

# LASA Forum

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## Keeping the People In: An Examination of Non-Revolution in Honduras

by  
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In a region marked by social strife and insurgency, Honduras avoided broad-based domestic unrest throughout the 1980s, despite desperate social, economic, and political conditions. Bordered by Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua (the three Central American countries most rocked by instability in the late 1970s and 1980s), Honduras appeared plagued by the same underlying problems as the other countries but to a more acute degree. Like the others, Honduras had a long history of military rule. As it entered the 1980s Honduras had the highest birth rate, second highest infant mortality, lowest per capita income and second lowest urban population among Central American countries. Compounding the situation, the actions of anti-Sandinista guerrillas in Honduran territory inspired fear and anger among the people who, in essence, fell within their domain. Finally, civilian governments in the 1980s distinguished themselves by mismanagement and in-fighting as Honduran democracy limped into the 1990s.

In short, Honduras would have seemed ripe for outbreaks of insurgency. Yet, unlike its immediate neighbors, no serious revolutionary movement coalesced. In fact, in Central America only Costa Rica has been so free of armed civil strife. Given the proximity of mobilized insurgency movements in similar circumstances, it is unlikely that Hondurans rejected the notion of insurgency because they were unaware of its potential for creating political change (as in the case of Nicaragua's FSLN). Evidence suggests that despite conditions comparatively worse than other Central American nations, Hondurans did not resort to insurgency because important social sectors maintained and even managed to improve on their modest standards of living. Furthermore, it appears that Hondurans had good reason to believe that

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## Report on the Activities of the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua and Central America (1989-1991)

by  
Rose J. Spalding, DePaul University

During the last eighteen months, the Task Force focused on three activities: the observation of the electoral process that culminated in Nicaragua's February 25, 1990 elections; a periodic analysis of the transition process that followed; and sponsorship of the annual Field Research Seminar in Nicaragua.

### 1990 Elections Observation

In August 1989, the President of the Consejo Supremo Electoral, Mariano Fiallos, extended an invitation to LASA President Paul Drake asking the Association to serve as an official observer of the 1990 electoral process in Nicaragua. LASA had accepted a similar invitation in 1984, and the 1984 Commission produced a highly informative report on that election. The success of that Commission and the continued controversy about the Nicaraguan electoral process made the Task Force members eager to take on this project.

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### CALL FOR PAPERS

Information and proposal forms for LASA's XVII International Congress, September 24-26, 1992, in Los Angeles, California, are included separately with this mailing for the *Forum*. Please note that section chairs must receive completed forms no later than **November 29, 1991**.

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### Task Force on Central America continued

After securing approval for this activity from the LASA Executive Council, the Task Force chair began the search for funds to cover the expenses of the Commission. The Program on Peace and International Cooperation at the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation provided generous support (\$21,748), as did Operation California, a California-based private foundation (\$12,000). Most of the remaining expenses of the Commission were covered by the participants and/or their universities. The Commission to Observe the 1990 Nicaraguan Election was composed of thirteen members, including past and present LASA Presidents, past and present chairs of the Task Force, and a mixture of other scholars with either long experience in Nicaragua, extensive prior work as election observers elsewhere in Latin America, or both.<sup>1</sup> Since many of the problems and issues that emerge during elections arise early in the campaigns, Commission members wanted to observe the process at several points in time. The project was divided into three phases. The first delegation traveled to Nicaragua during the November 17-24, 1989 period, after the electoral registration process was completed and before the campaign formally began. The results of the first round of interviews were published in the *LASA Forum*. (See International Commission of the Latin American Studies Association to Observe the February 25, 1990 Nicaraguan Elections, "Interim Report," *LASA Forum*, Vol. XX, No. 4 [Winter 1990]).

The second phase took place January 14-21, 1990, when the campaign was in full swing. This phase took seven delegation members out into the regions for an analysis of the campaign structure and dynamics at the local level.<sup>2</sup> In the final phase, which took place between February 17 and March 1, 1990, the full Commission observed the conclusion of the campaign, the election itself, and the immediate aftermath. In all, Commission members conducted 162 formal interviews with leading candidates, campaign strategists, party activists, election monitors, and informed observers over the course of a three month period.

The Commission disseminated its findings in two press conferences, one in Managua and one in Washington, DC. Its final report, *Electoral Democracy under International*

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1. Commission members included John Booth, Michael Conroy, Margaret Crahan, William Crotty, Martin Diskin (Co-Director), Laura Enríquez, Richard Fagen, Jean Franco, Laura O'Shaughnessy, Rose Spalding (Co-Director), Jack Spence, Charles Stansifer, and Thomas Walker.

2. Dan Wolf (Political Science, University of California at San Diego) joined the delegation for this portion of our work, conducting interviews in Region IV. The delegation's work included Regions I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII.

*Pressure*, was distributed in April 1990 to LASA's 3,000 members and to 850 members of the media and U.S. and Latin American government representatives.

### **Electoral Follow-up**

The defeat of the FSLN and the victory of the UNO coalition initiated a major transition in Nicaragua and had powerful repercussions throughout the Central American region. To keep abreast of these developments and provide information about this transition to the LASA membership, the Task Force sponsored three follow-up delegations in the year after the inauguration of the government of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro. Jack Spence (University of Massachusetts at Boston) and George Vickers (Brooklyn College, CUNY) led a delegation in November 1990 and published a report on their findings ("The Chamorro Government after 200 Days," *LASA Forum*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 [Winter 1991]).

Spence and Vickers led a second delegation in January 1991 that explored tensions within the governing coalition, the FSLN's relationship with the UNO government, and pressing economic issues. Their findings have recently been published by the Washington Office on Latin America. (See Laura Enríquez, et al, *Nicaragua: Reconciliation Awaiting Recovery* [Washington, DC: WOLA, April 1991]). Finally, Rose Spalding led a delegation in March 1991 that focused on the question of "co-gobierno" and the preparations for the July 1991 FSLN Party Congress. She provided a brief report on the delegation's activities at the Task Force meeting during LASA's XVI International Congress in Washington, DC.

### **LASA Seminar**

Tom Walker organized and directed the Task Force's fifth annual Field Seminar during the last two weeks of June 1990. (See "Research Seminar in Nicaragua, June 16-June 30, 1990," *LASA Forum*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 [Fall 1990]). This seminar provides an excellent overview of the current issues in Nicaragua and the activities of a host of academic and policy oriented research institutes. This program continues to be the Task Force's most successful long-term activity. Walker will be offering the seminar again from June 15-29, 1991.

### **Other Activities**

In keeping with our commitment to promote open scholarly exchange, the Task Force approved a statement criticizing the U.S. State Department's denial of a visa to Dr.

Alejandro Bendaña. This denial prevented Bendaña's participation at the 1989 LASA Meeting. The Task Force's statement was sent to John Boardman, then the ranking official at the U.S. Embassy in Nicaragua, with copies to other relevant actors. The Task Force chair also recommended to LASA President Jean Franco that LASA seek the opportunity to observe other Central American elections, notably those in Guatemala and El Salvador. Finally, the Task Force worked to increase Nicaraguan participation at LASA's XVI International Congress in Washington, DC and to secure additional private travel funding for Nicaraguan participants.

### Special Thanks

The Task Force extends special thanks to Alice McGrath who ably coordinated all three trips taken by members of the Commission, all three of the follow-up delegations, and the Task Force's 1990 Field Seminar. She provided enormous energy and expertise as a delegation coordinator, and she was a steadfast and talented fundraiser. Her efforts on our behalf were greatly appreciated.

### Future Activities of the Task Force

At the initiative of the Executive Council and with approval of the out-going and in-coming Task Force chairs, the Task Force will be renamed the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Central America. The mandate of the Task Force will be broadened to cover the whole region, and Task Force membership will be recognized to reflect this shift. The new chair of the Task Force will be Jack Spence. If you are interested in participating or would like more information, please contact him at: Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Harbor Campus, Boston, MA 02125. Telephone: (617) 287-6939.

## CALL FOR SILVERT AWARD NOMINATIONS

The Kalman Silvert Award Committee invites LASA members to nominate candidates for the 1992 award, to be made at the XVII International Congress in Los Angeles, California. Nominations should be sent to the LASA Secretariat by *September 15, 1991*, along with biographic information and a rationale for each nomination. The Silvert Award recognizes senior members of the profession who have made a distinguished lifetime contribution to the study of Latin America. The selection committee consists of Jean Franco (chair), immediate past president; Paul Drake and

Cole Blasier, past presidents; and Gilbert Merckx, editor of the *Latin American Research Review*.

## UPCOMING CALL FOR BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS

Deadline: *February 1, 1992*

At each International Congress, the Latin America Studies Association presents the Bryce Wood Book Award to the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in English in the United States. Eligible books will be those published in an eighteen-month period prior to the year of the congress. Although no book may compete more than once, translations may be considered. Anthologies of selections by several authors or re-editions of works published previously normally are not in contention for the award. Books will be judged on the quality of the research, analysis, and writing, and the significance of their contribution to Latin American studies.

Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Those nominating books are responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to each member of the Award Committee, at the expense of the authors or publishers. For the September 1992 LASA International Congress in Los Angeles, CA, books published from July 1, 1990 to December 31, 1991 will be eligible. All books nominated must reach each member of the Award Committee by *February 1, 1992*.

One month before the International Congress, the committee will select a winning book. It may also name an honorable mention. The author or authors of the winning book will have expenses paid by LASA to attend the congress, where the award will be presented during the business meeting. LASA membership is not a requirement to receive the award. Watch for an announcement in the Fall issue of the *LASA Forum*, which will carry the names of the entire committee. James Malloy, University of Pittsburgh, is 1992 committee chair. Telephone: (412) 648-7278.

## SPECIAL JOURNAL OFFER

Beginning in 1992, LASA members will have the opportunity to purchase the *Journal of Latin American Studies* and the *Bulletin of Latin American Research* at special rates. Watch for 1992 membership forms, which will include check-offs for both publications.

### Non-Revolution in Honduras continued

the 1970s were a decade of progress for them. Thus, Honduran stability should not be considered so much a manifestation of some sort of exceptionalism of the Honduran polity as it is of social circumstances that are not captured by conventional analyses of aggregate data and comparisons with other nations.

### THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Recent theory on insurgency and stability has tended to ignore relative deprivation theory in favor of structural aspects of political economy and the role of states, or both. In the wake of civil unrest in Central America, four general explanations of rebellion have sifted out. First, it has been argued that external forces such as communism or imperialism are to blame (Falcoff, 1989; Schoultz, 1987). Second, several scholars have pointed to the economic roots of rebellion, without specifying the exact psychological mechanisms involved. Such scholars note that either absolute poverty or economic inequalities, or a combination of the two, engenders rebellion (Muller and Seligson, 1987; Bulmer-Thomas, 1987). A third group of scholars notes that the advent of export agriculture heralds massive social and economic upheavals among peasantry, in turn breeding discontent which again may translate into instability (Paige, 1987; Paige, 1985; Wolf, 1969). Finally, several scholars argue that the structure of the elites—their political and economic strength and their relationship with the lower classes (especially the peasantry)—is the best predictor of instability (Stone, 1979; Skocpol, 1979).

Research that looks to mass attitudes for the basis of stability, i.e., studies that recognize that individuals and groups in the lower economic strata who become sufficiently enraged with the political system to risk their lives to change it constitute the greatest threat to political business as usual, is the most promising focus for the present case. This approach, rather than one which examines the role of states or grand social structures makes sense not only theoretically, but in the context of Central American history as well. Unlike the "traditional" cases of revolution that Skocpol (1979) has analyzed, Central American insurgencies have not been the result of a state weakened by extranational forces. Rather, the Central American pattern of insurgency and rebellion appears more like a grass-roots movement that confronts and hammers away at otherwise well-established states. Thus, while the government and elite behavior can contribute to the likelihood of peasant and proletarian political unrest, it is precisely these latter groups that are most often the engine of rebellion.

Recent advances in social comparison theory as well as the deficiencies of state-centric models of revolution both underscore the need to reconsider society-centered theories of revolution such as those of Ted Robert Gurr and James Davies. Twenty years ago in *Why Men Rebel* (1970) Gurr hypothesized that when people must attenuate their socio-economic expectations downward the potential for insurgency mounts unless the regime in power commands a high degree of popular support. He defined relative deprivation as "actors' perceptions of the discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions of life they think are capable of getting and keeping" (24).

Gurr's formulation of relative deprivation leaves open the question of exactly how people form their "value expectations." They could form their expectations based on comparison to other individuals and groups or they could form their expectations based on their own experience. In a recent publication John M. Levine and Richard L. Moreland argue that people will make a "self/other" comparison if they have access to information about other people's living conditions, mobility rates, etc., which can collectively be labeled value capabilities (Levine and Moreland, 1987). When they do not have this information, they are likely to rely solely on their own experience to form expectations in a "self/self" comparison.

The self/self model of relative deprivation is similar to the rising expectations theory of revolution (Davies, 1962), except that in this mode expectations do not necessarily rise. Rather than assume that peoples' expectations are "raised" during prolonged periods of improvement, the self/self model holds that people will generate expectations during any sustained economic pattern, and relative deprivation will occur wherever there is a downturn in economic indicators relative to a previous trend of economic stability or improvement. The self/other model of relative deprivation is not so easily determined. In this mode, people observe others' economic fortunes and create their own expectations based on them. If individuals or groups perceive a generally improving economic trend while their own position consistently stagnates or deteriorates over time, relative deprivation will increase. This self/other mode resembles the "tunnel effect" hypothesized by Hirschman (1973).

Regime stability in any but the most repressive societies is in large part dependent upon supportive mass attitudes, which remain high as long as relative deprivation remains low. Mass support will dwindle as relative deprivation (some combination of the self/self and self/other modes) increases. It will be shown that the manner in which the social compar-

isions that the masses in Honduras were most likely to make would have led them to a favorable—or at least a not unfavorable—assessment of their economic status in society. Even though no pertinent survey data are available for the period in question, it is nevertheless possible to formulate observations based on available aggregate data. Data indicating the possible lack of relative deprivation in the 1970s is assumed to reflect stability in the 1980s since there should be some sort of lag time between the onset of widespread dissatisfaction and an individual's decision to withdraw support from the regime (Seligson, 1980; 1983).

### RELATIVE DEPRIVATION IN HONDURAS

Honduras is a poor agrarian country. In 1980 over 60 percent of its population made a living in agriculture, most of it in subsistence farming. Three-quarters of the nation's export earnings were derived from export agriculture. Bananas and coffee are the major export crops. Perhaps owing to an increase in the coffee crop, Honduras's agricultural exports showed a general upward trend during the 1970s. Despite this mild success, malnutrition was endemic not just in urban areas, but in rural areas as well (Ponce, 1986). In the urban sector, real wages (adjusted for inflation) remained largely stable throughout the decade, while in the rural sector the effects of a startlingly big increase in population, estimated at 3.5 percent per annum since 1970 (Wilkie, 1984: 309), may well have been offset by the substantial land reform movement in the first half of the decade. The resulting pattern suggests that, whereas conditions may not have improved for the urban proletariat and peasantry during the 1970s, neither did they deteriorate in a secular direction.

### Self/Self Comparisons by Labor

As a result of Honduras's relatively smooth sailing through the demise of the Central American Common Market (Bulmer-Thomas: 207-212) and a modestly growing manufacturing sector, workers' wages were stable enough to coincide with expectations based on past experience. The only exception to this trend occurred between 1973 and 1975 when wages fell 10 percent, as table 1 shows. But it was precisely during this part of the decade that rural and urban laborers were most active and landless peasants (who had to subsist on wages) threatened to mobilize unless President Melgar Castro continued the land reform, a demand he acceded to. Furthermore, unemployment in this decade remained below 10 percent, indicating that wages were not accruing to a mere sliver of the population. Among wage laborers in all Central American countries, only Costa Ricans and Hondurans did not see their own economic conditions deteriorate.

Table 1  
WAGES AND PER CAPITA GDP 1972-1979

Year	Per Capita GDP (1970 Dollars) <sup>a</sup>	Wage Index (1972 = 100) <sup>b</sup>
1972	290.3	100
1973	297.3	104
1974	285.9	98
1975	267.1	95
1976	275.3	106
1977	290.9	99
1978	301.5	105
1979	310.7	109

a. Source: Bulmer-Thomas (1987), Table A3

b. Source: Derived from Booth and Walker (1989), Table 4 Note: Data unavailable for 1970 and 1971.

In El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala wages declined throughout the 1970s; by 1989 they were at only 91, 64, and 77 percent, respectively, of their 1970 levels. (Cf. Appendix, derived from Booth and Walker: Table 4). In Honduras wages remained low, but constant, indicating that the self/self mode of relative deprivation did not occur in the Honduran wage sector during the 1970s.

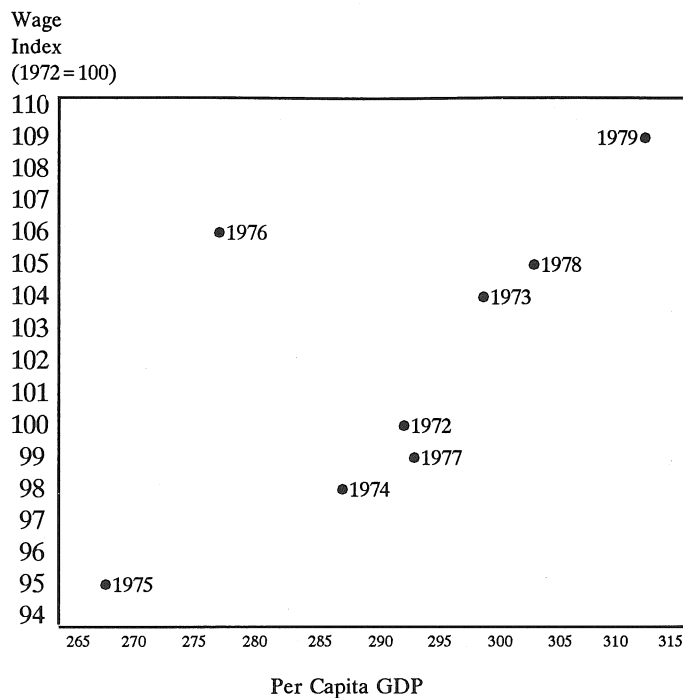
### Self/Other Comparisons by Labor

It safely may be assumed that wage laborers are aware not just of the trends of their personal economic situations, but of the trajectory of economic conditions generally and the extent to which these conditions change over time. If workers perceive the national economy to have improved over the past years or months, and their own fortunes to have suffered, they will feel deprived. If conditions have deteriorated generally or remained static and workers' economic conditions have coincided approximately with them, then workers may feel disillusioned, but not deprived vis-à-vis others. Finally, if economic trends are positive and wages are climbing more or less proportionately, optimism is the most likely response. What was the Honduran case in the 1970s?

During the decade of the 1970s the Honduran economy was mostly stagnant. More significantly, as figure 1 demonstrates, the only time during the 1970s that per capita income was not largely covariant with salaries was in 1976 when wage laborers actually owned more than one would have predicted on the basis of per capita GDP alone. Correlation analysis reveals that Honduran wages reflected per capita GDP at  $r = .628$ . In other words it is unlikely that Honduran laborers would have perceived that others were getting rich while they were not.



Figure 1  
PLOT OF WAGES WITH PER CAPITA GDP



Source: See Table 1

These data are striking when compared to figures for other countries in central America during the 1970s: for Nicaragua  $r = -.547$  (for 1970-1978); El Salvador  $r = -.632$  and Guatemala  $r = -.943^1$ . In these three countries, as per capita GDP was increasing, real wages were actually *decreasing* proportionately. Only in Costa Rica ( $r = .760$ ) are the data comparable to those for Honduras. As a group, Honduran wage laborers during this period were unlikely to see others get rich as their own incomes stayed the same or dwindled. In contrast to Honduras, all of the other Central American economies posted modest gains (measured in per capita share), gains that the labor salaries did not mirror except in Costa Rica. Thus, urban wage earners in the other three countries may well have made unfavorable comparisons between their own lot and that of their nations as a whole.

### Self/Self Comparisons by Peasants

The relative economic stability of urban labor in the 1970s apparently provided a significant draw for rural population since Honduras's urban population grew over eight percent during the decade. However, many of the migrants came from the areas immediately surrounding Tegucigalpa and San Pedro Sula easily accessible to them (Thomas and Croner, 1975).

Since accessibility was one of the major pull factors and since economic conditions in cities—while better than the countryside—were still barely at the subsistence level with the advent of the 1980s, it is reasonable to assume that the rural population did not perceive its condition as acutely worse than in the cities. Indeed, there are several reasons that—despite grinding poverty—the Honduran peasantry may have perceived a brightening economic picture during the 1970s. Most important, land was becoming less scarce for three major reasons: First, owing to pressure from both the peasants and the government, the enclosure movement of the 1950s and 1960s slowed considerably during the 1970s; second, land reform offered landless and land poor families a realistic chance of land ownership. Added to this was the booming coffee industry, allowing smallholders to market their own export crop.

Since for the peasantry land is analogous to urbanites' wages, self/self comparisons should occur among peasants when a trend develops in which lands become increasingly scarce relative to previous periods, forcing them to turn to other strategies of survival such as wage labor. Following a technique pioneered by William Durham (1979), peasants' self/self analysis of living conditions will be gauged as the population pressure on subsistence farmland. This concept will be expressed as the ratio of the rural population economically active in agriculture to the total acreage dedicated to corn, beans and rice, which together provide three-quarters of the caloric intake of rural Hondurans (Ponce: 133-137). This "subsistence density" is presented in column (a) in Table 2.

1. The data for wages is Booth and Walker (1989) and Bulmer-Thomas for per capita GDP. The year 1979 was excluded from the Nicaraguan analysis because the entire economic structure of the country changed after the revolution—a fact that in the data meant that the data point for 1979 was an outlier. The data used to generate these statistics are presented in the Appendix.

**Table 2**  
**SUBSISTENCE DENSITY 1970-1979**

Year	Rural cultivators <sup>a</sup>	Subsistence farmland <sup>b</sup>	Subsistence density	Subsistence farmland <sup>c</sup>	Subsistence density
1970	500,090	388,789	.778	n/a	n/a
1971	510,680	395,931	.778	496,917	.973
1972	521,730	403,070	.772	505,996	.949
1973	533,404	410,210	.769	515,096	.966
1974	545,858	362,649 <sup>d</sup>	.664 <sup>d</sup>	464,544 <sup>d</sup>	.851 <sup>d</sup>
1975	559,059	424,448	.759	533,193	.954
1976	573,158	426,029	.743	536,714	.936
1977	579,821	475,167	.820	587,792	1.014
1978	594,947	525,986	.884	640,551	1.077
1979	610,335	520,229	.852	635,221	1.041

a. Number of rural inhabitants economically active in agriculture. See footnote 2 for an explanation of the source of data for this column.

b. Total hectares dedicated to corn, beans and rice. Source: Secretaría de Recursos Naturales (1985), Tables 11, 15, 19 (summed).

c. Total hectares dedicated to corn, beans, rice, and coffee. Source: Secretaría de Recursos Naturales (1985), Tables 11, 15, 19, 28 (summed).

d. The acreage of industrial corn farms are not reflected by these data for this year only.

The data indicate that population pressure on subsistence lands slowly increased from 1970 to 1976, but beginning in 1977 and 1978 this trend reversed. Presumably peasants who were in the market for subsistence farmland found it marginally harder to find such land during the first period but easier to do so during the second one. Subsistence farmland became considerably more plentiful after 1977, perhaps as the impact of land reform began to be felt.

Some Honduran peasants grow cash crops. Although a few smallholders grow sugarcane and some peasant cooperatives arising from the land reform grow cotton, by far the greatest cash crop for the peasantry is coffee. Peasants pushed into the hills during the 1950s and 1960s turned to coffee growing in the 1970s; in 1981 an estimated 80.1 percent of national coffee land was in family farms of less than 25 hectares (Williams, 1990). Any evaluation of subsistence farmlands must therefore encompass coffee lands. Column (b) of table 2 adds total coffee lands to the other subsistence levels. Data show that the subsistence density remained stable until 1977 when land became considerably less scarce. Further research may reveal that coffee farming provided a critical safety value for rural cultivators, along the same lines as the Costa Rican case (Paige, 1987).

### Self/Other Comparisons by Peasants

The self/other mode of relative deprivation likewise can be assessed by employing data on land. Self/other relative deprivation would increase among peasants as they perceive large landholders outdistancing them more and more. Data

presented in Table 3, although not covering the entire decade of the 1970s, indicate that not only were there fewer of the largest landowners in 1974 than in 1966, but they owned less of the total land<sup>3</sup>. The medium-sized landowners

2. Two independent sources (Durham 1979, Wilkie 1984) estimate that the total percentage of Hondurans living in urban centers grew at approximately 0.7 percent per year during the 1970s, although Durham uses municipalities of over 2,500 and Wilkie uses municipalities of over 20,000 to arrive at these figures. This rate was corroborated by other data (Booth and Walker 1989) which found the same 0.7 percent increase per annum in the 1961-1987 period using data from the Inter-American Development Bank. It was estimated that 73 percentage of the Honduran population lived in rural areas (not in towns of 2,500 or more) in 1974 (Wilkie, Durham, CEPICIES [1974]), and the 0.7 percent rate was added or subtracted to this percentage to derive the percentage of the total population living in rural areas for each year. The agriculturally active percentage of the rural population for the 1970s was estimated at approximately 25 percent (Durham). Using these two estimates, the rural population economically active in agriculture was estimated as a proportion of the total population, using the most reliable estimate available (Bulmer-Thomas, table A2) for the total population for each year.

It should be emphasized that the subsistence density does not refer to the actual acreage available to each subsistence farmer, but rather the dynamic of population pressure on the land (taking into account a growing population and rural out-migration), and hence whether the expectation of that percentage of the population economically active in agriculture who are smallholders (this percentage is assumed to remain constant) of owning farmland is becoming increasingly easy to meet or increasingly harder to meet.

3. Part of this change, however, can be attributed to the subdivision of large landowners' properties to the benefit of smaller but affiliated companies and individuals (Ruhl: 49-50).



those with between 10 and 200 acres) have lost ground both absolutely and relatively. On the other hand, smallholders made gains in both categories, although it is impossible to know to what degree since the very smallest landholders were not counted in the 1966 census. Smallholders with between three and ten hectares appear to have stagnated or lost ground. *Minifundistas*, farmers with less than three hectares, seem to have significant gains in these eight years,

but this is cold comfort since most peasants need at least this much acreage for subsistence farming (Ruhl, 43). Although no unambiguous picture of land tenure changes over the 1966-1974 period emerges from the data, the gains of the smallest landowners indeed compared favorably to other groups. And whatever favorable self/other comparisons these smallholders made would be reinforced by the Honduran land reform, which peaked during the mid-1970s.

Table 3  
CHANGE IN HONDURAN LAND TENURE 1966-1974

Size in hectares	Units in 1966	Units in 1974	% of total land in 1966	% of total land in 1974	Change in % of land
0-1	n/a	33,711	n/a	.82	n/a
1-2	26,677	38,650	.77	2.04	+1.27
2-3	25,254	28,703	1.46	2.66	+1.20
3-4	17,869	11,659	1.55	1.55	0.00
4-5	14,202	11,998	1.64	2.02	-0.38
5-10	36,371	28,264	6.92	7.65	-0.73
10-20	27,115	19,220	10.39	10.20	+0.19
20-50	19,970	15,170	17.00	17.54	-0.54
50-100	6,439	4,433	12.34	11.45	-0.89
100-200	2,463	1,971	9.37	10.14	+0.77
200-500	1,293	1,057	11.02	11.91	+0.89
500-1000	401	276	7.89	6.99	-0.90
1000-2500	193	129	8.11	7.07	-1.04
2500+	73	40	11.54	7.96	-3.58
TOTAL	178,350	195,341	100.00	100.00	--

Source: Secretaría de Recursos Naturales (1985), tables 5 and 6.

### SOME CONCLUSIONS

During the 1970s the striking poverty in Honduras showed few signs of yielding to the government's development policy, its determined (if moderate) land reform, and an increasingly favorable coffee market. Yet, despite some popular mobilization for strikes and *tomas* during the decade, this civil unrest never blossomed into widespread civil strife. Placing the available data into the framework of relative deprivation theory provides the best explanation for this stability. Among workers and peasants, the two most historically volatile groups, neither self/self comparisons of economic performance nor self/other comparisons would have led these groups to develop economic expectations that were not subsequently fulfilled. Low relative deprivation in both its forms deflected, if it did not preclude, system destabilizing acts by workers and peasants.

Predictably, this discussion has raised a multitude of possible questions for future research. Trust would seem to mitigate the deleterious effects of relative deprivation, but to what extent? For that matter, which of the modes of relative deprivation has the more palpable effect on mass regime support, or if a combination of the two, what is the nature of this combination? For the moment these questions remain unresolved. The best way for scholars to begin sorting through these issues is to seriously (re-)consider the agency of individuals and groups when confronted by unmet expectations and other, similar human problems.

### STABILITY IN THE 1990s?

If relative deprivation theory constitutes an attractive approach to post facto explanation of stability in Honduras during the 1980s using data from the 1970s, then it should prove an equally promising approach for assessing the dynamics of stability there in the 1990s, using data from the

1980s. Although all the numbers are not yet in, and the question of a lag time remains unresolved, the most recent available data raise warning flags about the possibilities for future stability. Although not completely gutted, the land reform has never regained its mid-1970s fortitude. In the 1980-1985 period only 21,617 families received 91,523 hectares, 71,425 of which were arable.

As the government's commitment to meeting popular micro-economic expectations slid downward in the 1980s, indicators of relative deprivation likewise worsened.

Wages, which had remained more or less stable until 1982, fell to 92 percent of their 1973 level in 1983 and to 89 percent in 1984 (Booth and Walker: Table 4), although this decline merely mirrored the per capita trend for these years. Thus, relative deprivation in the self/self mode was on the rise during these years. Compounding this trend, unemployment—which had held steady at about ten percent in the 1970s—ballooned to 15.2 percent in 1980 and to 23.9 in 1984 (Booth and Walker, Table 6). Hence a larger proportion of the population had *no* income from traditional sources in the first half of the 1980s than in the previous decade. Conditions in the countryside were, if anything, worse.

Table 4  
SUBSISTENCE DENSITY 1980-1984

Year	Rural cultivators <sup>a</sup>	Subsistence farmland <sup>b</sup>	Subsistence density <sup>b</sup>	Subsistence farmland <sup>c</sup>	Subsistence density <sup>c</sup>
1980	634,852	424,593	.669	577,055	.877
1981	650,525	427,166	.657	550,030	.846
1982	666,418	436,233	.655	559,097	.839
1983	682,341	337,896 <sup>d</sup>	.495 <sup>d</sup>	460,760 <sup>d</sup>	.675 <sup>d</sup>
1984	698,115	380,497	.545	503,777 <sup>e</sup>	.722 <sup>e</sup>

a. Number of rural inhabitants economically active in agriculture. See footnote 2 for an explanation of the source of data for this column.

b. Total hectares dedicated to corn, beans and rice. Source: Secretaría de Recursos Naturales (1985), Tables 11, 15, 19.

c. Total hectares dedicated to corn, beans, rice, and coffee. Source: Secretaría de Recursos Naturales (1985), Tables 11, 15, 19, 28.

d. These data do not include the major producers of corn, beans, and rice for this year only.

e. The Secretaría de Recursos Naturales estimated that the number of acres dedicated to coffee remained constant at 122,864 for 1982 and 1983. The 1984 acreage was estimated using this number as well.

Although no data are available about the land tenure patterns, Table 4 demonstrates that the subsistence density has taken a nosedive. These data clearly indicate that conditions in rural areas have deteriorated at an alarming pace. Even assuming that the data for 1984 are anomalous, the effects of population growth simply outpaced the speed at which new subsistence farmland was developed. In short, the self/self mode of relative deprivation in the countryside, as in urban areas, reached new heights in the first half of the 1980s.

While it is too early to tell whether recent unrest constitutes the beginning of the end of stability in Honduras, it is likely that—if the trends of increasing relative deprivation evident in the first half of the 1980s have continued in the second half as well—mass regime support may well be at an all time low. Nevertheless, it appears that armed resistance groups are still small and unorganized. Here is a window of opportunity, for it may be possible that with the election of and smooth transfer of power to Rafael Leonardo Callejas in November of 1989 hopes for democracy under a new political party may outweigh increasing economic frustration. Indeed, support for Callejas remains relatively high after his

one and one-half years in office. But other evidence indicates that both modes of relative deprivation are on the rise: In the past year inflation has risen 75 percent for food, and unemployment is at its highest in decades, thus fanning unfavorable self/self comparisons. On the self/other side, both labor and peasant groups have argued that Callejas's austerity measures inaugurated in March 1990 benefit only the richest sectors at the expense of poorer populations (CAR, 1991).

It may be, then, that Honduras is missing its opportunity to consolidate supportive mass attitudes in its new phase of democracy through its ill-timed neo-liberal program. Thus, at the very moment the government could have consolidated support for democracy, it may be creating enough popular feelings of deprivation to undermine its popular basis. If so, the Honduran government may well find itself sailing the waters of mass discontent caught between the Scylla of increasingly violent mobilized mass behavior on the one side and the Charydis of an increasingly autonomous mechanism of reactionary military repression on the other.

**Appendix**  
**WAGES & PER CAPITA GDP IN CENTRAL AMERICA**  
 (Data for Honduras are presented in Table 1)

Country	Year	Per capita GDP (1970 dollars)	Index of wages (1970=100)
Costa Rica	1970	658.6	100
	1971	674.7	112
	1972	718.1	107
	1973	761.7	104
	1974	782.8	113
	1975	778.9	95
	1976	801.5	107
	1977	851.8	118
	1978	883.8	128
	1979	906.1	133
Nicaragua	1970	424.3	100
	1971	424.4	98
	1972	420.5	94
	1973	434.1	83
	1974	479.0	83
	1975	460.6	88
	1976	469.4	88
	1977	493.3	80
	1978	441.2	73
	1979	310.4	64
El Salvador	1970	406.1	100
	1971	411.7	101
	1972	420.8	102
	1973	427.1	109
	1974	438.6	107
	1975	443.3	98
	1976	451.9	103
	1977	469.0	92
	1978	486.6	95
	1979	468.5	91
Guatemala	1970	416.7	100
	1971	427.8	100
	1972	446.0	98
	1973	463.0	92
	1974	467.3	88
	1975	456.4	87
	1976	478.9	89
	1977	498.7	74
	1978	507.6	77
	1979	515.7	77

Source: See Table 1

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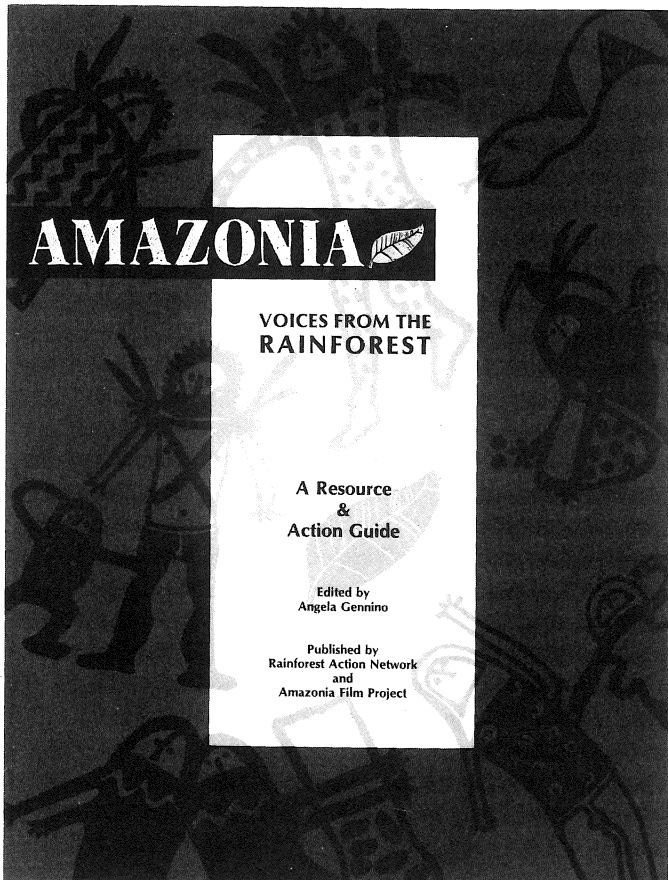
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Rainforest Action Network introduces *Amazonia: Voices From the Rain Forest*, a reference book with a comprehensive listing of international rainforest organizations supplemented by an overview covering the history of the Amazon region. This unique book may be ordered for \$8.50 plus \$1.50 shipping and handling (\$4.50 airmail) from: Rainforest Action Network, 301 Broadway, Suite A, San Francisco, CA 94133. For bulk orders and overseas mailing, telephone: (415) 398-4404; or fax: 398-2732.

### *Non-Revolution in Honduras continued*

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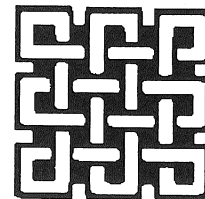
### **NOMINATIONS INVITED FOR 1992 SLATE**

LASA members are invited to suggest potential nominees for Vice President and three members of the Executive Council, for terms beginning November 1, 1992.

Criteria for nomination include professional credentials and previous service to LASA. Candidates must have been a member of the Association in good standing for at least one year prior to nomination. Biographic data and the rationale for nomination must be sent by *January 1, 1992* to: Professor Thomas Davies, Chair, LASA Nominations Committee, Center for Latin American Studies, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182.

The winning candidate for Vice President will serve in that capacity until April 30, 1994, and as President for an additional eighteen months. Executive Council members will serve a three-year term from November 1, 1992 to October 31, 1995.

The members of the Nominations Committee are Thomas Davies, Chair; Evelyn Stephens, Northwestern University; Glaucio Soares, University of Florida; Scott Whiteford, Michigan State University; George Yudice, Hunter College; and Dina Krauskopf, Universidad de Costa Rica.



## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The Department of Political Science at the **University of New Mexico** invites applications for a position in Comparative Politics with a specialization in Latin America at the rank of Associate or Full Professor beginning August 1992. Minimum qualifications include a Ph.D. in political science, experience in teaching Latin American and comparative politics, a record of publication in refereed scholarly journals, and an active research agenda in the field of Latin American politics. The department seeks a dynamic scholar with a significant publication record who can direct and stimulate graduate student research in comparative and Latin American politics. Application materials, including a curriculum vitae, sample publications, teaching evaluations/syllabi, and three letters of recommendation should be sent to: Chair, Comparative Politics Search Committee, Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1121. To receive full consideration, applications should be sent by *October 1, 1991*. Applications from women and minorities are especially encouraged. The University of New Mexico is an AA/EOE.

The **University of Pittsburgh** seeks an assistant professor in Latin American History beginning Fall 1992 (subject to budgetary approval) to teach graduate and undergraduate courses. We invite applications from candidates with Ph.D. in hand or expected by June 1992. Country and time-period specialization within the region are both open. Preference will be given to candidates able to situate their research in comparative context, either within Latin America or outside the region. Evidence of outstanding scholarly potential essential; manuscript or publications must be available upon request; interest and ability in teaching must be demonstrated. Send letter of application, summary of dissertation, curriculum vitae, and three letters of recommendation by *November 1, 1991* to: George Reid Andrews, Department of History, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. University of Pittsburgh is an AA/EOE; women and minority candidates are encouraged to apply.

University Center for International Studies, **University of Pittsburgh**, is seeking a Director for its Center for Latin American Studies. Rank will be tenured Full Professor; salary is negotiable according to credentials. Date of appointment to be September 1, 1992 (subject to approval of funding). Term of appointment will be five years (with possibility for renewal). The deadline for receipt of applications is *December 1, 1991*. The Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS) is one of 11 comprehensive National Resource Centers (NRC) on Latin America funded by the U.S. Department of Education and has an endowment to help support its activities. CLAS has 143 affiliated faculty members in 18 departments/schools, 204 students in its

certificate and related concentration programs, and a library collection of approximately 300,000 volumes. The Director's principal responsibility is fund-raising for research on Latin American studies. He/she will supervise a staff of 11, including graduate assistants. In addition, the Director will have a tenured academic appointment in a relevant department with a reduced teaching load. Disciplinary and subregional specialization are open; applicants should qualify for the rank of full professor, have international scholarly renown, experience in administration, demonstrated academic interest in Latin America, and fluency in Spanish. Women and minorities are encouraged to apply. To apply, send an up-to-date curriculum vitae, giving credentials and experience related to the position, to: Director Search Committee, Center for Latin American Studies, 4E04 Forbes Quad, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. University of Pittsburgh does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, ethnicity, national origin, age, sex, sexual orientation, or marital, veteran, or handicapped status. This is a commitment made by the University in accordance with federal, state, and local laws and regulations. All relevant programs are coordinated through the Office of Affirmative Action, 901 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. Telephone: (412) 648-7860.

**University of Texas at El Paso** seeks applications for position of Director of the Center for Inter-American and Border Studies (CIABS) with joint appointment as Professor or Associate Professor in an academic department. Rank and salary open, commensurate with qualifications and experience. CIABS academics and research focus on Mexico, the U.S.-Mexico border and Latin America; Center also coordinates development and implementation of cooperative exchange programs between UTEP and institutions of higher education in Mexico and Latin America. Earned doctorate in an appropriate academic discipline within the University; strong record of successful extramural funding, particularly with those sources involved with Mexico and Latin America; excellent record of scholarly work, administrative experience; Spanish and English required. A major responsibility of the Director will be to develop institutional proposals and to identify appropriate sources to increase institutional and extramural funding. Position is available after September 1, 1991; applicants considered until position is filled. Letter of application, curriculum vitae and names of three references must be submitted to: Dr. Larry Palmer, Special Asst. to the President, The University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX 79968-0566. An AA/EOE employer.



Applications and Nominations are Invited  
for the Position of  
**Dean**  
**James Madison College**  
**Michigan State University**

Michigan State University invites applications and nominations for the position of Dean, James Madison College. The University seeks a teacher-scholar who can provide intellectual and deliberative leadership to a faculty committed to the highest standards in undergraduate education and to scholarly excellence. The Dean is Madison's chief executive officer and is responsible for educational, research, and service programs; personnel matters within the College; budget; and physical facilities. He/she is expected to teach in Madison. The Dean is responsible to the Provost and the President for the general administration of the College.

Founded in 1967, James Madison College combines the environment of a small, residential, liberal arts college with the resources, facilities, and academic diversity of a large, complex university. Michigan State is a major land-grant/AAU institution, with fourteen colleges enrolling more than 40,000 students. James Madison, with an enrollment of 1000, provides liberal arts education in the social sciences with a focus on public affairs. It offers multidisciplinary majors in International Relations, Political Economy, Political Theory, and Social Relations. The current faculty are trained in American studies, economics, history, philosophy, political science, and sociology.

Applicants must have an earned doctorate (or other appropriate terminal degree) in one of the social sciences or related fields, such as history, philosophy, or public policy; a record of outstanding teaching and strong academic scholarship; a demonstrated commitment to advancing excellence in undergraduate education, and successful administrative experience. Candidates must meet the standards for appointment at the rank of professor (with tenure) in the College, in an academic department or school within the University, or both. The expected starting date is July 1, 1992 or as soon as possible thereafter.

Applications and nominations are requested as soon as possible, preferably by *October 1, 1991*. Applications should include a letter of interest and a curriculum vitae. A sample of scholarship is highly desirable. Applications and nominations should be sent to:

**Professor M. Richard Zinman, Chair**  
**James Madison College Search and Rating Committee**  
**c/o Office of the Provost**  
**438 Administration Building**  
**Michigan State University**  
**East Lansing, MI 48824-1046**



## RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

**Council on International Education Exchange (CIEE)** is pleased to announce its 1991/92 schedule of International Faculty Development Seminars, a series designed to support academic institutions in their commitment to internationalizing curricula. Seminars in all countries are open to full-time faculty and administrators at two- and four-year institutions of higher education. Academic institutions are encouraged to provide at least fifty percent support, with their faculty participants responsible for the balance. For further information and application materials, please contact CIEE/Professional Programs, 205 E. 42nd St., New York, NY 10017. Telephone: (212) 661-1414 x1455 by *September 16, 1991*.

The **Cushwa Center's** Dissertation Fellowships in the History of U.S. Hispanic Catholics seek to advance the understanding of the Hispanic Catholic experience in the United States by identifying a new generation of promising scholars and by encouraging their doctoral research in the religious history of the various Hispanic communities. Applicants must be candidates for a doctoral degree at a graduate school in the U.S. or Puerto Rico, who have finished all pre-dissertation requirements by the time of application, and expect to complete their dissertation during 1992-93. Dissertation proposals must have received official faculty approval at the home institution by the application deadline. The three \$11,000 fellowships are intended to support the final year of dissertation research and writing. The Dissertation Fellowships in the History of U.S. Hispanic Catholics are funded by a grant from the Lilly Endowment and administered by the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, located at the University of Notre Dame. Application forms for these fellowships must be requested from the Center at the address listed below by *December 1, 1991*. Completed applications must be postmarked no later than January 1, 1992. Recipients will be notified in April 1992, and the awards must be used during the 1992-93 academic year. For further information and applications, contact: Dr. Jaime R. Vidal, Assistant Director, Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, 614 Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556. Telephone: (219) 239-5441.

Approximately 55 grants will be provided under the **Fulbright Program** during the 1992-93 academic year. Applications will be accepted from well-qualified students in most fields of study. Candidates must be U.S. citizens who will hold a bachelor's degree or the equivalent by the beginning date of the grant but who do not hold the Ph.D. at the time of application. A good command of Spanish or Portuguese is required at the time of application. Awards will be made on the merits of the project and the facilities in the country

concerned for carrying it out. Candidates may apply to only one country. Applications will *not* be accepted for French Guiana. Grants provide round-trip international travel, tuition, maintenance for one academic year, and health and accident insurance. Specific eligibility requirements, information on benefits, etc. are contained in the brochure, "Fulbright and other grants for graduate study abroad, 1992-1993," which may be obtained from campus Fulbright Program Advisers (for enrolled students), or from: Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden St. NW, Suite 5M, Box GPOS, Washington, DC 20008-3009. Telephone: (202) 686-7877. "At-Large" students must submit their completed applications to the U.S. Student Programs Division at IIE headquarters in New York by *October 31, 1991*. Write: U.S. Student Programs Division, Institute of International Education, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017-3580.

The Center for Latin American Studies of the **University of Pittsburgh** and **The Howard Heinz Endowment** announce the 1992 Latin America Issues competition for grants supporting research on current issues in Latin American politics, economics, foreign policy, sociology, and development. This year, grants will be considered for research projects that deal with policy issues in the Latin American/Caribbean region that are or might be significant for US policy concerns. Research may focus either upon individual countries, groups of countries, or the entire Latin American/Caribbean region within the context of any of the following three thematic areas: (1) current political or socioeconomic relations between the region and the United States, within the region itself, or between the region and other world areas; (2) political and social change—especially as it concerns democratization, political stability/instability, environmental politics, or the status of minorities; and (3) the success/failure either of models of development and their performance or specific policies (e.g., inflation control, export promotion, debt reduction, coverage and quality of social services, equity, and Maximum grants are \$25,000 (it is expected that from six to ten grants will be awarded in the 1992 competition). The applicant (principal investigator) must have a Ph.D. or equivalent degree and be affiliated with a scholarly institution. Grant applications for dissertation research will not be considered. This is not an in-residence program. Residency at the University of Pittsburgh is neither required nor implied. Grant funds may be used for: (1) Release Time/Salary Replacement; (2) Travel; (3) Maintenance (for time spent in research locale); and (4) Data Collection/Analysis (including payments for informants, assistants, computer use [not purchase], secretarial assistance, xeroxing, etc.). Grants will not include payment for overhead/indirect costs. Funds will be allocated only to the institution of the principal

researcher, not directly to the individual. Each grant recipient's institution will receive a subcontract from the University of Pittsburgh specifying the obligations of the researcher and his/her institution. All proposals must be submitted in English on 8 1/2" x 11" paper and must include the following five items: (1) a cover sheet with project title, amount requested, approximate dates for proposed research, name/address/telephone number, and institutional affiliation of primary investigator as well as signature of authorizing institutional official; (2) an abstract (maximum of 250 words) that describes the project and explains its significance; (3) a description of the proposed project (not to exceed five single-spaced typewritten pages) that includes a clear delineation of the research methodology to be utilized as well as the specific objectives that can be realized within the proposed schedule and the amount of funding requested; (4) a detailed budget of research expenditures that delineates expenses for each of the four categories (if applicable) specified under "Utilization of grant funds" above; and (5) curriculum vitae of applicant(s). Applications must be received by *February 5, 1992*. Applications postmarked February 5, 1992, but not received until after this date will not be accepted. Applications sent via fax are likewise not acceptable. Awards will be announced in the Spring of 1992. For detailed information on this program and application instructions, please request a brochure for the 1991 competition from: John Frechione, Program Coordinator, Research Grants on Current Latin American Issues, Center for Latin American Studies, 4E04 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. Telephone: (412) 648-7395. Fax: (412) 648-2199. Bitnet: JFRECH@PITTVMS.

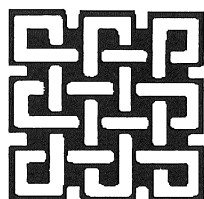
The United States Institute of Peace invites qualified candidates to compete for three types of fellowships offered by the Institute's Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace. These fellowships enable outstanding professionals and scholars to undertake research and education projects that will increase knowledge and spread awareness among the public and policymakers regarding the nature of violent international conflict and the full range of ways to deal with it peacefully. Individuals from a broad spectrum of backgrounds—higher education, government, diplomacy, international affairs, military service, law, the media, business, labor, religion, humanitarian affairs, and others—are encouraged to propose innovative, carefully conceived fellowship projects reflecting diverse interests, project approaches and communication media. Stipends and other support are normally provided for a one-year period beginning in September 1991. There are three types of awards: *Distinguished Fellows* are statesmen, scholars, or other professionals with national or international stature by virtue of widely recognized scholarly or practical accomplishments in international peace and conflict management or other relevant fields. They must be nominated on an official form

by a person well acquainted with the nominee's career and achievements. *Peace Fellows* are professionals or scholars who demonstrate substantial accomplishment or promise of exceptional leadership in various career fields. Peace Fellow candidates must submit an official application form, which includes a project proposal and requires three letters of reference. *Peace Scholars* are outstanding students in recognized doctoral programs in U.S. universities who have demonstrated a clear interest in issues of international peace and conflict management and have completed all required work toward their doctoral degrees except their dissertations. Candidates must have a letter of support sent to the institute from the chairman of the department or professional school in which they will conduct their dissertation research (each department or school may endorse two students in each competition cycle). The candidate must submit an official application form, which includes a research plan and requires graduate transcripts and three letters of reference. Completed nomination and application forms, including the required letters and other materials, must be received by the U.S. Institute of Peace no later than *October 15, 1991* for Distinguished Fellows and Peace Fellows, and by *November 15, 1991* for Peace Scholars. For application forms, contact: Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace, United State Institute of Peace, 1550 M St. NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005-1708. Telephone: (202) 457-1706; fax: (202) 429-6063; TDD: 457-1719.

Advanced research grants are available under the auspices of the U.S.-Spanish Joint Committee for Cultural and Educational Cooperation. The research fields are announced each fall, but have generally included most areas in the humanities and social sciences. Applicants must be U.S. citizens at the postdoctoral or equivalent professional level and demonstrate competence in oral and written Spanish necessary to undertake the research project. Deadline is *January 1, 1992*. Contact: Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden St. NW, Suite 5M, Box NEWS, Washington, DC 20008-3009. Telephone: (202) 686-7877.

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation's Charlotte W. Newcombe Dissertation Year Fellowships are designed to encourage original and significant study of ethical or religious values in all fields. Applicants must be candidates for Ph.D., Th.D. or Ed.D. degrees in doctoral programs at graduate schools in the United States. Candidates must fulfill all pre-dissertation requirements by November 29, 1991, and expect to complete their dissertations by August 1993. These awards are not intended to finance field work or research but rather the last full year of dissertation writing. Winners will receive \$11,500 for 12 months of full-time dissertation research and writing. Forty non-renewable fellowships will be awarded from approxi-

mately 500 applications. For more information or to request application forms, contact: Newcombe Dissertation Fellowships, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, P.O. Box 642, Princeton, NJ 08542. Applications must be requested by *November 29, 1991*, and postmarked by *December 13, 1991*. Applications mailed from outside the U.S. or Canada must be postmarked by *November 29, 1991*.



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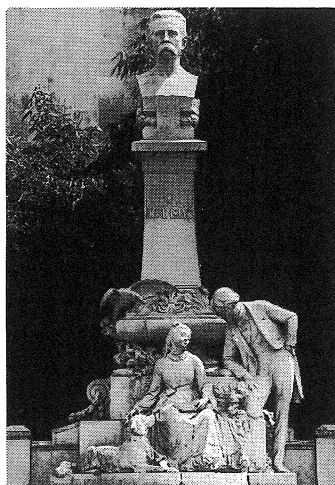
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## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Latin American Specialty Group of the Association of American Geographers (AAG) solicits papers for its session on "Hispanic Working Women of the Americas" to be presented at the AAG's Annual Meeting, April 18-22, 1992, in San Diego, CA. The session will be co-sponsored by the Geographical Perspectives on Women Specialty Group of the AAG. Papers presenting a broad range of perspectives and addressing the status, prospects, problems and other pertinent issues concerning Hispanic working women throughout the Hemisphere are welcome, and paper proposals must be received by August 31, 1991. For more information, please contact: Maureen Hays Mitchell, Department of Geography, Colgate University, Hamilton, NY 13346. Telephone: (315) 824-1000.

Canadian Association for Latin and Caribbean Studies (CALACS) will hold its next annual congress from October 30-November 3, 1991, at Laval University. The statutory and scientific meeting of the chapter of Quebec of CALACS will be held October 30-31, at twelve o'clock, noon. Meetings will be held in one building and lodging facilities will be available close by at reasonable cost. The official languages of the Congress are French, English, Spanish and Portuguese. Our members will enjoy the opportunity to interact with specialists from various sectors, namely, international organizations, governments, businesses, unions, non-government organizations, the mass media and corporations. Panelists and guests will come from the whole continent, as well as from Western and Eastern Europe. There might also be several Latin-American specialists from Asia. The proceedings will be published by April 1992. Please send your paper proposals to: CALACS/ACELAC, Congress 1991, c/o Françoise Courmier, Département de Science Politique, Pavillon Charles-de Koninck, Université Laval, Ste-Foy, Quebec G1K 7P4, Canada. Fax: (418) 656-7871.

"Rediscovering America 1492-1992: National, Cultural and Disciplinary Boundaries Re-examined," seeks papers for an interdisciplinary conference on the Columbian Quincentenary to be held February 26-29, 1992 at Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge. Proposals for papers/panels are invited from all disciplines on transculturalism, multiculturalism, and the global interconnections that resulted from the unification of the kingdoms of Spain and Columbus's voyages. Send two-page proposals by *August 1, 1991* to: Arnulfo G. Ramírez, Foreign Languages, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803. Direct telephone inquiries to: Leslie Bary, Harry Kirby, Marketta Laurila, Robert Lewis or Joseph Ricapito. Telephone: (504) 388-6616.

**New England Council of Latin American Studies' Annual Fall Meeting** will take place Saturday, October 5, 1991, 9A.M.-5P.M. at Seelye Hall, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Keynote address is by Elena Poniatowska, Mexican author. To obtain a program, contact: Professor Susan C. Bourque, Department of Government, Smith College, 138 Elm St., Northampton, MA 01063. Telephone: (413) 585-3591.

The **Oral History Association** will hold its 1992 Annual Meeting October 15-18, 1992 at the Stouffer Tower City Hotel in Cleveland, Ohio. Proposals for papers, panels, media presentations, or entire sessions should be sent by *December 1, 1991* to Dr. Donna M. DeBlasio, Program Chair, Youngstown Historical Center of Industry and Labor, P.O. Box 533, Youngstown, OH 44501. Telephone: (216) 743-5934.

A joint meeting of the **Rocky Mountain Council on Latin American Studies (RMCLAS)** and the **Association of Borderlands Scholars** will be held at the Westin Paso del Norte Hotel in El Paso, Texas, February 20-22, 1992. Paper and panel proposals should be submitted by *November 1, 1991* to Richard Bath, Department of Political Science, University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX 79968.

Siena College is sponsoring its seventh annual multidisciplinary conference on the 50th anniversary of World War II. The focus for 1992 will be 1942, but papers dealing with broad issues of earlier years will be considered. Among the topics welcomed are political and military history and Latin American topics of relevance. Obviously, collaboration and collaborationist regimes, the events on the home front, conscription and dissent will also be of significance. Deadline for submissions is *December 15, 1991*. Replies and inquiries should be made to: Professor Thomas O. Kelly II, Department of History, Siena College, Loudonville, NY 12211.

### National Directory of Latin Americanists

Latin Americanists who have not received a questionnaire requesting biographical information for inclusion in the *National Directory of Latin Americanists* are invited to request the form and return it to the address below *immediately*:

National Directory of Latin Americanists  
Taylor Publishing Company, Fine Books Division  
P.O. Box 597  
Dallas, TX 75221-9697

The **South Eastern Council of Latin American Studies (SECOLAS)** will hold its annual conference at The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina, on April 2-4, 1992 on the theme "The Discoveries of America: Past, Present and Future." Proposals for papers and commentators in all disciplines are invited. Please send a one-page abstract by *November 15, 1991* to one of the following program chairs: Dr. Raphael E. Hernández, Department of Foreign Languages, Converse College, Spartanburg, SC 29301 (for proposals in literature and humanities); or Dr. Douglas Friedman, Department of Political Science, College of Charleston, Charleston, SC 29424 (for proposals in history and social sciences). Information regarding local arrangements may be obtained from: Dr. William Harris, Department of History, The Citadel, Charleston, SC 29409.

The **Southwest Historical Association** will meet in conjunction with the **Southwestern Social Science Association** in Austin, Texas, March 18-21, 1992. Proposals for papers or sessions in U.S. History, European/Asian History, and Latin American/African History should be sent to Professor Janet Schmelzer, Department of Social Sciences, Tarleton State University, Stephenville, TX 76402. Proposals for complete sessions are especially encouraged, as are suggestions for interdisciplinary sessions, panels, and roundtables. The deadline for proposals is *October 1, 1991*. Paper prizes of \$100 will be awarded in each of the three categories.

The **Speech Communication Association of Puerto Rico (SCAPR)** will hold its 11th Annual Convention, December 6-7, 1991, on the theme "Crosscultural Communication" at Condado Plaza Hotel and Casino, San Juan, Puerto Rico. Papers must be received no later than *October 1, 1991*, although earlier submissions are encouraged. All submissions from the U.S. should be sent to: Dr. James W. Chesebro, Speech Communication Association, 5105 Blacklick Rd., Bld. E, Annandale, VA 22003. Questions regarding the submission process should be directed to him. Telephone: (703) 750-0533. Submissions from Puerto Rico and surrounding islands should be submitted to: Dr. Joseph M. Ferri, Local Selection Committee, Condado Astor #11C, 1018 Ashford Ave., Santurce, PR 00907.

The **University of New Mexico's First Conference on Hispanic Culture and Society, "Revising the Encounter,"** will be held February 13-15, 1992. Requests for special sections revolving around the conference theme or other related topics are welcome. Deadline for 300-word abstracts is *September 15, 1991*. Please send submission or inquiries to: Hispanic Culture and Society Conference Organizing Committee, Faculty of Spanish and Portuguese, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Telephone: (505) 277-5907; E-mail to: [SARIAS@TRITON.CIRT.UNM.EDU](mailto:SARIAS@TRITON.CIRT.UNM.EDU).

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In the interest of making information in the *Handbook* more broadly accessible, the Latin American Studies Association has agreed to a request by the Library of Congress and the University of Texas Press, publishers of the *Handbook*, that LASA offer photocopies of the largest section of Volume 50—the history entry—to scholars who would like to own their own desk copies.

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS

The 1991 competition of the Research Grants on Current Latin American Issues program sponsored by Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Pittsburgh and The Howard Heinz Endowment recently was completed, and seven grants were awarded. The awardees and the titles of their projects are: EDWARD J. AMADEO, Economics, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: "New-Unionism', Wage Bargaining, and Distributive Conflict: The Roots of Chronic Inflation in Brazil"; JOHN A. BOOTH, Political Science, University of North Texas: "The Development of Democratic Culture in Central America: Nicaragua and Costa Rica"; M. PATRICIA FERNÁNDEZ KELLY, Sociology, Institute for Policy Studies, The Johns Hopkins University: "Labor Force Recomposition and Export-Oriented Manufacturing in a Mexican Border City"; SHERRI GRASMUCK, Sociology, Temple University and ROSARIO R. ESPINAL, Sociology, Temple University: "Gender, Households and Informal Entrepreneurship: A Comparison of Male and Female Employers of Microenterprises in the Dominican Republic"; FRANCES HAGOPIAN, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University: "The Receding State, the Reorganization of Representation, and the Redefinition of Political Party Identities in Latin America in the Post-Authoritarian Era"; A. DOUGLAS KINCAID, Sociology & Anthropology, Florida International University and EDUARDO GAMARRA, Political Science, Florida International University: "U.S. Military Policy and Civil-Military Relations in Latin American Democratization Processes"; PEGGY A. LOVELL, Sociology, University of Pittsburgh and CHARLES H. WOOD, Sociology, University of Florida: "Development and Racial Inequality in Brazil: Targeting Policy to the Life Course". See the "Research and Study Opportunities" section of this *Forum* for information on the 1992 Current Latin American Issues program. In the 1991 competition, 87 eligible applications were received for review—45 from universities and institutions in the United States and 42 from overseas as follows: Argentina (15); Bolivia (1); Brazil (3); Canada (1); Chile (1); Colombia (2); Costa Rica (2); England (2); France (4); Honduras (1); Mexico (3); Paraguay (3); Peru (1); Uruguay (1); and Venezuela (2). These applications were reviewed by a distinguished selection committee that included Werner Baer, University of Illinois; Susan C. Bourque, Smith College; Gary Gereffi, Duke University; Susanna Hecht, University of California at Los Angeles; James Malloy, University of Pittsburgh; and, Richard S. Newfarmer, The World Bank.

The V Guadalajara International Book Fair (Feria Internacional del Libro—FIL '91) will take place at the Expo-Guadalajara exposition center on November 23-December 1, 1991 in Guadalajara, Mexico. Of special interest this year: The first Latin American Book Industry Fair; the awarding of the first \$100,000 Juan Rulfo Latin American and Caribbean Prize for Literature; the first Bilateral Conference on Bilingual Education; and, the Fifth Congress of Book Industry Professionals. For more information, contact: Public Information Center, FIL '91, Hidalgo 1417 S.H. or Apdo 39-130, 44170 Guadalajara, Jal. México. Telephone: 52(36)25-86-62/25-28-17; or fax: 52(36)25-73-59/25-10-00.

In April 1991 the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, opened a new exhibition of predominantly Chancay textiles from the collection of Dr. Lloyd Young and Dorothy Young, which was donated by the Weavers Guild of Boston. The exhibition is curated by Gulli Kula of Boston and is titled *Out of the Sands: Selections from the Young Andean Archaeological Textile Collection*. The exhibition will be on view through December 1991. For more information, telephone: (401) 253-8388.

The Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies (SSPHS) is an international organization of 400 individuals and institutions with an interest in Iberian history and society from the Middle Ages to the contemporary period. The Society holds a conference once a year in the spring and is affiliated with the American Historical Association. The *Bulletin* of the Society is published three times a year. The Society welcomes new members interested in Latin America and its relation with Spain and Portugal. Membership costs \$17 per year, \$20 for institutions, \$7 for students. For information, contact: Professor Sara Nalle, Department of History, William Paterson College, Wayne, NJ 07470.

**Attention LASA Members:**

For questions regarding delivery of the *Latin American Research Review*, including missed or delayed issues, please contact *LARR* directly. Questions should be directed to Nita Daly, Subscription Manager, *LARR*, Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Telephone: (505) 277-7043. Please direct all other inquiries, including questions about the *LASA Forum*, to the Secretariat.



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See page 13 this issue for a complete list of papers available from  
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