desaparición de por lo menos 512 personas entre 1969 y 1985. La Comisión de la Verdad de Guerrero documenta cómo

a lo largo de 14 años la Dirección Federal de Seguridad (DFS) utilizó a policías y militares para realizar ejecuciones extrajudiciales, desapariciones, abusos policiales y violaciones sexuales. Tita Radilla, hija de Rosendo Radilla, quien fue desaparecida en 1974 y cuyo caso llegó a la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, ahora participa al lado de los familiares de desaparecidos recientes en la ubicación de fosas comunes y en exigir las investigaciones periciales necesarias para identificar los cuerpos.

A su vez, la elaboración del peritaje cultural en torno al impacto comunitario que tuvo la violación sexual de dos mujeres indígenas me'phaa, Inés Fernández Ortega y Valentina Rosendo Cantú, por parte de efectivos del ejército mexicano, nos acercó a analizar el proceso de militarización y paramilitarización actual en la Montaña de Guerrero.³ Las dos mujeres integrantes de la Organización del Pueblo Indígena Me'phaa (OPIM), fueron violadas por militares en el 2002 cuando promovían los procesos organizativos de las mujeres indígenas de la región en contra de la violencia. Después de ocho años de impunidad, optaron por llevar su caso ante la justicia internacional tras la falta de respuesta a sus demandas por parte del aparato judicial mexicano. Después de dos audiencias públicas realizadas en el 2010 ante la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos (CoIDH), el Estado mexicano fue encontrado culpable de “violencia institucional castrense”, lo que significa que se reconoce la responsabilidad del Ejército, como institución, en la violación de los derechos humanos de ambas mujeres. A todo lo largo de este proceso Inés y Valentina señalaron las complicidades del ejército con los gobiernos municipales, el aparato de justicia y grupos paramilitares.⁴ Desde sus testimonios y denuncias desarrollaron lo que llamaríamos un

análisis estructural de sus experiencias de violencia, que hace eco a las denuncias de los familiares de los desaparecidos de Ayotzinapa y que señalan la responsabilidad del Estado, no solo por omisión, sino por comisión.

Los testimonios recabados durante la elaboración del peritaje cultural nos mostraron que la violación es interpretada y vivida por ellas y por sus familias a la luz de una memoria histórica que vincula la presencia del ejército con la violencia y la impunidad que se vive en la región desde la década de los setenta del siglo pasado. A esta historia se unen las memorias más recientes de la masacre de El Charco, precisamente en el municipio de Ayutla de los Libres, en donde tienen sus oficinas centrales la OPIM, y de donde eran originarios varios de los estudiantes desaparecidos de la normal de Ayotzinapa. Es en el marco de esta historia reciente, que las violaciones sexuales y la tortura han sido vividas como parte de un *continuum de violencia* que ha marcado la relación de los pueblos indígenas de la región con el Estado mexicano. Esta memoria de agravios incluye el asesinato en febrero del 2008 de Lorenzo Fernández Ortega, hermano de Inés y también integrante de la OPIM quien fue su principal apoyo durante los primeros años de la denuncia.

La complicidad del ejército mexicano en los hechos del 26 y 27 de septiembre pasado ha recibido poca cobertura en los medios de comunicación, pero durante las horas en que duró la agresión policiaca a los estudiantes el ejército, que se encontraba en los perímetros de los sucesos, no intervino. Por lo contrario, los testimonios de los jóvenes sobrevivientes, como el de Omar García, integrante del Comité Estudiantil de Ayotzinapa, señalan que cuando finalmente aparecieron las fuerzas armadas fue dos horas después de los hechos y en

lugar de ofrecer asistencia a los heridos de bala, detuvieron a los jóvenes y los golpearon. En una entrevista con la periodista Carmen Aristegui, dijo “Llegó el Ejército acusándonos de allanamiento (de un hospital), dándonos culatazos y al compañero herido también lo sometieron... nos dijeron: Ustedes se lo buscaron, eso les pasa por andar haciendo lo que hacen.” Después los soldados exigieron que se identificaran y dijeron que sería mejor que dieran sus nombres verdaderos, “porque sino, sus familiares nunca los van a encontrar”.⁵

Esa tarde el coronel José Rodríguez Pérez celebraba en un baile con el presidente municipal de Iguala y su esposa, el primer informe de su administración frente al Sistema DIF. El 20 de noviembre, el día de la Revolución mexicana, mismo día de las acciones globales en apoyo a Ayotzinapa, el presidente Enrique Peña Nieto ascendió a rango de general de división a Alejandro Saavedra Hernández, comandante de la 35 Zona Militar y el responsable del 27 Batallón de Infantería que Omar García y los demás normalistas acusan de haberlos agredido la noche del 26 de septiembre.⁶

En segundo lugar, si bien encontramos en nuestras investigaciones que el papel represivo del ejército figura dentro de los principales agravios elaborados por parte de integrantes de la población local, este *continuum de violencia* se da paralelamente a una continuidad en los grupos de poder que desde la federación y desde el Estado siguen posibilitando la reproducción de la impunidad. Muchas de las desapariciones que documenta el informe de la Comisión de la Verdad de Guerrero se dieron durante la gubernatura de Rubén Figueroa Figueroa, teniendo como mano derecha al general Mario Arturo Acosta Chaparro, quien fue acusado en el 2004 de haber asesinado a 21 campesinos disidentes

lanzándolos desde un avión. Fue exonerado de esos cargos y de otros que lo vinculaban con el crimen organizado, y en el 2008 fue condecorado por sus “servicios a la Patria” por el presidente Felipe Calderón. Murió en el 2010 en un ajuste de cuentas por parte del crimen organizado. El hijo de Rubén Figueroa Figueroa, Rubén Figueroa Alcocer, fue también gobernador de Guerrero (1993–1996), y fue el responsable de la masacre de Aguas Blancas (28 de junio de 1995) en donde 17 campesinos fueron asesinados y 21 gravemente heridos por fuerzas policiacas, cuando protestaban contra el encarcelamiento injusto de un compañero. Su nieto, Rubén Figueroa Smutny, fue diputado del Partido Revolucionario Institucional, y fue el vínculo entre el depuesto alcalde de Iguala, José Luis Abarca y el Comandante del 27 Batallón de Infantería, Coronel José Rodríguez Pérez, quien donó un amplio terreno para que el edil de Iguala construyera una lujosa plaza comercial. Durante la agresión de los policías de Iguala a los estudiantes de Ayotzinapa, y la posterior desaparición de los mismos, el coronel Rodríguez Pérez estaba en compañía del José Luis Abarca y su esposa.⁷

En cuanto al papel de los gobiernos locales y de la policía preventiva municipal, nuestra participación en proyectos de derechos humanos da cuenta de los patrones sistemáticos de violencia policial de las distintas instituciones que operan en la región. Mediante grupos focales realizados en 2013, la población indígena local describió eventos frecuentes en que los efectivos de la policía municipal “actúan como sicarios” del presidente municipal, cumplen con órdenes que protegen sus intereses personales en lugar de prevenir delitos y proteger a la población. Diez días antes de los sucesos en Iguala, el presidente municipal de Tlapa

de Comonfort mandó golpear y torturar a un pequeño colectivo de jóvenes porque durante su informe de gobierno iban a levantar en silencio carteles que decían, *Un México sin PRI* (el Partido Revolucionario Institucional, partido del presidente Peña Nieto). La población local narra que efectivos de la policía entran a las comunidades encapuchados, con las armas en alto, y detienen de manera arbitraria a cualquier joven que encuentran caminando por las calles. Sobre todo los jóvenes describen actos de detenciones arbitrarias y uso desproporcional de la fuerza como parte de las tendencias a tratarlos como si fueran criminales de facto. Un joven entrevistado explicó, “La policía nos acusa de andar de borrachos, aunque no hemos hecho nada. Nos quieren intimidar. Ellos se acercan a nosotros con macanas, como si fuéramos delincuentes pero nosotros sólo estamos caminando por la calle rumbo a nuestra casa o a otro lugar. Sólo por caminar por la noche te detienen, te quitan el dinero o te cobran una multa de 700 pesos. Se inventan cualquier pretexto para detenernos”.⁸

A su vez, entre 2007 y 2011, el proyecto Monitor Civil de la Policía, coordinado por tres organizaciones de derechos humanos, el Centro de Derechos Humanos de la Montaña, Tlachinollan, Fundar, Centro de Análisis e Investigación, y el Instituto para la Seguridad y la Democracia (INSYDE) en el que participó Mariana Mora, documentó 413 quejas contra las instituciones de seguridad pública y del ejército. La policía que más cometió violaciones a los derechos humanos fue la Policía Investigadora Ministerial, con el 47 por ciento de los casos. Cabe señalar que solo existe un destacamento de la Policía Ministerial en la región, que a su vez es conformado por aproximadamente 30 elementos, lo que implica que durante cuatro años casi la mitad de los casos documentados fueron

cometidos por un grupo muy reducido de policías. La población local entrevistada mediante grupos focales señala de manera constante los nexos que suponen tiene la Policía Ministerial con la delincuencia organizada. La institución que cometió los actos más graves de violaciones a los derechos humanos fue el ejército, incluyendo: dos ejecuciones extrajudiciales, una desaparición forzada y ocho casos de tortura y de tratos crueles, inhumanos y degradantes.⁹

La combinación de estos datos apunta a que la relación de impunidad que opera entre funcionarios públicos y las instituciones de seguridad pública no solo creó las condiciones para que sucediera un acto de barbarie como el de Iguala, sino coloca el asesinato y la desaparición de los normalistas como parte de patrones de más largo alcance. Si bien muchos señalan la desaparición de los 43 estudiantes de Ayotzinapa como la “gota que derramó el vaso” en Guerrero y en otras regiones del país el vaso estaba derramado desde hace varios años. De acuerdo a los datos presentados el 21 de agosto 2014 por la PGR y la Secretaría de Gobernación, la cifra de desaparecidos en el país, entre 2006 y julio 2014 es de 22,322 personas. Del total, 9,790 personas se encuentran en calidad de desaparecidos desde el inicio de 2013.¹⁰ Eso quiere decir, que el 44 por ciento de las desapariciones sucedieron durante los primeros 20 meses de la administración de Enrique Peña Nieto. Por su lado, en el informe, *Fuera de control: Tortura y otros malos tratos en México*, Amnistía Internacional señala que entre 2003–2013, los casos de tortura incrementaron por un 600 por ciento.¹¹ Y según los datos del Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) sólo uno de cada 100 delitos cometidos en el país recibe castigo y el 62.4 por ciento de la población considera que en los últimos diez

años es muy poca la reducción de corrupción en las instituciones del Estado.¹²

Los actores sociales en la región nos vienen hablando del carácter estructural de esta violencia y la realidad cotidiana detrás de las cifras. En una entrevista reciente, un integrante del MPG explica que para ellos Guerrero y México se encuentran en una “segunda guerra sucia”, no sólo por la cantidad de desaparecidos, sino por el nivel de actos de violencia estatal ejercidos contra la ciudadanía como si todos fueran criminales. Sin embargo, en contraste con las décadas de 1960 y 1970, la situación es mucho más compleja porque, “el narco actúa igual que los paramilitares, solo que hay una gran diferencia, ellos se mueven también por el dinero. Ahora lo que tenemos es un narcoestado. Nos despojan de nuestras tierras, destruyen lo que tenemos, después nos tratan de reclutar como mano de obra barata para la siembra de amapola, y después nos acusan de criminales. Nos aplastan entre estas dos caras y no nos dan muchas opciones de una salida digna”.¹³

No deja de sorprendernos la claridad del análisis estructural que encontramos en los testimonios recabados con los actores sociales de la región. En el caso de los peritajes culturales realizados en el marco de las denuncias de Inés Fernández Ortega y Valentina Rosendo Cantú, ambas mujeres señalaban la existencia de una política represiva que iba más allá de los actos violentos de algunos soldados. Es por eso que para ellas el que tres soldados fueran encarcelados no representaba una “reparación” real a la violencia sufrida. Las reparaciones comunitarias que demandaban incluían la desmilitarización de la región como garantía de no repetición.¹⁴ A partir de la sentencia condenatoria de la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos contra el Estado

mexicano por las violaciones sexuales de Inés y Valentina, el entonces Secretario de Gobernación, Alejandro Poiré, pidió disculpas públicas a Inés en la plaza de Ayutla de los Libres, el 6 de marzo del 2012. Los estudiantes de Ayotzinapa asistieron para mostrar su solidaridad con ella y con la OPIM. En esa ocasión Inés nos advirtió a todos los presentes que no podía creer en las disculpas del Secretario de Gobernación, porque los militares y los paramilitares seguían agrediendo a su pueblo:

Escúchenme todos, hombres, mujeres y niños: los del gobierno, aunque te digan que están de tu lado, no van a cumplir, no les hagan caso. Cometieron ese crimen contra mí porque somos pobres. Y no sólo contra mí sino contra otras personas [...] El gobernador, aunque está aquí presente, no va a cumplir. Yo por eso tuve que ir a buscar justicia a otro lado, porque aquí no me atendieron. Que hoy nos diga qué puede hacer y qué no puede hacer. El gobierno no nos deja organizar. Los soldados siguen sin dejarnos mover libremente en nuestras comunidades. Siempre andan cerca, de civil, no necesariamente uniformados. En este momento se encuentran entre nosotros.¹⁵

En esa ocasión la presidenta de la OPIM, Obtilia Eugenio denunció también la complicidad del presidente municipal de Ayutla de los Libres, Armando García Rendón con el crimen organizado y los paramilitares de la región. El Secretario de Gobernación, máxima autoridad en temas de seguridad del Estado mexicano era testigo de la denuncia, nosotras entre el público admirábamos el valor de Inés y Obtilia, y temíamos por sus vidas. Nada pasó después de esta denuncia, como nada pasó después de que en mayo de este año José Luis Abarca fuera acusado penalmente de asesinar al activista Arturo Hernández

Cardona junto con siete activistas del Frente de Unidad Popular (FUP), cuyos cadáveres fueron encontrados con huellas de tortura practicada con un sadismo acentuado. Con la complicidad del poder judicial Abarca nunca fue juzgado, por “falta de pruebas”.¹⁶

* * *

El caso de Iguala y la crisis de Estado en México, nos obliga como académicas y antropólogas a adecuar los marcos teóricos y metodologías de investigación para responder a contextos de violencia generalizada. En primer lugar, surgen una serie de cuestiones de carácter ético político. Debemos reflexionar de manera crítica en torno a cómo acercarnos a historias de tanto dolor, evitando abrir heridas, sin recaer en métodos que terminan revictimizando a la población con la que estamos trabajando o que convierten sus palabras en lo que Alejandro Castillejo se refiere como la economía de extracción del testimonio.¹⁷ Por eso optamos por realizar entrevistas en los plantones y en las marchas, en lugar de ir directamente a realizar entrevistas en sus casas. La etnografía de las movilizaciones políticas se convierte también en una herramienta metodológica fundamental para entender la semántica de la resistencia. Consideramos éticamente necesario evitar el morbo del acto espectacular y del espectáculo del dolor. A su vez, identificamos el papel que destaca el método por excelencia de nuestra disciplina, la observación participante, para poder registrar y posteriormente analizar la producción de sentidos y significados de la población local en relación a la desaparición de los normalistas para así trazar geografías sociales, como la que intentamos hacer en este artículo, que ubican los efectos de una formación de un Estado criminal en las vidas cotidianas de la población local. Por lo mismo pudimos

hilar continuidades entre las formas en que las mujeres me'phaa, Inés Fernández y Valentina Rosendo, interpretan las experiencias de militarización y de represión de sus pueblos, con lo que expresan integrantes del Movimiento Popular Guerrerense en los plantones de semanas recientes y con el tipo de representaciones históricas que ofrece el informe de la Comisión de la Verdad en Guerrero. En ese sentido, consideramos que frente a casos tan dramáticos como el asesinato y la desaparición de los normalistas, la antropología permite analizar a profundidad las capas, complejidades y ambigüedades de una crisis de Estado mediante la recuperación de fuentes empíricas que rodean el caso mismo.

El contexto de violencia actual también requiere reflexionar sobre el papel de la antropología comprometida o lo que algunos autores definen como antropología activista.¹⁸ En lugar de recaer en la antropología de la denuncia, es decir etnografías en contextos de violencia para documentar las verdades de la población afectada de cara a las representaciones discursivas que producen fuerzas hegemónicas, nosotras optamos por situar nuestras metodologías de investigación de tal manera que abonan a procesos organizativos locales. En contextos de violencia extrema, hemos aprendido que ese fortalecimiento de actores políticos locales muchas veces se expresa en los detalles de la investigación, por ejemplo, con preguntas que apoyan a la persona entrevistada resignificar y reacomodar experiencias de trauma y de dolor. Aquí las metodologías que le apuestan a transformación social no se expresan necesariamente en grandes actos, sino en los pequeños intercambios que dan entrada a otras experiencias, que si bien se

mantienen vinculadas con el trauma vivido, también lo trascienden.

Sin duda, la relación entre la clase política y el crimen organizado llama a la producción académica a centrarse en la difícil tarea de comprender los procesos que detonan la formación del Estado mediante la producción de líneas divisorias que separan negocios o actos legales de los llamados ilegales. Son efectos que no solo generan temores agudos y producen subjetividades mediante el miedo y el terror, sino que reproducen y alimentan la impunidad. A su vez, nos conducen por caminos analíticos para entender el Estado, como entidad soberana, que refuerza su poder, no cuidando o administrando la vida, sino mediante estas políticas de la muerte. Las preguntas analíticas que aquí planteamos no tienen como intención una mera aportación teórica, sino buscan aportar a los debates públicos comprometidos con ponerle un alto a la impunidad. El primer paso implica nombrar a los responsables, por lo mismo este artículo nos conduce a concluir con la siguiente pregunta: Si tenemos la participación directa del poder ejecutivo por omisión y comisión, si los encargados de ejercer la violencia son las fuerzas de seguridad policiacas o militares en complicidad con los sicarios, si el poder judicial exonera a los criminales, ¿Es una imprecisión decir que fue el Estado?

Notas

¹ Estos estudios de caso los hemos desarrollado en el marco del proyecto colectivo "Mujeres y derecho en América Latina: Justicia, seguridad y pluralismo legal" coordinado por Rachel Sieder, que abarcó estudios de caso de Bolivia, Guatemala, Ecuador, Colombia y México.

² Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 11–40.

³ El Informe Pericial Antropológico fue elaborado por Rosalva Aída Hernández y Héctor Ortiz Elizondo y presentado por la primera ante la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos en su Audiencia del 15 de abril de 2010 en Lima, Perú. El documento entero se puede consultar en el *Boletín Colegio de Etnólogos y Antropólogos Sociales*, "Peritajes antropológicos en México: Reflexiones teórico metodológicas y experiencias," México, mayo 2012. <http://es.scribd.com/doc/109260764/Boletín-n-Ceas-2012-Peritaje>.

⁴ Los grupos paramilitares denunciados por Inés y Valentina, son grupos armados locales que trabajan para los caciques de la región y que se presume son entrenados y equipados por efectivos del ejército mexicano. En algunos municipios estos grupos han sido acusados por los habitantes locales de trabajar para el crimen organizado.

⁵ Entrevista realizada el 6 de Noviembre de 2004. Ver <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x6kvWCWPk54>.

⁶ Jorge Carrasco Araizaga, "Peña asciende a jefe de zona militar de Guerrero", *Proceso*, 20 de noviembre de 2014. <http://www.proceso.com.mx/?p=388302>.

⁷ "Comandante del batallón de Iguala estuvo en fiesta de Abarca, revelan", *SDPnoticias.com*, 14 de noviembre de 2014. <http://www.sdpnoticias.com/nacional/2014/11/14/comandante-del-batallon-de-iguala-estuvo-en-fiesta-de-abarca-revelan>.

⁸ Entrevista realizada a un joven me'phaa de 18 años por Mariana Mora en el municipio de Tlapa de Comonfort, 27 de abril de 2013.

⁹ Monitor Civil de la Policía, *Informe: Desde la mirada ciudadana*, 2011.

¹⁰ Ximena Antillón Najlis, "Más allá de las cifras de personas desaparecidas", *Sinembargo*.mx, 1 de septiembre de 2014. <http://www.sinembargo.mx/opinion/01-09-2014/26850>.

¹¹ *Fuera de control: Tortura y otros malos tratos en México*, Amnistía Internacional, 2014. <http://ir.amnistia.mx/SPARPST>.

Los desafíos y rutas del Programa LASA Puerto Rico 2015

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¹² “Encuesta nacional de victimización y percepción sobre seguridad pública 2013”, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, Boletín de Prensa 390/13, 30 de septiembre de 2013. <http://www.inegi.org.mx/inegi/contenidos/espanol/prensa/boletines/boletin/comunicados/especiales/2013/septiembre/comunica15.pdf>.

¹³ Entrevista a joven integrante del Movimiento Popular Guerrerense en el municipio de Tlapa de Comonfort, 25 de octubre de 2014.

¹⁴ Un análisis de estos casos y de las posibilidades y limitaciones de la justicia internacional para las mujeres indígenas se podrá consultar en el libro de Rosalva Aída Hernández, *Multiple (In)Justices: Gender and Legal Pluralism in Latin America*, a publicarse por University of Arizona Press.

¹⁵ Transcripción de la traducción del discurso de Inés Fernández Ortega en el Acto de Reconocimiento de Responsabilidades del Estado Mexicano, 6 de marzo 2012, Ayutla de los Libres.

¹⁶ Ver Sanjuana Martínez, “El negro historial de Abarca Velázquez”, [Sinembargo.mx](http://sinembargo.mx), 6 de octubre de 2014.

¹⁷ Alejandro Castillejo Cuellar, *Los archivos del dolor: Ensayos sobre la violencia y el recuerdo en la Sudáfrica contemporánea* (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Centro de Estudios Socioculturales, Ediciones Uniandes, 2009).

¹⁸ Ver Shannon Speed, “At the Crossroads of Human Rights and Anthropology: Toward a Critically Engaged Activist Research”, *American Anthropologist* 108, no. 1 (2006): 66–76; y Charles Hale, ed., *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). ■

Hemos finalizado la etapa de evaluación de propuestas para el Congreso de LASA Puerto Rico 2015 y ya cobra forma el programa final de este encuentro, con rutas temáticas que ponen en escena la vibrante diversidad de disciplinas, enfoques y metodologías que caracteriza el campo de los estudios latinoamericanos. Los meses de septiembre, octubre y noviembre de 2014 fueron de intenso trabajo, en el que participaron 61 coordinadores de áreas temáticas (*track chairs*), evaluando 1,732 propuestas individuales y 917 propuestas de sesiones colectivas.

Desafíos de un Congreso en San Juan

Como pasa muchas veces, cuando el Congreso se realiza en algún país de América Latina las propuestas de participación aumentan sustancialmente. Esto ocurrió con el Congreso LASA 2009 que tuvo lugar en Río de Janeiro en Brasil. A su vez, contrastando este LASA 2015 con el LASA 2014 en la ciudad de Chicago, tuvimos 560 propuestas individuales más que el año pasado, lo cual constituye un aumento del 32 por ciento; y a nivel de propuestas colectivas de sesiones el aumento fue de 304 sesiones, es decir, 33 por ciento más. Con el interés de ser lo más incluyentes posibles, la actual Presidenta de LASA, Debra Castillo, con el apoyo de la Directora Ejecutiva, Milagros Pereyra-Rojas, buscaron un hotel aledaño al Caribe-Hilton para así contar con más salas y poder aumentar el porcentaje de aceptación. Con el acceso a estas nuevas instalaciones logramos aumentar el porcentaje de aceptación a un 90 por ciento en el caso de las sesiones y un 81 por ciento en el caso de las propuestas individuales. Sabemos que muchas veces la realización del Congreso en más de un hotel causa

descontento entre quienes tienen que presentar fuera del hotel principal; por esto mismo, deseamos recordarles de que estas decisiones se toman con el interés de posibilitar la participación de un sector más amplio de estudiosas y estudiosos de América Latina en este Congreso.

Salvaguardar la amplitud de LASA constituye todo un desafío organizacional a nivel colectivo. Hasta que uno participa directamente en la organización del Congreso se da cuenta de la cantidad de horas de trabajo voluntario y comprometido que requiere la realización de estas reuniones anuales y, sobre todo, lo importante que es la participación de quienes cumplen el rol de coordinadores de áreas temáticas. Estos dedicaron horas y horas para realizar un exhaustivo trabajo en las diferentes etapas de la evaluación de propuestas, a la asignación de becas de viajes y a la conceptualización de sesiones invitadas (*invited panels*). La cuidadosa labor evaluativa cumplida por las o los coordinadores de áreas temáticas es lo que nos permite visualizar un Congreso diverso e incluyente en San Juan.

Queremos asimismo destacar el profesionalismo con que se ha acometido el proceso evaluativo en cada área, siempre considerando la calidad de contenido de las propuestas y la diversidad disciplinaria y temática. Esto ha permitido que cada postulación haya tenido su debida atención y consideración a la luz de su consistencia conceptual, especificidad, congruencia y claridad de contenido, independientemente de nombres o instituciones. Es este criterio global el que hace posible que todas y todos quienes postulan a participar en el Congreso de LASA tengan igual consideración y se hallen sujetos a un común proceso evaluativo.

Para garantizar la amplitud, este año hicimos un esfuerzo para que cada una de las 33 áreas temáticas tuviera por lo menos un(a) coordinador(a) afincado(a) en América Latina. Aunque no lo logramos totalmente, para este Congreso contamos con una de las participaciones más altas de académicos afiliados a instituciones de América Latina como coordinadores de áreas temáticas en la historia de LASA. Asimismo, incluso logramos incluir colegas asentados en Gran Bretaña, España y Australia. Junto con ello, la diversidad racial, étnica, cultural, lingüística, disciplinaria e interdisciplinaria y de género igualmente sobresalen dentro del notable colectivo de coordinadores de áreas temáticas con que hemos contado, reflejándose así un campo y una región de estudio que, en su actualidad intelectual, corporal y humana, posee un extraordinaria heterogeneidad y desde la cual es posible reflexionar y debatir con mayor riqueza y complejidad cada una de las temáticas del Congreso.

El desafío del proceso de evaluación de propuestas y paneles también implicó una labor de coordinación transfronteriza, usando las nuevas tecnologías de la información. Esto ocurrió la mayoría de las veces entre pares que no se conocían personalmente y que a través de este trabajo de colaboración han creado nuevos espacios de diálogo académico. Estamos contentos con respecto a estos logros; de hecho, nos hemos enterado de manera informal de nuevas iniciativas de colaboración que han surgido a partir de este *tequio académico*. Es en virtud de esta práctica colaborativa que adoptamos la sugerencia hecha por los coordinadores de programa del LASA2014, Florencia Garramuño (Universidad de San Andrés, Buenos Aires) y Raúl Madrid (University of Texas at Austin), de invitar a los coordinadores de áreas temáticas a

organizar sesiones invitadas, de preferencia respondiendo al tema general del Congreso: “Precariedades, exclusiones, emergencias”. Como resultado, obtuvimos una entusiasta respuesta de la mayoría de ellos, recibiendo 37 propuestas de sesiones y talleres invitados.

Algunas rutas temáticas

Si bien no es posible reseñar en este espacio todas las sesiones invitadas que tendremos, queremos adelantar algunos de los temas que serán debatidos en algunas de ellas. Queremos comentar al menos aquellas que se vinculan directamente con la convocatoria general del Congreso LASA 2015, abordando las problemáticas que se suscitan alrededor de los tropos de *precariedades, exclusiones y emergencias*.

La cuestión del trabajo se constituyó en un foco de atención para algunos paneles, especialmente considerando la precarización y al mismo tiempo los cambios de la vida laboral en el continente en el escenario de la presente era global. Así, Sara María Lara (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) y Cristóbal Kay (International Institute of Social Studies, ISS; Universidad de Rotterdam, Países Bajos), coordinadores del área temática Vida Agraria y Rural (Agrarian and Rural Life, AGR) han propuesto la sesión invitada titulada “Transformaciones del trabajo rural en América Latina: Precariedades, exclusiones y emergencias”. Según proponen sus organizadores, este panel arranca de la constatación de que “ha aumentado drásticamente el empleo temporal y femenino y se ha agudizado la precarización de las condiciones laborales y de vida” en el mundo rural a partir de las emergencia de las políticas neoliberales.¹ Asimismo, en esta sesión se discutirá “la

creciente exclusión de los campesinos de la producción agrícola,” que se orienta a grandes mercados, generando la masiva búsqueda de diferentes “formas de ingreso, predominando el trabajo como jornaleros y las remesas de miembros que han migrado a otras regiones del país o al extranjero”. Por su parte, el área temática Estudios de Trabajo y Relaciones entre Clases (Labor Studies and Class Relations, LAB), coordinada por Heidi Tinsman (University of California, Irvine) y Graciela Bensusán (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, UAM-Xochimilco), tendrá la sesión invitada titulada “Precariedad laboral y organización sindical”. Esta panel se propone “explorar cómo la inseguridad en el empleo, la falta de control sobre el proceso de trabajo y las condiciones laborales, el bajo nivel de ingreso y la dificultad de acceder al ejercicio de los derechos son dimensiones de la precariedad laboral que se han venido agravando y extendiendo en la región en las últimas décadas a la par del debilitamiento de las organizaciones sindicales”.

Pero estas economías globalizadas poseen otras aristas e involucran dimensiones corporales, psíquicas y afectivas. Es así que el área temática Salud y Sociedad (Health and Society, HEA), a cargo de Clara Han (John Hopkins University), ha concebido la sesión invitada “Life at the Limits: Affliction, Healing, and Urban Poverty”. Esta mesa se plantea explorar asuntos de pobreza urbana y salud en América Latina, con presentaciones de colegas del campo de las ciencias sociales que realizan sus labores investigativas en Ciudad de México, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Brasília y São Paulo. Un punto cardinal de este panel será la cuestión de “la vida en los límites,” para interrogarse acerca de cómo esta se hace “inhabitable o soportable” (*inhabitable or bearable*) en circunstancias de pobreza citadina, aflicción y subsecuente

búsqueda de “cura, cuidado y bienestar”. También tocando el ámbito de la salud, pero desde otra perspectiva disciplinaria, el área temática Historia e Historiografía (History and Historiography, HIS), coordinada por Silvia Álvarez-Curbelo (Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras) y Eduardo Elena (University of Miami), patrocinará una sesión invitada titulada “Storms, Worms, and Other Plagues: Government Control and Local Response in Puerto Rico, c. 1880–1920” y compuesta por estudiosos de la historia de Puerto Rico. Este panel analizará y debatirá la oleada epidémica, la invasión y colonización de Estados Unidos, la urbanización y la degradación ambiental de fines del siglo XIX y principios del siglo XX en la isla. Con este escenario histórico de trasfondo, esta sesión desea ofrecer una reflexión sobre los orígenes de una salud pública precaria en Puerto Rico y a la vez dar cuenta de la complejidad de las respuestas locales a las emergencias que agitaron el importante período histórico en debate.

En otro vector, las artes han urdido alternativos modos de lidiar con la carnalidad y fisicalidad de procesos socialmente precarizantes y excluyentes. Allí *emerge* la creatividad de los lenguajes y las formas. Es así que el área temática Estudios de Performance (Performance Studies, PER), a cargo de Jimmy Noriega, contribuirá con una sesión invitada bajo el título “Precarious Practices: Division, Space, and the Body in Latin American Theatre and Performance”. Esta sesión abordará cómo la “la precariedad del espacio afecta cuestiones de raza, género y sexualidad en relación a la práctica pública performativa”. Dentro de una similar preocupación por las estéticas y los lenguajes, la coordinadora del área temática Estudios Literarios Contemporáneos (Literary Studies:

Contemporary, LST), Estelle Tarica (University of California, Berkeley) organiza la sesión invitada “Precariedad y política de lo íntimo en la literatura contemporánea”. Esta sesión-taller apunta a “reflexionar sobre los ambientes de intimidades precarias que marcan la actualidad y sobre la naturaleza espectacular, ilusoria o inestable de la subjetividad” en registros literarios contemporáneos.

Reflexionando agenciamientos

Ante situaciones de crisis y exclusiones, como lo insinúan las respuestas variadas de los sujetos locales en el caso histórico del Puerto Rico de fines del siglo XIX, o como lo corporalizan las prácticas estéticas con cuerpos y espacios que se abordarán en el panel de Estudios de Performance, se producen la emergencia de saberes, sujetos y prácticas, sean resistentes, oposicionales, o constituyentes de agenciamientos autónomos y/o alternativos. En este horizonte se sitúa la sesión invitada “Racism and Antiracism in the Multicultural Turn: Perspectives from the Americas” del área temática Pueblos Afrolatinos e Indígenas (Afro-Latin/ Indigenous Peoples, AFR), coordinada por Emiko Saldívar (University of California, San Diego) e Irma Alicia Velázquez Nimatuj (investigadora K’iche’ Maya). Con dicho enfoque en racismo anti-racismo, en esta sesión-taller sus expositores se plantean hacer un balance de las posibilidades y limitaciones de los reconocimientos de derechos colectivos para pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes, reflexionando sobre cómo se estructura y reproduce la desigualdad racial en este momento histórico. El propósito de esta sesión-taller es presentar las reflexiones de investigadores-activistas que “han estado comprometidos y participando” en estas

bregas ligadas a derechos de afrodescendientes y comunidades indígenas. Desde un ángulo lingüístico y político-cultural, el área temática Lingüística, Lenguas y Políticas de las Lenguas (Linguistics, Languages, and Language Policy, LIN), a cargo de Emiliana Cruz (lingüista Chatina y docente en la University of Massachusetts, Amherst) y Serafín Coronel-Molina (lingüista Wanka/Quechua y docente en Indiana University, Bloomington), nos ofrecerán una sesión invitada en torno a “Revitalización de las lenguas indígenas en América Latina”. En este panel, “se abordarán los proyectos colaborativos a nivel local, regional, nacional e internacional en beneficio de las comunidades indígenas” y sus resistencias lingüísticas.

El deseo de agenciamiento igualmente motiva el debate de la sesión invitada “The Intersection of Queer Artists, Activists, and Scholars in Puerto Rico,” preparada por Salvador Vidal-Ortiz (American University) y Shawn Schulenberg (Marshall University) desde el área temática Sexualidades y Estudios LGBTQ (Sexualities and LGBTQ Studies, SLS). Basados en experiencias y prácticas emergidas desde las redes y organizaciones de minorías sexuales en Puerto Rico, académicos y activistas entablarán un diálogo en torno a sus aprendizajes y a modelos posibles de acción en el presente y futuro de la diversidad sexual en el contexto puertorriqueño.

En una veta similar, las exclusiones epistémicas serán abordadas por los talleres del área temática Otros Saberes (Collective Methods and the Politics of Research, OTS) titulados “Collaborative Indigenous and Afrodescendant Knowledge Production I y II,” coordinados por Shannon Speed (University of Texas at Austin) y Maylei Blackwell (University of California, Los Angeles). Estas sesiones-talleres analizarán

la emergencia de otros saberes y otras formas de conocimiento a partir de un diálogo con intelectuales indígenas y afrodescendientes de las Américas.

Estas son, entonces, algunas de las variadas y muchas rutas temáticas que nos esperan en los cuatro días de Congreso LASA en San Juan, Puerto Rico, en mayo de 2015. Ha sido un gran esfuerzo colectivo darle forma a este prometedor encuentro. Les invitamos a prepararse para estos diálogos y, desde los cuales, esperamos que surgan nuevas colaboraciones.

Nota

¹ De aquí en adelante, todas las frases entrecomilladas corresponden, textualmente, a los resúmenes (*abstracts*) de los paneles invitados a que hacemos referencia. ■

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☐	\$755 Charitable Organization	☐	\$655 each additional charitable		
☐	\$450 + \$80 (sharing fee) Booth Share (\$530 total)				
Total # of Booths:	☐ one	☐ two	☐ three	☐ four	☐ five
Combined booth:	One \$75 book ☐	Additional \$55 ☐	More than five please contact msc49@pitt.edu	"Take one" display \$125 ☐	

ADVERTISING

Deadlines

Reservations: March 31, 2015
Materials: April 15, 2015

☐	\$600 full page	☐	\$1500 Back Cover	☐	\$1500 Inside back cover
☐	\$350 half page	☐	\$ 1100 Inside Front Cover	Total # of pages	

MAILING LIST

☐	\$450 Pre-registrant list (commercial)	☐	\$350 Pre-registrant list (nonprofit)
☐	\$500 On-site list (commercial)	☐	\$400 On-site list (nonprofit)

Payment information

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Amount (check must be payable to LASA)		Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐	Transaction # (outside USA)	
PLEASE INDICATE YOUR BOOTH PREFERENCES:		Card #		
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		CVV #		SUBMISSION DATE

Cancellations

If an exhibitor is forced to withdraw from participation by January 5, 2015, all sums paid by the exhibitor less a \$350 service fee will be refunded. No refunds will be issued after January 5, 2015. Cancellations are not effective until received in writing by LASA. No refund will be made if an exhibitor fails to occupy the space. No refund on late or no arrival of materials.

Payment

A minimum deposit of 50% of the total booth rental fee is required. Booths will not be assigned without the 50% deposit. Failure to remit payment for the booth rental by January 5, 2015 constitutes cancellation of the contract, and the space will be subject to resale without refund.

As the authorized contact for the above organization, I agree to comply with, and be bound by, the terms of LASA's Rules and Regulations.

Printed Name: _____

Signature: _____

Name of the company/ organization ID sign: _____

Return form to:

LASA Book Exhibit
416 Bellefield Hall
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh PA 15260.
Telephone: 412-648-7929 Fax: 412-624-7145
Email: lasa@pitt.edu / msc49@pitt.edu

Elections 2015: Nominating Committee Slate

The LASA Nominating Committee presents the following slate of candidates: two candidates for vice president, two candidates for treasurer, and six candidates for three open positions on the Executive Council (EC). The winning candidate for vice president will serve in that capacity from June 1, 2015, to May 31, 2016, as president from June 1, 2016, to May 31, 2017, and as past president from June 1, 2017 to May 31, 2018. The three winning candidates for EC membership will serve a two-year term from June 1, 2015, to May 31, 2017. The winning candidate for treasurer will serve a two-year term from June 1, 2015, to May 31, 2017.

Nominees for Vice President

Jonathan Hartlyn
University of North Carolina

Joanne Rappaport
Georgetown University

Nominees for Treasurer

Anne Hanley
Northern Illinois University

Patricia Tovar Rojas
*City University of New York,
John Jay College*

Nominees for Executive Council

Rossana Castiglioni
Universidad Diego Portales

Evelina Dagnino
Universidade Estadual de Campinas

Robin Lauren Derby
University of California, Los Angeles

Maria Helena Machado
Universidade de São Paulo

Carmen Millán de Benavides
Pontificia Universidad Javeriana

Joel Stillerman
Grand Valley State University

The Candidates

Jonathan Hartlyn

Jonathan Hartlyn is the Kenneth J. Reckford Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill, where he has been a faculty member since 1988. He has served as director of UNC's Institute of Latin American Studies (now Institute for the Study of the Americas) and of the Carolina-Duke Consortium in Latin American Studies, which has been a joint National Resource Center and Title VI Center funded by the Department of Education since 1991. He has also served as chair of UNC's Department of Political Science. For the past five years, he has been senior associate dean for Social Sciences and Global Programs in the College of Arts and Sciences, helping to oversee expanded hiring of a global and more diverse faculty, to ensure the vitality of global area study centers (with the campus receiving six Title VI centers in the 2014 round), to provide for more global programs for students on and off campus, and to deepen partnerships and collaborative programs with universities and institutes around the world.

He has been attending LASA Congresses since he was a graduate student. He was a member of LASA's Executive Council (2007–2010) and a member of the Advisory Council of LASA's Colombia Section (1999–2004). He also served on the selection committee for LASA's Premio Iberoamericano (for the best book published in Spanish or Portuguese).

He was born in Peru and reared in Latin America (including Mexico and pre-revolutionary Cuba). A political scientist, he received his BA from Clark University and his MPhil and PhD from Yale University. He taught at Vanderbilt

University from 1981 to 1988. His research and teaching interests have focused on the comparative politics of Latin America, especially with relation to questions of democratization, political institutions, and state-society relations. He is the author of *The Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia* (Cambridge University Press, 1988; *La política del régimen de coalición: La experiencia del Frente Nacional en Colombia*, 1993); and *The Struggle for Democratic Politics in the Dominican Republic* (University of North Carolina Press, 1998; *La lucha por la democracia en la República Dominicana*, 2008). He is the coauthor (with Manuel Antonio Garretón, Marcelo Cavarozzi, Peter Cleaves, and Gary Gereffi) of *Latin America in the Twenty First Century: Toward a New Sociopolitical Matrix* (North-South Center and Lynne Rienner Press, 2003; *América Latina en el siglo XXI: Hacia una nueva matriz sociopolítica*, 2004; *América Latina no século XXI: Em direção a uma nova matriz sociopolítica*, 2007). He has coedited three books: *Latin American Political Economy: Financial Crisis and Political Change* (with Samuel Morley), 1986; *The United States and Latin America in the 1990s: Beyond the Cold War* (with Lars Schoultz and Augusto Varas), 1992; and *Democracy in Developing Countries: Latin America*, 2nd ed. (with Larry Diamond and Juan Linz), 1999.

He has authored or coauthored articles on issues that include democratic transitions, gender and politics, migration and political parties, public opinion and institutional trust, and elections and electoral governance; these have appeared in *América Latina Hoy*, *Asian Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Current History*, *Electoral Studies*, *Estudios Jurídicos*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Journal of Interamerican*

Studies and World Affairs, *International Political Science Review*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Politics & Gender*, *Revista Opinión Pública*, and *Studies in Comparative International Development*. He has contributed chapters to numerous edited books, including *Cambridge History of Latin America*; *Cincuenta años de regreso a la democracia*; *Democracia y reestructuración económica en América Latina*; *Cambio político en el Caribe*; *Democratic Governance and Social Inequality*; *Miradas desencadenantes: Los estudios de género en la República Dominicana al inicio del tercer milenio*; and *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. He has received grants from the Social Science Research Council, the Tinker Foundation, and the Ford Foundation, among others.

He serves or has served on the editorial boards of *América Latina Hoy*, *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, and *Revista de Estudios Sociales*, among others. He was on the Executive Committee of the Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política (ALACIP) and served as chair of the Comparative Democratization Section of the American Political Science Association. He has served as a program reviewer for the Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales (IEPRI) of Universidad Nacional de Colombia; Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra (Dominican Republic); Departamento de Ciencia Política, Universidad de Los Andes (Bogotá, Colombia); Florida International University; the University of Miami; and Vanderbilt University, among others. He has chaired 22 dissertation committees and served on another 35 and has also chaired numerous undergraduate honors thesis

projects. In 2000, he received UNC's Johnston Award for Teaching Excellence.

His current research includes collaborative projects on the evolution of contemporary constitutional reforms in Latin America and conceptualizing and analyzing the impact of patrimonialism in the region.

Hartlyn Statement

I am honored to be a candidate for vice president and president-elect of LASA. I have been a regular participant at LASA Congresses since 1979, served a term on the LASA Executive Council, and have been active in several LASA Sections. I also bring a decades-long commitment to the advancement of Latin American and Caribbean studies. For me, the value of LASA and its Congresses lies in the extraordinary mix of people across generations, intellectual content, richness and variety of the program activities, encouragement of vigorous public debate engaging substantive and ethical concerns, and centrality in facilitating professional and social networking and connections; all, crucially, with the opportunity also to have fun.

LASA is a vibrant, independent, professional association because of the three broad purposes it has defined for itself. I am committed to focusing on all three of them.

First, LASA is dedicated to fostering intellectual discussion, research, and teaching on Latin America, the Caribbean, and its peoples throughout the Americas. Its special value is that it successfully fosters interdisciplinary dialogue and research while also providing ample space for disciplinary scholarship. We must continue to find ways to engage the Latin American studies community in its broadest sense. This includes, of course,

scholars in all types of colleges and universities across the Americas, as well as working more effectively with centers and institutes within them. I also support continuing initiatives to reach out to those who create knowledge outside of academia, including in civil society, international NGOs, research institutes, and Latin American government agencies. LASA also must engage those who work in underrepresented disciplines. With regard to teaching, I believe LASA should provide initiatives regarding access to and the assessment of different types of technology applied to instructional innovation in Latin American studies. And LASA could do more to encourage interregional work with Africa, Asia, and Europe; as a first step it could join with other regional associations to seek foundation support for collaborative interregional projects.

The second purpose of LASA is to promote the interests of its diverse membership. One of the strengths of LASA is the diversity of generations and of types of scholarship, occupations, and organizations represented, with around 45 percent of its members residing outside the United States. Given continuing financial limitations that face many colleagues in Latin America and the Caribbean, LASA must continue to find ways to facilitate their continuing participation in LASA and foster their professional development. We must also be sure we continue to incorporate graduate students from institutions across the Americas. This fundamental funding challenge must remain a top priority.

LASA is also a vital organization because of its third purpose, to encourage civic engagement through network building and public debate. LASA has always served as a site for network building and dialogue among scholars, activists, policy makers, and others. It has vigorously advocated on

behalf of core academic and human rights issues, focusing on those who are most vulnerable, and for developing scholarly relations with Cuba and changing U.S. policy toward that country.

As a center director and in my current role advancing global programs on my home campus, I have helped structure initiatives, programs, and working groups to encourage interdisciplinary dialogue and scholarship and recognize their benefits and challenges. In my research, I discovered early on the joys of collaborative scholarship, including coediting three books, authoring another with four colleagues, and coauthoring numerous articles. I would bring this collaborative spirit to LASA, where it is already strong, to do what I can to ensure that LASA continues to advance each of its three major purposes.

Joanne Rappaport

I am an anthropologist with a joint appointment as professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and the Department of Anthropology at Georgetown University. Before coming to Georgetown in 1997, I was associate professor of anthropology at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, where I began my teaching career in 1983. I have been a visiting professor at FLACSO-Quito, the Johns Hopkins University, the Universidad del Cauca, and the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, among others.

I am the author of *The Disappearing Mestizo: Configuring Difference in the Colonial New Kingdom of Granada* (Duke University Press, 2014); *Intercultural Utopias: Public Intellectuals, Cultural Experimentation, and Ethnic Pluralism in Colombia* (Duke University Press, 2005); *Universidad del Rosario / Universidad del*

Cauca, 2008); *Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History* (Duke University Press, 1994; Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia / Universidad del Cauca, 2005); and *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes* (Cambridge University Press, 1990; Duke University Press, 1998; Universidad del Cauca, 2000). With Tom Cummins, I coauthored *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Duke University Press, 2012, winner of the 2012 Bryce Wood Book Award, Latin American Studies Association, and the 2013 Katherine Singer Kovacs Prize, Modern Languages Association), and with a group of Colombian indigenous activists I wrote *¿Qué pasaría si la escuela...? Treinta años de construcción educativa* (Programa de Educación Bilingüe e Intercultural, Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, 2004). I edited *Retornando la mirada: Una investigación colaborativa interétnica sobre el Cauca a la entrada del milenio* (Universidad del Cauca, 2005) and "Ethnicity Reconfigured: Indigenous Legislators and the Colombian Constitution of 1991" (special issue of the *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 1996), and coedited, with Les Field, "Collaborative Anthropologies in Latin America" (special issue of *Collaborative Anthropologies*, 2011). I have published in numerous journals in Latin America, the United States, and Europe and have received the support of the Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales (Bogotá), Fulbright, National Endowment for the Humanities, National Science Foundation, National Humanities Center, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Social Science Research Council, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

My current research examines how the participatory methodology of Colombian

sociologist Orlando Fals Borda developed over the 1970s on the Caribbean coast, based on work with his personal archives. My interests overlap the disciplines of anthropology, art history, history, and literary studies, and include such topics as collaborative research methods, historical memory, indigenous organizing, literacy, and race.

I have served as president (1997–2000) and councilor (1993–1996) of the Society for Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology, member of the Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association (1999), chair of the Colombia Section of LASA (2000–2002), and member of the Executive Council of LASA (2003–2006). I am a coeditor of the Narrating Native Histories book series at Duke University Press and a coeditor of *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, as well as currently serving on the editorial boards of *The Americas*, *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* (Bogotá), *Antípoda*, *Revista de Antropología y Arqueología* (Bogotá), *Collaborative Anthropologies*, *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, and *Universitas Humanística* (Bogotá), among others.

Rappaport Statement

Over the past few decades, my research has spanned a number of disciplines, including anthropology, art history, history, and literature, and has involved collaboration with academic scholars in Colombia and the United States as well as with grassroots researchers from indigenous organizations in Colombia. In the mid-1990s I began to work with two research teams based in the Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (CRIC), coproducing books and edited volumes with them, and subsequently training indigenous researchers so that they can conduct their own studies. This led me

to work as an “investigadora solidaria” with LASA’s Otros Saberes Initiative, which funded a series of collaborative teams bringing together academic and indigenous and Afro-Latin American researchers. As a member of the executive board of the Society for Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology, and later as its president, I helped to found the Journal of Latin American Anthropology as a space in which Latin Americanists could publish in English, Portuguese, and Spanish, in an effort to expand the space of North-South dialogue. Most of the doctoral students whose dissertations I have supervised as a professor of Latin American cultural studies are Latin American; many of them have returned home to teach and conduct research. I have also been an active member of dissertation and thesis committees in anthropology and history at various Colombian universities. I try to incorporate the work of Latin American scholars into my teaching, even at the undergraduate level in core courses in anthropology.

My interests have thus always revolved around the development of an interdisciplinary North-South dialogue, as well as a commitment to nurturing a space for collaboration with grassroots researchers. I believe that LASA is one of the prime sites in which such conversations and collaborations can be nurtured. I am particularly eager to follow Charles Hale’s call to institutionalize Otros Saberes, making this initiative a permanent component of LASA’s program, broadening it to include a wider range of nonacademic researchers, and increasing funding for individual teams. I also hope to find new ways to share the methodologies and results of Otros Saberes with LASA members beyond the usual Congress session, so that its innovative research approaches can be more widely

disseminated and appropriated. The success of Otros Saberes should lead academic researchers to reevaluate our own advocacy and engaged scholarship in light of the active role that popular sectors now play in the research endeavor.

I would also like to encourage more dialogue at the LASA Congress between Latin American and North American/European researchers, privileging those sessions that incorporate scholars from both the global South and the global North. In my experience as a track chair for the Washington, DC, meetings, many of the sessions tend to privilege one group of scholars or the other. LASA is, indeed, a space in which we come together, but there is much we can do to enhance that process.

Finally, in the past few years as doctoral programs open in Latin American countries, universities in the global North have been hosting a growing number of Latin American graduate students who are required by their funders to spend a semester at a foreign institution. These contacts provide graduate students with access to crucial library resources and enable exchanges between Latin American and North American/European students. Nonetheless, a lack of institutional coordination has resulted in a less than productive encounter between graduate students seeking guidance from international scholars and an overworked faculty that frequently ignores them. As an interdisciplinary umbrella organization of Latin Americanists, LASA could play a role in stimulating a process of evaluation so that these visits are more rewarding for all concerned.

Anne Hanley

Anne Hanley is associate professor of history at Northern Illinois University

(NIU). She received her PhD from Stanford University in Latin American history in 1995 under the direction of Stephen Haber. Prior to this, she earned a BA in economics from University of California, Berkeley (1981), and an MA in Latin American studies from New York University (1984). She has been teaching at NIU since 1999 and has served as director of graduate studies since 2005. Before arriving at NIU, she taught in the Departments of Economics and History at Northwestern University and in the Department of History at California State University, Hayward.

Dr. Hanley's area of specialization is nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Brazilian economic history, particularly the history of financial institutions and their impact on Brazil's economic development. She is the author of *Native Capital: Financial Institutions and Economic Development in São Paulo, Brazil 1850–1920* (Stanford University Press, 2005), and several articles and chapters on economic and financial history including "Business Finance and the São Paulo Bolsa, 1886–1917," in *Latin America and the World Economy: Essays in Quantitative Economic History*, edited by John Coatsworth and Alan Taylor (1998); "Is It Who You Know? Entrepreneurs and Bankers in São Paulo, Brazil, at the Turn of the Twentieth Century" (*Enterprise and Society*, 2004); and "Financing Brazil's Industrialization" in *Reconceptualizing the Industrial Revolution*, edited by Jeff Horn, Leonard L. Rosenband, and Merritt Roe Smith (2010). Dr. Hanley maintains an active research agenda with Brazilian colleagues that has yielded several coauthored projects, including "Bancos na transição republicana em São Paulo: O financiamento hipotecário (1888–1901)" with Renato Leite Marcondes (*Estudos Econômicos*, 2010), and "Alice no país da

contabilidade: A aventura de duas historiadoras econômicas em registros contábeis do século XIX," with Luciana Suarez Lopes (*Revista Contabilidade & Finanças*, forthcoming). She is a member of a research team of Brazilian economists that recently completed a comprehensive historiographic and bibliometric analysis of scholarship on Brazil's Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social. She was invited to write the introduction to the centennial historical reproduction of the classic work by Emile Schompré, *La Bourse de São Paulo, 1911* (2013), and to contribute a chapter on the history of banking and economic development in nineteenth-century São Paulo to the volume *Brasileiros e brasilianistas: Novas gerações, novos olhares* (2014). Her current book project investigates the origins of socioeconomic underdevelopment and inequality by studying Brazil's investment in public services in the first century of independence. She examines how municipalities raised and spent funds on public services such as infrastructure, water and sewer systems, health, education, and safety; how revenue generating and spending priorities changed over time; and how the provision of public services affected socioeconomic development.

Dr. Hanley's research interests in economic development and inequality are central to her teaching. The economic philosophies of the powerful have affected or underscored virtually every aspect of the historical narrative in the post-independence era, particularly regional, racial, class, and gender inequalities within Latin American nations and the accelerating economic gap between Latin American and other nations from the early nineteenth century to the present. She brings issues of economic theory into her classes to varying degrees to help students understand how these economic

philosophies influenced social, economic, and political policies. She enjoys teaching classes on modern Latin America, the history of Brazil, poverty and progress in Latin America, Latin America through film, Latin American revolutions, and the Latin American city, as well as graduate seminars in economic and urban history. Her concern with the economic history of underdevelopment led her to help found an interdisciplinary program in nongovernmental organization leadership and then to integrate that program into the new School of Public Global Affairs at NIU. She is an active faculty associate of both programs as well as of NIU's Center for Latino and Latin American Studies. She is a member of professional organizations that cross the disciplinary boundaries of her research and teaching interests, including the Brazil Section of LASA, the Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA), the Conference on Latin American History, the Economic History Association, and the American Historical Association.

Hanley Statement

I am deeply honored to be nominated as treasurer of the Latin American Studies Association. My first experience with LASA—walking into the lobby at the 1992 meeting in LA as a graduate student—scared the hell out of me. Where did all those people come from? But my second experience with LASA—attending a panel at that same meeting—was amazing. Here I was, a mere graduate student, talking to scholars from several disciplines about their work and mine, learning something new, and leaving feeling excited, energized, and connected. Now when I enter the hotel lobby in Toronto or Washington or Chicago or San Francisco, I see that throng of scholars and feel excited by what is to come. Is it just me that hasn't yet deleted the program app from last year's conference? I take a look at it to recall a

conversation I had, a paper I heard, or a new friend I met. I have personally benefited from this organization that has introduced me to a community of colleagues, scholarship, debates, and culture beyond my primary field. It would be good to give back by serving as a member of the Executive Committee.

I have long experience with financial analysis that makes me very comfortable with and excited about this responsibility. Before pursuing my PhD in history, I earned a degree in economics and worked for three years at the New York investment bank Smith Barney as a junior analyst in the Department of Fundamental Research. Our job was to review the financials of publicly traded companies and make recommendations to institutional investors to buy, hold, or sell stock based on past and projected performance. I served as assistant to the analysts for the automobile, steel, and retailing industries, performing background research into the economics of each sector and assessing the performance of the corporations competing in those industries. The reports we generated guided the major institutional investors—the ones that, among other clients, are responsible for directing the major pension funds that manage our retirement accounts. I used these financial analytical skills in researching and writing my first book on the role of the financial sector in Brazil's early industrialization.

Serving as LASA treasurer is similar in its great responsibility: to preserve and grow the financial patrimony for the long-term health of the Association. This financial health is critical to promoting the Association's mission of fostering international and interdisciplinary scholarly exchange by keeping annual dues relatively low and by supporting travel. As director of graduate studies in my department, I am

especially interested in supporting travel grants to international congresses for graduate students and early career faculty who, as we all did, will find a vibrant and varied scholarly community with which to share their ideas. I strongly favor the direction the current treasurer Timothy Power has taken in increasing the portion of the LASA Endowment invested in socially responsible funds, which has yielded strong returns on investment, and I will continue in this same vein. This strategy is important. It allows us to leverage our position as a major academic association to quite literally invest in the social good. I look forward to working with the Executive Committee to continue to align our financial health with LASA's core mission.

Patricia Tovar Rojas

I have a PhD in anthropology from the City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center (1995), a master's degree in applied anthropology from City College of New York, and a BA from Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Currently, I am a Distinguished Fellow at the Advanced Research Collaborative at the CUNY Graduate Center. I have been affiliated with John Jay College since 2008, and before that I was working in the Political Science Department at Pontificia Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá. Until 2006 I was the head of the Social Anthropology Section of the Colombian Institute of Anthropology and History, where I also conducted research on women and armed conflict, displaced populations, and inequalities in gender and science. My research interests have focused on the study of widowhood, mobility, forced displacement, violence, sexual and reproductive health, and gender and science. More recently, I have been interested in colonial studies. I have

published extensively on the consequences of armed conflict on women's lives, the impact of new reproductive technologies for women, the construction of medical discourses and cosmetic alterations of the female body, and on why women lag far behind men in science and technology. My most recent books are *Las viudas del conflicto armado en Colombia: Memorias y relatos* (Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, 2006) and *Familia, género y antropología: Desafíos y transformaciones* (Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, 2003). My current research is about women explorers and travelers during the Age of Discovery. I have conducted fieldwork in Colombia, Ecuador, Portugal, the United States, and my anthropological work has taken me to many places around the world.

Tovar Statement

I write to express my interest and willingness in serving as treasurer of the Latin American Studies Association. I think this is the most influential professional organization representing the interests of academic people working on issues of importance for Latin America.

I am a full professor in the Anthropology Department at John Jay College (CUNY), and I have been a member of LASA since 2006. I have served as a co-chair, chair, and member of the executive council of the Colombia Section. During my tenure I promoted academic freedom, helped to create an award, supported the rights of LASA members, and actively participate in the drafting of statements concerning human rights abuses in Colombia.

If elected treasurer of LASA, I would endeavor to ensure that the Association operates in a professional and appropriate manner in carrying out its assigned duties and obligations. As a person working for

many years on issues of gender and inequality in Latin America, I will try to do my best to contribute to the success of the mission, responsibilities, and initiatives of LASA, making it more proactive and visible.

I seek the support of my colleagues to serve as treasurer for the opportunity to represent and more effectively serve the interests of LASA members. I will be honored by your vote to continue my service on behalf of our collective interests.

Rossana Castiglioni

Rossana Castiglioni (PhD University of Notre Dame, 2003; BA in sociology, Universidad de la República, Uruguay) is associate professor of the School of Political Science and director of the PhD program in political science at Universidad Diego Portales in Santiago, Chile. From 2006 to 2013 she was department chair of the School of Political Science at Universidad Diego Portales. She works on comparative politics, with an emphasis on comparative social policy in Latin America. She teaches courses on social policy, Latin American politics, and comparative politics. She has been a visiting scholar at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, Universidad de la República, the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and the University of Oxford. Castiglioni was the recipient of the 2003 Eli J. and Helen Shaheen Graduate School Award in the Social Sciences of the University of Notre Dame. Her work has appeared in *Electoral Studies*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *The Developing Economies*, *Revista de Ciencia Política*, and *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*. Her book *The Politics of Social Policy Change in Chile and Uruguay: Retrenchment versus Maintenance, 1973–1998* (Routledge) was

published in hardcover in 2005 and reprinted in paperback in 2013.

Castiglioni Statement

Over the years, the Latin American Studies Association has been a rich space in which scholars from different countries, institutions, and disciplines converge to share knowledge and experiences. In addition, LASA's annual meetings offer the unique opportunity to facilitate interaction among peers in a thriving milieu of collegiality. Given the opportunity as a member of LASA's Executive Council, I will be honored to fulfill my duties, contributing to the development of the main goals of LASA. I am particularly committed to helping highlight the relevance of the academic production that emerges from Latin America, as well as the challenges that Latin American institutions and scholars face. I am convinced that in the past decade many Latin American institutions have made strong progress not only in the realm of knowledge generation and diffusion but also in terms of the quality of higher education. However, strong quality gaps between countries, regions, and institutions still prevail. Additionally, despite advances, progress has not benefited all in the same way, as differences based in gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, and income are still pervasive. My experience as department chair as well as my involvement in various research projects has broadened my expertise and interest in different subject areas and approaches. On a personal level, I greatly enjoy a multicultural environment like LASA. Living and working in four different countries has been extremely enriching for me and I would very much look forward to continue working in a diverse, gender-sensitive setting. In sum, my main purpose as a member of LASA's Executive Committee will be to help make Latin

American academic interests more visible within a global context.

Evelina Dagnino

Evelina Dagnino has an MA and a PhD in political science from Stanford University and an MA from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG). She has been a full professor at the Department of Political Science at the University of Campinas (UNICAMP) in Campinas, Brazil, for 40 years and continues her affiliation to the university. She has also been a visiting professor at Yale University, Goteborg University in Sweden, at SEPHIS—University of Philippines, at FLACSO, and at IDES/UNGS in Buenos Aires, and at Universidad de Costa Rica, as well as at Pontificia Universidade Católica in São Paulo. She holds a research fellowship from the Conselho Nacional de Pesquisas (CNPq) and leads a CNPq Research Group, Construção Democrática. This group was preceded by a more informal UNICAMP-based Group of Studies on the Democratic Construction (GECD), whose contribution to the Brazilian and Latin American debate on democracy was not irrelevant.

She has published extensively in several countries on democracy and citizenship, social movements, civil society and participation and the relations between culture and politics. She edited *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*, with Sonia Álvarez and Arturo Escobar (Westview Press, 1998), also published in Portuguese and Spanish; *Os anos 90: Política e sociedade no Brasil* (1994); *Sociedad civil, espacios públicos y democratización: Brasil* (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002); *La disputa por la construcción democrática en América Latina*, with Alberto J. Olvera e Aldo

Panfichi (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006), both also published in Portuguese and resulting from collective international research projects financed by the Ford Foundation; *Mobilização, participação e direitos*, with Regina Pahim Pinto (2007); and *Democracia, sociedade civil e participação*, with Luciana Tatagiba (2007). Her latest book, written collectively with John Clarke, Catherine Neveu, and Kathleen Coll, is *Disputing Citizenship* (Policy Press, 2014).

In addition to her background in political science, Dagnino is an enthusiast of interdisciplinary and collective work, and created, as early as 1989, the Culture and Politics interdisciplinary area of the Social Sciences Doctoral Program at UNICAMP. She coordinated it for many years, bringing together sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists at a time when this was far from being conventional wisdom.

She has been a member of the Centre Advisory Review Group (CARG) of the Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability, IDS, University of Sussex, (2007–2010). She presently is a member of the board of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) in Geneva (2009–2015), and of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex, in Brighton, UK (2013–2017). Her activities in LASA include serving as a track chair and co-chair three times, most recently in 2014–2015, and as chair of the Premio Iberoamericano Book Award Committee in 2012. She also served as a member of the editorial committee of the *Latin American Research Review* (2010–2014), as well as of other Brazilian and Latin American journals (*Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*; *Contemporânea*; *Plural*; *Perfiles Latinoamericanos*).

Dagnino Statement

I attended my first LASA Congress in 1991 in Washington. It is only fair to say that it definitively changed my academic life. It not only provided exciting intellectual and political debate but it also opened up incredibly rich opportunities for intellectual and research partnerships, renewed and constantly multiplying over the years at successive Congresses. The friendly atmosphere, the interdisciplinary emphasis, and the intellectual and political vitality that are characteristic of LASA Congresses make them a notable favorable environment for these relationships to flourish.

Although times are different now, as international exchanges and collaboration became easier, a large number of Latin American scholars, especially younger ones and those working in smaller institutions, still don't have access to these exchanges. For them attending a LASA Congress is a precious opportunity. I would make a priority of increasing the chances of these scholars to participate and share these opportunities if I am honored with a place on LASA's Executive Council.

I share deeply LASA's concern with extending the diversity of scholars—in terms of their backgrounds and origins—as well as enriching the diversity of themes, theoretical and methodological perspectives, and approaches. However, as we all know, LASA's already successful efforts in that direction have resulted in a tremendous growth that brought new challenges, which now have to be faced. Time and space are huge constraints in the organizational success of Congresses. If there is one common complaint about them, it is the lack of time for more substantial discussion in the panels. Ways of handling these difficult dilemmas is something that I would like to discuss in

the Executive Council and with LASA's membership.

Researchers on Latin America share a peculiarity: most of them are, in varying degrees, a combination of intellectuals and activists of different sorts. Their political commitments have continually contributed to defining and supporting the values of LASA and the role it has played over the years. In critical times both in the United States and in Latin America, where the reaction against progressive changes in several countries is mounting, engagement with political debate on sustaining and radicalizing democracy is even more crucial. I would support the extension of LASA's institutional role in promoting this debate also beyond its own constituency, reaching out and searching for relevant interlocutors.

Moreover, also because of this shared peculiarity, Latin American scholars have been able to produce an incredibly rich body of knowledge, both empirical and theoretical, on the challenges generated by the current social, political, and cultural conditions of the continent. LASA has an immense potential to be an important channel to spread this knowledge about Latin American experiences with the radicalization of democracy and the overcoming of inequality, in all its forms, to other parts of the world, where it can be a valuable resource to people sharing those same challenges. From environmental policies to social participation and new modalities of political representation, antiracism and antisexist policies, health, housing, and social and cultural policies, there is a whole universe of experiences whose success and/or limits and difficulties can be refreshing and appreciated within the global context.

Finally, one additional issue that I would address relates to the LASA's

communication resources. LASA's website efficiently fulfills many informational needs but it could be improved by a more dynamic presentation. It can work as a useful resource for more substantial uses, perhaps incorporating some of the features of the LASA Forum, thus contributing to stimulate and reinforce a more frequent, easier, nonbureaucratic contact between the institution and its membership, in addition to the annual Congresses.

Lauren (Robin) Derby

Lauren (Robin) Derby is associate professor of Latin American history at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). She has been a visiting professor at the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands and at the University of Chicago, where she completed her PhD.

Her research in Latin American and Caribbean history examines race, slavery, and plantation sociology in relation to sovereignty, charisma, and popular culture. It combines cultural analysis drawn from anthropology with political economy, state formation, and environmental change, focusing on the Dominican Republic and Haiti as well as Puerto Rico and Cuba. Oral history has long been a major source for her research, and her current book project interprets oral narratives of shape-shifting spirits in Haiti and the Dominican frontier as evidence of the *longue durée* historical memory of the feral hunting economy and vernacular understandings of nature. She is currently involved with several digitization projects to make public her oral histories and fieldwork related to popular Catholicism, Vodú, and popular demonology in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, as well as interviews with victims and perpetrators of the 1937 Haitian massacre in the

Dominican borderlands and life narratives of the 2010 Haitian earthquake.

Her book *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo* (Duke University Press, 2009, forthcoming in Spanish by the Academia Dominicana de Historia) won the Bolton-Johnson Prize (Conference on Latin American History/American Historical Association), shared the Gordon K. and Sybil Lewis Award (Caribbean Studies Association), and earned honorable mention for the LASA Bryce Wood Award. A study of the culture of consent of the regime, it argues that one of the more pernicious aspects of the terror under Trujillo was the way the regime adopted quotidian practices such as gossip, gift exchange, and witchcraft into the repertoire of domination, leaving almost no place for Dominicans to hide or resist. She also coedited *Activating the Past: History and Memory in the Black Atlantic World* (with Andrew Apter, Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010), which considers how ritual can embed memories of slavery; and *The Dominican Republic Reader* (with Eric Paul Roorda and Raymundo González, Duke University Press, 2014). She has published 27 articles in the United States, Argentina, Mexico, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic on issues of rumor, race and nation in Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, and the history and popular culture of animals on Hispaniola in edited volumes and journals ranging from *Hispanic American Historical Review* and *History Compass* to *Small Axe*. Her essay entitled "Haitians, Magic and Money: Raza and Society in the Haitian-Dominican Borderlands, 1900–1937," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* won the Conference on Latin American History Award (given by the Latin Americanist division of the American Historical Association) for best Latin

American history article in English. She is on the editorial board of *The Americas* as well as *Estudios Sociales* (Dominican Republic) and is a senior editor of the Oxford Research Encyclopedia in Latin American History.

In 2011 Derby received a LASA/Ford special projects grant for an intensive training program in oral history for students at the Université d'Etat d'Haiti (UEH) in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, which trained 30 students for one week in oral historical methodology. The project intended to help revive the anthropology and history departments of the State University of Haiti, which suffered the collapse of 80 percent of its structures and the loss of many faculty members during the 2010 earthquake, as well as to foster interdisciplinary collaboration. The project also sought to build a bridge between the Latin American Studies Association and scholars in Haiti, after several defections of Haitian scholars a few years previously. Derby organized panels for two subsequent Haitian Studies Association meetings which brought together several of these students in oral history panels; she was part of a multidisciplinary research project on resiliency in post-earthquake Haiti directed by Thom Mayne of the Morphosis lab in the UCLA architecture department. A member of LASA for over two decades, she has served as LASA history track co-chair. She has received research support from the American Council on Learned Societies and the Fulbright Program, among others.

She is a founding member of the Atlantic Studies Cluster in the History Department, UCLA, and the UC-Cuba Academic Initiative, which coordinates activities around Cuba for faculty and graduate students throughout the University of California system, and a member of the UC-Haiti initiative. An advisory member

of the Latin American Institute, UCLA, for five years she co-led a speaker series with a colleague from the Spanish Department, “Rethinking the Caribbean”; she is currently launching a UCLA summer program in Cuba in association with the Ministry of Culture.

Derby Statement

I am honored to have been nominated to serve on the executive council of LASA and would be thrilled to support an organization which has long been my principal academic affiliation. At a time when neoliberalism is intensifying inequalities within the Americas as well as the academy, organizations such as LASA play a seminal role in maintaining a critical dialogue about social justice across the Americas. Having commenced my career as a Latin Americanist during the Reagan years, and as a Caribbeanist, I feel strongly that academics should be part of the conversation about U.S. policy in Latin America. LASA has played a leading role in speaking out against U.S. policies deleterious to the hemisphere and in nourishing the intellectual life of academics from Latin America and the Caribbean who have long suffered the kind of “flexible” work conditions now becoming the norm in the United States. I have long been committed to using research to cast a spotlight on conditions of inequality and distress in Latin America, and LASA has a long track record of supporting engaged scholarship which seeks to be socially relevant.

As an oral historian, I am very excited about recent LASA initiatives, such as the “Precaridades, exclusiones, emergencias” panels and the Otros Saberes project, that seek to bring marginalized forms of knowledge into academic spaces by inviting black and indigenous intellectuals to LASA, and by bringing scholars and activists into

conversation with one another. I was part of a project at the University of Florida along similar lines called “Reexamining the Black Atlantic: Afro Descendants Still at the Bottom?” which was a very stimulating and productive effort to bring local activists, scholars, and funders together, and which resulted in a book and several events.

I am committed to border crossing, as evident in my research on the Haitian-Dominican border since 1986; but also in the sense of interdisciplinarity and working with people in other fields from comparative literature to public health. LASA also has been an important place where social scientists, policy makers and those working in the humanities can commingle in fruitful ways. As a graduate student in history with Fredrick Katz and John Coatsworth at the University of Chicago, I was trained as a comparativist. Since my own work poaches from anthropology as well as critical theory, and since I believe that complex social issues and cultural phenomena require drawing upon interdisciplinary tools of analysis, I would help ensure that humanities and social science approaches feel equally at home within LASA. I have long worked to ensure a robust presence of Caribbean nationals within LASA and to that end have organized panels with scholars from the Dominican Republic and Haiti in an effort to increase their presence at LASA. I would work hard to help maintain diversity within the Latin Americanist community in an era of dwindling resources, an issue which I am unfortunately quite familiar with since it looms large within the University of California system.

Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado
Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado has a PhD in history (Universidade de São

Paulo, 1991) and currently is full professor at the History Department of that same university, member of the scientific committee of the Conselho Nacional de Pesquisa (CNPQ/Brasília) and of the Biblioteca Brasileira Guita e José Mindlin (BBM/USP), the most important library of rare manuscripts and books collected by private initiative in Brazil. She is a specialist in the nineteenth-century history of slavery, race, abolition, travel narratives, and photography; she has published widely in Portuguese and English, including books, journal articles, and book chapters. In 2014, she had supervised 12 master’s theses and 12 PhDs.

Her major publications include the books *O plano e o pânico: Os movimentos sociais na década da abolição* (2nd ed., EDUSP, 2010) and *Crime e escravidão* (2nd ed., EDUSP, 2014). She also edited, annotated, and wrote the introduction to *Brazil through the Eyes of William James: Letters, Diaries, and Drawings* (David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies/Harvard University Press, 2006; Brazilian edition, EDUSP, 2010); edited (with Sasha Huber) the book *(T)Races of Louis Agassiz: Photography, Body, and Science, Yesterday and Today* (2nd ed., Funarte/Capacete, 2014); edited, annotated, and wrote the introduction to *Diário íntimo* [The Intimate Diary of Couto de Magalhães] (Companhia das Letras, 1997). She also published a number of scholarly articles, for example, “From Slave Rebels to Strikebreakers: The Quilombo of Jabaquara and the Problem of Citizenship in Late-Nineteenth-Century Brazil” (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, 2006), “Slavery and Social Movements in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: Slaves Strategies and Abolition in São Paulo” (*Review: Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations*, 2011), and she recently

coauthored, with Flávio Gomes, “Migraciones, desplazamientos y campesinos negros en São Paulo y Río de Janeiro (Brasil) en el siglo XIX” (*Boletín Americanista*, 2014).

Prof. Machado collaborated in the conception and conduct of many engaged interventions and publications in art, race, and racism, as in “(Re)constructing Renty’s Image: From Agassiz’s Daguerreotype to De-mounting Agassiz Campaign,” in Sasha Huber, *Rentyhorn, Agassizhorn* (Helsinki: Museum of Contemporary Art Kiasma, 2010), and the organization of the dossier “Louis Agassiz” in the website Mirror of Race, in which she also contributed the article “Nineteenth-Century Scientific Travel and Racial Photography: The Formation of Louis Agassiz’s Brazilian Collection” (<http://mirrorofrace.org/wp/machado/>, 2012). In 2010, she launched *(T)Races of Louis Agassiz: Photography, Body, and Science, Yesterday and Today/ Rastros e raças de Louis Agassiz: Fotografia, corpo e ciência, ontem e hoje* (Teatro de Arena, São Paulo). In 2011, Prof. Machado launched the exhibition *Rastros e raças de Louis Agassiz* (Centro Universitário Maria Antônia, USP, and Pinacoteca de São Bernardo do Campo, São Paulo).

In 2013, she presented the photographic exhibition *Emanipação, inclusão, exclusão: Desafios do passado e do presente* (Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo), with co-curators Lilia Schwarcz and Sérgio Burgi, sponsored by Instituto Moreira Salles. She is also engaged in the discussion of affirmative action in her university as a member of the Comissão para Discussão de Cotas na Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências Humanas e Letras (FFLCH/USP).

She was visiting professor on several occasions at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) and was a visiting scholar at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (Harvard University). Her current research covers the abolitionist press in São Paulo, runaway slave communities on the edge of abolition, early racial photography, slave biographies, and the medicalized body of nineteenth-century women in slavery.

Please check <https://usp-br.academia.edu/MariaHelena> to see more of her publications.

Machado Statement

I am deeply honored by the invitation to be a candidate for the LASA Executive Council. LASA is the most consolidated association of Latin Americanists, endowed with broad input into the different academic environments that make up the context of intellectual production concerning Latin America. Throughout my career, I have seen the Association as a landmark of both endurance and innovation. Congregating researchers from varied universities and research centers, LASA has been able to engage in meaningful social struggles through the years while structuring fundamental multidisciplinary research and encompassing all forms of productive debates.

As a professor at a Brazilian public university (the University of São Paulo) who takes part in academic activities of different scope, such as those concerning research and administration as well as Brazilian funding agencies, I am greatly optimistic about LASA’s increasing integration of Latin American researchers. The diversity among us is aligned to the challenges faced by the renewal of the

social role played by human sciences in the twenty-first century.

Significant issues such as globalization, regionalization, consolidation of democracies, the rise of social movements, and the struggles for racial, ethnic, gender and sexual diversity rights have been reflected by the academic production of those who take part in the Association. I feel deeply enthusiastic to participate in this continuous process of renewal, assisting LASA to keep in tune with the great challenges of our time.

I understand it is my duty to act within the Brazilian academic context in order to elevate the status of topics and events proposed by LASA, strengthen the bonds between undergraduate and graduate students and this Association, and introduce relevant researchers to the environments corresponding to their academic production and social debates. My duties will also concern using the experience acquired in LASA’s administrative board to optimize local processes of knowledge management and relationship with the society.

As a researcher of slavery, abolition, race, and racism, I will particularly focus on participating in affirmative action as well as in other types of mobilizations and struggles for the development of equal rights. Ethnic rights, such as those related to indigenous landholding, obtainment of legal entitlement to the land of quilombo communities, and the support of legal and labor rights of Afro-descendant women or low-income female workers will compose a field of special importance to me on the LASA Executive Council. Moreover, I believe that strengthening dialogue between researchers from different nationalities who participate in LASA is fundamental to

raising efforts around topics that arouse and affect us as a research community.

Finally, as a member of the administrative board of the Biblioteca Brasileira Guita e José Mindlin, I am aware of the necessity to meet the challenges of digitization within the human sciences, illuminating new pathways to Latin American academic production.

As an association that brings together and organizes multiple researchers and perspectives, LASA is constantly facing the need for renovation. Taking part in this challenge will be a great opportunity!

Carmen Millán de Benavides

Carmen Millán de Benavides is a Colombian lawyer (Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, PUJ, 1977) who holds a master's in public administration (1994 PSU) and PhD in Spanish (the Pennsylvania State University, 1997). She is a full professor at PUJ. She is a cofounder of Instituto de Estudios Sociales y Culturales PENSAR in Bogotá, and creator of Semillero de Jóvenes Investigadores PENSAR, a program aimed at training young researchers with interdisciplinary approaches. Her research areas include gender and LGBT agency, colonial literature and letters, and letter writing throughout the twentieth century.

She was a visiting fellow at Colby College (2001–2002) and faculty fellow at Georgetown (Fall 2007). Her publications include *Mujeres en la música en Colombia: El género de los géneros* (as coeditor, 2012), *De usted atentamente: Manual de conservación de cartas y papeles personales* (2009), and *Pensamiento colombiano del siglo XX* (coeditor with Guillermo Hoyos and Santiago Castro), a three-volume project, *Epítome de la conquista del Nuevo Reino de Granada: La cosmografía*

española del siglo XVI y el conocimiento por cuestionario (2001).

Millán is director of the Instituto Caro y Cuervo (since December 2013 to the present). In 2014 she has served as jury member of the Premio Cervantes de Literatura and organized two major exhibits: *La Gran Guerra: Narrativas y vivencias colombianas en el fin de una era*, at Colombia's National Library, the National Archives and the Archive of Bogotá, and *Palabras de maíz y de café: El Atlas Lingüístico-Etnográfico de Colombia* (ALEC) at Instituto Cervantes in Madrid.

Millán has been a LASA member since 2002 and has served as LASA's Colombian Section co-president, as a jury member for the Montserrat Ordóñez Award (2007), and as a track chair (2013).

Millán Statement

Throughout my academic career I have been well aware of the importance of scholarly exchange on an equal footing. That is why I joined LASA and have stressed the need for joining El Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) and other associations of that sort. I believe in nurturing participation in congresses, conferences, and editorial projects. In times of funding attrition for the social sciences, I think we need to focus on the importance of finding creative mechanisms to socialize research: exhibits, online archives, Creative Commons–licensed papers, and the like but within a major hub: a LASA open library perhaps? Or a LASA open gallery with cinema, exhibits, teaching materials? We need to envision ways of encouraging young researchers to join LASA and think about new ways of sharing knowledge.

Joel Stillerman

Joel Stillerman is an associate professor of sociology at Grand Valley State University (GVSU). In 1998, he received his PhD in sociology and historical studies at the New School for Social Research, where he was trained by sociologists, anthropologists, and historians. From 1998 to 2002 he was assistant research social scientist at the Center of Latin American Studies at the University of Arizona. From 2006 to 2008 he served as director of Latin American Studies at GVSU. From 2008 to 2009 he was a visiting professor in the Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y Territoriales de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile while on a U.S. Department of Education Fulbright Hayes Faculty Research abroad grant. From 2009 to 2010 he was chair of the Sociology Department at Universidad Diego Portales in Chile.

Stillerman has been an active academic citizen throughout his career. At Arizona, he wrote portions of successful U.S. Department of Education Title VI Latin American Studies and Rockefeller Foundation grants. He has held several offices in LASA and the American Sociological Association (ASA). In LASA, he was chair of the Labor Studies Section (2001–2004), chair of the Task Force on Labor Relations (2006–2008), and program track chair for the 2013 Congress. Additionally, in the ASA, he was council member of the Section on Labor and Labor Movements (2001–2004), chair of the Community and Urban Sociology Publications Committee (2010–2013), and a founding officer of the Section on the Sociology of Consumption.

Stillerman has received extramural funding for his research on Chile and Latin America through U.S. Department of Education/ Fulbright-Hayes, Fulbright-CIES, and Ford-LASA Special Projects grants. Several

of his publications examine the nature and fate of public space, the dynamics of urban informal employment, and the effects of shopping malls on urban social life. In these works, he reassesses the familiar argument that current patterns of urban development have led to the decline of public space and its replacement with exclusionary retail settings. Through ethnographic comparisons of neighborhood street markets, flea markets, and shopping malls, he has found that many authors' focus on control and surveillance in public and retail settings ignores the social practices of urbanites that frequent these areas. His findings sharply contrast with research indicating that malls are more "privatized" than traditional retail formats. While street markets are more accessible than malls, they rely on intimate relations among neighbors and are thus more "private" than shopping centers. In contrast, shopping mall visitors tend to encounter strangers, making their interactions more "public" than those found in street markets. Further, Chile's distinctive patterns of residential segregation and urban transit, as well as the persistence of informal employment, have permitted a diverse clientele to frequent malls and creatively appropriate mall settings, in contrast with claims that malls intensify socioeconomic segregation. His findings appear in the journals *City & Community*, *Qualitative Sociology*, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, and *Estudios Avanzados*; and in *Street Entrepreneurs: People, Place and Politics in Local and Global Perspective*, edited by John Cross and Alfonso Morales (2007), *Lived Experiences of Public Consumption: Encounters with Value in Marketplaces on Five Continents*, edited by Daniel Thomas Cook (2008), and *Consumer Culture in Latin America*, edited by John Sinclair and Anna Cristina Pertierra (2012).

A second body of work focuses on urban labor activism before, during, and after

Pinochet's 1973–1990 military regime. Stillerman's analysis builds on Henri Lefebvre's concept of the production of space and Neil Brenner's analysis of the "rescaling" of states in the neoliberal era. His findings appear in *Political Power and Social Theory*, *Mobilization*, and *Revista Política*; in *Victims of the Chilean Miracle*, edited by Peter Winn (2004); and in his coedited volume (with Ana Cárdenas and Felipe Link), *¿Qué significa el trabajo hoy?* (2012). Additionally, he wrote a *Social Science History* article and a book chapter on transnational labor activism under NAFTA, and coedited two special issues of *International Labor and Working-Class History* on work and union activism in Latin America that built on a Ford-LASA Special Projects Grant.

In a third project, he examines Santiago's changing middle class. In an article in *Political Power and Social Theory* and two manuscripts, he compares middle-class couples' decisions in the housing, school, and home decoration markets. Building on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and his critics, he explores symbolic battles between middle-class fractions focused on consumption, taste, and educational investments. Finally, he recently completed *The Sociology of Consumption: A Global Approach* (forthcoming 2015, Polity Books). In contrast to most syntheses in this field, this book focuses on consumer culture in the global South and the interaction between consumption and inequalities based on class, race, gender, sexualities, and age.

Stillerman Statement

As noted in my biography, I have an interdisciplinary background in sociology, anthropology, and history and have taught in and directed Latin American Studies programs at the University of Arizona and Grand Valley State University, respectively. I have also taught and conducted collaborative research in Chile. Further, I

have been an active member of LASA since 1997, serving as chair of the Section on Labor Studies, chair of the Task Force on Labor Relations, and program track chair on Labor Studies and Class Relations. I believe my interdisciplinary background and extensive service to LASA have given me a broad appreciation for the diverse field of Latin American studies and a strong understanding of the Association. I believe I am well prepared to serve on the Executive Council (EC) and would be honored to have the opportunity to do so.

As a member of the EC, I would work to continue LASA's efforts to branch out beyond its traditional strengths in the humanities and the social sciences to emerging fields of interest to LASA members and the broader public, such as the environment, medicine, the natural sciences, law, and education. I would work to support and expand upon LASA's Otros Saberes and Special Projects Fund because they provide unique opportunities for interdisciplinary intellectual exchange and collaboration among scholars and civil society organizations across the Americas. I would like to explore with other EC members opportunities to expand and secure additional funding for LASA's programs in civic engagement and applied research to disseminate our work and expertise beyond the academy and to develop additional collaborations with organizations within civil society. Further, I would like to explore opportunities for LASA to spearhead cross-regional research and scholarly exchanges that would promote dialogue and collaboration between LASA members and their counterparts in other area studies, international studies, and global studies organizations. I believe these activities would enrich our important work and build on our mission. ■

CALLING ALL MEMBERS

Call for Applications to Edit the *Latin American Research Review*

Applications are invited for the position of editor of the *Latin American Research Review* (LARR), the journal of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA). The *Review* is published three to four times a year in an electronic semi-open-access format.

Manuscript selection duties will begin on **January 1, 2016**, and the first issue to appear under the name of the newly appointed editor will be volume 52, no. 1 (2017). Contracts to edit LARR normally are five years in duration, although the LASA Ways and Means Committee has the right to award a contract for a different time period. Candidates must hold a tenured position in an academic institution.

In accordance with LASA's mission to publish high-quality scholarship, the following basic criteria will be considered in selecting the LARR editor:

- 1) an established record of scholarship;
- 2) experience with and understanding of the wide variety of activities associated with journal editorship, including submissions, reviewing, and relations with editorial boards;
- 3) strong familiarity with the present state of the *Review*, its strengths and challenges, and a vision for its future;
- 4) openness to the different methods, themes, theories, and approaches to the field; and
- 5) a record of responsible service to scholarly publishing and evidence of organizational skill and intellectual leadership.

LASA allocates resources to the *Review* editor including travel to the Editorial Board meetings and LASA Congresses; however, it does not pay for office space or release time. It is important that the Association be provided with information that supports the feasibility of the editor's application. In the past, university contributions to the LARR editorship have included half-time release from teaching for the editor and/or additional release time for the associate editors.

It is expected that completed proposals will identify the proposed new editor(s) and their qualifications, specify the nature and extent of the support provided by the host institution, and contain a letter from the president of that institution formally committing the resources of the institution as specified in the proposal.

The LASA Secretariat is responsible for all administrative, operational, and financial support functions associated with the publication of the *Review*, including maintenance of the subscriber/member database, production, and maintenance of the online platform.

Completed proposals must be received by **June 5, 2015**, and should be directed to Milagros Pereyra-Rojas, Executive Director, Latin American Studies Association, 416 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. Applications will be reviewed by the LASA Ways and Means Committee, which will present its final selection to the Executive Council for its approval. The LASA Executive Director will work out the contractual agreement with the nominee. The final decision is expected by **July 3, 2015**. ■

Call for Applications to Direct the LASA Film Festival

Applications are invited for the position of director of the LASA Film Festival, the festival of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA). The festival takes place during the LASA Congresses.

Duties will begin on **January 1, 2016**, and the first festival to appear under the name of the newly appointed director will be the LASA2017 Film Festival. Contracts to direct the festival normally are five years in duration, although the LASA Ways and Means Committee has the right to award a contract for a different time period. Candidates must hold a tenured position in an academic institution.

In accordance with LASA's mission to offer a high-quality festival, the following basic criteria will be considered in selecting the director:

- 1) an established record of scholarship;
- 2) experience with and understanding of the wide variety of activities associated with film festival direction, including submissions, reviewing, selection process, and programming;
- 3) strong familiarity with the present state of the field, its strengths and challenges, and a vision for its future;
- 4) openness to the different methods, themes, theories, and approaches to the field; and
- 5) a record of responsible service to the field and evidence of organizational skill and intellectual leadership.

LASA allocates resources to the Film Festival director including travel to LASA Congresses; however, it does not pay for office space or release time. It is important that the Association be provided with

information that supports the feasibility of the director's application. In the past, university contributions to the Film Festival director have included: time release from teaching for the director; adequate office space; and salary support for a director's assistant.

It is expected that completed proposals will identify the proposed new director(s) and their qualifications, identify an advisory board that will serve as a selection committee, specify the nature and extent of the support provided by the host institution, and contain a letter from the president of that institution formally committing the resources and personnel of the institution as specified in the proposal.

The LASA Secretariat is responsible for all administrative, operational, and financial support functions associated with the production of the Film Festival.

Completed proposals must be received by **June 5, 2015**, and should be directed to: Milagros Pereyra-Rojas, Executive Director, Latin American Studies Association, 416 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. Applications will be reviewed by the LASA Ways and Means Committee, which will present its final selection to the Executive Council for its approval. The LASA Executive Director will work out the contractual agreement with the nominee. The final decision is expected by **July 3, 2015**. ■

LASA Voluntary Support

Since our last report in the Spring 2014 *LASA Forum*, nearly 890 individual gifts have been received in support of the various LASA funds. The Association is extremely grateful for the generous support of the members, foundations, and friends who make it possible for LASA to continue to advance its mission. Contributions to any of the LASA funds help to ensure that more scholars will be able to participate in the annual LASA Congress, regardless of financial constraints.

For the most recent Congress, LASA2014, 288 travel grantees benefited from grants ranging from \$600 to \$1,000. A total of \$283,180 was available, derived from LASA Endowment proceeds (\$150,199) plus \$20,000 from Operations, support contributed by several foundations (\$111,000), and direct contributions to the LASA Travel Fund (\$2,488), the Student Fund (\$4,326), and the Indigenous and Afro-descendant Fund (\$5,168).

LASA Life Memberships not only serve as tangible evidence of the value placed on membership in the Association but they provide direct support for the LASA Endowment, helping to ensure Congress travel grant support for generations of Latin Americanists to come. There are currently 104 Life Members, 90 of whom made this major commitment to LASA, and 14 of whom received Honorary Life Memberships as recipients of the Kalman Silvert Award. The most recent life members are Erik Ching (Furman University), Sara Cooper (California State University, Chico), Helga Baitenmann (Institute for the Study of the Americas), Dara Goldman (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign), and Tulio Halperín-Donghi† (University of California, Berkeley), recipient of the Kalman Silvert Award. We extend our most sincere thanks to all Life Members for their generosity.

We gratefully acknowledge the following donors for their contributions to any of the LASA funds since our last report. Please note that in the interest of conserving space donor names are printed only once, regardless of the number of their contributions or gifts to multiple funds. Many donors frequently designate more than one fund for their support and add a gift with each membership renewal or Congress registration. Thank you!

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Tulio Halperín Donghi

The Latin American Studies Association announces with sadness that Tulio Halperín Donghi, immediate past recipient of the Kalman Silvert Award, died on November 14, 2014, at his home in Berkeley, California. He was 88 years old.

Tulio Halperín was one of the most distinguished historians ever to work on Latin America. He authored scores of books and countless articles and commentaries. English-language readers know his magisterial study, *The Contemporary History of Latin America*, but in his native Argentina, it is *Revolución y guerra* that is regarded as the historical inquiry that changed the discipline of nineteenth-century studies. One strand of his voluminous writings on Argentina explored the creation of a new nation in the post-independence era. A second focused on intellectual history, especially in the nineteenth century. A third explored the complexities and consequences of Peronism; Halperín's essays in this area influenced not only scholarly research but also public debates. In the words of one Argentine scholar, Tulio's overall body of work was *punzante*.

As needs arose, Halperín devoted great energy to the enrichment and development of academic life. After the overthrow of Perón, he provided his generation with crucial intellectual and institutional leadership, serving as Dean of Social Sciences at the Universidad Nacional del Litoral in Rosario. He formed and led generations of students with his vast and demanding inquiries. With the Onganía regime in Argentina, however, Halperín began to imagine a life abroad. After a brief tenure at Oxford, he moved to the University of California at Berkeley, where he remained on the faculty until his retirement.

That said, he never severed his close ties with Argentina. With the return of democracy in 1983, Tulio became a central figure in the renewal of Argentine history, as his texts became centerpieces in scholarly debate and the training of younger scholars.

Tulio Halperín's passing has brought forth a tsunami of tributes throughout the United States, Europe, and Latin America. He was a witty and playful conversationalist, a thoughtful observer, a caring mentor, and a devoted friend. We will miss him. We will also have his legacy for decades to come. ■

Carlos Hasenbalg

por LIVIO SANSONE | Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais (CEAO), Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA), Brasil

E' com muita dor que comunico que no domingo dia 5 de outubro faleceu em Buenos Aires Carlos Hasenbalg. Sociólogo, renovador dos estudos sobre discriminação racial e desigualdades, professor do IUPERJ (Rio de Janeiro) e diretor do Centro de Estudos Afro-Asiáticos da UCAM (Universidade Cândido Mendes) no Rio e editor da revista Estudos Afro Asiáticos de 1986 a 1996. Aliado, companheiro e amigo das lutas antirracistas. Carlos deu início a uma nova abordagem das relações e hierarquias raciais no Brasil, e chegou a influenciar também pesquisadores em outros países de nossa região. Salientando que o racismo pode sim ter uma das suas origens na escravidão, mas que exatamente as condições da modernidade e da industrialização do mercado de trabalho teriam criado novas formas de racismo, sua obra pioneira *Discriminação e desigualdades raciais no Brasil*, publicado originalmente em 1979, deu origem àquele que rapidamente foi se configurando como um paradigma de interpretação desta dimensão determinante da realidade brasileira. Diferente de outros pioneiros nas ciências humanas, Carlos nunca reivindicou este lugar para si, mas quis compartilhá-lo com a nova leva de pesquisadores, em sua grande maioria engajados e negros, que nas ideias dele identificavam um grande poder de ruptura da ordem acadêmica constituída. A Universidade no meado dos anos de 1980, no começo da redemocratização, não era lugar para se falar de racismo no Brasil, e menos ainda era um lugar para a promoção da inclusão de intelectuais e pesquisadores negros à sociedade. Discordando radicalmente com esta tradição Carlos Hasenbalg, sem nunca cair no panfletismo, fez do CEAA um espaço de formação e promoção de uma nova geração de pesquisadores negros. Também nisto ele ficará inesquecível. Carlos sempre juntou severidade e busca de excelência com

irreverência e auto-ironia, na melhor tradição do humor portenho. E quando o paradigma se afirmou — com a aceitação da existência de uma sensível divisão em termos de presença no mercado de trabalho entre brancos e não brancos como importante categoria analítica por parte do IPEA, instituto de pesquisa da Presidência da República, e adoção de políticas de ação afirmativa por parte do governo federal — Carlos resolveu passar o estandarte aos mais jovens. Insistiu em dizer que, agora, era o momento de outros falarem contra o racismo. E voltou para sua Buenos Aires, deixando muito de nos afonos e sem sua guia. Carlos não queria ser protagonista, preferia ser observador e formador: um verdadeiro professor. Que suava para preparar meticulosamente suas aulas e gostava de ordem, disciplina e método em seu trabalho — um frase que tinha aprendido em sua passagem pelo colégio militar quando jovem e que ele ironicamente me repetia um tanto quanto obsessivamente nas muitas e longas conversas de botequim que tivemos. Carlos deixa um vazio grande. Temos que nos esforçar para preenche-lo, com a generosidade, o altruísmo e a tolerância que caracterizaram o grande Carlos Hasenbalg. Carlos doou há poucos anos a biblioteca dele para a biblioteca do Ceao/UFBA. Tínhamos planos para convidá-lo para uma homenagem aqui em Salvador. Eu, ademais, perco um grande amigo, companheiro de conversas e navegações. Mestre e amigo. ■

María Elena Martínez-López (1966–2014)

by ROCÍO QUISPE-AGNOLI, LSN Program Track Co-chair | Michigan State University

and JUAN CARLOS GONZÁLEZ ESPITIA, LSN Program Track Co-chair
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Our colleague María Elena Martínez, renowned for her work on race, ethnicity, and issues of purity of blood in Spanish America and colonial Mexico, passed away on November 16, 2014. She was associate professor of history and American studies and ethnicity at the University of Southern California. Her book *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford University Press, 2008) traced the origins and paths of the idea of purity of blood and the (re)creation of racial categories in the Colonial Atlantic Spanish world.

A native of Mexico, María attended Northwestern University, where she received her BA in Latin American studies in 1988. This was followed by an MA in 1992 and a PhD in Latin American history in 2001 from the University of Chicago. Soon after receiving her doctoral degree, she joined the University of Southern California. She was the faculty leader of the Colonial Latin American Seminar at the USC Early Modern Studies Institute and directed Chicano and Latin American Studies from 2009 to 2011. María Elena was also the cofounder and leader of the Tepoztlán Institute for the Transnational History of the Americas. In 2013 she received a USC Mellon Mentoring Award for her work with graduate students, and she was selected as a 2015 Stanford University Humanities Fellow.

She was an outstanding and passionate scholar in our field, a patient mentor, a wise colleague, and devoted friend. She is missed, but we will see her once and again in her relevant writings and contributions to colonial Spanish America and the Iberian Atlantic world.

María Elena Martínez was scheduled to participate in the 2015 LASA Congress as a panelist in “‘Race, Color, Casta’ and other Labels in Latin America and the Caribbean: Scholarly Dilemmas,” a special workshop organized by the Colonial and Nineteenth-Century Literary Studies Program track chairs. This workshop will be dedicated to her memory and will take place Saturday, May 30, 2015, at 4:00 p.m. ■

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