Will Nationalism Be Bilingual?  

Carlos Monsiváis on Contemporary Mexico

Carlos Monsiváis, intellectual, chronicler, journalist, critic, writer, and reader, has been for many years an acute scalpel that dissects the Mexican reality — and a strong voice that denounces its many injustices. The author of The Ritual of Chaos and Mexican Postcards, Monsiváis is among Mexico’s most prolific and influential writers. Outspoken and opinionated, he never forgets his ironic twist — a talent necessary to digest contemporary Mexico. In April, he visited Berkeley and shared his insights in a public presentation sponsored by the Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS), the Dean of the College of Letters and Science, and the Spanish and Portuguese Department.

Monsiváis’ career has been astonishing not only because of the enormous number of books and articles he has published, or the number of prizes and recognitions he has garnered, but because of his persistent efforts to analyze the most contemporary events in Mexican society. Nothing escapes his critical eye. Television shows and radio programs concerning the Mexican reality never forget to ask Monsiváis’ opinion. His words have tremendous weight in helping to answer the questions: Who are we? Where do we come from? What are we doing here?

As Prof. Harley Shaiken reminded the audience during Monsiváis’ presentation at Alumni House, Monsiváis is deeply committed to political change and social justice; it has been said that he “writes to keep the hope of change alive.” His work eschews the elitism which often characterizes cultural essayists. For Monsiváis, professional wrestling, soccer games, street jargon, and taco stands are

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At the Center for Latin American Studies, our work is tremendously enriched by the vibrant community of Latin Americanists at UC Berkeley. This issue of our newsletter provides a glimpse of that vitality through its coverage of our program, outreach, working groups, and faculty research.

The many activities featured in these pages illustrate the considerable geographic and thematic diversity of our program. Recent contributions include the incisive cultural commentary of Carlos Monsiváis and the insightful political analysis of David Fleischer. Within this broad range, the talk by José Gregori, Brazil’s Secretary of State for Human Rights, underscores a broader set of programs and research on human rights at UC Berkeley. We feature an article on the upcoming elections in Chile not simply because their outcome is important for that country, but also because several of our recent speakers and Visiting Scholars have played central roles in the Lagos campaign. Finally, the conversation with Costa Rican President Miguel Angel Rodríguez, a Berkeley alumnus, emphasized key issues for that country and its future development strategies.

In this issue, we highlight the activities of one of our working groups, which, under the leadership of Professor Manuel Castells, organized a recent conference that grappled with a number of urgent environmental and planning issues. This year, we also welcome two new working groups whose activities we look forward to following in future issues: one on politics and poetry, organized by Professor Francine Masiello, and the other on colonial society and culture in Mexico, organized by Professor William B. Taylor and Visiting Scholar Amos Megged.

We also feature articles about the current research of Professors Bernard Nietschmann and Candace Slater. The research locations vary dramatically, from the beaches of Costa Rica to the rain forests of Amazonia, but both provide a compelling look at their recent work. We also report on CLAS’ participation in a trip to Tijuana by the national staff of the International Association of Machinists.

We are looking forward to an engaging year ahead, in which we plan to focus on two broad themes. First, through our research and activities, we plan to accompany and explore the ongoing process of democratization in Latin America, as it unfolds through elections in such countries as Chile, Argentina, Guatemala, and Mexico. Second, we will analyze the evolving relations between Mexico and the United States by conceptualizing them as “Overlapping Societies.”

We are especially proud of our website, which contains summaries of our program, useful links, art exhibits, and electronic versions of past newsletters and publications. We hope you will visit us there.

—Harley Shaiken

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The Center for Latin American Studies
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Recent years have seen a revision of the concept of human rights in response to social and political transformations on a global scale, and few have witnessed these changes more closely than José Gregori, Brazil’s Secretary of State for Human Rights. Secretary Gregori visited Berkeley on May 3 to share his reflections on the status of human rights in Brazil and new developments in the field. His presentation attracted a wide audience of students, faculty, and community members and prompted a lively discussion about the redefinition of human rights.

Secretary Gregori offered an overview of the development of the Ministry which he heads. As part of its transition from military rule, Brazil took important steps to prioritize human rights and adhere to the relevant international treaties and covenants. In 1995, the National Program for Human Rights was created, and eventually expanded to a national-level secretariat of Human Rights. Most recently, in January of this year, the secretariat was elevated to the status of Ministry.

Secretary Gregori emphasized the interactive way in which the program was designed and implemented, with extensive input and participation from civil society and non-governmental organizations. Secretary Gregori himself has a long history of work with Brazilian NGOs, having fought tirelessly against torture and repression during the period of military rule. More recently, he has served as the principal architect of the government’s current human rights policy. In recognition of his extraordinary achievements, he was honored with the United Nations Human Rights Award on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights in 1998.

Secretary Gregori explained that Brazil’s human rights program takes a pragmatic approach, focusing on “intense needs,” and seeking results in the form of political and social changes. He discussed its many aims, including the prevention of police brutality; streamlining the judicial process; dismantling impunity, especially in the more remote regions of the country; the reduction of discrimination against the more vulnerable segments of the population (in particular, women, children, indigenous people, homosexuals, and the disabled); and the thorough investigation of all denouncements that reach the Ministry.

Within Brazil, the first priority of the human rights program has been to publicize the idea of human rights among the population. One major obstacle has been a public perception that human rights protect the rights of criminals over those of victims or other citizens. The National Program for Human Rights has worked to dispel this myth, and to educate the population on the incorporation of human rights at a personal level. Changing individual conduct requires changing people’s perception of human rights and reaching intimate aspects of their lives. Secretary Gregori explained that this kind of change makes the work of his Ministry very different from that of most other Ministries; building roads and bridges, for example, does not involve changing the way citizens think. The challenge of transforming the program from theory into practice is not a simple or linear task, but requires a dialectic process with alternating advances and setbacks.

The Secretary spoke eloquently of the need for a truly cooperative effort among nations in the international human rights movement. All countries are violators of human rights, he insisted, and therefore we need a constructive dialogue on human rights matters, rather than attempts by one country to dictate practices in another. He explained that the purpose of his visit to the United States and to Berkeley was far more than a question of publicity.
Monsiváis on Mexico

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all an integral part of Mexico’s cultural map. With imaginative journeys through the classics of Mexican cinema, the street vendors of Mexico City, and the religious practices in rural pueblos, Monsiváis opens up and explores Mexican culture with fascinating insight.

In April 1999, Monsiváis spent a week in Berkeley, giving a series of private and public presentations, and interacting with faculty and students. His April 19 talk entitled “Will Nationalism Be Bilingual?” explored the issue of nationalism in Mexican society. An excerpt of it is provided here.

—Juan Ryusuke Ishikawa

What are the cultural strategies of la gente, the people, in the age of globalization? In the era of neoliberal fundamentalism, of the total obliteration of traditions, the worship of newness, and of the inimitable progress? As far as I can see, some of the cultural strategies depend on adaptability; some, on imitation; some, on assimilation. I’ll give you some examples, perhaps extremely anecdotal.

Six or seven years ago, in a small town near Veracruz, a group of people came to see the mayor and the local priest. “Mister Mayor, Señor Curá,” they said, “a few months from now we’ll have Holy Week, and in the enactments of Holy Friday, we don’t want the Roman Legionnaires anymore. We don’t relate to them. They are meaningless to us. Instead, we prefer the new symbols of evil surrounding our lord, and flogging and spitting on him, symbols like Darth Vader of Star Wars, Freddy Krueger from Nightmare on Elm Street, the Goonies, and so forth and so on.” The mayor and the priest tried to persuade them of the error… “That would be a historical mistake, a blasphemy, a theological monstrosity.” “We don’t care,” they answered. “We need symbols we can relate to, and also, we need some kind of contemporary excitement.” Finally, the mayor, the priest, and the people found a solution, a truce. After the usual staging of la pasión, they would dramatize Christ’s death with the characters from the movies surrounding the cross, an alternative pasión.

… In the popular milieu, every day we observe the same landscape: traditions are vanishing, and traditions refuse to die. Take the days of the dead, the first two days in November. By now, they blend with Halloween. So we can perfectly declare that Halloween belongs by now to the Mexican traditions. Or take for instance the new attitudes in Indian women. Of course, in the great festivities they still wear the dresses and proudly exhibit themselves to cameras and video recorders, but the rest of the year they act in new ways. And the fashion in their attitudes, many of them are pro-choice, and they refuse to see themselves anymore as “typical” Indian women. For instance, they change the names of their children. Not María, Guadalupe, Regina, or Petra any more, but instead Marilyn, Pamela, and so on. And when some people ask them why they put those names to their children they say, “We are fed up of being called María.” In Oaxaca, for instance, some of the women declare, “We prefer jeans. It’s a practical outfit, and we need it. Sure, we have traditions, but once a year.”

On the whole, migration is the changing force. People travel, work in California, Texas, Illinois, try to understand technology, and simply adore the gadgets. The youngsters like rock, reggae, or rap, and back in their towns, they try to be modern. Modernity appears and transforms the context of national identity.

Six years ago, the elders of an Otomí tribe near the Valle de Mezquital went to see the authorities of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista. They were angry with a music band formed by some musicians that adopted in the States the heavy metal style, and back in the town played the whole day long the Ramones or Sex Pistols or Nina Hagen. And they played with...
A Conversation with Costa Rica’s President Miguel Angel Rodríguez

On May 21, CLAS hosted a breakfast meeting with Miguel Angel Rodríguez, the President of Costa Rica and an alumnus of UC Berkeley’s Economics department. The meeting presented a select group of faculty and graduate students with the extraordinary opportunity to engage with President Rodríguez, First Lady Lorena Clare de Rodríguez, and several key cabinet members in an informal, open discussion of issues of mutual concern, including public education, urbanization, and economic change.

President Rodríguez, of the center-right Social Christian Unity Party (PUSC), ranks public education among the top priorities of his administration. Despite the rapid expansion of schooling during the 1960s and 1970s, the economic crisis of the 1980s left a legacy of high repetition and drop-out rates, as well as uneven school quality across regions, social groups, and educational levels. President Rodríguez is committed to increasing the secondary enrollment rate by 10 percent in the next four years. To achieve this, he proposes an ambitious program of expanded educational technology, distance learning opportunities, and scholarships for needy students. He also envisions a key role for the small, growing private sector in educational reform, and is currently studying a school choice model in which the state finances teachers’ salaries at tuition-free religious private schools.

The institutional divisions between the sixth and seventh grades are marked by a large number of drop-outs and elevated failure rates in the first year of secondary school. Understanding the ways in which young people negotiate this period, he suggested, would provide insight into the complex, interrelated variables that limit educational achievement and opportunity. “In Costa Rica, we find that children who live near schools are not attending, and many times they are not going to work, either. We need to look into school quality and the shock that students experience during the transition stage,” the President said. He encouraged Leah Rosenbloom, a graduate student in Latin American Studies, to continue her research on the transition from primary to secondary school in rural Costa Rica.

Education is pivotal, Rodríguez said, to economic and social development in a rapidly-changing, globalized environment. Tourism and high-tech services are important new sectors of Costa Rica’s economy, and require increased levels of human capital. A well-educated workforce is critical to attract greater foreign investment and ensure that all Costa Ricans share in these new opportunities. He cited the Intel Corporation’s recent decision to locate a $300 million production center — expected to provide 2,000 jobs — near the Costa Rican capital as evidence of the small nation’s comparative advantage in the high-tech field. In addition to a labor pool that is quick to learn, frequent flights from the U.S., wide-ranging business services, long-term stability, and a well-established judicial system make Costa Rica a sound option for multinational firms. Rodríguez is also hoping to widen Costa Rican markets by allowing the private sector to compete with state-owned companies under a regulatory policy.

Within this globalized structure of progress, what is most important for Costa Ricans to preserve? “Solidarity, tolerance, local development, and our traditions of peace and civility,” the President replied. The challenge, he said, will be to retain these values as Costa Rica shifts from an agrarian-based society to a more urban one. Angelina Snodgrass Godoy, a graduate student in Sociology who studies citizen defense organizations in Central America,
As a professor, one is generally accustomed to selecting one’s own research topics — but this changed for me when I went to Costa Rica. As the first director of the University of California’s Education Abroad Program at the University of Costa Rica, I spent two years working in Costa Rica in the late 1980s, and while there I found that my research projects quite literally selected me. People in two of the many coastal communities I visited approached me about the need for research on issues of considerable local concern. I agreed to help, and embarked on what now has been over 10 years of research, Costa Rican style.

Our first project brought us to the most popular of Costa Rica’s many beaches. Some years ago, the Sunday Travel section of The New York Times identified Manuel Antonio on Costa Rica’s Pacific coast as the world’s most beautiful beach. The article, however, did not warn potential visitors that Manuel Antonio was also a deadly spot for swimming; in the 1980s, an average of 20 people per year drowned at this beach alone. Some local residents invited me to join them in forming an NGO, Fundación de Salvavidas y Protección Costera de Costa Rica, to do some research on the problem and devise solutions.

Of the country’s 600 or so beaches, we discovered about 30 that produced more than 90 percent of the annual 150 to 200 beach drownings (the country’s second leading cause of accidental death after automobile accidents). We found this was due to four factors: the beaches’ popularity, their strong rip currents, the lack of lifeguards, and the minimal amount of beach safety education. In the late 1980s, no beach anywhere in the country had a trained professional lifeguard, neither local governments nor the national government had funds available to create a lifeguard service, and many beach hotels and restaurants did not want to post warning signs because of the fear it would drive business away.

Some good swimmers were reluctant to help drowning victims because of the widespread belief that the person was caught in a remolino (whirlpool), which would also suck in a would-be rescuer.

The first plan to solve the country’s two-coast drowning problem was to create a National Lifeguard Service, but previous efforts to do so had become entangled in red tape. We devised a plan that would end-run the bureaucratic logjam by creating, training, and equipping a local lifeguard service financially supported by local businesses, and provide the media and travel guidebook authors with information about the dangers of rip currents. Francis Smith, then an undergraduate in Geography at UC Berkeley and a lifeguard instructor, obtained equipment donations and went to Costa Rica to head the training. The Salvavidas de Quepos began guarding the country’s most popular beach, Manuel Antonio, in December 1993 (see photo). Their success has been remarkable: in the first year, they made 80 rescues and no drownings occurred. They have been so successful, in fact, that some local businesses no longer see the need to provide contributions for their salaries — a common problem for public safety services everywhere.

Without funding to build a lifeguard headquarters and a system of beach towers linked by radios and rapid-deployment vehicles and boats, however, the Quepos Lifeguards were equipped only with whistles to keep people from going into dangerous waters, and the skill and courage to haul them out. The decentralized plan had its limitations; they needed equipment. We decided to design a plan for each lifeguard to have the equivalent of a miniature lifeguard station with him or her on the beach. Francis Smith and UC Berkeley Geography 266 students devised a Surf Rescue Backpack with all the necessary lifeguard and lifesaving equipment, donated or sold at discount by several companies through the help of Bob Burnside, former Chief of the Los Angeles County Lifeguards. The Surf Rescue Backpacks are presently being field-tested in Costa Rica, and we hope that they will eventually be used in Mexico and other countries with coastal water safety problems and volunteers available for lifeguard training.

The early research in Costa Rica has led us to look into the problem of dangerous beaches worldwide (see our website: http://geography.berkeley.edu/dangerousbeaches/dangerousbeaches.html). From our research, we...
asked Rodríguez to elaborate on Costa Rica’s public security crisis. A sharp rise in crime has resulted from weak interpersonal relationships, economic displacement, violence in the media, and international drug trafficking, which have accompanied the urbanization process and demands of the global economy. In this context, Rodríguez stated, it is critical to restore public confidence in the state apparatus. As a congressman, Rodríguez pressed to create a greater number of permanent positions in the police force. Such positions would not be vulnerable to the change of government every four years, contributing to a more professional — and less political — institution.

Professors Beatriz Manz and Bernard Nietschmann both commented on the relative flexibility of Costa Rican immigration policy. Twelve to 15 percent of the Costa Rican population is foreign born, the majority from Nicaragua. Costa Rica’s approach to immigration is less stringent than U.S. policies, Rodríguez said, and concentrates more heavily on legal immigration than enforcement of the border. Currently there is an amnesty in effect for refugees of the destruction associated with Hurricane Mitch.

President Rodríguez also addressed Prof. Drew Dougherty’s questions relating to the role of the humanities in Costa Rican society. He explained that higher education had traditionally been oriented toward the humanities, and a rich endogenous literary tradition exists. Although unfamiliar to most North American audiences, Costa Rican poets and novelists such as Jorge de Bravo, Fabián Dobles, and Joaquín Gutiérrez are important agents of local cultural production. Rodríguez offered to send a set of Costa Rican literary works to the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, a valuable resource for UC Berkeley students and faculty.

The meeting with President Rodríguez and the First Lady provided a unique exposure to the “inside track” of Costa Rican politics and contemporary social issues, and a valuable opportunity for Berkeley students and faculty to exchange opinions and ideas with a sitting president.

—Leah Rosenbloom
but rather part of an ongoing effort to establish networks of support and communication. The work undertaken by the Brazilian Ministry of Human Rights has consequences which cross borders of all sorts, Gregori emphasized, making international collaboration both necessary and advantageous.

In many ways, the concept and definition of human rights itself is constantly in flux, engaged in a process of ongoing consultation. In Brazil, Gregori explained, the process of implementing human rights ever more thoroughly across social and geographic space leads to a continuous process of criticism and change. Similarly, cooperation across national borders enables new insights and perspectives. Gregori called for the creation of a "new space of social consensus" for the ongoing discussion of human rights issues.

Human rights today has come to encompass far more than civil and political rights. It is a perspective from which many other challenges to citizens’ well-being can be understood. For example, global economic crises clearly have consequences in the field of human rights. In Brazil, Gregori explained, the flight of foreign capital and the "speculation attack” were stimulated by distorted international reporting that depicted the country as being on the verge of economic collapse, even though Brazil had not delayed any foreign debt payments. These sudden and drastic economic changes have severe implications for human rights, yet the nature of this relationship has yet to be fully studied. The challenge today, Gregori argued, is to "globalize globalization,” to invest the issue of economic vulnerability with a sense of universality so that globalization does not become a new name for the old imperialism.

Professor Connie de la Vega, of the University of San Francisco and a Board Member of Human Rights Advocates, noted in her comments that the United States lags behind many other countries in the implementation of human rights. The U.S. has no human rights program comparable to the Brazilian initiative, and has ratified fewer of the international treaties and covenants. It has been resistant to applying international human rights laws within its judicial system, such as prohibiting the death penalty for legal minors; the U.S. remains one of only six countries in the world which retain the death penalty for juveniles. Her comments also explored the challenges of migrant workers’ rights, the connection between housing rights and violence against women, and the need to eliminate the traffic in women and children in the United States.

Professor Naomi Roht-Arriaza of the University of California’s Hastings College of the Law called the new notion of human rights the “hallmark of our time,” and included in it economic, cultural, and social rights, as well as civil and political rights. Emergent within this new human rights regime are perspectives on the right to health, a clean environment, land reform, and protection from drug trafficking and other social ills. This broader spectrum has made possible a greater integration among organizations working on different types of rights, as seen in the new collaboration between Amnesty International and the Sierra Club to address repression against environmental activists. In today’s world, Professor Roht-Arriaza concurred, issues of financial markets, multinational corporations, and trade must be contemplated in a new approach to human rights issues.

The many students, faculty, and community members present at the event also participated in the dialogue. One audience member suggested that some new programs focusing on women’s rights exemplify the successful rethinking of traditional paradigms. In 1995, following Brazil’s participation in the United Nations’ Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, women’s police stations were created — first in São Paulo, and then in the rest of
Ricardo Lagos Strong Contender in Chile’s Presidential Elections

It has been 26 years since a socialist last sat in La Moneda, Chile’s presidential palace; by most accounts, this year’s December elections are likely to change that. Ricardo Lagos, a 60-year-old lawyer and economist with a distinguished career in academia, international organizations, and Chilean politics, is favored to win, and become the first socialist president of Chile since Salvador Allende. Yet much has changed in 26 years, and if elected, it will be a challenge for today’s Socialist Party to honor Allende’s legacy while forging a prosperous future for Chile in the new millennium.

His supporters, however, say Lagos is up to the task. A seasoned politician who has held ministerial positions since 1990, Lagos is the candidate of a multiparty coalition known as the Concertación that has ruled Chile for the past nine years. His campaign manager, Jaime Esteves, is a former Speaker of Chile’s Chamber of Deputies and spoke at the CLAS-organized “Alternatives for the Americas” conference last December. While past candidates of the center-left coalition have been Christian Democrats, Lagos represents the “new socialism,” or socialismo renovado, a movement that has led the old Chilean Socialist Party toward liberal democracy and market-oriented public policies. This turn to the center originated in 1979, when a group of party leaders decided to challenge traditional orthodoxy.

The group was led by Jorge Arrate, currently Minister of Government in Chile, and a Visiting Professor at CLAS earlier this year; and Carlos Altamirano, the leader of the Socialist Party during the rule of Salvador Allende. The reformists saw the demise of Allende’s government as not simply an outcome of hostility on the part of the Chilean right, or of the United States CIA’s intervention, but also the result of inexperience and misguided actions within Allende’s own government.

Given this historical background, the possibility that a member of Allende’s party will again be president of Chile represents an excellent opportunity for the Chilean Socialist Party to do justice to his legacy. The policies they bring to the table today, however, are quite different. If three decades ago they advocated land reform and nationalization of all industry, today they advocate privatization and economic efficiency. If their overriding goal was then to end social exploitation through the establishment of an egalitarian society, today they seem obsessed with the possibility of proving themselves to the business community as capable of managing a modern, globalized economy.

In today’s political and economic climate, the fact that a previously radical group has shifted significantly toward the center is not entirely surprising. Given the ongoing processes of globalization and the international appeal of neoliberal economic policies, the Chilean Socialist Party’s support for open markets, deregulation, and privatization can be seen as a reflection of a broader trend already apparent in Spain, Germany, and the United Kingdom, as well as many Latin American countries. Some observers argue that Lagos represents a Chilean version of the “Third Way.”

Beyond the slogans, however, it seems clear that a government led by Ricardo Lagos will not alter the basic premises of the economic policies Chile followed in the last decade. First, the entrenched power of the Chilean right, institutionalized through the so-called “designated senators,” guarantees it veto power over any legislation, significantly limiting the new administration’s ability to implement reforms. And second, neoliberalism itself seems inevitable to most of Lagos’ technocratic team. This inertia, however, could lead to serious political problems, because many of Lagos’ supporters expect — or demand — a change in the economic model which has so far failed to introduce equity into the system. Indeed, despite 10 years of a healthy economy, the gap between rich and poor in Chile has actually grown under neoliberalism. For all its economic success, Chile remains a profoundly unequal society.

The legacy of past problems is likely to haunt Lagos’ administration in political matters as well. First, there are mounting pressures to deal with the 1,500 “disappeared” Chileans whose bodies remain unaccounted for, more than two decades after the military coup. The arrest of General Augusto Pinochet in London has encouraged Chilean judges to take a more active role in prosecuting human rights violators who may know the whereabouts of victims’ remains. The armed forces have expressed great concern for the growing numbers of their members who have been asked by the courts to be deposed in cases that they thought were closed forever.

The fate of General Pinochet himself may pose \ continued on page 13
Latin Americanists on Campus

Prof. Jocelyne Guilbault, new this semester to the Music department, is an ethnomusicologist specializing in Caribbean studies. Since 1980, Prof. Guilbault has done extensive fieldwork in the Creole-speaking islands and the English Caribbean on both traditional and popular music. Her most recent publications include Zouk: World Music in the West Indies (University of Chicago Press, 1993). Her focus on interpretive theory and methodology in ethnographic writings, aesthetics, and world music has also led her to produce several articles in major periodicals and to lecture across North America and in major international conferences in Europe and the Caribbean. She is currently working on two book projects, one on musical bonds, boundaries, and borders in the Caribbean experience both in the islands and abroad (Traditions and Challenges of a World Music: The Music Industry of Calypso), and the other on a selected number of performers of the English Caribbean (Superstars of the English Caribbean: The Politics of Difference in World Music).

Amos Megged, a Senior Lecturer in the Department of General History at the University of Haifa, Israel, specializes in social and cultural history of early-colonial Mesoamerica. A Visiting Scholar at CLAS this year, his present research deals with the indigenous-Spanish discourse of the colonial courts in Mexico and Central America during the formative period of 1530 to 1590. He is studying intercultural conflicts during this period, evolving racial categorizations, and the relationship between Indian communities. His recent publications include Exporting the Catholic Reformation: Local Religion in Early Colonial Mexico (E.J. Brill, 1996); “The Religious Context of an ‘Unholy’ Marriage: Elite Alienation and Popular Unrest in the Indigenous Communities of Chiapa, 1570-1680” (Ethnohistory, Vol. 46:1); and the forthcoming “The Social Significance of Benevolent and Malevolent Gifts Among Single, Caste Women in Mid-Seventeenth-Century New Spain” (Journal of Family History, October 1999). Megged has a Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge. He recently received an Israel Science Foundation research grant and is an editorial board member of Colonial Latin American Historical Review.

Edgardo Rodríguez joins UC Berkeley’s Department of Music this semester with support from CONICET (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas). An Assistant Professor at the Universidad de Buenos Aires and an Adjunct Professor at the Universidad de la Plata, Rodríguez’s interests include contemporary musical language and 20th century academic music. He plays guitar and also composes both classical music and tango.

Glauber Silva de Carvalho, from the Universidade de São Paulo, is currently affiliated with UC Berkeley’s Sociology department as a Research Associate. A specialist in urban violence, Silva is working on an ethnographic study of a marginal area in São Paulo, notorious for its high crime rates. Despite the violence, Silva reports, these neighborhoods are governed by their own rules, making them sometimes safer places than middle-class residential districts. While at UC Berkeley, Silva plans to explore American sociological theory and its contributions to the study of urban violence. His visit is supported by the Rotary Foundation.
Paula Worby, a Visiting Scholar at CLAS this year, has over 15 years of research and activism experience in Guatemala, under the auspices of such organizations as Oxfam America, the Guatemalan social science research center AVANCSO, and the United Nations. Since 1992, when thousands of Guatemalan refugees who had fled to Mexico were in the midst of negotiating their collective return, Worby has worked with the United Nations’ High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). She has served as an observer and mediator to the negotiations between the refugees and the government and often between the refugees/returnees and communities opposed to their return. At different points, her assignments have included everything from logistics for returning groups of 2,000 or more to project design, inter-institutional coordination, documentation for ex-guerrillas, and conflict resolution among returnees. In 1999, Worby received a grant from the United States Institute of Peace, enabling her to take time to reflect and write on a number of issues. Among the topics she is exploring are Guatemala’s land purchase programs, female returnees’ efforts to gain equal land rights, the conflict mediation mechanisms used in the refugee return process, and the significance of UNHCR’s 12-year history in Guatemala in support of the reintegration of former refugees.

Mark Danner, staff writer for The New Yorker and regular contributor to The New York Review of Books, who in June was named a MacArthur Fellow, returns to Berkeley this fall as a Visiting Professor in the Graduate School of Journalism and a Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Human Rights. Danner is currently working on two books, The Saddest Story: America, the Balkans and the Post-Cold War World and Beyond the Mountains: Haiti and the Legacy of Duvalier, both to be published by Pantheon next year. Danner received the Edward Cunningham Award for “Best Reporting from Abroad of 1998” from the Overseas Press Club for his series of articles on the war in the former Yugoslavia. He won the National Magazine Award for Reporting for a series on Haiti in 1990 and numerous awards in 1994 for a New Yorker piece, “The Truth of El Mozote,” which was the basis for his first book, The Massacre at El Mozote: A Parable of the Cold War (Vintage, 1994). Danner has also written for Aperture, Harper’s Magazine, The New York Times Magazine, and the World Policy Journal, among others. As a Teaching Fellow at UC Berkeley last year, he taught courses on “Wars, Coups, and Revolution” and “Economic Chaos and its Bloody Repercussions.” This fall he is teaching, with former Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff, “Nightmares: Covering Political Violence and Global Catastrophe in the Next Century.”

María Esther Epele is a medical anthropologist with a Ph.D. from the National University of La Plata in Argentina, where she is a faculty member in the Natural Sciences School and Museum. She is currently doing an ethnographic study of Latinos with AIDS in the Mission District of San Francisco, within the context of drug abuse. She is also researching gender relationships and street culture in this realm. Her previous work focused on terminally ill AIDS and cancer patients in Argentina and included the papers “Lógica causal y (auto)cuidado. Paradojas en el control médico del VIH-SIDA” (1997) and “Institución médica y subjetividad. Poder y saber en la construcción de la terminalidad en oncología” (1997). Epele has a postdoctoral grant from CONICET (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas). She will be affiliated with CLAS through December 1999 and with the UC Berkeley Department of Anthropology for two years.
This May, CLAS had the unique opportunity to lead a tour of Tijuana’s maquiladora zones for the leadership and national staff of one of the largest and most influential unions in the United States: the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM). I participated as an interpreter, helping to negotiate meanings between people from two very different sites in the evolving debate around globalization: organized U.S. labor leadership and maquiladora workers in Mexico.

Interested in exploring issues of regional social and economic development associated with off-shore production, the IAM called on CLAS to help its leaders acquaint themselves with the issues involved in this increasingly common industrial trend. In the past, CLAS Chair, Prof. Harley Shaiken, has led tours of the border region for UC Berkeley undergraduates and members of the U.S. Congress. As part of a broader outreach effort to educate diverse constituencies on critical issues relating to Latin America, CLAS put together a unique program focusing on productivity, economics, and environmental issues. The tour allowed the leadership of the IAM to experience firsthand the sights, sounds, and sentiments of maquila production. For many participants, this was their first visit to Mexico, and the first time they had crossed the world’s only border between the first and third worlds.

Maquiladora production has become increasingly popular for companies from the United States, Japan, and Korea who seek to take advantage of Mexico’s low wages and its proximity to U.S. markets. At times, they maintain facilities in Tijuana and in the San Diego area, using twin plants to capitalize on the particular advantages of production on each side of the border. However, some of the differences between production sites are becoming blurred, even as others become more marked: productivity in Mexican plants is comparable to that of the United States, yet wages are declining. This disjuncture between rising productivity and falling wages was a central question raised during the tour, because it contradicts much of what is commonly understood about productivity and the development of national economies.

As our buses looped through Industrial City, familiar icons in the United States such as Maxell, Panasonic, and Sony took on new meanings: the plants all advertise jobs for female workers between the ages of 18 and 25, preferably with a sixth grade education. The average turnover rate in these plants is about 100 percent per year, and the average age for an employee is 19. And yet the plants also boasted banners emblazoned with “ISO 9002,” signs of the highest standards of production in the world.

We disembarked at Metales y Derivados. This abandoned battery recycling plant closed and left town, leaving open piles of carcinogenic waste exposed to sun, wind, and rain. The site is one of Mexico’s most famous environmental disasters, yet the waste has been sitting here for five years. We gathered behind the plant, at the edge of the high mesa upon which Industrial City perches. A small river runs past the factory and down through the settlement of Chilpancingo at the foot of the mesa. Maquiladoras dispose of their waste into this river. A community organizer from Chilpancingo told us that the river changes colors and odors every day, and that it glows at night.

We followed the river around to the town below, where we met with newly arrived migrants who live along its banks, in houses built out of cardboard packing crates purchased from the maquiladoras. Here we had the chance to talk with children and parents about their lives. Some of them work in the factories that tower above them, and others lack the sixth grade education that the factories require. I
Life on the Border
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talked with one family that could not afford to buy water for bathing; a little girl showed me open sores on her brother's back that she said he gets from bathing in the river.

We also traveled to the exceptional neighborhood of Alamar. Like many squatter settlements in Mexican cities, Alamar began with no public services. Through tireless organizing, they now have a school, electricity, plumbing, one paved road, and have even won title to the land.

Again on the buses, we headed away from the center of Tijuana. As we rounded a curve, we saw before us an enormous expanse of dry rolling hills and flattened stretches covered with bulldozers, new colonias, and sparkling new factories the size of football fields. Bulldozers were removing entire hills to make way for even more flat, sprawling plants. The IAM participants witnessed evidence of the maquiladoras’ rapid expansion, spreading inexorably outward into the parched landscape of northern Mexico.

—Ingrid Perry-Houts

Brazilian Human Rights
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Brazil. These stations are entirely staffed by female officers and dedicated to combating crimes against women; a similar model is now being implemented in San Francisco, California. Secretary Gregori credited the Brazilian feminist movement with transforming the status of women from that of legal minors only 17 years ago to near juridical equality with men today. He also stressed the importance of women's participation in the struggle for human rights, adding that women activists are able to bring with them their knowledge from participation in other feminist causes.

The Brazilian Consul, José Lindgren, mentioned another innovative program with positive portent for human rights in Brazil. A new voluntary civil service has the double benefit of providing young people with training and work experience and bringing assistance to communities in need throughout Brazil. These kinds of programs have clear implications for the new, “globalized” human rights discussed by Secretary Gregori and the commentators.

—Misha Klein

Chile’s Presidential Elections
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problems for the incoming President. Although it is possible that the former dictator may return to Chile even before the elections, a number of criminal trials await him in Santiago. These legal actions were initiated after his arrest in London, and promise to produce tremendous tension in the Chilean army and right wing. An environment of insecurity surrounding such issues could lead Lagos to compromise further with the military in order to avoid instability, perhaps by passing a Ley de Punto Final — a law or constitutional amendment putting an end to all criminal trials concerning past human rights violations.

Finally, Lagos will need to confront the democratization of some key institutions still under military control. Among these, the Chilean Senate still includes both elected members and “designated senators” who are appointed by the armed forces, presenting a particularly clear case for needed reforms. The National Security Council and the jurisdiction of military courts over civilians also will require reform in order to establish a truly democratic system in Chile.

Amid such contentious challenges, Lagos’ victory is far from certain. As this article goes to press, the latest reports from Chile suggest that Lagos may not be able to seal his victory in the first round, as happened in 1990 and 1994 with past Concertación candidates. This time, the competition is fierce. Lagos’ opponents include a very charismatic and populist right-wing candidate, Joaquín Lavín, and Communist Gladys Marín, whose support is growing among leftists dissatisfied with the Concertación’s social and economic policies. A second round of elections will be held if no one candidate garners over 50 percent of the votes. The most recent opinion polls show Lagos leading by a margin of more than 10 percent, but many observers regard the threat of a second-round showdown as evidence that Concertación must still convince many Chileans that despite current trends, it stands by its traditional promise of “growth with equity” (crecimiento con equidad).

—Javier A. Couso
loud speakers. “Expel them!” the elders shouted. “We can’t get along with the noise!” The Otomí punks defended themselves. “Wait a minute. We bring the money to the community. If they accept the dollars, they can also hear the music.”

I’m going to give you another proof of my thesis, or so I think. In 1994, the first of January, a group that declared to be the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional took over four places in Chiapas: San Cristóbal, Ocosingo, Altamirano, and Las Margaritas. They wore ski masks and bandanas, and they made a claim that their presence and demands represented the concerns of the indians in Mexico, the people they said NAFTA was going to wipe out. After a week of battles, chaos, and at least 300 deaths, there came a truce, and the biggest national debate I have witnessed. Everybody intervened, and to begin with, a new instant common place was established. Mexico still has great poverty, misery indeed, and without social and political reform, instability may yet wreck all the world’s economic reforms. On the one hand, you have the boast of global competitiveness. On the other, what an anthropologist, Guillermo Bonfil, called “the deep Mexico,” el México profundo, in a controversial book that became now an instant classic. According to Bonfil, the deep Mexico is the hotbed of indian resistance, of genuine popular culture, of the behavior of the majority of the people. And now, as we have seen, Chiapas persists after five years, and not because of the forces of anachronism, but for the needs of modernity. Zapatistas use the mass media, became pop celebrities, send faxes from the Selva Lacandona, use Internet; they almost declared in a filmic manner, “With God as my witness, we swear that we will never be humiliated again.” And… they became a cliché… but they persist, as a rejection of a globalization that includes only, at most, 10 percent of the population.

In a very specific sense, we are living now in a post-nationalistic culture. There is not a real, profound belief in the healing and reconstructive powers of nationalism. But there is an extraordinary amount of faith in the nation. If that seems a contradiction, it’s because it is a contradiction. In the global village, in each of the countries [there] persists the sense of belonging to a nation. Technology, in Mexico and everywhere, is transforming encounters and mentalities, in a leap from reality to virtual reality and back again. I don’t know, nobody knows, the extent of the metamorphosis, but at the end of the century of Americanization, it is possible to affirm that we are still Mexicans, and proudly so, as they used to say in the forties – but a different kind of Mexicans. If it’s a mirage, the very notion of la mexicanidad, a dying invention, what is real is the national culture, with international, national, and local traditions. Mexico is a Western country with a strong indian element. Mexico is an Americanized country with a national perspective. Mexico is an international culture.

Then, can we talk about the specific difference? There is one. Every country on earth has it. And in this case, it takes root in the strength of certain traditions, the richness of some aspects of its culture and, like every other Latin American country, the weight of inequality, the emphasis of poverty, ignorance, machismo, social injustice, and naked authoritarianism. I’m not saying that poverty is the essence of a nearly Kantian reality. I’m talking about the role of ethnohistory, its myths, values, memories, and symbols, in assuring collective dignity, and some measure of dignity for the individual. For populations which have come to feel excluded, neglected, or supressed in the world distribution of values and opportunities, also, according to many, the only guarantee of preservation of some form of identity is the appeal of posterity to the future generation that are ours because they think and feel as we do. It’s not a bad joke, even if it is a bad joke to declare that in the era of post-nationalism we live in post-Mexico, a country that survived nationalism but not the necessity of saving a common language, a common culture, an obligation of social justice. In post-Mexico, we face the same problems as before, but we select the traditions we need, and we decide to survive a racist and overwhelming globalization. In the time of post, when everything seems to be post, post-Mexico is still a nation, and a cherished one for its people. “Post-Mexico, gringo y querido,” as the ancient song declares.
Elections, Brazilian Style

For political scientist David Fleischer, elections in Brazil provide a window into the surprising intricacies of the country’s political system. A keen observer of Brazilian politics, and a professor at the University of Brasilia since 1972, Fleischer moves easily in academic, policy-making, and international financial circles; in addition to his duties at the University, Fleischer consults for a number of investment firms and publishes a weekly analysis of political issues in Brazil. He visited CLAS in May to share some of his insights with students and faculty interested in recent developments in Brazil, especially the October 1998 elections.

Equipped with electoral and public opinion data as well as a wealth of anecdotes, Fleischer spun the story of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso’s 1998 reelection. While Cardoso won convincingly in the first round of elections, his lead was quickly eroded by a series of negative factors, including a lengthy university strike, increasing pressures for land reform from the landless movement, deepening unemployment, and a spate of natural disasters. As a result, early in 1998, public opinion polls showed a dead heat between Cardoso and his closest competitor. To recover his electoral advantage, Cardoso turned to an aggressive media campaign and a number of strategic compromises, which enabled his eventual success. Within a month of the October 4 election, his reelection was assured.

What does Cardoso’s election, and the length of his coattails in Congress and state offices, imply for Brazil’s future? On this question, Fleischer’s insight into political alignments in Brasilia was particularly useful. For the uninitiated, alliances in Brazilian politics since democratization can prove extraordinarily difficult to understand. The numerous Brazilian parties are notoriously weak, undisciplined, and porous. Fleischer anticipates a curious realignment in which the lines of cleavage during the military years return to prominence, producing a binary division between “ex-ARENA” (the military party) and “ex-MDB” (the opposition) camps. Even if the party system remains divided among three or four major groups, Fleischer argued, some party consolidation is probable.

Fleischer also commented on the results of a number of electoral innovations which debuted in last October’s elections. For example, a 1998 law required that female candidates represent 25 percent of a party’s list of candidates for diputado (representative in the lower house). However, in spite of this legislation, fewer women were elected to the lower house last October than in 1994. Moreover, of those women elected, a large proportion of them were wives of traditional, well-known politicians. The careers of women in politics, it would seem, benefit more from solid political connections than from new electoral designs.

Similarly, the recent elections saw the introduction of new electronic voting machines. Nearly 60 percent of Brazilian voters in 537 cities cast votes this way. Brazil has traditionally enjoyed high rates of voter turnout, even during the military years when the elections were not particularly competitive. Largely because of a mandatory voting law, Brazilian turnout rates have nearly always exceeded 80 percent. However, a glaring black mark on these turnout rates has been the number of blank and null votes cast by apathetic or frustrated voters. The voting machines, it was hoped, would cut down on the number of these invalid votes. While the number of blank votes did decrease slightly with the new machines, the number of nulls actually increased — a phenomenon which has surprised those concerned with Brazilian elections.

On these issues and others, David Fleischer’s insight was extremely helpful. His visit provided a fresh appraisal of the business of elections in Brazil — an important institution worth monitoring given the country’s relatively recent democratization. His seminar was a reminder of the value of information from scholars who, in a sense, have not left the field.

—Zachary Elkins
Candace Slater: Visions of Amazonia

Chancellor’s Professor of Spanish and Portuguese

Candace Slater received in 1997 the Ordem de Rio Branco, the highest honor that Brazil grants a foreigner for “originality and value of [her] research.” She recently returned from fieldwork in Amazonia, where she has been exploring diverse images and understandings of the Amazon over the past 12 years. The following is an excerpt from her forthcoming book, Entangled Edens.

One bright November day in 1987, my students in a seminar on Brazilian Civilization at Berkeley asked me for “something about the Amazon.” During what I thought would be a quick trip to the library, I came upon surprisingly few books that I could use in discussing the swirl of vivid images that had accompanied the class’ request. The multitude of travelogues and adventure stories that filled out the shelves only emphasized the relative lack of books concerned with Amazonia as a symbol. Why, I asked myself, given the tremendous hold of the Amazon on many different people’s imaginations, wasn’t there a book about visions of the region? Little did I suspect that I would myself set out to write one. In the process, I would become caught up in the question of how the Amazon — once widely considered to be a chaotic jungle or a remote, forbidding wilderness — emerged as today’s threatened, if wondrously diverse rain forest. And I would find myself newly aware of the profound differences and unexpected intertwinings between past and present, “insiders” and “outsiders” that make images of towering trees and brilliant butterflies only part of a much larger and far more wondrously complex picture.

A great deal has happened since my initial foray to the library and the first of what would become close to a dozen research trips to different parts of the Bolivian, Ecuadorian, and, above all, the Brazilian Amazon. For instance, the burning for cattle pasture that made headlines in the 1980s has returned in full force after a temporary decline. Deforestation nearly doubled in 1995, then rose again in 1997 and 1998, with the result that in the two decades between 1978 and 1998 well over a tenth of Amazonia’s woodlands, representing an unusually rich, and still in many ways largely unknown, chunk of the planet’s surface, has gone up in smoke.

Ironically, the tragedies of the region have had some positive side effects. For instance, the death in 1989 of Chico Mendes, head of the Brazilian rubber tappers union, marked the beginning of a new era of international visibility for grassroots movements protesting their devastation. Today, popular interest in the Amazon is once again on the rise in the U.S. and Europe, linked in part to the debates about sustainable development and global warming that regularly find their way into the evening news. These developments have prompted a number of new studies that stress the importance and variety of the Amazon’s human inhabitants. They have also spurred work specifically on images of the Amazon and Amazonians by many different sorts of writers.

And yet, despite all of this activity, the idea of the Amazon as a gigantic realm of nature populated by a handful of natural peoples — Indians, rubber tappers, lone fishermen in tiny canoes — remains very strong. Why and how should these images hold such sway over an international public? And, if these portrayals — as I argue — often offer obstacles to new solutions, then how can we begin to see the Amazon anew?

…The intertwinings as well as ruptures in the images which emerge in the stories “ordinary” Amazonians told me and those which appear in TV documentaries and on ice cream cartons make it impossible to see the Amazon or Amazonians as conveniently exotic. These intertwinings and these ruptures demand a re-vision of the roots of “our” rain forest, and along with it, a reevaluation of our own ideas about not just Amazonia, but the human place within a larger world. This re-vision holds out hope for new solutions to urgent problems by highlighting the assumptions that constrain our present sense of possibilities.
Graduate Students Report on Field Research

Through its travel grant program, CLAS provides funding for graduate student research in Latin America and the Caribbean. This year, 18 grants were awarded to students from a range of departments and professional schools. The grant recipients will present their research findings on Tuesday afternoons throughout the fall, as listed below. All talks will be held at 12 pm in the CLAS Conference Room.

September 21:
Allison Davenport
Monica López

September 28:
Laura Bathurst
Sebastian Etchemendy

October 12:
Scott Hutson
Renata Andrade
Carlos Muñoz-Piña

October 26:
Soledad Falabella
Alexandra Huneeus

November 2:
Kristin Huffine
Katherine Fleet

November 9:
Miriam Doutriaux
Nelson Ramírez

November 23:
Adrienne Pine
Barbara Clifford

Migration and Children in Mexico and Central America
Latin American Studies: “Guatemalan Migration: A Maya Perspective”
Social Welfare: “Mayan Children in Chiapas: Assessing the Effects of War on Mayan Children”

Political Economy in Bolivia and Argentina
Anthropology: “Man the Gatherer: Indigenous Peoples and Commodity Production in the North Bolivian Amazon”
Political Science: “Political Economy of Market Liberalization in Argentina”

Landscapes and Perspectives on Land Use in Mexico and Brazil
Anthropology: “Social Inequality in the Archaeology of Chunchucmil, Mexico”
Energy and Resources: “Searching for Sediment Sources on the Upper São Francisco River Watershed, Brazil”
Agricultural and Resource Economics: “Ejido Reforms and the Appropriation of the Commons” (Mexico City)

Chile
Spanish and Portuguese: “Gabriela Mistral’s Poema de Chile”
Law: “Justice and Accountability in Chile”

Paraguay and the Dominican Republic
History: “Imagining the New World: Jesuit Ethnography and Guarani Response in the Colonial Paraguayan Missions”
Law: “Human Rights and Immigrant Children in the Dominican Republic”

Peru
Anthropology: “Late Intermediate Period Interactions in the South-Central Andes”
Spanish and Portuguese: “Contenidos de lo Audiovisual en América Latina: Desbordes Nuevos y Reinvenciones Culturales, Cine, Radio, TV Nacional, TV Cable”

Women and Latin America
Demography: “Mitch, Maquiladoras, y Mujeres: An Examination of Recent Demographic Trends in the Female Population of Honduras”
Public Health: “A Dialogue Between Traditional and Nurse Midwives” (Mexico)
A New Working Group at CLAS

Examining Urban and Regional Environments

How do global forces like economic integration alter the local built environment? What are the spatial consequences of macroeconomic shifts, and how have these affected the physical space in which millions of residents of Latin America live and work? A new working group of scholars at CLAS, the Latin American Urban and Regional Planning Research Group (LAURP), has embarked on the study of these and other questions. Its five members have professional planning experience in a variety of Latin American contexts, and academic training in fields ranging from economics to architecture. Architect Gilberto Bueñano, for example, is currently an Assistant Professor at the Central University of Venezuela, and a contributor to the Government Program recently elaborated for newly-elected President Hugo Chávez; Saúl Pineda, a 1999 Visiting Scholar at UC Berkeley, has served as Economic Adviser to the Mayor of Medellín, Colombia. Other members are doctoral students at UC Berkeley and have worked and taught in Chile, Brazil, and Peru.

Under the leadership of Professor Manuel Castells of the departments of City and Regional Planning and Sociology, this group began its activities in spring 1999 with a daylong symposium exploring different planning issues in contemporary Latin America. The April symposium, “Urban and Regional Links in the Global Age: Development and Integration in Latin America,” was sponsored by CLAS, the Institute of Urban and Regional Development, and the Berkeley Environmental Design Association. It included presentations on environmental, economic, and social issues in Venezuela, Peru, Chile, Brazil, and Colombia, exploring issues of sustainability and social justice in the context of the ongoing economic and social transformations associated with globalization. Based on the research presented on five distinct cases, participants were able to identify many commonalities across countries and theoretical contexts.

One of the cities examined in the symposium was Curitiba, Brazil, distinguished among the cities of the Third World by the innovative way in which it has directed its policies of sustainability, land use, and urban transportation. Clara Irazábal of the Department of Architecture presented her research on Curitiba’s unique successes and its current challenges, arguing that despite clear improvements in the urban quality of life, the city currently suffers from governance problems. Particularly problematic has been an apparent lack of political will to actively involve citizens in the processes of urban planning and implementation. An analysis based on cross-city and cross-country comparisons in the Americas suggests that an adequate level of citizen involvement promotes more effective planning, and that very low rates of participation delegitimize the planning process. If current practices of local governance persist, Irazábal warned, municipal authorities’ legitimacy may be threatened in Curitiba. Yet the city could maintain the innovative dynamism that granted it worldwide recognition, provided that proper emphasis is given to the definition and development of strategies to competitively position itself within the urban networks of the global economy.

In the case of Lima, Peru, similar problems and prospects of development to those of Curitiba were identified, especially as regards industrialization. Miriam Chion of the Department of City and Regional Planning discussed the process of Peru’s reincorporation into the international economic community by the mid-1990s, after a period of severe political violence and financial crisis. This transition, Chion explained, involved important economic transformations and policies that led to the consolidation of a new spatial organization of metropolitan Lima, the capital city. Chion’s research explores the intersection of global economic processes, local development factors, and emerging institutional arrangements during the 1990s. Her analysis focuses on three important processes: the expansion of international financial operations through a new financial center; the intersection of international and informal networks — especially in the garment sector — to form a new industrial district; and the growing importance of the making of local identity through the rehabilitation of the...
The group expects to produce, distribute, and present a final report with detailed implications for each country. This report will identify central issues and contradictions in current development and planning processes across regions. It will also include suggestions of areas in the institutional structure where intervention is possible, institutional indicators across regions, specific policies, and alternative arrangements conducive to sustainable and equitable economic development at the local, regional, national, and international levels. From the exchange of experiences and ideas, this multinational and interdisciplinary group expects to propose interesting innovations regarding the design, creation, and implementation of institutions.

—Cecilia Collados and Clara Irazábal

Costa Rica’s Beaches
Continued from page 7

returning manatees should be safe, because hunting had been outlawed. However, if environmental change was the main factor, then the manatees faced a serious problem, because destructive environmental change was accelerating in the region. To the manatee research we added water quality testing, estimates of sedimentation, and indicators of ecosystem stress, such as fish kills from biocides. The manatee research expanded to include the environmental quality and biotic status of the coastal lowland aquatic system; instead of the canary in the mine shaft as an indicator of problems, we looked at the manatee in the coastal rivers.

As our research continued to expand, it became evident we needed a better way for local community members to obtain data about issues which affected their environment without relying on a research team based elsewhere. Not only would it make sense for those who would make decisions affecting the community to be more directly able to participate, it would also be less expensive and time-consuming if research were centered on-site. Instead of having to return to a research base hub at the end of every day with a mix of foreign and community researchers in several boats (racking up $2,000/day in expenses), we needed a research base in the areas we studied. This was the thinking behind the Aquatic Explorer, Central America’s first portable, floating, wetland research laboratory.

The concept was to build a live-aboard vessel that would serve as home and lab for four people, solar-powered, self-containing, and portable (easily dismantled and transported). The Aquatic Explorer was the high-tech answer, a vessel that looks like a mix of something built for Jacques Cousteau and James Bond (see photo). Designed by Roger Dherlin of Apex Inflatables in Costa Rica, with financial contributions from the Pew Foundation and the National Geographic Society, the Aquatic Explorer will allow Tortuguero leaders, Tortuguero high school students, National Park personnel and other researchers to do prolonged *in situ* research on manatees, crocodiles, and the nature and quality of the aquatic environment.

Over the years, as we got into both of these projects, the evolving research questions came from members of the two coastal communities — Manuel Antonio and Tortuguero. In both projects many UC Berkeley students have worked with Costa Rican students and community people to seek answers and to design solutions. We are still at it.

—Bernard Nietschmann

Bernard Nietschmann is Professor of Geography at UC Berkeley. An ocean geographer specializing on the people and wildlife of the coastal zone, his research has focused on the Pacific, the wider Caribbean and both coasts of Central America.
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The CLAS website now contains selected articles on our programs and events, including previous issues of the CLAS Newsletter.

Our recent special issue, which was dedicated to the December 1998 “Alternatives for the Americas: A Dialogue” conference, includes extensive excerpts from the proceedings, and can be ordered online.

http://www.clas.berkeley.edu/clas