

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

# FORUM

SUMMER 2006 | VOLUME XXXVII | ISSUE 3

IN THIS ISSUE

## On the Profession

Speaking Truth, Mobilizing Power  
by WILLIAM M. LEOGRANDE

## Debates

### *Sexualities*

“To Queer or not to Queer”: Coloniality,  
Feminism and New Research Agendas  
by JOSSIANNA ARROYO

Connecting Queer Studies of Men  
Who Desire Men with Feminist Analysis  
of Unmarried Women in Bolivia  
by SUSAN PAULSON

“Pájaras y maricones” ‘llegó la hora’:  
un relato de mi experiencia en el  
movimiento LGBTIR dominicano  
by JAQUELINE JIMÉNEZ POLANCO

Transnational Bodies, Queer Borders:  
The Challenge of Latin American and  
Latino/a Sexual Identities  
by ISRAEL REYES

Comparative Ethnic Sexualities and  
Interdisciplinarity in Latin(o) American  
Research  
by RAÚL RUBIO

## Political Commentary

El estado mexicano y la violencia de género:  
denuncias y reflexiones en torno a Atenco  
by ROSALVA AIDA HERNÁNDEZ CASTILLO

# Table of Contents

- 1 From the President | by CHARLES R. HALE
- 4 From the Associate Editor | by ARTURO ARIAS

## ON THE PROFESSION

- 6 Speaking Truth, Mobilizing Power | by WILLIAM M. LEOGRANDE

## DEBATES

### *Sexualities*

- 10 “To Queer or not to Queer”: Coloniality, Feminism and New Research Agendas  
by JOSSIANNA ARROYO
- 12 Connecting Queer Studies of Men Who Desire Men with Feminist Analysis of  
Unmarried Women in Bolivia | by SUSAN PAULSON
- 15 “Pájaras y maricones” ‘llegó la hora’: Un relato de mi experiencia en el  
movimiento LGBTIR dominicano | by JAQUELINE JIMÉNEZ POLANCO
- 18 Transnational Bodies, Queer Borders: The Challenge of Latin American and  
Latino/a Sexual Identities | by ISRAEL REYES
- 20 Comparative Ethnic Sexualities and Interdisciplinarity in Latin(o) American  
Research | by RAÚL RUBIO

## POLITICAL COMMENTARY

- 23 El estado mexicano y la violencia de género: denuncias y reflexiones en torno a  
Atenco | by ROSALVA AÍDA HERNÁNDEZ CASTILLO

## CALLING ALL MEMBERS

- 26 Nominations, Silvert Award, Bryce Wood Book Award
- 27 Premio Iberoamericano
- 28 Media Award, LASA/Oxfam America Martin Diskin Lectureship

## ON LASA2007

- 29 Report from the Program Chairs | by NEIL HARVEY AND MARÍA SOCORRO TABUENCA

## LASA SECTIONS

- 30 Section Reports

## NEWS FROM LASA

- 39 LASA Voluntary Support | by SANDY KLINZING
- 40 LASA Membership Report 2005
- 41 LASA2007 Call for Papers

### President

Charles R. Hale, University of Texas, Austin  
crhale@mail.utexas.edu

### Vice President

Eric Hershberg, Social Science Research Council  
hershberg@ssrc.org

### Past President

Sonia E. Alvarez, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
soniaa@polsci.umass.edu

## EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

### For term ending October 2007

José Antonio Aguilar Rivera, Centro de Docencia e  
Investigación Económica

Elizabeth Jelin, Consejo de Investigaciones Científicas  
y Tecnológicas

Lynn Stephen, University of Oregon

### For term ending April 2009

Alcida Rita Ramos, Universidade de Brasília  
Guillermo Delgado, University of California/Santa Cruz  
José Rabasa, University of California/Berkeley

### Ex Officio

Neil F. Harvey, New Mexico State University  
María Socorro Tabuenca Córdoba,  
El Colegio de la Frontera Norte  
Milagros Pereyra-Rojas, University of Pittsburgh  
Peter Ward, University of Texas, Austin

## FORUM EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

### Editor

Charles R. Hale, University of Texas, Austin

### Associate Editor

Arturo Arias, University of Redlands

### Managing Editor

Milagros Pereyra-Rojas, University of Pittsburgh

## LASA STAFF

### Executive Director

Milagros Pereyra-Rojas, University of Pittsburgh

### Assistant Director for Institutional Advancement

Sandra Klinzing, University of Pittsburgh

### Membership Coordinator

Sandra Wiegand, University of Pittsburgh

### Congress Coordinator

María Cecilia Q. Dancisin, University of Pittsburgh

The *LASA Forum* is published four times a year. It is the official vehicle for conveying news about the Latin American Studies Association to its members. Articles appearing in the *On the Profession* and *Debates* sections of the *Forum* are commissioned by the Editorial Committee and deal with selected themes. The Committee welcomes responses to any material published in the *Forum*.

Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Latin American Studies Association or its officers. Direct subscriptions to the *LASA Forum* only, without LASA membership, are \$50.00 per year.

ISSN 0890-7218

# President's Report

by CHARLES R. HALE | University of Texas, Austin | crhale@mail.utexas.edu

These are exciting, tumultuous times for LASA, defined partly by conditions thrust upon us, and partly by our own initiatives. The day I assumed the LASA presidency, 1 May 2006, marked the culmination of a historic wave of mobilizations to demand rights for Latin American immigrants. Given the burgeoning presence of these immigrants in the United States, the increasingly repressive atmosphere for those defined as “illegal,” and the polarized nature of public debate, Latin American immigrant issues are sure to gain importance in LASA’s scholarly agenda—and in LASA’s commitment to give our scholarship a public voice.

Serious issues of academic freedom also are in the mix. Visa difficulties and denials for Latin American scholars are on the rise; U.S. government policy to monitor “anti-American” ideology in Area Studies programs, eerily reminiscent of the McCarthy era, demands our continued vigilance and opposition. The Florida Legislature’s passage of SB 2434 (also known as the Rivera Bill), which bans research travel to “terrorist countries” including Cuba, is further cause for concern and action. Steps already have been taken by former LASA president Carmen Diana Deere (Florida), and LASA Member Lisandro Perez (FIU), who along with six others, are plaintiffs in an ACLU-led court challenge of this bill.

The most important action that LASA has taken in response to these conditions is to relocate the 2007 Congress from Boston to Montreal. This was a momentous decision, reached through painstaking deliberation, which began at the Puerto Rico Congress in mid-March and consumed much collective energy since then. This process culminated with a referendum put to the LASA membership, in which 80 percent voted for relocation. Although we cannot know how

this decision will be judged in hindsight, one key factor in that judgment will be the extent to which we are able to capture the energy and resolve behind the near-unanimous repudiation of Bush administration visa policies, and redirect them toward the goal of making LASA2007 a vibrant, innovative, broadly inclusive and intellectually expansive experience for all.

A crucial first step toward this end is to address, in a careful and systematic manner, the questions and concerns that motivated the 20 percent of “no” votes on relocation. My purpose in doing this is neither to convince dissenters to change their minds, nor to reopen a debate that thankfully has concluded, but rather to reiterate two simple points: first, your voices have been heard; second, despite, indeed because of your dissent, LASA wants and needs you to be present in Montreal all the more. Many who voted “no” generously offered comments to explain and elaborate on their positions; these comments comprise some 25 pages of text, which I have read in its entirety. They are respectful, well-reasoned and clearly have the best interests of the Association in mind. Let me summarize them briefly, and then provide a few reflections in response.

- **Costs.** There are two variants here: the worst-case estimate of \$80,000 is too much for LASA to bear, and could be better used for other purposes; Montreal is a costly city as a destination (especially from Latin America) and as a Congress site.
- **Faulty planning.** We have known about this problem for a long time. Why the last minute scramble? Why not make a policy that starts with 2009, thus avoiding the need for cancellation of an existing contract?



- **Efficacy.** The move will have no impact on Bush Administration visa policy; it is an empty gesture, which simply punishes Boston, a LASA-friendly city; money saved by staying in Boston could have been put to more efficacious ends.
- **Quebec/Canada as dubious alternative site.** There are three variants: Canadian visa policies are also restrictive, and subject to U.S. government influence; Canada is North, the move should have been to Latin America; Montreal is francophone and French is not a language that the vast majority of LASA Members speak.
- **Politicization.** To quote one Member who raised this objection: “LASA urgently needs to stop its increasing politicization. We are a scholarly organization!”

The question of efficacy is fundamental. The primary rationale for the relocation, repeatedly emphasized by the LASA Executive Council (EC), is the protection of scholarly freedom. We have no illusions that this relocation will have any effect on Bush administration policies; our objective is to hold a Congress in which the U.S. government will not be able to interfere, by deciding, on arbitrary or ideological grounds, who can attend and who cannot. True, we have been forewarned on the problem with visas for Cuban scholars at least since 2004. However, the Boston hotel contract was negotiated in 2001, before the current U.S. political landscape could have been predicted. In each of three Congresses since Dallas (2003), LASA has

PRESIDENT'S REPORT continued...

proceeded on the assumption that legal channels, political pressure, and sheer persistence would yield positive results; cumulative evidence proved this assumption to be simply wrong. The "crisis" to which the EC statement refers, to be precise, is a crisis in our own *modus operandi*, in response to Bush administration policies. The relocation is a minimal action taken to safeguard LASA's core mission and values; we are taking other measures, after a careful consideration of efficacy for time/energy spent, in an attempt to move the U.S. government toward a more open, less politically tinged visa policy. These include: future Congress planning (LASA2009 will be in Brazil, and LASA2010, whose site is yet to be determined, could be outside the United States as well); presenting Amicus briefs in lawsuits involving scholarly freedom; letter writing campaigns to influential politicians; coordinated actions with other professional associations; a paid ad in a major U.S. publication.

Costs and viability of Montreal were major considerations in our decision. Although the final cost to LASA of the move is not yet known, we are optimistic that the overall "hit" will be substantially less than our worst case estimate. As stated in our explanation of the referendum, while a modest increase in registration fees cannot be ruled out, these costs will be covered largely by reserves that have been set aside to deal with emergencies. With the referendum vote, the membership in effect supported the position that visa denials constituted an emergency. Because these are reserves, to use them does not divert one penny from outlays for LASA programs (e.g., for travel grants); similarly, staying in Boston would not have freed these funds for any alternative use. A rough estimate of differences in travel costs between Montreal and Boston comes to just over

\$100; we hope the considerably lower hotel costs (Boston: US\$200; Montreal: \$195-209 CDN) will offset this difference, and we are exploring other measures to reduce costs.

Montreal is a vibrant and fascinating city, whose hotels were able to offer much better conditions for a Congress than the long list of alternatives considered, including Mexico City and Guadalajara. Canada is very much part of hemispheric inter-American affairs, as its prominence both in NAFTA and anti-free trade agreement protests attests. There are some 170 Canadian LASA members, a number that we expect to increase considerably with this Congress, which will be carried out in cooperation with CALACS, our sister Association. (Many thanks to Steven Palmer, CALACS President, for his energy and enthusiasm in taking on this task.) Preliminary inquiries gave us considerable confidence that visas will not be a problem for Latin American scholars; to help ensure this, a high-level delegation will be assembled to meet with Canadian government officials in Ottawa. Especially given my own scholarly interests, I am very keen that LASA2007 be organized in a manner fully attuned to the cultural and political distinctiveness of Quebec. We already are hard at work to address this concern in the Congress program: soliciting active participation of Quebecois scholars, and organizing special activities that highlight comparative and global analysis of key issues of concern both to the Quebecois and to their Latin American counterparts. Specific ideas that Members might contribute toward these ends are especially welcome.

Finally, I agree that what one Member calls the "politicization" of LASA merits further discussion. Both as President, and more generally, I favor scrupulous pluralism on

the question of the relationship between scholarship and politics. There must be room in our Association both for those who seek spaces of activist and public scholarship, and for those who defend more conventional notions of scholarship as objective, value-free, and strictly disengaged from the political conditions that surround us. Ideally, LASA would also provide a space where the many positions along this continuum might meet and productively engage. Minimally, LASA must prevent any one of these positions from suppressing or delegitimizing any other. It is hard for me to imagine how the relocation to Montreal could possibly have the latter effect, but if concerns along these lines do arise, I very much want to hear them—and promise prompt responses.

**We look forward to seeing you in Montreal in September 2007!**

In planning for my 18 months as LASA President, I established two goals beyond standard responsibilities that any President must assume. The first was to make one incremental improvement in LASA's already excellent structure and functioning as an organization; the second was to take one new initiative, to expand LASA's scope and impact in the field of Latin American Studies. While relocation deliberations have robbed me of the time to deliver fully on the first goal, they have at least helped the topic to congeal: communication between the LASA leadership (Secretariat and elected officers) and the Members. In response to my query about how LASA could be better, a Dutch colleague recently made a telling comment: "LASA has no public face." I am concerned that Members know too little about how LASA functions; what elected officers think; what we do and why. Established channels of communication—the *Forum*, Congress sessions, and various working groups—are

not enough. Percentages of LASA Members who vote are too low. As the recent referendum proved, the Internet offers possibilities that have not yet been fully explored. You will hear more from me on this topic in the coming months.

With regard to the second goal, I have very good news to report. As you already know via email notification, the “*Otros Saberes/Other Américas*” Initiative has been funded and launched, and will introduce a modest transformation in the Montreal Congress—and hopefully in future years. [To find out more about *Otros Saberes*, please visit <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/news.html>]. This first phase of the Initiative has two defining features: innovative research methods, based on collaboration between academic- and civil society-based intellectuals; and substantive research on issues of direct concern to indigenous and afro-descendant peoples. The funds raised will make it possible to cover basic expenses of five collaborative research teams, and to bring some members of each team to the Montreal Congress, as well as to a pre-Congress workshop. Although the deadline for proposals has not yet passed, judging from the letters of inquiry the response has been remarkably successful: some 175 letters from 22 different countries, about one-third with an afro-descendant focus, and two-thirds indigenous. It appears that the Call has tapped into an abundant underground stream of already-existing collaborative research relations; we feel enormously gratified that LASA will be able to benefit from, while helping to strengthen, these activities. *Otros Saberes* was conceived and achieved through the collective effort of many, including Sonia Alvarez, Lynn Stephen, Milagros Pereyra, Kimberly Theidon, Joanne Rappaport, and the following donors: Ford Foundation, Open

Society Institute, Inter-American Foundation, Harvard University, and LASA. Our deepest thanks to all!

The theme for the upcoming Congress—“*After the Washington Consensus: Collaborative Scholarship for a New América*”—is turning out to have meaning that could not have been imagined when it was conceived. The phrase “After the Washington Consensus” now also references the Bush administration’s clinging to policies toward scholarly freedom that (like Washington consensus economic policies) increasing numbers view as dangerously out of keeping with basic principles of global well-being. The phrase “Collaborative Scholarship for a new América” will be on display as *Otros Saberes* intellectuals, and other Congress attendees, accept the challenge to explore the methodological implications of horizontal research collaboration across one or more of the many boundaries and hierarchies that divide us. José Martí’s famous essay “*Nuestra América*,” which inspired this phrase in the Congress theme, culminates with a moving, if slightly enigmatic image: an emergent continent-wide political sensibility, “*del Bravo a Magallanes*,” which carries “...*la semilla de la América nueva!*” LASA has a small but important part to play in forging this *América nueva*, by rising to the challenge of the Congress relocation, by strengthening relations of hemispheric scholarly collaboration, and by making Montreal2007 a glowing and unforgettable success. ■

# Associate Editor's Report

by ARTURO ARIAS | University of Redlands | Arturo\_Arias@redlands.edu

With this issue we begin the presidency of Charlie Hale. I appreciate Charlie's trust in retaining me as Associate Editor of the *Forum*. Needless to say, the *Forum* process is a team effort that includes the Editor itself, personalized by the LASA president, and the Managing Editor, in this case personalized by LASA's Executive Director Milagros Pereyra Rojas. Together, the Editorial Committee is responsible for both the substantive contents, as well as the production and circulation of the *Forum*. It is through the interplay of all members of the Editorial Committee that we come up with those topics and/or issues that nurture LASA members with policy debates, areas of study and peoples of the region (e.g., defense of equality and democracy, promotion of sustainable development, and broadening of social justice within and between nations).

The summer 2006 *On the Profession* section features William M. Leogrande's LASA-Oxfam America Martin Diskin Memorial Lecture, presented at the 2006 Congress in San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 16, 2006. Leogrande begins by tracing President Reagan's appalling policy towards Central America. This enables him to problematize the ways in which scholars can make an effective use of scholarship to influence the policy process. Leogrande believes that scholars help frame issues so that the terms of political debate can be grounded in reality, not fantasy. Scholars can help inform public opinion through the mass media. Scholars also can help fashion workable alternative policies. They can give voice to people in Latin America whose lives are affected by U.S. policy decisions. They can use their knowledge to influence the policy process by analyzing the process itself to identify points of political leverage. But Leogrande also implies that scholars can be decisive in creating countervailing political movements.

To do so, scholars can develop the skills necessary to translate their expertise in such a way that it becomes accessible for popular consumption. This kind of public participation, the opposite of the jargon-speaking professor hiding away in ivory towers and incapable of speaking in short sound bites, is what, ultimately, and in an implied ethical attitude, Leogrande feels that scholars owe to their students. By becoming public intellectuals, academics can better prepare their students to be good citizens, as long as this is done in an ideologically neutral way.

The *Debates* section focuses this time around on sexualities. The idea is to explore the conversions and/or differences between research on sexualities, as presently understood by LGBT members of LASA's Sexualities Section, who chose to change the name of their Section from Lesbian and Gay Studies Section to sexualities as their field, issues, and problematic continued to diversify in many unexpected ways. For this purpose, we requested that the present Co-Chairs of the LASA Sexualities Section, Jossyana Arroyo (UT-Austin) and Raúl Rubio (Wellesley) put together a dossier that explored these issues in a broad, transversal way, with emphasis on research done in Latin America, or within Latin American or Latino/a communities. Five short articles have emerged from this process.

In "To queer or not to Queer": Coloniality, Feminism and New Research Agendas," Jossyana Arroyo talks about how the body was always a key element for understanding the fictional "consensus" of the region's nation-building processes. Arroyo then proceeds to narrate her own evolution in the problematization of the body, from what she called "travestismo cultural," focusing on anthropological views of black and mulatto populations in

Cuba and Brazil, to "cultural drag," a term borrowed from Marcus Kuinland, which focuses more on the use of the body in public agendas to understand better power relations. This implies exploring relations between race, gender, sexuality and class "from below." There are, nonetheless, difficulties in the usage of "queer" in a Latin American and Caribbean perspective that Arroyo recognizes. These go from perceiving it as an academic intervention of the U.S. academia on the Latin American space, to the fact that "queer" cultures appear in Latin America in close association with "the strongholds of capital and Western/European (white) urban (gentrified) centers all over Latin America, the Caribbean and the United States." At the same time, there are Latin American activist groups arguing for alternative sexualities, and/or for intellectual tools to contest the state censorship of their citizens' lives, when it comes to issues of gender and/or sexuality. Arroyo concludes by citing an example of a dialogue that took place in Puerto Rico between U.S.- and Latin American-based academics on issues and agendas emerging both in the United States and in Latin America.

Susan Paulson's "Connecting Queer Studies of Men Who Desire Men With Feminist Analysis of Unmarried Women in Bolivia" emerges from an anthropological questioning of "the paradigmatic status that marriage has held in scholarship, law and policy." Paulson then compares two different developmental initiatives that, in her understanding, conveyed discriminatory marriage and family models: on the one hand, an agrarian reform and peasant union system that institutionalized a male-head-of-household model in rural Bolivia in the 1950s, and an HIV/AIDS prevention campaign that promoted a gay individual model in Bolivian cities in the 1990s. Paulson discovers that state policies and

international development initiatives impose certain family norms in Bolivian lives that are most often much more diverse than the narrowly-focused norms, but “the practices and meanings of a significant portion of Bolivians do not correspond with official models.” Both models studied exclude significant segments of the population from their objectives and programs by virtue of the way they define the subjects that are supposed to benefit by their given campaigns. Paulson is the head of the Latin American Studies Program at Miami University of Ohio.

Jacqueline Jiménez Polanco’s “Pájaras y maricones’ ‘llegó la hora’: Un relato de mi experiencia en el movimiento LGBTIR dominicano” is an autobiographical account of the author’s transition from being a closeted lesbian teaching in the Department of Puerto Rican and Latin American Studies of the John Jay College of Criminal Justice as the only full-time Dominican on campus, to prioritizing her own process of coming out as a lesbian, returning to the Dominican Republic and becoming an LGBT organizer rather than going for tenure at John Jay. In the process she was transformed into a public intellectual who appeared in papers and on television. In her account, Jiménez Polanco includes details such as her father breaking with her as a result of her sexual orientation and traces her trajectory to a position where she felt she could give a more solid contribution to her community and her people.

Israel Reyes’s “Transnational Bodies, Queer Borders: The Challenge of Latin American and Latino/a Sexual Identities” emphasizes the point of contact between debates on transnational identities and analyses in LGBTQQ Studies of global sexualities. He argues that issues of sexuality also challenge the intersections between Latin

American and Latino/a Studies “when transnational queer writing subjects re-imagine the homeland,” and that because issues of gender, sexuality and transnational identities” traverse many different fields of scholarship, interdisciplinary approaches to these questions often produce a more multi-faceted analysis of the discourses, performances, and lived experiences of LGBTQQ Latinos/as and Latin Americans.” Ultimately, he sees the implications of this research in his students, and in the formation of queer/Latino/Latin American communities of students on campus. Reyes teaches at Dartmouth College.

Finally, Raúl Rubio’s “Comparative Ethnic Sexualities and Interdisciplinarity in Latin(o) American Research” argues that by continually bridging the analysis of literary and cultural production with issues of sexualities and gender, community formation, ethnic relations, civil engagement and activism, it is possible to observe, through the application of these categories, how writers, artists, practitioners of culture and/or performers, affect communities, culture, and political agendas.

This issue also includes a political analysis of the violent events that took place in San Salvador Atenco, Mexico, in early May. R. Aída Hernández Castillo’s “El estado mexicano y la violencia de género: denuncias y reflexiones en torno a Atenco” recounts the organizing history of the Frente de Pueblos en la Defensa de la Tierra, how women came to play a prominent role within it, and the political reasons behind the clash against the police in San Salvador Atenco that led to the arrest and rape of many of these women. Hernández Castillo is a researcher at CIESAS in Mexico City. ■

## Speaking Truth, Mobilizing Power

by WILLIAM M. LEOGRANDE | American University

LASA-Oxfam America Martin Diskin Memorial Lecturer for 2006 | wleogra@american.edu

*[This is a transcript of the LASA-Oxfam America Martin Diskin Memorial Lecture presented by Professor Leogrande at the XXVI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, March 18, 2006, San Juan, Puerto Rico]*

I want to thank the Latin American Studies Association and Oxfam America for honoring me with this award, for which I am very grateful. I am also mindful of the fact that the person we are really here to honor this afternoon is our friend and colleague Martin Diskin.

This is an especially appropriate time to talk about scholar activism. Those of us whose scholarly work focuses on Cuba have spent many hours during this Congress in meetings talking about how we can become more effective activists in the struggle to secure visas for our Cuban colleagues to attend future LASA meetings in the United States. This is an issue that *requires* scholars to become activists in order to preserve the integrity of our scholarly work—work that is severely compromised by our inability to meet with colleagues from Cuba.

Most of my remarks this afternoon will focus on activism by scholars who study Latin America, with most of my examples drawn from the history of U.S. relations with the Hemisphere. That is the area I know best, but the principles underlying my remarks can be generalized to other policy contexts.

I first met Martin Diskin in the early 1980s, when many Latin Americanists were appalled by the policy toward Central America adopted by President Ronald Reagan. Reagan's approach seemed driven by a globalist, cold war imperative that was deaf to the social and political realities of the region. A number of scholars came

together to find ways to try to inject our knowledge of Central America into the policy process, so it would be less uninformed. We thought it would be in the best interests of both Central America and the United States for Washington to avoid getting drawn into a regional war policymakers didn't fully understand.

### Truth and Power

The occasion for that meeting is an example of the first theme I want to discuss today: How to make effective use of scholarship to influence the policy process. In short, how to speak truth to power. This familiar phrase is of 16th century Quaker origin, and it calls upon Quakers to proclaim the truth as an antidote to misguided leadership—a mandate of enduring relevance.

Speaking truth to power is an especially apt description of what scholar activists do. The defining quality of scholar activists is that, in struggles over public policy, the resource we bring to the table is our expertise. By virtue of our studies, our scholarship, we know something about the issues. Armed with this knowledge, we can play a variety of roles in the policy process.

*We can help frame issues so that the terms of political debate are grounded in reality, not fantasy.*

Scholars can help frame issues through outreach to various organized constituencies. During the debate over Central America in the 1980s, scholars across the United States gave hundreds of speeches to religious groups, peace and justice community groups, labor unions, and student audiences. People were eager to better understand this region that had suddenly been thrust into the headlines and

portrayed by the president as a new cold war crisis.

Scholars can help inform public opinion through the mass media—by doing interviews, participating in briefings for journalists, writing op-ed pieces, etc. In the 1980s, for example, a non-governmental organization called the Caribbean Basin Information Project was formed to promote to the media an alternative vision of Central America and an alternative policy. The project often called upon scholars to meet with journalists and help them better understand what was happening in the region.

Scholars can influence the debate through direct dialogue with policymakers or those who influence policymaking—by testifying before Congress, briefing Congressional staff, meeting with individual members of Congress or the Executive, and writing for elite policy publications like *Foreign Affairs* or *Foreign Policy*.

Not many scholars have the capacity to engage in these sorts of activities on their own. But there are many NGOs that scholars can work with, groups like the Washington Office on Latin America and the Center for International Policy, that have the organizational infrastructure in place to help scholars' voices reach these different audiences.

*A second important contribution scholars can make to the policy debate is to help fashion workable alternative policies.*

Criticism of existing policy may be scathing, but you can't beat something with nothing. Effective criticism of existing policy always requires offering a workable alternative. A very effective example of this was the coalition of scholars that united in Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and

Central America (PACCA). The initiative for PACCA came from Xabier Gorostiaga, a Jesuit scholar activist who lived in Nicaragua and also founded a network of Central American scholars as a partner to PACCA. Hundreds of academics across the United States joined PACCA and helped produce several major policy documents proposing alternatives to Ronald Reagan's policies. Their work had an important impact in Congress, where Democratic opponents of Reagan were searching for sensible alternatives.

*A third way that scholars can bring knowledge to the policy process is by helping to give voice to people in Latin America whose lives are affected by U.S. policy decisions.*

Scholars who have worked with colleagues in the region, as well as with NGOs and popular organizations, are well-positioned to help Latin Americans express and defend their own interests in Washington's policy wars. The Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) has a long and venerable history of carrying out this mission. Over the years, it has hosted hundreds of Latin Americans on visits to the United States, putting them in touch with the media and with decision-makers. WOLA has also taken hundreds of delegations from the United States to Latin America, putting policymakers in direct touch with Latin Americans unlikely to ever make their way to Washington. Scholars are often included on such delegations, in order to provide the policymakers with a broader context and understanding for what they are witnessing first hand.

*A fourth way that scholars can use their knowledge to influence the policy process is by analyzing the process itself to identify points of political leverage.*

For Latin Americanists, this is a different exercise than we are used to. It presupposes a degree of expertise on how U.S. policy is made, rather than knowledge about Latin America. Many Latin Americanists find U.S. politics just as opaque as ordinary citizens find it. It is even more opaque to many Latin Americans. I recall meeting a Salvadoran guerrilla commander in the late 1980s who admitted that when he first began fighting, he knew nothing about Washington. The first time he heard the term, "think tank," he thought it was a robotic armored vehicle powered by artificial intelligence! There's a joke in there about the robotic, artificial character of intelligence in a lot of Washington think tanks.

Scholar activists need to understand the policy process to be effective in their own efforts to influence it, and they can be valuable interpreters of the arcane minutia of Washington politics for political movements in both the United States and Latin America.

#### **What do we know?**

As we think about how we can bring our expertise to bear in the policy process, it is worth being reflective about the nature of our expertise. No knowledge is absolute, of course, and knowledge of complex social phenomena is always partial and mediated by point of view. But neither is knowledge entirely relative, as some recently popular epistemologies in the social sciences would have us believe. Truth is not just a point of view. Nor is truth just a matter of what people in power decide it is. If it were, speaking truth to power would be a waste of time. The powerful would have their own truth and no need to listen to anyone else's, let alone that purveyed by scholars.

To be sure, the powerful have many resources at their disposal for spinning the truth. But the blue smoke and mirrors only obscure the underlying reality. They don't change it. As a Democratic member of Congress once said of Ronald Reagan's Central America policy: "It's like a pig in a tuxedo; you can dress it up, but it's still a pig."

If spin were reality, the war in Iraq would be over: Mission Accomplished. In fact, many experts on Iraq warned the Bush administration before the invasion that it was underestimating the danger of sectarian violence and the danger that U.S. troops would be seen as occupying crusaders rather than liberators. Power should have listened to that truth.

Having expertise—having a better understanding of policy issues than most people do—is the scholar's admission ticket to the policy process. If a scholar's knowledge is no more grounded in reality than the policymaker's ideological biases, if all we have is dueling narratives, then scholars have nothing distinctive to contribute to the debate. This is true whether audience for the scholar activist is an elite audience of policymakers we hope to convince, or a mass audience whose opinion we hope to sway to facilitate social movement mobilization.

Finally, we must respect the integrity of facts. It is too easy to be drawn into the black and white caricatures typical of heated policy debates. The media instigates such caricatures because it likes to define good guys and bad guys in its story frames. The food fight politics of cable TV have taken this to the extreme. The powerful will play on this Manichaeian view by demonizing their adversaries both at home and abroad. Recall Ronald Reagan praising the Nicaraguan Contras as

LEOGRANDE continued...

“freedom fighters” who were the “moral equivalent of our founding fathers,” and denouncing the Sandinistas as totalitarians “smuggling drugs to poison our children.”

In the heat of a policy debate, when the stakes are high, it is hard not to succumb to the temptation to gloss over inconvenient facts. But our integrity as scholars depends on our respect for the facts as we find them, and our effectiveness as activists depends upon the reliability of our information, and hence upon the integrity of our scholarship.

Historically, we can point to many instances when scholarly expertise has proven to be a powerful, even decisive, political resource. The Supreme Court’s *Brown v Board of Education* decision that required racial integration of public schools was based in part on social science research that clearly demonstrated separate was not equal.

More recently, and closer to home, three former Salvadoran generals living in the United States—José Guillermo García, Eugenio Vides-Casanova, and Nicolas Carranza—have recently been found liable in civil trials for human rights abuses in El Salvador during the war. Expert testimony by LASA member Terry Karl and former U.S. ambassador Robert White played a critical role in achieving those verdicts.

### Policy and Politics

Scholarly expertise can be a valuable political resource and can even sometimes be a decisive factor in a policy struggle. But anyone who has studied or participated in the policy process knows that expertise is not enough. There’s a difference between policy and politics. To win policy battles, it’s not enough to be right, you have to

have the political muscle to carry the day as well. There are lots of examples of bad policy adopted because the winning side had more political power. The field of U.S. relations of Latin America has more than its fair share. For instance:

*The drug war.* This is a policy whose focus on interdiction and eradication manifestly doesn’t work, but we keep doing it. In the decades since Richard Nixon declared a war on drugs, we have spent over \$45 billion fighting it, and the street price of illegal drugs has gotten lower and lower, proving that the available supply is increasing rather than decreasing.

*The economic embargo against Cuba:* A policy of economic denial aimed at subverting the Cuban regime has been in place for 45 years, and still hasn’t worked. But we keep doing it.

And my favorite example, *TV Martí:* Television broadcasts to Cuba that started in 1990, and cost millions of dollars annually. No one in Cuba has ever seen TV Martí because the Cuban government has jammed it since the first day of broadcasting.

This basic fact—that political struggles are resolved by who has the most power, not by who has the best policy—can lead to cynicism among policy experts and scholar activists. After all, we scholars have chosen professions based on reason. It’s hard to accept that reason alone is not enough to carry the day. Why spend time crafting good policies when opponents have superior power as a result of campaign contributions, political favors, or good old fashioned Jack Abramoff-style bribery? In this milieu, expertise looks irrelevant. And in fact, scholarly studies of why members of Congress vote the way they do have considered many different factors, from

partisanship and ideology to campaign contributions. Being well informed about an issue is never high on the list of significant explanatory variables.

One notorious example is former Congressman Bob Torricelli, who in late 1980s was a staunch advocate for normalizing relations with Cuba. But Torricelli had Senate aspirations in New Jersey, a state with the second largest concentration of Cuban Americans in the United States. He received generous campaign contributions from the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF). And almost overnight, he became one of the most hardline anti-Castro members of Congress, second only to Senator Jesse Helms.

It’s not enough to speak truth to power. You need to marry truth to countervailing power. The scholar activist needs to be a part of broader political movement that can bring to bear other sources of political power in addition to expertise. Last year’s Diskin lecture by Jonathan Fox explored the partnership between scholar activists and social movements in detail, looking at both the benefits and tensions inherent in such partnerships. I recommend it to you.

The absence of a countervailing political movement is the key to understanding the persistence of Washington’s failed policy toward Cuba. Even when the cold war came to an end and Cuba could no longer be regarded as a threat to U.S. security, policy did not change. Why? Because there was a strong, well organized, well funded political movement of conservative Cuban Americans adamantly opposed to changing U.S. policy, and there was no movement in favor of change. For a president to improve relations with Cuba would entail immediate political costs and no discernable political benefits, at least in

the short run. So while rational policy analysis might dictate that we should change our failed Cuba policy, the political logic has been against it. Only in the late 1990s did we begin to see the development of a countervailing coalition built around moderate Cuban Americans and people in the business community hoping to open commercial ties with Cuba as Havana opened its economy to global markets. Only then did the Congress legalize the sale of food and medicine to Cuba, and try to end the travel ban, albeit without success.

By contrast, the struggle over U.S. policy toward Central America in the 1980s produced a broad social movement against Reagan's policy. The religious community was at its core. The assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980, followed a few months later by the rape and murder of the four U.S. churchwomen, enraged Catholics in the United States and moved the U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops to take an openly critical stance toward Reagan's policy. Most mainline Protestant denominations opposed U.S. policy as well, and worked together through the Religious Task Force on Central America.

The religious community was joined by progressive labor groups, peace and justice groups like the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, and solidarity groups like the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the Nicaragua Network, and the Network in Solidarity with Guatemala (NISGUA). This broad social movement was able to mount massive antiwar demonstrations, civil disobedience, letter writing campaigns to Congress, lobbying, and direct support for victims of the war in the region. Scholars had roles in all the different elements that made up this broad social movement.

The religious community's central role gave it special power because of its moral authority. The Reagan Administration worried deeply about the ability of religious leaders to undermine the policy's support in Congress. One measure of this fear was a meeting between senior State Department officials and religious leaders convened in early 1981. The Deputy Secretary of State, the Acting Secretary of State for Latin America, and a Special Envoy for Latin America all turned out to spend more than three hours trying to explain and justify U.S. policy to Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical, and Jewish leaders from across the United States.

One of the most effective ways that scholars can participate directly with social and popular political movements is by developing the skills necessary to translate our expertise for popular consumption. That means learning how to write an op-ed piece that distills complex issues into no more than 750 words. It means learning how to speak for the mass media, whether you get five minutes or five seconds of air time. It means suppressing the tendency to lapse into opaque jargon that is utterly inaccessible to anyone without a Ph.D. and only serves to alienate the public. In short, it involves developing skills we weren't taught in graduate school.

#### **What do we owe our students?**

I'm a graduate of the Maxwell School of Public Affairs and Citizenship Education at Syracuse University. When I was at Maxwell, I thought that the idea of "citizenship education" was ridiculously old fashioned. After all, we were teaching social *science*. Now, I think the idea of citizenship education is not so far off the mark.

We should instill in our students, especially our undergraduates, a sense of duty to use their knowledge to improve the public welfare. Society supports scholars with the expectation that the knowledge we produce will, in time, improve our society's quality of life. We therefore have a social obligation to our fellow citizens. Part of that responsibility, I believe, lies in teaching our students that they have an obligation to be good citizens: to be well-informed, active participants in the political process. That is just another way of saying that a scholar who is a good citizen is a scholar activist.

But this obligation needs to be conveyed to students in an ideologically neutral way. It is not legitimate for us to proselytize our students, to give them half the story, or to pretend that our interpretation of complex reality is the only possible one. It is not legitimate to abuse the power we have in the classroom to coerce our students, even subtly, into compliance, into thinking in ways we deem politically correct.

If you do abuse your authority in the classroom, have no doubt, most students will pretend to agree with you—just as citizens in authoritarian regimes pretend to support the dictatorship. Students understand the power dynamics, but their compliance will not last past the final exam.

Abuse of the classroom by some faculty members provides grist for the mill of people like David Horowitz, who would conduct a political purge of academia by installing political commissars to be sure no one ever hears anything but the Right point of view. He would reconstitute academia on the model of talk radio. As many of you are no doubt aware, Horowitz is traversing the country, pushing state legislatures to pass an "academic bill of rights" which, in an Orwellian twist, would

DEBATES

## Sexualities

LEOGRANDE continued...

abolish academic freedom by imposing an ideological litmus test on faculty hiring.

His argument is that progressives, liberals, and Democrats outnumber Republicans and conservatives in nation's college classrooms. They do, but not as a result of any conspiracy. By comparison, the officers corps of the U.S. military is even more overwhelmingly composed of conservative Republicans. It seems to me that's more dangerous. They have guns.

As scholar activists in the classroom, our aim should be to teach students to think critically, to examine the unexamined assumptions, both in their own arguments and those of others. We should teach them the difference between a well-reasoned argument based on evidence, and polemics based on ad hominem attacks. We should teach them respect for the facts and for the truth, however conditional and incomplete our knowledge of them may be. We should teach them that not all opinions and points of view are equally grounded in reality. Most importantly, we should teach them, by example, that we all have responsibilities as citizens to contribute as best we can to the public policy process in the hope of improving the public welfare—in short, to be good citizens. Each of us should aspire to that, and to thereby become as good a citizen as Martin Diskin was. ■

### **“To Queer or not to Queer”: Coloniality, Feminism and New Research Agendas**

by JOSSIANNA ARROYO  
Co-Chair, LASA Sexualities Section (2006-2007)  
University of Texas, Austin  
jarroyo@mail.utexas.edu

My earlier incursions into Feminist and Queer Studies in the fields of Latin American and Caribbean Studies were connected to a critical questioning of the overpowering presence of colonial relations in a world defined (politically and theoretically) as “postcolonial.” The “body” and its social intersectionalities and markers—race, gender and sexuality—was a key element for understanding the fictional “consensus” of Latin American and Caribbean nation building projects. Framed within what we called now Afro-Diaspora Studies, I studied non-normative sexualities as I contextualized processes of racialization, gender and sexual exclusion in Latin America and the Caribbean. In other words, homosexuality was analyzed along with racism and racialization as oppositional themes for questioning the “homogeneity” and fictive “consensus” of national discourses in Latin America and the Caribbean. I analyzed these constructions from a theoretical model I called “travestismo cultural” (Arroyo, 1998, 2003), which focused mainly on anthropological views of black and mulatto populations in Cuba and Brazil. “Travestismo cultural” mapped the conflictive textual representations of these Afro-Diasporic populations as a form of masquerade which defined a strategic, performative view of culture and power. This performative view built white Créole-intellectual discourses of identity and culture as changing processes which connected native ethnographies and literary texts to socio-political and cultural representation. Theories such as “transculturation” and “tropicalization” described how bodies (of

African populations) negotiate within/outside realms of social power. Between *Travestismos culturales* and my second book project, I expanded the uses of “travestismos culturales” to “cultural drag,” a term borrowed from Marcus Kuinland, a Puerto Rican performer-artist who lives in Los Angeles. Nevertheless, “cultural drag” focuses more on public agendas as means for understanding power relations in social, cultural, and political spaces for Latin American and U.S. Latino populations (Arroyo, 2002). My readings in Latin American, Caribbean and U.S. Latino cultural criticism concentrate on exile and mainly how immigrant populations negotiated, preserved or changed their culture in the United States.

While Latin American Studies has provided an interesting historical framework to discuss the role of intellectuals and state formation in Puerto Rico, Cuba and Brazil, my best research inquiries have come from the interdisciplinary dialogues among Latin American, Afro-Caribbean and U.S. Latino Studies. Within these specific disciplines, the discussions framed by U.S. Latin@-Feminist, Queer Latin@ and Afro-Diaspora global racial formations have opened up an important path to the creation of languages of critical knowledge for understanding processes of coloniality in our global-contemporary world. If before I was interested in how intersectionality, that is, the relation between race, gender, sexuality and class defined these colonial power relations “from above” (white Créole hegemonic agendas), currently, I am exploring these strategic responses or social “technologies” “from below” in a world defined by global-corporate capital and market strategies. If culture has always been, as Eduardo Mendieta has argued, always a step ahead of politics and social change, “queer” as a critical metaphor could serve as a pivotal turn to address these strategies “from

below.” Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Malanansan have argued in *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism* (2002) that “the places of queer” are associated precisely with transnational circulation of capital, sexual tourism and commodities. They also make clear that, there are ways in which these transnational “horizontal” movements are working towards the formation of new alliances, community-building strategies or social agendas.

There are, nevertheless, critical problems with the uses of “queer” to redefine practices or socio-political strategies “from below,” particularly if we are talking from a Latin American and Caribbean perspective. First, and as José Quiroga has argued in his book *Tropics of Desire: Interventions from Queer Latino America* (2000), if we see “queer” only as an intervention of U.S. academia associated with political-public acts such as “coming out of the closet” we would miss many of the complexities of “queerness” and social agency articulated from Latin America and the Caribbean. Second, and to continue with Cruz-Malavé and Manalansan’s analysis, it could be argued that “queer” or homosexual cultures (GLBT) have been associated with the strongholds of capital and Western/ European (white) urban (gentrified) centers all over Latin America, the Caribbean and the United States, a fact that creates a clear separation in matters of class. It is clear, therefore, that “queer” is seen more as an invention of U.S. academia, and that in Latin America some local intellectuals and activists prefer to work more from “gender” or “sexuality” frameworks than to use the term “queer.” But in contrast, there are some activist groups that prefer to use “queer” or “raro (a)” as a political term, arguing for public-social spaces for alternative sexualities, bisexualities, or to contest the clear intervention of the state in the censorship of the lives of its citizens. This is particularly

clear in the case of LGBTQ coalitions in countries such as Puerto Rico, Brazil or the Dominican Republic. Another example is the debate that took place in Puerto Rico about Article 103 (The Sodomy Law) a legal excerpt passed into the Puerto Rican Constitution from California’s Constitution in 1902, which “punished sexual relations among same-sex partners and acts against nature with other partner with ten years of prison.” As Mildred Braulio states, “Puerto Rico is one of three countries in Latin America, along with Chile and Nicaragua, where both consensual and nonconsensual same-sex sexual relations are still legally defined as a crime. Activist groups in all three countries are working hard to repeal the laws which penalize these practices.” (*NACLA Report on the Americas*, 31.4 1998). The activism of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Human Rights Project and other LGBT and ecumenical coalitions proved successful as Article 103 was eliminated from the Puerto Rican Constitution in June, 2003.

In this sense, we as U.S.-based scholars need to be aware of the challenges that the term “queer” poses to our own research agendas. For my own research, to work directly with local community organizations and ONGs has provided productive results such as the work edited by Palmira Ríos and Idsa N. Alegría entitled *Contrapunto de género y raza en Puerto Rico* edited by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociales at the University of Puerto Rico, 2005. Although not defined openly as “queer,” Grupo en Contra de la Discriminación Racial (Directed by Ana I. Rivera Lassén and Palmira Ríos) has been fighting, from a Civil Rights agenda against gender and racial discrimination in Puerto Rico. The group organized by Afro-Puerto Rican women who are professors at the University of Puerto Rico has a clear agenda against gender, racial and sexual discrimination. The work of other groups

organized and directed by Afro-Latin American women such as *MUDHA* (based in the Dominican Republic and directed by Sonia Pierre, a Dominican of Haitian descent) or *Criola* (based in Brazil and directed by Jurema Werneck), enriches the ongoing dialogue between racial, gender and social discrimination, while building strategies to educate and solve problems touching poor men, women and children in our globalized world: AIDS and HIV, sexual tourism, child abuse, modern slavery, and non-citizenship (in the case of women and children of Haitian descent).

Currently, in a world defined by terms such as “postcolonial” and “global”, colonial processes are incorrectly assumed by some theorists as a historical legacy of the past, while “globalization” defines economic-market parameters, with keywords such as “participation” and “social equality” for all. Coming from Puerto Rico, one of the last colonies in the Western world, also defined as a “Commonwealth” and “Free Associated State,” “queer” appears as a way to understand, instead of a binary logic, a type of “third” space (above-below) in socio-political and cultural realms. In a recent conference at the University of Michigan, a Canadian colleague posed an interesting question to a panel on “Queer Representations and Performance”: Why was “Queer Studies” a discipline embraced by so many scholars from the Spanish-Caribbean (Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican)? The question opened suggestive channels of inquiry, particularly as my answer seemed to move more and more into historical and socio-political reasons as to why this was the case: the Atlantic slave trade, an imperial neo-colonial relationship to the United States, past and present dictatorial regimes, revolutionary utopias, U.S. military invasions, ongoing circular migration to the United States (in the case of Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic), and political/economic

ARROYO continued...

exile. Some of these points could be translated easily to similar national experiences in Central America and other countries in the Caribbean Basin. Historical legacies of plantation economies, migration and a Afro-Caribbean or Native colonial work force which has influenced the complex relationships of what has been defined as colonial, or postcolonial, national or transnational.

It was clear to me that scholars who embraced “queer” studies from Latin American and Caribbean perspectives faced a type of double-edged problem in their research. On the one hand, they were seen as falling into the “marketability” of theory in U.S. academia, as they were speaking from a local/transnational/border place of knowledge that Walter Dignolo has defined for some Latin American scholarship. On the other, they were building alliances with local communities in the United States, and in their insular territories from their own activism and community building strategies. One recent example is the “Sexualidades Latinoamericanas” meeting organized by LASA Sexuality Section Co-chairs, Carlos Ulises Decena (Rutgers University) and Susana Peña (Bowling Green State University), in collaboration with Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel (University of Pennsylvania, CLAGS), Eugenio Ballou-Lausell and Gloria D. Prosper-Sánchez (Departamento de Español, Facultad de Estudios Generales, University of Puerto Rico—Río Piedras) and held during the LASA 2006 Congress in San Juan, Puerto Rico. According to the organizers: “The goals of the colloquium were the following: 1) to facilitate a comparative dialogue that analyzes both the local case of Puerto Rico and the regional discussions about sexuality in Latin America; 2) to promote future collaborations and intellectual/political exchanges between local scholar/activists and Section members; 3) to promote an open

exchange of information about the status of LGBT communities; and 4) to provide a forum for Section members and Puerto Rico-based scholars and activists interested in LGBT, gender, queer, and sexuality studies to interact with each other and exchange information” (“Letter of invitation to Section members”). One of the most important outcomes of this conference was that it made possible a dialogue between U.S.- based academics with Latin American and Puerto Rican activists and scholars. One of the major areas of debate was the contributions and pitfalls of the LGBTIQ nomenclature, taking into consideration the ways in which it promotes and limits the articulation of local identities. In one of the focus groups devoted to the analysis of the intersection of “Gender and Sexuality,” a group of Puerto Rican students shared their new notions of sexuality that transcended the gay and lesbian labels so common in Queer Studies and U.S. activism. This meeting was a successful example of how these dialogues could work towards new progressive research and socio-political agendas. Discussions in the fields of global racial formations, sexualities and gender studies are debating and revisiting the legacy of the Latin American public intellectual (i.e. scholar, citizen, activist) who used to work in service of the state and nation building either from right or leftist ideologies, to create new sites for public intervention from local and transnational perspectives. These public intellectuals are building pragmatic perspectives “from below” from which new critical political, civil and counterhegemonic movements have emerged. These perspectives are reinserting the subjective and the political into contemporary claims of “citizenship” and “universality” while addressing the economic, racial and social inequalities in our global world. ■

SEXUALITIES continued...

### Connecting Queer Studies of Men Who Desire Men with Feminist Analysis of Unmarried Women in Bolivia

by SUSAN PAULSON

Miami University of Ohio  
paulsosa@muohio.edu

As legislation across the United States codifies a family model based on one man married to one woman, activists are advocating rights and respect for diverse forms of intimacy and affiliation, and anthropologists are interrogating the paradigmatic status that marriage has held in scholarship, law and policy. Conversations in LASA’s Feminist Section and Sexualities Studies Section inform work including my ethnography of alternative forms of intimacy, identity and relatedness among two groups of non-normative individuals in Bolivia: women who manage households labeled “headless,” “incomplete,” or “broken” because a head male is perceived to be missing; and men who are labeled “detoured,” “sissy,” or “inverted” because they have not achieved the role of patriarchal heterosexual family head. People in both groups suffer social, economic, legal and political exclusions; they also engage in culturally meaningful forms of affinity that provide access to other kinds of inclusion, affection and resources.

My unconventional decision to include in the same study rural women who head households and urban men who are sexually attracted to men involves drawing from sometimes disparate literatures including critical studies of women, gender and development, as well as masculinities, queer and homosexuality studies. My analysis focuses on two development initiatives that conveyed discriminatory marriage and family models: an agrarian reform and peasant union system that institutionalized a male-head-of-household model in rural Bolivia starting in the 1950s, and an HIV/AIDS

prevention campaign that promoted a gay individual model in Bolivian cities starting in the 1990s. I do not argue that these situations are parallel, nor that they are two sides of a coin. Rather, I explore how exclusion from normative models of intimacy, sexuality and relatedness, as well as participation in alternative forms of the same, are experienced in different ways by people of different gender and sexual identities and varied locations in the nation. At the same time, I consider how these experiences are connected as parts of a Bolivian landscape shaped by colonialism, inequality and poverty, and by an ongoing push for modern development on the part of the state, international agencies, and NGOs.

Feminist research across Latin America reveals that ideas and practices of marriage, family, and erotic pleasure have evolved amidst dynamics of racial-ethnic, gender and class inequality, and have been instrumental to social exclusion (Montecino 1991, Safa 2005, Weismantel 2001). Ethnography of non-normative kin and community in Latin America—including lesbian and gay relations, woman-headed households, and others—has generated new ways of looking at relatedness (Blackwood 2005, Hurtig et al 2002), and studies of Latin American masculinities move beyond marriage as the defining institution (Gutmann 2003). By exposing the trope of the “patriarchal heterosexual male” whose desire and power are widely (albeit often implicitly) understood as fundamentals of all marriage and kin systems, Blackwood (2005) reveals links between hegemonic notions of masculinity and of marriage. I suspect that assumptions about the primacy of male desire underlie remarkable contrasts in the tone and texture of the literature: whereas sexual desire and pleasure play a vital role in scholarship on male homosexuality, they are rarely mentioned in literature on woman-headed households, in which economic need and

child survival are widely presented as driving concerns. I seek ways to consider both sets of factors in the choices and relationships of women and men.

Alternative ways to approach these issues are emerging from creative alliances in Bolivia in which radical activism for sexual/gender rights fuses with struggles against racism, patriarchy and neoliberal capitalism, seen as interconnecting barriers to a more equitable society and full human expression. Notable are two lively movements that have earned high visibility and popular impact in Bolivian cities and media. First is the militant feminist-anarchist movement *Mujeres Creando* founded in 1990, that works through graffiti, street installations, and workshops. Second is the *Familia Galan*, a transvestite community founded in 1997 whose energetic public outreach through theater, humor and street performance critique multiple forms of inequality and repression.

My research methods and my rapport with local actors differed considerably between the two groups considered here. Between 1988 and 1990, and through a dozen return visits, I carried out relatively traditional ethnographic research in rural communities through participant observation in labor activities, household surveys, life histories, and institutional analyses. My own pregnancy during fieldwork, and the support and advice of local women in caring for my firstborn son, led to closer human connections.

My analysis of gendered access to productive resources, including land, reveals that the sexual relationships in which all women engage—or fail to engage—have significant political and economic implications for them and their children. Following Bolivia’s 1953 land reform, mostly men’s names were inscribed during titling procedures, and male

heads of households participated in peasant unions overseen by the Ministry of Peasant Affairs. Both arrangements contrasted with existing cultural systems for resource management, decision-making and collaborative labor—including *mink’a*, *ayni*, and ritual cargo systems—in which men and women play active, albeit distinct, roles. Local impacts of these policies have been magnified by the preference of development agencies to link technical and financial support to land ownership, and to work with peasant unions rather than more participatory local forms. In studies of several development projects that promoted the expansion and intensification of commercial production on private plots, I identified tendencies to strengthen wealthier and more normative families through their male heads. Ironically, “women and development” initiatives introduced in the 1990s sometimes exacerbated this process by offering opportunities for training, credit and improved technology that were mostly accessible to married women in relatively resource-wealthy families, in which husband and wife quotas of project support allowed them to consolidate control over greater extensions of land and water, thus diminishing communally managed resources. This affected poorer families, many of them organized around women, who had earned a livelihood by pasturing other people’s livestock, gathering and selling fuelwood, and doing other activities that depend on open-access resources.

In communities I studied, some women without male partners manage thriving households with healthy children, profitable economic activities, and community respect, and some of the poorest and most marginal households are run by women alone. Women who do not live with male partners enjoy emotional intimacy, identity and relatedness through sibling, friendship, intergenerational and *compadrazgo* ties, and find sexual

PAULSON continued...

intimacy and pleasure in a variety of ways, some more, some less accepted by society.

Over the past fifteen years, I have come to know about twenty men in a loosely articulated community in the Bolivian city of Cochabamba. Participant observation with this group has been mostly in social settings, including parties at men's homes, public outings, and late nights at dance clubs, drag shows and other happenings. Whereas I had easily joined rural women and men in farm and housework, I did not participate in formal workplaces of urban men. Instead I carried out relatively formal interviews with several men in this group, and also learned much through collaborating with Tim Wright, whose sensitive dissertation analyzes changing lives and representations of men who desire men in Bolivia (Wright 2006).

In the mid 1980s, just as a powerful wave of privatization and economic liberalization policies were penetrating Bolivia, news broke that AIDS had reached the country. Consequently, some international development funds were directed to HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention campaigns, which worked together with global media and gay rights organizations to introduce new ideas about sexual relations and identities. Among these is the notion of a kind of man called "homosexual" or "gay," an independent entity with a fixed sexual nature defined by preference for same-sex partners. Like versions of strategic essentialism embraced by women's and indigenous movements in Bolivia and elsewhere, the idea of gay as an inherent type of being facilitates a sense of natural community and belonging vital in achieving solidarity and joint political action. In practice, however, the notion has not resonated very well with the diverse relational and context-specific ways in which Bolivians experience sexual desire and behavior, and perform gender identity and

social relations. Although some of these men self-identify as gay in certain contexts, I choose not to refer to them as "gays" or "homosexuals" because most do not embrace, nor do their lives correspond with, the type of social identity usually associated with these labels.

Local conceptions of manhood help to better understand how these men organize intimacy, identity and relatedness. Studies of masculinity in the Andes identify two poles of ideal characteristics that take different forms and precedence depending on a man's social context, relations and age (Fuller 2000). Heterosexual conquest, dominance and youthful virility, frequently used to epitomize Latin American manliness, are associated with *machismo*. As men get older, ways to achieve and express masculinity shift toward realms associated with *hombria*, notably work, family and community. Some men engage in a range of homoerotic behaviors without being labeled—or identifying themselves—as deviants. I do not find it fruitful to think about these men as being "in the closet." Rather, their professional behavior, strong extended family commitments, and male camaraderie seem to coexist with, rather than mutually contradict, their homoerotic experiences and relationships. Others—men in disadvantaged economic and racial-ethnic positions, men who do not enjoy healthy family or homosocial relations, and marked sex workers or transvestites—are more vulnerable to being labeled according to their homoerotic practices, and to being treated in degrading, sexualized, and violent ways.

Social tensions and exclusions that impede the formation of an identity group based on sexual preference became evident in institutional efforts in Bolivia. In the early 1990s, an internationally-funded program for education and prevention of HIV/AIDS among men who have sex with men was

established in the city of Santa Cruz, together with a gay center and activities designed to help make the target group more visible. The program's first director, Tim Wright, found that only a small portion (and by no means a cross section) of men who have sex with men in Santa Cruz participated in project activities such that this chapter of gay genesis left out many men who were too poor, too rich, too white, too indigenous, too masculine, or too feminine. Over the past decade, uniquely Bolivian ways of identifying have evolved via surprisingly diverse local and international influences and alliances. A 1999 "Congress of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transvestite, Transsexual and Transgendered People of Bolivia" brought together eleven organizations and networks. In 2006, non-conforming gender/sexuality groups are meeting in constituent assemblies to rethink the nation's government from the ground up, and have found unprecedented access to official politics.

State policies and international development initiatives have brought certain family norms into diverse Bolivian lives. Yet census and survey data, as well as ethnographic research, show that the practices and meanings of a significant portion of Bolivians do not correspond with official models. Initiatives that ignore or undermine existing forms of belonging and collaboration are counterproductive to stated goals of national development. Rural development programs that exclude households without male heads, and that strengthen normative families in ways that jeopardize others, limit success in improving the well-being of rural populations. Public health programs that exclude from outreach, education, and support Bolivian men who have sex with men and who do not identify as gays, as well as programs that treat gays as individuals, independent of extended family and social context, limit their success in curbing the spread of HIV/AIDS.

*Bibliography*

Blackwood, Evelyn  
2005 "Wedding Bell Blues: Marriage, Missing Men and Matrifocal Follies," *American Ethnologist* 32(1):3-19. 2005

Fuller, Norma  
2000 "Work and Masculinity Among Peruvian Urban Men," *European Journal of Development Research* 12 (2):93-115.

Gutmann, Matthew C., ed.  
2003 *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Hurtig, Janise, Rosario Montoya and Lessie Jo Frazier, eds.  
2002 *Gender's Place: Feminist Anthropologies of Latin America*. Palgrave/MacMillan.

Montecino, Sonia  
1991 *Madres y huachos: alegorías del mestizaje chileno*. Santiago: Editorial Cuarto Propio/Ediciones CEDEM.

Safa, Helen  
2005 "The Matrifocal Family and Patriarchal Ideology in Cuba and the Caribbean," *The Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 10(2):314-338.

Weismantel, Mary  
2001 *Cholas and Pichtacos: Stories of Race and Sex in the Andes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wright, Tim  
2006 *Making Gays in a Queer Place: AIDS, Modernization, and the Politics of Sexual Identity*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles. Pp. 205-219. ■

**"Pájaras y maricones" 'llegó la hora': un relato de mi experiencia en el movimiento LGBTIR dominicano**

by JAQUELINE JIMÉNEZ POLANCO  
FLACSO  
jacquelinejpolanco@yahoo.com

En julio de 2001 tuvo lugar en Santo Domingo una celebración multitudinaria del Día Internacional del Orgullo Gay y Lésbico con el eslogan "Llegó la hora". Este evento, primero y único realizado hasta entonces en la isla caribeña, marcó un hito en la historia del movimiento LGBTIR (Lesbianas, Gay, Bisexuales, Transexuales, Transgéneros, Travestis, Intersexuales, Raras/Raros).

En aquel momento, era profesora titular en el Departamento de Estudios Puertorriqueños y Latinoamericanos de John Jay College of Criminal Justice en la Universidad Municipal de Nueva York (CUNY). Era la única profesora dominicana con un trabajo a tiempo completo (*full-time position*) en John Jay, cuyo escaso cuerpo docente de origen latino contrastaba con la preponderante matrícula estudiantil latinoamericana, en la que las dominicanas y los dominicanos eran mayoría.

Además, era una de los/las tres académicos/as *junior* de origen dominicano que ocupaban posiciones a tiempo completo en CUNY, el sistema universitario público de la ciudad de Nueva York que concentra la mayor cantidad de estudiantes dominicanos y dominicanas.

Estaba completando el proceso de solicitud de permanencia (*tenure-track*) y una demanda legal a John Jay a través de la Unión de Profesores de CUNY por discriminación racial/nacional y de género al dudar de la veracidad de mis títulos universitarios para negarme la continuidad del puesto mediante un plan en el que

habían sustraído uno de los seis años que llevaba en la institución, amparados en la categoría ficticia e ilegal de profesora visitante (*visiting professor*).

Consciente de mis responsabilidades como integrante de la minoría académica de origen latino y dominicano, compartía mis responsabilidades docentes con la participación en los comités de la facultad, la realización de investigaciones y publicaciones y la asesoría estudiantil en John Jay y en otras unidades de CUNY. Colaboraba en actividades comunitarias y motivaba a mis estudiantes a interesarse por los aspectos sociales, políticos y culturales a través de la sesión Conciencia Cultural y Redes Comunitarias ("Cultural Awareness and Community Network").

**Salir del clóset**

En aquellos años no desarrollé, sin embargo, la confianza suficiente en mí misma para salir del clóset en el aula universitaria. Temía que el eventual rechazo a mi identidad/orientación lésbica en un ambiente conservador heterosexista afectara mis posibilidades de obtener la permanencia o *tenure*.

Mi afán por conseguir la "permanencia" laboral en John Jay estuvo vinculado por muchos años a mi apego a una experiencia sexual clandestina con una mujer negada a salir del armario. Mis dificultades para desapegarme y liberarme me mantuvieron cautiva de una relación a distancia de larga data, en donde la fantasía y la espera sin límites ni condiciones constituían su único sostén. El empeño por aquella relación me mantuvo en una posición zigzagueante en el activismo lésbico neoyorquino, en donde la salida del clóset es una condición *sine qua non* para formar parte del liderazgo de organizaciones como Las Buenas Amigas

JIMÉNEZ POLANCO continued...

(LBA). Muchas veces me negué a asumir el protagonismo público que me era requerido, amparada en mi imaginaria condición de intelectual en el armario en un ambiente académico conservador. Esa fantasía sólo era explicable en la mente de una lesbiana, como yo, que padecía la terrible enfermedad del clóset.

La observación de mi proceso autodestructivo y mi firme determinación me permitieron dejar aquella relación en el año 2000 y buscar herramientas espirituales que me ayudaran a desapegarme, luchar contra el ego y conseguir ser feliz e independiente. Mi práctica de la técnica de meditación Vipassana me fue preparando espiritualmente para lograr mi liberación. En el proceso de introspección y observación fui descubriendo y aceptando que el placer y el dolor no son permanentes, que la liberación y la construcción de la felicidad están en mí misma, y que sólo yo soy responsable de la realidad en que vivo.

#### “Desde la orilla”

Mi complicidad con el Dr. Torres Saillant en el Instituto de Estudios Dominicanos (DSI) me permitió participar en la conferencia “Desde la orilla: la diversidad como reto de la nación democrática”, que tuvo lugar en Nueva York y Santo Domingo en junio de 2001 y reunió por primera vez a académicos/as, activistas y artistas de ambas orillas. Discutí con él la constante exclusión de los asuntoslésbicos y gay en la academia dominicana. Como consecuencia, aquel evento se convirtió en el primero en su género en analizar la problemática de las minorías sexuales dominicanas en las voces de académicas y activistas lesbianas.

No era totalmente consciente de lo que se acercaba en el proceso de realización de la conferencia “Desde la orilla” o de su

eventual resultado. Sin habérselo propuesto, ésta coincidió con la celebración del Día Internacional del Orgullo en Nueva York, a la cual asistieron por primera vez activistas y académicos/as dominicanos/as.

La conferencia estuvo precedida de controversias que habían emergido en Santo Domingo a raíz de la violación de los derechos humanos y ciudadanos de la comunidad LGBTIR, lo cual la impulsó a asumir una presencia política pública. Primero, mediante el reclamo en carta pública al jefe de la Policía Nacional (el temible general Pedro de Jesús Candelier) para que revirtiera su decisión de retirar de manera deshonrosa a dos miembros de la institución acusados de haber sido descubiertos en actividades homosexuales. La segunda acción fue el reclamo a las autoridades policiales de levantar la orden de cierre del *stand* gay ylésbico en la Feria Internacional del Libro, donde a punta de cañón, y amparados en la legitimidad conferida por la alta jerarquía católica, fueron retiradas las activistaslésbicas que trabajaban en la Feria.

Esos acontecimientos motivaron la celebración en Santo Domingo del Día del Orgullo, para lo cual las y los activistas locales contaron con el apoyo directo de quienes en la diáspora organizamos “Desde la Orilla,” en cuyo escenario promovimos la toma de conciencia y la participación, distribuimos volantes y convidamos a las/los participantes a apoyar y asistir a tan histórica celebración.

Todo ocurrió tan rápido que, de buenas a primera, me envolví en la promoción de la celebración del Orgullo durante la conferencia, al tiempo que salía a la luz pública como lesbiana a través de mi participación en entrevistas en periódicos y programas de televisión. Esto tomó por sorpresa a algunas/os de mis colegas y

generó fuertes reacciones en el integrante de mi familia más autoritario: mi padre, cuya incapacidad de respetar mi decisión produjo un rechazo y una ruptura definitiva en nuestra relación que nunca pude enfrentar, ni siquiera en la víspera de su ida a destiempo.

A partir de julio de 2001, decidí que no sería nunca jamás el depósito de las retóricas homo/lesbofóbicas que con tanta saña e impiedad lanzaron en mi presencia amigas, amigos y familiares de Santiago. Rompí mi vínculo tradicional con Santiago, delimité mi demarcación geográfica como lesbiana públicamente asumida y me convertí en hija adoptiva de Gazcue y la Zona Colonial de Santo Domingo. Me lancé a disfrutar la experiencia sexual y la amistad con lesbianas feministas que transformaron mi vida para siempre en aquel inolvidable verano y enseñé a mis familiares en el Cibao a disfrutar y compartir la hermosura de las relacioneslésbicas. Encontré un lugar común en suelo dominicano. Por primera vez en más de tres lustros de experiencia de vida migratoria y diaspórica, sentí que pertenecía a esta tierra.

Percibí que hay mucho trabajo por hacer para impulsar el reconocimiento y respeto de los derechos humanos y ciudadanos de LGBTIR, mejorar sus condiciones socioeconómicas mediante políticas públicas incluyentes y lograr su acceso al escenario político. Y decidí que quería formar parte de ese proceso de lucha que iniciaron en experiencias anteriores grupos como Mitilene, Movimiento Gay 11 de Mayo, El Grupo de las Cinco y ASA en los años ochenta; Ciguay, Chinchetas y Chanqueta en los noventa y Gaylesdom en 2001. Así que cuando regresé a Nueva York, tenía la sensación de que había llegado el momento de empezar a prepararme para el retorno a mis orígenes. Y así lo hice un año más tarde.

## Maestra y lesbiana

Perdí el miedo. Esa decisión me ayudó a entender que necesitaba mejorar mi papel de modelo como maestra lesbiana mediante el inicio de un proceso de salida pública del clóset que enseñara a mis estudiantes a comprender que cada ser humano debe ser respetado en su integridad y merece el reconocimiento y la protección de sus derechos tomando en cuenta su identidad/orientación sexual.

Decidí abandonar el proceso legal que había iniciado contra John Jay para disfrutar en paz y armonía el poco tiempo que me quedaba en aquel espacio. Introduje cambios significativos en mi trabajo docente y en mis investigaciones. Los efectos perversos de las actividades terroristas del 11 de septiembre de 2001 incrementaron el odio racial/nacional y la censura en los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, lo que me demostró que el camino que había iniciado era el apropiado.

Empecé a diseñar un proyecto de investigación sobre la historia del movimiento LGBTIR dominicano que he presentado en diversos foros en Canadá, Estados Unidos y México, cuya primera versión en inglés ha sido publicada en la Internet gracias a la solidaridad del colega norteamericano Richard Ammon. (Ver, <<http://www.globalgayz.com/domrep-JP-news.html>>.) En el mismo planteo la dificultad de consolidar el movimiento en la Isla debido a los obstáculos generados por la presión del poder fáctico de la Iglesia católica, la homo/lesbofobia preponderante en los medios, sectores sociales y políticos, y la condescendencia de sectores medios LGBTIR con la discriminación reinante, al sustentar el clóset como la mejor forma de vida por miedo a la pérdida del status quo y los beneficios que de allí derivan en una sociedad altamente excluyente.

Inicié la construcción de redes con la comunidad LGBTIR en el plano local e internacional. Me integré en el CLAGS, LBA y OUT Poc Pac en Nueva York, y en Gaylesdom en Santo Domingo. Inicé mi participación en actividades LGBT en España durante mi docencia de verano en universidades de Andalucía, Salamanca y Madrid.

Paralelamente, empecé a buscar una institución académica que apoyara mi trabajo en la República Dominicana como una lesbiana públicamente asumida. Expliqué con honestidad y claridad meridiana mi interés al profesor Ruben Silié (cofundador y ex director de la FLACSO), quien me abrió las puertas de la institución. En la actualidad coordino el Programa Política, Género y Sociedad en donde el análisis del movimiento LGBTIR y feminista constituye una variable transversal en cursos de postgrado, conferencias y proyectos, y es el tema central de un monográfico de la revista *Vértice* de próxima publicación.

Desde mi retorno a la República Dominicana en 2002 he estado trabajando como académica y consultora. En mi docencia e investigaciones siempre cruzo las variables de género y orientación sexual como causas de discriminación.

## Acción política

He estado envuelta en el activismo LGBTIR, cuya observación y vivencia me impulsaron a formar el grupo lesbico cultural-literario *Divagaciones Bajo la Luna*, que congrega a escritoras y artistas noveles y veteranas de ambos lados de la orilla en un proyecto editorial cuyo fruto ha de ser una antología de lesbianas dominicanas a publicarse en 2006 con la subvención otorgada por ASTRAEA y el apoyo de LBA y GALDE (Gay and Lesbian Dominican Empowerment).

Al mismo tiempo, decidí encauzar la formación de un comité de acción política que, respondiendo a la naturaleza inestable y dispersa de la participación y el activismo local, permita la confluencia de intereses de las diversidades sexuales en una coalición, el CAP LGBTIR. Integrado mayoritariamente por jóvenes, el CAP participó en el diseño del primer foro sobre las minorías sexuales realizado en FLACSO y la primera semana de celebración del Orgullo en Santo Domingo en junio de 2005.

La visibilidad y la desafiante acción política del CAP han resultado, por un lado, en el rechazo de integrantes de la élite tradicional gay y lesbica con ataques directos a mi reputación, seguridad personal e integridad física y, por otro, en la formación de alianzas con sectores progresistas LGBTIR y heterosexuales. Como resultado, se ha producido un giro en el debate y la acción política en la Isla, un reforzamiento de mis vínculos con la comunidad LGBTIR de la diáspora y el movimiento lesbico-feminista radical. Paralelamente, se observa la emergencia de grupos de jóvenes, como *Los/Las Muchachos/as de la Mesa de Atrás* y acciones dirigidas desde COPRESIDA: sector gubernamental dedicado al tema del HIV-SIDA.

Una realidad compartida de la identidad y el activismo lesbico juvenil lo definen las *Prosas del Ropero* de Deyanira García (Sargenta G), joven rapera de la diáspora en Nueva York, cuyo trabajo en lenguaje Dominicanish nos invita a salir del clóset para luchar contra los desmanes causados por el rechazo a la diferencia y por la discriminación.

JIMÉNEZ POLANCO continued...

**Lesbian Dominican**

I'm a lesbiana Dominicana  
 Don't understand por qué te asombros tanto mi pana  
 Don't be surprised-la verdad eso no es nada  
 Is society that makes you think this is cosa rara  
 Pero B.S. déjame que te cuente  
 For soy lesbiana desde my mother's vientre  
 Believe me not, ese es tu problema  
 La verdad no me importa ya lo que de mí piensas  
 Enough tiempo de justificaciones  
 Los preguntones y sus cojones  
 Que no se quillen cuando yo les diga  
 That I'm a lesbiana since I was a niña  
 ¿Qué como lo sé? Dime tú como sabes  
 Que eres straight  
 ¿Cómo explicarme  
 Que es normal 'cause siempre lo has sabido?  
 Qué coincidencia, así me he sentido!  
 No fue que me violaron  
 Tampoco que me maltrataron  
 Amor de mis padres no me ha faltado  
 Menos porque un hombre no me ha penetrado  
 No, I don't have low self-esteem  
 I love me for whom I'm born to be  
 That's exactly why hoy estoy aquí  
 No voy a esconder what I truly feel

**Lesbian Dominican**

**Métanme a cualquier can**  
**Donde las tigras estarán (4x)**  
 Gozando mi joven vida  
 My dear pana paso mis días  
 Enough tiempo viví a escondidas  
 De esta sociedad que tanto hostiga  
 There was a time that I was dead  
 Just because I had to play straight  
 Pero all that is now forgotten  
 'cause I'm a lesbian y todos los saben  
 i use mis vestidos or mis pantalones  
 mis sweats rojos or mis maones  
 I'm not a fem, nor I am a butch  
 Los estereotipos I leave them for you  
 Can't waste my time  
 Con tus argumentos que mi lesbianismo  
 Es cosa de un momento  
 Vengo escuchando eso hace tiempo  
 Y ni la fe en Dios me ha quitado esto  
 Not going to change what it's meant to be  
 I love my girls, it is what it is  
 Y no hay excusas to explain my feelings  
 Me gustan las mujeres and with them I'm chilling  
 No importa cual sea su raza  
 A mí me gustan toditas esas gatas  
 Que se alborotan cuando tú les bailas  
 And give you the world cuando ellas te aman ■

SEXUALITIES continued...

**Transnational Bodies, Queer Borders  
 The Challenge of Latin American and  
 Latino/a Sexual Identities**

by ISRAEL REYES

Dartmouth College  
 israel.reyes@dartmouth.edu

A point of contact between debates in Latin American Studies on transnational identities (García Canclini 1989) and analyses in LGBTQQ Studies<sup>1</sup> of global sexualities (Altman 2001) is that both scholarly areas tend to focus on how the expansion and diversification of capital have deterritorialized marginal subjects, while infusing the local cultures of developing nations with mass media paraphernalia of the developed world (see also Martín Barbero 1987, Mato 1997). Latin American and Latino/a LGBTQQ Studies have addressed this simultaneous push-and-pull in the context of theories of the border (Saldívar 1997), cultural mestizaje (Anzaldúa 1987), and identity formations (Muñoz 1999). Yet social class and racial politics often set up blockades against the itinerant sexual identities that ostensibly cross national borders, whether as part of transnational migration or as part of a global media culture. As someone who has worked with Latino/a literature, cultural studies, and issues of sexuality in a Spanish and Portuguese Department, one of the areas of inquiry I have found crucial in addressing these scholarly fields and their intersections has been language. In my book, *Humor and the Eccentric Text in Puerto Rican Literature* (2005), I examine how writers like Nemesio Canales, Luis Rafael Sánchez, Ana Lydia Vega, and Pedro Pietri use a self-reflexive type of humor that capitalizes on the incongruities in language to estrange, and often queer, Puerto Rican national identity to itself. They often satirize, caricature, parody, and unmask the Puerto Rican diasporic nation through

humorous representations of subversive gender and sexual identities. I undertake a more focused study of gender and sexuality in Puerto Rican literature in a recent essay published in *Revista Iberoamericana* (2005) on the role of the “gay uncle” in the fiction and autobiographical work of Judith Ortiz Cofer. In Ortiz Cofer’s *The Line of the Sun* (1989) and *Silent Dancing: A Partial Remembrance of a Puerto Rican Childhood* (1990), the interplay between the English-language text and Spanish-language “post-memory” (Hirsch 1997) can enact a closeting of homosexuality in the family narratives. As suggested by the title of Ortiz Cofer’s memoirs, this closeting performs a “silent dancing” around the issue of homosexuality, either as part of the diegetic narrative family drama or as part of a narrative intertextuality between fiction and autobiography.

Issues of sexuality also challenge the intersections between Latin American and Latino/a Studies when transnational queer writing subjects re-imagine the homeland. In these texts, U.S. cultural and literary norms can act as occluding mirrors in which queer Latino/a subjects may misrecognize their own positionality. This is certainly the case with Richard Rodriguez’s *Brown* (2002), which I discussed in a paper delivered at the 2004 Jornadas Andinas de Literatura Latinoamericana (JALLA) conference in Lima, Perú. A work in progress, this essay compares the notions of mestizaje and cultural hybridity from both the Latin American and North American perspectives. I argue that Rodriguez’s iconoclastic notion of “brown” emerges as much from the author’s personal experience as a gay Mexican American living in multi-racial California, as it does from the discursive space of U.S. individualism, the religious traditions of the Catholic Church, the privilege of class ascendancy, and access

to global media. Rodriguez's text presents a challenge to notions of cultural hybridity by refusing to resolve the many contradictions in his own identity, in particular the obvious clash between his homosexuality and his professed Catholicism. Unlike Gloria Anzaldúa's gay-friendly, utopian "mestiza consciousness," Rodriguez's "brown" resists bridging the gaps between cultural *mestizaje's* contradictory identities, which paradoxically results in a text whose foremost pedagogical concern is to use *mestizaje* to erase political and ideological difference. Another picture emerges from Latin American scholars such as Hugo Achúgar (1997), who articulates a Latin American notion of *mestizaje* that pays close attention to the geopolitics of national discourses and posits not only a hybridity of race and cultural traditions, but also acknowledges the contingencies of multiple epistemological subjects that emerge from very distinct historical and political positionalities.

Because issues of gender, sexuality, and transnational identities traverse many different fields of scholarship, interdisciplinary approaches to these questions often produce a more multifaceted analysis of the discourses, performances, and lived experiences of LGBTQQ Latinas/as and Latin Americans. At the 2006 LASA Congress in San Juan, Puerto Rico, I participated on a panel that discussed gay tourism in Latin America: "De pájaros y alas: Turismo queer en América Latina." My presentation considered how tourism can serve to disseminate global gay identities while still enforcing a rigid hierarchy of race and social class. I attempted to combine a critical examination of the media, music, and cultural practices associated with gay tourism with a site-specific study of a gay circuit party in Puerto Vallarta, Mexico. I

found that while many U.S. gay tourists describe their liberating experiences of travel, Mexican gay locals can see themselves as confined to play certain roles that help promote tourism's economic exchange. In interviews with both tourists and locals, a conflicting picture develops between the euphoria of escape and limitless eroticism for the tourist, and the mundane labor and the danger of HIV/AIDS that characterizes the experience for Mexican locals in the tourist industry. Yet some of my Mexican interviewees described their roles as a necessary compromise that provided economic benefits, even though they looked with suspicion at the liberal openness of U.S. gay culture.

The research I have done in these areas has had a profound effect not only on my teaching, but also in mentoring and advising students and student groups. Invariably, in the Latino literature courses and Latin American Studies courses I teach at Dartmouth College, I include materials that will address issues of sexual identities. For example, Achy Obejas's short story collection, *We Came All the Way from Cuba So You Could Dress Like This?* (1994), and her first novel, *Memory Mambo* (1996), raise important issues of how sexual categories like top/bottom or butch/femme, which are often universalized from a North American perspective, run up against very different gender models that emerge from Latino and Latina family dynamics. Furthermore, Obejas's works show how tensions between different Latino groups, such as Puerto Ricans and Cuban Americans, can undermine the establishment of queer communities of color. At an institution like Dartmouth, where Latino and Latina students come from a broad range of experiences and regions, but find no well-established Latino community in the rural New Hampshire

setting, these tensions can surface and complicate the development of a sense of community on campus. Nevertheless, Latino student groups have invited me to speak on several occasions on the experience of being a "double minority": Latino and gay. So while questions of national or regional identities, race, and class have challenged the parameters of a cohesive Latino community on campus, issues of gender and sexuality often serve to catalyze more inclusionary practices. It is paradoxes like these that characterize the complex intersections of gender and sexuality with Latin/o American Studies, yet perhaps it is because of these ambiguities that recent scholarship in these areas has found such fertile ground.

#### Endnote

1 At the 2006 LASA Congress in San Juan, Puerto Rico, members of the Sexualities Studies Section discussed the expanded acronym LGBTQQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Questioning) during its Latin American Sexualities Symposium, held at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus.

#### Bibliography

Achúgar, Hugo. "Leones, cazadores e historiadores, a propósito de las políticas de la memoria y del conocimiento." *Revista Iberoamericana*. 1997 July-Sept.; 63 (180): 379-87.

Altman, Dennis. *Global Sex*. Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 2001.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Spinster/Aunt Lute, 1987.

García Canclini, Néstor. *Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad*. México, D.F.: Grijalbo, 1989.

REYES continued...

Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997.

Martín Barbero, Jesús. *De los medios a las mediaciones: Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía*. México, D.F.: Ediciones G. Gili, 1987.

Mato, Daniel. "Problems in the Making of Representations of All-Encompassing U. S. Latina/o-'Latin' American Transnational Identities." *Latino Review of Books: A Publication for Critical Thought and Dialogue*. 1997 Spring-Fall; 3 (1-2): 2-6.

Muñoz, José Estéban. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Obejas, Achy. *Memory Mambo*. Pittsburgh: Cleis Press, 1996.

—. *We Came All the Way from Cuba So You Could Dress Like This?* Pittsburgh: Cleis Press, 1994.

Ortiz Cofer, Judith. *Silent Dancing: A Partial Remembrance of a Puerto Rican Childhood*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1990.

—. *The Line of the Sun: A Novel*. Athens, GA: U. of Georgia Press, 1989.

Reyes, Israel. "Recuerdos 'parciales' y el closet de la literatura: Ficción y autobiografía de Judith Ortiz Cofer." *Revista Iberoamericana*. 2005 July-Sept.; 51 (212): 847-64.

—. *Humor and the Eccentric Text in Puerto Rican Literature*. Gainesville: UP Florida, 2005.

Rodriguez, Richard. *Brown: The Last Discovery of America*. New York: Viking, 2002.

Saldívar, José David. *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies*. Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1997. ■

SEXUALITIES continued...

### Comparative Ethnic Sexualities and Interdisciplinarity in Latin(o) American Research

by RAÚL RUBIO

Co-Chair, LASA Sexualities Studies Section (2006-2007)

Wellesley College  
rrubio@wellesley.edu

During the last LASA Congresses I have found myself in a small predicament. How to attend the business meetings (and cocktail parties) of the Sections pertaining to the areas of my research? In one evening, usually a Thursday, I am to attend the meetings of Sexualities, Gender and Feminist, and Latino/a Studies Sections, most scheduled concurrently. It's actually played out well, as I've managed to keep attuned to the changes and improvements within tracks, the discussions of the philosophies and missions of each Section, the announcement and commentary of recently published research, and new developments and criticism in the fields. Most significantly, I witnessed the re-naming of the GLBT section as the "Sexualities Section" in 2004, which acknowledged the realities and diversities of our research and constituents. In our last meeting, March 2006, I attended the highly successful "Latin American Sexualities Symposium" at the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, which gathered a diverse grouping of academics, activists, student-scholars, and general public from a wide variety of research and professional backgrounds.

As I worked through the dialogues that developed during the symposium, the Section meetings and the panels of the Congress, I was reminded that much of my own work is comparative, interdisciplinary, and affected by multiple area studies within the conceptualizations that have become

Latin American and Latino/a Studies. In fact, as I thought about these issues, I realized that many of the panels I attended were approached in an interdisciplinary manner. Interestingly, at one of the Section meetings some members shared similar concerns about the challenges, complexities, and benefits of membership in multiple Sections of the Association. Many shared details about the bodies of their research and how more of their work was becoming multi-faceted and relevant to more than one LASA grouping.

In my case, much of my work deals with issues of "Latinity" in the United States, and my arguments are, in many instances, solidified by a comparative ethnic rationale. Interestingly enough, the absence of an ethnic studies section allows me to work through the diverse disciplines that I concretely touch upon in my research. In my scope I continuously bridge the analysis of literary and cultural production with issues of sexualities and gender, community formation, ethnic relations, civic engagement and activism. I approach the aesthetics corresponding to the demonstrations of national ideologies and queer identities in the performance of Latinas vis-à-vis other ethnic performers in the United States. In one piece pertaining to the performance of politics in standup comedy, I examine the work of Cuban-Puerto Rican Latina Marga Gómez in comparison with that of Asian-American Margaret Cho.

More generally, along those lines, in various other projects I utilize a comparative ethnic studies approach, and extrapolate meanings based on identity topics found in the performances and personas of a diverse group of multi-ethnic artists, stand-up comics and solo performers. I analyze the discursive representation of these topics, mostly related to the negotiations of gender,

sexualities and ethnic identifications. I envision such performances as activism and the performers as “practitioners of political agendas” (Schlossman, 2002), truly involved in shaping civic changes via their artistic endeavors. I look closely at their “cultural agency” (Sommer, 2005) and analyze points of similarities and contention between the different ethnically-encoded messages, such as the use of self-deprecating humor among other performance and performative topics. Common devices utilized by these performers include: takes on the use of ethnic and national stereotypes, coming out and coming-of-age anecdotes, queer aesthetics, community formation, sex and sexuality, body culture and consumerism.

My proposal is not only to analyze the cultural production of these performer-practitioners in a comparative manner, but also to juxtapose their messages with spectatorship, in turn observing how these affect communities, culture, and political agendas. As such, I postulate on how the productions of these performances and the performers themselves affect and are affected by local and global queer culture, alluding to what Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Malanansan have posited as the framework of “queer globalizations”. Beyond capital exchanges, I am interested in envisioning how community celebrations, such as as GLBTQ pride festivals, comedy and film festivals, athletic clubs, local ethnic and multiethnic associations become spaces of catharsis, particularly observing how ethnic integration or non-integration occurs within and throughout these GLBTQ groups.

In one segment of this research I look at the performers featured by Boston’s The Theater Offensive community organization, whose mission is to “form and present the diverse realities of queer lives in art”.

This organization’s annual “Out on the Edge” festival has highlighted queer ethnic performance, as well as what could be labeled “white” and “international” queer theatre. As such, Boston’s Latino/a queer community—mostly Puerto Rican, Dominican and Brazilian—has experienced performances by Marga Gómez, Carmelita Tropicana, Tim Miller, Hanifah Walidah, and Quentin Crisp, among many others. Their programming and “guerilla theatre” has allowed me to give texture to my ongoing research. In the same light, the local Boston Latina/o GLBTQ group called *Somos Latinos* has organized this year’s Latino/a Pride event as well as a variety of support and cultural events. Among the Pride festivities, they featured a panel composed of representatives from various ethnic groups, which they called “De Colores”. At this panel members of local ethnic activist groups, many associated with local campus ALANA (African, Latino, Asian, Native American) groups exchanged ideas about community outreach, city politics, transgender rights and marriage equality.

Recently, as was confirmed at the symposium in Puerto Rico, Latin American and Latino/a communities are discussing the “labels” of the constituents that partake in GLBTQ groups. As such, it seems that the “Q”, which has traditionally signified “queer”, has received the double meaning of “questioning”, a signifier of those in flux, which has already been a standard label in many U.S. circles. In fact, for many groups in San Juan, their acronym is formulated as LGBTQQ, being inclusive of both meanings of the “Q”. On the other hand, some symposium participants debated the tricky role that the “queer” label has within Latin/o American communities (not to mention a similar situation with Queer Theory) and as such prefer the use of the “A” label signifying

“ally” or “*aliado/a*”, which has become regularly used on U.S. college campuses. Although Boston’s GLBTQA Latina/o community does not have the size or programming as has U.S. cities such as Chicago, New York, or Los Angeles (or San Juan, Puerto Rico, as we saw during LASA2006), Boston’s considerable Latino/a university student population seems to drive much of the local queer citizenship. While local organizations such as the Male Center (Men’s Action Life Empowerment Center) provides health outreach, the space where it is housed provides community empowerment and cross-cultural exchange. Pertaining to these spaces, I am particularly interested in what Juana María Rodríguez maps in her book *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces* (2003), specifically in the chapter “Activism and Identity”. In that chapter, she argues that queer identity formation and representation is not as much of an analytical priority as that pertaining to “identity practices”, “discursive spaces” and activism. Much like Rodríguez has for Proyecto ContraSIDA, I will continue to examine Boston’s queer community agencies, specifically the Latino and multi-ethnic presence, such as *Somos Latinos*, The Theater Offensive, The Male Center, etc., observing the engagement of community programming, cultural production and socio-political activism. In line with my ongoing project which analyzes comparative queer ethnicities in theatre and performance, I will continue to parlay observations which entail the practice(s) of queer identities in the local community and the roles that “ethnic” considerations can provide for new currents of Latin(o) American research.

RUBIO continued...

### Bibliography

Cruz-Malavé, Arnaldo, and Martin F. Manalansan IV, eds. *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*. New York: NYU Press, 2002.

Muñoz, José Esteban. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. Minneapolis: U. Of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Quiroga, José. *Tropics of Desire: Interventions from Queer Latino America*. New York: NYU Press, 2000.

Rodríguez, Juana María. *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces*. New York: NYU Press, 2003.

Schlossman, David A. *Actors and Activists: Politics, Performance, and Exchange Among Social Worlds*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Sommer, Doris. *Cultural Agency in the Americas*. Chapel Hill: Duke U. Press, 2005.

Somos Latinos Organization  
<<http://www.somoslatinoslgbt.org>>.

The Male Center <<http://www.aac.org>>.

The Theater Offensive Organization  
<<http://www.thetheateroffensive.org>>. ■

## Master's Degree in Latin American Studies

### STANFORD UNIVERSITY

- **Curriculum:** Interdisciplinary coursework surveying the history, politics, society and culture of the region
- **Financial Assistance:** Funding through fellowships and partial research and course assistantships
- **Qualifications:** Applicants should have experience in Latin America and language competence

Details: <http://las.stanford.edu>

Application deadline: January 9, 2007

*A rigorous one-year program for professionals*

## El estado mexicano y la violencia de género: denuncias y reflexiones en torno a Atenco

by ROSALVA AIDA HERNÁNDEZ CASTILLO | CIESAS | aidaher2005@yahoo.com.mx

Los días 3 y 4 de mayo del 2006, quedarán en la memoria de los habitantes de San Salvador Atenco, estado de México, como unos de los días más tristes y violentos de su historia contemporánea. Este pueblo, de unos 33 mil habitantes, fue testigo del enfrentamiento violento entre trescientos civiles integrantes del Frente de Pueblos en la Defensa de la Tierra y unos cuatro mil policías de distintas corporaciones que sometieron al grupo y aterrorizaron al pueblo entero, allanando casas, destruyendo puertas y deteniendo violentamente sin orden de aprehensión a 207 personas, incluyendo a niños, mujeres y ancianos, con un saldo final de un menor muerto y 20 personas heridas de gravedad.

Lo que empezó siendo un acto de resistencia en solidaridad ante el desalojo de ocho vendedores ambulantes del vecino pueblo de Texcoco terminó en enfrentamiento violento, presentado por la mayoría de los medios de comunicación como el “restablecimiento del Estado de Derecho” ante las arbitrariedades de un grupo radical. La imagen de un grupo de campesinos golpeando a un policía caído fue transmitida una y otra vez para justificar la violencia del Estado. El descontrol y la violencia de unos pocos fueron utilizados para descalificar a todo el movimiento y presentarlo como un peligro desestabilizador para el Estado. La agresión contra el policía debió castigarse de acuerdo a la ley, considerando que se contaba con las imágenes para reconocer a los agresores. En vez de esto, las autoridades estatales y federales optaron por hacer sentir toda la fuerza y violencia del Estado a personas inocentes, muchas de ellas ajenas al movimiento que se pretendía desarticular.

### Frente de Pueblos en la Defensa de la Tierra (FPDT): Un Símbolo de Resistencia

Las representaciones que los medios de comunicación han construido en torno al Frente de Pueblos en Defensa de la Tierra han enfatizado su carácter violento e intolerante, minimizando su importancia numérica o política y desacreditando sus liderazgos. Estas representaciones tienen poco que ver con los campesinos y campesinas alegres e incluyentes, con un alto grado de organización y una profunda reflexión política que me tocó conocer el 10 de abril pasado en la Cañada de los Sauces, en Cuernavaca, Morelos, presenciando uno de los eventos de resistencia multi-clasista más festivos.

En el marco de la celebración de la muerte de Zapata, los adherentes a *La Otra Campaña* nos encontrábamos esperando la llegada del Sub-Comandante Marcos en Tetelcingo, cuando se nos avisó que la reunión se trasladaba a la Cañada de Los Sauces en la colonia residencial de Tabachines, donde la policía municipal estaba a punto de desalojar a un grupo de residentes e integrantes de grupos ecologistas que se habían encadenado a los árboles de la cañada para evitar que estos fueran cortados y destruidos en aras de construir un eje vial que pasaría por la zona. La llegada de “La Otra Campaña” a la Cañada hizo retroceder a las fuerzas policíacas, a las ambulancias, y a la maquinaria pesada que estaba a punto de arrasar con los árboles y sus guardianes.

Al poco rato, por la calle principal llegaron unos 200 campesinos y campesinas de Atenco, marchando de forma ordenada y marcando el paso con el ruido metálico de sus machetes. Venían a solidarizarse con los defensores de la Cañada de Los Sauces como lo hicieron meses antes con los indígenas del municipio de Cacahuatpec,

Guerrero, que se oponen a la construcción de la presa La Parota que expropiará sus tierras comunales; con los morelenses que enfrentaron a los empresarios de COSTCO para defender los muros del Casino de la Selva, o con los habitantes de Texcoco que se opusieron a la instalación de un Wal Mart frente a las pirámides de Teotihuacan. En todas esas luchas estuvieron presentes los campesinos de Atenco, compartiendo estrategias y experiencias. Su triunfo en agosto del 2002 cuando lograron la cancelación del proyecto del aeropuerto de Texcoco que pretendía expropiar cinco mil hectáreas de tierras ejidales, los convirtió en símbolo de resistencia ante los embates de la globalización. Todas estas luchas locales comparten una búsqueda de formas alternativas de desarrollo menos depredadoras y más respetuosas de la naturaleza y de la herencia histórica de los pueblos. El triunfo de Atenco fue un símbolo de que SI SE PUEDE decir “No” a un modelo económico neoliberal que excluye e ignora los intereses de las mayorías.

Este fue el mensaje que el Frente de Pueblos en Defensa de la Tierra llevó a los habitantes de la colonia residencial de Cuernavaca, animándolos a seguir resistiendo. En sus discursos les dijeron que su lucha en defensa de los Sauces coincidía con la lucha en defensa de la tierra de muchos pueblos indígenas y campesinos de México. Con sus palabras y sus canciones fueron rompiendo la barrera de clase que los separaba. El mitin terminó en una gran tertulia popular en la que las amas de casa de Los Sauces dieron de comer a los asistentes, los trabajadores de la cooperativa Pascual Boing les repartieron jugos y los campesinos de Atenco alegraron la tarde en un evento musical en el que sus trovadores cantaban corridos sobre sus luchas de resistencia mientras las mujeres bailaban de dos en dos chocando los

HERNÁNDEZ CASTILLO continued...

machetes en el aire, en un baile acompasado, ritual que recordaba los bailes religiosos de las comunidades indígenas. Eran mujeres fuertes, extrovertidas, que gritaban consignas y blandían sus machetes con la familiaridad de quien está acostumbrada a usarlos cotidianamente. No pude evitar pensar en las mujeres zapatistas y en tantas otras que desde abajo están luchando por la construcción de una vida más justa. Nunca me hubiera imaginado que semanas más tarde estaría viéndolas ensangrentadas, humilladas, silenciadas... la energía política que sentí ese 10 de abril fue el peligro que el gobierno quiso aniquilar.

La policía no entró aquella tarde a la Cañada de Los Sauces, y sus habitantes lograron llegar a una negociación con el gobierno del Estado y reubicar la construcción del eje vial. El costo político de arrasar un fraccionamiento residencial o allanar la casa de un notario hubiera sido demasiado alto. La represión llegó más tarde en tierras de pobres, donde iba a ser más fácil silenciar las denuncias y desarticular al movimiento en nombre del Estado de Derecho.

#### **La violencia de estado: desarticulando el movimiento**

Este acercamiento al Frente de Pueblos en Defensa de la Tierra me hizo desconfiar de inmediato de las imágenes de extrema violencia hacia un policía por parte de algunos de los habitantes de Atenco. Hasta la fecha la prensa no ha dado a conocer los nombres ni la historia personal de los agresores, pero no es de descartar que el movimiento haya sido infiltrado por provocadores para lanzar una campaña represiva. Puede ser también que la rabia acumulada de tantos años de lucha haya explotado en un incidente de violencia

irracional que ha tenido un alto costo para el movimiento. No tengo respuesta a estas preguntas, pero lo que es evidente y hay que seguir repitiendo es que nada justifica el uso de la violencia policiaca ni la violación de los derechos humanos de los detenidos.

En los desalojos policiacos de Atenco se allanaron y destruyeron casas sin orden de cateo, se detuvieron y encarcelaron a 207 personas sin órdenes de aprensión, se asesinó a un menor de edad, se hirieron de gravedad a 20 personas, una de las cuales se encuentra aún en estado de coma, se cometieron 23 agresiones sexuales a mujeres, 7 de ellas violaciones. La gubernamental Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos (CNDH) ha recibido 150 quejas de los habitantes de Atenco.

De los detenidos el 3 y 4 de mayo, 17 quedaron libres, a 144 se les acusó de ataques a vías generales de comunicación, delito no grave por el que pueden obtener la libertad bajo fianza. Veintiocho de los detenidos, entre ellos el líder del Frente de Pueblos en Defensa de la Tierra, Ignacio del Valle Medina y su hijo César del Valle, han recibido acto de formal prisión por los delitos de secuestro equiparable y ataques a las vías de comunicación. Mientras que la Ley se aplica de manera discrecional a estos luchadores sociales, los responsables de las violaciones a los derechos humanos en Atenco siguen hablando cínicamente en nombre del Estado de derecho.

Es importante apropiarnos del discurso gubernamental que habla de aplicar toda la fuerza de la Ley en el caso de Atenco y presionar por que empiecen por aplicarla a los funcionarios responsables de las violaciones a los derechos humanos.

#### **La violencia de género: sometiendo a las luchadoras sociales**

Si las mujeres de Atenco blandiendo sus machetes en el aire se habían convertido en símbolo de la resistencia campesina, de igual manera sus caras y cuerpos ensangrentados son ahora símbolo de la ignominia del estado represor que pretende tener el monopolio de la violencia en México. Los testimonios que han salido a la luz pública en las últimas semanas hablan de la forma específica que toma la violencia en sistemas patriarcales que siguen viendo a las mujeres como botines de guerra. Tanto la Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos como el Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro A.C. han recogido testimonios directos con las mujeres presas que dan fe de las agresiones sexuales que sufrieron. La mayoría de las denunciantes han preferido mantenerse en el anonimato por temor a más violencia, pero las estudiantes extranjeras deportadas, la chilena Valentina Palma, la alemana Samantha Diezmar y las españolas Cristina Valls y María Sastres, han denunciado las agresiones sexuales que sufrieron así como las violaciones de las que fueron víctimas otras mujeres presas. Mariana Selvas, estudiante de esta escuela, se encuentra entre quienes denunciaron públicamente la violencia sexual y forma parte de los presos políticos que no han sido liberados. Su vida y su integridad física siguen corriendo peligro. Sus denuncias pusieron en evidencia la estrategia de ocultamiento y complicidades dentro del aparato de justicia que se ha venido desarrollando en torno a la violencia sexual, ya que denunció ante la prensa que era falso que las mujeres se negaran a denunciar y a ser examinadas por un ginecólogo. Ella personalmente intentó hacer la denuncia y se le negó esta oportunidad, así como el examen médico correspondiente.

Los testimonios dados a conocer por los organismos de derechos humanos dan cuenta de una estrategia de agresión sexual que fue fundamental en el operativo policiaco:

“Empezaron a golpearnos con las macanas en la cabeza. Me empezaron a hacer tocamientos en ambos senos y nalgas. De pronto sentí que una mano tocaba mis genitales e introducía sus dedos en mí”.

“Hay casos como el de una mujer de 50 años que fue obligada a hacer sexo oral a tres policías para que la dejaran libre. Ella, dolida, avergonzada, con el rostro escondido, narra que salió de su casa porque iba a comprarle un regalo a su hijo, por eso los uniformados se aprovecharon de ella. Le dijeron, narran: ‘si quieres quedar libre tienes que darnos una mamada a cada uno’. Ella nos comentó que no quería, pero tenía miedo de que la golpearan, como lo habían hecho con otras detenidas, así que tuvo que acceder a hacer lo que ellos querían. Al final, la dejaron irse”.

“En eso cerraron la puerta del camión (tipo van) donde nos tenían y uno dijo: “a esa perra hay que hacerle calzón chino”, y me empieza a jalar la pantaleta. Se dan cuenta que estaba en mi período de menstruación, porque tenía una toalla sanitaria. Le gritó a otros policías: “Miren esta perra esta sangrando, vamos a ensuciarla un poquito más”, sentí como introdujo violentamente sus dedos en mi vagina repetidamente, hasta el cansancio. Yo ya no estaba bien, pero me acuerdo que decía: Dios mío que me van a hacer”<sup>1</sup>

Ante estas denuncias la fiscal especializada para la Atención de Delitos Cometidos contra las Mujeres, Alicia Elena Pérez Duarte de la PGR reconoció que cuando trató de ubicar a las mujeres detenidas los

representantes del gobierno del Estado negaron que hubiera mujeres encarceladas. (*La Jornada*, 12 de mayo del 2006). Este ocultamiento habla de una red de complicidades que posibilitaron la estrategia policiaca de terror y hostigamiento sexual.

Ante estas presiones internacionales la Secretaría de Gobernación, a través del Jefe de la Unidad para la Promoción y Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, Ricardo Sepúlveda, ha tenido que reconocer que hubo “indicios de violaciones graves a los derechos humanos”.

La agresión sexual a las mujeres de Atenco viene a engrosar la larga lista de mujeres violadas por motivos políticos en los últimos dos sexenios<sup>2</sup>. Para los sectores más conservadores de la sociedad mexicana, la existencia de mujeres organizadas en alguna comunidad o región se ha convertido casi en sinónimo de influencia zapatista, aunque esto no sea necesariamente así. Las mujeres organizadas, zapatistas o no, se han transformado en símbolo de resistencia y subversión, y por ello son el centro de la violencia política.

A pesar de la efectividad que el miedo tiene en la desarticulación de la resistencia social, es evidente que las mujeres de Atenco están dispuestas a seguir luchando por sus derechos como mujeres y por los derechos de sus pueblos. Sus denuncias ante los organismos de derechos humanos son un contradiscurso que se propone romper el silencio del terror, nos toca a nosotros y nosotras hacer eco de estas voces y demandar que se haga justicia.

## Notas

1 *La Jornada* 11 de mayo p. 8. Para mis testimonios de las agresiones sexuales ver también el Informe del Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro A. C. “Atenco un Estado de Derecho a la Medida” <[www.controprodh.org.mx](http://www.controprodh.org.mx)>.

2 Para un análisis de la violencia sexual en el contexto de la guerra de baja intensidad en Chiapas ver Hernández, Rosalva Aída “¿Guerra Fratricida o Estrategia Etnocida? Las Mujeres Frente a la Violencia Política en Chiapas” en Witold Jacorzynski (coordinator) *Estudios sobre la Violencia. Teoría y Práctica*, CIESAS-Porrúa, México D.F. 2002. Pp.97-122 ■

# Calling All Members

## Nominations Invited for 2007 Slate

Deadline: *November 30, 2006*

LASA members are invited to suggest nominees for Vice President and three members of the Executive Council, for terms beginning November 1, 2007. Criteria for nomination include professional credentials and previous service to LASA. Each candidate 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 *November 30, 2006*, to: Professor Carmen Diana Deere, chair, LASA Nominations Committee, Center for Latin American Studies, P.O. Box 115530, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611-5530. Telephone: 352-392-0371 x 801; Fax: 352-392-7682; <deere@ufl.edu>.

The winning candidate for Vice President will serve in that capacity until April 30, 2009, and then as President for an additional eighteen months. Executive Council members will serve a three-year term from November 1, 2007, to October 31, 2010.

The other members of the Nominations Committee are: Jeremy Adelman, Princeton University; Jossiana Arroyo, University of Texas, Austin; Ginetta Candelario, Smith College; Guillermo de la Peña, CIESAS Occidente; Michael Hanchard, Northwestern University; and Francisco Leal, Universidad de Los Andes. Lynn Stephen, University of Oregon, will serve as liaison with the LASA Executive Council.

## Call For Silvert Award Nominations

Deadline: *November 20, 2006*

The Kalman Silvert Award Committee invites nominations of candidates for the year 2007 award. The Silvert Award recognizes senior members of the profession who have made distinguished lifetime contributions to the study of Latin America. The Award is given every 18 months. Past recipients of the Award were:

John J. Johnson (1983)  
 Federico Gil (1985)  
 Albert O. Hirschman (1986)  
 Charles Wagley (1988)  
 Lewis Hanke (1989)  
 Victor L. Urquidí (1991)  
 George Kubler (1992)  
 Osvaldo Sunkel (1994)  
 Richard Fagen (1995)  
 Alain Touraine (1997)  
 Richard Adams (1998)  
 Jean Franco (2000)  
 Thomas Skidmore (2001)  
 Guillermo O'Donnell (2003)  
 June Nash (2004)  
 Miguel León-Portilla (2006)

The selection committee consists of Sonia E. Alvarez (chair), LASA immediate past president; Marysa Navarro and Arturo Arias, past presidents, Philip Oxhorn, editor of the *Latin American Research Review*, and Miguel León-Portilla, 2006 Silvert Awardee. Nominations should be sent to LASA Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas at the LASA Secretariat by *November 20, 2006*. Please include biographic information and a rationale for each nomination.

## Call For Bryce Wood Book Award Nominations

Deadline: *January 15, 2007*

At each International Congress, the Latin American Studies Association presents the Bryce Wood Book Award to the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in English. Eligible books for the 2007 LASA International Congress will be those published between July 1, 2005 and December 31, 2006. 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. Persons who nominate 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.

All books nominated must reach *each member* of the Award Committee and the LASA Secretariat by *January 15, 2007*. By the month preceding the next International Congress (September 2007), the committee will select a winning book. It may also name an honorable mention. The award will be announced at the Award Ceremony of the LASA2007 business meeting, and the awardee will be publicly honored. LASA membership is not a requirement to receive the award.

---

Members of the 2007 committee are:

**Michiel Baud**, Chair  
CEDLA  
Keizersgracht 395-397  
1016 EK Amsterdam  
The Netherlands

**Patricia Birman**  
Rua Maria Angélica 553 apto 302  
cep 52461151  
Rio de Janeiro  
Brazil

**Misha Kokotovic**  
Latin American Studies Program Center  
for Iberian and Latin American Studies  
University of California  
San Diego 9500  
Gilman Dr., 0528  
La Jolla CA 92093-0528

**Raul Madrid**  
University of Texas  
Department of Government  
1 University Station A1800  
Austin TX 78712-0119

**Fiona Wilson**  
International Development Studies  
House 8.1  
Roskilde University  
4000 Roskilde  
Denmark

The LASA Secretariat:

**Latin American Studies Association**  
Attn: Bryce Wood Book Committee  
416 Bellefield Hall  
University of Pittsburgh  
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

---

### Call For Premio Iberoamericano Book Award Nominations

Deadline: *January 15, 2007*

The *Premio Iberoamericano* is presented at each of LASA's International Congresses for the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in Spanish or Portuguese in any country. Eligible books for the 2007 award must have been published between July 1, 2005 and December 31, 2006. No book may compete more than once. Normally not in contention for the award are anthologies of selections by several authors or reprints or re-editions of works published previously. 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. Individuals who nominate 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 those submitting the books.

All books must reach each member of the committee and the LASA Secretariat by *January 15, 2007*. LASA membership is not a requirement for receiving the award. The award will be announced at the Award Ceremony of the LASA2007 business meeting, and the awardee will be publicly honored.

---

Members of the 2007 committee are:

**Alejandro Grimson**, Chair  
Bonpland 1938 PB "3"  
Buenos Aires 1414  
Argentina

**Rosana Barragán**  
Casilla 3370  
La Paz  
Bolivia

**José Mauricio Domínguez**  
IUPERJ  
Rua da Matriz, 82  
22260-100  
Rio de Janeiro/RJ  
Brasil

**Galio Gurdíán**  
Apartado Postal # 676  
Managua  
Nicaragua

**Rosana Reguillo**  
Departamento de Estudios  
Socioculturales  
ITESO  
Periférico Sur 8585  
Tlaquepaque, Jalisco 45091  
Mexico

The LASA Secretariat:

**Latin American Studies Association**  
Attn: Premio Iberoamericano  
Book Committee  
416 Bellefield Hall  
University of Pittsburgh  
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

CALLING ALL MEMBERS continued...

---

## Call For Nominations LASA Media Award

Deadline: *March 15, 2007*

The Latin American Studies Association is pleased to announce its competition for the year 2007 LASA Media Award for outstanding media coverage of Latin America. These awards are made every eighteen months to recognize long-term journalistic contributions to analysis and public debate about Latin America in the United States and in Latin America, as well as breakthrough journalism. Nominations are invited from LASA members and from journalists. Journalists from both the print and electronic media are eligible. The Committee will carefully review each nominee's work and select an award recipient. The award will be announced at the Award Ceremony of the LASA2007 business meeting, and the awardee will be publicly honored. LASA may invite the awardee to submit materials for possible publication in the *LASA Forum*. Recent recipients of the awards include: Maria Ester Gilio (2006); Julio Scherer, journalist, Mexico (2004); Eduardo Anguita, freelance journalist, Buenos Aires (2003); Guillermo González Uribe of *Número*, Bogotá (2001); Patricia Verdugo Aguirre of *Conama*, Chile and *Diario 16*, Spain (2000); Gustavo Gorriti of *Caretas*, Lima, Peru (1998)

To make a nomination, please send one copy of the journalist's portfolio of recent relevant work by *March 15, 2007*, to:

Robin Kirk, Chair  
Director, Duke Human Rights Initiative  
762 Ninth St., PMB 502  
Durham, NC 27705

Additional members of the 2007 LASA Media Award Committee are Sergio Berensztein, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella; and Louis A. Perez, Jr., J. Carlyle Sitterson, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill.

---

## LASA/Oxfam America Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship

Deadline for nomination: *January 15, 2007*

The Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship is offered at each LASA International Congress to an outstanding individual who combines Professor Diskin's commitment to both activism and scholarship.

This distinguished lectureship is made possible largely by a generous contribution from Oxfam America, an organization committed to grassroots work—and one with which Martin Diskin was closely associated. Ricardo Falla, S.J., was the 1998 Diskin Lecturer. Professor Gonzalo Sánchez Gómez of the Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, was the Lecturer in 2000. At LASA2001, Professor Elizabeth Lira Kornfeld, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago, Chile, delivered the Memorial Lecture. In 2003, the Lectureship was shared by Rodolfo Stavenhagen, El Colegio de México, and Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, CIESAS, Mexico City. Professor Jonathan Fox, University of California/Santa Cruz was the 2004 lecturer and Professor William Leogrande, American University, was the Lecturer in 2006.

Nominations, including self-nominations, are welcome. A nomination should include a statement justifying the nomination, the complete mailing address of the nominee, telephone and fax numbers, and email address. To nominate a candidate, send these materials no later than *January 15, 2007*, to the chair of the Diskin Lectureship Selection Committee, Professor M. Brinton Lykes, Campion Hall, Room 101, Boston College Chestnut Hill, MA 02467

Additional members of the 2007 Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship Committee are: Les Field, University of New Mexico; Michelle Fine; Virginia Vargas, Flora Tristan; and Ray Offenheiser, President, Oxfam America. ■

## Report from the Program Chairs

by NEIL HARVEY | New Mexico State University (NMSU) | Las Cruces | nharvey@nmsu.edu

and MARÍA SOCORRO TABUENCA | El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF)  
Dirección General Regional del Noroeste | tabuenca@dns.colef.mx

Como coordinadores del programa del Congreso de LASA2007, mandamos nuestros saludos a toda la membresía y agradecemos al nuevo presidente de la asociación, Charlie Hale, por habernos invitado a aceptar esta tarea que nos entusiasma mucho. También reconocemos los consejos importantes de las coordinadoras del último congreso, Amalia Pallares y Frances Aparicio, así como el apoyo de María Cecilia Dancisin y Milagros Pereyra.

Nos da mucho gusto informarles que los primeros pasos han sido muy productivos. Nos reunimos primero en las instalaciones de El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF) en Ciudad Juárez, a principios de febrero, y luego nos volvimos a reunir durante el Congreso de LASA en Puerto Rico en marzo. Discutimos la lista de temas de los Congresos anteriores y como podíamos incluir de la mejor manera nuevos temas de interés para nuestra asociación.

Aunque la mayor parte de los temas quedan sin modificaciones, hicimos ciertos cambios en algunos temas o agregamos temas nuevos que esperamos sean atractivos para compartir nuevas investigaciones y promover debates sobre cuestiones importantes en la vida actual del continente. Por ejemplo, algunos temas nuevos son los siguientes: 'Biodiversidad, Recursos Naturales y Políticas Ambientales', 'Imperio y Resistencia', y 'Cuestionando la Propiedad Intelectual: conocimiento, valor y creatividad'. El programa también incluye aspectos nuevos de temas establecidos, como, por ejemplo, la democratización y el desempeño democrático, y vincula algunos temas que muchas veces son estudiados por separado, como es el caso de los movimientos sociales y el mundo laboral.

Asimismo hemos tratado de reflejar el tema central del congreso de LASA2007, al promover el debate sobre las alternativas de desarrollo y los cambios en el terreno de las relaciones internacionales después del llamado 'Consenso de Washington'. También hemos incluido el tema de los retos y beneficios de las metodologías colaborativas en la producción de otros saberes. Nuestra lista de temas fue presentada también a las distintas Secciones de LASA y agradecemos sus comentarios y sugerencias.

Queremos también agradecer a todos los coordinadores de los ejes temáticos por haber aceptado nuestra invitación. Apreciamos su voluntad de dar su tiempo y esfuerzo de esta forma.

Estamos muy entusiasmados por el hecho de que la ciudad de Montreal haya sido seleccionada como sede del congreso de LASA2007. Anticipamos mucho la organización de algunos eventos especiales para aprovechar las diversas ventajas particulares de esa bella ciudad. Les agradecemos sus comentarios y sugerencias durante nuestro camino a otro Congreso exitoso para LASA. ■

# Section Reports

## Brazil

Ken Serbin, Chair

Outgoing Co-Chairs Kenneth Serbin and Tânia Pelligrini opened the LASA-Brazil Section meeting by welcoming the 90+ participants. The LASA-Brazil essay prize went to Tracy Devine-Guzman from the University of Miami for her essay "Diacuí Killed Iracema: Indigenism, Nationalism and the Struggle for Brazilianess" (*Bulletin of Latin American Research* Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 92-122, 2005). The prize for the best book in English went to Edward E. Telles from UCLA for his book *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil* (Princeton University Press, 2004.) Travel grants for participants in Brazil Section panels were awarded to Douglas Libby and to Nelson Viana.

Elections for Co-Chairs for three-year terms were held with nominations from the floor. Susan Canty Quinlan was elected as the U.S. Co-Chair and Hélio Seixas Guimarães as the Brazilian Co-Chair. Sonia Roncador was elected as Secretary-Treasurer for a three-year term. New Executive Committee members include Christina Mehrtens and Ana Paula A. Ribeiro. Continuing Executive Committee members include César Braga Pinto, David Fleischer, Karl Monsama, Micol Seigel, and Judith M. Williams.

Heartfelt thank-yous were offered to outgoing Co-Chairs Ken Serbin and Tânia Pelligrini for all of their hard work.

## Central America

Beatriz Cortez, Co-Chair and Ana Yolanda Contreras, Secretary

The Central American Section held its Business Meeting on Thursday, March 16, 2006; 25 members were in attendance, plus the Section Co-Chairs and Secretary. The film *Voces Inocentes/Innocent Voices* was being shown at the same time as the Section's Business Meeting. Members were invited to join that session at 10:00pm, and to participate in the discussion with Screenwriter Oscar Torres, whose visit had been sponsored by the Central American and Film Sections.

The agenda included the following points: 1) Discussion on the importance of increasing the number of Section members and panels during the next LASA Congress. The Section's goal is to have 300 active members by the next LASA Congress; 2) The account balance of the Section; 3) The need to have an updates section webpage to circulate information among Section members. [The web space is sponsored by California State University, Northridge]; 4) Four new panels will be sponsored by the Section during the next LASA Congress. It was agreed that information regarding our panel selection will be posted on the Section's website so that all members can be informed about this process. Section Co-Chairs will also inform members via e-mail.

Members were informed that the two students who received doctoral grants to carry out research projects in Central America, Mauricio Pajón and Leisy Abrego, have not yet submitted reports on the results of their research projects. It was agreed that grant recipients and their advisors will be required to submit reports that can be made available online to all Section members once the research project is concluded, and also to send in copies of receipts and/or other documents that prove that the research was actually carried out in Central America. Furthermore, it was agreed that if these conditions are not met, the recipients will reimburse the Section for all grant monies received. Given these conditions, it was agreed that in 2006/2007 three grants (one of \$1,000 and two of \$500 each) will be available for doctoral graduate students/members of the section.

Section member Werner Machenbach invited those present to participate in a research project on literary historiography that more than 40 researchers are carrying out. Several universities are collaborating in this project. Information regarding this project is posted on the Section's website.

Challenges for the next LASA Congress include the invitation to one or two speakers to participate in one of the Section-sponsored panels or workshops. Also, Section officers agreed to meet electronically at least twice prior

to the next Congress in order to prepare all details. Elections were announced at the end of the meeting and via e-mail, following the Section's meeting. A Section reception followed the Business Meeting.

Section elections were carried out via e-mail during the months of April and May, 2006. The new Section officers are: Ricardo Roque-Baldovinos, Co-Chair; Ana Patricia Rodríguez, Co-Chair; Ana Yolanda Contreras, Secretary and Listserv Administrador; Anita Herzfeld, Treasurer; and Chris Chiappari, Silvia López, Gabriela Torres, and José Edgardo Cal, Advisory Board Members. Leisy Abrego was elected Advisory Board Member and Graduate Student Representative, and Milton Machuca as Co-Webmaster.

## Colombia

Mary Roldán, Co-Chair

The Colombia Section Business Meeting took place on March 16, 2006 with 73 members present. Mary Roldán agreed to continue as Co-Chair for one more term and an election was held to replace Carmelita Millán de Benevides. Patricia Tovar was elected Co-Chair unanimously. Luis Fernando Restrepo agreed to continue to oversee the Section's bi-monthly electronic bulletin. Leah Carroll continues to maintain the Section email list and listserv as Section Secretary. Four individuals were elected to serve on the Section Council: Juana Suarez (Cultural Studies); Kiran Asher (Political Science); Marta Zambrano (Anthropology); and Gilberto Gómez (Literature). For the first time the Section also decided to elect student representatives to the Council: Lina del Castillo, and Erica Márquez. Students will assist with updating the Section's list and in return the Colombia Section voted to cover the costs of the students' registration at the next LASA Congress.

The Section voted to create two prizes that have been under discussion for some time: the Michael Jiménez Prize for the best book on Colombia in the Social Sciences and the Montserrat Ordóñez Prize for the best book in the Humanities. The Section determined that the

amount of each prize would be approximately \$500, with the possibility that this might be increased in the future as fundraising efforts permitted. The juries for these two prizes will be determined by the Section Council.

#### **Cuba**

Sheryl Lutjens, Co-Chair

At the end of 2005 the Section had 341 members; after the XXVI Congress in San Juan, the Section had more than 370 members.

The U.S. government's denial of visas for all 65 Cuban participants in the Las Vegas Congress in 2004 oriented much of the work of the Section in 2004 and 2005. Encouraging Cuban members to submit proposals (more than 100 were accepted) and then to apply for visas were major accomplishments, followed by efforts to avoid a repeat of the Las Vegas denials. The Section had an active presence in many of the venues within which academic freedom and educational exchanges were discussed and strategy developed, including the Coalition to Defend Educational Travel to Cuba, Cuba Action Day in Washington, D.C. in April 2005, and the special Task Force created by LASA in Las Vegas. Despite the efforts of many, none of the 59 Cuban scholars who applied received a visa to attend the 2006 Congress in San Juan.

The Section was active in a variety of other ways. We created a web page <[www.cubasection.org](http://www.cubasection.org)> and maintained a distribution list to circulate information about conferences, new publications, and the political circumstances of the visa process. Our Prize Committee accepted nominations for the Section Award for Outstanding Contributions to the Scholarship in Cuban Studies; the recipient of the 2006 Award is Dr. Rafael Hernández of the Centro Juan Marinello and *Revista Temas*. With the assistance of Section member Ann Marie Stock, the Section sponsored *Suite Habana* in the LASA Congress Film Festival; *Suite Habana* received a LASA Award of Merit in Film. We conducted the first part of our two-part election process during the Business Meeting in San Juan; the second part, electronic voting, was completed subsequently.

#### **Culture, Power & Politics (CPP)**

Marc Zimmerman, Vice Chair

Twenty-four people attended the CPP meeting on 3/17/06 including new board members: Marc Zimmerman (Chair), Susana Kaiser (Vice Chair), Sylvia Escárceaga (Elections Coordinator)—all present at the meeting; plus Benjamín Ardití (Program Coordinator)—absent. Present also were Mirta Antonelli and Liv Sovik, no longer board members. The budget expenditures and balance were reported to the board. Attendees expressed satisfaction with the quality and attendance of Section sessions, including those on U.S.-Puerto Rican issues, Mexican politics (with Carlos Monsiváis) and political imaginaries (with Monsiváis and Hugo Achúgar).

Members affirmed support for LASA's proposed U.S. site boycott and suggested the search for alternative Congress models (e.g., university dorms, etc.) to allow broader participation and a larger number of candidate locales. We emphasized the need for improving the website and web communications, the appointment of a new webmaster and new treasurer, etc. Work continues on developing CPP junior and senior awards, with manuscript submissions still under review, and with suggestions that future prizes be used to supplement LASA funding and help CPP members attend.

For LASA2007, we stressed focus on new sessions on emerging Latin American/Latino agendas, as well as sessions linking CPP to other LASA constituencies. We had an extended discussion about the apparent decision to further separate Sections and Congress program tracks and to drop or rearticulate the Culture, Politics and Society track CPP had fought so hard to establish. The new chair and vice chair were urged to seek to restore the eliminated track.

#### **Decentralization and Sub-national Governance**

Al Montero, Chair

The LASA Decentralization and Sub-national Governance Section has, in the course of the last 18 months, explored a number of collective scholarly initiatives, including the use of the Section email list to distribute data, working papers, and relative links. Soon after the LASA2004 meeting, the Section distributed a list of papers on decentralization and sub-national governance that were presented at the meeting. (The board is preparing a similar effort for LASA2006).

At our Business Meeting at LASA2006, the Section members assembled (10 in all) agreed on a number of initiatives to stimulate collective

scholarship by the members. First, the Section agreed to initiate a new webpage/blog for the distribution of links, papers, datasets, and contact lists for the membership. The newly reelected Chair and Section Treasurer/Secretary will spearhead the effort this term. Second, Section members agreed to pursue contacts in other disciplinary organizations (e.g., geography, sociology) and to make a special effort to recruit graduate students in different fields into LASA and the Section. This recruitment drive will also coincide with an effort to pursue a *LASA Forum* symposium on decentralization and sub-national governance in inter-disciplinary perspective. Third, we will pursue the idea of providing a book award to raise the profile of the Section. We awarded our second paper award ever during the Business Meeting to member Rodrigo Mardones for his paper "The Congressional Politics of Decentralization: The Case of Chile." Nominations are now open for papers presented at LASA2006.

Finally, we decided to give the entire membership an opportunity to vote on the Council leadership via email after the meeting in Puerto Rico. We had four positions open (beginning in May) and the following individuals were elected: Al Montero, Section Chair (re-elected to another 1 1/2 year term); Maria Escobar-Lemmon (Treasurer/Secretary, 3-year term); Rodrigo Mardones (Council member, 3-year term), and Tulia Falleti (Council member, 3-year term). They join Mimi Keck and Emma Zevallos who are on the Council until their terms expire in November 2007.

As a final matter, the members at the Business Meeting agreed to consider using Section monies to subsidize travel costs for those with little or no institutional support, including graduate students who present papers on Section panels.

#### **Defense, Democracy and Civil-Military Relations**

Sam Fitch, Co-Chair

At the XXVI International Congress in San Juan, the Defense and Democracy Section held its annual Business Meeting with 19 members present. Section Co-Chair Francisco Rojas was unable to attend the Congress, so Co-Chair Sam Fitch presented a brief report on the activities of Program Committee members Marcela Donadio (RESDAL), Kristina Mani (Oberlin College), and Tom Bruneau (Naval Postgraduate School). In accordance with the format approved at the last Section meeting, the Section's panels in San Juan were organized as hybrid workshop-panels, with a larger number of presenters giving reports on their research and no formal discussants in order

SECTION NEWS continued...

to encourage more debate and discussion. The two panels—"New Directions in Research on Civil-Military Relations" and "Defense and Security in an Age of Globalization"—were lively and well-attended, despite the fact that they both took place early on the first day of the Congress, before some of our members arrived. Section members also organized two panels sponsored by other program tracks, adding to the coverage of topics of interest to Section members. For the first time, the Section made two travel awards to support members' participation in the Congress; the Section is also sponsoring a prize for the best paper presented to the 2006 Congress on "defense and democracy" issues.

Fitch announced that he would not be able to serve again as the U.S. Co-chair, so by a unanimous vote, Kristina Mani was elected to replace him. Francisco Rojas was unanimously re-elected as the Latin American Co-Chair. David Pion-Berlin was named as a new member of the Program Committee by acclamation.

The remainder of the meeting was devoted to brief summaries by those present of their current research activities. Particularly noteworthy were the completion of the Atlas Comparativo de la Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina and the ongoing work on comparative defense budgets at RESDAL to which various Section members contributed. Members applauded RESDAL's work in providing basic data and a web-based network to serve Defense and Democracy Section members and the wider community of scholars and practitioners working on these issues. The session ended with a round of applause for Sam Fitch for his 2 terms as Co-Chair of the section.

**Economics and Politics**

Leslie Elliott Armijo and Andrew Schrank, Co-Chairs

At the 2004 Las Vegas Congress, members attending the Business Meeting of the "Business and Politics" Section moved to reconstitute the Section under the broader name and mission "Economics and Politics." Our goal is to inspire informed and interdisciplinary discussion of the social and political causes and consequences of economic policies and outcomes in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Section's broader membership, many of whom had lamented the demise of the former "Political Economy" Section, later voted overwhelmingly in favor of the change. The ensuing 18 months leading to the 2006 Congress in San Juan has seen Section membership more than double to 123+ members, entitling us to two panels at

LASA2007. Approximately fifteen members attended the San Juan Business Meeting. We proposed new officers and Executive Committee members, subsequently approved by the membership in an email ballot. Present officers: Co-Chairs: Leslie Elliott Armijo (continuing) and Andrew Schrank; Executive Council: Roy Nelson (continuing), Angelika Rettberg (continuing), Ben Ross Schneider, and Sybil Rhodes; Ex Officio: Peter Kingstone, Ken Shadlen.

We conceive of our mission as policy relevant commentary as well as pure scholarship, and to this end have decided to continue to use our Section's panels to bring to LASA policymakers and opinion leaders—including those in government, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, and the business community—who otherwise might not attend the Congresses. In San Juan we held a sponsored roundtable on the Inter-American Development Bank's 2006 Economic and Social Progress Report, *The Politics of Policies*. To a standing room only crowd, lead author Ernesto Stein distilled the IDB's wide-ranging, ambitious, and unconventional project into a thought-provoking 30-minute presentation, after which he submitted gracefully to both praise and pointed critiques from our inter-disciplinary panel: Fernando Coronil (Anthropology, University of Michigan); Evelyne Huber (Political Science, University of North Carolina); Sandra Kuntz-Ficker (Economic History, El Colegio de México), and Ben Ross Schneider (Political Science, Northwestern University). We used Section funds to facilitate one participant's attendance. Possible substantive areas for next year's panels include: immigration; the business community and peacemaking; the consequences of financial liberalization; intra-hemispheric trade; and a cross-disciplinary methodology workshop. The Section welcomes suggestions, which may be addressed to either Co-Chair.

The Executive Committee continues its email discussion of the possibility of offering a paper or book prize for the coming year. We also plan to move the Section website, soon to feature links to members' web pages as well as other research-relevant sites, to the University of New Mexico. Please contact Andrew Schrank with website suggestions.

**Ecuadorian Studies**

Ximena Sosa-Bochholz, Chair

La reunión de la Sección de Estudios Ecuatorianos se realizó el jueves 16 de Marzo, 2006 con 27 miembros. Se hicieron elecciones y

los siguientes miembros fueron nombrados: William F. Waters, como presidente; Scott McKinney, como secretario-tesorero; y como miembros del consejo directivo, Ximena Sosa-Buchholz, Michael Handelsman, Luciano Martínez y Jorge León; María Isabel Silva fue re-electa como coordinadora de derechos humanos.

Se lanzó nuestro primer libro, *Estudios Ecuatorianos: Un aporte a la discusión*, editado por Ximena Sosa-Buchholz y William F. Waters, auspiciado por la Sección y FLACSO, y publicado en Abya Yala, Quito. En él constan nueve artículos que fueron presentados en el segundo encuentro de ecuatorianistas en Quito, en 2004. Para mayor información y pedidos <lalibreria@flacso.org.ec>.

Se anunció nuevamente el Tercer Encuentro de Ecuatorianistas que realizará en FLACSO en Quito del 29 de Junio al 1 de Julio de 2006. Se discutió sobre el futuro de la revista electrónica y la mejor posibilidad de agilizar el proceso de enviar cartas referentes a cuestiones de derechos humanos.

**Educación y Políticas Educativas**

Graciela Riquelme, Co-Chair

La Sección Educación y Políticas Educativas en América Latina tuvo su reunión jueves 16 de marzo de 2006. Coordinadores electos para el nuevo período son María Isabel da Cunha y Eulalio Velásquez Licea.

Se acuerda que en la transición permanezca Graciela C. Riquelme, como puente entre las gestiones previas de la Sección. El día viernes Graciela C. Riquelme fue confirmada como Track Chair de la próxima conferencia 2007, labor que se asocia con la de un comité académico de selección de ponencias y organización de paneles. La política de LASA respecto a las Secciones y los Program Committee Track Chairs es de tratar que no coincidan los mismos países en la coordinación. En tal sentido, tanto Christopher Martin como Graciela C. Riquelme podrán asistir en esta transición.

Los asistentes a la reunión acuerdan la necesidad de impulsar una mayor convocatoria, que ha sido el objetivo central del panel de la Sección organizado para el Congreso 2006, para la que se realizaron gestiones para lograr la participación de representantes de: International Sociology of Education; Laboratorio de Políticas Públicas de América Latina (LPP); International Council of Adult Education (ICAE); Asociación Latino Americana del Trabajo (ALAST).

Otro punto clave es lograr invitar a investigadores actores claves de EE.UU, miembros de la Research in Comparative Education u otras redes, así como grupos de investigadores de otros países, tales como la ANPED de Brasil o similares.

Para operar la Sección acuerda designar responsables por áreas temáticas o problemas, que actuarán como una suerte de vocales de la Sección. Su misión será lograr ampliar la inscripción en LASA y en esta Sección antes de fin de abril: Educación y política educativa: Verónica Oelsner y María Fernanda Astiz; Educación y trabajo: Claudia Jacinto y Natalia Herger; Educación, pobreza y discriminación: Lidia Fernández; Educación superior; Marta Neponeschi, María Isabel Da Cunha, y João Dos Reis Silva; Formación docente o educación de profesores: sugerir responsables; Educación para la paz y derechos humanos: Ramón Larrauri Jóvenes; Educación y ciudadanía: Ana Miranda. Se invita a acompañar los esfuerzos de estas vocalías para logra la meta de una significativa inscripción.

#### **Environment**

Colleen Scanlan Lyons, Chair

The Environment Section Business Meeting was held March 16, 2006. The main theme of the meeting was reinvigorating the Section by revisiting the previous period's action plan and organizing to complete goals of the Section such as developing a Section website, encouraging more active communication via the section listserv, increasing membership, and developing a student paper prize. Ten Section members were present at the Business meeting. Several commented that the small numbers in attendance seemed to reflect: 1) the fact that all Sections meet at the same time; and 2) the 8:00 pm time of the meeting. Several suggestions were discussed, such as moving the meeting to lunch time and providing lunch, staggering the meeting with other Section meetings, and holding the meeting at a restaurant in town, if this is in accordance with LASA regulations.

The membership discussed methods for increasing Section membership, including contacting other colleagues who work with Latin America and the environment, and soliciting membership from those at the LASA Congress who gave environmentally-related presentations. They also discussed new ideas for developing the Environment Section activities at LASA2007. The idea of a field trip was raised, as was that of putting together interdisciplinary panels and/or an all-graduate student panel in conjunction with

a paper prize. Additionally members expressed an interest in developing a Section website and increasing their participation in the Section listserv, as well as how to best use the Section funds. Top priorities for this were the support the travel of a graduate student or Latin American scholar to the Congresses, the awarding of a prize for the best student essay, and organizing a Section field trip at the next meeting.

Four people were elected to the Board to join existing Board members (noted by a \*) including John Soluri, (Chair)\*, Colleen Scanlan Lyons\*, (Co-Chair), Peter Wilshusen, (Secretary/Treasurer), Jim Bass, John Vandermeer\*, Tom Rudel\*, Tom Perreault\*, Vanessa Empinotti, and Andrea Ballestero.

Officers and members of the Section had e-mail dialogue for planning the two panel sessions for the 2006 Congress, which involved paper presentations and roundtable discussions related to conservation and NGOs in Latin America and decentralized management of natural resources. The Board also developed and conducted an e-mail survey of the membership to determine the areas of highest interest around which to develop future Section activities. While only 1/4 of the membership participated, this gave us valuable feedback on the best areas for growth, which included building networking opportunities and increasing activity on the Section listserv.

Plans for the coming term include those for LASA2007 Congress participation. The Board will work with the membership to plan the two allotted panels and will investigate the possibility of having a Section field trip. The section will also return to hosting a student essay competition, with the prize to be awarded at the 2007 meeting. Members of the Board and interested Section members will work together to develop the content, design, and hosting logistics for a Section webpage. The Section will work to increase membership, as well as to increase and facilitate communication among the members via the listserv and other mechanisms.

#### **Ethnicity, Race, and Indigenous Peoples**

Jan Hoffman French, Chair

The Business Meeting was attended by approximately 30 members. The Meeting was co-chaired by Jan French, Mario Blaser, and Leon Zamosc. We discussed issues of Indigenous and Afro-descendant participation in our Section and in LASA as a whole, as well as the direction the Section should take over the next period. We decided to have an election by email, which provided an opportunity for all members to vote.

As of the closing date (May 15), 33 members had voted, with the results that Mario Blaser became chair and three new members of the Council were elected (see below). In addition, the Section decided to allocate \$2 out its \$5 of dues money to our project involving Indigenous and Afro-descendant intellectuals.

Section election results include: Mario Blaser\* (Chair), Jan French\* (Secretary-Treasurer), and Council Members Todd Eisenstadt\*, Susan Fitzpatrick\*, Marc Becker\*\*, Jerome Branche\*\*, and Sylvia Escárcega\*\*. (\*Terms expire as of the next LASA meeting.) (\*\*Newly elected to three-year terms.)

Plans for the coming term include the following: a) Transforming the Section website into a portal or clearinghouse for the work of Indigenous and Afro-descendant intellectuals; b) Establishing liaisons with Indigenous and Afro-descendants research and learning institutions; c) Doing the groundwork for future Section-specific conferences in coordination with the journal *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*; d) Organizing the sessions for the coming LASA Congress; and e) Continuing the development of a Section plan of action for future collaborative research with Indigenous and Afro-descendant producers of knowledge.

#### **Europe and Latin America (ELAS)**

Andrés Malamud, Secretary

With the presence of 14 people (Laurence Whitehead, Bert Hoffman, Christian Freres, Jennifer Petree, Marc Berthod, Ana Ayuso, Joaquín Roy, Isabela Cabral de Sousa, Carlos Quenan, Beatriz Padilla, Juan Pablo Milanese, Jan Wogart, Ana Margheritis and Andrés Malamud) at the March, 2006 Business Meeting, the participants discussed a report of the activities developed during 2004-2006 and the agenda for 2006-2007.

Past activities included the organization of two sessions in Puerto Rico: 1) The New International Relations of Latin America: Between the Atlantic and the Pacific (co-sponsored with the Pacific Rim section); and 2) Latin American Migration to Europe and Transnational Engagement in Countries of Origin. The ELAS and Peru Sections also co-organized a social reception at LASA2006. The first ELAS Award for the Best Thesis on Europe and Latin America was given to Francisco Sánchez López, from the University of Salamanca, for his dissertation "Actores e Incentivos en la Estructuración del Legislativo: Un Estudio de Ecuador, España y Uruguay". The Section webpage

SECTION NEWS continued...

<<http://home.iscte.pt/~ansmd/elas/ELAS.htm>> continues to provide information and links to related sites.

Future activities of the Section include: 1) plans to organize up to two sessions for LASA2007. An open call for proposals will be timely done; 2) continuation of the development of joint ventures with other Sections, either within the framework of LASA activities or outside (e.g., at CEISAL congresses in Europe); 3) a second conferring of the best thesis award is planned for 2007; and 4) the possible publication of some of the papers presented at LASA 2006. Although a final decision has not yet been made, we maintain the intention to sponsor publications related to Europe and Latin America.

In the Business Meeting the Section leadership also was reconstituted: Laurence Whitehead is Chair; Andrés Malamud is Secretary-Treasurer; and Carlos Quenan, Sebastian Royo, and Isabela Cabral Félix de Sousa are Executive Committee members.

#### Film Studies

Claudia Ferman y Cynthia Tompkins,  
Past Co-Chairs.

Hay 116 miembros en la Sección de cine de LASA. La Sección hizo un co-sponsorship con la Sección de Centroamérica para traer a Oscar Torres al Congreso. Aumentar la membresía es prioritario, ya que con 10 miembros más se accede a otra sesión. Se discutió la posibilidad de acercarse a quienes presentaron sobre cine para animarles a asociarse a la Sección.

Hubo mucho interés en las dos sesiones: (# 137) Cinema of Greater Puerto Rico, organizada por Paul Schroeder, que contó además con la participación de Lissette Rolón Collazo, José Rivera González y Luis Figueroa; y (# 172) Encrucijadas del cine latinoamericano, organizada por Cynthia Tompkins, con la participación de Isabel Arredondo, Jorge Marturano, Adriana Bergero, Gabriela Copertari y Catherine Benamou.

Mucha gente no sabía que eran sesiones de cine porque no estaban designadas como tal. En la reunión de la Sección se discutió la dificultad en encontrar las sesiones de cine en el catálogo y se sugirió pedir a la secretaría que subsane ese problema, tal como la dificultad de acceder a tecnología para presentaciones. Como Sección, concordamos en la necesidad de pedir facilidades para utilizar Powerpoint en nuestras sesiones.

Sugerencias de temas para LASA en Boston o Canadá incluyen: 1) Ofrecer un taller sobre la

enseñanza del cine latinoamericano (con discusiones de lugares donde se consiguen videos, etc.); 2) Televisión: "Cine y los medios"; 3) Hacer un taller interdisciplinario en combinación con Media Studies; 4) Latinos en Norteamérica; 5) Invitar a un cubano dado que posiblemente LASA será en Canadá; 6) Algo de producción; 7) "¿Qué es film studies in Latinoamérica?" (crítica de cine que se ha hecho en países individuales y entre países); 8) Traer a un director o distribuidor que hable en la sesión; 9) Documental en América Latina; 10) Invitar a Canal Sur o Telesur; 11) Cine Latino-canadiense. Los asistentes opinaron que debía haber más comunicación en la lista de la Sección para que brindara información de congresos sobre cine y sobre las publicaciones de nuestros colegas. Particularmente se discutió la necesidad de establecer vínculos con Society for Cinema and Media Studies, ya que tiene un Latino caucus muy fuerte y activo.

Las elecciones se llevaron a cabo por la lista. Damos la bienvenida a Gilberto Blasini, Chair; y a Ana-María Rodríguez Vivaldi y Cynthia Tompkins, nuevas Miembros del Consejo junto a Catherine Benamou y Emanuelle Olivera.

Agradecemos a Claudia Ferman el haber creado la sección de cine y su constante labor en el LASA Film Festival. Asimismo, a Victoria Ruétalo, por tomar las actas.

#### Gender and Feminist Studies

Alice Colón and Sara Poggio, Co-Chairs

Between LASA2004 and LASA2006, the Gender and Feminist Studies Section promoted an agile and broad system of communication that was considered crucial to promote members' participation. Not only did we provide information through the traditional listserve and our Section's webpage, but an interactive page created by Linda Stevenson and other members provided the opportunity for mutual communication in the Section.

Topics for panels and the Preconference to be sponsored by the Section were discussed by the Council and shared with Section members. We organized a very successful Preconference, three very well attended sponsored panels, as well as a workshop informing about the discussions in the Preconference.

The Business Meeting gathered around 60 of our members. We presented the report of our activities and newly elected Council members. Issues for future work were discussed, including the continuing innovation of our Preconference,

the promotion of joint research projects, and diverse forms of publications.

Our meeting was also a space for celebrating members' publications. The presentation of the book *De lo privado a lo público: 30 años de lucha ciudadana de las mujeres en América Latina* by its coordinators, Nathalie Lebon and Elizabeth Maier, was the highlight of the night, as the latest publication sponsored by our Section. A list of the most recent books by Section members was also read and other members discussed some of their most recent works. The activity represented another excellent opportunity for exchange, learning about each other's activities, and networking for future collaboration.

The section elected its new Council through electronic voting between February 17 and March 8, 2006. Elections were ratified at the Business Meeting. Following are the new Council members: Mary Goldsmith (Co-Chair Latin America); Ginetta Candelario (Co-Chair United States and Canada); María Herminia Di Lisia (Secretary); and Council members Leila Maria Da'Juda Bijos, Adriana Causa, Graciela DiMarco, Jeanne Gillespie, Mercedes Prieto, Clara Román-Odio, and Kimberly Eison Simmons.

#### Haiti/Dominican Republic

Henry (Chip) Carey and Emelio Betances,  
Co-Chairs

At the LASA Congress in San Juan, the Haiti-Dominican Republic Section successfully held its panel, "Challenges Facing Haiti and the Dominican Republic," in which there were six papers and one chair/discussant. It was very well attended with over thirty people in the audience, despite appearing on the first day. Christopher Mitchell of NYU presented a paper on contemporary power politics and decentralization as part of a new book project on the Dominican Republic. Other papers presented included Trujillo's use of symbols and power (Lauren Derby), Canadian missionaries during the Trujillo period (Catherine Legrand), Social doctrine of the Catholic Church (Emelio Betances), Circulation of Dominant Families, (Christine Rivas), and Environmental Degradation in Haiti (Avram Primack on behalf of his co-author Sandra Woy-Hazelton). Dennis Hidalgo was the chair/discussant and also circulated his written comments to the participants and interested audience members.

At our Business Meeting the group decided to keep the same co-chairs, Chip Carey, representing Haiti, and Emelio Betances,

representing the Dominican Republic. We plan to continue to promote our efforts to incorporate students and to create a student paper award when the Section accrues enough funds. Dennis Hidalgo noted that the Section has become a central clearinghouse for discussing relations between the two countries, which was the purpose for which the Section was created. The attendees were enthusiastic about the progress so far. We also discussed an important commitment from the past Congress, to recruit a number of prestigious scholars of Haiti, who had regrettably resigned from LASA in protest over an administrative decision. This project follows on the effort of past LASA President Marysa Navarro, who had hoped that these important scholars would again become active in the Section and in LASA. Otherwise, it is noteworthy that the number of Section members has continued to grow. We are planning to organize a panel at the next meeting on the newly elected governments of both countries, their effects on the two countries and their relations.

#### **Health, Science and Society Section**

Gabriela Soto Laveaga, Co-Chair

The 2004-2005 term was fruitful for the Health, Science and Society Section. The officers included Co-Chairs Diego Armus and Gabriela Soto Laveaga, Secretary/Treasurer Mario Pecheny and Council members Ann Blum, Arachu Castro, Marcos Cueto, and Ann Zulawski.

LASA2007 in Puerto Rico included eleven sessions and one invited panel, which examined questions of race and disease throughout Latin America. The invited panelists included Latin American and U.S. scholars who examined disease as a part of the dialogue with human rights, violence, and gender and nation formation. With nearly twenty members and several non-members in the audience, this year's attendance was the largest to date.

During this past period the Section's priority was to encourage membership growth and in this sense ensure its future visibility and maintain continued interest in the field. We close this period with a strong membership of 73 members, many of them new to LASA and to the Section. We also increased our commitment to grant prizes for best paper presented during LASA2006 and best article. Awards will be given at the following LASA meeting.

New officers are Co-Chairs Ann Blum and Ann Zulawski; Secretary/Treasurer Adam Warren; and Council Members Claudia Agostoni, Martha

Bustillos-Hernandez, Mario Pecheny, and Ana Maria Kapelus Poppi.

#### **Labor Studies**

Jean F. Mayer, Secretary-Treasurer

The Section's Business Meeting was held on March 17, during LASA2006. The meeting was led by Jean F. Mayer, Secretary-Treasurer of the Section, as Section Chair Salvador Sandoval could not attend the Congress. Nineteen members were in attendance during the Business Meeting.

The winners of the Section's Best Book and Best Article/Book Chapter Prizes were announced. The winner for Best Book was Katrina Burgess' *Parties and Unions in the New Global Economy* (2004). The winner for Best Article/Book Chapter was Gregory S. Crider for his "Radical Rhetoric, Repressive Rule: Sindicato Power in the Atlixco (Mexico) Countryside in the Early Twentieth Century", in Thomas Summerhill and James Scott (eds.), *Transatlantic Rebels: Agrarian Radicalism in Comparative Perspective* (East Lansing: Michigan University Press, 2004), pp. 193-200. The jury also awarded an Honorable Mention to Peter Ranis' "Argentina's Worker-Occupied Factories and Enterprises", in *Socialism and Democracy*, Vol. 19, No. 3, November 2005, 93-115. Each of the two awards consists of a US\$150 reimbursement for purchased books.

Other than maintaining this award process, the Section, through its ex-Chair Joel Stillerman and other members of a LASA-designated taskforce, continued its scrutiny of the labor conditions of workers in hotels where the Association holds its Congresses. The Section is also exploring the possibility of holding a Mini-Conference before the 2007 LASA Congress, in which labor practitioners from Latin America could take an active part. The Section would fund in part the trip of these practitioners. The Labor Section also wishes to co-sponsor a panel with other LASA Sections at the next LASA Congress, in order to enhance the quality and intensity of exchanges with other LASA groups. The exact nature of this co-sponsored panel will be worked out in the next few months.

At the time of writing, the Executive Committee of the Section was comprised of: Chair Salvador Sandoval (departing); Secretary-Treasurer Jean F. Mayer; Councilor Fernando Leiva; Councilor Shareen Hertel; and Councilor Mark Anner.

#### **Latin America and the Pacific Rim**

Neanthro Saavedra-Rivano, Co-chair

The Business Meeting at LASA2006 was called to order by Neantro Saavedra-Rivano, presiding as Co-Chair. (Co-Chair Blake Locklin was unable to attend.)

After verifying the presence of ten Section members, less than the requisite quorum, it was decided to proceed with the meeting on an informal basis. In addition to Neantro Saavedra-Rivano, the meeting was attended by the treasurer, Rubén Berríos, and two other members of the Executive Council, Shigeru Kochi and Gonzalo Paz. A report on activities was presented by Neantro Saavedra-Rivano, including the preparation of the Section panel as well as the organization of a joint panel together with the Section on Europe and Latin America. There was also a report on relations with a new academic organization, the Council on Latin American Studies of Asia and Oceania (CELAO), and on participation by the Co-Chair in its first International Conference (Melbourne, July 2005). The meeting also heard a report on the completion of work on the preparation of a mail list by Blake Locklin and details about this were sent soon afterwards to members (by e-mail).

In the absence of quorum it was decided to proceed to the election of officers by e-mail. The Section members present discussed names of possible candidates for the various positions. It was decided that the meeting chair would contact them about their availability and also conduct the elections. After consultations, a single list of officers was presented to the membership. The electoral process was completed on April 7, 2006 with 20 section members voting unanimously for the proposed list. The results of the election were as follows: Shigeru Kochi and Gonzalo Paz, (Co-Chairs); Rubén Berríos (Secretary-Treasurer); and Executive Council Members Kathleen Lopez, Rubén de Hoyos, Won-Ho Kim, and Neantro Saavedra-Rivano.

#### **Latina/o Studies**

Norma Chinchilla, Co-Chair

The LASA Latina/o Studies Section hosted a number of events at the 2006 International Congress in Puerto Rico: two panel/workshop sessions on issues confronting Latina/o Studies in relationship to Latin American Studies; two thematic sessions (one on immigrant family separation and reunification and one on racism); a Business Meeting attended by 25 members, and a reception co-hosted with Palgrave (publishers of the *Latina/o Studies Journal*). All the events

SECTION NEWS continued...

were well attended and generated lively discussions. Panelists and attendees at the workshops agreed to continue their conversations about issues facing Latina/o studies in relation to Latin American studies via email and the Section website and through short contributions to the *LASA Forum*.

The Latina/o Studies Section membership has grown significantly in recent years. Nominations for new officers and for members of awards committees (Dissertation and Public Intellectual awards) were solicited at the Business Meeting. In a subsequent election conducted by email, the following new Section officers were elected: Co-Chairs: Aldo Lauría Santiago and Eusebio Rodríguez; Secretary/Treasurer: Mari Canstañeda Paredes; Communications Director (and webmaster): Christian Muench; Graduate Student Liaison: Carlos Enrique Alemán Torres. Outgoing officers are Co-Chairs Norma Chinchilla and Victor Ortiz, and Secretary/Treasurer Viviana Rangil. Viviana Rangil was congratulated for the dedicated leadership and continuity she has given to the Section during her two terms of service.

Among plans for the future are: stimulating public discussions about issues facing Latina/o Studies in relation to Latin American Studies through the Section webpage and the *LASA Forum*, at related professional conferences, and in contacts with related professional organizations; and establishing stronger ties between the Section and interested research and teaching centers and individual scholars outside the United States. Contributions to the Section website are warmly encouraged and should be sent to <c.muench@em.uni.frankfurt.de>.

**Law and Society**

Renzo Honores and Viviana Kluger, Co-Chairs

In attendance at the Business Meeting at LASA2006 were Jorge Zaverucha, Mark Ungar, Kif Augustine, Joseph Page, Renzo Honores, Victor M. Uribe-Uran. According to the Section Manual there was a quorum. Co-chairs Viviana Kluger and Renzo Honores presented a brief report on the status of the Section. Enrollment seems healthy. Still, everyone was urged to renew membership in order that the Section will not lose the three panels it is entitled to sponsor. After an exchange of opinions on how to increase numbers, Farid Benavides-Vanegas, Fernando Barrio and Diego Sánchez volunteered to make the necessary connections to some institutions whose members may be interesting in joining.

The Section has awarded five grants: \$350 each to Jorge Zaverucha and Viviana Kluger, and \$200 each to Lucia Dammert, Farid Benavides-Vanegas and Diana Kapiszewski. The Section budget seems healthy too; the only major expenditure the Section has incurred is a contribution to the "Prisons in Crisis" project handled by Mark Ungar and the payment of part of a dinner at a local restaurant following the meeting.

As it is healthy to rotate chair's position, Viviana Kluger, who has served as co-chair since March 2003, will no longer Co-Chair. Renzo Honores is re-elected as a backup Chair for another conference cycle, until the next Congress. Mark Ungar was elected new Co-Chair. The decision on elections will be sent electronically to Section members for ratification. The Section thanks Viviana Kluger for her work.

Carlos Aguirre, who has been in charge of the Section's web site for a long time, explains that owing to heavy duties, he can't continue serving the Section. In his place, Viviana Kluger will be in charge. Participants agreed that the new Chair should be given some discretion to explore spending a modest monthly amount from the section's budget to pay a webmaster.

A committee formed by Kif Augustine Adams, Henry Chip Carey, Mark Ungar and Silvia Inclan will decide on the mechanism to give the Margaret Popkin Award, based on certain parameters: a) The papers should deal with Law and Society issues; b) It will be given to LASLA members presenting papers at LASA Congresses; c) An award will be given to those who have already presented papers at LASA 2006; d) There will be a Call for the 2007 Award; and e) The committee will send the reference terms to all the Section.

Following precedent it is proposed that the Section brainstorm on possible topics for panels in the forthcoming Congress. The following list of themes and individuals will be in charge of receiving or requesting paper proposals, hoping to put together a competitive panel. The first three that materialize will likely be the ones sponsored; the others could be submitted to the Law and Jurisprudence Track. The list includes: a) Comisiones de la verdad- Seguimiento de los debates.-Secuelas judiciales, Carlos Aguirre and Cath Collins; b) Derechos Humanos y Desarrollo Económico, Meredith Fensom; c) Reforma de sistemas de administración de Justicia-Derechos indígenas y justicia comunitaria, Rachel Sieder; d) Género y Derecho, Victoria Chenault; e) Due process, Henry Chip Carey; f) Juventud y Delito, Mark Ungar; g) Intersecciones étnicas, Farid

Benavides-Vanegas; h) Formas populares de castigo en sociedades latinoamericanas, Mauricio Rojas; i) Derecho, tecnología e impacto en la sociedad, Fernando Barrio; j) Derecho e independencia. Impactos sobre el siglo XIX, Jeff Shumway; and k) Politización de la justicia o judicialización de la política, Joseph Thorne.

The Grant Committee for LASA 2007 will be formed by Renzo Honores, Rachel Sieder and Antonio Azuela de la Cueva.

**Peru**

Christina Ewig, Secretary-Treasurer

The Peru Section meeting at LASA2006 was attended by thirty-eight people. The Section established a new best-practices policy of having Co-Chairs, with at least one of these chairs to be a resident of Latin America. At the meeting the membership elected Paulo Drinot and Nicolás Lynch as Section Co-Chairs and two new Council members: Laura Balbuena González and Mary Beth Tierney. Continuing are Christina Ewig as Secretary Treasurer and Teivo Teivainen and Juan Carlos Galdo as Council members. Ex-officio Council members are Section webmaster Mark Cox of Presbyterian College and outgoing Chair Patricia Ledesma of Northwestern University.

The Section granted two travel grants of \$1,000 each to attend the LASA2006 Congress. Winners of this competition were María Eugenia Ulfe and Humberto Rodríguez Sequeiros, both of the Universidad Católica. At LASA2006 the Section organized three panels and co-hosted a reception with the Ecuadorian Studies Section. At the meeting members discussed future criteria for travel grants. The final criteria were decided via a web survey sent to the entire membership and will be posted on the Section's website. Also discussed were panel selection criteria, in which the membership agreed that this process should be as open as possible and attempt to attract Peruvians and Peruvianists who do not usually participate in LASA.

Section plans for the future include the donation of books written by Section members to Peru's Biblioteca Nacional. Members may send books for donation to Patricia Ledesma (c/o Finance Department, Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University, 2001 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60208-2001) who will send them to the Biblioteca Nacional. The Section will also establish a special travel grant fund to expand the number of travel grants we provide. Prior to the next LASA Congress the Section will also host a conference in one of the provinces of

Peru. Topics for the conference will be discussed over the member listserv.

#### **Political Institutions (LAPIS)**

Michelle Taylor-Robinson, Chair

The Section met on March 16 for its Business Meeting. LAPIS currently has 134 members, and the Section sponsored three panels at the 2006 LASA: one on executive-legislative relations; one about judicial systems; and one about parties and party systems.

Peter Siavelis, chair of the Best Paper Award Committee for papers presented at LASA2005, announced the winners of the faculty and student paper awards. Marisa Kellam of UCLA won the best student paper award. Ernesto Calvo and Juan Pablo Micozzi co-authored the best faculty paper, and Bruce Wilson was runner-up for the faculty best paper award. LAPIS will continue to give best paper awards at the next conference, with a new Selection Committee to be appointed by the new Section Chair.

LAPIS inaugurated its travel award program for Latin American scholars at universities in Latin America, giving papers on LAPIS panels, with two inaugural recipients: Gabriel Negretto at CIDE and Agustín Grijalva at Universidad Andina. Steve Wuhs of the University of Redlands will set up a committee to establish an electronic newsletter for LAPIS.

Joy Langston was chosen by acclamation to be the new Section Chair. Leslie Schwindt-Bayer agreed to continue to serve as Treasurer. LAPIS also elected three council members: Gregg “Bagel” Johnson, Jóhanna Birniar, and Ernesto Calvo. Kirk Hawkins continues to maintain the LAPIS webpage and listserv.

#### **Rural Studies/Estudios Rurales**

Neil Harvey, Chair

Durante este período la principal actividad fue la organización de las sesiones y paneles del Congreso de Puerto Rico en marzo de 2006. La Sección propuso dos sesiones especiales de la Sección, y ambas fueron aceptadas: Donna Chollet, Crisis de las Industrias Azucareras; y Tim Wise, Globalization and Agriculture: Lessons from the Americas. Fueron bien recibidas y la Sección propuso que LASA no programe este tipo de sesiones en el primer día del Congreso, debido a que muchos asistentes todavía no llegaban.

Neil Harvey y Njurka Pérez trabajaron como track chairs para Agrarian and Rural Issues. Recomendaron 21 paneles (incluyendo cuatro que

formamos de propuestas de ponencias individuales). También la Sección organizó una recepción después de su reunión de trabajo el 16 de marzo que fue bien concurrida.

No se pudo organizar una salida al campo antes del Congreso de Puerto Rico, como se hizo en Las Vegas. Sin embargo, decidimos dar prioridad a esta actividad en el próximo Congreso en septiembre de 2007. Otras actividades que queremos promover es el apoyo a estudiantes para que participen en el Congreso de LASA y la invitación a dirigentes campesinos.

La Sección mantuvo su lista electrónica durante este período, aunque se detectaron algunos problemas de comunicación, los cuales resolveremos actualizando dicha lista.

Para el período abril 2006-octubre 2007 el Chair de la Sección será Horacio Mackinlay, y el Co-Chair será Cliff Welch. Kerry Preibisch seguirá como secretaria/tesorera.

#### **Scholarly Research & Resources**

Pamela Graham, Chair

The Business Meeting took place March 16, 2006; 25 persons attended. Carolyn Palaima of the Latin America Network Information Center (LANIC) demonstrated a new project to create a digital archive of Latin American government documents published on the Internet <<http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/archives/lagda>>. Scott Van Jacob, Director of the Latin American Research Resources Project, LARRP, gave us an update on the project and we discussed ways of promoting LARRP within LASA via the Section. Sandy Thatcher of Penn State Press spoke on issues surrounding Google’s digitization projects. The meeting was followed by a Section reception.

Pamela Graham completed her term as Section Chair and will be replaced by Anne Barnhart.

The Section sponsored two panels at this year’s LASA: Virtual Wine, Virtual Bottle: Research Resources in the Digital Age, focusing on products developed through the Latin Americanist Research Resources Project, LARRP, which is part of the Global Resource Network; and Caribbean Treasures: Collections, Archives, and Digital Resources, which featured presentations on Caribbean research resources held in U.S. and Caribbean collections. Several Section members also attended an independently organized workshop, Research and Scholarly Communication in Latin American Studies, which brought together scholars from various disciplines (history, political science, languages

and literature, cultural studies) along with library and information specialists to discuss current and future trends in research in Latin American Studies.

#### **Sexualities Studies**

Carlos Decena and Susana Peña, Co-Chairs

This year the Section co-organized the Colloquium on Latin American Sexualities at the University of Puerto Rico’s Rio Piedras campus. The colloquium’s keynote panel, “Scholarship and Debates about the LGBTIQQ Community in Puerto Rico,” included presentations by Lcda. Janice M. Gutiérrez Lacourt, Javier Laureano Pérez (University of Puerto Rico), and Olga Orraca Paredes, and commentary by Denilson Lopes (Universidade de Brasília). The colloquium also included structured discussion sections, a reception at UPR’s Museum, a queer poetry reading, and a screening of short films on gender and sexuality, as part of the Festival de Cortometrajes at UPR. The colloquium was made possible by the generous support of our institutional and individual sponsors. Section Co-Chairs co-organized this event with Yolanda Martínez San-Miguel (UPENN) and Gloria D. Prosper-Sánchez (UPR-Río Piedras).

The Section also sponsored two panels: “Instigating Matters in Latin American Sexualities,” organized by Horacio Sívori (Univ. Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) and A. Cymene Howe (Cornell University) and “Latin American Migration, Gender, and Sexuality,” organized by Héctor Carrillo (University of California, San Francisco) and Victoria González-Rivera (San Diego State University).

At our Business Meeting held on March 16 and attended by 33 section members, we approved minutes from our 2005 Business Meeting, reported on the year’s activities and budget, discussed the Colloquium and how a similar event might be improved in the future, and discussed possible formal collaboration between the Section and International Resource Network (CLAGS). Last, but not least, Jossianna Arroyo and Raul Rubio were elected as new Co-Chairs; Dara Goldman was re-elected as Secretary-Treasurer; and Florence Babb, Daniel Balderston, Carlos Decena, James Green, Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, and Susana Peña were elected as Council Members.

SECTION NEWS continued...

### Southern Cone Studies

Laura Demaría and Alvaro Kaempfer, Co-Chairs

The Southern Cone Section is fully operational, with Laura Demaría and Alvaro Kaempfer as Co-Chairs, and Ángel Tuninetti as Treasurer. Laura Demaría also serves as listserv administrator. The listserv is based at the University of Maryland-College Park, open to non-members, and there are more than 300 subscriptions.

For the LASA2006 Congress, the Section organized three workshops. The first, entitled “Lo que queda en el después: Reflexiones a 30 años del último golpe militar en Argentina” had as Chair Laura Demaría. Participants included Jorgelina Corbatta, Celina Manzoni, Carlos Waisman, and Ryan Centner. The second, entitled “Repensar el Cono Sur en el Siglo XXI”, had as discussants Ana Pizarro Moreno and Mabel Moraña, with Alvaro Kaempfer as Chair. The third, “Recent Forms of Political Participation in the Cono Sur Countries” had as Chair Edward Epstein, and as participants Philip Oxhorn, Diana Kapiszewski and Christopher Cardona.

Funds from the Section were used to pay for the expenses of Prof. Ana Pizarro Moreno.

During the Business Meeting, Laura Demaría and Alvaro Kaempfer were confirmed to continue as Co-Chairs. Ángel Tuninetti will continue as Treasurer for another term.

As future initiatives the Section is considering organizing a pre-LASA2007 Congress workshop in order to bring together people not only working in different disciplines in the Southern Cone but also in different locations.

### Venezuelan Studies (SVS)

Daniel Hellinger, Chair/President, and Cathy A. Rakowski, Secretary-Treasurer

The main activities of the Section during the last 18 months were: 1) establishment of a writing award; 2) preliminary efforts to organize a second conference to be held in Venezuela; 3) Section elections; 4) maintenance of a web page and e-mail list of members. Council members decided, following the Las Vegas Congress, to organize a writing competition. After considerable on-line discussion of diverse ideas, it was decided to offer between 2-4 scholarly writing awards, depending on the number of submissions received. In principle, there would be two “professional” level awards, with one for social sciences and related disciplines and the other for humanities and related disciplines. There also would be 1-2 student writing awards.

The Award for Distinctive Scholarship on Venezuela, professional category, social sciences and similar areas, was made to David Hansen and Kirk Hawkins, Brigham Young University, for “Dependent Civil Society: The Círculos Bolivarianos in Venezuela.” *Latin American Research Review* 41, 1, 2006. The Committee also awarded honorable mention in this category to Clara Irazábal, School of Planning, Policy and Development at the University of California, Los Angeles, for “A Planned City Comes of Age: Rethinking Ciudad Guayana Today.” *Journal of Latin American Geography* 3, 1, 2004.

The Award for Distinctive Scholarship on Venezuela, professional category, humanities and related, was made to Verónica Zubillaga, independent investigator affiliated with the Centro de Investigaciones Sociales (CISOR) y Laboratorio de Ciencias Sociales (LACSO), Caracas, for “Los varones y sus clamores: los sentidos de la demanda de respeto y las lógicas de la violencia entre jóvenes de vida violenta de barrios en Caracas.” This paper was presented at the panel on “Globalization and New Subjectivities, Movements and Rupture” at the meeting of the International Sociological Association, June 2004, Paris.

The Award for Distinctive Scholarship on Venezuela, student category, was made to Olga González-Silen, Harvard University, for “Víctimas del progreso: Los ferrocarriles, sus accidentes y la sociedad en las postrimerías del siglo XIX.” This paper was presented at LASA2004 in Las Vegas. Awardees will receive a certificate and a small monetary award. The student award includes a membership to LASA and the Section.

Following the Las Vegas LASA2004 Congress, several Section members based in Caracas met to discuss and begin work on organizing a second Section-sponsored conference. However, deteriorating political conditions in Venezuela forced them to abandon these plans. At the business meeting, several people volunteered to meet in Caracas and continue plans. Two possible time frames were proposed—one before the next LASA Congress in September 2007, the other following the Congress and to possibly coincide with a symposium to be held at Universidad Metropolitana.

Of 123 voting members in March 2006, only 46 voted even though several solicitations of votes were sent out over a period of five weeks. Daniel Hellinger was nominated and approved for a second term as Chair/Presidente. Seven persons were nominated as Council members and five of these were elected to Council. The two remaining persons were contacted and invited to work as ad hoc, non voting members.

Both agreed. The new Council members are: María Auxiliadora Alvarez, Daniel Levine, Kim Morse, (elected for another term); Raúl Sánchez Urribarrí, and T. M. (Tomás) Scruggs. Continuing Council members are: Magaly Sánchez, David Smilde, Miguel Tinker Salas, Margarita López-Maya, and Valia Pereira. And the two ad hoc members are: Elisabeth Nichols and Elda Stanco.

The web page continues to be hosted by the server at the University of Michigan and its upkeep is handled by Margaret Martin, who designed the website. Georgetown University's Venezuela Program and Center for Latin American Studies have established a link to our web page on their web page.

Our “vennet” e-mail list is housed on the server at The Ohio State University and is maintained by the Secretary, Cathy Rakowski. There are over 300 persons affiliated with the list. It is used to send out requests for assistance (i.e., for researchers seeking lodging or contacts in Venezuela) and to announce publications, calls for papers, grants, and conferences. Margaret Martin also moderates a discussion site—svspol—on Yahoo. But there has been no little activity since the referendum in 2004.

The latter part of the Business Meeting in San Juan was devoted to a discussion of two related issues: first, the problems associated with meeting in the United States or even at U.S.-owned hotels (Section members present strongly supported moving future meetings outside the United States); and a recent experience of Miguel Tinker Salas, in which he was visited by representatives of the FBI who grilled him about contacts with Venezuela and pressured him to participate in the preparation of a “profile” of the “Venezuelan community” in California. They told him they intended to visit other Venezuelan studies scholars with the same request. An intense discussion and requests for clarification followed. It was decided that the Section officers should draft a resolution and present it to LASA, asking that LASA take a position and future action. ■

## LASA Voluntary Support

by SANDY KLINZING

Just when we think that LASA members and friends could not possibly be more generous, you amaze us once again. Through your contributions to the LASA Travel Fund, nearly \$13,000 was available for LASA2006. Added to foundation support and proceeds from the LASA Endowment, over \$283,000 was available for travel grants for Latin American and Caribbean scholars. Contributions totaling over \$6,300 to the Student Fund allowed LASA to provide partial support for one student presenter per program track. On behalf of all those who directly benefited, and all the LASA2006 Congress participants who benefited from their colleagues' participation, THANK YOU!

But there is more good news to share. LASA now has its **55<sup>th</sup> Life Member!** Leslie Anderson, a member of the Political Science Department of the University of Florida, has demonstrated her commitment to the Association and to its mission through her Life Membership. In so doing, Leslie is also helping the Endowment to grow and to provide future proceeds to fund Congress travel and LASA-Ford Special Projects. Our sincere thanks to Leslie and to all LASA Life Members!

At this time, we want to acknowledge all donors to LASA funds since our last report in the winter 2006 issue of the *Forum*.

### LASA Travel Fund

Mary Addis  
Ximena Agudo Guevara  
Cynthia Arnson  
Craig Auchter  
Laura Barbas Rhoden  
Jonathan Benjamin-Alvarado  
Viviane Brachet-Marquez  
Carla Buck  
Leah Carroll  
Beth Conklin  
Arturo Davila Sanchez  
Monica De León

Claudia de Lima Costa  
Iñigo Garcia-Bryce  
Dara Goldman  
María Gómez  
Luis Eduardo Gruner  
Charles Hale  
John Hammond  
Theodore Henken  
Silvia Maria Hirsch  
Sallie Hughes  
Janise Hurtig  
Anne Lambright  
Joy Langston Hawkes  
Paul Lokken  
Alejandro Lugo  
Lillian Manzor  
Katherine McCaffrey  
Rachel McCleary  
Brent Metz  
Karoline Noack  
Roque Planas  
Juan Poblete  
Martha Rees  
Maria Gladys Rivera Herrejon  
Juan Carlos Rodríguez Cordero  
Francisco Rojas-Aravena  
Jeffrey Rubin  
Freya Schiwy  
Andrew Schrank  
Barbara Schroder  
Maureen Shea  
Ana Maria Souza Braga  
Analisa Taylor  
Millicent Thayer  
Manuel Vasquez  
Pamela Voekel  
Jean Weisman  
Robert Wilcox

### LASA Student Fund

James Baer  
Stephan Baranyi  
Anne Barnhart  
Charles Beatty Medina  
Ramon Borges-Méndez  
Angela Maria Carneiro Araújo  
Guillermo De La Peña  
Simone Delerme

Dara Goldman  
Talia Guzman Gonzalez  
Neil Harvey  
Theodore Henken  
Alejandro Lugo  
Katherine McCaffrey  
Enrique Ochoa  
Mariana Past  
Jose Raul Perales-Hernandez  
Martha Rees  
Jeffrey Rubin  
Anais Ruiz  
Patricia Santos  
Freya Schiwy  
Mary Tacy  
Millicent Thayer  
Aída Toledo  
Angharad Valdivia  
Norma Valle Ferrer  
Angel Viera-Tirado  
Martha Villasenor Farias

### Humanities Endowment Fund

Jose Abud  
Rosa Amelia Gonzalez de Pacheco  
Catherine Lugar  
Sonia Martin  
Nancy Nuyens Ali Ramadan  
Juan Carlos Rodríguez Cordero  
Jeffrey Rubin  
Linda Russell  
Marcia Soares de Alvarenga  
Pitou Van Dijck  
Martha Villasenor Farias

### General Endowment Fund

Peter Beattie  
Graciela De Garay-Arellano  
Laura Enriquez  
Kevin Healy  
Jane Henrici  
Kotaro Horisaka  
Maria Teresa Miceli Kerbauy  
Gilbert Merckx  
Juan Carlos Rodríguez Cordero  
Veneranda Rubio  
Jeffrey Rubin  
Joseph Thome

Our most sincere thanks to all these generous donors!

*For information on any of the LASA funds, including a commemorative or memorial gift, please contact the LASA Voluntary Support office at 412-648-1907. Information on LASA Life Memberships and bequest opportunities is also available. ■*

NEWS FROM LASA

# LASA Membership Report 2005

## *Individual memberships*

<b>Total memberships for 2005</b>	4590 (10 percent decrease from previous year*)
New members	677 (15 percent of the membership)
Renewed from 2004	3424 (67 percent renewal rate; 75 percent of the membership)
Renewed lapsed members	489 (10 percent of the membership)

## *Member type\*\**

Regular members	2614
Student members	925 (20 percent of the membership)
Life Members***	63 (8 honorary; 55 paid; 5 new for 2005)
Joint Memberships	284

## *Member residency*

U.S. residents	3490 (76 percent of the membership)
Latin American residents	640 (14 percent of the membership)
Other Non-U.S. residents	460 (10 percent of the membership)

## **Major disciplines represented**

Literature	794
Political Science	717
History	714
Anthropology	444
Sociology	334
Latin American Studies	225
Economics	176

<b>Three-year memberships initiated in 2005</b>	320
---	-----

## *Institutional Memberships*

<b>Total memberships for 2005</b>	95 (15 percent decrease from previous year)
New members	8
Renewed from 2004	75 (67 percent renewal rate)
Renewed lapsed members	12

## **Institution location**

United States	77
Latin America	9
Other	9

\*Non-Congress years generally experience a decrease in membership.

\*\*Member type will not tally to total memberships, since member type may also reflect residence.

\*\*\*The AVINA Foundation has provided \$10,000 for Life Memberships for Kalman Silvert Award recipients

LASA2007 – XXVII INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

September 6 – 8, 2007 • Montreal, Canada

# Call for Papers

---

*After the Washington Consensus:  
Collaborative Scholarship for a New América*

---

While the phrase “Washington Consensus” was coined in reference to the neoliberal economic reforms championed by northern development experts, it came to represent, more broadly, a U.S.-centric perspective and style of governance. In the past decade these policies and their associated worldview have been subject to deepening dissent and outright refusal: in the ballot box and in the collective re-visioning of economic and political futures for the region. Latin American Studies, though generally distanced from the policies of the Washington Consensus, have nonetheless developed under the shadow of U.S.-centric perspectives and premises. Building on the thematic focus of LASA2006, we continue to encourage “de-centering” our study of the region, emphasizing the enrichment that results when suppressed or marginalized voices come forcefully into dialogue with those who have

commanded the center stage. This principle applies both to north-south relations of knowledge production, and to parallel inequities along the lines of race, class, gender and region within specific countries and locales. For LASA2007, we make a special call for methodological innovation and scrutiny: what happens when our approaches to the study of history, society, politics and culture in Latin America explicitly incorporate the horizontal, collaborative, and egalitarian principles that might be contra-posed to the perspective of the Washington Consensus? How does this transform our scholarship, and how does the resulting knowledge relate to the new (or perhaps renewed) visions of *Nuestra América* that political actors throughout the hemisphere are hard at work to put into practice?

---

**Charles R. Hale**  
*University of Texas*  
LASA PRESIDENT

**Neil Harvey**  
*New Mexico State University*  
PROGRAM CO-CHAIR

**María Socorro Tabuenca Córdoba**  
*El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*  
PROGRAM CO-CHAIR

THE DEADLINE TO SUBMIT PROPOSALS IS SEPTEMBER 8, 2006

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR INSTRUCTIONS.

You are invited to submit a proposal for LASA2007 addressing the Congress theme and/or any topics related to the program tracks listed below. A complete electronic copy of the proposal, including requests for travel grants by proposers residing in Latin America or the Caribbean, or requests for student travel grants, must be sent to the LASA Secretariat by September 8, 2006.

## The deadline to submit proposals is September 8, 2006.

Proposal forms and instructions are available on the LASA website: <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu>.

All proposals must be submitted by email to [lasacong@pitt.edu](mailto:lasacong@pitt.edu). No submissions by regular mail will be accepted. The Secretariat will send confirmation of the receipt of the proposal via e-mail.

### Preregistration Required!

All accepted participants must pre-register for LASA2007 or their names will not appear in the Program book. Deadline to pay preregistration fee is June 15, 2007.

## PROGRAM TRACKS AND COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Select the most appropriate track for your proposal from the following list and enter it in the designated place on the form. Names of Program Committee members are provided for information only. Direct your correspondence to the LASA Secretariat ONLY.

### **Afro-Latin and Indigenous Peoples: Racisms, Politics and Culture**

*Nancy Postero, University of California, San Diego  
Eva Thorne, Brandeis University*

### **Agrarian and Rural Issues**

*Nora Haenn, Arizona State University  
Cristóbal Kay, Institute of Social Studies*

### **Biodiversity, Natural Resources and Environmental Policies**

*Miguel Altieri, University of California, Berkeley  
Scott Whiteford, University of Arizona*

### **Children, Youth and Youth Cultures**

*Rossana Reguillo, Inst de Est Sup de Occidente  
José Manuel Valenzuela, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*

### **Cities, Social Justice and Planning**

*James Holston, University of California, San Diego  
Teresa Caldeira, University of California, Irvine*

### **Citizenship, Rights and Social Justice**

*Evelina Dagnino, Universidade de Campinas  
Rachel Sieder, University of London*

### **Crossborder Studies and Migration**

*Robert Alvarez, University of California, San Diego  
Norma Cantú, University of Texas, San Antonio*

### **Culture, Power and Political Subjectivities**

*Héctor Fernández L'Hoeste, Georgia State University  
Robert McKee Irwin, University of California, Irvine*

### **Democratization and Democratic Performance**

*Joe Foweraker, University of Essex  
Ken Roberts, Cornell University*

### **Economies, Development and Regional Alternatives**

*Alejandro Alvarez Bejar, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*

### **Education, Pedagogy and Educational Policies**

*Graciela Riquelme, Universidad de Buenos Aires*

### **Empire and Dissent**

*Greg Grandin, New York University*

### **Feminist Studies**

*Amy Lind, Arizona State University  
Fiona Macaulay, University of Bradford*

### **Film and Documentary Studies**

*Lori Hopkins, University of New Hampshire  
Claire Fox, University of Iowa*

### **Gender, Sexualities and LGBT Studies**

*Dara E. Goldman, University of Illinois, Urbana*

### **Governance: Public Policy, NGOs and Multilateral Institutions**

*Anthony Bebbington, University Manchester  
Sarah Radcliffe, University of Cambridge*

### **Health, Medicine and Body Politics**

*Tereza Vieira, Universidade do Grande ABC UniABC –  
São Paulo / Universidade Paranaense -UNIPAR*

### **Histories and Historiographies**

*Matt O'Hara, University of California, Santa Cruz  
Victor Macías, Univ of Wisconsin, La Crosse*

### **International Relations, Transnationalism and Globalization**

*Blanca Heredia, The American University of Paris  
Peter Smith, University of California, San Diego*

### **Intellectual Property in Question: Knowledge, Value and Creativity**

*Cori Hayden, University of California, Berkeley  
Michael K. Dorsey, Dartmouth College*

### **Latina/os in the United States and Canada**

*Ginetta Candelario, Smith College  
Teresa Carrillo, San Francisco State University*

### **Law, Jurisprudence and Society**

*David Shirk, University of San Diego  
Alejandra Ríos Cázares, University of California, San Diego*

### **Literary Studies: Colonial and Nineteenth Century**

*José Rabasa, University of California, Berkeley  
Daniel Torres, Ohio University*

### **Literary Studies: Contemporary**

*Danny Anderson, University of Kansas  
Rebecca Biron, Dartmouth College*

### **Literature and Culture: Interdisciplinary Approaches**

*Debra Castillo, Cornell University  
Javier Durán, University of Arizona*

### **Mass Media and Popular Culture**

*Victoria Ruétalo, University of Alberta*

### **Otros saberes: Collaborative methods and the Politics of Research**

*Irma Alicia Velásquez Nimatuj, Independent Researcher  
Clara Arenas, Asociación para el Avance de las Ciencias Sociales*

### **Performance, Art, and Expressive Cultures**

*Elizabeth Zarur, New Mexico State University  
Kirsten Nigro, University of Texas, El Paso*

### **Religion, Religiosity and Spirituality**

*John Burdick, Syracuse University*

### **Social Movements, Labor Studies and Class Struggles**

*Maria Lorena Cook, Cornell University  
Cirila Quintero-Ramírez, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*

### **States of Violence and (in)security**

*Daniel Goldstein, Rutgers University  
John Gledhill, University of Manchester*

### **Technology and Scholarly Resources**

*Pamela Graham, Columbia University  
Carolyn Palaima, University of Texas*



February 14-16, 2007

**Communications Technologies and the Impacts on Indigenous Languages and Cultural Identity in the Americas**

University of Florida  
Gainesville, Florida

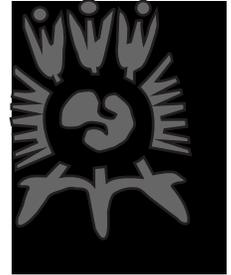
**Description:** This conference will focus on the impact and potential of global technologies of communication on indigenous languages, cultures, and identities in the Americas. Increasing invigoration of indigenous communities has depended on the conscious revitalization of their native languages, their traditional cultures, and the skillful and widespread use of communications technologies, from sound recording and video taping to electronic mail and the Internet.

**Call for Papers:** Submissions are invited for papers in English or Spanish, on original, unpublished research on any area related to the conference topics, including but not limited to the following: Impacts of communications technologies on indigenous languages (linguistics, language pedagogy, e-learning, instructional design), cultures (oral traditions, native knowledge, spirituality, traditional clothing, arts) and identity (political movements, concepts of identity and history). We will accept proposals for alternative-format presentations.

**Submissions:** Please submit your proposal electronically in Word format by **September 30, 2006**. Please include the following information:

- Paper title, Name, affiliation, mailing address, phone and fax numbers, email address
- Please submit abstracts as a single **email attachment** to [elowe@ufl.edu](mailto:elowe@ufl.edu).

Acknowledgement of receipt of the abstract will be sent by e-mail. Notice of acceptance or rejection will be sent by October 31, 2006.



**For further information, please contact: Elizabeth Lowe, Associate Director,  
Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida  
319 Grinter Hall Gainesville, FL 32605  
Tel.: (352) 392-0375 Fax: (352) 392-7682**



**THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY**

*Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program*

The Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program at the National Endowment for Democracy welcomes applications from candidates throughout Latin America for fellowships in 2007-2008. Established to enable democracy practitioners, scholars, and journalists from around the world to deepen their understanding of democracy and enhance their ability to promote democratic change, the program is based at the Endowment's International Forum for Democratic Studies in Washington, D.C. Projects may focus on the political, social, economic, legal, and cultural aspects of democratic development and may include a range of methodologies and approaches. While the program is intended primarily to support practitioners and scholars from new and aspiring democracies, distinguished scholars from the United States and other established democracies are also eligible to apply. Fellowships range from five to ten months and include a stipend, health insurance, research support, and travel assistance. A working knowledge of English is required. To apply, see instructions under Fellowship Programs at [www.ned.org](http://www.ned.org). The application deadline for fellowships in 2007-2008 is November 1, 2006.

**PRINCETON UNIVERSITY  
SOCIETY OF FELLOWS  
IN THE LIBERAL ARTS**

Three-year postdoctoral fellowships  
2007-2010 for recent Ph.Ds (from  
Jan. 2004) in humanities or social  
sciences. Four appointments to  
pursue research and teach half-time.

- 1) Open;
  - 2) Humanistic Studies;
  - 3) East Asian Studies and Humanities;
  - 4) International Development.
- Stipend: approx. \$64,500. Application deadline:  
October 3, 2006.

For details, see website  
[www.princeton.edu/~sf](http://www.princeton.edu/~sf)

## PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PROGRAM IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES FELLOWSHIPS, 2007-2008

The Program in Latin American Studies (PLAS) at Princeton University invites applications for research fellowships. These fellowships will be awarded to outstanding Latin Americanists interested in devoting a semester or academic year in residence at Princeton University. Fellowships are open to scholars in all disciplines, with preference given to applicants from Latin America. A doctoral degree is required, although exceptions may be made for persons with exceptional experience and achievement in their fields. During the appointment, fellows will be expected to pursue independent research at Princeton; to teach one course per semester, conditional upon approval of a Princeton department and the Dean of the Faculty; and to participate in PLAS-related events on campus. Fellows will enjoy full access to Firestone Library and to a wide range of activities throughout the University. For more information about the Program in Latin American Studies, we encourage applicants to visit the PLAS website: <http://www.princeton.edu/~plas/>. Fellows will be appointed for either one or two semesters during the academic year, 2007-2008. Salary will be determined by academic rank and duration of award; appointment rank will be dependent on seniority and current affiliation.

### To Apply

Applicants must submit all of the following (including letters of recommendation) by the deadline, **Friday, November 3, 2006**.

1. A cover letter indicating the applicant's proposed length of stay (1-2 semesters), title of the proposed research project, and teaching interests;
2. A curriculum vitae;
3. A four-five page statement describing the research project and its scholarly contribution;
4. One course proposal (or syllabus) for each proposed semester of fellowship;
5. Three letters of reference sent directly to the Program in Latin American Studies, mailed, or sent electronically to [plas@princeton.edu](mailto:plas@princeton.edu) with a subject line stating "PLAS Fellowship Recommendation."
6. To complete the process, applicants must fill out an online application cover sheet, which will become available on Friday, June 30, 2006 at: <http://www.princeton.edu/~plas/>.

Application materials must be sent electronically by **Friday, November 3, 2006** to [plas@princeton.edu](mailto:plas@princeton.edu) with a subject line stating "PLAS Fellowship." In addition, four paper copies must be postmarked by the deadline and mailed directly to the following address:

PLAS Fellowship Program  
Program in Latin American Studies  
309-316 Aaron Burr Hall  
Princeton University  
Princeton, NJ 08544-001 USA

Awards will be announced no later than February 1, 2007

PROGRAM IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES



# LASA HAS MOVED!

Effective July 1, 2006,  
*our new address is:*

Latin American Studies Association  
416 Bellefield Hall  
University of Pittsburgh  
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

*All phone numbers, fax numbers and  
e-mail addresses remain the same.*

tel: 412-648-7929 fax: 412-624-7145 e-mail: [lasa@pitt.edu](mailto:lasa@pitt.edu)

Additional employment opportunities, listings of upcoming conferences, and research and study opportunities can be found on our website.  
**[lasa.international.pitt.edu](http://lasa.international.pitt.edu)**

If you are interested in having your advertisement appear in an upcoming issue of the *LASA Forum*, contact us at 412-648-7929 or [lasa@pitt.edu](mailto:lasa@pitt.edu).

**The Latin American Studies Association (LASA)** is the largest professional association in the world for individuals and institutions engaged in the study of Latin America. With over 5,000 members, twenty-five percent of whom reside outside the United States, LASA is the one association that brings together experts on Latin America from all disciplines and diverse occupational endeavors, across the globe.

LASA's mission is to foster intellectual discussion, research, and teaching on Latin America, the Caribbean, and its people throughout the Americas, promote the interests of its diverse membership, and encourage civic engagement through network building and public debate.



# LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

416 Bellefield Hall  
University of Pittsburgh  
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Nonprofit Org.  
US POSTAGE  
**PAID**  
Pittsburgh, PA  
Permit No. 511

[lasa.international.pitt.edu](http://lasa.international.pitt.edu)