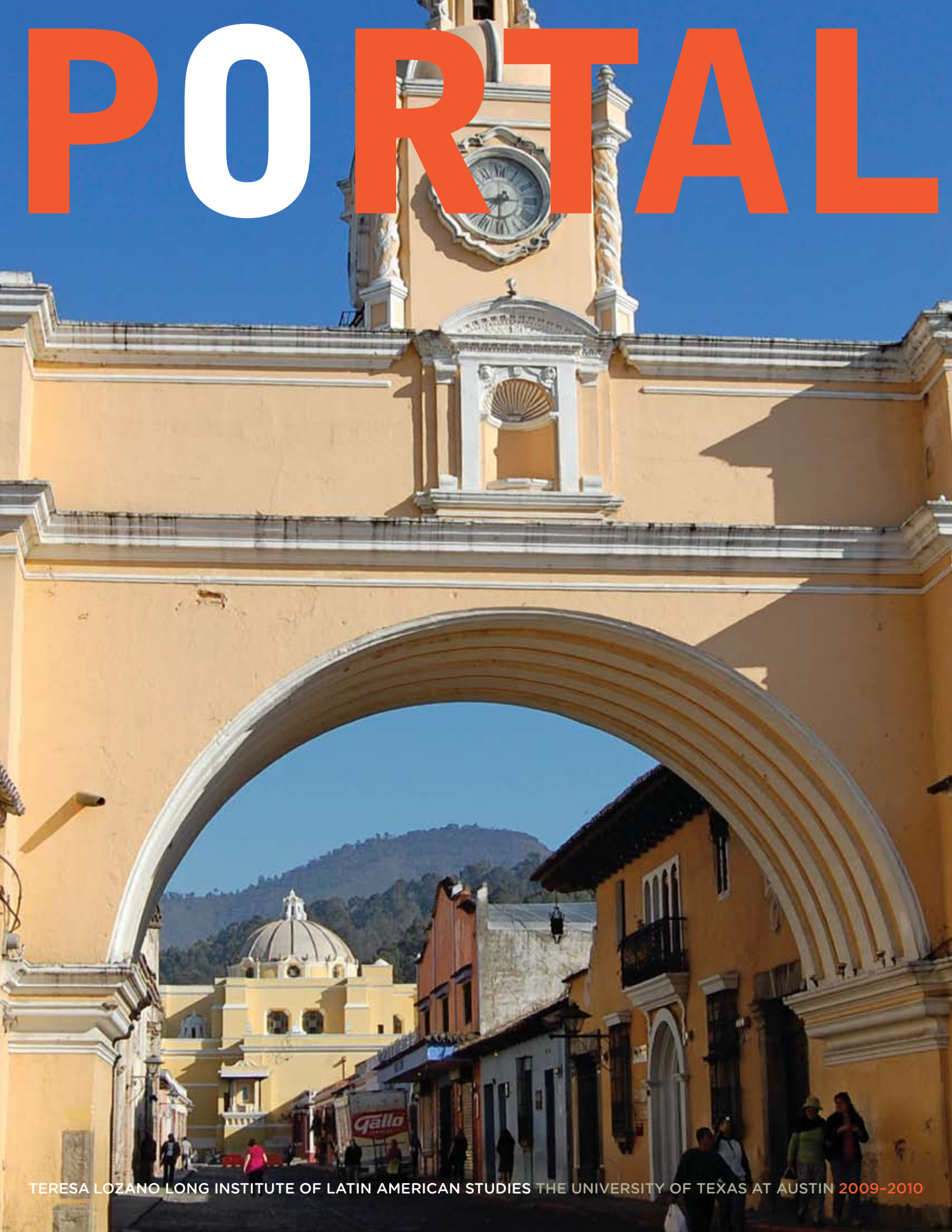


PORTAL



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PORTAL

2009-2010

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A MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR



With great pleasure and considerable pride, we present the fifth issue of *Portal*, the first that reports on activities carried out under the directorship of myself and Associate Director Juliet Hooker. It has been a packed-full and exciting year, with a combination of activities conceived by our predecessors, Bryan Roberts and Jonathan Brown, and others that emerged in the course of the year. We are very grateful to Bryan

and Jonathan for their efforts to turn over an organization in such fine condition and for their help in easing the transition. We also are deeply indebted to the multitalented and exceptionally committed staff, who guarantee the continuity of LLILAS's programs, and whose hard work is absolutely crucial to the smooth execution of such transitions. The rich and varied contents of this *Portal* are a testimony to the institute's strength and vibrancy.

Each academic year, LLILAS has the privilege of hosting three visiting professors from Latin America, who teach seminars that enrich our curriculum and who add immensely to the intellectual community that the institute seeks to build. This year we benefited from a surfeit of these riches, with two more visiting professors than usual. The political scientist Rafael Hernández provided a Cuban insider's view on the Cold War and on Cuba's difficult adaptation to the post-Cold War world. Two Mexican scholars, historian Roberto Breña and sociologist Francisco Alba, both from El Colegio de México, were especially welcome participants in our intellectual community, as we prepared for an intense year of activities in commemoration of 2010, Mexico's bicentennial/centennial year. Colombian economist Francisco Thoumi also joined us for the fall semester, sharing his expertise on the illegal drug trade and its political-economic effects in the region (see article p. 38). During the spring semester, we hosted, together with the Butler School of Music, Prof. Beatriz Ilari, who channeled her expertise in music and childhood education in Brazil into a graduate seminar and a lecture series on Brazilian ethnomusicology.

Our Mexican Center, in coordination with Prof. Susan Deans-Smith of the History Department, organized an impressive array of activities for the Mexico 2010 celebration that will continue through the fall semester. The events kicked off with a roundtable in January on the economic consequences of Mexican independence and the revolution, with an international roster of participants. In April, noted historians of Mexico Alan Knight from Oxford, Eric Van Young from UC San Diego, and Erika Pani from El Colegio de México participated in a *Many Mexicos* panel on nation-state formation. For a full discussion of the events and issues surrounding this milestone in Mexican history, see our lead story on p. 4.

Through our Brazil Center, we also sponsored a large and diverse series of activities on Brazil. With the School of Architecture, we cosponsored a lecture series commemorating the founding of Brasília. Brazilian native Fernando Lara, who recently joined our faculty in Architecture and is profiled on p. 50, conceived this series, and reflects on its importance in this issue (p. 12). We also were pleased to sponsor, together with the Warfield Center for African and African American Studies, a study abroad program in Rio de Janeiro on Theories of the African Diaspora. *Portal* readers can expect to learn more about this program, and many other Brazil-oriented LLILAS activities, in future issues.

Each year LLILAS sponsors a major conference, fully supported by the Lozano Long endowment. These interdisciplinary affairs, always with ample participation of colleagues from the region, tackle a major Latin American intellectual problem. This year's Lozano Long conference topic could not have been more timely: endemic violence. Prof. Héctor Domínguez of the Spanish and Portuguese Department, one of the key organizers of this highly successful event, offers an overview of its contributions on p. 34. Among other results, this conference helped us to conceive an initiative to which LLILAS will be committed over the next few years, focused on gender violence in Mexico and Central America.

LLILAS initiates a wide array of activities of its own, with public programming that often reaches beyond the campus to include the community in the discussion of pressing policy issues. An example is the *Foro Urgente* on Honduras we held in fall 2009 to provide a venue for members of the Honduran and UT communities to debate the implications of the June coup in that country (see article p. 25). LLILAS also facilitates communication and coordination of LAS-related work across the campus. Much of UT's Latin America related teaching, intellectual program, and outreach takes place in the context of these cross-campus partnerships, which are well represented in the articles here. We also would like to acknowledge the students who wrote articles for this issue, and more broadly, all our MA and BA students, whose education is the fundamental purpose of the institute.

Finally, our sincere thanks to the multifaceted supporters of LLILAS, from the university itself, to the U.S. government (both Title VI and an additional grant, LAEDA, described on p. 48), and to the remarkably generous host of private donors, including many UT alumni, headed by the Lozano Long family. We are honored by the confidence this generosity entails, and deeply energized by the opportunities that it makes possible. We are sure that as you read this *Portal*, you also will feel that energy, and share in our excitement for the upcoming year.

Sincerely,

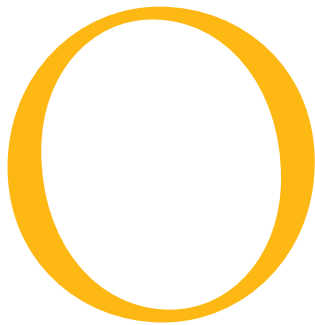
A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Charles R. Hale". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "C".

Charles R. Hale, Director

Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies

Independence, Revolution, and Celebration in Mexico: 1810, 1910, and 2010

by BRIAN STAUFFER AND SALVADOR SALINAS



ON THE NIGHT OF September 15, 1810, a priest of Spanish descent, Father Miguel Hidalgo, rang the bells of the parish church at Dolores, Guanajuato, calling for the inhabitants of New Spain to overthrow their colonial rulers. Within a month, Hidalgo stood at the gates of Mexico City as head of an army of 60,000

peasant soldiers drawn from the haciendas of central Mexico. Although Hidalgo and his army would suffer defeat when victory seemed at hand, this movement began Mexico's long struggle for independence. It was a watershed, but Mexico would not become free until 1821, under Augustín Iturbide.

Two hundred years after Hidalgo's revolt, scholars continue to debate the meaning of Mexican independence. This year, 2010, the University of Texas at Austin is hosting an unprecedented number of events to commemorate the bicentennial anniversary of Mexico's independence movement and the centennial of the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

Organized by Associate Professor of Latin American History Susan Deans-Smith with the help of Gail Sanders, Program Coordinator of the Mexican Center of LLILAS, the program includes five panel discussions and several speakers. A Web site (<http://www.utexas.edu/cola/insts/llilas/centers-and-programs/mexico/mexico2010.php>) designed by LANIC Content Director Kent Norsworthy, provides up-to-date information about the *Many Mexicos* events as well as links to the many other events related to the Mexican bicentenary and centenary celebrations taking place in Austin. Cosponsored by the Mexican Center at LLILAS, the History Department, and the Consulate General of Mexico in Austin, *Many Mexicos* represents a truly binational undertaking. It brings together numerous world-class scholars from the U.S., the UK, and Mexico, the latter traveling with the crucial support of the Mexican Consulate in Austin, to take stock of the gains of recent scholarship on Independence, the Revolution, and other pivotal moments in the country's historical development. UT provides an ideal setting for such events. The university boasts a world-class faculty of Latin American specialists across a number of disciplines, making it a leading institution in the production of knowledge about the region. The Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection stands as one of the world's premier research libraries for the study of Mexico and Latin America more generally. Other resources for research on Mexico can be found

at the Harry Ransom Center, whose yearlong exhibit, *¡Viva! Mexico's Independence*, features a collection of rare documents and art from Mexican history.

But why spend an entire year commemorating Mexico's independence and revolution? As Prof. Mauricio Tenorio explained in his talk, celebrating history is as much about the present and future as it is about the past. The Mexican government, for example, uses the celebrations to construct a narrative of its own legitimacy and achievements and ensure the continuity of its rule. Recent scholarship on Mexico, on the other hand, has often worked to deconstruct such narratives, unearthing the many and diverse Mexicos that underlie the homogenized narrative of the government.¹

At UT, the commemoration of 1810 and 1910 provides an opportunity for scholars to assess the achievements of the field of Mexican studies, to revisit its central questions, and to suggest directions for future research. Indeed, the *Many Mexicos* program of events reflects the field's most pressing concerns, including the role of indigenous people and the church in Mexican political history, the economic impacts of Independence and Revolution, and Mexico's place in the global capitalist system. The panels challenge scholars to consider the common threads underlying the 1810 and 1910 insurrections and to probe the spaces between and beyond those watershed events. Audience members at Héctor Aguilar Camín's talk, for example, pressed him to relate his thesis on the continuity of political culture before and after Independence to the current narco-wars. Certainly, the *Many Mexicos* events foster a lively dialog about the meaning of the Mexican past—a dialog that continues to reshape the conventional narrative of Independence and the Revolution.

The Mexican Independence movement grew out of a complex set of domestic and international crises, the most important of which stemmed from Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808. The Napoleonic crisis, in turn, unleashed a larger political debate within the Spanish empire about the relative benefits of monarchy and republicanism, and about the place of the American colonies in the larger system. In Mexico and other parts of Latin America, various constituencies clamored for the return of the deposed King Ferdinand VII, the creation of a constitutional monarchy, or outright independence. Independence didn't become a widely favored solution until the second decade of the nineteenth century, and even then, it meant different things to different people.

In Mexico, as Eric Van Young noted in his talk, two distinct movements drove the war against Spain. At the top, Mexicans of Spanish descent, or creoles, had a nationalist vision for Mexico. They resented Spain's control over the colony's natural resources, especially its lucrative silver trade monopoly, and Spanish domination of political positions. Mexican-born elites were shut out of the governance of their own land. Meanwhile, the masses of indigenous peasants of central Mexico had grievances of their own. For some, a quarrel with a local priest sparked their indignation; for others, the arrival of insurgent armies presented an opportunity to get even with a local Spanish authority. All told,

indigenous Mexicans made up over half of the insurgent armies. This more popular, indigenous movement, led by José Morelos, another priest, and Vicente Guerrero, was less coherent and articulate than that of the creoles, but it proved crucial to the weakening of Spain's grip on her valuable colony. The final push did not come until 1821, when a royalist general, Agustín Iturbide, struck a deal with Guerrero and switched sides. Spain's colonial rule came to an end, and Mexico emerged as an independent state.

But emancipation did not usher in an era of peace and prosperity. In fact, the war unleashed forces that would divide Mexico for decades after victory. A fundamental rift remained between those who favored the egalitarian, progressive vision of Hidalgo and Morelos on the one hand, and those who subscribed to Iturbide's monarchist, pro-clerical project. The new country faced other problems, as well. The economy was devastated. Indians remained oppressed. Elites could not agree on the future of the nation. The church jealously guarded its power and wealth. Civil wars and foreign invasions continually hindered the emergence of a viable Mexican nation-state. Only with the triumph

of the Liberal Party of Benito Juárez in 1867 would one group become powerful enough to rule Mexico. Now Mexicans could build a representative democracy, free market economy, and bend the church to the will of the state.

Practice, however, would not match ideal Liberal theory. Porfirio Díaz rose to the Mexican presidency in 1876 and would rule the country for the next thirty-five years. Democracy languished as Díaz manipulated elections and installed his cronies in positions of

power. The church regained some authority. Capitalist development favored foreign investors over Mexican entrepreneurs. The rich gobbled up the best lands. Factory workers met police batons when they attempted to organize. Mexico achieved a degree of modernization and traded its natural resources with the world, but at a heavy price.

Díaz had shrewdly manipulated the contending political factions for decades, but the old dictator lost his touch by his eighth election. In 1908, he told an American journalist, James Creelman, that Mexico was ready for democracy; he would not run for reelection; and he welcomed the participation of opposition groups in the elections of 1910. His words opened the lid on a pressure cooker whose contents had been stewing for a generation. Francisco Madero, a Coahuilán landowner, spearheaded the democratic opening through the Anti-Reelectionist Party. He toured the nation, giving speeches to sympathetic crowds gathered in the country's public squares. He pledged to end absolute rule by one man and sweetheart deals with foreign investors. Representative democracy, a free press, restoration of village lands, and clean elections would solve Mexico's dilemmas. These promises fell upon sympathetic ears in the cities, towns, and villages. Middle-class professionals, landless farmers, and factory workers all could gain from Madero's program. Díaz, however, met the rising expectations with force. He slammed the lid on the simmering pressure cooker as quickly as he had opened it. Madero was jailed, the Anti-Reelectionist Party was repressed, the election was rigged, and Díaz won again.



On September 16, 1910, Mexico City held lavish ceremonies commemorating the one hundredth anniversary since Father Hidalgo revolted against Spain. Díaz wanted to show the world Mexico's progress, but outside the capital, in the towns and countryside, unrest stirred. Madero had jumped bail and fled to Texas. He issued a manifesto on November 20, 1910, calling for Mexicans to rise up and overthrow the Díaz dictatorship.

Insurgents in Chihuahua and Morelos, including the charismatic figures Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata, responded to Madero's call. Within six months, Díaz resigned the presidency after a decisive rebel victory at the battle of Ciudad Juárez. The aging dictator's words as he boarded a ship to France from the port of Veracruz proved prophetic: "Madero has unleashed a tiger; let us see if he can control him." Open elections and democracy, Madero thought, would solve Mexico's problems. He was wrong. The Zapatistas in Morelos refused to lay down their arms until lands were returned to the pueblos, industrial workers began to strike and halt production at unprecedented rates, and the church and Federal army remained hostile to the new regime. A new round of revolutionary violence began in 1913 when the army deposed and shot Madero. Mexicans united to overthrow the military dictatorship a year later.

As in France and Russia, once the revolutionaries achieved victory, they started fighting among themselves. Who would rule Mexico? What reforms would be carried out? What role would workers and farmers play in a new economy? And the church? The old landlords? Where did they fit into this picture? Revolutionary armies swept in and out of Mexico City as these questions remained unsolved. The uncertainty culminated in major battles between the Zapatistas and Villistas on one hand, and forces of Álvaro Obregón and Venustiano Carranza (the moderate Constitutionalists) on the other. Carranza and Obregón, the most talented general of the war, prevailed in 1915 when Villa suffered major defeats in battles of the Bajío. The Constitutionalists assumed power in Mexico City and in 1917 wrote the most progressive constitution in the Americas to that point, promising workers power in the factories, farmers land, and Mexicans control over their natural resources.

Reform began slowly in the 1920s. Mexico's presidents Álvaro Obregón and Plutarco Elías Calles juggled the diverse interests of a

powerful and bloated army, mobilized farmers clamoring for land, urban workers demanding control in the factories, the Catholic Church resisting secularization of state and society, and U.S. pressure not to implement the reforms of the 1917 Constitution. Land was distributed selectively and in the regions where the rural movement was strongest—Morelos, the Puebla-Tlaxcala Valley, and areas of Chihuahua. The only thing revolutionary about the regime by the late 1920s was its anticlerical project to break the power of the church. In 1926, the church-state conflict erupted when government hostility led the church to suspend religious services such as baptisms, marriages, funerals, and Masses. Some seventy thousand Mexicans perished in the religious war that came to be known as the *Cristiada*. Three years later, the conflict ended in a stalemate between the church and state, with Catholicism losing its legal authority but retaining influence over Mexicans' hearts and minds.

Church-state relations thawed into the 1930s, while the Great Depression exposed Mexico's need to fulfill the promises of the Revolution. Lázaro Cárdenas assumed the presidency in 1934 and allied with workers and farmers to carry out rapid reforms. He distributed some forty-four million acres of land to eight hundred thousand recipients. Urban workers gained unprecedented labor rights and won backing from the government in disputes with management. Economic nationalism reached its apogee in 1938 when Cárdenas expropriated American and British oil firms. The maneuver was supported by Mexicans of all political stripes: at no point before or since has the nation been so united behind the government. Through these popular measures, official party membership mushroomed to more than four million constituents, making it the most powerful organization to emerge from the Revolution. Urban and rural workers, the army, and the middle class formed the backbone of what came to be the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI).

Historians consider 1940 and Mexico's entrance into the Second World War on the side of the Allies as the end of the revolutionary era. For the next three decades, during the so-called Mexican Miracle, the country experienced rapid urbanization, industrialization, economic growth, and unprecedented political stability. Only recently have historians begun to probe the myths and realities of the

PRI's golden age. Urban and rural workers largely remained supportive of the regime, but politicians increasingly prioritized business investment and economic growth over income redistribution and equality. The indigenous populations remained second-class citizens. Above all, the PRI dominated elections through cooptation and patronage. The official party ruled the national and state congresses, governorships, and the all-powerful presidency. In 1968, a student movement that sought to democratize the system encountered repression at the Tlatelolco massacre, in which hundreds of students were gunned down by Federal soldiers. Following this tragedy, repeated economic crises in the 1970s and 1980s began a long decline of the PRI's legitimacy and claim as the official embodiment of the Revolution. Poorly armed Indians in the highlands of Chiapas, calling themselves Zapatistas, turned the official narrative on its head in 1994, when they rebelled against the North American Free Trade Agreement and the failure of the regime to continue distributing land. For the first time in seventy years, the opposition Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) won the presidency in 2000, bringing an end to the PRI's long domination of Mexican politics.

The PAN's socially conservative, free market program has steered Mexico far from the vision of revolutionary leaders like Zapata and Cárdenas, and the rise of powerful drug cartels has exposed cracks in the strong state built by the PRI after 1940. But the myths and memories of the Revolution continue to inform Mexican politics and culture in complicated ways. Scholars will have their hands full for decades to come exploring the road to 2010. While this year's centennial events have presented a perfect opportunity to appraise Mexico's recurrent social upheavals, it is still too early to predict how 2010 will be remembered by future generations.

Brian Stauffer and Salvador Salinas are doctoral candidates in the UT Department of History.

Note

1. The title *Many Mexicos* was inspired by historian Lesley Byrd Simpson's classic work of the same name, which alerted its readers to the complexity and heterogeneity of Mexico, both in terms of its environments and peoples. Lesley Byrd Simpson, *Many Mexicos* (New York: Putnam, 1941). ☀

A SWORD CUTS TWO WAYS: Cold War Policymaking in the OAS

by ARAGORN STORM MILLER

H

HISTORIAN GADDIS SMITH REGARDS the Organization of American States as the ultimate expression of the Monroe Doctrine and the U.S. assertion of hegemony in the Western Hemisphere. Others, like Carolyn M. Shaw, suggest that

the U.S.–Latin American relationship within the OAS featured varying degrees of cooperation, resistance, and assertion by all members. In a sense, both scholars are correct and incorrect. On one hand, the OAS provided a salve for U.S. existential Cold War concerns; the organization could be a powerful juridical tool to ensure regional security and resist the Communist menace. On the other hand, Latin Americans found in the OAS long-sought enshrinement of democracy and nonintervention as foundations of the inter-American system. As the OAS evolved from a theoretical to practical tool, however, a curious dynamic emerged. The smooth conduct of U.S. policy was impossible without the presence of the OAS, but Latin Americans often proved more influential in the forging of hemispheric policy. Indeed, in most cases it was only when certain Latin American leaders felt threatened—typically by the policies of other Latin American nations, rather than by the United States—that the more powerful pieces of OAS legislation emerged. When the U.S. Eisenhower administration sought to contain Fidel Castro, Latin Americans kept the focus on Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo. The 1962 Punta del Este Declaration that framed Communism as an un-American ideology came about only after much horse-trading and arm-twisting by the United States. The August 1964 censorship of Cuba—ostensibly serving U.S. interests—resulted primarily from the efforts of Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela. Decades after the Cold War, we continue to wrestle with the riddle of the OAS: the ideological and

diplomatic contours of the Cold War made the organization vital to the United States, yet the body often thwarted U.S. policymaking and made Latin Americans the prime movers—and perhaps hegemonic actors—in the inter-American relationship of the 1950s and 1960s.

Although the United States had presented itself as a champion of American security since President James Monroe’s famous (or infamous) declaration of 1823, it was not until the beginning of the Cold War that U.S. policymakers felt compelled to create a formal, collective security system. Old fears, that European empires would nibble at the edges of the hemisphere in an ideologically neutral positive-sum game, gave way to new fears that an ideologically driven Soviet empire would absorb undeveloped regions as well as the United States itself in a zero-sum game. The United States and the West would resist, wearing down and discrediting the communist system through a policy of containment and indirect confrontation. Such a struggle could only be won, however, if Washington cast itself as a reliable champion of democratic values, and cultivated a roster of allies that would bear the ideological and real burdens of the long struggle. With the Act of Chapultepec, Rio Treaty, and Act of Bogotá, the United States and the twenty republics of Latin America created the Organization of American States and enshrined principles of democracy, equality, cooperation, and, perhaps most important, united resistance to direct or indirect aggression toward any party nation. Gone were earlier notions, like those of the Roosevelt Corollary, that the United States would be the sole arbiter of security and responsible governance. But because of the inordinate power of the United States, and the fact that only the United States had vested interests throughout the hemisphere, it was at least implicit that the sensibilities of an earlier era were still in play.

Yet the dynamics of the Cold War tended to level the playing field between the superpowers and the developing and decolonizing world. As thinkers like Walt W. Rostow noted, the advent of nuclear weapons and ideological blocs meant that there could be no dictation of terms, either by the superpowers against one another or by the superpowers against less powerful nations. Instead, the allegiance of a given smaller country was a highly valuable commodity, since dictation would only create a propaganda opportunity for the other side. In the American context, Washington had to balance competing needs. It could not afford to allow leftist influence to pare off regional governments, but neither could it appear heavy-handed in establishing an anti-communist quarantine. The OAS was the ideal forum in which to maintain such a united front, but there were twenty nations with which to contend, and only the most skillful propaganda and diplomacy could suggest that the interests of the United States and Latin America tended to be identical.

This situation persisted in the first decade of the OAS's existence, such that the United States found it easier to work outside the framework of the organization. The 1954 CIA intervention in Guatemala provided the clearest example of this trend. In the run-up to the Ninth International Conference of American States, scheduled for March, U.S. and Latin American foreign ministers strongly disagreed over priorities. The Latin Americans made it clear that they remained far more interested in addressing economic underdevelopment than U.S. concerns about the Red Menace in places like Guatemala, where Washington was concerned that democratically elected President José Arevalo had veered dangerously leftward. Argentina and Mexico voiced particularly strong opposition, suggesting that Washington might use the OAS as a cover for unilateral intervention in this case or in the future. U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles succeeded in shepherding through a declaration of American solidarity against Communism, but only after promising increased U.S. aid, and only after fifty ballots had been taken. As the Eisenhower administration focused on plans for an invasion of Guatemala by exile Carlos Castillo Armas, Washington prepared a case for presentation to the OAS only as a last resort. Eisenhower and his aides reasoned that, in light of the

hard sell needed to gain the vaguely worded Caracas Resolution, obtaining Latin American support for decisive action against Guatemala would be nearly impossible.

The U.S. general avoidance of the OAS as a policymaking tool continued until Fidel Castro took power in Cuba and began a program of land reform and other potentially leftist policies. Yet in this case the bulk of attention of the OAS members centered on Rafael Trujillo, a close U.S. ally who increasingly pushed the already-broad precedents of authoritarian rule in the Americas. During 1956 and 1957, the FBI and State Department had investigated the disappearances of Trujillo critic Jesús Galindez, and Robert Murphy, a U.S. citizen working for Dominican Airlines. The United States determined that the Trujillo regime had been directly involved in the deaths of the two men. Yet Trujillo's willingness to work in lockstep with U.S. diplomatic and military policy encouraged the Eisenhower administration to pass only mild sanctions. By the summer of 1959, however, the democratic but nonetheless nationalist Romulo Betancourt had replaced dictator Marcos Pérez Jiménez in Venezuela and had joined Castro in a heated rhetorical—and sometimes military—duel with Trujillo. A curious dynamic thus emerged: Eisenhower tried to muzzle Trujillo while currying Betancourt's support against Castro; Trujillo and Castro stridently defied each of the other three; and Betancourt intimated that he would support anti-Castro measures only after Eisenhower assisted Venezuelan efforts against Trujillo in the OAS.

For the next year, the OAS served primarily as a forum for Latin American criticism of Trujillo—and by extension U.S. policy in the hemisphere—rather than a forum for the U.S. fight against Castro and communism. The August 1959 meetings in Santiago, Chile, served as an indirect attack against Trujillo's human rights violations and established a precedent for future OAS human rights commissions. The following year, Trujillo stepped up his campaign against Betancourt, sending aircraft to drop anti-government leaflets over Caracas—though the Dominican planes accidentally flew over the Dutch island of Curacao—and ordering an assassination attempt against him. Betancourt survived a June 1960 car bombing and spearheaded an immediate convening of the OAS in San José, Costa Rica. The August meetings determined that the Trujillo government had indeed been

involved in these interventions, and called on the American states to break diplomatic relations with the Dominican Republic. During the summer of 1960, meanwhile, Cuba had begun expropriations of U.S.-owned sugar plantations and threatened U.S. oil interests, compelling the Eisenhower administration to attempt to secure OAS support for collective intervention in future cases where an American republic might threaten the interests of another. Again, Latin Americans resisted these veiled attacks against Cuba. From their perspective, there was a wide gulf between the direct intervention that Trujillo had pursued, and the more ambiguous policy Castro executed in Cuba. When Eisenhower broke ties with Cuba, in January 1961, only Venezuela and Colombia followed suit. Even this development owed principally to the fact that Castro had increasingly turned his ire against these nations rather than from acquiescence to U.S. desires.

During the spring and summer of 1961, Castro's neighbors in the Caribbean basin became increasingly nervous about his political bent and sought to use the OAS as a means to protect their national security. In May Castro had affirmed himself as a Communist and as an ally of the Soviet Union, and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev pledged armed support to the island in the case of armed aggression. Cuba also began broadcasting propaganda throughout the region, calling for the leftist overthrow of sitting governments. By year's end, Peru and Colombia succeeded in calling for a meeting of foreign ministers at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in January 1962 to consider the problem of Cuban aggression and alignment with the Soviet Union. The United States was of course highly in favor of such a meeting. Yet Washington failed to achieve its goals of getting the rest of Latin America to break relations with Cuba and to enforce harsh economic sanctions. Mexico and the Southern Cone were openly opposed, and it took promises of increased U.S. economic aid to get nations like Uruguay and Haiti on board. Ultimately, the United States acceded to a compromise in which Cuba would be determined to be violating the OAS charter and Caracas Resolution by being under the control of the alien ideology of Communism, and the extra-hemispheric control of the Soviet Union, and therefore suspended from participation in the OAS. Despite this compromise, consensus remained elusive. Ultimately, the vote to suspend Cuba barely achieved the

necessary two-thirds margin to pass, being 14–1 with six abstentions. Again, Washington tended to find itself thwarted by the assertive nations of Latin America in the Cold War context.

The unprecedented OAS sanctions that ostracized Cuba—so long a goal of the United States—occurred primarily as a result of Venezuelan President Romulo Betancourt's feud with Castro. During 1962 Cuba had begun a major effort to train leftists throughout the hemisphere and return them to their home countries as revolutionaries. In 1963 Venezuela became the epicenter of these subversive efforts, as guerrillas and urban terrorists associated with the Venezuelan Communist Party and Leftist Revolutionary Movement sought to disrupt presidential elections scheduled for December, perhaps setting the stage for a series of coups that would usher them into power. While anecdotal evidence existed that these sorts of activities occurred, neither the United States nor Venezuela could offer concrete proof of Cuban intervention in domestic affairs. In November, however, the Venezuelan National Guard discovered a three-ton arms cache on the Paraguana Peninsula near the border with Colombia. Subsequent tests proved that the weapons were of Cuban origin, and Betancourt and his successor, Raul Leoni, sought to bring Castro to account within the context of the OAS. Working closely with the United States, Venezuela sought the concurrence of the rest of the hemisphere in breaking relations with Cuba, and in the establishment of an embargo of all trade in nonhumanitarian goods. As before, however, there proved to be limits beyond which even close U.S. allies like Venezuela would not go. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas C. Mann spearheaded U.S. efforts to use the Paraguana arms discovery as a justification for collective military force against Castro. Throughout the spring of 1964, Mann and the State Department crafted what they termed a "blank check" to be attached to any eventual resolution coming out of the OAS meetings. If Cuba could be found guilty of both direct and indirect intervention in the affairs of Venezuela—thus violating the Rio Treaty as well as the OAS and UN charters—the United States might also secure an authorization for unilateral armed force in case of a similar future incident without having to return to the OAS for an explicit authorization. Perhaps because several other Latin American nations perceived

the implications of such a blanket authorization of force, Mann's "blank check" was a nonstarter. Ultimately, the Venezuelan drive for severed relations and an embargo carried the day by a 15–4 vote. By November, however, the United States could feel gratified, as every Latin American nation with the exception of Mexico had broken off diplomatic relations with Cuba.

While obviously the United States succeeded in carrying out the major contours of its anti-Castro policy within the OAS framework, Washington was often forced to wait until Latin Americans provided the critical mass for punitive action. At least in the pivotal years of the OAS—the 1950s and 1960s—Latin American democratic forces and Latin American strongmen were the prime movers in determining the boundaries of debate. Trujillo had succeeded in perfecting the institution of the caudillo during three decades of rule, and might have extended his dictatorship another decade had he not engaged in a reckless campaign against his neighbors. Despite the fact that such dictatorships violated the OAS Charter guarantee of democratic governance—a fact that Betancourt was fond of stressing—the United States was willing to overlook the problem. When Trujillo sought to export his despotism, Washington had little choice other than to cashier its ally and support Latin American initiatives. Washington, further, was forced to wait three years for the rest of Latin America to accede to its desire to fully isolate Cuba politically. And again, this outcome centered on Castro's decision to export his revolution in the form of arms deliveries to Venezuelan leftists. Absent the missteps of these antidemocratic leaders, U.S. use of the OAS would have been even more complicated than it was. The OAS provides a unique window into the complexity of U.S. policymaking, and U.S.–Latin American relations, in the Cold War context. The centrality of ideology to the geopolitical showdown between the United States and the Soviet Union tended to make rhetoric as important as reality. The United States needed to be able to point to evidence that it was on the side of justice and democracy, both in terms of its policies and dealings with the wider world. Bodies like the UN, NATO, and the OAS served these functions to an extent. But the emphasis on collectivism also served to restrict the United States. The relationship with Latin America starkly illustrated such a

problem. Having shepherded the creation of what ought to have been a powerful tool for the exertion of hegemony, Washington often had to ignore the OAS altogether, or wait until Latin Americans partially endorsed U.S. policy, so that the "mousetrap" functioned in the way that the United States had intended.

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LLILAS CONFERENCES

Fall 2009

Latin America in the Cold War
(see article p. 7)

Conference on Indigenous
Languages of Latin America IV /
Congreso de Idiomas Indígenas
de Latinoamérica IV

Migration during an
Era of Restriction

Spring 2010

XXX Annual ILASSA Student
Conference (see article p. 44)

Abriendo Brecha VII:
Opening a Path

Walls: What They Make
and What They Break

The 2010 Lozano Long Conference:
Republics of Fear: Understanding
Endemic Violence in Latin America
Today (see article p. 34)

Saving Bats around the Globe: Ecology as Activism

by CHRIS WOODRUFF

I DOUBT I WILL EVER FORGET THAT sweltering morning in August 2007 when I arrived at Sid Richardson Hall to meet the rest of the incoming class of LLILAS graduate students. This was one of the most anxious days of my life. Sweat was beading on my forehead and my palms were dripping—not because it was already 95 degrees at 8:30 in the morning and not because I was hurriedly introduced to the crowd of professors and students gathered under the oak trees drinking coffee and eating donuts—but because I was terrified that at any moment the time would come for all of us to don burnt orange t-shirts for a group photo. As a recent graduate and thoroughly brainwashed product of Texas A&M University, nothing scared me more. Today, I look back on that morning and smile. Much to my relief, the burnt orange shirts never appeared, and more important, I now realize that a process of self-reflection and professional formation began that day, propelling me on my current trajectory.

Like many of my fellow alumni, I came to Austin with a well-defined set of academic goals and plans for the pursuit of relatively specific interests related to Latin America. To me, studying the volatile period of Uruguay's history, from the 1960s to the 1980s, was and is absolutely intriguing. I find great value in understanding the forces that led one of South America's most stable democracies into a torturous "dirty war," and this fascination steered me toward an interdisciplinary focus on human rights. Apart from the obvious lure of the Benson Collection, I was most attracted to UT by its offering of courses that would allow me to explore the intersections of historical inquiry with human rights advocacy.

Despite such a keen sense of academic aspirations, I suspect I was not alone among my peers in my lack of certainty regarding what career awaited me after graduation. Of course, many come to LLILAS intent on pursuing a PhD followed by a career in academia, but that particular path is not for everyone, and I knew fairly early on that I

would be seeking employment beyond the university. What I did not know (and never would have dreamed) was that rather than protecting human rights, I would soon be employed by an organization whose mission is to protect the world's most persecuted and undervalued *animal*—the bat.

There are still days when I ask myself how I wound up working for Bat Conservation International (BCI) following the completion of liberal arts degrees at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, neither of which included courses in biology or animal science. In answer to this question, I first remind myself that I was extremely fortunate to find a job in a timely manner given the current economy, period! Furthermore, I remember being attracted to BCI for its international exposure and for the opportunity that it presented to get my foot in the door at an established nonprofit organization advocating for a cause in which I could believe. The job posting at BCI was for a Grants and Contracts Assistant, and while I possessed no previous experience in this field, I decided to apply—thinking my regional expertise, language fluencies, and writing skills could be valuable assets for the organization. Thankfully, this turned out to be true, as I was able to convince BCI that I was the right man for the job.

Since being hired in August 2009, I have developed an even greater appreciation for the skill sets that I honed while studying at LLILAS. Daily, I am asked to conduct research in scholarly journals, organize



Chris Woodruff

and synthesize data, network with representatives of private foundations and government agencies, provide translation services when dealing with partners in Latin America, and produce polished writing under tight deadlines. There are so many workplaces in desperate need of employees with these abilities, and once proven, there is great potential for professional advancement. I found this out firsthand, when I was promoted from an entry-level position to one of much greater responsibility after only seven months on the job. For this, I give an enormous amount of credit to those professors who skillfully brought the “real world” into the classroom, sparking invaluable opportunities for personal and professional development.

By far, the most common question I receive from family and friends goes something like this: “How does a master’s degree in Latin American studies lead to a job in bat conservation?” To answer in part, nothing in my degree plan led me to work on behalf of bats. Even with Austin boasting the world’s largest urban bat colony—the bats living under the Congress Avenue Bridge—I never felt a particular calling to raise money or to advocate for their protection. This all changed, however, upon my hire at BCI, due in large part to the increased awareness I gained during my first weeks on the job regarding just how valuable and truly indispensable bats are to the maintenance of healthy ecosystems and human economies. My crash course in “Bats 101” revealed two things: (1) how ignorant I was about such a critical member of our ecosystem, and (2) that a small amount of education can be extremely powerful in transforming opinions and priorities. To me, this gets at the essence of advocacy work—the kind of work

I had hoped to one day be involved in after training under professors like Ariel Dulitzky. My job provides a platform from which to draft grant proposals for conservation projects around the globe. In the process, I have the power to affect the opinions and priorities of funders through writing informative proposals that include such information as the beneficial services provided by the bats living in a particular country or region. One common point we try to get across to funders who might otherwise restrict their dollars to work in the United States is that conserving migratory bat species during their stay in Arizona, for example, is meaningless unless we pay equal attention to the conservation issues affecting them while wintering in Mexico (I am sure the broad application of this logic will not be lost on those of us involved in the national immigration debate). Our on-the-ground work may or may not proceed, depending on the funder’s decision, but one thing is for sure: unless we educate the funders and other local decision-makers, nothing our scientists do in a cave or at another bat roosting site will make a bit of difference over the long term.

In the second part of my answer to those who ask me where the

connection lies between the study of human rights in Latin America and working for a nonprofit organization focused on bat conservation, I point out the many parallels I find between these two seemingly disparate pursuits. The easiest point to make is that bats are not only prevalent in Latin America, but, as a region, there are more bat species found from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego than anywhere else in the world. Second, I can pique almost anyone’s interest by explaining that without bats, there would likely be no tequila—as research has shown that bats are the primary pollinator of wild agave. On a more serious note, I like to relate working for BCI in Austin to advocating for human rights in the United States. Due to its large size and apparent well-being, the colony of Mexican free-tail bats living under the Congress Avenue Bridge can easily give off the impression to Austinites that bats are thriving, and there are no causes for concern. Similarly, I believe the average American citizen sees no cause for concern

regarding the protection of human rights in this country. On the surface, no great travesty is taking place, and for many, the prospect of government action to ensure basic rights for all persons is looked at with a degree of apathy. Unless one is paying especially close attention, it is far too easy to be lulled to sleep by a false sense of well-being, and that applies for both bats and human rights. Through my work at BCI, I have the opportunity to at least attempt to prevent such apathy from persisting over the plight of bats. The important point that I hope to make to those who ask, therefore, is that advocacy work knows no geographical or species-oriented boundaries, just as the benefits of a degree from an area studies institute like LLILAS cannot

be constrained by the type of industry or professional activity in which one is employed. To be honest, I do not foresee myself having a long-lasting career working on behalf of bats, but the nonprofit training and advocacy experience I am gaining will forever be valuable to me no matter where I choose to apply them.

In writing this article, I realize that my interests and experiences represent only a small degree of the immense diversity among students, faculty, and staff who have called LLILAS home at some point in the last seventy years. For most of you, a love of winged mammals probably does not await you in your future. What I hope and expect does await all of us, however, is a life spent tirelessly pursuing the issues and topics that stir up our deepest passions and curiosities. I suspect these are the very issues that brought us together at LLILAS, and they will be the same topics that will keep us bonded no matter the direction our lives take us.

Chris Woodruff graduated from LLILAS with a master’s in Latin American Studies in 2009. 🌟

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BRAZILIANIZATION OR THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS



ON APRIL 21, 2010, BRASÍLIA celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. In those five decades, the city has been praised as the embodiment of hope and criticized as the materialization of despair.

Angel Rama in his classic *Ciudad Letrada* called Brasília “the most fabulous dream . . . in the new continent,” while Marshall Berman described it as “one of the most dismal cities in the world” in the preface to the second edition of *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*. In a way, Brasília embodies the typical reaction of Anglophonic scholarship toward Latin America. It is seen as either a vision of paradise or the gateway to hell. In this article I explore the maturation of Brasília vis-à-vis Brazil, playing with the fact that in English the name of the nation is spelled with a Z while the name of the capital retains the original S. In that sense, *Brazilianization* would be the nation influencing the city while *Brasílianization* refers to the city influencing the rest of the country.

To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Brasília, the UT School of Architecture in partnership with LILAS put together a series of events in spring 2010. Three lectures and one roundtable shed light into Brasília as a complex (an often contradictory) space and how the city could be used to understand the transformations of Brazilian society. Beyond the analysis of the city in itself, I believe Brasília can be used as a representation of a new Brazil that emerged in the twenty-first century: an economic powerhouse and a strong actor on the world stage. Such an image, I might argue, was prefigured in the design and the construction of the city fifty years ago, with all its potentialities and paradoxes. Could it be possible that the city contaminated and therefore *Brasílianized* the nation?

To address that, we were fortunate enough to bring to Austin three of the most respected scholars of Brasília: James Holston (University of California, Berkeley), Frederico Holanda (Universidade de Brasília), and Ana Tostões (Politécnico de Lisboa). Professor Holston is the author of the classic anthropological analysis of Brasília *The Modernist City*, published in 1989 and still a fundamental reference on the issue.

Professor Holanda is the most revered Brazilian scholar on the topic, having published numerous books and articles about the city he moved to thirty-five years ago. His book *The Exceptional Space* was published in 2003 and is considered the most thorough response to Holston’s seminal critique. Completing the triangle, Professor Tostões is the leading Portuguese scholar of modernism and currently head of DOCOMOMO International, an institution devoted to the modern movement architectural heritage. The three scholars offered quite diverse perspectives on Brasília, and I shall use their points of view to introduce readers to the current debate on the city and what I call its *Brazilianization*.

Holston and the Critique of Modernism

From a jet roaring above, the city of Brasília bursts into view as the striking image described in the classic 1970s literature, that of the ultimate “modernist city” analyzed by James Holston. Like an abstract painting, Brasília’s dramatic city plan unfolds boldly across the landscape, from the red soil crisscrossed by strings of asphalt over the flat *planalto*, to the orderly *superquadras* protected by the arms of the lake. While for a brief period (1956–1960) the architecture scholarship celebrated Brasília’s plan as a brilliant conceptual project, it would soon trash it as a failure of modernist central planning utopias. For those who wanted to see Brasília as a failure, Holston’s book provided the perfect foundation. The criticism was brutal and unforgiving, such that Brasília, the great modernist experiment, was proclaimed by critics to be the great modernist failure. I would, however, point out one major problem here. Holston’s book is not as much a critique of Brasília as it is a critique of the principles of CIAM (Congress Internationale d’Architecture Modern). But to what extent is Brasília a literal translation of CIAM’s Athen’s Charter of 1933? Interesting to note is that Brasília was criticized very early on by CIAM’s prominent members for not being modern enough (Liernur 1993: 108), only to be later used as a case study to discredit the very same CIAM ideas that it was said to lack. Valerie Fraser observes that in a matter of ten years (1957–1967) “Brasília came to be seen

BRASÍLIANIZATION? OF BRASÍLIA

by FERNANDO LUIZ LARA

not as an outstanding achievement but as an outrageously ambitious project for a country like Brazil” (Fraser 2000: 255).

When revisiting the critique of the 1960s and 1970s, one needs to understand that thousands of federal employees were forced to move to the new (and yes, still quite empty) capital. Many hated it. In the beginning, they had a hard time appropriating spaces so foreign from the ones they were used to and could not wait to return to their hometowns after retiring. Moreover, the military dictatorship that took power in 1964 not only appropriated the city for its autocratic project but also persistently blocked any surviving socialist aspirations such as the original idea that apartments be allocated according to family size and not employee rankings.

Holanda and the Defense of the Real City

People, however, do adapt to their environments, and as the city grew in the 1980s and 1990s, new migrants joined those born in Brasília to shape their built environment. They found open spaces in which to play soccer. They flocked to the main north-south axis when it was closed to traffic on Sundays, to skate, bike ride and rollerblade. The less fortunate started new peripheral cities called satellites and commuted daily to the Pilot Plan to work. And, in this car-dominated city, they even began to promote the very un-Brazilian notion of respecting pedestrians, learning to hit the brakes every time someone stepped onto the pedestrian crosswalk.

It is this city that Frederico Holanda documents as a response to Holston’s critique. Trained in the Space Syntax tradition at UCL (University College London), Holanda looks at the morphology of the 2-million-people metropolis (of which the Pilot Plan represents about 25 percent, or 500,000 people) in search of a more real Brasília. Positioning his analysis in opposition to Holston’s, Holanda defends Brasília by showing that it is much more than a modernist city. In a way, the disagreeing scholars are aiming at different things: Holston uses Brasília to criticize modern urbanism at large; Holanda argues that Brasília is a success

because it is beyond modernism. His analysis of the monumental scale shows that Costa’s plan is more complex than CIAM’s separation of functions. Moreover, Holanda demonstrates that Brasília’s urban plan is very much rooted in tradition, adding a dimension that was not present at all in Corbusier’s *ville radieuse*, for instance.

But what has happened to Brasília in the intervening decades? Is it still the monumental but uninhabitable city described by its critics in the 1970s or has it grown into something else? With distance and time we can revisit some of the arguments of these critics. Hundreds of thousands of people have migrated to the booming new capital looking for jobs that were not available in their hometowns. What city did they find and what city has it become? Frederico Holanda is again the one who better answers those questions. His analysis of metropolitan Brasília shows how it has become the most segregated city in the country. The spatial inequality that is characteristic of Brazilian cities is exacerbated in Brasília due to more (not less) governmental control of land use. The city can be said to have been inevitably contaminated by the rest of the nation, that is, *Brazilianized*. Or worse, while in other Brazilian cities the working poor have tackled housing problems (literally) with their own hands, the protected nature of the Pilot Plan has been consistently enforced to eradicate any informal settlement.

The Challenge of Preserving the Modern

Here I find a point of agreement among all scholars. The preservation layer is extremely problematic in Brasília. In a special anniversary article for *Veja*, a Brazilian magazine with wide circulation among the middle class, Holston calls for the end of the preservation laws to “free the spirit of Brasília.” Protected by national conservation laws since the late 1960s and UNESCO World Heritage guidelines since 1987, Brasília’s plan is fiercely defended by a group of architects and planners reminiscent of Niemeyer’s tenure as “architect-in-chief.”

As noted by Hugo Segawa, conservation and preservation were not key words in the Modern Movement repertoire. In Brazil “the

intelligentsia that introduced modern art, architecture and literature ... was responsible also for matters of preservation,” something that was praised before but is now considered quite controversial (Segawa 1998: 43). During his visit to Austin last March, Gilberto Gil, Brazilian Minister of Culture from 2003–2008, referred to IPHAN (the national office of conservation that belongs to his ministry) as the most ossified and reactionary of all institutions. Radical preservation (or hysterical preservation, as I call it) inevitably means the preservation of old privileges and old inequalities, and that is certainly the case in Brasília.

Nevertheless, the city has changed despite every effort to the contrary. One of the major criticisms of the young city was the antiseptic quality of the super blocks, the neighborhoods for private life. Today, the *superquadras* are thriving with busy restaurants and bars every few blocks and noisy with children playing on the interstitial green spaces. What caused the change? The main factor is time. The small young trees planted at the city’s inception have grown into large shady canopies. Stores that address the specific needs of the local inhabitants have thrived and multiplied. These changes highlight the fact that no city can be judged at its beginning. Instead, Brasília, like all cities, needed time to develop and evolve.

Unfortunately, as the city was evolving and maturing, European and North American scholarship was not paying attention. Richard Williams explains that early European critics analyzed Brasília as “an object in which they had much invested. They owned it, in effect, as an experiment ... That sense of ownership is absent from more recent writing ... Brasília no longer has any purchase on the critical imagination as a model, but it can be appreciated as an aesthetic object ... In this scenario, the city’s negative character is frequently exaggerated for literary effect” (Williams 2007: 320–321).

Another frequent criticism of Brasília regards its reliance on highways. Indeed, one must use a car, bus, or taxi to get anywhere in the city. For those who dislike automobiles, Brasília will never be admired. However, its system of roads is efficient and rarely congested. In fact, it is a shining success when compared to many other highway-driven cities, such as Los Angeles. Interesting to note is that while Rayner Banham was praising LA for its automobile “ecology” in 1971, the international intelligentsia was criticizing Brasília for exactly the same reason. In terms of automobile dependency, there are very few cities that could cast the first stone today, and none that could have done it in the 1960s.

Brasília’s success in this regard reveals a troubling assumption made by its critics, one that goes to the heart of the expectations of a Latin American city. For planners in the United States and Northern Europe, Latin American cities are understood as gridded cities, with a central plaza and streets filled with people selling their wares or enjoying outdoor cafes. Many of these images are based on the evolution of urban planning in Spanish-speaking cities in Latin America. Portugal and its colonial settlements in Brazil never followed this type of urban development. Portuguese and Brazilian cities rarely had central plazas or gridded streets. Instead, planning tended to be organic, following access to ports, with the population centers hugging the coasts. Hence, to criticize Brasília for not having central plazas filled with local inhabitants and streets filled with more pedestrians than cars is to be blind to Brazilian urban planning history and to foster unfair expectations.

Our third guest speaker, Ana Tostões, spoke in detail of Brasília’s



Brasília Cathedral, designed by Oscar Niemeyer, stained glass by Marianne Peretti.

ancient roots, all the way back to colonial times. She reminded us that the Portuguese moved their entire court to Rio de Janeiro in 1808, inverting the colonial rule, and that the idea of moving the capital farther inland was written into the Brazilian constitution as early as 1823, only one year after the heir to the Portuguese crown declared the Brazilian independence. The idea of Brasília has clear Portuguese roots, something that only recently has been explored (El Dahdah 2010). In the opposite direction, Lucio Costa would turn out to be very influential in Portugal from the 1940s, serving as inspiration for the “necessary documentation” of Portuguese traditions while Brazilian modernism of the 1950s was becoming the ideal, the ultimate aspiration. Universality was surely a major ingredient of the Modern Movement, but the tropics, in the words of Tostões, turned Le Corbusier sideways. At the MES building (1936–1943) the horizontal sketch of the French-Swiss master was turned vertical to fit better into Rio’s downtown. Two decades later, Costa limited to six stories the height of the blocks at Brasília’s *superquadras*, fine-tuning Corbusier’s housing proposals to the human scale. As Jane Jacobs was already thinking at that time (but would not publish until

five years later), the six-story buildings have a direct relationship with the ground that is lost on higher structures. The American experience had always been about experimentation, and Brasília was no exception.

Yes, Brasília is not a perfect city, and like all cities it has aspects that don't work and that deserve to be criticized. As everywhere in Brazil, the inequalities are there, the spatial exclusions are there, and so is the frustration with the slow pace of necessary transformation. But what is most interesting is how Brazilians have adapted to these challenges, how they have brought Brazilian traditions with them while developing new urban practices. And, as in Rio and São Paulo, the richness of daily life in Brasília's *superquadras* and satellite cities is bruised but not obliterated by the brutality of income inequality and spatial exclusion.

To conclude, I will borrow the words of a fourth scholar who touched on Brasília while visiting UT last year. Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, political scientist at the University of Chicago, commented that Brasília should not be seen as a plan to be perfectly implemented, as if we could expect a new society to emerge from a new set of buildings. Instead, Brasília serves as an aspiration, an ambition, a guiding light pointing the direction. In that sense, the ambitions of Kubitscheck and Costa in 1956 have indeed survived those five decades quite well. The Brazil of 2010 is closer than ever to the larger-than-life ideals of Brasília. Besides, it is impossible to imagine the country without the powerful symbolism of its modern lines.

The city *Brasílianized* the nation as much as the nation *Brazilianized* the city.

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Brasília Cathedral, designed by Oscar Niemeyer.



Brazilian National Congress, designed by Oscar Niemeyer.

Studying Arts and Empowerment in Brazil

by NATALIE ARSENAULT

C

CONFIDENCE RADIATES FROM THE women of Banda Didá every time they play their drums—during street rehearsals, in concert with famous artists like Daniela Mercury and Carlinhos Brown, and leading 3,000 women during

Carnaval. The actors of Nós do Morro exude that same self-assurance when they present first-rate productions of works by both Brazilian writers and international staples like Shakespeare. The children studying music with Guri Santa Marcelina enthusiastically attend class twice a week, returning to the school almost every day on their own time to practice what they have learned on school-owned instruments. These groups produce quality art and share it with their communities. What distinguishes them is that they comprise children, adolescents, and adults from Brazil's lowest socioeconomic classes.

Throughout Brazil, dancers, musicians, actors, and other artists have created programs that provide rigorous arts training—which in turn develops personal, social, and economic potential—to youth from poor communities. In addition to their belief that all people have a right to culture, these projects demonstrate that the arts can foster a sense of dignity and self-esteem and, by extension, provide opportunities for education and employment. Interested in exploring this innovative programming, LLILAS and Texas Performing Arts applied for and were awarded primary funding under the Fulbright-Hays Group Projects Abroad Program to take fourteen educators on a four-week seminar focused on the role of the performing arts in educational and social projects in Brazil.

"In Brazil, many of the country's most celebrated performing artists have created or led programs that provide educational opportunities for young people through the arts," observes Joe Randel, Director of ArtesAméricas at Texas Performing Arts. "Their efforts are highlighted by an unwillingness to compromise the quality or scope of artistic instruction, a commitment to exposing young people to the best of the performing arts, and the belief that everyone has the right to a life enriched by the arts. When you see a dance performance by Corpo Cidadão or a play by Nós do Morro, you are struck by the quality work

on stage. The fact that the performers are poor is neither evident nor relevant. Not all of these kids will become professional dancers or actors, but all stand a far better chance of being successful citizens as a result of these programs. We think that educators in the U.S. can learn a lot from this model." Since 2001, Texas Performing Arts and LLILAS have collaborated on ArtesAméricas, a program that promotes cultural dialogue in the Americas through the performing arts. This partnership has strengthened ties to cultural organizations in Latin America and has led to a 2006 Fulbright seminar in Mexico and this year's program in Brazil.

Cultural production in Brazil provides a lens through which we can better understand poverty and inequality, as well as struggles over social inclusion and the rights of citizenship. Arts programs across Brazil fill in gaps left by the state by providing basic services such as health care and vocational education in addition to their cultural programs. While these programs include empowerment, elevated self-esteem, and economic potential among their goals, they are rigorous in their commitment to the highest artistic standards. This combination of inclusion, empowerment, and world-class art can lead us to a better understanding of Brazil.

The Fulbright program in summer 2010 visited four cities specifically selected to expose participants to the diversity of artistic disciplines, arts inclusion programs, and regional cultures in Brazil. The arts projects that agreed to participate in the seminar granted us full access to their programs: participants learned about their educational and artistic philosophy, witnessed their teaching methods, and heard students talk about their personal experiences. This "backstage" approach allowed participants to see the various facets of these educational and social projects and enhanced their understanding of how the performing arts provide access to those on the margins of Brazilian society.

The program launched in the northeastern city of Salvador da Bahia, Brazil's first capital. As the seat of the early sugar industry, Salvador was the first port of entry for many African slaves throughout the centuries of slavery in Brazil. While their cultural legacy—as seen in religion, music, dance, and food—is strong, Afro-Brazilians continue



Dance performance by Corpo Cidadão, Belo Horizonte.

to constitute Brazil's lowest socioeconomic classes, due to lack of access to property and education. In Salvador, the group worked with Didá Educational and Cultural Association, which focuses on transformational teaching through the drum and other art forms. Until Neguinho do Samba, one of Salvador's most important percussionists, opened Didá in 1993, women did not play drums. But he believed that teaching women to play the drums would foster a sense of dignity and self-esteem and, by extension, provide opportunities for education and employment. Today, Didá's serves 600–800 girls and young women every year in eleven arts courses, and provides services like basic meals and vocational training. As former president Viviam de Jesus Queiros states, "We are convinced that our activities are fundamental to the development of Bahian women. We know that the power of our image contributes to self-esteem and confidence in hundreds of women ... The sound of our drum brings hope to hundreds of people ... The samba reggae drum inverts positions, transforming someone who is ignored by society into someone admired, respected, accepted, and important within the development of that same society." Through Didá, participants learned about Afro-Brazilian cultural traditions, women's issues, and social empowerment.

The second stop, Belo Horizonte, is capital of the state of Minas Gerais and Brazil's third largest city. Belo Horizonte is an important center in Brazil's productive heartland, coming to

prominence when the gold and diamond mines in Minas Gerais attracted a rush of migrants that helped to establish rich colonial towns. Belo Horizonte introduced participants to Brazil's leading contemporary dance company, which is both rooted in Brazilian tradition and engaged in dialogue with the world of dance. Founded in 1975, Grupo Corpo is concerned with three things: the definition of an identity linked to the idea of national culture (with all of the fluidity that this implies); the continuity of its work in the long term; and integrity in the maintenance of its self-imposed creative standards. All three of these concerns, which are intellectual as well as artistic, join together in Corpo Cidadão, a nonprofit organization established in 2000 that works with 690 at-risk children and youth in six arts programs and three vocational training courses. Corpo Cidadão's mission is to promote educational and development opportunities through the arts. "Our work is promoting the transformation of the reality of children and young people in low-income communities, making use of art and education as restorative instruments of self-esteem and citizenship," writes Miriam Pederneiras, General Director. "Our desire is to continue to make new viable spaces for performance and dialogue that value the multiple languages of our culture, distributing the opportunity to develop their talent and abilities to the often overlooked." Through Corpo Cidadão, participants could see how different kinds of arts—traditional as well as

contemporary—concern themselves with Brazil's future and the development of its youth, all under the supervision of world-class instructors.

Participants also visited Rio de Janeiro, an important city throughout the history of Brazil. Today, Rio de Janeiro is known for many things: the *Cristo Redentor* statue sitting on Corcovado, its gorgeous setting between the mountains and the sea, and, unfortunately, the violence and degradation of its favelas (shantytowns) on the hills overlooking its stunning beaches. Founded in 1986, Nós do Morro wanted to create a cultural movement using the artistic talent of young residents of the favela of Vidigal. The project sought to cultivate actors, technicians, and an audience, presenting the magic of theater to a community that did not have access to art. Everything was made inside the community and specifically for it. Nós do Morro states, "Be it either in Vidigal Theater ... or in any theater of the professional circuit, our cast has always taken to stage the message that life is more beautiful if it is lived with art ... The audience—a great deal of it shaped along the years by the very existence of [Nós do Morro]—leave the theater certain that they have witnessed a process of transformation in their lives. Dedication, talent, joy, and pride to be on stage. Discipline, organization and a continual search for the quality of what we do collectively as a team. This is the philosophy of Nós do Morro, which is taken everywhere the Group presents a work." It works with 380 students to provide access to culture, citizenship, and learning through courses in theater, cinema, and other art forms. After twenty years of intense theatrical production, Nós do Morro has earned several awards, placed actors and technicians in TV and cinema, and built its own theater and cultural center in Vidigal.

Finally, the group settled in São Paulo, Brazil's most cosmopolitan and modern city and home to 10 percent of Brazil's population. São Paulo is Brazil's economic hub, where helicopters buzz the wealthy around the city to avoid the congestion on the streets below. Like Rio de Janeiro, however, São Paulo combines incredible wealth with modern problems: pollution, overcrowding, poverty, and violence. Guri Santa Marcelina, launched in 2008 as part of an initiative of the government of the state of São Paulo, provides quality classical music education to children and young people,



Student in a rehearsal at Santa Marcelina-Guri, São Paulo.



Percussion group at Corpo Cidadão, Belo Horizonte.

age 6–18, as a way to offer an opportunity for cultural growth and social inclusion. It provides an important point of comparison between the nonprofit and government arts programs that operate in Brazil. Guri Santa Marcelina works with 8,000 youth in twenty of São Paulo’s poorest communities, where access to the city’s world-class cultural facilities is only a dream. Guri Santa Marcelina offers artistic training of the highest caliber as well as social services aimed at serving the students, families, and communities with which they work. The program has created a network to provide the social services necessary to foster the maximum potential of each student. Paulo Zuben, Executive Manager of Santa Marcelina Cultura, comments, “I am fully aware of the effectiveness and power of the arts in the improvement and transformation of people’s lives. All of the projects developed by our institution have always shared the goal of social inclusion of children and young people by

means of music education.” Recently, Guri Santa Marcelina has extended music training to the parents of its students: parents began to show a strong interest, based on the experiences of their children, in learning to play music themselves. Guri Santa Marcelina has shown how programs for children can help transform families and communities.

With a broad understanding of the important role played by these innovative programs, participants have returned to the U.S. to create curriculum units for use in fine arts, language arts, and social studies classrooms. Explains Thomas Waggoner, Director of Fine Arts at the Texas Education Agency: “Arts education encourages cultural understanding, promotes self-expression, and inspires students to actively engage in learning. [This Fulbright] project will generate dialogue between artists and educators, which is essential to the development of stimulating curricula. The arts are central to history and culture and should be

studied within the context of a country’s cultural history and international trends.” We are working with participants to develop interesting, accurate, standards-based units that are complete and readily usable in a variety of classes where vibrant resources such as current photographs, personal interviews, and performance materials can add depth and breadth to the subjects being taught. We will then develop and publicize a multimedia Web site for wide dissemination of the new curriculum. These resources will provide a deeply engaging approach to support the teaching of contemporary Brazil in classrooms across the nation. In this way, the students of Didá, Corpo Cidadão, Nós do Morro, and Guri Santa Marcelina will teach students in the United States about Brazilian culture and the transformative power of the arts.

Natalie Arsenault is LLILAS Outreach Director. ☀

A Beacon for Democracy: The Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas

by SUMMER HARLOW

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THOUSANDS OF JOURNALISTS IN LATIN America and the Caribbean have benefited in the past eight years from a special program at the University of Texas at Austin: The Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas. In its efforts

to defend press freedom, help generate quality journalism and thus strengthen democracy throughout the hemisphere, the Knight Center has developed unique online and offline programs, such as distance learning courses, a trilingual blog, and various workshops and conferences that have made it the world's leading resource for journalism in the Americas.

The Knight Center was created in 2002 with a \$2 million grant from the Knight Foundation, with four main goals: (1) to create a training program for journalists in Latin America and the Caribbean; (2) to connect training with organizational capacity building by stimulating journalists to create self-sustaining, independent, and local organizations that could train local journalists in a permanent way; (3) to create a strong trilingual Web site and online distance learning program; and, finally, (4) to sponsor an annual conference in Austin to give an opportunity to these newly created organizations to exchange experiences and learn from each other.

"When we started we expected to reach 500 journalists in four years," says Prof. Rosental Calmon Alves, Knight Center founder and director. "We met that goal in the first few months."

Since then, the Knight Center has continued to exceed all expectations, offering more online courses each year, publishing electronic books, expanding the readership of its newsletter and blog, and conducting conferences both in Austin and abroad.

"What we offer is unlike anywhere else," says Alves. "No one else is a reference like we are for journalism in the hemisphere." For example, the trilingual Web site in Spanish, Portuguese, and English offers resources

such as a digital library, and information about journalism events in the region. Also, besides a monthly newsletter, the Knight Center updates daily its trilingual blog with the latest journalism headlines and news from the Americas.

The Knight Center's emphasis on building capacity and supporting local organizations—rather than just parachuting into a country, teaching journalists something new, and then leaving them on their own—also is part of what has made the center so successful, Alves says. For example, the Knight Center helped create the Brazilian Association of Investigative Journalism (ABRAJI) in Brazil and the Argentine Journalism Forum (FOPEA) in Argentina, which both have gone on to become the main professional organizations in those countries, working to train local journalists and improve local journalism. "We believe stronger journalism will strengthen democracy and therefore will increase the well-being of people in those countries," Alves said. "That's the reason we do this."

Currently, the Knight Center is in the third year of a second four-year grant period from the Knight Foundation, this one received in 2007. During this second phase, the Knight Center has refocused to place more of an emphasis on digital journalism and helping journalists throughout the hemisphere cope with the challenges of the Digital Era. "Our motto now is that the Knight Center teaches great journalists how to use digital technologies, and uses these digital technologies to teach great journalism," Alves said.

Thus, the Knight Center has concentrated on enhancing its online distance learning program, which started in 2003. Nearly 3,000 journalists from Latin America and the Caribbean have enrolled in an online course through the program.

So far in 2010, the Knight Center has offered such courses as Digital Tools for Journalists (in Spanish), Electoral Coverage and Democracy (in Spanish), Introduction to Journalism 2.0 (in Portuguese),

Computer-Assisted Reporting (in Portuguese), Covering Drug Trafficking (in Spanish), and Digital Media Project Development (in Spanish). The latter, a new course that attracted a record number of applicants, taught journalists the basics of creating digital media projects, such as content strategy, search engine optimization, content syndication, socialistics, metrics, and monetization aspects. The Knight Center's distance learning program has been so successful that it has been used as a model for many other organizations in the United States and farther south.

As part of the emphasis on digital technologies, the Knight Center has published electronic books that have been downloaded more than 50,000 times and often are printed and distributed in newsrooms all over the hemisphere. One book is called *Journalism 2.0* by U.S. journalist Mark Briggs, and another is *How to Write for the Web* by Colombian journalist Guillermo Franco. The most recent book is *Digital Tools for Journalists* by Argentine journalist Sandra Crucianelli. All three authors have been instructors in the Knight Center distance education program and have used their e-books in their classes.

Currently, after the recently launched redesign of its Web site, the Knight Center is striving to diversify its funders, looking for grant money from organizations beyond the Knight Foundation. "Our challenge now is to work on the long-term sustainability of the Knight Center," says Alves.

The Knight Center has worked successfully mostly thanks to funds from the Knight Foundation and the University of Texas College of Communication and School of Journalism. Most recently, however, it also has received funds from the Open Society Institute's Media Program and the McCormick Foundation.

Funds from OSI's Media Program helped the Knight Center in recent years to expand its annual meeting of journalism organizations from Latin America and the Caribbean, the *Austin Forum on Journalism in the Americas*. The roundtable style conference has been held annually since 2003, and in the past three years, with OSI help, had more participants than ever. These conferences were organized around specific topics, such as "Freedom of Expression Monitoring and Advocacy," "Investigative Journalism," and "The Impact of the Digital Technology on Journalism and Democracy."

Funding from the McCormick Institute was used for a unique cross-border training program aimed at journalists from Mexico and the United States who cover the illegal drug trade. The McCormick Foundation Specialized Reporting Institute, *Cross-border Coverage of U.S.-Mexico Drug Trafficking*, took place in Austin March 26–27, 2010 and brought together fourteen journalists from the United States and twelve from Mexico.

The participants, from media outlets such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *El Universal*, *Proceso*, and other publications, as well as a television station located on the border, took part in roundtable discussions facilitated by Colombian journalist Alvaro Sierra of the United Nations's University for Peace in San José, Costa Rica. Sierra also is the instructor for the Knight Center's online course *Covering Drug Trafficking*.

Each year the Knight Center also sponsors other annual conferences in addition to the *Austin Forum*. The *11th International Symposium on Online Journalism*, for example, was held on the UT campus in April 2010. It attracted more than 270 journalists, scholars, and media executives from around the globe to Austin. It was followed by the *Ibero-American Colloquium on Digital Journalism* with more than thirty journalists from twelve Latin American countries, Portugal, and Spain.

In a September 19, 2004, article in the *Austin American-Statesman*, editor Richard Oppel talked about the emergence of democracy throughout Latin America during the last decades and about the problems that journalists still face in the hemisphere. Thanks to the Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas at the University of Texas at Austin, Oppel wrote, "Austin can take pride in the fact that democracy is one of our exports ... A beacon of freedom—seen across a hemisphere—glows from a little room above Guadalupe and Dean Keeton."

As Jack Knight wrote when celebrating the first Pulitzer Prize at one of his newspapers, "True journalism ... is the beacon light of this new experiment we call democracy." Indeed, the Knight Center has been such a beacon of light for thousands of journalists from this hemisphere who are interested in improving their skills to better serve their communities and their countries. "A watchdog, independent press is a fundamental part of the checks and balances of democracy," Alves says. "And when

the citizenry is better informed, democracy works better and in a strong way. We are proud that we contribute to that in so many countries with our work at the Knight Center."

Summer Harlow is editor of the Knight Center's "Journalism in the Americas" blog and a 2006 graduate of the LLILAS master's program. ☀

PROGRESS OF NOTE:

- During the 2008–2009 academic year alone, the Knight Center **trained 2,756 journalists**, more than 25% above the goal for the entire 2007–2011 time frame.
- Also in 2008–2009, the Knight Center **reached 1,496 journalists with workshops and seminars**, ten times more than the goal of 150.
- The Knight Center **organized 18 online courses** (10 more than forecast), reaching 1,260 journalists (more than triple the number of journalists planned for 2008–2009).
- The number of absolute unique users on the Knight Center's trilingual **Web site jumped from 38,907 in 2007–2008 to 174,065 in 2008–2009** (a growth of 347%).
- Visits to the **Web site jumped from 83,054 in 2007–2008 to 315,366 in 2008–2009** (280% more); and from 660,128 page views to 1,480,871 (a 124% increase).
- From August 2009–April 2010, **more than 900 journalists participated in online courses**, putting the Knight Center on track to top the number of journalists trained the previous year.

Library Initiative Confronts Challenges of Human Rights Documentation and Research

by CHRISTIAN KELLEHER

“Documents #2, 12, 29, 30, 32, 36, 37, 38, and 39 have been exempted from declassification under sections 1.4(c) and 3.3(b)(1) of Executive Order 12958, as amended by E.O. 13292.”

—U.S. National Archives response to a request to declassify documents related to Pinochet’s coup in Chile

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THE HUMAN RIGHTS DISCOURSE and scholarship on the University of Texas campus recently gained a new resource with the UT Libraries Human Rights Documentation Initiative (HRDI), housed at the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection.

Human rights has long been an important part of the Benson Collection’s holdings, including everything from original slave documents from Colombia and transcripts of *desaparecidos* trials in Argentina to the *Nunca Más* publications from various Latin American truth and reconciliation commissions. But a more formal concerted effort was begun when the UT School of Law’s Rapoport Center for Human Rights and Justice began working with the Benson Collection and UT Libraries on the archives of American diplomat George Lister.

Lister, once called “Mr. Human Rights” by historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., was the first Human Rights Officer appointed to the Department of State’s Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. His personal archive spanned his sixty-year career and included materials from Colombia, Haiti, and Chile during Pinochet’s coup in 1973. Rapoport Center director

Karen Engle had been approached by Lister’s estate with an offered donation of the papers, and she contacted the Benson Collection as a home for the archive. What followed included months of cataloging, a conference, a Web site, and the confiscation by the National Archives of numerous documents marked “secret,” “classified,” and “eyes only.” The library, with the help of Peter Kornbluh at George Washington University’s National Security Archive, is still involved in efforts to restore documents determined to be “exempt” from declassification.

The library’s work with the Rapoport Center and the National Security Archive also led to the acquisition of the Edmund Horman and Joyce Horman papers. During Pinochet’s coup, the Chilean military disappeared and murdered American journalist Charles Horman. Charles’s wife, Joyce, and father, Edmund, searched for clues during his disappearance, and for answers after his body was found. Their efforts included the famously known suit against Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and other State Department officials for complicity in Charles’s detention and death.

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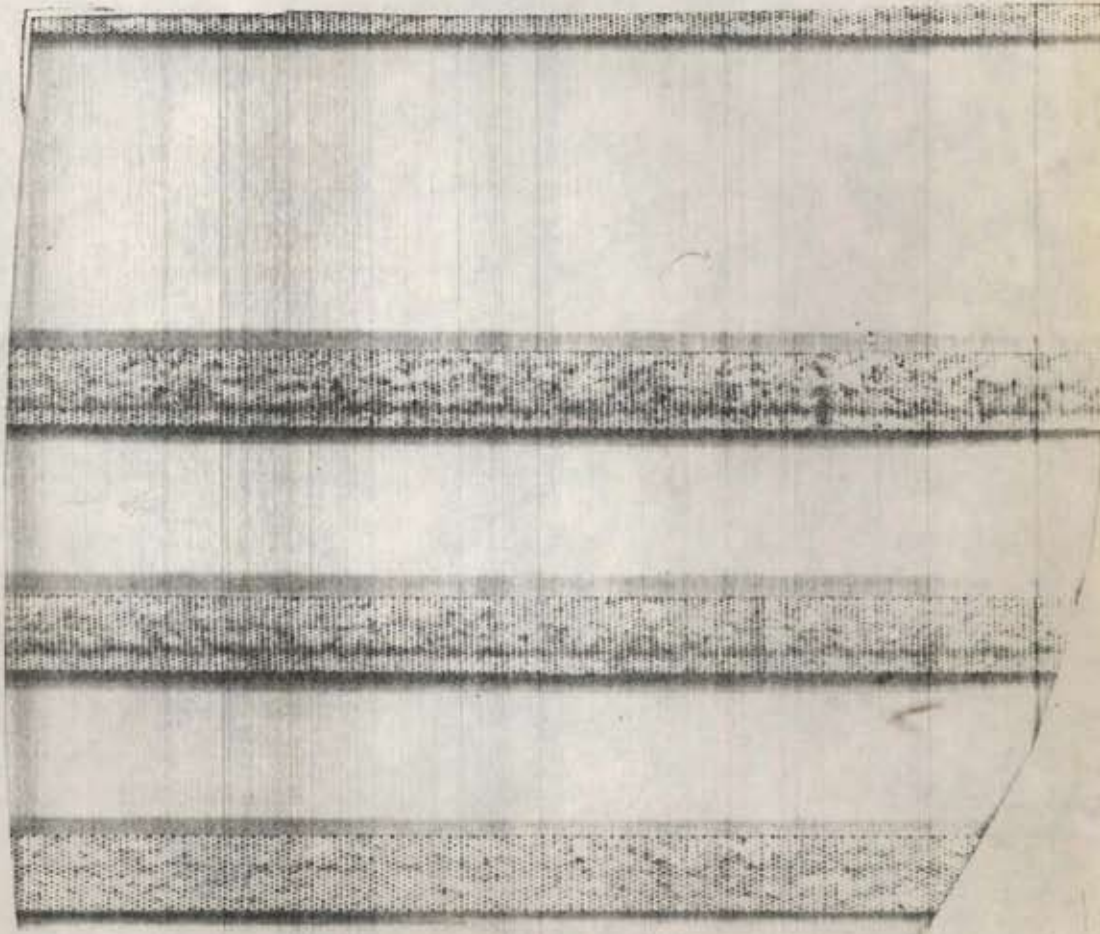
Johnson

UNCLASSIFIED

August 25, 1976

(343)

TO: ARA - Mr. Shlaudeman
THROUGH: ARA - Ambassador Ryan
FROM: ARA/BC - R.V. Fimbres/R.S. Driscoll/W.V. Robertson
SUBJECT: Charles Horman Case.



UNCLASSIFIED

The Horman archive makes available to researchers at UT many records of the legal suit, documents attained through Edmund Horman's numerous Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests, and behind-the-scenes documentation of the film *Missing*, director Costa-Gavras's award-winning retelling of Charles's disappearance that significantly influenced the American public's awareness of human rights and U.S. foreign policy. Interviewed for a DVD re-release of *Missing*, the National Security Archive's Peter Kornbluh noted how the Hormans' story "brings the viewer to the nexus of U.S. intervention in Chile, the human rights violations, and the rights of American citizens." Kornbluh and Joyce Horman visited UT for the opening of the Horman archive, a screening of *Missing* with Q&A, and a symposium on human rights in Chile held at the Benson Collection. Rapoport Center director Karen Engle, who sponsored the symposium, has remarked, "We rarely engage in an academic or advocacy project in which we don't find an opportunity either to take advantage of the work already done by the Human Rights Documentation Initiative or to expand its reach."

Global Initiative

As the Benson Collection's efforts to document human rights conflicts in Latin America were increasing, University of Texas Libraries Director and Vice Provost Dr. Fred Heath was busy building support for a larger scale human rights project. With the help of a \$1 million grant from the Bridgeway Foundation in Houston, the Human Rights Documentation Initiative inaugurated work in Africa with a project to preserve and provide access to the archives of the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre (KGMC) in Rwanda. HRDI's primary goal is to collect and conserve the most fragile records of genocide and other human rights violations, including audio and video recordings that may be deteriorating under imperfect storage conditions—or even may be at risk of malicious loss. Just one week before HRDI project staff first traveled to Rwanda, the KGMC had suffered a grenade attack that tragically killed a security guard at the center. Their unique records of the Rwandan Genocide, including video testimonies from survivors and recordings of local *gacaca* court proceedings against perpetrators, which had been sitting in hot and humid storage conditions, were in danger of catastrophic loss. In partnership with KGMC, the HRDI began a program to digitize and catalog these historical resources in Kigali in order to ensure their long-term preservation in the UT Libraries' digital archive.

Noncustodial Approach

In 2009 the UT Libraries hired human rights archivist T-Kay Sangwand to implement the HRDI's archival strategies. A graduate of UCLA where she studied Information Science and Latin American Studies, Sangwand quickly adopted HRDI's noncustodial archives model framework designed to improve access to human rights records held at other organizations for students and faculty on the UT campus. At the same time, this archival strategy was designed to support local capacity building for the grassroots nonprofit, local museum, or activist organization that created and maintained the original records.

The noncustodial archives model departs from traditional archives because it does not require that records be physically transported to Austin. That practice would separate archives from the institutional context of their original creation and use, and also run afoul of

international efforts to maintain the local community or country's historical patrimony. The noncustodial archive and library uses digital surrogates to preserve and provide access to audio, video, photographs, manuscripts, and publications. It promotes the availability of resources to students and scholars at UT, and simultaneously builds the information infrastructure in international communities while safeguarding their history against the damage that time, the environment, and changing politics may inflict.

This noncustodial approach is currently being applied to a nascent partnership between HRDI and the Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen (MUPI) in El Salvador. Human rights archivist Sangwand recently traveled to MUPI where she met with the museum's founder and director Carlos Henríquez Consalvi "Santiago" with the goal to digitize, catalog, index, preserve, and promote access to their historical recordings of Radio Venceremos. Radio Venceremos was the influential underground radio station associated with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) that broadcast from a portable transmitter during the Salvadoran civil war (see related story p. 37). Often directly involved in the conflict, Radio Venceremos regularly reported from scenes of battles or massacres. "Santiago," one of the most prominent voices of Radio Venceremos, was the first to broadcast news of the infamous massacre at El Mozote where the Salvadoran army's Atlacatl Battalion killed hundreds of men, women, and children. Radio Venceremos was also the first to broadcast the voice of the only survivor from El Mozote, Rufina Amaya. These historic first-hand accounts reside on the original cassette tapes in El Salvador, but until now have not been cataloged, indexed, or accessible to researchers outside of MUPI.

According to archivist Sangwand, "MUPI was very interested in working with the HRDI because of the organizations' mutual goals of preserving and providing access to invaluable, yet fragile, primary source documentation of human rights struggles for the education of future generations." With the support of HRDI, MUPI will receive equipment, training, and funding to enable the on-site digitization of the audio recordings. UT Libraries will also provide technical infrastructure and bandwidth, which MUPI does not currently have locally, for open access to the audio collection on the Internet. By project end, UT students and faculty will have direct access to the historical recordings of the Radio Venceremos archive. MUPI, whose collections also include film and video, oral history testimonies, thousands of photographs, a collection on the 1932 Salvadoran peasant uprising, and much more, will have built the local technical capacity to develop this audio material and other information resources.

Karen Engle of the Rapoport Center has remarked that the work of the HRDI "is central to our goal of having one of the country's finest interdisciplinary programs in human rights." By bringing together organizations like the Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen and the Kigali Genocide Memorial Center with students, faculty, and researchers at UT in collaboration with the Rapoport Center, LLILAS, and other area studies centers, the Human Rights Documentation Initiative is able to support scholarship, activism, and justice on UT's campus, in Latin America, and around the world.

Christian Kelleher is archivist at the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection and project manager of the UT Libraries Human Rights Documentation Initiative. ☀

28 June 2009:

“Honduras will never be the same again”

by CHARLES R. HALE



IN MID-OCTOBER 2009, LLILAS invited experts and protagonists to present their perspectives on the recent political turmoil in Honduras, and to debate the consequences. LLILAS hosted, for a full day of at times heated discussion, Dr. Dario Euraque (Director of the Honduran Institute for Anthropology and History,

INAH), Miriam Miranda (Garífuna activist intellectual, and leader of the resistance to the June 28 military coup), Profs. Jeff Tully and Zach Elkins of the UT Government Department, and Michael Shifter (Vice President of the Inter-American Dialogue and expert on U.S. policy toward Latin America). In addition to presentations by these speakers, the workshop featured an open forum with ample participation from members of the Honduran community. The day's events put on display the profound contention around nearly every facet of this unfolding drama and highlighted a societal crisis in Honduras that would prove extremely difficult to overcome.

Few would disagree with the deep structural roots of this crisis. The majority of Hondurans suffer from grinding poverty and are separated from the tiny political-economic elite by a chasm of social inequality. In recent decades, political power has alternated between two parties that differ little in ideology and have contributed equally to Honduras's dubious status as among the most corrupt states in the hemisphere. Even before the events of June 28, the military had assumed a heavy-handed role in civilian affairs, policing common crime and engaging in selective political repression. True rule of law and a properly functioning criminal justice system were both distant promises. Economic growth, although lively before the 2008 worldwide decline, relied on dynamism in a few key sectors—maquila production, “enclave” tourism, financial services, large-scale agriculture—which tended to exacerbate social inequalities and fuel discontent. Given Zelaya's class background (a wealthy ranching family from the eastern department of Olancho), party affiliation, and political record, most observers expected his approach to these structural problems to be perhaps unusually flamboyant and idiosyncratic, but otherwise more of the same.

Zelaya's actual legacy during his three and a half years in office (2006–2009) is hotly debated, as are the underlying motives for the specific events of June 28. His detractors portray him as quirky, inexperienced, impulsive, and authoritarian; his supporters emphasize the

modest but substantive social reforms that the Zelaya government was beginning to implement, leading to incremental declines in poverty and an upsurge of hope among the marginalized. The fiercest contention, however, revolves around the question of constitutional reform: Zelaya insisted on holding a referendum to gauge popular support for starting a process to reform the Honduran constitution, while his opponents construed this initiative as a breach of the constitution so grave that it justified his removal. The chain of events that followed is well known and, at least in its bare-bones form, uncontested. A military contingent awoke Zelaya at dawn on the 28th, lay him face-down for rough interrogation, and eventually sent him on into exile in Costa Rica; a few days later the Congress “accepted” Zelaya’s letter of resignation, which turned out to be a forgery, and appointed Roberto Micheletti as interim president; these acts received worldwide repudiation as a military coup and served as catalyst for an expectedly strong movement of resistance; meanwhile, the three pillars of the Honduran establishment—the Catholic Church hierarchy, the political-economic elite, and the military—closed ranks behind Micheletti and defied the mounting pressure to return Zelaya to power. The crisis was still in full swing at the time of the LLILAS event in mid-October; our *“foro urgente”* aired the contention around the meanings of these events, and clarified key points of fact along the way.

Dr. Euraque’s presentation brought to the fore the internal heterogeneity of the Zelaya government and some of the less visible consequences of the political rupture that the June 28 coup produced. Euraque was named to this post not for political loyalty, but rather, professional experience and expertise. A U.S.-trained scholar, he holds a permanent teaching position at Trinity College in Connecticut, and is perhaps Honduras’s most accomplished and prolific historian. His presentation detailed a series of initiatives that the INAH had begun under his tenure, involving collaborative research and educational programs with foreign scholars, on the one hand, and grassroots intellectuals, on the other. Euraque spoke with emotion about how he left a secure job in Connecticut in order to serve his country; how he remained in his position even after the June coup; and then was shocked to receive a few months later, a letter announcing his replacement. The new director of INAH, Euraque wryly concluded, is a woman whose prime credential is having been a writer for the Honduran equivalent of *Glamour* magazine.

Miriam Miranda, a longtime leader of the Fraternal Organization of Black Hondurans, OFRANEH, made a quick transition after June 28 from activist in favor of Afro-indigenous rights to a member of the national coordinating committee of the resistance. Miranda was emphatic that neither she personally nor OFRANEH were supporters of Zelaya before the coup, and that the principal goals of the resistance revolved not around the restitution of Zelaya, but rather, the defense of Honduran democracy. In this sense, she argued forcefully that the Honduran constitution was flawed—mandating a weak president, too much authority to the military, not enough attention to social rights—and urgently needed revision, whether Zelaya returned to office or not. She spoke with grave concern about the level of political repression leveled against resistance activists and warned that powerful actors would be using this military interlude to settle accounts and push forward private agendas. Yet, she also noted that Honduran civil society had mobilized to confront the crisis with unprecedented strength and

determination, and for this reason, she averred, “... after June 28, Honduran society will never be the same.”

Professors Elkins and Tully, experts on constitutions and constitutional change, helped the audience understand the broader stakes of the specific debate around Zelaya’s ouster. In the first place, their presentations framed the broader dilemma, which provided the backdrop for the Honduran crisis: quite possibly, the constitution served to uphold basic conditions of inequality and exclusion, such that one could be forced to choose between defending the constitution and defending broader principles of democracy and social justice. They also delved more deeply into the complexities of the Honduran constitutional controversy. On the one hand, they expressed surprise that world opinion was running so strongly in favor of Zelaya’s restitution, since a technical reading of the constitution could show Zelaya in violation of an article that keeps the charter intact. On the other hand, they brought to light the contradiction of that very provision, which essentially safeguards the status quo by criminalizing any elected official who acts in favor of constitutional change, and provides no viable procedure for addressing this contradiction. Regardless of the particulars, the debate over these issues made it very clear that constitutional reform, and its relationship to social inequality, will continue to be a central force in Latin American politics in the years to come.

Michael Shifter brought the discussion of the crisis in Honduras back home, to the Obama administration and the relationship between domestic political strife and foreign policy toward Latin America. He described the administration’s stance toward the de facto government as cautious, judicious, but also in certain respects, markedly ambivalent. His analysis also highlighted Obama’s predicament, in the face of domestic political polarization, and the hard right’s decision to make Honduras their “line in the sand.” A series of visits to Honduras already had been made by Republican members of Congress, most prominently Senator Jim DeMint, who made strident proclamations in favor of the Micheletti government, in direct defiance of the U.S. State Department; more pointedly, these same congresspeople vowed to block key Obama administration appointments for Latin America—Undersecretary of State Arturo Valenzuela, U.S. ambassador to Brazil Thomas Shannon—unless Obama allowed the de facto government to stand. Trapped within its own resolutely pragmatic approach to politics, the Obama administration found itself forced to sacrifice support for democracy in Honduras, in return for a negotiated solution to the impasse with its Republican adversaries. (Sure enough, even though Zelaya and Micheletti eventually did sign an agreement, the presidential elections of November 29 and the installation of Pepe Lobo as the new president in January 2010 occurred without Zelaya’s agreed-upon return.) Shifter’s analysis brought the forum to a close, and left those who had attended the entire event with an unsettling conclusion. In many ways, the day’s interactions had been a testimony to the crucial value of dialogue across political difference—intense debates, with an occasional breakthrough of mutual recognition. Yet, reflection on Obama’s predicament yielded a different lesson: in some disputes there is no splitting the difference; further negotiation simply obscures or postpones the hard political choices to be made.

Although many observers of the Honduran crisis and its aftermath have harkened back to the past era of military coups and authoritarian governments, there are three reasons instead to view Honduras

as a portent of times to come, both for better and for worse. William Finnegan, in an excellent report published in the *New Yorker* in late November, concluded with the conventional wisdom: “It looked as if an old-fashioned coup could still succeed in Latin America, after all.” Granted, the military operation proper does appear chillingly similar to that terrible recent chapter in Latin American politics when military dictatorships prevailed. But not so with the quick handoff to a hastily composed civilian government, the immediate scramble to refocus attention on the November presidential elections, and the careful solicitation of support from all three pillars of the Honduran establishment. This interweaving of state violence and formal democratic procedure seems much more characteristic of the current era, when social mobilization from below is on the rise, and states are virtually obliged to choose between substantive social change and coercive preservation of the status quo. Second, the overwhelming response to the Honduran coup portends a very different regional arena for thinking through that very choice. Latin American governments took a remarkably strong and uncompromising stance against the coup, in favor of rule of law, even while the U.S. government vacillated. Not only does this signal a Latin American vote of no confidence for military intervention, but more important still, a new era of relative independence from the United States, bolstered by the rising influence of southern powerhouse states like Brazil.

In parallel fashion, the Honduran crisis also marks the gradual redefinition of the role of the United States in the hemisphere. At an early moment in the crisis, Obama made what at first appeared as an astute riposte to his critics on the left, who urged more vigorous action to reverse the coup: “The same critics who say that the United States has not intervened enough in Honduras are the same people who say that we’re always intervening,” he observed, “and the Yankees need to get out of Latin America. You can’t have it both ways.” As the crisis dragged on, however, this response revealed a deeper reality of U.S. policy toward Latin America in the current era: even if we have abandoned definitively the imperial prerogatives of times past, the United States remains too big and powerful for true neutrality to be an option. Once the U.S. diplomat (and soon to be ambassador) Thomas Shannon announced publicly in mid-November that Zelaya did not have to return in order for the November 29 elections to be recognized, Micheletti supporters knew that his opponents in the U.S. State Department had blinked. As long as the U.S. eventually could be expected to recognize the newly elected government, even though the election’s legitimacy was questioned by almost every other country in the hemisphere, the new government would prevail.

This conclusion does not, however, bode especially well for Honduran society. The newly installed government of Pepe Lobo is limping back toward international normalization but still faces stiff resistance, led by Brazil. Honduran economic indicators remain down, even more than global conditions would dictate, since key sectors of the economy, such as tourism and maquila production, are so sensitive to internal unrest. The militarization of Honduran society, especially evident in the coup’s aftermath, has not subsided, drawing attention to the deep entanglement of political violence with democratic procedure. One silver lining in the whole affair is the mobilization of civil society, which developed a voice and vision that reached well beyond the standoff between Zelaya and Micheletti: focusing on the structural roots of

social misery and imagining constitutional reform as part of a broader process of political change. While it may appear on the surface that Honduras has returned to the dismal status quo ante of the 1970s, Miriam Miranda’s suggestion to the contrary lingers. If indeed Honduras “will never be the same again,” it is because lessons learned during the past ten months will have been archived in the collective memories of civil society actors who will be even more clear about what they want, and more determined to achieve it, next time around.

Charles R. Hale is Director of LLILAS and Professor of Anthropology. ☀

MESOAMERICA CENTER HOLDS MAYA MEETINGS IN GUATEMALA

The Mesoamerica Center at UT Austin aims to facilitate knowledge and learning about the indigenous cultures and peoples of what is now Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and El Salvador. Its primary focus is on the arts, languages, and archaeology of Mesoamerican civilizations. The Mesoamerica Center oversees the Maya Meetings, a premier gathering on Mesoamerican culture in the United States that brings scholars and interested individuals together once a year to study and explore the richness of ancient Maya art, archaeology, and writing. The entire event is designed to promote collaboration among professionals, students, and all interested people from around the globe, including the significant involvement of modern Maya.

The 2010 Maya Meetings: Early Iconography and Script was attended by more than 200 registrants. It featured four workshops: Beginner Hieroglyphs (in both English and Spanish), Advanced Hieroglyphs, and Iconography. The symposium featured renowned academics such as Dr. David Stuart, Director of the Mesoamerica Center, Dr. Karl Taube, Dr. Alfonso Lacadena, Dr. Oswaldo Chinchilla, and Dr. Heather Hurst, to name just a few.

With the acquisition of Casa Herrera by the Mesoamerica Center, the Maya Meetings were hosted for the first time in Antigua, Guatemala. The conference will alternate each year between Austin and Antigua. *The 2011 Maya Meetings: Time and Prophecy, the Mesoamerican World* will take place in Austin March 22–27, 2011.

For more information on the Maya Meetings and Casa Herrera, please visit <http://www.utmaya.org> and www.utmesoamerica.org/casa or contact Paola Bueché, Senior Program Coordinator of the Mesoamerica Center, at pbueche@mail.utexas.edu.

Mountains and Creative Mexican Maps: From Seminar to Survey

by MATTHEW C. LAFEVOR

I

IN THE MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY OF SAN Nicolás de los Ranchos, Puebla, citizens use maps in creative ways. Every year, families gather on the town plaza to engage in artistic map-making rituals as part of a local government campaign

to strengthen a sense of community and regional identity. The small town's ministry of culture provides the materials and refreshments while school kids and their parents draw representations of their surroundings. Parents begin by tracing the municipal boundaries and surrounding mountains, filling in empty spaces with roadways. With these outlines in place, children map their schools, athletic fields, and other, more abstract images that perhaps only they understand. Perceptions of space and place are depicted artistically while geographical knowledge is passed between generations. Families, however, seem to consider the event more for enjoyment and less as a serious educational experience. Regional music plays loudly over the plaza speakers as the children proudly display their creations on the walls of municipal buildings for the entire community to view and enjoy.

I came across the map-making project in San Nicolás by accident after traveling through the region while conducting dissertation research this past summer, generously funded by the Mexican Center of LILAS. Before this funding, seminars at UT had left me with a greater appreciation of maps and landscape representations and the historically rooted values and meanings attached to them. Without the ideas from these seminars in mind and the freedom to explore provided by the funding, I likely would have passed by San Nicolás's mapping project without considering the value of such an event in maintaining and strengthening a sense of community.


Dr. Karl Butzer's seminars *Indigenous Maps and Architecture* and *Landscape, Society and Meaning* and Dr. Susan Deans-Smith's seminar

Rethinking the Conquest of Mexico dealt with topics of identity and representation in Mexican maps. While lectures and discussions addressed a wide range of issues, the importance of sociocultural contexts in map interpretation was a central focus. Especially informative and enjoyable were class visits to our Benson Latin American Collection to view several of the *Relaciones Geográficas*—sixteenth-century representations of Mexican towns and landscapes often drawn by indigenous craftspeople. As always, the Benson's Dr. Michael Hironymous generously offered insight, with both general and site-specific knowledge of the *Relaciones*.

Discussions at the Benson addressed several general questions: What cartographic methods do individuals use to express their surroundings in map form? What can we learn from studying these representations, and how far should we push our own interpretations of the iconography? These questions lingered in my mind well into the summer and were important considerations during my own mapping surveys for dissertation research in Tlaxcala, Mexico.

While doing some additional work at the Benson, I accidentally came across another map that piqued my interest. Part of a yellowed, nineteenth-century folio, it described a bizarre mining operation atop the 18,000-foot Mexican volcano Popocatepetl, which included etchings of mining shafts, railways, and roadways—all part of a distribution network that extended from the volcano to the coastal port of Veracruz. I was intrigued not only by the physical difficulties associated with climbing the mountain, which were legendary, but also with how such an unlikely mining operation could have been economically and socially viable. Having lived near the volcano for several years while conducting postgraduate work, I was surprised never to have read any reference to such an operation.

According to additional sources from the Benson Collection, during the nineteenth century an iron winch lowered miners from nearby



TETEOLOTITLA
(LUGAR DONDE SE REUNEN
LOS DIOS.)

YACIMIENTOS DE LA
CANTERA.

SN. Nicolás de los
RANCHOS.

communities into the active crater some 1,200 feet deep. Living at the bottom of the crater for months at a time in caves among the rock outcrops, workers tenuously mined the bright-yellow volcanic sulphur rocks with pick and shovel. Additional workers hoisted the sulphur out of the crater and then slid down mountain glaciers on woven mats, carrying the sulphur in bags on their shoulders to a small refining operation on the mountain slopes just below the tree line. The refining buildings, known as *Tlamacas*, were mapped and etched in foreign travel accounts from the nineteenth century that included personal narratives containing additional details of the refining operation.

Once at *Tlamacas*, workers boiled the sulphur in cauldrons around-the-clock, while random travelers from the adjacent valleys of Puebla and Mexico were allowed to take shelter there from the mountain wind and rain. Among these travelers, all-night drinking and storytelling often ensued while the

and Manuscripts room, I thought, “I must visit these places in the field!”

Curious to learn if material remnants of this mining operation were still in place and if nearby communities had some memory of the events, I traveled to the last community on the road ascending the volcano, San Nicolás. It was here that I accidentally came across the mapping exercises involving parents and their children mentioned earlier. While observing, I had the privilege of meeting San Nicolás’s president, who upon learning of my interests offered the municipal archives as a potential resource for my investigations.

Shoeboxes of mildewed materials in the municipal archives contained records dating to the late nineteenth century and included several references to different sulphur mining operations. However, one example stood out in the historical records and oral histories of the townspeople. As recounted by official and informal documents, in 1919 a fledgling

which despite the tragedy was now referred to affectionately as “Don Gregorio.”

Innovations in commercial sulphur mining in the early twentieth century rendered the sulphur deposits in Popocatepetl less appealing as an industrial source, and, as a result, extracting sulphur from the crater became mostly ceremonial in nature. Mining operations focused on gathering sulphur pebbles, which were ground into powder and added to local wines. These drinks were purported to have medicinal properties and were used by locals to cure stomach ailments and even some infections. It was explained to me that although sulphur from other, more accessible sources would have sufficed, only that of Popocatepetl achieved the optimal curative effects, the power of the volcano being manifest in its sulphur powder. Unfortunately, renewed volcanic activity in 1994 suspended all sulphur mining operations within the crater, and climbs to the top were declared illegal by

LOOKING UP FROM THESE HISTORICAL MAPS AND OUT OF THE WINDOW OF THE BENSON RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS ROOM, I THOUGHT, “I MUST VISIT THESE PLACES IN THE FIELD!”

distinctive odor of sulphur filled the air. In the morning, some miners guided recreational climbers to the summit while others transported the refined sulphur down the western slopes to Mexico City via a network of mule lines and canals. In Mexico City, most of the sulphur was used in the Mexican gunpowder industry or mixed into black powder and sold to fireworks manufacturers.

An 1857 publication outlined additional details and included a yellow, crusty map that demonstrated the preferred route to the mountaintop, allowing climbers to navigate around dangerous ice crevices and deep volcanic sands. Other sources detailed the expansion of mining operations during the Porfirio Díaz presidency, which included the construction of additional railroads and depots for transport to Veracruz, where sulphur from Popocatepetl was shipped to markets around the world. Looking up from these historical maps and out of the window of the Benson Rare Books

sulphur mining operation planted dynamite in crevices deep within the crater of Popocatepetl in an attempt to gain access to greater sulphur deposits. The charges were poorly placed, however, and an explosion and cave-in caused the prolonged death of thirteen individuals. Handwritten records included the testimonies of those who had lost loved ones in the accident, accounts that sometimes conflicted with the official governmental investigation into the tragedy as later described in historical newspapers. I conducted interviews with descendants of those killed in the accident in order to better understand what had occurred. These brought back some painful memories as well as feelings of resentment against the mining executives. At the same time, the interviews presented an opportunity for children to hear additional details of their great-grandparents’ lives and deaths and how the families coped with the tragedy. All shared admiration for those miners who braved the active volcano,

the federal government because of the danger. Today, only a few bottles of medicinal sulphur drinks still decorate the shelves of local liquor stores, and a handful of families keep sulphur pebbles from Don Gregorio as souvenirs.

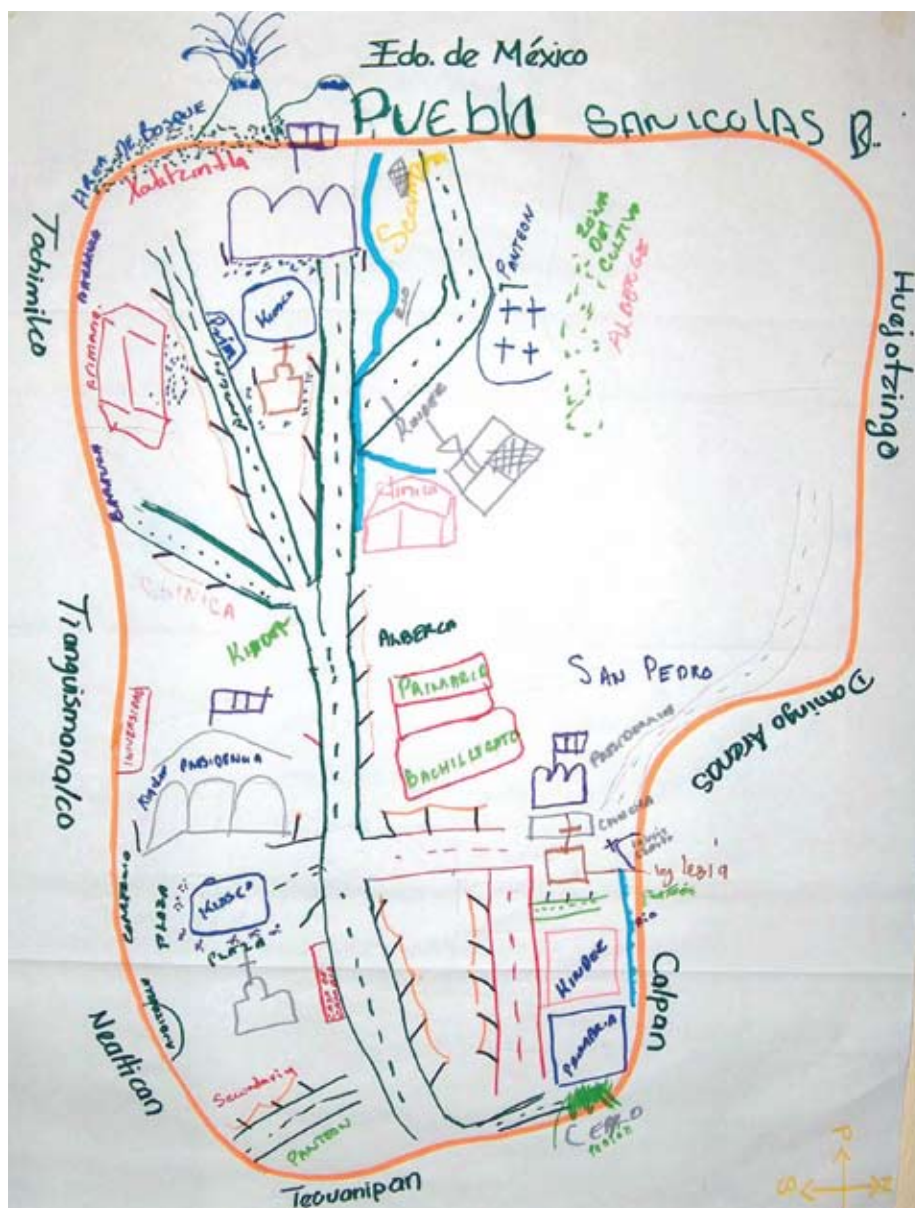
The ethnographic evidence gathered from multiple interviews, archival research, and climbs to *Tlamacas* yielded several other possible avenues of investigation. However, given the recent volcanic activity, verifying the remnants of the nineteenth-century sulphur mining operation near the crater seemed a bridge too far—despite the fact that older climbers recalled that many artifacts were still in place, at least before the eruption of 1994.

The Minister of Culture in charge of the annual mapping project appeared to sense my disappointment, but persuaded me that the upcoming festival, *La Feria de la Nuez*, was worth experiencing. As part of the festival, community members fill an entire square block with representations of important topographical

features from the surrounding valley. Tons of earth from the slopes of individual mountains are brought in and shaped into models of their respective origins. These large mounds of earth are positioned according to cardinal directions and spaced roughly to scale as the mountains are found on maps. Festival participants carefully sculpt the mountains and add miniature vegetation to the models in accordance with the mountain landscapes high above the town.

The Minister of Culture ceremonially fills the earthen crater of Popocatepetl with dry ice so that it emits a constant vapor, which is blown by an electric fan in the appropriate direction. This perfectly mirrors the mountain horizon above. Taxidermies of regional wildlife are planted in the diminutive Popocatepetl's slopes, with the heads of these animals protruding awkwardly from the display. Archaeological finds from the valley below are arranged in display cases among the other mounds. These artifacts include figurines and fetishes, *metates* and *malacates*, which are positioned, spatially, according to where they had been uncovered. When not in use at the festival, the artifacts are kept at a secure, undisclosed location pending funding for a local museum that would ensure they remain in the municipality where they were found, and not exported to Mexico City or nearby Puebla.

The miniature landscape of the surrounding valley is, in effect, an interactive map. To enter, one ascends a dirt path a couple of feet from the street and walks across the elevated Paso de Cortés, in-between the dry-ice vapor of the smoking Popocatepetl and its glacially clad neighbor, Iztaccíhuatl, whose peak is covered with baking soda and granulated sugar. Then, descending further into the map, participants glimpse the eastern peaks of the municipality at the far end of the plaza. Along the circumference of the display for perhaps 200 feet are other earthen mounds constructed and decorated to resemble less important mountains in the region. At the base of some of the mounds are attendants who distribute pamphlets containing explanations of Nahuatl place names and folk histories of the area's mountains, flora, and fauna. Most of the participants' efforts, however, are directed at enjoying the event. The taxidermy especially amuses the children, as does the live snake pit. In one corner, stone masons attempt to construct what is advertised as "The World's Largest Molcajete," a grinding and mixing device with pre-Hispanic origins.



Reproduced with permission from the Minister of Culture, San Nicolás de los Ranchos, Puebla.

Regional music plays loudly over the plaza speakers.

Busily organizing the booths and greeting visitors, the Minister of Culture flashes a grin in my direction. The entire affair was his creation. He explains to me that each year the event grows as more people from neighboring communities participate. He adds that, despite the carnival type atmosphere, the goal of the interactive display is simply for participants to better appreciate their surroundings. In San Nicolás, map-making is one mechanism by which community members creatively convey perceptions of space and place. For many, mapping exercises are heuristic devices that help

maintain and strengthen a sense of community identity and attachment to the land. Like the educational map projects on San Nicolás's plaza, classroom instruction at UT and visits to the Benson reinforced, for me, these themes of landscape, society, and meaning as they are represented in map form. Fieldwork during the summer of 2009 provided only part of the picture—a glimpse of the meanings that maps express for the citizens of San Nicolás. There is more work to do in the area.

Matthew C. LaFavor is a doctoral candidate in the UT Department of Geography and the Environment. ☀

On the Road to Paris, Texas: An Interview with Artist Leticia Cardoso

by LESLIE MOODY CASTRO

I

NEVER COULD HAVE IMAGINED THAT I would learn so much about life and love in the months of October and November 2009. When Leticia Cardoso arrived in Austin from Brazil as part of the Mapping Exchange program, a col-

laboration between the Blanton Museum of Art, the College of Fine Arts, the Brazil Center of LLILAS, and the Iberê Camargo Residency program in Brazil, she had a very specific idea in mind. Inspired by Wim Wenders's film *Paris, Texas*, Cardoso arrived full of questions that she had no intention of answering. She instead consistently sought moments in which to lose herself in the Texas landscape, to remain lost in translation, and to rediscover the beauty of self-realization in foreign terrain. For her residency, Cardoso proposed to travel to Paris, Texas, document the trip, and create a video as a final product. What developed, however, was much more intimate and emotional than any of us could have expected.

In her two months in Austin, Cardoso became my emotional soul mate. She and I were at opposite ends of the very same trajectory, and we came to form an incredible friendship characterized by extraordinary adventures. In November, I accompanied Leticia and Andre França of the Brazil Center on the road to visit the real Paris, Texas, in an attempt to help Cardoso discover her muse. In a mix of English, Spanish, and Portuguese, comprehensible communication proved difficult but not impossible, and for the three of us this simply added to the sense of adventure we had set out on. Using a series of devices (three cell phones and four cameras), we succeeded in finishing Leticia's proposed video project. During the ten-hour drive, we talked of love, travel, and language, and how (according to Cardoso) true love requires no translation. In an absurd twist of fate, not one of us could provide a conclusive definition of love. But, as it turns out, Paris really is the city of love, and as we drove back to Austin we all knew that we had fallen.

Working with Leticia Cardoso has been one of the most rewarding artistic moments of my career. This interview is a mere summary of the conversations that I was privileged to have, and it is simply the tip of the iceberg that is the art and philosophy of Cardoso.

LMC: Who or what are your artistic influences?

LC: At the moment, Wim Wenders, Bill Viola, Louise Bourgeois, Jessica Stockholder, Mariana Abramovic, Clarice Lispector, Mathew Barney, Pedro MC, Fernando Lindote, Fabiana Wielewicz, Lucila Vilela, Cynthia Pimenta, Elisa Noronha, Zé Lacerda, Janaína Tschape, Eija-Liisa Ahtila, Andy Warhol, love, noise, silence, Texas, the landscape, and the desert.

LMC: What was the moment that you decided you were an artist?

LC: I am still waiting for this moment ... what does it mean to be an artist today? I often wonder if my blog is a work of art or if it is just like every other travel blog. My guarantee is the Iberê Camargo scholarship I have received to be in Austin, as well as the people who believe in my work. When I send one project or proposal to a gallery and it is accepted, then I am sure that I am an artist. When I don't have this tangible answer, I instead have the passion for art and the desire to be alive through my work. I learned the difference between "work" and "job" while I was in Austin.

However, I remember a more tangible moment when I decided to make art my career. I was born in Criciúma, in the south of Brazil, where I lived until I was 15 years old. We had no museums in Criciúma, and I didn't visit a museum until much later. When I was 9 years old, I studied art in a small house with lots of fantasies and images. My teachers took me to the Bienal de São Paulo, and when I returned I was sick ... it was too much, but I loved it, and in that moment I didn't understand the border between art and play, and I'm not sure that I

know the difference even now. But my father always believed in traveling, and I learned that you have to change your location to see museums in your life from a different point of view. So, when I was 15 years old I decided to live in Oxford for one month. One day I saw the *Sunflowers* by Van Gogh and I felt something strange. When I was on the bus from London returning to Oxford, I could see a difference in color, and I realized that something had changed. When I returned to Brazil, I told my parents that I wanted to study art.

LMC: Your residency program at the Blanton Museum has been inspired by the Wim Wenders's film Paris, Texas. How and why did that film inspire you to travel across the state of Texas? What were you expecting to find in the landscape?

LC: I don't know what love is, and the film *Paris, Texas* makes me ask more questions about the border between images and words. Initially, I didn't believe in what Wim Wenders was saying with the film, and I asked, "So, Paris is a small town in Texas?" I had to see it to believe it, and now that I've seen it I have learned that Parisians are so kind [they paid for our breakfast and showed us Jesus wearing cowboy boots!]. But mainly, I went to Paris because of the trust I felt with Leslie and Andre França who drove me, because I wasn't ready to drive in the United States, and the only way to get to Paris is by car.

LMC: Please tell me what Paris, Texas the movie means for you, and what Paris, Texas, the town means?

LC: What is Paris? Is it the center of the arts in the world? I have never been to Paris, France, I have never been to the Louvre, so does that mean I'm not an artist? Paris, Texas, is an image that changed my whole existence. We are always changing, and it's hard because at times I just want to hold onto some world and just be safe. I feel that we are always lost and this is good too, it's like the story of the tower of Babel, being lost in a lot of languages.

LMC: Can you describe the feelings you had when you arrived in Paris, Texas?

LC: No, I can't, sorry ... maybe the images could show us a lot of things about my feelings.



Artist Leticia Cardoso

LMC: How does your residency project fit into the trajectory of your body of work? Where do you see yourself going now that you have accomplished the great feat of getting to Paris?

LC: We live in an amazing world of television, Internet, and movies. People can travel a lot, see different places and people, and oftentimes we see these things only with our eyes. However, I want to know more. I believe that some changes just happen inside the body, when we are dislocated, for instance, and when we change our orientation, and watch the world in another situation, like being a stranger. It's like watching the world from another point of view. Sometimes it's hard to be a stranger, but really, I think that in some ways we are always strangers, some may not like to be a stranger, and some do. Being a stranger in a place can be dangerous, you can get lost in another culture.

LMC: You have spoken of "silence" and "noise"; could you please define these and how they are evidenced in your work?

LC: Noise happens when you say something and those listening don't understand. It can happen in the same culture and in the same language, these things just happen all the time, every day and in every place.

Silence can be a lot of things and a lot of words, it's a mystery, we never really know what it is. It can be the choice to be alive, like

in the *ditadura* [the dictatorship in Brazil]. Sometimes I talk a lot because I can't understand the silence between people, sometimes I choose silence just because I feel like I am a stranger and I can't understand what people are talking about. At times, it's good to be alone, in silence, with my images, and my memories, just listening with my eyes. For me, traveling alone through the desert is simply looking at the landscape, waiting and waiting for the images and memories evoked by the landscape. I believe that it becomes possible to hear your own heart, and for me the heart is the only road map I really believe in.

LMC: Your work is interrelated and follows a clear trajectory where one video piece/photo informs the next step that you take in conceiving another project. What is your thought process in moving from one project to the next?

LC: I don't know, the images just happen. Sometimes, however, we are blind and we have to work a lot to make money, but for me images are food, without them I am dead. So I continue breathing, and exchanging with the world, and the work just happens at some point of my day or in my dreams.

Leslie Moody Castro is a master's degree candidate in the Department of Art Education and a graduate research assistant at the Blanton Museum of Art at UT. 🌞

Understanding Violence in Latin America Today: Untying the Gordian Knot

by HÉCTOR DOMÍNGUEZ RUVALCABA

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THE 2010 LOZANO Long conference, *Republics of Fear: Understanding Endemic Violence in Latin America Today*, which took place at the University of Texas at Austin on March 4–5, was a broad discussion on one of the most pressing issues in Latin America at present. Twenty specialists were invited to exchange reflections from a

diversity of perspectives, which resulted in one of the most inspiring dialogues we have witnessed in our careers and showed that studying violence must be an interdisciplinary endeavor.

The discussion was based on the exchange of two main forms of knowledge or methodological approaches: while one sector of participants contributed quantitative data, the other approached the problem with interpretations of representations of violence. This is not to say that we have set positions toward the problem, but only that we have different methodologies and angles of approach. The conference, however, clearly revealed a desire for an open dialogue to define the main questions that would lead to an understanding of this problematic reality.

Indeed, violence is problematic from the moment we attempt to define it. Is it the result of recent economic processes? Does it originate in the failures of public policies? Can it be attributed to cultural factors such as gender structure and political customs? Emphasizing one perspective or another allows only a partial view; including a broad

range of perspectives is what is required to untie the Gordian knot of violence in Latin America today.

The many topics addressed in this conference show the breadth and complexity of this phenomenon: gender violence; intimate violence; organized crime; political, state, and pro-state violence; structural violence (poverty, forced migration, racism, discrimination); and the responses to violence, including public policies, activism, and representations.

In the first panel, “Sexual and Gender Violence,” Patricia Ravelo and Cecilia Menjívar addressed methodological issues to study the subjectivity of mothers of victims of femicides and of women affected by domestic violence. In the case of Ciudad Juárez, victims’ relatives are key political actors in the public arena regarding violence, where pain is transformed into activism aimed to promote social change. It has been one of the most effective tools for intervention, instrumental in bringing cases to the international courts and in passing legal initiatives intended to ensure women a life free of violence. Menjívar, for her part, addressed the strategies of Ladina women in Guatemala who in their daily lives are transforming the victimizing gender structure of that country. Daily private life is the best space for antiviolence politics, although it occurs within a grid of asymmetrical power relations.

Ileana Rodríguez and Gloria González-López discussed the public implications of incest and the systemic violence that it constitutes. Rodríguez addressed media representation of incest scandal and its implicit endorsement in the public sphere, referring to cases published in the Nicaraguan media. Incest, she argued, is a privilege granted by patriarchy to the paterfamilias at the root of any gender-based violence, and patriarchy is reaffirmed in the private space. Gloria González-López underscored the frequency of incest stories in Mexico, which demonstrates

its systemic nature. All in this panel addressed the wide political and public interest in intimate and private victimizations related to gender and sexual domains. Far from considering gender and sexual violence as exceptional, these scholars reveal generalized, established, and largely supported forms of victimization. González-López asserts that this normalization of sexual abuse is one of the main obstacles to combating intimate violence. It challenges us to consider the cultural implications of sexual abuse, and the need to reinvent the political strategies to reduce the factors that foment this violence.

In the second panel, “Organized Crime,” Ricardo Ainslie evaluated the state of fear the drug war has produced in Ciudad Juárez, which he calls a “traumatized city.” He identifies three main factors contributing to this trauma: poor urban infrastructure, criminal violence, and police and army operations. Michael Lauderdale then presented on the impact of Mexican cartel violence on youth in Texas. Both papers show that drug-related violence should not be ignored as one of the main issues affecting sociopolitical, economic, and cultural life along the U.S.-Mexico border, and a larger discussion is needed to reconsider issues of economic development and collaboration in the areas of security, education, and social integration of the vast population on both sides of the border that have been directly or indirectly affected by this war.

The social accumulation of violence was the topic Michel Misse addressed by talking about Rio de Janeiro’s delinquency and persecution by police. Misse explains these violent events by describing politics as an economic activity. For him, corruption, *clientelismo*, drug traffic, robbery, and exchange of prisoners between criminals and the police are transactions in this political market. In short, he regards violence as political capital. While Ainslie and Lauderdale look at the conflicts generated by organized crime as phenomena that have transformed social life and economics in the border region, Misse focuses on the use of violence as a political resource. If organized crime has an impact on economic and social life, it also can be considered as a commodity and an object of public debate.

The political use of violence in media and representations may not reflect the actual incidence of such violence, as Marcelo Bergman showed in his presentation in which he provided quantitative data showing Mexico had fewer incidents of crime than Brazil and Colombia. His overarching comparative account confirms, then, that violence is a concern constructed by representations, in that it acquires its political value as it induces the perception of a heightened incidence of violence. The study raises questions about the emphasis on U.S.-Mexico border violence by media and politics. Does it reflect the actual danger of the border area or just the political priority of this region for economic and political power? Are international consequences of high

crime incidence in Brazil equivalent to those of the Mexican cartels in the drug-smuggling corridor from South to North America? Clearly, the geopolitical analysis of organized crime needs to be addressed in terms of international security and human rights considerations. Even though data presented by Bergman seem to play down the impact of criminality, at least in Mexico, which implicitly is inclined to support the interpretation of violence as political capital offered by Misse, considerations of human-rights violations and the spread of violent cultures must be a priority in public agendas throughout the continent.

In the panel “Violence and Representation,” Lorraine Leu addressed the use of contested space in Rio de Janeiro by traffickers and popular sectors, describing the social conflicts expressed in the redrawing of urban spaces by drug traffickers and favela dwellers’ tactics of resistance. The urban imaginary was also the topic addressed by Gabriela Polit in her literary and comparative analysis of Medellín and Culiacán, known as two important settlements of drug cartels. Both works point to the urban

space as crime scene, but also as a site of artistic production in which violence constitutes a master topic, as a source of cultural expression and human experience that ascribes to literature and visual arts the role of raising social concerns. Artistic forms such as installation, performance, documentary, testimony, theater, and dance have been active participants in the dissemination of the awareness and the promotion of debates on violence. Donna DeCesare and Álvaro Restrepo participated as artists and educators. Their *ars poetica* is deeply rooted in ethics. Álvaro Restrepo promotes dance as a way of relief from violence. The photographic work of DeCesare is a microhistory of the Central American gangs’ regenera-

tion as one of the most significant consequences of civil wars. Both artists believe in the efficacy of art as a pedagogical tool for activism and community intervention.

The initial panel on Friday, March 5, discussed state violence, with presenters focusing on two regions: the Southern Cone and Mexico. Daniel Brinks offered an evaluation of abuses by police in Brazil and Argentina, pointing to the inequalities of access to justice as a characteristic of new postdictatorial states in South America. Cecilia Ballí discussed the ways the Mexican army in Ciudad Juárez is practicing a form of masculinity in which the violation of human rights is a main feature. Jorge Chabat also addressed the topic of the war on drug trafficking in Mexico. As in Marcelo Bergman’s presentation, his quantitative approach shows us how our perception of criminal incidence in this country is distorted. His analysis, however, also suggests we are far from seeing any decrease in violence. Elena Azaola offered a view from inside the Mexican police forces, explaining how the system works that corrupts and forces police to get involved in criminal activities, such as kidnapping. A web of complicity, blackmail, and betrayal keeps officers bound up in criminal

INDEED, VIOLENCE IS PROBLEMATIC
FROM THE MOMENT WE ATTEMPT
TO DEFINE IT. IS IT THE RESULT OF
RECENT ECONOMIC PROCESSES?
DOES IT ORIGINATE IN THE
FAILURES OF PUBLIC POLICIES?
CAN IT BE ATTRIBUTED TO
CULTURAL FACTORS SUCH AS
GENDER STRUCTURE AND
POLITICAL CUSTOMS?

activities. The difficulty of reducing violence is tied to inequalities that criminalize the poorer sectors of society and to the performance of officers who convert the legitimate coercive force of government into a criminal organization. Violations of human rights by soldiers and police, as well as their participation in criminal businesses, de-legitimates official forces and impedes the decrease of crime in the region.

In the panel on political mobilization against violence, María Victoria Uribe commented on a documentary about the displaced people from Mampuján, Colombia. As in the panels on violence representations and gender violence, Uribe brought to the table grassroots-generated

reactions to victimization. In this case, religion is a factor of cohesiveness and peaceful tactics for dealing with the armed forces that threaten Colombian towns. Angelina Snodgrass Godoy reflected on lynching as a response to the inefficacies of the Guatemalan state in the postwar period. Community-based resistance toward government abuses was one of the topics dominating a great deal of the conference discussion, as we saw in works by Ravelo, Leu, and the members of this panel. Most of these responses deal with the strategies of government to inflict its coercion and control of the population. In this sense, the work by Javier Auyero underlined the role of inequality in state violence as a form of institutional violence by describing the difficulties of disadvantaged Argentine populations in accessing public services. Gustavo de la Rosa pointed to the irregularities in constitutional guarantees and human rights in Ciudad Juárez, characterizing the government as a criminal institution.

Two opposing forces define the prevailing conflict that redraws the political arena in Latin America in the post–Cold War period. On the one hand is a diversity of environments and interests that foster violent activities: gangs and lynchings in post–civil war areas in Central America, the harassment of the poor in Brazil and Argentina, the conflicts between guerrillas and the paramilitary in Colombia, and the criminal organizations linked to officials in Mexico; on the other hand, communities have been creative and independent of traditional political institutions (i.e., political parties) in developing forms of resistance: religious manifestations, the taking over of public places, the replacement of state coercive functions by communal forms of punishment, and a myriad of aesthetic expressions that promote awareness and healing of social traumas.

Violence has motivated the emergence of new aesthetics and subjectivities that challenge scholars to rethink methods and languages. One issue that arose is the role of emotion when addressing this subject. Ravelo proposes abandoning emotionalism and sensationalism, since they can paralyze the process of addressing violence with rationality in political and academic debates. Nevertheless, we cannot discredit accounts by victims of abuses just because they exhibit emotions. The supposed objectivity of quantitative approaches to violence also has to be revised. Often, we hear the justification for omitting information because it cannot be

generated or published. Most quantitative works are based on official sources, which, for topics like human right abuses and the participation of officials in crime organizations, may not be reliable. The fact that criminal events occur in a sphere of illegality limits the scope of the study of violence to testimonies and other narratives like media reports and literature.

One of the proposals of the concluding roundtable is that we need to address the genealogy of violence, since in the recent history of Latin America we can recognize a paradigm shift in the political arena, academic discourses, and artistic production, three of the main concerned sectors. At present, we are experiencing new forms of violence in our societies that demand we update our methodologies and databases and conceive innovative theoretical frameworks allowing a more effective production of knowledge on the subject. As we incorporate these emergent forms of violence into our research agendas, we also need to listen to the perpetrators as a key to understanding this phenomenon.

The political landscape in which violence is taking place compels us to consider that the problem of violence and criminality in Latin America cannot be separated from structural conditions such as poverty, economy, and segregation in which the state has a central role. In fact, there was a broad agreement among conference participants that governments regularly foster, tolerate, protect, and perpetrate violence against populations in most Latin American countries. How have these countries come to the point of being culprits and agents of complicity in the perpetration of violence? Distinctions between the public and the private have to be reconsidered, since much of the violence occurs in the private sphere while protected by public institutions, and is of public interest. If, as Menjívar and Ravelo propose, politics against violence emerges in private spaces and in daily life, politics can no longer be understood as solely a public affair. If society has responded to violence with methods and goals that surpass what is expected in institutionalized democracies, we can see that one of the most important social consequences of violence is the transformation of Latin American political culture itself.

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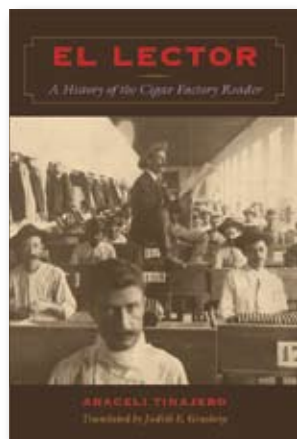
LLILAS TINKER PROFESSOR RAFAEL ROJAS WINS LITERARY PRIZE

In fall 2009, **Rafael Rojas** was awarded the I Premio Ensayo Isabel de Polanco for his book *Las repúblicas de aire. Utopía y desencanto en la revolución Hispanoamericana*, a study of the eight prominent figures in the formation of Latin American republics from 1810–1830. The award is made by the Santillana Foundation in collaboration with the Guadalajara International Book Fair and carries a prize of \$100,000. The theme of the 2009 award was the bicentennial of Latin American independence movements.

Dr. Rojas, a specialist in Cuban intellectual history, holds a PhD in history from El Colegio de México as well as degrees from the Universidad de La Habana and UNAM in Mexico. He has published thirteen single-author books, among them *Cuban Intellectual History*, *Cuba mexicana: Historia de una anexión*, and *La política de adiós*, as well as numerous articles and book chapters covering the nineteenth century to the present. Dr. Rojas is a professor at the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) in Mexico City. During spring 2009, he was the Tinker Visiting Professor at LLILAS.

New from LLILAS Publications

The institute continues its long tradition of publishing important works on Latin America by noted scholars. The LLILAS book series is copublished with the University of Texas Press, and all work prior to printing and distribution is handled in-house at LLILAS. This includes manuscript acquisition and readings, copyediting and proofreading, design and layout, and jacket design. Although LLILAS has several series, its strength lies in first-time translation of major works from Latin America in the Translations from Latin America Series. Our latest two titles in this series are:



***El Lector: A History
of the Cigar Factory Reader***
by Araceli Tinajero

Translated by Judith E. Grasberg

The practice of reading aloud has a long history, and the tradition still survives in Cuba as a hard-won right deeply embedded in cigar factory workers' culture. In *El Lector*, Araceli Tinajero deftly traces the evolution of the reader from nineteenth-century Cuba to the present and its eventual dissemination to Tampa, Key West, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico. In interviews with present-day and retired readers, she records testimonies that otherwise would have been lost forever, creating a valuable archive for future historians.

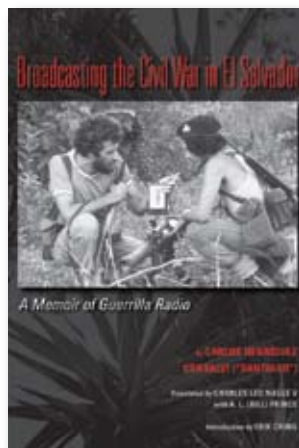
Through a close examination of journals, newspapers, and personal interviews, Tinajero relates how the reading was organized, how the readers and readings were selected, and how the process affected the relationship between workers and factory owners. Because of the reader, cigar factory workers were far more cultured and in touch with the political currents of the day than other workers. But it was not only the reading material, which provided political and literary information that yielded self-education, that influenced the workers; the

act of being read to increased the discipline and timing of the artisan's job.

With a blending of historical context and literary analysis, as well as an elegant writing style, this work should appeal to a wide readership. Roberto González Echevarría of Yale University says, "*El Lector* is a book that, because of its originality, the engaging story it tells, and the many fields that it enriches, will find a broad and appreciative audience and will become a landmark in the study of Cuban and Latin American cultures."

Araceli Tinajero is a professor in the Foreign Languages Department at the City College of New York and the Graduate Center, CUNY.

Judith E. Grasberg is a professional interpreter and translator in New Brunswick, New Jersey.



***Broadcasting the Civil War in El Salvador:
A Memoir of Guerrilla Radio***

by Carlos Henríquez Consalvi ("Santiago")
Translated by Charles Leo Nagle V
with A. L. (Bill) Prince

Introduction by Erik Ching

During the 1980s war in El Salvador, Radio Venceremos was the main news outlet for the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), the guerrilla organization

that challenged the government. The broadcast provided a vital link between combatants in the mountains and the outside world, as well as an alternative to mainstream media reporting. In this first-person account, "Santiago," the legend behind Radio Venceremos, tells the story of the early years of that conflict, a rebellion of poor peasants against the Salvadoran government and its benefactor, the United States.

Originally published as *La Terquedad del Izote*, this memoir also addresses the broader story of a nationwide rebellion and its international context, particularly the intensifying Cold War and heavy U.S. involvement in it under President Reagan. By the war's end in 1992, more than 75,000 were dead and 350,000 wounded—in a country the size of Massachusetts. Although outnumbered and outfinanced, the rebels fought the Salvadoran Army to a draw and brought enough bargaining power to the negotiating table to achieve some of their key objectives, including democratic reforms and an overhaul of the security forces.

Broadcasting the Civil War in El Salvador is a riveting account from the rebels' point of view that lends immediacy to the Salvadoran conflict. It should appeal to all who are interested in historic memory and human rights, U.S. policy toward Central America, and the role the media can play in wartime.

Carlos Henríquez Consalvi is founder and director of the Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen in San Salvador, El Salvador.

Charles Leo Nagle V is a graduate student at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

Bill Prince is Professor of Spanish and Erik Ching is Associate Professor of History at Furman University in Greenville, South Carolina.

These books may be ordered through the University of Texas Press. For more information, visit <http://www.utexas.edu/utpress/> or contact LLILAS Managing Editor Virginia Hagerty at vhagerty@mail.utexas.edu. ☀

The Relationship between Illegal Drugs and Violence: Is There a Cause and Effect?

by FRANCISCO E. THOUMI

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THE RECENT DRUG-ASSOCIATED VIOLENCE on the Mexico side of the Mexico-U.S. border, the “narco-terrorism” in Colombia during the late 1980s and 1990s, and the tales of the prohibition era in the United States are all examples of

criminal organizations that fight either against each other or against the state and cause an inordinate amount of cruelty, violence, and death. These and other episodes have led most people to conclude that “drugs cause violence” and therefore “to end violence on the Mexican border we have to eliminate illegal drugs.” These assertions imply that drugs and violence are intimately linked. But, is it true?

The Relationship of Drugs and Drug-Related Violence

Drugs and drug-related violence do not overlap in either time or space: “Even without the protection of the state and courts, illegal drug markets are generally peaceable. However, occasionally specific markets exhibit high levels of violence” (Reuter 2009: 275). Mexico for example, has had drug trafficking for a century, and while there were individual cases of murder associated with drugs, the illegal drug industry was relatively peaceful. Only in the last decade has it become extremely violent. Until the late 1990s, the share of the illegal drug sector in the Gross National Product (GDP) was significantly higher in Bolivia and Peru than in Colombia, but drug-associated violence was very high in the latter and very low in the former two (Thoumi 2003). During the last decade, illegal drug income has accounted for about one-third of Afghanistan’s GDP, but drug-associated violence has been remarkably low.

The empirical evidence shows clearly that there is no direct “cause and effect” relationship between drugs and violence. In other words, when there are very large, easy to obtain illegal drug profits, it is not “natural” that people kill each other for them.

In both Colombia and Mexico, one frequently hears claims such as: “Drug legalization is the only solution” because “when there is demand, there will always be a supply.” There is no doubt that if there were no demand, there would be no supply, but if demand would be the determining factor for production, then every country where coca and poppy could grow would be growing them, and every country

where cocaine and heroin could be refined and trafficked would be doing so. The map of illegal drugs shows a very high concentration in production. All coca and cocaine are produced in only three countries: Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia. Three countries produce 95 percent of opium poppy and heroin: Afghanistan, Myanmar, and Laos, and if Mexico and Colombia are thrown in, it becomes 99 percent.

There is no market theory that can explain this extreme concentration. Why does Colombia face much more competition in the international coffee markets than in cocaine, and why does Mexico have more competition in clothing manufacture than in heroin? In Mexico many argue that the country’s location halfway between Colombia and the United States is the reason for its involvement in drug trafficking. This is reminiscent of similar explanations in Colombia in the 1980s: the country was halfway between Bolivia and Peru to the south and the United States to the north. Location matters, of course, but being a transit country does not imply that the nationals of that country should dominate the trafficking networks.

The concentration shown by the maps of drugs and violence forces the observer to seek domestic explanations, for example, what do Colombia and Mexico have that has resulted in their dominance of some international drug markets, and why in those markets is there or has there been so much violence?

Factors Promoting Crime and Illegal Drugs

When looking at domestic factors that encourage the development of criminal organizations and illegal drugs, people normally attribute causality to poverty, income and wealth inequality, economic crises, frustrated expectations, corruption, and the like. These factors may play important roles, but they are not causes in the sense that once they occur, crime and drugs also occur. Indeed, most poor people in very unequal societies or facing economic crises do not become criminals. On the other hand, some members of the upper classes have been involved in illegal drugs and crime. Corruption may encourage crime, but crime itself is a principal supporter of corruption. These are contributing factors to crime and illegal drugs, but none of them is either necessary or sufficient for criminality and drugs to appear.

In order to have illegal drugs, it is necessary to have an illegal demand and an illegal supply. This is why “legalization” is so appealing: it eliminates a necessary factor. For many reasons not discussed here, the world will not legalize the cocaine and heroin markets. So, for the sake of countries like Colombia and Mexico, it is imperative to ask: what are the necessary conditions for supply to develop? Illicit drug industries require the performance of several industry-specific tasks that are not required by legal activities: the growing of illegal crops, the development of illegal distribution networks, etc. “Successful performance of these tasks requires special ‘illegal skills’ used to develop illegal business organizations, social support networks to protect the industry from law enforcement efforts, and contract enforcement and conflict resolution systems within the criminal organizations, to have the will to break economic laws and regulations and to use violence if necessary” (Thoumi 2003: 56). To achieve this, there have to be people willing to break some laws and a support network of people who consider such illegal activities appropriate.

When the rule of law prevails, crime is limited to that committed by a few “bad apples” and common law enforcement efforts can keep crime levels low. When a significant group does not accept the formal rules as legitimate, if breaking laws is justified because they are or appear to be enacted by particular groups that benefit from them, then the society becomes vulnerable to the development of organized crime. There are other necessary factors related to cocaine and heroin production such as having the knowledge to refine cocaine or heroin and having the appropriate environmental conditions to grow coca or poppy. The labor skills needed are abundant in almost every country today and can easily be bought.

Interestingly, there are no sufficient factors for the development of illegal crops or illegal drug trafficking. “Some factors are necessary to develop coca and poppy plantings and cocaine and heroin production and exports. To do so *countries must have the full set of necessary factors*. There is also a wide spectrum of potential contributing factors. These might trigger the development of the illegal industry *only if all the necessary conditions are present*” (Thoumi 2009).

“*The lack of a sufficient factor makes it possible to have a society with all the conditions for the development of the illegal industry and which has, however, not developed it. Such a society, however, would be very vulnerable and could develop the illegal industry.* The appearance of a new contributing factor, for example, could trigger it. Criminal activities develop as a result of evolutionary processes, not Newtonian ones with well defined causality of the type ‘ $Y=f(X)$ ’ that is ‘if X, then Y happens.’ This is why some societies that have all the necessary conditions for the development of the industry do not currently have it” (Thoumi, 2009).

The existence of strong criminal organizations does not necessarily indicate high levels of violence. Criminal organizations control the use of violence to avoid the government focus on them. Needless to say, a very wealthy drug trafficker cannot enjoy his money in the cemetery. It is only when those controls weaken because the structure of the organization changes or when the organization itself decides to fight the state that violence erupts. These eruptions are particularly bloody and savage if the perpetrators are willing to use violence without regard to the consequences for society, or when they simply want to “hit where it hurts the most,” that is, family members, children, etc.

Why Do Policies Fail? Why Is Violence So Difficult to Control?

The repressive anti-drug policies implemented during the last forty years of the “war on drugs” have not eliminated illegal drugs and will not do so for a simple reason: they attack some of the contributing factors to illicit drug development, but almost never deal with the necessary conditions for sustaining an illegal industry. The development of organized crime and the illegal drug industry is due to issues related to governance and the rule of law. Repressive policies are based on a police model focused on eliminating “bad apples” that does not deal with the underlying factors that encourage such developments in the society.

Not surprisingly, the illegal drug industry has adapted in response to government policies. In Colombia, the industry was controlled by two large cartels in the 1980s, which were destroyed by the mid-1990s. Left-wing guerrillas and right-wing paramilitary groups then controlled the coca plantings, cocaine refining, and trafficking. During recent years, both guerrillas and paramilitaries have been weakened, and the drug industry in Colombia is now controlled by an unknown number of smaller trafficking bands. The industry’s control went from “drug lords” to “warlords” to “gang lords.”

In the late 1980s, the U.S. attacked the Caribbean routes, and Colombian traffickers sought new routes through Mexico. As the Colombian cartels weakened, Mexican groups gained market share in the U.S., and when the PRI lost political control of many Mexican states, the Mexican trafficking organizations ended up competing for domestic drug markets and for dominance of the American market. This has been a very bloody period in many areas of Mexico, and today it is well known that Mexico is a victim of a very high level of violence. Ironically, during this period the homicide rate in Mexico in reality has been falling! This shows that the drug violence is confined to small areas, and while there are some innocent civilian victims, the violence tends to be limited to intergang and gang-state encounters.

The challenge that organized crime presents for the state is how to impose the rule of law. One option is to co-opt and control criminal organizations, allowing them to operate within some “reasonable” limits. This might have worked in the past, but it is unlikely to work now. The other option is to impose the rule of law, not just by a strong arm of the state but by having it internalized by the citizenry, by making them full modern citizens with a sense of belonging to the state so that the socially accepted norms coincide with the formal legal requirements. This is, of course, a huge challenge. The question is whether countries like Colombia and Mexico are ready to respond to it.

Francisco Thoumi was the Tinker Visiting Professor at LLILAS during fall 2009.

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CONFRONTING THE CAÑADA: TACKLING REAL-WORLD PROBLEMS THROUGH SERVICE LEARNING

by VANESSA MARTINEZ, EVA HERSHAW, and LINDSEY CARTE

A

AS GRADUATE students in international planning and development, we struggle to balance theory and practice. One creative

way to apply what we learn in the classroom is through international service learning courses. Such courses can range from community-based research to applied projects, which become the source of regenerative, innovative, and collaborative solutions that go beyond conventional end-of-semester deadlines.

Students in Dr. Bjørn Sletto's Latin American Planning Studio in the Community and Regional Planning program, School of Architecture, had the opportunity to experience this in Los Platanitos, an informal settlement in Santo Domingo Norte, Dominican Republic. In January 2010, we conducted a participatory solid waste assessment in Los Platanitos, documenting the social, cultural, and

political-economic causes of the trash problem and examining possible solutions, all in close cooperation with community members and project partners. In March 2010, we returned to conduct follow-up research and to share and discuss research findings and their implications, focusing primarily on building vital relationships between community members, municipal government, and local NGOs, and developing a strategic plan for project sustainability.

Los Platanitos is home to about 3,000 people and was founded in the late 1980s in a steep canyon, or *cañada*. A partly channelized creek runs through the canyon before it enters the Parque Mirador Norte, and then the river Isabela. Los Platanitos is one of more than thirty such *cañada* settlements in Santo Domingo Norte. *Cañada* is not only the Dominican term for "canyon," it also has come to signify informal settlements characterized by unplanned

"self-help" housing, constructed by and for the people who live there. In such settlements, residents generally do not hold titles to the land and lack many basic services. Los Platanitos, like most *cañada* communities in SDN, is not provided with municipal trash collection services or electricity, sewage, clean water, or plumbing.

Cañada communities also have come to signify places that are dirty or polluted. In Los Platanitos, in particular, community members live surrounded by solid waste. The community was built on an old municipal dumping site and today bears the brunt of the regional mismanagement of solid waste. The community's narrow, precarious walkways combined with the scarcity of municipal resources have prevented efficient and regular trash collection in Los Platanitos and other *cañada* settlements. Because of the lack of solid waste collection, mounds of trash accumulate throughout the



A resident outside her home in Los Platanitos.

community, causing a formidable public health risk. Garbage also clogs parts of the channel, leading to severe flooding whenever it rains, and floodwaters are extremely contaminated by trash and other waste products.

In 2008, the first team of students from the University of Texas at Austin was invited to work with the community of Los Platanitos and the Municipality of Santo Domingo Norte to conduct a participatory risk and vulnerability assessment. This study, *El Rincon de los Olvidados*, identified several social problems, but community members and research partners agreed that solid waste was the primary cause of the flooding and public health issues facing Los Platanitos. In this way, solid waste became the focus of the second phase of the ongoing UT project in this community.

Our work in 2010 was guided by two primary goals. First, we wanted to develop a model for participatory solid waste research

that could be replicated in other informal settlements throughout the Caribbean and Latin America. And, second, we wanted to work with residents to design a community-based, solid waste management program that would serve as a pilot project for an integrated solid waste management plan throughout Santo Domingo Norte. Such a program would build upon several strategic partnerships between community-based organizations, NGOs, and the government.

Our research methods were loosely based on those of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), a family of research methods with roots in activist participatory research, applied anthropology, and Rural Rapid Appraisal (RRA), whose central goals are to “democratize” and “decentralize” development by drawing upon local knowledge. PRA and RRA are greatly influenced by the work of Robert Chambers and Paolo Freire’s seminal text, *Pedagogy of*

the Oppressed. Inspired by this perspective, we decided that community participation was essential for the project. We relied on community members not only to relate their knowledge and perceptions of the social, political, economic, and environmental realities they face, but also to guide what questions we asked and methods we used. In addition, we also worked with municipal and federal government agencies, as well as local NGOs, to better understand the institutional context that shapes the challenges of Los Platanitos.

We formed three teams in order to investigate both the social and environmental dimensions of the solid waste problem: community engagement and project design, physical survey and design, and social survey and assessment. Each team developed different research methods, considering the adequacy, appropriateness, and limitations of different approaches.

The community engagement and project design team (Lindsey Carte, Omar Diaz, and Vanessa Martinez) organized community meetings to better understand the social relations that inform decision-making processes at the household and community level. Working with groups of women, men, and youth, this team facilitated discussions about the potential of a solid waste management program in Los Platanitos. Through creative tools of engagement such as drawing activities and participant narratives, residents were encouraged to express their ideas of how a participatory waste management system would best function in their community.

Similarly, the social survey and assessment team (Eva Hershaw, Laura Muraida, and Lindsey Engelman) conducted surveys and interviews with a random sampling of community members and was particularly concerned with understanding the challenges faced by those living along the channel. The household data on vulnerability, risk, and perceptions of solid waste gathered by this team complemented the information docu-

mented in the focus groups. The team also collected qualitative data that revealed personal decision-making processes and behaviors imperative to developing an appropriate waste management program.

Additional insight was provided by the physical survey and design team (Christeen Pusch, George McQueen, and Gina Casey), who used a number of mapping, measurement, and observation methods to assess, in quantitative terms, challenges associated with access, mobility, trash generation, and water quality. Their methods included the distribution of trash bags to randomly selected families along the channel to measure household generation of solid waste. In addition, this team also documented patterns of flow and accumulation of solid waste both within the channel and throughout the community, and measured water quality at various points along the channel to complement qualitative risk and vulnerability data gathered by the other research teams.

Community members were actively involved in data collection at each stage of the process.

Residents of Los Platanitos were not simply subjects of this research, but also served as our research partners. Beyond participating in focus groups and surveys, they also helped to measure solid waste accumulations, assisted with water quality tests, and organized additional focus groups to promote greater community participation. We also brought representatives from microenterprises, known as *fundaciones*, which had developed similar community-based solutions to trash problems in poor neighborhoods elsewhere in Santo Domingo, to share their experiences with residents in Los Platanitos.

When we returned to Los Platanitos in March 2010, we could see the impact of our participatory approach. We learned that a group of residents had begun the process of forming a grassroots organization to address the solid waste problem, and had organized four large-scale community clean-up efforts to remove solid waste accumulations. As the new organization's informally elected Board of Directors led us through the neighborhood, we saw where community volunteers had removed



A young community member looks down at the cañada filled with solid waste.

massive amounts of plastic bottles, Styrofoam, and other garbage from the channel, mostly by hand or with limited equipment. Most impressive were the mounds of trash—enough to fill four dump trucks—that lay in neat rows along the rim of the channel. Community members had been able to secure a tractor, they told us, to literally dig the garbage out of the channel where it had been accumulating for years.

It was clear that the group had been inspired by the representatives of the *fundaciones*, since they also had begun informal education efforts, walking door-to-door and asking residents to stop throwing trash in the channel, and instead collect it in trash bags and bring it to disposal sites outside the community. Given this great enthusiasm and the hope evidenced by these residents, we decided to provide whatever assistance we could to facilitate the development of this group. We organized additional focus groups to assess and promote community awareness of the new organization, and we led capacity-building workshops to prepare members of the organization for a major presentation at a citywide forum on solid waste. Because both community members and students were aware that support from external actors would be vital to the continued development of this effort, we invited representatives of the municipal Solid Waste and Sanitation Department to tour Los Platanitos and observe the results of the cleanup, and helped to arrange meetings with the country's principal NGO engaged with community and slum development, Centro Montalvo.

As a result of these interactions, the municipality has committed to providing financial and technical support for the removal of the remaining trash in the channel and for weekly trash pickup conducted by residents. Centro Montalvo has offered to hold a twelve-week capacity-building course for Los Platanitos to assist in the development of their organization. Inspired by this progress and the enormous potential of this fledgling community group, we are now in the process of assisting Ciudad Alternativa, a Santo Domingo-based NGO that has partnered with us since 2008, in submitting grants to international foundations. The goal is to secure continued funding to aid Los Platanitos not only in the removal of trash, but also in transforming the harmful problem of solid waste into opportunities for income, education, and empowerment.

The implications of this research go far beyond semester grades, technical reports, and graduate theses. By engaging in the real-world problem of solid waste, UT students have encouraged additional movements and community endeavors in Santo Domingo Norte, and have already made a positive impact on the lives of the residents of Los Platanitos. But perhaps most important, this project can serve as a model for similar, student-led research and planning work elsewhere. From the beginning, our primary goal was to develop a replicable model for solid waste management research and program implementation. Opportunities for replication have been built into everything we have done, from research, to capacity building and education, to community-led trash collection. Extending this work to some of the one billion people who live in informal settlements similar to Los Platanitos would be the greatest outcome of our project.

Vanessa Martinez is a master's candidate in LLILAS and Community and Regional Planning, Eva Hershaw is a master's candidate in LLILAS and the School of Journalism, and Lindsey Carte is a PhD candidate in the Department of Geography and the Environment. ☀

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EXPRESSIONS OF MAYA IDENTITY AND CULTURE IN LOS ANGELES: Challenges and Success among Maya Youth

by GIOVANNI BATZ

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GIOVANNI BATZ, WHO GRADUATED WITH an MA from LLILAS in 2010 and is now a doctoral candidate in the Department of Anthropology, received the award for Best LLILAS Student Paper at the ILASSA30 Conference in February. His paper is

reprinted here in an abridged version. The full-text version is available in the LANIC Etext Collection/LLILAS Archive at <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/etext/>.

Introduction

The previous three decades witnessed the migration of thousands of Guatemalan Maya due to political violence and poverty, which led to the establishment of various diasporic communities throughout the United States.¹ A frequent destination for the Maya is Los Angeles, California, where they are confronted with the pressures to adapt within an environment that is predominately Latino/Hispanic. In addition, Maya identity expressed through the use of *traje* (Maya clothing), language, literature, and spirituality is challenged by American culture such as western style of dress and the practice of English, which discriminates against these customs. These conditions are more severe for the children of Maya who were either raised or born and raised in the U.S., as they face the difficulties in preserving their heritage posed by institutions such as public education that socialize them into U.S. culture and history.

This paper argues that while some children of Maya have been able to preserve and express their identity through channels such as

music and language, others are unaware, ashamed, or apathetic of their indigenous roots and history. In order to understand this process, Maya migration and settlement in Los Angeles is examined to determine the factors such as discrimination and a strong anti-immigrant environment that influence some Maya to conserve or relinquish their identity and incorporate into the Latino community. Second, the different methods in which children of Maya identify will be explored. Finally, this paper will analyze the various methods and spaces in which Maya youth express their culture, with a focus

on the marimba as a means of preserving their identity. Research for this study was conducted through informal conversations with members of the Maya community as well as fourteen formal interviews that included children of Maya, Maya parents, and community members in Los Angeles. Moreover, the researcher's personal experience as a second-generation Guatemalan raised in Los Angeles also has contributed to this study and fieldwork.²



Giovanni Batz

Maya Migration to Los Angeles

Reception in the United States is characterized by a very hostile anti-immigrant environment creating an atmosphere of fear of deportation that presents difficulties for undocumented groups to actively practice their culture in public spaces. Anti-immigrant animosity in California was evident with the passing of Proposition 187 in 1994, which sought to prevent undocumented immigrants from accessing many social services (Harman 1995:159).³ More important, between 2005 and 2009, 108,154 Guatemalans were deported from the United States, some who had arrived as minors or having U.S.-born children or spouses (Bonillo 2009).⁴ As a result, Maya immigrants are forced to blend in with the Latino community in order to avoid attracting attention and being identified as immigrants by local authorities. For instance, many Maya women are unable to wear their *traje* in public out of fear of deportation. Furthermore, continuous discrimination and marginalization within the Guatemalan community against indigenous people has caused some to assimilate into the Latino population. For example, Roberto, a K'iche'-Maya immigrant, states that many indigenous people are chastised for mispronouncing Spanish words (which is sometimes their second language) and are often called "*indios*" or "*inditos*," both derogatory terms. Roberto claims that these circumstances led two of his younger immigrant brothers to no longer identify as Maya and to assimilate into the Latino population. On the other hand, these conditions also have led to the adoption of strategies to promote Maya identity that are evident within religious institutions.

Children of Maya

Children of immigrants of all backgrounds are a growing population in the United States who face difficulties in preserving their parental language, culture, identity, and transnational ties to the home country.⁵ These challenges can be attributed to the educational system, intergenerational conflicts, media, anti-immigrant environment, and poverty. Students from Latin American backgrounds within the educational system in Los Angeles are often socialized into U.S. culture and history, with attempts to appeal to the Latino community being based on a curriculum that emphasizes Mexican culture and celebrations such as Cinco de Mayo. Peñalosa observes that Maya children, particularly those "bused long distances to suburban schools," are treated as Hispanics by school personnel (1986: 234). Moreover, intergenerational conflict is exacerbated with language since many immigrant children learn to speak English at school and Spanish on the streets, while preference is given to the former (Menjívar 2002: 544; Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 113–146). In addition, Maya elders and grandparents are absent or hold minimal responsibility in children's education in Los Angeles, which differs from their traditional role in Guatemala where they are a crucial element in transmitting culture to the youth (Harman 1995: 162).⁶ Los Angeles Maya have commented that the lack of elders contributes to children's lack of respect for their elders and indigenous principles, which they believe is a problem. As an outcome to these circumstances, the Maya have adopted strategies to preserve their heritage among their children.

According to Jose, a Q'anjoba'l father of four, the Maya community has designed cultural activities for their children in order to teach Maya ethics, language, and music, but financial issues hamper their efforts. Thus, when parents are eager to transmit their traditions to

their children, financial constraints may diminish their endeavors, especially for the undocumented and those in the lower class.⁷ But even when monetary funds are available, some children of Maya may protest or refuse to participate in revitalization programs due to the factors listed above. Under these conditions, children of Maya have self-identified into four general categories in which indigenous identity is either retained or diminished. Below is a brief discussion of the factors that contribute to the construction of identity among the youth.

The first group consists of children of Maya who are unaware or apathetic of their indigenous heritage since some parents may themselves be ashamed or no longer identify as Maya or see any value in teaching their children an indigenous culture. Underlying discrimination within the Guatemalan community contributes to Maya parents' unwillingness or negligence in transmitting language and culture to their children as demonstrated by the example of Roberto's brothers. Consequently, Maya identity is often diminished before many children are even born. In addition, life in Los Angeles for many Guatemalan immigrants and their children is a struggle to survive in violent neighborhoods characterized by drugs, gangs, and poverty (Loucky 2001: 221; Harman 1995: 158). Moreover, American values of individualism have undermined a sense of community and threatened family unity (Loucky *ibid.*). As a result, many youth are unaware or apathetic of their indigenous past since they are never exposed to or place high value on Maya culture in their lives within inner-city neighborhoods (Menjívar 2002: 538).

Although some Maya children may acknowledge an indigenous past, some may not fully identify as Maya since they are unfamiliar with the culture or are ashamed. Alejandro, a twenty-year-old son of Q'anjoba'les from San Pedro Soloma, Huehuetenango, is characteristic of this second group. Alejandro speaks "broken Spanish" with his parents and only English with his siblings. Moreover, most of his friends are of Mexican descent, and he knows little about Maya culture since his parents rarely exposed him to their traditions or discussed life in Guatemala. Although Alejandro recognizes his parents' indigenous background, he identifies as Latino. Menjívar notes that many Guatemalan children are at times ashamed of their parents' language or background since non-European immigrants and non-English speakers are often associated with low social status and poverty (2002: 544). According to Miguel, a Q'anjoba'l-Maya teacher and active community member, many children of Maya are ashamed of their parents' indigenous background and at times deny their roots among their Latino peers. Thus, these two groups have assimilated into the Latino community.⁸

The third and fourth groups consist of children who either retain their Maya identity and reject a Latino/Hispanic label, or have adopted a dual identity in which they incorporate themselves into both the Maya and Latino communities. Children who identify as only Maya and reject a Latino/Hispanic identity tend to be the children of active community members. Maria, Jose's U.S.-born sixteen-year-old daughter, declares that she is a Maya and not Latino/Hispanic. Other youth who recognize themselves as both Maya and Latino tend to be from similar backgrounds and often participate in Maya programs and celebrations. Although many recognize their indigenous background, they also believe that they are a part of the Latino/Hispanic community since they share many personal and cultural similarities in music and food,

as well as relating on various political and social issues such as immigration, discrimination, and survival within rough neighborhoods. Expression of Maya identity and culture has been reconstructed within the United States in many forms and is still developing among the children of Maya in Los Angeles.

Expressions of Maya Identity and Culture

The expression of Maya identity and culture has manifested through various channels such as dress, spirituality, fiestas, and language. The Maya in Los Angeles have designed and adopted revitalization projects similar to those in Guatemala in order to encourage indigenous language and traditions among youth.⁹ Most recently, members of the Maya community sponsored a Q'anjob'al language course in 2008 in which twenty-five Maya students participated. This was followed by another course in summer 2009 that allowed students to learn K'iche', Q'anjob'al, or Maya spirituality. Sonia, a sixteen-year-old K'iche', immigrated to the U.S. at the age of ten to reunite with her parents and was a participant in the summer 2009 course. She views language as a source of Maya identity, especially since she no longer wears her *traje* in the United States as she did when she lived with her grandmother in Xela.¹⁰ Furthermore, Sonia was often accompanied by her younger ten-year-old cousin who also was interested in learning K'iche' in order to speak the maternal language of his parents. Similarly, another girl was proud to say she spoke Q'anjob'al to her grandmother in Guatemala over the phone. Angela, a K'iche' mother, accompanied her twelve-year-old daughter to a couple of classes. She claims that she did not inculcate Maya culture and language in her daughter but was satisfied by the fact that Angela wanted to learn K'iche' and attend these classes after she heard about them in her school. Here we can clearly see a demand by children who want to learn their maternal and ancestral language as well as a sense of pride in their roots. Revitalization programs such as language courses have provided children of Maya the space and opportunity to learn, recover, and express their identity, which is repressed in Los Angeles.

Annual celebrations of patron saints of various Maya communities have been held in Los Angeles since the early 1980s. One of the earliest Maya communities to celebrate fiestas in Los Angeles is the Q'anjob'ales from

San Miguel Acatan. Peñalosa, who attended this fiesta on September 29, 1984, observed:

With as many as 200–300 people in attendance . . . there was a mass, voting for candidates for queen followed by an elaborate crowning ceremony and dancing to a marimba band, as well as the consumption of typical Guatemalan foods. The proceedings were entirely in Spanish, except for a few words uttered in K'anjobal by an Anglo priest, and a K'anjobal song. (Peñalosa 1984: 211)

Hence, it is in fiestas as well as other religious celebrations that women are able to wear their *trajes* and traditional Maya and Guatemalan food such as tamales and atole is served. Today, many of these fiestas have maintained practices and ceremonies such as the playing of marimba, dancing, and the crowning of *princessas*. But these celebrations have changed in a few areas. For example, the fiesta for the patron saint of Santa Eulalia is held in February, when Q'anjob'ales participate in cultural activities that increasingly have involved their children. In 2009 this included speeches of *princessas* representing the various Maya diasporic communities in Los Angeles as well as the first ever *princessa* Maya (represented by a K'iche').¹¹ All were second-generation women who spoke a Maya language and Spanish to address and encourage the youth in attendance to be proud of their indigenous roots. Another activity at the fiesta included the reenactment of a scene in the marketplace in the western highlands of Guatemala where children and adults sold and bought products such as pottery and *trajes*. Since the 1980s, fiestas increasingly have incorporated Mayas raised or born and raised in the United States, some who may never have visited or remember Guatemala. Fiestas allow children to get a sense of life in Guatemala and simultaneously promote Maya identity and spirituality, as they provide a space for children to express their culture along with their parents and as a community.

Among one of the most important cultural tools of the Maya in Guatemala and Los Angeles is the marimba, which provides a channel for children to express their identity and culture through music. According to Fortier and Rodriguez, cultural memory contributes to the formation of collective ethnic identity among people which is transmitted from generation

to generation through images, symbols, oral communication, and ceremonies (2007: 14). Fortier and Rodriguez examine the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe as a tool for the Nahua to deal with the agony of colonization and oppression by the Spanish and the restoration of their dignity that continues today and passes on "values of self-worth and appreciation of one's own language, culture and tradition" (32). In addition, they claim that the image of Guadalupe assists Mexican Americans in honoring and preserving their religious-cultural traditions in the United States (30). Similarly, Wellmeier claims that the marimba for the Maya "embodies the soul of their culture" and is considered "semisacred" (1998: 109). The marimba usually requires seven musicians to play in unison and thus demonstrates the cooperative character of Maya communities. During the civil war in the 1980s, some Q'anjob'ales carried their marimbas on their flight to Mexican refugee camps, where they utilized it as a means to preserve their culture and confront the anguish of exile (Montejo 1999: 113, 160). The Q'anjob'ales in Indiantown, Florida, and Los Angeles also have used the marimba as a means to express their collective Mayan identity (Burns 1999:144; Wellmeier 1998:110). In the early 2000s, the Q'anjob'ales organized a marimba band that consisted of U.S.-born Maya in order to promote their culture. Currently, there are approximately fifteen players whose ages range from seven to eighteen. The group has performed throughout California and in other states such as Nebraska and Arizona.

Maria and her thirteen-year-old sister Nancy have been playing the marimba since 2001 and feel joy in expressing their Maya heritage through music. Since they are the only girls participating in this traditionally male activity, both claim that their male cousins have made fun of them for playing marimba.¹² Nancy recalls being teased by one of her cousins when he told her "your tamales will never come out right because you're playing marimba." The importance of the marimba in transmitting a sense of Maya identity, history, and cultural memory was demonstrated by Nancy, who claimed that playing the marimba provided her with a "good feeling" and pride since it was the same instrument that her elders played before her. The marimba in Los Angeles has served to express Maya identity as well as demonstrate the reconstruction of Maya culture.

Conclusion

The Maya in Los Angeles are forced to deal with marginalization on two fronts: anti-immigrant sentiments from American society, and discrimination within the Guatemalan and Latino communities. These conditions have caused serious impacts on and implications for the ethnic identity formation of the children of Maya, in which indigenous identity is either diminished or preserved and expressed through such channels as music and language. This paper has demonstrated that some children of Maya are aware of preserving, reproducing, and reconstructing their Maya culture and identity in Los Angeles, while many others have ended their indigenous legacy by assimilating into Latino communities. In conclusion, within the last 500 years, the Maya have suffered colonization, migration, displacement, genocide, exclusion, discrimination, and racism. Yet, Maya identity and culture have survived and been continuously transforming across time and space; this process is ongoing, as evidenced by its existence and reconstruction among Maya youth in Los Angeles.

Notes

1. I wish to express my gratitude to the people who gave their time to share their experiences and insights with me for this research. Without them, this paper would have been impossible. In addition, I wish to thank my family, Miguel, Miriam, Mike, and Marvin Batz, as well as Alicia Estrada, the members of Contacto Ancestral, Arturo Arias, Martha Menchaca, Charles R. Hale, and Erik Hernandez for their support and belief in me. Last, I am forever grateful to my abuelita, Clara Coyoy Ixcot, an eighty-eight-year-old K'iche' woman who has worked all her life for her family and who has served as my link to my own Maya past and identity.
2. The fourteen formal interviews were conducted between March and August 2009 in Los Angeles. All interviews were conducted in Spanish or English and lasted from thirty minutes to an hour. The majority of interviews were scheduled with a predetermined location such as schools, churches, or at participants' businesses. All names of the participants used in this paper are pseudonyms. Fieldwork also included observation and participation in Maya programs and celebrations such as the annual fiesta of Santa Eulalia in February 2009.
3. More recent anti-immigrant legislation on the national level includes the failed HR 4437 in

2006 that sought to strengthen enforcement of immigration laws and enhance border security.

4. Deportations have increased within this time period from 11,512 in 2005; 18,305 in 2006; 23,062 in 2007; 28,051 in 2008; and 27,222 in 2009. Of those deported, 57 percent were between the ages of 18 and 30. Moreover, 55 percent left family in the United States.
5. Portes and Rumbaut report that by 1999 first and second generations of immigrants and their children totaled 55 million persons, or one out of five Americans. In Los Angeles County, immigrants and their children constituted 62 percent of the area's 9.5 million residents (2001: xviii, 21).
6. Portes and Rumbaut reported that only 13 percent of immigrant families in their study had a grandparent living with them (2001: 73).
7. Financial and legal constraints may prevent activities or exposure to Guatemalan/Maya culture, such as trips to Guatemala.
8. It is important to note that this does not mean that these groups are incapable of identifying as Maya in the future.
9. For more on the Maya movement and revitalization programs, see R. McKenna Brown and Edward F. Fischer, *Maya Cultural Activism in Guatemala* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); Victor Montejo, *Maya Intellectual Renaissance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).
10. Xela (also known as Quetzaltenango) is the capital of the department of Quetzaltenango in Guatemala.
11. *Princessas* are prevalent in Central America and tend to be the female cultural representatives of their respective communities. They have come to play an increasing role in many Central American diasporic communities in the United States.
12. Although, the Q'anjoba'les do not discriminate on the basis of gender, Wellmeier notes that in general Maya women did not play the marimba and none were present during her 1998 study in Los Angeles (111). Thus, Nancy and Maria are among the first females in Los Angeles to play the marimba.

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Latin American Electronic Data Archive

by KENT NORSWORTHY

I

IN OCTOBER 2009, LLILAS AND LANIC launched the Latin American Electronic Data Archive (LAEDA, <http://lanic.utexas.edu/laeda/>) project under a four-year U.S. Department of Education Technological Innovation and Cooperation

for Foreign Information Access (TICFIA) grant. TICFIA provides funds for the development of innovative techniques or programs that address national teaching and research needs in international education and foreign languages.

Our LAEDA project seeks to collect, preserve, and provide access to data sets relevant to Latin American research, policy analysis, and teaching. The focus of the collection is on electoral data, household surveys, and data relevant to social policy evaluation. The original idea for LAEDA grew out of requests by Latin American Studies faculty for systematic access to data sets for research and teaching. In approaching the challenge of data set acquisition, delivery, and preservation, the project draws on multiple collaborators to contribute data sets, expertise, and technical capacity for project development.

The amount of statistical data produced in Latin America has grown exponentially in recent years. Many government agencies—census bureaus, national statistics agencies, development ministries, electoral institutes, etc.—now make some of this data available via the Web or CD-ROM. A variety of international institutions, private firms, scholars, and nongovernmental organizations also collect and disseminate statistical data, from surveys of public opinion to social development indicators. The increased production of electronic data in Latin America has been a welcome development for social scientists, both because it has expanded the amount of data potentially available to them and because it has made the data available in a format that can be easily manipulated and analyzed with statistical programs like Stata or SPSS.

Unfortunately, as a practical matter, there is limited access to this data for researchers. Most institutions place only a fraction of the electronic data they produce on their Web sites, requiring users to purchase the data on CD-ROM or to attempt to obtain it directly through special requests. Moreover, both public and private institutions often remove data from their Web sites after a relatively short period of time. Important “data gaps” now exist, including cases where electronic data has evidently been lost forever. For example, electoral data from Ecuador

and Guatemala in the 1980s is no longer available at all in electronic format from the producing institutes in these countries. In cases like these, researchers are forced to rely on summary or aggregate data, typically in paper format only, which represents a fraction of what was produced originally in electronic format.

LAEDA is a joint project of LANIC, LLILAS, and the University of Texas Libraries. Our institutional partner is Mexico’s Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP). Several individual faculty members are working with the project from the UT Government and Sociology departments, as well as UT’s Population Research Center. A LAEDA Advisory Board has been established to provide input for focused acquisition of data sets and to ensure the comprehensiveness and relevance of the LAEDA holdings (see sidebar).

Building and maintaining a data archive for microdata revolves around three core activities: data acquisition, preservation, and distribution. Project design encompasses acquisition, preservation, documentation and metadata, removal of personal identifiers, and access and distribution.

The LAEDA data acquisition process is fundamentally driven by a data collection policy that specifies the geographic and topical scope and the objectives of the archive. The policy also includes a list of criteria that will be used to determine the value and appropriateness of data sets for potential inclusion in LAEDA, including items such as geographic coverage, sample size, prior removal of personal identifiers, etc.

LAEDA encourages researchers to contribute copies of appropriate data sets they may have to ensure their long-term preservation and to provide enhanced access. LAEDA will also seek agreements with national electoral authorities and statistics agencies in Latin America for ongoing acquisition of data sets. Issues we are addressing as part of this process include confidentiality, intellectual property rights, and preservation.

Assuring the long-term preservation of valuable data sets is an essential function of LAEDA. Regardless of how well a survey may have been constructed and carried out, the resulting data sets are inherently fragile and subject to numerous threats. Factors such as natural disaster, human error, and deterioration of the bit streams and the media that hold them can lead to the corruption of data files or outright loss. LAEDA’s preservation strategy works at two levels. The archive itself is being

built on the basis of a robust, standards-based data management plan that seeks to guarantee the physical integrity of the data across time, including a backup plan for disaster mitigation. Additionally, the entire contents of LAEDA will be ingested into the University of Texas Digital Repository, a preservation framework with strategies built upon the Open Archival Information System reference model.

The utility to researchers of a given data set is driven not only by the quality of the data itself, but also by the quality of the accompanying documentation. For those data sets deemed to have insufficient or incomplete documentation upon ingest, LAEDA staff will work to acquire or produce the necessary documentation. This includes items such as a description of the data collection techniques, sample design, copies of questionnaires used, coding instructions and classifications, as well as information on confidentiality and removal of personal identifiers.

Upon ingest, each data set in LAEDA will have a metadata record associated with it. Metadata will be used to enhance preservation and to facilitate discovery by users. Using the Dublin Core element set, metadata in LAEDA will include items for each data set such as title, author, date, geographic coverage, language, description of the survey, etc. Both the data documentation and the metadata schemes will rely upon established standards and best practices such as the Data Documentation Initiative (DDI) and Dublin Core (DC).

LAEDA is developing an official data distribution policy that establishes the terms and conditions of use for data hosted in the archive. The policy will be closely articulated to a tiered Web-based access system that will allow for different access levels depending on the nature of the data and the affiliation of the end user. Also under development is our central repository for data sets on Latin America, which will provide added granularity and depth of research materials. The ability to download and manipulate original data for analysis will allow scholars and students to reframe research questions and carry out quantitative as well as qualitative analysis.

In terms of the electoral data, the subnational sources we are collecting are of particular importance for two reasons. First, unlike the national level data that are generally widely available, electoral results at the level of electoral district or municipality are

especially subject to the systemic shortcomings of collection, accessibility, and dissemination discussed above. Second, subnational data are increasingly important as teaching, scholarship, and policy making have evolved analytically to focus on attributes of national institutional arrangements, party systems, and parties that can only be studied with detailed subnational data. For example, fundamental concepts such as the nationalization of parties and party systems are built upon the measurement of electoral support at the level of electoral district. With LAEDA providing comprehensive sources of subnational electoral data, research on Latin American party systems will be better able to keep pace with research on advanced democracies and, more important, tackle features of national political systems that are distinctive to the democracies in the region.

Since the project launched in October 2009, LAEDA staff has focused significant efforts on determining and defining best practices across a variety of disciplines for data archive dissemination. We have conducted research to document exemplary user interfaces, services offered, site features, database tools, etc. Two directories of resources have been compiled to be used as a point of reference for current standards and best practices and for input into development of the LAEDA backend system.

Initial acquisition activities are under way, and to date we have gathered municipal and provincial electoral data sets from Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru, and Venezuela covering nearly 100 electoral exercises between 1958 and 2006. Project staff has carried out extensive work on each of the data sets gathered to date. This process has included activities such as standardization of variable naming practices, a thorough check of each data set to detect anomalies in the data or in the labeling scheme, and updating of certain variable labels.

We also are gathering supporting documentation and supplementary information for each data set, including things like glossaries, a description of the original data sources, etc. We also have begun Web archiving activities in order to gather copies of electoral summary data, as well as election rules and regulations, currently hosted on the official Latin American electoral tribunal public Web sites.

To contribute data sets to LAEDA, please contact c.palaima@austin.utexas.edu

Kent Norsworthy is LANIC Content Director. ☀

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Schwartzman, Simon: *Senior Researcher, Instituto de Estudos do Trabalho e Sociedade (IETS), Rio de Janeiro*

A Tapestry of Learning: Our Latin Americanist Faculty

From borderlands scholarship to Latin American architecture, social opportunity in education to the importance of literature in producing change—the range of expertise of the faculty featured here provides a rich tapestry of learning for students in Latin American Studies at the University of Texas.



Cecilia Ballí

This past March, Cecilia Ballí was one of the participants at the 2010 Lozano Long Conference, *Republics of Fear: Understanding Violence in Latin America Today*, presenting a paper on Ciudad Juárez and state violence in Mexico's war on drugs (see related story p. 34). While violence on the U.S.-Mexico border is the primary area of research for the UT Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Brownsville native, she is also interested in Mexican American expressive culture and narrative nonfiction writing. In addition to her LLILAS affiliation, Ballí is associated with the Center for Mexican American Studies and the Center for Women's and Gender Studies.

Professor Ballí received her BA from Stanford University and her PhD from Rice. She is also a professional journalist. A writer-at-large for *Texas Monthly*, she has contributed articles to *Harper's* magazine and was a staff writer on education issues for the *San Antonio Express-News* and the *Brownsville Herald*. The recent arrival at UT plans to teach courses on U.S.-Mexico Border Issues, U.S.-Mexico Borderlands Theory and Practice, Introduction to Mexican American Culture, and Ethnographic and Narrative Nonfiction Writing.

Ballí is currently working on a book about the construction of a border fence in the Texas Rio Grande Valley. In the future, she hopes to write a book based on her dissertation research, which explored the sexual murder of women in Ciudad Juárez. When the mayor of that city, José Reyes Ferriz, recently visited UT for a lecture on the violence in his city, Ballí was one of three panelists who addressed questions to him following the controversial talk to a packed house.

Regarding her work between journalism and anthropology and the issues that engage her, Professor Ballí says, "The University of Texas is the perfect place for this kind of research. There is a strong tradition of borderlands scholarship here, and my fieldwork site is just six hours away. Although my appointment is in Anthropology, I have benefited from the wealth of material and human resources of Mexican American Studies, Latin American Studies, Women's and Gender Studies, and the College of Communication. This is a campus where people want to talk about violence on

the border and intervene as scholars, activists, and practitioners. I'm part of a wonderful community here."

Fernando Lara

Brazil's capital city, Brasília, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on April 21, 2010, a milestone of particular interest to Assistant Professor of Architecture Fernando Lara, a native Brazilian whose interests revolve around twentieth-century Latin American architecture (see related article p. 12). Lara arrived at the University of Texas in fall 2009 from the University of Michigan–Ann Arbor, where he earned his PhD. He also holds a BArch and an MSc from the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.



Lara is a licensed architect and a member of the Brazilian Institute of Architects and the Brazilian DOCOMOMO (Workshop for the Documentation and Conservation of the Modern Movement). His PhD dissertation was expanded into the book *The Rise of Popular Modernist Architecture in Brazil* (University Press of Florida, 2008), in which he discusses the singular appropriation of modern architecture by the Brazilian middle class—thus the interest in Brasília as the climax of this thirst for modernity. His interviews of construction workers led him to look at modernist vocabulary and spatiality being appropriated by the favela dwellers, the topic of his latest writings. In addition, Professor Lara believes it is important to maintain some engagement with architectural practice and recently has worked in public space projects for the favelas, in collaboration with local Brazilian firms. Such overlapping of scholarship and practice led Lara to found Studio Toró (www.studiotoro.org) in 2005, a nonprofit that addresses the challenges of water conservation and urban flooding in Latin America.

At the UT School of Architecture, Professor Lara teaches seminars on twentieth-century Latin American architecture and urbanism. His LAMA (Latin American Modern Architecture) research group constitutes a permanent forum for debating and documenting twentieth-century architecture (www.utsoa.utexas.edu/lama). Reflecting on his time at the University of Texas and in Austin, Lara highlights the exciting community of Latin Americanists who are affiliated with LLILAS and the strong student interest in that part of the world. Together, they provide a unique place to teach, research, and learn more about the American built environment in all its latitudes.

Leticia J. Marteleteo

The sociology of education is a broad field of research encompassing such themes as school access, social opportunity, the roles of schools and families, and gender, ethnicity, and race, themes that UT Assistant Professor Leticia J. Marteleteo explores from an international perspective with students in her graduate seminar of that title.

Professor Marteleteo, who came to the University of Texas in 2009, is also a Faculty Research Associate of UT's Population Research Center. She brings this expertise to the working group of the Latin American Electronic Data Archive of which she is a member (see story p. 48).



She received her PhD from the University of Michigan, where she was previously Assistant Professor in the School of Education and a Research Associate at the Population Studies Center and Institute for Social Research.

Long engaged in issues related to social demography and education, the Brazilian sociologist earlier conducted research and taught at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. She also has served as a consultant to such organizations as the United Nations and the Brazilian Ministries of Education and Social Development. Her current research examines how social context relates to inequality of educational opportunity in Brazil and South Africa, including an ongoing project that examines educational inequity in Latin America. She has been particularly interested in how race relates to inequalities of educational opportunity in Brazil, a timely theme given the current debate over racial quotas in public universities there that can offer valuable insights into the literatures of educational opportunity and race everywhere. Marteleteo has published numerous articles, including recent pieces in *Population and Development Review* and in *Studies in Family Planning*.

Regarding her time at UT and her interest in the factors influencing education, Marteleteo says, "I am interested in the multiple layers that define inequality of educational opportunity, from within-family factors to societal process. Investigating those issues in Brazil and South Africa, which are the countries with the most overall social inequality in the world, adds yet an additional interesting dimension to the puzzle."

Gabriela Polit Dueñas

Gabriela Polit is Assistant Professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Texas. A native of Ecuador, she received her PhD from New York University. Polit specializes in contemporary Latin American narrative and has worked on gender and the politics of literary writing. Currently, her work is on the representation of the traffic of illegal drugs in literary works from Culiacán, Medellín, and La Paz. Part of her current research was presented on at the 2010 Lozano Long Conference, *Republics of Fear*, which she also helped organize.

Prior to joining the UT faculty in 2008, Polit taught at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Among her awards are a Fulbright Fellowship, an OAS Fellowship, and a Drescher Fellowship. She is author of *Cosas de hombres: Escritores y caudillos en la literatura latinoamericana del siglo XX* and *Historias de la radio*, and editor of *Crítica de la literatura ecuatoriana: Hacia el nuevo siglo*. Polit is currently finishing her manuscript entitled *The Fiction of Drugs*.

Regarding her research and teaching, Professor Polit says, "The goal of any professor is to encourage and foster students' growth. As a Latin American literature professor, my main goal is to give students the tools to approach texts critically and creatively. I believe that the strength of a literary text lies in the way it combines its art with its cultural and political relevance. Literature is a living component of a people's history, capable of producing change." 🌟



Visiting Professors for 2009–2010 at LLILAS

Bringing new perspectives and regional insights to the study of Latin America is the goal of LLILAS's Visiting Professors programs. Distinguished Latin American scholars are brought to UT to teach courses or a set of classes, sharing their expertise and facilitating the exchange of ideas.

The Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Annual Visiting Professorship was established as part of the Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Endowment and supports visiting scholars to teach at UT for one semester. Beatriz Ilari was our Lozano Long Visiting Professor for spring 2010. She holds a PhD in music from McGill University, Montreal, an MA from Montclair State University, and a BA from the Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil. She is an Associate Professor of Music at the Universidade Federal do Paraná in Curitiba, Brazil, where she teaches courses in music education, Brazilian musical cultures, and music psychology.

The Tinker Visiting Professor program dates back to 1973 when it was endowed by the Edward Larocque Tinker Foundation. The goal of the program has been to bring pre-eminent thinkers from Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula to provide an opportunity for U.S. scholars, students, and the general public to discover the contributions made by Latin American and Iberian scholars in a broad range of disciplines. Francisco Thoumi was the fall 2009 Tinker Visiting Professor. He received a PhD in economics from the University of Minnesota. After working for several decades on international trade, Latin American integration, and economic development and industrialization, he began focusing his research on drugs to better understand what was taking place in the Andean countries. See his article on p. 38.

The Matías Romero Visiting Chair in Mexican Studies was created in 2003 through an educational and research cooperation agreement between the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Mexico and UT Austin to bring to UT distinguished Mexicans from the public and private sectors, as well as from academia, to foster greater understanding of Mexican culture and society. Roberto Breña, Professor of Political History at the Center for International Studies at El Colegio de México in Mexico City, held the chair in fall 2009. He is a noted authority

on nineteenth-century Latin American history, and holds an MA in philosophy from UNAM and a PhD in political science from the Universidad Complutense in Madrid.

In fall 2009, Rafael M. Hernández Rodríguez was the LLILAS Visiting Professor funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Faculty Fellowship in Latin American Studies. He is a Senior Researcher Fellow at the Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana "Juan Mariello" in Havana. Professor Hernández has a BA in French literature and history of philosophy from the Universidad de Habana (1973); an MA in political science from El Colegio de México (1977); and is in the PhD program in Latin American studies at UNAM. He has been a Professor and Researcher at the Universidad de Habana and the High Institute of International Relations. He is one of Cuba's most distinguished senior political science scholars of U.S.-Cuban relations.

Also in fall 2009, Francisco Alba was the Trade Visiting Professor at LLILAS. He is a professor and researcher at El Colegio de México. An economist by training, he also has a degree in philosophy and has done postgraduate work in demography and other social sciences in Mexico, France, and the United States. Since 2008, Professor Alba has been a member of the UN Committee for the Protection of Migrants' Rights, and since 1985, of Mexico's National Researchers System. He has published extensively in books and in Mexican and international journals on international migration issues and policies; Mexico-U.S. migration; population and development; and regional and economic integration.

LLILAS Visiting Resource Professors

The LLILAS Visiting Resource Professors (VRP) program allows for scholars to come to UT for shorter periods. Visiting Resource Professors are invited by UT Latin Americanist faculty members to lecture for one to two weeks in either undergraduate or graduate classes. The VRP program addresses three academic goals: to enhance the international community of scholars working on Latin American topics; to establish and strengthen contacts between Latin American institutions of higher learning and the University of Texas; and to allow

Latin American scholars access to UT library collections and archives. For the 2009–2010 academic year, LLILAS welcomed the following Visiting Resource Professors.

FALL 2009

Rosemeire Moreira

Rosemeire Moreira is an accomplished soprano and soloist at the Theatro Municipal de São Paulo. She was recipient of the first prize for the "Concurso de Interpretação da Canção de Câmara Brasileira" promoted by the Centro de Música Brasileira and Rotary Club of São Paulo.

SPRING 2010

Carlos de la Torre

Carlos de la Torre teaches at FLACSO Ecuador. He is the author of five books and dozens of articles and book chapters, most of which focus on two main research areas: populism and populist movements in Latin America, and racism and ethnic/racial movements in Ecuador.

Cecilia Medina

Cecilia Medina is President of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights and Co-director of the Centro de Derechos Humanos at the Universidad de Chile in Santiago, where she studied legal and social sciences. In 2004, Medina was elected to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and served as its vice president in 2007. In 2008, she became the first woman president of the court.

Eduardo Restrepo

Eduardo Restrepo is Professor of Anthropology at Pontificia Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá, Colombia. He is a leading thinker in cultural studies in Colombia and has researched and written extensively on Afro-descendant social movements and cultural identity in Colombia, particularly in the Pacific Basin region.

Frederico Holanda

Frederico Holanda is Professor of Urbanism at the Universidade de Brasília and the leading Brazilian expert on the city's contemporary urban fabric. Holanda's work focuses on how the current morphology of the city (the Plano Piloto and the satellite towns) is indicative of deep transformations of and departures from Lucio Costa's plan of 1956.

LLILAS



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