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LLILAS BENSON LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES AND COLLECTIONS I THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
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FROM THE DIRECTOR

We always will remember 2013–2014 as the year of the LLILAS Benson partnership. It began with a magnificent rollout of our new logo and composite name in October, followed by a strong endorsement of the partnership by the new University of Texas at Austin provost, Greg Fenves, in November. Over the rest of the year, one activity after another—many documented in these pages—built on the partnership, and benefited deeply from its enriching effects. As we forge these new relations and explore their abundant opportunities, we also affirm our groundings. We are privileged to work in units named for Drs. Teresa Lozano Long and Nettie Lee Benson, two women whose life achievements and contributions to our university inspire us to help LLILAS and the Benson—separately and together—reach their greatest potential.

There is perhaps no better example of the fruits of the partnership, and our broader vision of Latin American studies, than the notion of “post-custodial archiving,” the subject of T-Kay Sangwand’s piece. To be successful, this work requires substantive collaboration between library professionals and faculty experts familiar with the archive in question; and it requires horizontal dialogue and cooperation between UT and the given archive in Latin America. With the help of the Mellon planning grant that Sangwand describes, we aim to establish LLILAS Benson as a leader in the implementation of this exciting new concept in archival preservation. This, in turn, will facilitate the shift in acquisitions policy—announced in our strategic plan—toward greater acquisition of original and rare materials.

This year’s Lozano Long Conference, which Brenda Xum describes in her piece, offers additional evidence of the exciting potential of the partnership. The scholarly presentations—including one by Xum herself—were excellent, and they were interspersed with formal sessions and informal conversations devoted to the objective of expanding the Benson’s archival holdings on the era of Central American revolutions. Participants were electrified by this dual purpose, which was reinforced by the exhibition ¡Venceremos!, created by Benson curator Julianne Gilland. Featuring posters and ephemera from the era, ¡Venceremos! provided a wonderful demonstration of how archival collections enhance scholarly exchange.

It is striking how much the use of space matters in realizing the broader goals of the partnership. Having our own conference room and adjacent exhibition area has been crucial to creating a sense of belonging among staff, faculty, and students. This sense has been further deepened, especially among the students, by the creation of a second-floor study commons, where they can work together undisturbed. It is equally important to us that LLILAS Benson Latin American Studies and Collections be viewed by the diverse communities of Central Texas as a hospitable place, and a resource they can use. There could have been no better manifestation of this ethos than this year’s ¡A Viva Voz!—the Benson’s signature Latino community public engagement event—where Los Angeles band Las Cafeteras entertained a packed house in the Benson reading room.

There have been many more highlights. Last year culminated with the Brazil Initiative, described here by Fernando Lara, and this year we began reaping the benefits: an invigorated Brazil scholarly program, well-funded opportunities for collaborative research, more Brazilian students across the university. Energized by this success, this year we began a similar initiative focused on Mexico. Scholarly programs, public engagement, student programs, and development all have been accomplished and dynamic, each transformed in its own way by the partnership.

Little of this would have been possible without our stellar staff, who outdo themselves in keeping LLILAS Benson on an upward trajectory. Over the past year we were thrilled to recruit several terrific staff members: Lindsay Dudley, public engagement coordinator; Megan Scarborough, grant writer; Carla Alvarez, rare books specialist; Virginia Bustos, development coordinator; Linda Gill, circulation supervisor; José Montelongo, Mexican bibliographer; and Susanna Sharpe, communications coordinator. And it is so gratifying to see this good work properly recognized. This spring Heather Gatlin, LLILAS Benson chief of staff, who has done so much to help us achieve our objectives large and small, was honored with the Liberal Arts Staff Excellence Award.

On the faculty side we have one momentous goodbye. Over the past five years, Dr. Juliet Hooker has served as associate director. She leaves the position in August to take up a well-deserved research leave that will allow her to complete her forthcoming book on Afro-descendant political thought in the Americas. Juliet has been a constant font of wisdom and collegiality; she has a special ability to combine close-hewn “systems” discipline with transcendent organizational vision. We are deeply appreciative, and we will miss her.

I have come to look forward to this May ritual: taking stock of the accomplishments of the past year, and I already feel the excitement growing for all that lies in store in the fall.

Charles R. Hale
Director, LLILAS Benson
WINTER SUNSETS can be quite colorful in Brasília. Last June was no different, and a delegation of 30 University of Texas faculty, students, and administrators enjoyed the yellows and reds in the sky of the Brazilian capital from inside the Congress Building. We were right below the famous twin cupolas designed by Oscar Niemeyer, celebrating with Brazilian counterparts a full day of intense conversation on the future of higher education in the Americas. Six days later the country exploded in protest and that very same view was transformed. Thousands took to the streets in every major city, and in Brasília the mass protests happened right below, in front of, and above the room we were in, framed by the same beautiful sunset colors.

For this reason and many others, we must recall the day on which UT president Bill Powers and CAPES’ president Jorge Guimarães signed an agreement that will bring hundreds of Brazilian students to the UT Austin campus (about 110 have been here already) supported by the Ciências sem Fronteiras (Sciences without Borders) program. That same week, vice president for research Juan Sanchez and LLILAS Benson director Charlie Hale met with leaders of FAPEMIG (Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de Minas Gerais) and FAPESP (Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo) to fine-tune the details of research agreements that will make 700,000 U.S. dollars available for collaborations with Brazilian colleagues during 2014–2017.

In order to properly guide those projects toward the most relevant issues, the twenty-plus faculty members who came to Brasília were divided in three groups: Natural Sciences; Energy and the Environment; and Social Inclusion. Each group, composed of UT faculty and their Brazilian collaborators, discussed its research priorities and possible funding sources so that we can now channel our resources to those topics. The fight against inequality has always been a focus of the LLILAS Benson community, and those days in Brazil made explicit an inherent paradox. The Brazil that made significant progress toward equality (I elaborate further below) and can now afford to send 100,000 students abroad still has enough problems to bring its population to the streets in fury for myriad reasons.

You might ask, why is Brazil so important that it deserves all this effort? Each of our forty-eight Brazilianist faculty affiliates has a different reason for studying Brazil. LLILAS Benson’s Brazil Center at The University of Texas at Austin is indeed the largest and most diverse center for Brazilian studies in the Northern Hemisphere.
Our faculty work on issues as diverse as water, inequality, freedom of the press, race relations, developmentalism, urbanization, politics, history, and ecology, to name just a few. With Brazil being the Americas’ largest country in contiguous area, and the second in population and GDP, there are hundreds of reasons why people all over the world should learn more about it. Let me elaborate on one reason that you probably have not yet considered.

In modern history, Brazil has always played the role of the “other” to the United States. Traditional scholarship in the twentieth century has emphasized the many differences between the two societies. There was, indeed, a different modernization path, a different political system, different values, and different cultural expressions. But my main argument in this short essay is that those differences have been overplayed. Brazil and the U.S. are much more similar than both societies would like to admit.

In fact, both countries have always used each other as an alterity, an “other” against which to define oneself, to borrow from Edward Said’s classic study of orientalism. For the typical North American, Brazil is chaotic, exotic, and romantic. Defined by tropical exuberance and violent cities, the southern country indeed has its beautiful women, its rhythmic musical expressions, and its joyful soccer, which function as major international brands. But while those clichés dominate North American minds when they think of Brazil, few people notice that they fly on Brazilian-made airplanes for half the regional flights they take in North America. Or that the new granary of the world is in fact Brazil, where plenty of land, sun, and water produce edible crops and meat for the wealthy third of our planet, for no other country has as much of those three resources together. Meanwhile, the typical Brazilian thinks of the U.S. as the land of plenty: plenty of calories, plenty of greed, plenty of guns, and plenty of individualism. Both societies built their twentieth-century image in contrast to each other, and those stereotypes die hard.

But among all those differences there are substantial similarities. I would argue that after diverging for a century or so, the two societies are converging fast. There is not enough space in this short essay, nor am I a historian of colonial times, although I can speak for the history of our built environment. But I remind our readers that the colonial experience around the Gulf of Mexico was no different in the history of our built environment. But I remind our readers that the colonial experience around the Gulf of Mexico was no different. The early modernization of the United States in the nineteenth century radically changed this picture, something that only took place in Brazil a century later. By the late 1970s both nations were as far apart as they have ever been. The U.S. had a mature democracy and high living standards, while Brazil was ruled by a military dictatorship and the large majority of its population lived in destitute poverty. What happened in the 1980s has yet to be better analyzed. While the United States dismantled many of its regulations and saw the balance tip too far against labor and in favor of capital, Brazil got back on its feet with a new constitution and the political stability that would start to change that shameful picture in the decades ahead. As we move forward into the second decade of the twenty-first century, the two countries, I argue, are becoming more and more alike each day.

As part of this trend, there is one inconvenient convergence looming on the horizon. Before the end of President Barack Obama’s second term, the United States will most probably be as unequal as Brazil, that is, both nations will have the same Gini coefficient. This will not make Latin America in general or Brazil in particular any more relevant to the U.S. political conversation, but it might signify a turning point in the way that inequality is discussed both here and there.

Let’s look at the numbers: The Gini coefficient is the most commonly used measurement of income inequality; a Gini of 0 signifies perfect equality, a Gini of 1 perfect inequality (one individual holds all the wealth). The U.S. Census Bureau determined the nation’s Gini to be 0.477 in 2011, a significant change from four decades prior, when it was around 0.36. The OECD estimate is even worse, at 0.499 pre-tax in 2011. The Census Bureau numbers show U.S. inequality growing at an average pace of 0.004 points in the first few years of the past decade, and twice as fast since 2008. With no major change on the horizon—ensured by the divided and polarized U.S. Congress—U.S. Gini numbers could be right around 0.5 before the next presidential elections.

Meanwhile in Brazil, inequality is diminishing at a steady pace. After reaching an outrageous 0.6 in the mid-1990s, the Brazilian Gini index retreated a bit to 0.585 in 2002 and has since gone down to 0.5 in 2011, a rate of 0.002 points per year, reaching the record low of 0.508 in 2012. It is expected to drop below the 0.5 line sometime around 2015. The latest.

Beyond the inevitable surprise of finding out that the United States will soon be as unequal as Brazil, the consequences of this shift are already transforming both societies. In Brazil there is much to celebrate, as economic growth and diminishing inequality come together for the first time in many generations. The government of Luiz Inácio “Lula” da Silva bragged that 40 million people were raised out of poverty since 2002, a number corroborated by the Brazilian Banking Federation, FEBRABAN, which reported adding over 40 million new clients during the same period. That amounts to one entire California or the sum of Texas and Florida becoming consumers in a single decade.

But the very improvements that push Brazilian life expectancy to higher levels are also plunging fertility rates to alarmingly low levels. An older Brazil could very soon encounter the troubles of Italy or Japan. In addition, income growth is tied to consumerism and associated with two negative consequences that the U.S. knows all too well: dangerous levels of personal debt and growing obesity. In addition, Brazilian cities are choking with traffic as a result of the U.S.-inspired reliance on the automobile, a sign of status for the country’s giant new middle class. Yet another sad convergence: the crime that made Brazilian cities infamous in past decades is down in wealthier areas and worse in the impoverished periphery of every major city.

It is interesting to note the strong relationship between this economic model and the protests of 2013. While so many aspects of life got better in the last decade, Brazil’s cities undoubtedly got worse. The same growth in wages that fueled consumption also fueled, with the help of easier credit, an unprecedented increase in real-estate values. The result is that despite making more money and having access to more goods, the Brazilian working class has been pushed farther and farther to the urban periphery. Add to this stagnant investment in public transportation and exuberant spending on stadiums and hotels for upcoming mega-events and you have the perfect recipe for protest.

Back in the United States those sad numbers are slowly entering the broad political conversation—see the Occupy and 99 percent movements as well as articles by Nobel laureates Joseph Stiglitz and Paul Krugman—but they have not been discussed by the population at large until very recently. Mitt Romney’s “47 percent” comment might have marked a paradigm shift, but even then the discussion was never about an asymmetrical distribution of wealth being intrinsic to contemporary capitalism. If there is one thing that the Brazilian Left should be proud of, it is the fact that inequality has been a major topic of political discussion in that country since re-democratization in the mid-1980s.

U.S. society will probably be quite disturbed (and correctly so) at becoming as unequal as Brazil, and this might trigger a national conversation about ways to address this issue. It will indeed be quite inconvenient when those Gini coefficients converge. Even more intriguing is the realization that Brazilians are also bothered by the convergence. The same left-wing intelligentsia that brought inequality to the forefront in the 1990s and successfully reduced it in the 2000s has always portrayed the United States as the land of untamed capitalism and rampant consumerism. To see Brazil following on the same path is quite uncomfortable.

In the 1960s, Latin American scholars coined the term “dependency theory” to explain the asymmetrical development of the region and the difficulty of breaking out of it at the dawn of financial globalization. Fifty years later, the Gini convergence will imply a paradigm shift that renders the old dependency theory quite useless. Yet there is nothing to fill this void, no sign of a “convergence theory” that might help us understand what the present means and what the future entails in both countries.
The Brazil Center at LLILAS Benson will continue to work on both the divergences and the convergences between these two societies, hoping to enrich these topics with scholarship, debate, and innovative thinking. As we approach our twentieth anniversary, the Brazil Center is very well positioned to lead such a conversation in North America, engaged with our colleagues in the South while developing a comparative perspective among all the Americas, which is precisely the strength of the LLILAS Benson community.

Fernando Luiz Lara is associate professor in the School of Architecture at The University of Texas at Austin, where he currently chairs the Brazil Center at the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies.

Notes
1. CAPES stands for Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior, the Brazilian Federal Agency for the Support and Evaluation of Graduate Education.
Archiving the Central American Revolutions: The Value of Documentation in the Reconstruction of History

by Brenda Estela Xum

What is the role of historical archives in memory and human rights activism? How can archival documents be a tool of social justice and reconstruction of history? Why is it valuable to rebuild history through archives, and what are we to do with such information? LLILAS Benson Latin American Studies and Collections held its 2014 Lozano Long Conference, “Archiving the Central American Revolutions,” on February 19–21, 2014, at The University of Texas at Austin. The main purpose was to open a dialogue and to promote new critical interpretations of the Central American revolutions through a mix of academic panels, roundtables, workshops, and a film screening, many of which drew standing-room-only crowds. The conference was organized by LLILAS Benson digital scholarship coordinator Kent Norsworthy and UT history and religious studies professor Virginia Garrard-Burnett.

The diverse program included major protagonists from the revolutionary struggles of the 1970s and 1980s in Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, as well as U.S. and Central American scholars, UT Austin graduate students, filmmakers, journalists, clergy, and solidarity activists. The program also showcased the expertise and resources of the Benson Collection and the Human Rights Documentation Initiative (HRDI). Benson curator Julianne Gilland developed the exhibition ¡Venceremos! Posters and Ephemera of the Central American Revolutions, and archivists Christian Kelleher and T-Kay Sangwand led an archiving workshop. During the conference, graduate students coordinated by Sangwand interviewed numerous participants to record micro oral histories about their involvement in the Central American revolutions. The Benson Collection will digitize these audio recordings and make them available for use by researchers and the general public. In addition, the Benson will archive other donations of papers and ephemera made by conference attendees.

Each of the conference participants used different print and audiovisual materials to remember the era of revolution: video testimonies, documentaries, police files, newspapers, photographs, and music. This combination of elements made the event a very atypical academic conference, going beyond one-way presentations and giving the audience the opportunity to watch and listen, to hear the voices of survivors, and to enter into a critical dialogue with them about the historical significance of the revolutionary era. The diversity of perspectives (academic and experiential) and the variety of narratives also allowed those in attendance to appreciate a transgenerational experience: the survivors’ voices were present as were voices of the youth of today, who did not live through the civil wars but have learned about them through literature and research. Some of the younger generation who participated in the conference are Central American–Americans whose families survived this violent
A panel that showcased the work of LILAS graduate students was the best example of this dynamic: each of the presentations highlighted different areas of student research on Central America, including human rights, health care, the solidarity movement, literature, and specific cases of disappearance and torture.

The conference also sought to initiate an ongoing process of acquisition of historical archives and recording of micro oral histories that will become part of the Benson Collection. These goals were greatly exceeded. The participation of several important protagonists of the Central American revolutions together with high-profile academic researchers focused a unique intersectional lens on the complexities of history, and the crucial role of archives, narratives, and academia in reconstructing historical processes. This combination of factors made the conference an amalgam of feelings, utopian visions, experiences, memories, and tears that united its participants to reflect on the ideals for social change that were promoted during the revolutionary period.

The conference provided a space to talk about the impact of revolutions and archives in contemporary history, along with the great necessity for a constant promotion of projects in the areas of memory, vindication, and human rights. The opening keynote panel was deeply touching and especially intimate, as it became a dialogue between comrades who shared a whole history in common. Professor Charles Hale, director of LLILAS Benson, introduced the speakers. Then, Guatemalan indigenous leader Pablo Ceto, who was an active member of the guerrilla movement during the civil war in Guatemala and later became vice provost and co-founder of Guatemala’s Universidad Ixil, reflected on the role of indigenous people in the revolutions in his country. His speech highlighted the dreams of social change represented by the enormous number of people who died hoping for a better future and those who still stand in resistance, fighting for native land rights, social and economic equality, and recognition. “Revolutions are not dead; the dreams and struggles of revolutionaries are still alive because the roots of the war and the oppression are still palpable for indigenous people,” argued Ceto. He was echoed by Gustavo Meoño, national coordinator of the Guatemalan National Police Historical Archive (AHPN), who stressed the importance of archiving, classification, and disclosure of the remaining documentation from the revolutionary period.

In the search for justice, documentation is a puzzle piece that allows researchers and social activists to prove the actual magnitude of human rights violations by the state. “Along with oral history and victim testimonies, justice can be achieved,” asserted Irma Alicia Velásquez Nimatuj, a social activist and UT anthropology PhD graduate whose work focuses on sexual violence against indigenous women. The genocide trial that convicted former Guatemalan dictator Efraín Ríos Montt and sentenced him to eighty years of prison is the most remarkable achievement in the process of vindicating memory in Central America. The voices of the victims were heard and there was no doubt about the human rights violations during the civil war. Velásquez Nimatuj argued that such recognition also opened the eyes of society to the need for an integrated vindication period. A panel that showcased the work of LILAS graduate students was the best example of this dynamic: each of the presentations highlighted different areas of student research on Central America, including human rights, health care, the solidarity movement, literature, and specific cases of disappearance and torture.

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of indigenous women in all respects: economic, social, and political.

In El Salvador, El Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen (MUPI) preserves history and teaches future generations about the Salvadoran revolution using documentary archives. Carlos Henríquez Consalvi, founder and current director of the Salvadoran initiative, spoke during the opening ceremony about how even today the Salvadoran political leadership has denied not only access to military archives but the archives’ very existence. Henríquez Consalvi shared his experiences as leader of Radio Venceremos, which was one of the most important community radio networks during the civil war, chronicling the armed struggle from the mountains on a daily basis for eleven years. “The radio was a powerful tool for information and denunciation, but also played the role of promoting collective memories, cultural rescue, and popular education, challenging the attempts by U.S. politicians to hide the massacres of the civilian population,” he said. El Museo keeps records of that time in the form of documentary collections and personal writings of notable thinkers (Matilde Elena López, Monseñor Óscar Romero, and others), as well as films made on the battlefield and other audiovisual materials. But this collection is small compared to the amount of missing documentation still to be collected, according to Erik Ching, professor of history at Furman University. Without preservation, historians risk reconstructing incomplete histories that lack supporting documents or, in the worst case, these histories are lost to future generations.

The conference highlighted the importance of testimonies as a way of circumventing attempts by governments to erase the role of the military in human rights violations. This includes not only the testimonies of victims but also those of perpetrators, whose voice is less heard and many times forgotten. Carlos Mauricio, executive director of the Stop Impunity Project and Salvadoran torture survivor, highlighted the powerful effect of healing through narratives and justice. He decreed the fact that victims are usually accused of lying; their testimonies are not taken seriously and they have even faced accusations of mental illness. “There are many victims of torture who will never tell their stories, even when they know that they have personal problems [as a result of trauma],” affirmed Mauricio. “I am an activist, I went to court and I decided to tell my story.” His testimony was an expression of hope for survivors and an example of how important activism is in the quest for justice. He serves as an inspiration for all victims to speak out about their experiences, and his story is a reminder of how much work still needs to be done.

Even amnesty is not possible without knowledge of the truth, nor is forgiveness possible when people do not know whom to forgive. Yet amnesty does not mean amnesia, asserted Terry Karl, professor of Latin American studies and political science at Stanford University; amnesty is deliberate forgiving. Karl was an expert witness and key participant in the U.S. prosecution of former Salvadoran colonel Inocente Orlando Montano, at which Mauricio also testified. Montano was indicted by a Spanish court for planning the 1989 massacre of six Jesuit priests in El Salvador; yet he was never extradited for trial. Found to be living in a Boston suburb, Montano was subsequently sent to prison in the U.S. for criminal fraud on his immigration forms. His U.S. hearing, which took place in Boston, highlighted his role in human rights violations, and opened the possibility of his eventual extradition. His conviction is historical for El Salvador because the U.S. judge recognized the voices of victims as evidence of human rights abuses. It is also the first time in the history of the United States that a judge acknowledged the responsibility of a former member of the Salvadoran military for torture and murder.

The panel “Change or Continuity? Re-Assessing the Meaning of the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua” was moderated by LILAS Benson associate director Juliet Hooker, an associate professor in the UT Department of Government. The panel participants addressed the twists and turns in Nicaraguan history. Dora María Téllez—a founder of Movimiento Renovador Sandinista—said, “I am an optimist and have a biological resistance to believing that all the sacrifices made by my comrades in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala were in vain.” In Nicaragua, many think that the revolutionary process was not worth it, that socialism did not have the answers Nicaraguans were looking for. At the end of the 1970s, Nicaragua started a process of political, economic, and social redefinition. The Somoza dictatorship was removed in 1979 and the Sandinista revolutionaries claimed their role as protagonists in the new economic system. But the ideal of revolution and the postwar reality obligated Nicaraguan society to rethink the social system, a task that was out of the hands of the revolutionaries. “Many people who participated in the Sandinista Revolution felt hopeless,” said Téllez. Now, thirty-five years after the end of the Somoza dictatorship, one can retrace the mistakes of the past. Nicaraguans thought that the Sandinista Revolution had ended the dictatorship, but
they only fought its institutional expressions, not its political model.

The conference recognized different patterns of violence in the region; in Guatemala, it was massive violence focused in specific rural and indigenous communities, while in El Salvador the violence was highly focused among the leaders, with the purpose of defeating the movement from above. The military strategies also differed, to the point that El Salvador is seen by the U.S. military as a successful example of division and “pacification” of revolutionary movements.

In addition to exploring the region’s different patterns of violence, the conference assessed the Central American revolutions from diverse vantage points. For example, Manolo Vela, history professor at Mexico’s Universidad Iberoamericana, spoke about the modus operandi of the Guatemalan army, its training methods, and the military intelligence involved in its strategies to destroy communities. Vela’s presentation was hard to hear for the victims in the audience. Yet his expertise in Guatemalan military tactics shows the importance of viewing history from all sides, and the value of rescuing perpetrators’ narratives and documents so that the memories of the past can be complete.

In short three days, the Lozano Long Conference generated applause of emotion, hugs of support, and smiles of healing; it opened the hearts of everyone present to the importance of humanity and social ties in reconstructing history. In coming together, its participants reaffirmed their commitment to remembering, and to keeping the ideals of Central American revolutions alive.

Brenda Estela Xum is a Guatemalan scholar. She graduated with a master’s degree from LLILAS in May 2014. She looks forward to continuing her research on human rights violations in Guatemala.

(Partial proceedings from the conference are available online, including photos, video, audio, and full-text papers, at http://bit.ly/cenam2014.)

Top to bottom: Carlos Henríquez Consalvi of Museo de la Palabra y La Imagen, El Salvador; (left–right) Charles Hale, Pablo Ceto, Dora María Téllez, and Carlos Fernando Chamorro; Pablo Ceto and Dora María Téllez
Despite the passage of three decades since the dirty wars unfolded across Latin America, the ramifications of these histories continue to reverberate into the present. Over the past year the world has witnessed former heads of state in Guatemala and Argentina stand trial and be convicted for crimes of genocide and child abduction, respectively, during their countries’ period of armed conflict and military dictatorship. While acknowledging and confronting the past through these public, state-led accountability efforts is indeed necessary, they present a historical narrative that still foregrounds high-ranking state actors. The complex histories and lived experiences of victims and survivors are rarely represented in their own right or through their own perspectives and voices, particularly in a way that reaches broad audiences.

To address this erasure from the historical record, many communities, small institutions, and individuals have undertaken the task of archiving their experiences and histories. Yet these groups and individuals struggle with issues of long-term preservation of, and access to, their documentation. In the spirit of collaboration and solidarity, LLILAS Benson Latin American Studies and Collections and the University of Texas Libraries have partnered with individuals and community organizations to ensure that these communities’ valuable documentation remains preserved for the historical record and future generations of education and scholarship. In December 2013, the Mellon Foundation awarded LLILAS Benson with an eighteen-month planning grant to support these archival collaborations through a project titled “Post-Custodial Archival Development and Digital Scholarship: Learning from Latin America.” The grant will fund three archival pilot projects in Central America as well as an inventory of human rights–related archival partnership opportunities across Latin America.

The University of Texas Libraries formalized its commitment to working with communities to preserve valuable and fragile archival documentation through its establishment of the Human Rights Documentation Initiative (HRDI) in 2008. Over the past six years, the HRDI has successfully partnered with seven organizations: the Kigali Genocide Memorial in Rwanda; the Museum of the Word and Image in El Salvador; the Guatemala National Police Archive; Free Burma Rangers in Southeast Asia; Texas After Violence Project in Austin, Texas; WITNESS in New York; and the National Security Archive in Washington, D.C. HRDI’s collaborative archival efforts in Latin America focus on documentation related to the region’s dirty wars and include preservation of and access to El Salvador’s Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front’s (FMLN) Radio Venceremos recordings; Guatemala’s national police historical archive, which the state claimed never existed; and, in partnership with the National Security Archive, Paraguay’s Terror Archive and Argentina’s Foreign Ministry records.

When the University of Texas Libraries first conceived of its Human Rights Documentation Initiative, it envisioned a more traditional acquisition model in which partner organizations would send their materials for digitization at the Libraries, the Libraries would retain...
digital copies, and the original material would be sent back to its creators. However, as the HRDI began establishing its first partnership, it encountered flaws in the traditional model of acquisition, which requires record creators to send their materials to a distant repository for preservation. Partner and potential partner organizations were understandably reluctant to relinquish custody of their materials, even temporarily. In the first place, the documentation serves immediate programming needs, whether advocacy or education, and its removal could severely disrupt the organization’s operations. From a preservation standpoint, shipping the materials back and forth between organizations poses an additional risk to the documentation’s already vulnerable state. Additionally, considering U.S. relations with the countries with whom the HRDI partners, and histories of U.S. intervention—as in the cases of Guatemala and El Salvador—it is not difficult to understand the reluctance of human rights organizations to hand their materials over to a large U.S. institution. Thus, the HRDI had to find another model that would facilitate use of rich, unique information resources as well as address both preservation and custody concerns. As a result, the HRDI drew upon the post-custodial theory of archives, which envisions that “archivists will no longer physically acquire and maintain records, but . . . will provide management oversight for records that will remain in the custody of the record creators.”

This model allows record creators to maintain custody of their materials while archivists work with them to develop preservation and access solutions that fit the needs of both groups.

In the HRDI post-custodial model, both archivists and partner organizations are experts. Archivists share their professional expertise in preservation, description, and access in order to help develop the partner organization’s preservation capacity and infrastructure; partner organizations draw upon local labor for digitization work and harness their subject expertise to provide in-depth description of their materials. The resulting product supports the partner organizations’ programming, meets established standards for preservation, and serves as a valuable primary resource for teaching and research. Incorporating the partner organization into the archival process empowers and further invests the local community in the preservation of its cultural patrimony, and helps ensure that the historical record remains intact. The post-custodial model, as practiced at UT, is thus rooted in the establishment of deep collaborative relationships—horizontal and reciprocal in nature—with our colleagues and sister institutions around the globe.

Through the Mellon-funded post-custodial archiving project LLILAS Benson will partner with three organizations in Central America—specifically Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua—to set up pilot projects to preserve, digitize, and provide online access to valuable and fragile historical documents. These pilot projects build on the momentum gained from the 2014 Lozano Long Conference, “Archiving the Central American Revolutions,” which offered firsthand reflections from historical actors and scholars on the necessity of preserving memory and documentation related to the social and political upheaval in Central America during the late twentieth century. Additionally, the project will build a directory of other post-custodial archival opportunities across Latin America, in the hope that other U.S. academic institutions will consider adopting post-custodial partnerships with Latin American communities to preserve their historical memory.

The Mellon-funded project will be directed by partner organizations and their priorities, and will build on the lessons learned from the HRDI’s implementation of the post-custodial model as well as existing LLILAS Benson relationships with Latin American organizations and UT Latin Americanist faculty’s research strengths in the region.

Notes
1. While a three-judge tribunal in Guatemala convicted General Efraín Ríos Montt, former president of Guatemala, of genocide on May 10, 2013, the Constitutional Court overturned the conviction ten days later.

T-Kay Sangwand is the archivist for the UT Libraries’ Human Rights Documentation Initiative and the librarian for Brazilian Studies for the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection. She is a certified archivist with five years of experience working with nongovernmental organizations in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the United States to preserve their human rights documentation.

Radio Venceremos broadcasters in La Cueva de las Pasiones, La Guacamaya, Morazán, El Salvador, ca. 1980s
VISITORS TO LLILAS BENSON these days are seeing many transformations unfold in public programs as well as public spaces, but one of the most exciting recent developments inside the Benson Collection has been the revitalization of our existing exhibition spaces and the installation of a new gallery on the Benson second floor. Inaugurating the new space, the exhibition Mapping Mexican History: Territories in Dispute, Identities in Question opened on October 14, 2013, and ran through January 2014. The maps presented in the exhibition, reproduced to scale from the Benson’s rare books and manuscripts collection, reflect the intertwined and often contentious relationships between indigenous and European, secular and religious, and “national” and foreign identities in Mexico’s evolution from colonial territory to modern state.

The exhibition highlighted one of the Benson’s true gems, its collection of early Latin American maps, in particular the Mexican maps that came to us as part of the Genaro García Collection in 1921 and the Joaquín García Icazbalceta Manuscript Collection in 1937, the two foundational acquisitions that built what is today the Benson Latin American Collection. The featured maps also connected with two different courses offered by LLILAS Benson this year: the graduate seminar on the Benson’s Relaciones Geográficas collection led by art history professor Julia Guernsey and Benson rare books librarian Michael Hironymous, and an undergraduate Latin American history seminar taught by LLILAS professor Lina del Castillo. Both of these courses were held in the Benson and centered on early maps from the collection. The development of this exhibition of early Mexican maps was thus a natural choice to launch our new exhibition gallery, giving visitors not only an in-depth look at some of the treasures of the Benson’s map collections but also a window into the kinds of scholarly resources and innovative learning experiences that LLILAS Benson offers to UT students.

About the Exhibition: Mapping Territory and Identity

Mapping Mexican History focused on three distinct moments when maps played an integral role in the transformation of Mexico and its political geography. In the sixteenth century, early colonial pictographic maps drawn by indigenous artists reflect the growth of Spanish colonial administration. These maps show how indigenous elites adapted pre-Hispanic visual traditions to Europeanized forms of documentation to record their histories and defend claims to land and power. In the eighteenth century, new maps of Mexico’s principal cities serve as both representations and instruments of the viceregal government’s efforts to re-order and regulate Mexican social life and public spaces. And in the nineteenth century, maps are central to the military struggle for independence and the defense of contested national borders.

Early Colonial Maps:
The Relaciones Geográficas

One of the Benson’s greatest treasures, the collection of manuscript documents and maps known as the Relaciones Geográficas, consists of responses to a questionnaire issued by King Philip II of Spain in 1577 to survey Spanish American territories. The questionnaire, distributed to colonial officials in New Spain and Peru, requested basic information about the nature and characteristics of the lands and the lives of their peoples. The replies were completed by these officials with the help of indigenous notaries and scribes. The Benson’s holdings, from Mexico and Guatemala, offer historical, cultural, and geographical details of communities in the sixteenth century and before the conquest. Many of the written responses included hand-drawn and painted maps, called pinturas. These maps were the work of indigenous artists, many of whom were educated by the Spanish but were also trained in pre-Hispanic writing and artistic practices. The artists’ use of both traditions of visual representation in the
Figure 1. Relación geográfica map of Cempoala (Hidalgo), 1580
The relación map of Cempoala (Hidalgo) (see Figure 1) is particularly rich in indigenous iconography marking places, people, and topography. The large hill topped by the head of a Totonac (an indigenous group) is a perfect example of the hill symbol—tepetl in Nahua—that represents place. Atl, water, seen here in the waterway and aqueduct at left, is another frequent visual feature of indigenous maps, and the Nahua word altepetl, akin to city-state, comes from the words atl and tepetl, because a water source and a defensive hill were integral to the founding of a settlement. Pictographs on the map also represent the complexity of Cempoala’s colonial social and political order. Local Nahua rulers in noble tilmahtli (cloaks) and headgear, and Otomí natives wearing more rustic dress, are easily distinguished, as is the Spanish official seated at bottom right in his chair. The grid that underlies all of these figures suggests the division of lands that pertain to Cempoala’s altepetls and the smaller communities they each contained.

**Early Colonial Maps:**

**Land Grants and Legal Claims**

Land maps were made to support legal claims by Spaniards and natives alike. Like the Relaciones Geográficas maps, many sixteenth-century land maps made by indigenous artists and communities responded to the demands of the Spanish colonial government in a hybrid visual style, combining distinctively Mesoamerican and European elements. Pre-Hispanic traditions of mapping land tenure and tribute relationships were well established when the Spanish arrived. But colonial indigenous maps created for legal purposes emphasized information and visual elements that would mean the most to Spanish judicial officials. They tended to highlight land use and ownership rather than history or community, identify places with words rather than pictures, and specify distances between towns and landmarks.

The map from Tepexi, Puebla, pictured in Figure 2, was part of a 1584 legal petition filed by Don Joaquín de Francisco Moctezuma, a landholding cacique (indigenous local ruler), against a royal merced, or land grant, to be

![Figure 2: Map of the lands of Don Joaquín de Francisco Moctezuma, Tepexi, Puebla, 1584](image-url)
given to Doña Alonça de Sande, a Spaniard. The granting of a merced required legal documentation to prove that the lands in question were uncultivated and free of any other legitimate claims to ownership. The map was likely commissioned by Don Joaquín, and his lands are clearly delineated in red near the map’s top, showing abundant corn and pumpkin crops. These lands were farmed for the cacique by terrazgueros, indigenous tenant farmers, whose own houses and plots are tightly clustered across the map. The densely represented agricultural activity emphasizes that these lands were occupied and cultivated, which would preclude their being absorbed into a new land grant.

Mapping a New Urban Order
In the late colonial period, Mexican cities expanded as Atlantic trade and a boom in mining production brought new wealth and population growth. Urban society became more complex, and increased mixing of races and greater class mobility altered traditional patterns of sociability and city life. In the eighteenth century, royal reformers influenced by the political, economic, and cultural ideals of the Enlightenment imposed a new urban order in Mexico and throughout the Spanish empire. They restructured city spaces, policed streets, and regulated public diversions in an attempt to shape not only the administration but also the morals of cities and their inhabitants.

A 1794 map of Valladolid (today Morelia) shows the imposition of the cuartel system, which divided the city into distinct quarters or zones for administrative and policing purposes (Figure 3). By order of the viceroy, cuartele were instituted during the 1790s in Mexico City and the other major colonial cities, including Valladolid, Querétaro, Oaxaca, Puebla, San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas.

Territory and Nation: Defining and Defending Mexican Borders
After the wars of conquest in the sixteenth century, military conflict gave way to a colonial enterprise centered on political, social, and economic development that took root in central Mexican communities and cities and slowly extended outward. But as colonial rule ended with the wars of independence and early statehood in the nineteenth century, territorial defense and military matters...
once again became central concerns. A new Mexican state confronted political instability and competing claims to its national territory, particularly along the sparsely settled northern borders.

Two nineteenth-century maps in the Benson Collection share a connection that helped shape modern Mexican history. Before maps were mass-printed, military draftsmen routinely copied field maps by hand. In 1840, General Mariano Arista, commander of the Mexican Army of the North, ordered Colonel José Juan Sánchez to copy a field map of northeastern Mexico (see Figure 4) for his second-in-command, General Isidro Reyes, from a larger original (which Sánchez, an accomplished draftsman, is also believed to have helped create). Sánchez’s map was a categorical improvement over existing maps of northeastern Mexico. It offered unprecedented detail and extreme accuracy in its identification of every settlement, path, landmark, and water source in its boundaries, reflecting the draftsman’s deep knowledge of the territory. In addition to topographical features, the map recorded sites of conflict with both Comanches and Tamaulipas federalist rebels, and affirmed Mexico’s historic claim to its northeastern border at the Nueces River—a claim in dispute with independent Texas at the time.

On May 8 and 9, 1847, in one of the first conflicts of the U.S.–Mexico war, General Zachary Taylor and his troops delivered a humiliating defeat to General Arista at Resaca de la Palma, near present-day Brownsville, Texas. The U.S. troops overtook Arista’s encampment and seized his personal belongings, including his papers and maps. One map in particular, the hand-drawn field map created by José Juan Sánchez and others, offered the U.S. army detailed topographical and travel information that far surpassed any knowledge they possessed—an intelligence coup that likely changed the course of the war.

A copy of the Mexican map quickly found its way to the East Coast, where mapmaker J.G. Bruff designed a version that printer John Disturnell published and sold (see Figure 5). This version of Arista’s map along with
Disturnell’s 1847 map of the United States of Mexico—known as the “treaty map” for its use in negotiating the peace in 1848—became two of the most important maps of the U.S.–Mexico war. Their quick production and success reflect public interest in the details of the war and mark the emergence of printed maps as a new mass medium.

New Audiences
Taken together, the maps featured in the Benson exhibition tell a story of Mexican territory as it was defined, redefined, and contested through three centuries. They also demonstrate the power of maps themselves to shape history and identity. This is the message that LLILAS Benson has shared with the local community through its exhibits during the past year. Mapping Mexican History not only inaugurated the new LLILAS Benson gallery space but has also been integral to the launch of our collaborative public engagement program and joint effort to bring our resources to new audiences.

In October 2013, Relaciones Geográficas maps from the exhibition served as the basis for a highly successful K–16 educator workshop. Staff experts and LLILAS graduate students engaged with teachers from across Texas in an exploration of mapmaking as a source of community expression and a discussion of how maps can represent histories and points of view outside the bounds of traditional cartography. The enthusiasm generated by the workshop led to several onsite presentations in Austin schools this spring to share Benson maps with local students and have them tell their own stories through hand-drawn maps they created. And this summer, Mapping Mexican History will travel to Austin’s Faulk Central Library as part of a new partnership that LLILAS Benson has initiated with Austin Public Libraries to share Benson exhibitions and host related events that further enhance the reach of our public programming to the local community.

Julianne Gilland is curator at the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection.

Figure 5. John Disturnell, A Correct Map of the Seat of War in Mexico, being a Copy of Gral. Arista’s map taken at Resaca de la Palma . . . New York, 1847
“MA’AM, DO YOU KNOW where I can rent money?” The question, posed to me by a middle-aged woman behind the counter of a small shop in a rural village in Western Mexico, took me by surprise. I was taken aback, not so much because of the fact that she was in financial trouble—it was spring 1998 and the impact of the introduction of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) four years earlier was hitting hard—but because it was totally unexpected: having been in this particular village in the state of Nayarit for only a week, I was practically a stranger and had only come into the woman’s store to buy a soft drink. What disconcerted me the most, however, was the way in which the question had been formulated: she did not speak of a loan or credit, but of rent.

Although not common in everyday language when referring to money, the term “rent” denotes a transaction in which the individual leases a good and pays for its usufruct. It is not a loan, which might entail favors or moral obligations. It is not credit, which generally implies an element of trust. The shopkeeper expressed her desire to enter a contractual relationship involving license of usufruct of a good for a limited time.

We continued the conversation. Access to government funds, she said, was controlled by local authorities; money lenders not only charged a huge amount, but were finicky. Friends and family gossiped and got her into all sorts of trouble. Thus, it seemed logical to ask an outsider. She had seen me carrying a notebook and thought I might “know institutions and people who could help.” Such relationships “with strangers” would be “uncontaminated,” since they would be strictly monetary. I realized she meant that the transaction would not be tainted by the characteristic “noise” of social relations, pregnant with emotions and vitiated by particular combinations of shared histories and clashes generated in everyday interaction.

But such clarity is nonexistent in everyday life. Microfinancial practices, the focus of this analysis, involve people who “do their arithmetic” based on frameworks of calculation that involve monetary as well as social and cultural parameters. These do not correspond to a single process of reasoning, but lead us to circuits of valuation that give form and content to monetary transactions. Certain values are cherished or deemed pertinent within particular spheres of interaction. Others might not be considered worthy. For example, ten dollars can be considered very valuable in one arena, while in another it would be considered a small tip. This issue is of critical importance to our understanding of the workings of finance and the economy.

Access and New Financial Practices in Western Mexico

The shopkeeper in our story—who I later found out was a widow living with her twenty-year-old son—was immersed in an economy that increasingly took on new dimensions. For decades, enterprises such as hers had operated on the basis of deferred payment and loans. In agricultural villages it could hardly be otherwise. If the source of income was agriculture, payment had to wait for harvest time. If it was remittances from relatives working in the city or in the United States, the wait could be shorter, although also unpredictable. Neither was absolutely dependable, but the economic configuration of rural villages in this region allowed a degree of certainty and social networks provided some safeguard. At the end of the nineties, agricultural wages had registered a significant decline, which could partly explain the problems the shopkeeper was facing. A few months later she closed the shop.

In the ensuing decade, the makeup of rural towns and villages in Western Mexico suffered transformations. The proliferation of horticultural companies geared toward export entailed, on the one hand, increased incorporation of women into wage labor, and on the other, the stifling of traditional subsistence agriculture. The reconfiguration of labor markets, the dynamics of migration (both immigration from other regions and out-migration, mainly to the United States), and processes of diversification wherein both men and women engaged to some extent in activities related to commerce, transport, tourism,
and so forth, had implications for the nature of financial practices. Also relevant were remittances and social compensation programs oriented to “the poorest,” and in some regions, drug traffic, with its extravagant splurges on drink, food, and music. All have spillover effects in local communities. Levels of poverty have not decreased, but rural areas can no longer be seen as oriented solely to agriculture.

In the process, the demand for money has followed an upward spiral. Rural economies have become increasingly monetized. Despite the prevalence of a large number of households whose per capita income is less than three dollars per day, the flow of monetary resources in the form of cash or debt in these sectors is not inconsequential. It is quite common to find expensive electronic devices in some of these households, and there is a considerable amount of petty consumption—people buy a few eggs or tomatoes at a time, shampoo in small sachets, and ham by the slice, even if that is more expensive and requires visiting the shop several times a day. Such consumption patterns provide employment—however precarious—for locals, and juicy profits to intermediaries and usurers.

Microlending and microfinance organizations have blossomed, mostly in response to the increasing demand for financial services. But the supply of monetary resources also opened up to private nonbank financial intermediaries, including those organized as sofoles (limited object financial societies) and sofomes (multiple object financial societies); in some regions, credit cards have been introduced. The mushrooming of new financial agents and intermediaries entails a significant diversification of mechanisms of access. The kind of warranties required has changed, as has the value attributed to different forms of assets and capital, including property, knowledge, social networks, stability in employment, credit history, and so forth.

Microlending organizations must incorporate economic markers to address growth, efficiency, and cost–benefit analyses of investments in human, intellectual, and organizational resources. Clients must qualify as a “good investment”—promising sure pay and future profit. A “trustworthy person” is often called upon to sign as guarantor and take on the responsibility of paying if the new client defaults. Culturally defined criteria enter the equation in the establishment of parameters as to what classifies as trustworthy, as well as how growth and efficiency are to be delineated.

Economic transactions necessarily involve forms of prediction and valuation that conform to circuits of meaning shaped by social, ethical, and cultural dimensions. Even obtaining gifts and loans from friends and neighbors entails going through socially prescribed processes of categorization and re-identification; the same goes for governmental or nongovernmental programs, where an applicant for funds must be classified as “poor but willing to make an effort to progress.”

Thus, financial practices are forged through arrangements that involve relations, responsibilities, complicities, and dependencies. Recourse to one practice or another, and the effectiveness of that practice in resolving the requirements of a social group in the short, medium, or long term, depends on a series of interrelated factors. These include group configurations (i.e., nuclear or extended family, domestic cycle, type of cohabitation), dependency linkages (including...
relations within the group and external to it), sources of income, economic and financial arrangements, family history (including place of origin, ethnicity, and special needs), and the incidence of different forms of violence (be it intra-household violence, wherein the woman might be strangled for cash and/or deprived of her income, or community and regional violence, including that wielded by caciques—local power holders or large economic stakeholders). The particular combination of these and other factors intervenes in the forging of frameworks of calculation through which one can assess the mechanisms used in a particular transaction.

**Saving, Investment, and Circuits of Valuation**

Rural inhabitants face new challenges when resorting to a range of financial procedures. Within the lowest-income sectors of the population, it is quite often women who save, invest, and anticipate expenditures, but inevitably emergencies come up. Purchases are prioritized and sometimes postponed. A small luxury is indulged in now and then. Health tends to be neglected; education, interrupted. The creativity with which people devise coping mechanisms is surprising. Links to politicians, local authorities, and other “big men” are useful, and are paid for with favors and loyalty. Social networks can be an important asset, but they need to be oiled and managed, sometimes at the cost of personal dignity. There is also apathy, greed, envy, competition, exploitation, discrimination, and violence.

People’s personal finances can be visualized as an intertwining of fragments that include a diversity of small incomes, many of which are sustained through different types of support, favors, promises, and debts. Challenges are addressed by resorting to a range of financial procedures, and this has important social implications, not the least of which involves new forms of exclusion.

Low-income rural inhabitants have different ways of saving. It is common for women to maintain secret hiding places behind a brick or inside an old kitchen pot where they keep coins and a bill or two, ready to be used in emergencies. They often make use of money-keepers—friends or relatives who can keep the money safe for them until they need it—who in turn might use it or lend it but can be trusted to return it in a timely way, even if it entails borrowing from someone else.

ROSCAs are quite common. In a ROSCA, or rotating savings and credit association, members of a group of ten or more people contribute an established amount of money every month and take turns receiving the “kitty.” The majority of participants are women. People can participate in several ROSCAs at the same time, and might hold more than one number (ROSCAs can include as many as 100 numbers). Credit and savings associations are also much resorted to. The problem is that the amounts that people are able to save are small and are used to cover short- and medium-term needs. Larger savings tend to be carried out in the form of acquisition of patrimonial goods, such as a piece of land or a house. Ownership of cattle—a symbol of accumulation—and the raising of hogs and chickens are also recurrent forms of saving. People see them as a form of investment. A plot of land or a house are also good investments in that they can, if necessary, be rented out or used as collateral in credit operations. Investment in vehicles, small shops, musical instruments, and so forth is frequently made possible by money earned in the United States.

However, if an individual seeks to multiply existing resources, the accumulation of patrimonial goods, such as a homestead or land, is not very efficient. This is because patrimonial goods are hardly fungible—that is, they cannot be converted rapidly into cash, and this can entail loss of opportunity. Thus, land is not necessarily the best investment unless it is in a zone with touristic potential or can be rented out easily for a reasonable price—for example, to horticultural companies.

We are therefore speaking of two different circuits of valuation. On the one hand, if agricultural land or housing provide security for families in terms of food or shelter, their acknowledged value depends less on the market than on their usefulness. But if the intention is to invest in the market, the value of access capital—timely information, contacts, and the possibility of speculation—can be larger than the value of the patrimonial good, which can in fact be considered “dead capital.”

In one circuit, kin and friendship networks are indispensable. In the other, they can be a dead weight. Social relations, based on socio-historically defined differentiation, form an intrinsic part of the various types of savings and investment. The possibility of growth through savings is limited if we resort to frameworks of calculation commonly utilized by development experts.

**Debt, Delayed Payment, and Morality**

Debt is one of the most common ways of coping with dearth and scarcity in everyday life, and some households base up to 50 percent of their daily consumption on forms of debt. Whether monetary or non-monetary, debt often constitutes a transient solution for today’s needs, with the expectation that
tomorrow will be better. It is particularly interesting to explore the forms of debt engaged in between shopkeepers and their customers.

Most people we interviewed mention the shame and humiliation entailed in asking for delayed payment at local shops. However, it is one of the most common practices to make ends meet. Other frequently used practices are loans from relatives, local lenders, and institutions; participating in ROSCAs; pawning jewelry or electronic equipment; donations; and support from civil, religious, or government institutions. At some point, most families in this village in Western Mexico have had to resort to borrowing from predatory lenders, paying excessively for the use of funds. Here, access to money is more important than its cost.

Bank accounts are seldom used, although people do participate in furniture shop and department store credit schemes, and in some cases have taken on credit cards with very low credit limits. In addition to participation in credit associations, discussed below, people make use of different forms of saving, money-keepers, and investment. At times, women take credit from savings and credit associations to pay debts in local shops or to street vendors. They explain that when resources enter their households, these are already designated for paying off local shops, money-lenders, the credit association, or their relatives. They pay a bit here and there, and claim that frequently they have nothing left to buy food, but at least they still have the possibility of acquiring credit since they have shown willingness to pay.

Going into debt and delaying payment is a way out of the “bad patch” of temporary ill fortune. The expression “bad patch” (malas rachas) is used frequently in rural Mexico. The underlying notion is one of misfortune—bad luck that has temporarily come about in the form of sickness, the death of a family member, a bad crop, lack of employment, or other calamities. However, the notion also entails an element of hope: the adverse situation is somehow expected to change. But faith in “what providence may bring” is not only a religious principle, it is also a style of life and an organizing practice involving the redistribution of resources, where time itself is a resource.

Under some circumstances, delayed payment (fiado) has negative connotations. Although very common, even among some “better off” families, people tend to deny that they acquire groceries on delayed payment as it signals lack of liquidity on the part of the borrower, who also faces the humiliation of asking a favor and acknowledging that she doesn’t have the means to purchase what she needs. Delayed payment can be a gender strategy: women acquire groceries in installments, but also clothes and shoes in order to force their husbands to cover household expenses. They claim that their husbands are often wary of providing money, but with the argument that it is already owed, they are obliged to pay.

Delayed payment is ultimately a matter of trust. If you can be trusted to pay, shopkeepers have no problem accepting and even encouraging such practices in order to keep their clients. The problem is that such trust is not always present.

People try to keep such arrangements private when possible since, in addition to increased monetary costs (commodities acquired in this way tend to be more expensive and final bills blurry), this kind of transaction entails social costs. Favors must be paid, and interests, which are seldom monetary, tend not to be made explicit. However, it is common to rely upon delayed payment and loans from friends and neighbors, especially when amounts are small. Often, two or three sources must be approached before receiving a positive response, and sometimes borrowers must pull together the required amount from several different sources. They also draw on barter, including the exchange of services and favors, which plays an important role in their precarious economies.

It is no surprise, then, that social relations, based on socio-historically defined differentiation, form an intrinsic part of financial practices of rural Mexicans. Indeed, “pulling through” does not only entail a roof, food on the table, or monetary income. It also entails the circulation of information, the management of abilities and relations in addition to social membership. Meeting commitments, guaranteeing protection, acquiring status, and organizing time are as important as food or physical security. Thus, dishonor is seriously taken into account in the valuation of mechanisms that can be opted for in economic transactions. “Better hunger than humiliation,” says one of the interviewees.

Although within cultural standards engaging in monetary debt is hardly ever recognized as an ideal or morally correct procedure, it is a recurrent practice. As such, it is constantly reinvented and re-signified to legitimate its use. In the process, a bad patch may temporarily be overcome, but commitments and obligations frequently remain, often leading to the reproduction of vulnerabilities and forms of exclusion. This is not to say that debt always leads to powerlessness and exclusion. This would be a misconstrual of its nature and workings. Whether debt relations have
increased or simply relocated with the accelerated changes taking place in Mexico, it is clear that their importance has become more evident and the social frameworks upon which they are based have changed.

Social Boundaries and Economic Dilemmas
In the scenario described in this article, the key is not to accumulate resources but to capitalize and gain a degree of economic control, profiting from the value attributed to a particular resource. Processes of capitalization involve the ways in which assets are weighed, measured, and mobilized, and how their perceived virtues and attributes are included or not in economic calculations.

Different frameworks of calculation coexist and interrelate in the definition of value equivalences, so although money is represented as the standard measure of value, it does not necessarily function as such. What money does do is “delimit the circle of actions between which equivalences can be formulated” (Callon 1998, 21). By providing the façade of a universal yardstick, monetary calculations can brush off a number of social and economic relations (generally considered erratic, volatile, or subjective) as externalities. To be sure, some of these dimensions are taken into account in the now trendy notion of “social capital,” which is used to address social resources that yield benefits such as improved material conditions, increased income, and social status. This is not difficult to conceptualize in today’s world, where the range of what can be identified as assets yielding monetary benefits seems to have increased. Intangibles such as information, security, and knowledge are quite explicitly priced and allocated in ways that were previously unthought-of. Notions of social, environmental, and cultural capital have eagerly been taken up in the development scenario, where projects and enterprises depend on the goodwill of donors and other stakeholders who are keen to measure the “cost–benefit” ratio of their investments. To think of social, environmental, kin, friendship, and other resources as capital is to recognize their potential to produce profit in terms that can in some way be made equivalent to financial gain. Social and cultural resources become assets that are deemed measurable, presuming that they can be accumulated, and even distributed to the poor.

But social resources are not external to the actions that invoke, generate, and constitute them (Long and Villarreal 2004). They do not exist as a supply of goods that can be stockpiled and exchanged. It is only in their mobilization that we can visualize them as resources. Activating capital, in this scenario, involves the manipulation of symbols, the imposition of interpretations, and anticipation of the future. Markets are constituted in social interaction. The power to negotiate, then, becomes a critical and unmeasurable factor in determining the value of goods and assets. The ways in which social and symbolic resources are deployed and made significant is thus essential.

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Notes
1. To be sure, the crisis in rural areas cannot solely be attributed to NAFTA, but the drop in prices of meat and grains was, to a large degree, produced by the introduction of U.S. products. The village had for many years survived on remittances, livestock, and maize.
2. Although it could entail a smaller number of people, it is seldom fewer than ten. People can also commit themselves to two or more “numbers” or turns, which means that they pay more every month but receive the kitty twice or more during the period in which the ROSCA is functioning.
3. Not only in terms of being considered an honest person, but in terms of having the means to do so.
4. This is, in fact, common practice in the wholesale market, where farmers sell their produce. Buyers often take the foodstuffs and pay later.

References
The Teaching of Indigenous Languages at UT

ON A CHILLY morning in April, Manuela Tahay walks into her classroom wearing a gray coat over an embroidered blouse and wraparound skirt typical of the traditional dress in her hometown of Nahualá in Guatemala. Tahay is Maya, and she is here to teach her native language of K’ichee’ to a group of students at The University of Texas at Austin. She hands each student a photograph of typical Guatemalan market scenes and asks them to describe the action they see. This exercise is all about building sentences with both a subject and a verb, no small feat given the complex K’ichee’ verb, which is assembled by adding a handful of prefixes and suffixes indicating different grammatical features to a root. Then the students have to put their assembled words into the correct order in this language where verbs begin sentences. Tahay’s students perform the task splendidly, describing a woman sitting in front of a basket of chiles for sale as Kuk’iyij ìk le ixoq, and a man carrying a bundle of vegetables as Karerej wa le achi.

Learning languages has long been part of the collegiate experience and is frequently required of students, but most students in the United States elect to study one of just a handful of languages: German, French, Italian, and Spanish. These four languages (along with English) are the native tongues of only about 13 percent of the world’s population. For some, this state of affairs reflects a missed opportunity to educate students more broadly on the many different languages spoken worldwide. One entity that would like to see less commonly taught languages (LCTLs) in more U.S. university curricula is the U.S. Department of Education, which awards Title VI funds to institutions so that they can improve language instruction programs in LCTLs and area studies, offering U.S. college graduates a deeper and broader understanding of the languages and cultures that may have been overlooked previously. Building on UT’s particular expertise and association with Latin America, LILLAS Benson has applied for Title VI funds to teach the indigenous languages of Latin America both on the Forty Acres and during immersive summer programs.

Spanish and Portuguese are the predominant languages in Latin America, whose very name refers to these Romance languages. However, the region’s strong association with these two European languages obscures the fact that Latin America is a place of great linguistic diversity. Over 700 indigenous languages are spoken in Latin America, and the region contains two hotbeds of linguistic diversity: Mesoamerica and the Amazon basin (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2014). On the South American mainland, only Uruguay lacks an indigenous language spoken within its borders.
Tahay’s K’ichee’ courses are part of a larger push at The University of Texas to give students the opportunity to study the indigenous languages of Latin America. Beginning in the fall of 2014, students will be able to sign up for K’ichee’ courses offered through Latin American studies to satisfy their university foreign language requirements, same as Spanish, German, or any other language offered at UT. The courses that are offered through this Indigenous Languages Initiative have a pedagogical focus on communication skills, student interaction with native speakers, and grammar. In practice this means that on my visit to her classroom, Tahay’s students greeted each other in K’ichee’ and spent some time asking each other Jas xab’an iwir? “What did you do yesterday?” to gain practice in the kinds of situations in which they can expect to use the language. They also meet individually with the instructor to practice their listening skills with a native speaker, as well as study lists of vocabulary and the thornier points of grammar, such as the formation of antipassive verbs and the proper use of pronouns in this ergative language.2

Though study of a language’s grammar and memorization of lists of vocabulary are unavoidably necessary to develop proficiency, having the opportunity to immerse oneself in a language allows for the seeds planted during those hours of classroom instruction to sprout and bloom into truly fluent language skills. In discussing his own immersion when learning the Miskitu language of Nicaragua, LLILAS Benson director Charlie Hale said, “It’s a great experience. You’re just working on [learning the language] all the time, and you can feel yourself advancing day by day when you can ask for a drink of water when you couldn’t the day before.” The students in UT’s K’ichee’ program will have the opportunity to do just that at a summer program in Guatemala administered by UT in concert with Vanderbilt University, the University of New Mexico, and Tulane University.

K’ichee’ is just the first indigenous language to be taught at UT. Beginning in the fall of 2015, Nahuatl—a language of Central Mexico that was spoken in an earlier form by the Aztecs, and is a distant relative of the Comanche language once widely spoken in Texas—will be added to the roster. Sergio Romero, assistant professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and language education coordinator for the Indigenous Languages Initiative, hopes to be able to introduce Quechua not long after, and sees many good candidates for future offerings, including Chile’s Mapundugun3 and one of the Zapotec languages spoken aboriginally in Mexico’s southern Oaxaca state and now also spoken in the U.S. by sizable communities in Los Angeles.

Many Latin American indigenous languages are now written. Some, such as Nahuatl, Zapotec, and Mixtec (among others), have been literary languages since the early colonial period, with some Mayan languages written in hieroglyphs since well before the arrival of Europeans. Very few have instructional textbooks suitable for teaching the language at a university level, though a few textbooks, such as Cali chiu? for Valley Zapotec and La útz awách? for Kaqchikel Maya, have been developed (see, respectively, Munro, Lillehaugen, and López 2007; and Brown, Maxwell, and Little 2006). Romero suggests that a successful application for Title VI grants could allow for the development of similar curricula for the languages taught at UT in addition to possibly increasing the number of indigenous language instructors that the university can employ.

Many of Latin America’s indigenous languages are spoken by relatively few people—half of these languages are spoken by fewer than 2,500 individuals—but some are spoken by great numbers. K’ichee’ and the Andean language Aymara are each spoken by over 2 million people, and Guarani is spoken by some 4.8 million in Paraguay. Nearly as many people are native speakers of Swedish (8.7 million) as Quechua (8.9 million). But number of speakers is not the only measure of the importance of a language since, as Romero points out, languages spoken by smaller populations are often “spoken by nearly everyone in their respective area[s],” making them invaluable for anyone interested in the culture or history of the people.

Studying these languages and cultures not only helps students learn more about different parts of the world, but also allows for the voices of these indigenous communities to be heard, as all too often they are left out of policy and social discussions. The denial of indigenous communities’ voices in regional or national discourses frequently takes the form of denial that the communities have a language. Hale remarks on this sentiment, saying, “These languages are becoming smaller because the people that speak them are discriminated against. Their language is said to be inferior or incapable of expressing complex ideas. The more we value these languages and teach them and learn them, the more people there will be to work on their behalf.”

Romero also notes that, “with millions of indigenous Latin Americans living and working in the U.S., there is an increasing interest [in indigenous language instruction] among migrant advocacy groups, law enforcement officials, and Latino activists.” Given his knowledge of K’iche’, Kaqchikel, and Q’eqchi’—all Mayan languages—Romero himself is often asked to interpret for indigenous Latin Americans with a weak grasp of Spanish.

**Research on Indigenous Languages at UT**

Research on indigenous languages at UT is carried out through the Center for Indigenous Languages of Latin America (CILLA), directed...
by Professor of Linguistics Nora England. CILLA has worked to foster this research by hosting a biennial international conference on Latin American indigenous linguistics that attracts scholars from all over the U.S., Latin America, and beyond. In recent years, it has emerged as one of the preeminent conferences of its field, and has been particularly successful in including indigenous Latin Americans as well. At the last conference, in 2013, nearly 18 percent of the attendees were themselves native speakers of an indigenous language.

Many of the indigenous languages of Latin America are endangered, as speakers in those communities shift from speaking the local language to another language. Occasionally the shift is to another indigenous language, such as Tucano or Nheengatu in the Amazon and Guaraní in the Chaco, but in most cases the shift is to Spanish or Portuguese. Some estimates of language shift predict that half of the languages spoken today will not be spoken one hundred years from now (Krauss 1992). Even in communities where children are learning the indigenous language, some specialized genres of speech such as ritual chants, oratory forms, and language games are not being learned by the youngest speakers and will no doubt be absent from the communities’ linguistic repertoire in the future. Beyond the urgent need to collect and record languages and forms of speech before they are no longer spoken, there is also the risk that existing language recordings might be lost to fire, flood, or magnetic signal deterioration if they remain only in researchers’ basements and bottom drawers.

Helping to preserve these languages and ways of speaking at UT is the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA), founded and directed by Professor Emeritus Joel Sherzer. In the Benson Latin American Collection, past the microform reading room and the card catalogue cabinets, Susan Smythe Kung and a small team of research assistants and interns are busy adding to an online archive that stores digital materials in and about Latin America’s indigenous languages and makes them available for download. In doing so, AILLA is striving to fulfill its three-pronged mission: creating a permanent record of Latin American languages, making these records accessible, samples of written Tzeltal, a Mayan language spoken in Ochuc, Chiapas, Mexico, Kaufman archives, collected 1960–1961
and fostering collaboration between speakers and scholars of indigenous languages.

AILLA makes these recordings available and accessible by digitizing audiocassettes, reel-to-reel tapes, and minidiscs so that the archive visitors of today and tomorrow can listen to them on any digital media player rather than having to find a working open-reel player to hear what is on the tape. These digitized recordings and natively digital files, which are given to AILLA to archive, are periodically backed up to provide greater security against any accidental loss of data. The materials are then made available free of charge to anyone who would like to download them, whether they are researchers interested in studying the language, people wanting to use the materials to develop pedagogical materials for revitalization efforts, or community members who want to hear a story told by their grandmother in their ancestral tongue. Improvements in Internet connectivity in much of Latin America now mean that for many communities, these materials can be accessed more easily at a local Internet café than at a physical archive in a regional or national cultural center or library, which may be located far from the community.

One example of the wealth of language materials in the AILLA collection are the archives of University of Pittsburgh professor emeritus Terrence Kaufman. While many linguists devote their careers to the study of only one language, Kaufman has performed or overseen research on scores of languages over his career. After completing a dissertation on the Tzeltal of Aguacatenango, Chiapas, Mexico, in 1963, he began working on, as he puts it, “as many Mayan languages as I could,” bringing to attention a previously unrecognized language, Teko, in the process (Kaufman 2010, 5). He helped organize and oversee two large-scale linguistic research programs, the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquin from 1970 to 1979, on the Mayan languages of Guatemala, and the Proyecto para la Documentación de las Lenguas de Mesoamérica (PDLMA), from 1993 to 2010, on many of the languages spoken in central and southern Mexico.

One of the goals of this latter project was the reconstruction of earlier forms of these languages in the hopes that this might help to decipher the Epi-Olmec script found on monuments at several archaeological sites in Mexico. To do this, the PDLMA undertook in-depth research on thirty languages in the Mayan, Otomanguean, Uto-Aztecan, Totonacan, and Mixe-Zoquean families whose speakers’ ancestors were thought to have practiced writing or produced complex iconography. The compilation of this data has resulted in the creation of dictionaries of sixteen of these languages, twelve PhD dissertations, and boxes upon boxes of audiocassettes, compact discs, and reams of handwritten transcriptions and translations of stories. All of these documents and recordings have formed the sizable Terrence Kaufman Latin American Languages Collection, which has kept Kung and her team busy digitizing, scanning, and organizing an invaluable archive that will prove useful for
researchers and community members alike for years to come. As of press time, AILLA has archived 632 hours of audio, 18 hours of video, and over 15,000 pages of documents in 40 languages, a number that will increase as the last portions of the collection are accessioned this year.

Ryan Sullivant is a PhD candidate in linguistics studying the Chatino languages of Mexico. He has worked as a graduate research assistant at the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA).

Notes
1. The name of the language has been spelled several different ways, and K’iche’ and K’iche’, which differ only in whether or not the long vowel is indicated, are now preferred to earlier spellings such as Quiché. The first apostrophe in the name indicates that the k is ejective or glottalized, and is pronounced with a burst of air, and the second apostrophe indicates a glottal stop, meaning that all air is stopped in the vocal tract, as between the vowels of the English exclamation uh-oh.
2. Unlike European languages (with the notable exception of Basque), Mayan languages are ergative in that the pronouns used for the subjects of intransitive verbs are the same as those used for the objects of transitive verbs, rather than the subjects of transitive verbs as in English. It would be as if English speakers said Her walked away rather than She walked away.
3. The antipassive, like the passive, turns a transitive sentence into an intransitive sentence, but it is the subject, not the object, of the original sentence that is the subject of the resulting intransitive sentence.
4. Mapundugun is perhaps still more widely known as Mapuche, a name considered offensive by many Mapundugun.
5. This language is also known as Tekiteko. It is not to be confused with the language named Teko, or Emerillon, spoken in Suriname.

References

AILLA manager Susan Smythe Kung reviews Kaufman archives
A Dream Come True?
Analyzing the Geography of Opportunities for Public Housing Residents in Santiago de Chile

by SARA McTARNAGHAN

As right-to-the-city movements expand across Latin America, the role of state governments in shaping the urban environment through policy changes and infrastructure investments is in a process of (re)negotiation.

Shelter is the most basic component in supporting safe and vibrant communities, as the home is central to the daily experiences of individuals and families. State interventions in housing have historically been controversial, occasionally lauded for improving basic standards of living but often criticized for displacing communities. This article analyzes the recent implementation of a decades-old housing approach in Chile by mapping the landscapes of urban services near public housing projects to evaluate residents’ access to such amenities.

Background
In the late 1970s, the Chilean government initiated a demand-based housing subsidy to develop public housing in its cities. The housing policy was part of a package of neoliberal reforms applied during the period of military control of the country under Augusto Pinochet from 1973 to 1989. This change transformed housing policy in Chile from a rights-based approach grounded in the concept of derecho a la vivienda (right to housing) to a targeted social policy offering housing subsidies to the most vulnerable quintile of the population through public-private partnerships. During this period, the Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo (MINVU, Ministry of Housing and Urbanism) understood public housing as finished units that would solve the housing deficit problem, focused on the sueño de la casa propia (dream of homeownership) for those who lived in informal settlements or as allegados in overcrowded houses of their relatives.

The policy was consolidated in the 1980s and the construction of public housing increased dramatically after the return to democracy in the early 1990s. As it was implemented, this demand-based housing subsidy drastically changed the urban landscape in Chile’s largest cities as informal settlements were largely replaced by uniform housing construction in blocks on the periphery of the city.

Despite quantitative success, scholars and practitioners have increasingly raised concerns about the low quality, poor locality, and severe overcrowding of these subsidized housing units. Similarly to other Pinochet-era social policies, critics claim the housing subsidy produced “a new kind of institutionalized poverty created by the system” (Richards 1995, 521). While successful in tackling some of the physical and social manifestations of indigence, the housing policy has not created social mobility among marginalized classes. As highlighted in the book Los con techo: Un desafío para la política de vivienda social, critics claim housing policy has reproduced segregation in Santiago through construction of public housing units on the urban fringe, isolating residents from basic public services and amenities (Rodríguez and Sugranyes 2005). While the unit itself represents a major improvement in the “material” quality of life, with better physical infrastructure and reduced exposure to hazards, the peripheral location raises serious concerns about the right to the city for public housing residents (Jirón 2004).

To correct this negative legacy, the Chilean government has tightened regulations on the type and location of housing projects since 2006 under the Nueva Política Habitacional (New Housing Policy). The MINVU added new regulations on funding for the private sector, such as limiting the number of units per project and matching construction sites near one’s community of origin (Aravena 2012). The
localization subsidy, which provided extra funding to well-located projects, is one of several strategies to improve social integration of housing projects that altered both the application procedures and the architectural standards for the built environment of such projects.

Methodology
To analyze the 2006 policy reform, this project seeks to evaluate the geography of opportunities, or access to a series of public and private urban services and amenities among residents at the post-reform public housing sites. The research questions are twofold: (1) To what degree have public housing projects in Santiago de Chile, contracted and built after the 2006 policy reform, been successful in meeting new policy goals calling for improved localization, based on access to crucial urban services? And (2), to what degree are residents of these housing projects exposed to environmental hazards?

Geographic information systems (GIS) software was utilized to conduct a suitability analysis of public housing sites based on their proximity to a series of public services and urban amenities as well as distance away from hazardous sites. Thematic amenity maps document distribution of services and amenities across Santiago in the categories identified, including: education, health, safety and public services, public transportation, commerce, and recreation. Then, raster analysis in GIS was utilized to rank projects based on proximity to amenities on a qualitative scale of low, medium, or high access. Additionally, projects were evaluated based on distance from hazardous sites and ranked low, medium, or high risk. A total of 47 housing projects were evaluated, ranging in size from 50 residents to several hundred.

Findings
The geographic analysis effectively illustrates the landscapes of opportunity and vulnerability in Santiago de Chile’s public housing projects. The legacy of segregated urban development, particularly acute for residential development, has affected the distribution of urban amenities across the city by concentrating important public and private services within wealthier municipalities. This unequal distribution greatly impacts the quality of life for residents in underserved neighborhoods and further distorts differences in land value across the metropolis. Overall, findings reveal uneven progress in improving the siting of new public housing projects in resource-rich, consolidated neighborhoods, an issue that has long plagued
such housing interventions. Some of the new projects have been strategically well located, however these stand out as outliers as the majority of post-reform housing projects have followed traditional patterns of localization from past generations of the housing policy.

**Access to Opportunity**

There was great variation in the distribution of accessibility scores, both geographically and thematically, reflecting the mixed successes of the policy reforms in better integrating new housing projects into the existing urban fabric of Santiago. Geographically, centrally located projects receive higher scores, but there are interesting patterns of higher and lower access even on the urban fringe. Patterns of localization mirror those of earlier generations of the policy as public housing is almost entirely absent from the wealthy northeast cone of Santiago, while municipalities such as Lo Espejo, Renca, La Pintana, and Puente Alto continue to receive the bulk of projects.

Broadly speaking, across the city there is wider coverage of public services such as education, health, and public transportation than private amenities such as commerce. However, qualitative analysis of these amenities reveals that while new projects may be located in closer proximity to services, families who reside at these sites often have access only to the lowest quality of services. Analysis of educational facilities reveals good coverage of public school infrastructure across the city. Preschools and K–12 schools are widely distributed across Santiago, while institutions of higher education are concentrated in the historic core of the city, distant from public housing facilities. Although K–12 schools are well dispersed across the city, analysis of school performance using 2012 SIMCE standardized test scores reveals concentrations of high-achieving schools in the wealthy northeastern cone of Santiago, while underscoring schools create a peripheral belt around the city. The presence of underperforming schools often overlaps with the location of housing projects. These results reflect the limitations and inequalities of access to public services in Santiago, which have become increasingly relevant in the context of the social movements around education in Chile over the past four years.

Unlike public services, where the state and municipality play a role in ensuring coverage of services across geographies, there is little oversight or planning for the distribution of private amenities. Despite different institutional or planning processes, access to...
Figure 3. Sueño por Cumplir (Unrealized Dream), low-ranking case

Figure 4. Centrally located EMATI housing project
commerce, like access to public services, is important for the lived experiences of residents at housing projects, and contributes to their inclusion or exclusion from the city. Results from geographic analysis of proximity to commerce show interesting trends. Formal commercial sites (malls, commercial centers, and grocery stores) are more densely concentrated in the central and northeast zones or along major transit corridors, while informal markets are prevalent in the rest of the city (see Figure 1). Unlike some of the public services analyzed, which, generally speaking, were located near housing sites, many of the projects were isolated from commercial and recreational facilities, meaning housing residents face longer trips and higher transportation costs to access such services.

**Exposure to Hazards**

Traditional studies of access to opportunity focus mainly on assets such as services and amenities that can improve quality of life for residents. However, due to the legacy of housing policy and the state of older housing projects in Santiago, it was important to counterbalance this analysis of the geography of opportunity with an examination of potential exposure to risk. Alarming, the majority of housing projects face significant risk due to their proximity to hazardous sites.

An analysis of exposure to risk was conducted by assessing proximity of housing projects to illegal dumps, landfills, and abandoned lots, representing some but not all potential hazards. Figure 2 illustrates perhaps the most startling results of the analysis: nearly 65 percent of the housing projects were ranked as “high risk” due to their close proximity to hazardous sites. The co-location of public housing projects and hazardous sites is clearly visible on the map, while the wealthier parts of the city show a complete lack of such locally unwanted land uses (LULUs). This raises serious questions of spatial and environmental justice in Santiago. Certain households and communities are not only isolated from key amenities and services necessary to enjoy full rights to the city, but also bear the burden of the city’s hazardous or otherwise dangerous sites.

**Case Studies**

In order to understand what the distribution of amenities and dis-amenities across Santiago might signify for the families that reside at public housing sites, two cases were selected for an in-depth analysis. The two sites reveal wildly different landscapes, illustrating the inconsistent success of policy reforms in prioritizing location for newly funded projects.

The Sueño por Cumplir project (Figure 3) is an example of a project with low accessibility ranking, representative of a housing policy that has been unable to change course. The site is located at the edge of Santiago in the municipality of Lo Espejo. While basic public services are available within a 1-kilometer radius, the nearest school is low performing based on standardized test scores, and there is a complete absence of recreational or commercial facilities. Furthermore, the concentration of hazardous sites suggests that residents here carry an unfair burden of LULUs and likely face undue environmental risk.

On the other hand, the EMATI housing project (Figure 4) reveals a more promising reality. This project is centrally located in the municipality of Estación Central. The neighborhood surrounding the EMATI project is resource rich, with preschool through higher educational facilities, police and fire departments, a diversity of commercial offerings, and several parks and plazas. The housing project is connected to the rest of Santiago through major transit (bus and metro) as well as major avenues. There are a few small pockets of abandoned lots, but no other environmental hazards are present. This case clearly shows an example of what the housing policy should seek to accomplish: not only providing shelter and a permanent housing solution for low-income families but also connecting them (or maintaining existing connections) to a diverse network of basic services and amenities.

In conclusion, the results of this study reveal uneven progress on improving access to basic services and amenities, suggesting that the lived experience at each of the 47 sites analyzed would vary greatly for beneficiary families. This research confirms the importance of broadening the traditional list of public services used in analysis to include a more holistic list of services, amenities, and dis-amenities that families engage in their day-to-day lives. Additionally, clear trends of co-location of the housing projects and hazardous sites across the city raise concerns about spatial justice in Santiago and merit further study. While GIS technology is an effective tool to interpret physical proximity as a measure of accessibility, a more nuanced, qualitative research approach is necessary to explore what non-physical barriers individuals may face as they seek to access these services. The same methodology used in this analysis to conduct post-occupancy evaluation of housing projects based on localization could be utilized at the municipal or city level to identify suitable, amenity-rich locations for siting future housing projects.

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**Author Note**

All data were collected during fieldwork for my master’s thesis throughout the summer of 2013 from several universities and agencies in Santiago, Chile. This research would not have been possible if not for the generosity of the Centro de Inteligencia Territorial at Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Centro de Investigación Social at TECHO, and the Observatorio de Ciudades at Universidad Católica de Chile in kindly sharing shapefiles and GIS data with me.

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Rodríguez, Alfredo, and Ana Sugranyes, eds. 2005. Los con techo: Un desafío para la política de vivienda social. Santiago de Chile: Ediciones SUR.
During the summer of 2013 I had the opportunity and privilege of traveling to Oaxaca, Mexico, and living in San Jerónimo Tlacochahuaya, my maternal family’s hometown. For ten weeks I did research on the decline of Zapotec language transmission and the current efforts of language revitalization. As the daughter of Mexican migrants, with a father from the northern state of Durango and a mother from Oaxaca, I grew up bilingual in San José, California, where the language spoken at home was Spanish and I learned English at school. Though my brother and I grew up hearing conversations in Zapotec among our maternal family, we were not taught the language. Furthermore, my experiences of visiting family in Mexico led me to question why my generation, including cousins raised in Tlacochahuaya and California, were not taught the Zapotec language.

San Jerónimo Tlacochahuaya is located 12 miles south of Oaxaca City, the state capital, in the Central Valley region, which is formed by the northern Sierra Juárez and southern Sierra Madre del Sur mountain ranges. Upon entering the town, via a curving road off the Pan American Highway, one sees the Cerro Negro and Cerro de las Azucenas. The pueblo is known for its sixteenth-century temple and ex-convent of San Jerónimo, as well as the church’s organ, which is registered with the Institute of Historic Organs of Oaxaca. About 3,000 people live in the pueblo, and there are an estimated 1,500 community members in the migrant diaspora who are located within Mexico and throughout the United States, with the majority in California (Sánchez Gómez and Barceló Quintal 2011). Approximately 39 percent of the town’s population speaks its own variety of Valley Zapotec; nonetheless, this is concentrated in the older generations (Martínez Hernández 2011). Today’s children are not learning the local Zapotec language, a fact many community members associate with “la pérdida del zapoteco.”

I arrived in Oaxaca in the height of summer, a season of harvest in the farming community of San Jerónimo Tlacochahuaya, where garlic, black beans, corn, and chile de agua are the main agricultural products. During the month of May, black beans are the main harvest. Previously, campesinos would use bark sticks to force the beans out of the pod. Today they lay the bean pods on the streets and drive over them with cars. The beans are then removed from the rest of the by-product and further sorted to separate them from pebbles. After this process was explained to me by my Tío Genaro, I asked him about the use and role of the Zapotec language in the farming process and within the community. He explained that nowadays it is mostly elders and adults who speak the Zapotec language at fiestas, when they greet each other on the street, or in their homes. A few generations ago, Zapotec was the main language of communication; today, Spanish is more widely used in many aspects of daily life.

Language Shift

A consensus that surfaced in my interviews with Zapotec elders (60 years and older) is that the assimilationist Spanish-language education imposed by the Mexican state in Tlacochahuaya during the 1930s was negative and discriminatory toward speakers of indigenous languages. Many elders said that speaking Zapotec at school was not only prohibited, but also punished. For many, including my mother, this experience of Zapotec language stigmatization led them not to want to pass on Zapotec to their children because they wanted them to avoid the embarrassment of not knowing Spanish when entering school. However, socioeconomic mobility and status are also attributed to Spanish. If one spoke Spanish, this not only...
facilitated one’s education in the community but also increased the opportunity of obtaining a higher-paying job in nearby Oaxaca City or elsewhere in Mexico. Likewise, adults (40–59), of whom some are fluent Zapotec-Spanish bilinguals and others self-identify as passive bilinguals who are fluent in Spanish and understand Zapotec but don’t speak it, recalled in interviews that their educational experience was in Spanish and many parents discouraged their acquisition of Zapotec. The negative educational experiences of elders, and Spanish being regarded as the language of socioeconomic mobility, has given rise to a change in language socialization practices, which in turn has contributed to a shift to Spanish in Tlacochahuaya. This language shift has contributed to language loss, with the decline of Zapotec language transmission to children. Likewise, by the time of mass U.S.-bound migration in the 1980s, community members were migrating either as fluent or passive Zapotec-Spanish bilinguals while witnessing the language shift that had been occurring over the past four generations.

Language Revitalization Efforts
Two language revitalization projects have emerged—one in Mexico and the other in the United States—with the goal of maintaining the Tlacochahuaya Zapotec language by transmitting it to children and fostering novice speakers. In Tlacochahuaya, Zapotec language tutoring classes for children began after a conversation between the autoridad (local government), linguists from Centro de Estudios y Desarrollo de las Lenguas Indígenas de Oaxaca (CEDELIO, the Center for Study and Development of the Indigenous Languages of Oaxaca), and a professor from the Escuela Normal Bilingüe e Intercultural de Oaxaca (ENBIO, the Bilingual and Intercultural Normal School of Oaxaca) to address language decline.

Retired elementary school teacher María Mercedes Morales is a bilingual Zapotec-Spanish speaker who was selected to lead the tutoring project because of her teaching and language experience. When María started the project she was surprised and challenged by the difficulty of recruiting children for the lessons. Once she had a group of twenty children, she offered two-hour lessons twice a week in the afternoons. She also visited the homes of the children who lived with Zapotec speakers and urged them to help with the efforts. She told them, “Now that I started them off and have their interest in the language, support them. Speak to them in Zapotec at home so they won’t forget what they learned.” María’s work was interrupted in late 2010, when she was appointed to the Electoral Committee—the group responsible for selecting community members for the 2013 municipal elections. She attempted to seek a replacement to lead the tutoring project but was unable to find anyone. In mid-2012, she announced to the students that the language lessons would be suspended until she finished her responsibilities with the Electoral Committee in 2013; as of this writing, they have not resumed. For María this was a hard choice because of the time and energy it had taken to get the children invested in the classes. On her last class day she made sure to tell the students that her departure was only temporary and that they needed to continue practicing the language. She encouraged them to seek the help of Zapotec-speaking elders.

While one project was put on hold, another language revitalization project for Zapotec is being developed in southern California through the efforts of two members of the Tlacochahuaya migrant diaspora. I had the opportunity to interview Moisés García Guzmán, a thirty-seven-year-old trilingual Zapotec-Spanish-English speaker who was born in Tlacochahuaya. He recalls Zapotec as his first language, taught by his parents and grandparents. He learned Spanish in grade school and English in Oaxaca during his undergraduate studies. In 2000 he migrated with his mother to Los Angeles to join his father. Since 2007, Moisés has been uploading videos of music, dances, and history from the pueblo onto the YouTube channel titled BnZunni, the Zapotec word for Tlacochahuaya. It was through the comments section of the BnZunni channel that the suggestion for online Zapotec language lessons emerged, which also contributed to existing conversations among members of the diaspora about how to address the language loss that they saw unfolding in both Los Angeles and Tlacochahuaya.

In collaboration with Edgar Ángeles, also a member of the migrant diaspora, the Rescate Oral del Zapoteco de Tlacochahuaya project came online in March 2013. The project’s name, Oral Rescue of Tlacochahuaya Zapotec, refers to the use of oral transmission in developing the lessons. The lessons are taught in Spanish and Zapotec and range in length from 15 to 25 minutes, consisting of vocabulary review. Moisés predicts that this will be a two-year project with the goal of first building the audience’s vocabulary before turning to the grammar and structure of the language. Moisés and Edgar reference and use the vocabulary documented in Fray Juan de Córdova’s 1578 text Arte del idioma zapoteco (Art of the Zapotec Language) to build the online lessons. According to Moisés, “The Internet is a tool that can and should be used for cultural maintenance and diffusion.” Because the project is still being developed and just turned a year old, the impact and use of these online lessons are yet to be seen and analyzed. To date there has not been a survey of the audience, but the project’s creators plan to gather this information.

Speaking Zapotec at the market, San Jerónimo Tlacochahuaya
In Tlacochahuaya, interviewees expressed a desire to maintain the Zapotec language because it allows the pueblo to distinguish itself from surrounding communities and Oaxaca City. Likewise, the Zapotec language strengthens and complements the community’s Zapotec identity. Among the diaspora, I would argue that the Zapotec language can be embraced as a way of strengthening ties with the home community. Currently, there exists a male youth dance group in Los Angeles that practices La Danza de la Pluma (the Feathered Dance), another cultural marker of Tlacochahuaya. This demonstrates that there is interest in maintaining cultural ties with Tlacochahuaya. It is through these spaces, both in the diaspora and in the home community, where Zapotec language learning can create empowerment among youth. Likewise, both communities need to take advantage of the Zapotec-speaking elders and adults in their midst. In the home community, language nests for children are the ideal. The latest news I heard is that some preschools in Tlacochahuaya are beginning to teach the Zapotec language. For youth and adults in both communities, a language immersion project such as a Master–Apprentice program (Hinton, Vera, and Steele 2002) would allow for elders to transmit the Zapotec language alongside cultural practices.

The biggest obstacles to revitalization in the home community and the diaspora are socioeconomic. Long work shifts decrease the amount of time available to contribute to language-teaching efforts. Many residents of Tlacochahuaya seek work in Oaxaca City, where they labor 8-to-10-hour shifts in addition to commuting an hour each way. For those who work or attend school in Oaxaca City, the language domain is Spanish. In the United States, jobs in the service sector replicate a similar work situation. Furthermore, migrants may experience language stigmatization on two fronts, which fuels the challenge of maintaining Zapotec and/or Spanish fluency among their children. Nevertheless, the two language revitalization projects that have emerged to maintain Tlacochahuaya’s Zapotec language demonstrate that there is interest in preserving the language in both the home community and the diaspora.

The case of Tlacochahuaya leads me to strongly believe in and endorse transnational language revitalization for indigenous communities facing language endangerment and outbound migration. Language revitalization research should support and propose transnational efforts that promote indigenous language maintenance among both the home community and the migrant diaspora. In a time when hometown speech communities are often smaller in population than the diaspora, these efforts are urgent. Therefore, further work needs to be conducted in Los Angeles and Santa Ana, California, where a critical mass of Tlacochahuaya’s residents reside, in order to understand the linguistic repertoire and gauge the level of interest in revitalization efforts. This process will also require that indigenous communities heal from the negative educational experiences that stigmatized indigenous language use, and become empowered through commitment and language planning to support maintenance and revitalization of their languages.

**References**


I have visited Ecuador over a dozen times since 1976. First as a student, then as a journalist, and later as the father of two growing children. But my visit last year was decidedly different: my wife, Yolanda, and I were hoping to overcome the latest and most formidable obstacle in our longtime dream of moving there permanently—the outlook for our thirty-one-year-old son, who has struggled for nearly the past decade with schizophrenia.

Timothy currently lives with us in New Jersey, having moved back home after spending time in psychiatric hospitals, a group home, and a supervised apartment. We feel blessed in many ways for the services he has received in our state, one of the best places in the country to live if you have a severe mental illness. He goes to a local hospital's outpatient clinic to see his psychiatrist, who monitors his progress on his regimen of drugs, which includes clozapine. That drug has proved to be invaluable to him as he moves forward in his recovery. He also spends most days at a local occupational center, where he receives counseling and does assembly work. He has tried to get back into the traditional workforce, but has difficulty focusing.

I fell in love with Ecuador the very first time I explored its majestic landscapes and came to know its kind people. I was a foreign exchange student during the 1976–1977 school year at the Centro Andino, a study center operated in Quito by the University of New Mexico and Northern Illinois University. I traveled to nearly every corner of the country on a shoestring budget, and when my fellow students held a Halloween party that Yolanda was invited to, met my future wife. I went as a Colorado Indian, she as a gypsy.

It was my year at the Centro Andino that inspired me to seek a master's degree in Latin American studies at the University of Texas in 1978, with the help of a fellowship. Yolanda and I were newlyweds when we arrived in Austin that first summer. Undoubtedly, it was one of the best years of my life. I can still smell the early-twentieth-century Buenos Aires newspapers I thumbed through at the library as I prepared a paper on immigration for Professor Richard Graham. I'm sure that I learned more there than in any other class I ever took. I also had the privilege of hearing Professor Nettie Lee Benson tell her anecdotes that brought Mexican history to life. Yolanda found a job at a daycare center to help us make ends meet while I worked part time writing briefs for NPR's Latin American Review and doing on-the-street interviews for the Austin American-Statesman.

Most important of all, our first child, Michelle, was born in Austin in July 1979, a fitting end to a whirlwind year. After graduating, I took a job as editor for a weekly paper in Central Illinois, but it wouldn’t be long before Latin America began to call again. In 1981, I was named an Inter American Press Association (IAPA) scholar, and spent the year with Yolanda and Michelle in Quito, freelancing in-depth articles on the country I would grow to love even more. Yolanda’s brother encouraged me to make a down payment on a house in a new neighborhood in northern Quito called Carcelén. I was sure that someday we would live there, but at the end of the year, it came time to make a difficult decision. I had been offered a job teaching Spanish at an international high school, which would have allowed us to remain in Ecuador. But simultaneously I was invited to present the research I had done on the licensing of journalists in Ecuador at the IAPA’s annual conference in Brazil, and thus continue to pursue journalism. We chose the latter.

This, in turn, led to a job at the Caracas Daily Journal, Venezuela’s English-language newspaper, where I worked as a reporter and an editor, and freelanced for several U.S. business publications. Timothy
was born in Caracas, and had trouble from the start. He was premature and spent two days in an incubator with jaundice. Later that year, he began having the febrile convulsions that would mark his infancy. We decided that the best thing to do would be to return to the United States, and I was fortunate to be chosen to attend the Minority Editing Program in Tucson, which led to a job as a copy editor at the Wall Street Journal. I truly loved working there for the next twenty years, moving from editing on paper with pencil into the computer age, from what was mostly a white male desk to a diverse staff, from the heyday of newspaper prosperity into the days of austerity and eventually layoffs.

Timothy outgrew the febrile convulsions, but needed speech therapy to begin speaking and we enrolled him in a special preschool program. Yolanda and I devoted countless hours to him, and he was able to go to mainstream kindergarten.

The skills Yolanda learned with Timothy quickly translated into a career in special education for her, leading to a focus on working with autistic children. She found a job in the Elizabeth, New Jersey, school district, which had a large Spanish-speaking population. Michelle, who from an early age took an interest in art, would become an art teacher.

We spent several weeks every summer visiting Yolanda’s family in Quito. One summer, Michelle worked with the Ecuadorean sculptor Sara Palacios. We took the children to the Galapagos Islands and the Amazon basin, to Cuenca and Guayaquil. Yolanda took up photography as a hobby, and spent a week one year in her grandmother’s village of La Paz in northern Ecuador documenting daily life. Her mother always surprised us with the beauty of the garden she cultivated in the house we still hoped to someday call home.

But Timothy began to stumble in high school. He struggled academically and became more withdrawn. With a lot of help, he made it through to graduation. He tried community college, but that didn’t work out. Then, he moved from one job to another before things finally fell apart. At age 22, he was hospitalized for the first time. It turned out to be a lengthy stay.

Just as we had thrown ourselves into Timothy’s care as a child, we now began educating ourselves about mental health. We attended a support group for parents, joined the local chapter of the National Alliance on Mental Illness, and took its Family-to-Family class. I started producing the group’s monthly newsletter. It was only the beginning of our journey with Timothy.

In 2008, I was laid off from my job at Dow Jones after Rupert Murdoch purchased the company. I had another choice to make: pursue journalism in a changing landscape or follow my newfound passion. I chose the latter.

My first job in the mental health field was as a telephone counselor on a warmline. While working there, I began earning a graduate certificate from the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey (UMDNJ) in psychiatric rehabilitation. I wanted to learn all I could to help Timothy. Later, I worked with an agency that helped people move from psychiatric hospitals to apartments in my community, providing supports as they transitioned to independent living. Then, I worked as a family support partner for Spanish-speaking families in my community who had children with behavioral and emotional challenges. Tim had the same ups and downs that the people I worked with experienced, but from our initial despair hope was growing every day.

Before long, I realized that I missed writing and editing. An opportunity came up to do this for a cancer patient organization, The Life Raft Group, so I made the move. I also began contributing to SZ Magazine, a publication for people with schizophrenia and their families.

Around the same time, two developments in Ecuador caught our attention. We learned of an organization that had emerged for families of people with schizophrenia called SQZ Fellades. I began corresponding with its director, Martha Monge G., about services available in Ecuador. Meanwhile, we were becoming intrigued by a growing population of foreign-born residents in Cotacachi, a small town in Imbabura Province led by an indigenous mayor. Once again, we began wondering if it would be possible to live in Ecuador with Timothy. This was the impetus for our trip in August 2013.

The Pan American Health Organization estimates that in Latin America more than one-third of people with nonaffective psychoses and more than one-half of those with anxiety disorders do not receive specialized mental health care. There are only two psychiatrists per 100,000 people in the region. Ecuador’s capital, Quito, is home to more than 1.5 million people, yet there are only three private psychiatric clinics and two public psychiatric hospitals in the city, according to the British Embassy.

Since emerging as a community-based approach to treating severe mental illness during the past two decades, psychiatric rehabilitation services have spread rapidly to many parts of the world. However, according to the Pan American Health Organization, they have been slow to take root in Latin America, despite the Caracas Declaration of 1990. The declaration, which resulted from a regional summit, was meant to be a springboard for modernizing mental health services in Latin America, with particular emphasis on legislative frameworks. Like other Latin American countries, Ecuador’s services are divided into two systems, public and private, with access to private services limited to the small percentage of the population with private health insurance. The public services, in turn, receive meager funding, while priority is given to transmissible diseases, maternal and child care, and nutritional problems.

Ecuador’s Ministry of Public Health is limited by its small budget, totaling just $561 million in 2006. Per capita health spending is only $177 in Ecuador, compared with about $3,500 in the United States. Public services are limited to psychiatric hospitals, with no community-based programs in place. A positive development in recent years is the establishment of a crisis telephone line that helps...
increase access to those services that are available. This is all we knew before our trip.

The first item on our agenda was to find out more about SQZ Feilades. Martha Monge G. was recovering from cancer treatment, but was kind enough to meet with us one morning in Quito. A former journalist who had worked in the United States, Martha started her nonprofit in 2007 and has been working since then to support people with schizophrenia and their families in Ecuador, while lobbying the government for a legal framework and improved services. Her son, Iván, has schizophrenia.

She was in the process of organizing the First Iberoamerican Convention on Mental Health, which was held in Quito in November 2013. This seemed to be a natural development as mental health patient organizations like SQZ Feilades emerged in Latin America. She told us her other main focus has been to persuade the government to categorize schizophrenia as a disability. This would allow people with schizophrenia in Ecuador to receive benefits such as financial help with medications.

Despite the lack of mental health services in her country, Martha remained enthusiastic about the outlook. After our meeting, we accompanied her to drop off information on the convention to some potential attendees and to visit what she said was the first community mental health center in Ecuador—a pilot project in Calderón, just north of Quito. The center offers psychiatric and psychological services, including group counseling and educational sessions. A definite movement in the right direction, we thought. But when we spoke with the director, he said the center doesn’t really serve people with schizophrenia.

We also found a glimmer of hope on a separate visit to the Sagrado Corazón psychiatric hospital just outside of Quito. We spoke with Elizabeth Hoguefa, a social worker at the hospital, who said that Timothy could qualify for the Seguro Social health system, which would pay for brief stays at the hospital in case of a relapse. They worked with Timothy’s regimen of medications. However, when asked about discharge planning, she said they offer very little. In fact, when we told her about the center in Calderón, her face lit up and she said this might be something the hospital could link patients with.

Our next stop was Cotacachi, where we rented an apartment for a week and fell in love with the town. Located between Otavalo and Ibarra, Cotacachi is known for its leather goods and sits in the shadows of the mountain of the same name. After several futile stops at pharmacies, we came upon one that could obtain Timothy’s medications. We also explored several possibilities that might lead to jobs that Timothy could handle. However, when asked about discharge planning, she said they offer very little. In fact, when we told her about the center in Calderón, her face lit up and she said this might be something the hospital could link patients with.

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Phil Avila currently works as a freelance journalist writing on mental health topics. He has also published a collection of poems, On the Equator. He received his master’s in Latin American studies from LLILAS in 1979.
Sônia Roncador

What is race? What is whiteness? To sit across from Associate Professor Sônia Roncador and discuss her research interests is to consider the fascinating question of how we human beings categorize, and re-categorize, ourselves across different eras and geographical locations.

Born in the Brazilian capital of Brasília, with a PhD from New York University, Roncador has taught in The University of Texas at Austin’s Department of Spanish and Portuguese since 2003. She currently serves as the department’s Associate Chair for Undergraduate Studies. Under her direction, the department has reworked its major for fall 2014, renaming it Iberian and Latin American Studies.

Roncador is the author, most recently, of Domestic Servants in Literature and Testimony in Brazil (1889–1999) (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), a book that grew out of her interest in marginalized people and communities. In the book, Roncador explores the portrayal of domestic servants—for the most part, “poor, migrant, black(ened) or indigenous women”—over the course of a century in a range of texts. In particular, she examines the demeaning images of women servants, their status as being “invisible” and “silent,” and the implications of these portrayals for the writers themselves, who were intellectuals and thinkers in a post-slavery Brazil embarking on the road to modernization yet mired in the social and ethnic stratification that is a legacy of colonialism.

In her current research, Roncador investigates changing notions of whiteness during Brazil’s Great Immigration (1870s–1930s), a period in which urban slums and tenements became crowded with new European immigrants whose socioeconomic status and physical proximity to poor black and mixed-race Brazilians brought about what elites perceived as a “degeneration of whiteness.” European immigration had been encouraged by the Brazilian elite—the brancos da terra—for the purpose of general societal whitening, but large swaths of the new arrivals came to be thought of as lixo branco, “white trash.”

Roncador uses the rich resources of the Benson Latin American Collection to a large extent in her research. For her current work, for example, she has consulted old memoirs of the city of Rio de Janeiro by authors such as Luís Edmundo, Charles Julius Dunlop, and Emiliano di Cavalcanti, as well as the Revista de Imigração e Colonização.

Roncador plans to teach a new undergraduate course in fall 2014, Luso-Migrations in Literature and Film, which deals with Portuguese Africa and Brazil. Her upcoming graduate seminar will cover topics of interest in her current research. In addition, Roncador will continue work as a dissertation director with doctoral students.

Carlos Ramos Scharrón

Carlos Ramos Scharrón remembers a day in his childhood when the runoff flowing down from the nearby mogote (haystack hill) changed color. Developers were building on the karst hill, and what the bulldozers wrought was water thick with red clay and other debris. Although he had no real environmental consciousness at the time, Ramos Scharrón was able to connect the
muddy, rocky debris to the construction going on upslope, and became entranced by it as it flowed past his house.

A native of Guaynabo, Puerto Rico, Ramos Scharrón is an assistant professor at the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies and the Department of Geography and the Environment, on faculty at the University of Texas at Austin since fall 2013. He holds a PhD from the Watershed Sciences program at Colorado State University. Prior to his appointment at UT, Ramos Scharrón served as principal investigator for several projects funded mostly by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and carried out post-doctoral work through the University of Puerto Rico–Río Piedras. His major interest is in the field of hydrogeomorphology, which examines the interaction among landforms, humans’ land-shaping processes, and how these affect the generation and quality of water, downstream aquatic habitats, and the life that populates them.

The Caribbean is a region defined by its waters and soils. The health of its coral reefs is essential to the health of marine life, to the livelihood of fishermen, and also to the economy. Soil health is essential for forests and agriculture. Disturbances to the soil, from industrial development, road construction, and other causes, have a direct effect on coral reefs and other marine habitats due to erosion and polluted runoff.

Puerto Rico’s particularly high rates of erosion are the impetus for a study that Ramos Scharrón plans to carry out with an interdisciplinary team including UT colleagues Edgardo Latrubesse, Eugenio Arima, and Ken Young. The study is part of a LLILAS Benson initiative to further integrate environmental research into the Latin American studies program. The team will work in cooperation with anthropologists from the Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios del Litoral at the University of Puerto Rico–Mayagüez, who will construct a local oral history to provide a human context to the environmental issues being studied. Marine ecologists from the University of Puerto Rico’s Center for Applied Tropical Ecology and Conservation (CATEC) will also participate.

The team will focus on northeastern Puerto Rico, including the Corredor Ecológico del Nordeste, a small yet important undeveloped coastal strip whose survival has enormous ecological ramifications as well as significance for environmental activism on the island. The aim will be to find ways to protect the soil, water quality, forest, and marine ecosystems, which are sources of food, tourism revenue, and recreation. The team also seeks to understand the socioeconomic causes—past and present—of land-use change and water pollution, and their impact in local communities.

When crystal-clear blue water becomes brown and turbid due to erosion, this is something everyone can see. Ramos Scharrón is heartened by community engagement and the actions of vigilant citizen watchdogs like the Coral Bay Community Council, Surfriders, and CORALations, who diligently monitor construction, runoff, and marine health.

Ramos Scharrón teaches the undergraduate-level Environmental Hazards and Water Resource Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean for LLILAS, as well as courses on physical geography for the Department of Geography and the Environment. He also teaches a graduate seminar on water resource issues in Latin America and the Caribbean. Latin American studies major Andi Clark says Ramos Scharrón encouraged her “to be part of a unique academic journey.” In his approach to teaching science, she says, he “applies the concepts of a liberal arts education by teaching and connecting the dots to something more than just a hazard or a governmental policy.”

Ramos Scharrón serves as mentor to undergraduate Sara Cabral through the McNair Scholars program. Cabral says that Ramos Scharrón pushes his students to think critically, and make connections that “tie our social, scholarly, and physical knowledge not only to theory but to present global issues.” She will be doing fieldwork in Puerto Rico’s Río Grande de Añasco watershed this summer. Doctoral student Matthew LaFevor conducted field surveys and installed instruments in hillslope gullies with Ramos Scharrón on St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands, in the summer of 2013. LaFevor says Ramos Scharrón’s work on roadway erosion, sediment transport, and coral reef response “represents an important and timely contribution to the literature on global environmental change.”

Daniel Fridman
In the wildly popular Rich Dad, Poor Dad, author and financial self-help guru Robert Kiyosaki exhorts readers to use their money to pursue financial freedom: “[L]earn how to acquire assets and you will be choosing wealth as your goal and your future.” Sociologist and assistant professor Daniel Fridman became interested in the Rich Dad, Poor Dad phenomenon while exploring the economic and cultural changes in Argentine society brought about by the military dictatorship of 1976–1983 and its long, economically rocky aftermath.

In his current book project, Fridman delves into the world of financial self-help, in which people consciously adopt certain practices and attitudes in an attempt to “transform their financial planning and behavior, their social positions, their goals, and their selves.” Rich Dad and its associated board game, Cashflow, are advertised as providing the tools for financial freedom. According to Fridman, the exhortation to become free and entrepreneurial has as its goal the creation of the “neoliberal self.”
The neoliberal self could be explained as a response to changes in capitalism and work life wrought by the neoliberal revolution, which exposed people to increased financial risk and instability the world over. Fridman believes that in Argentina, a program of consumer education during the dictatorship was expressly aimed at creating a “consumer identity” as part of a larger attempt at neoliberal transformation of the populace. If people began to behave predictably as consumers, it was thought, the result would be market success.

Fridman’s book describes financial self-help groups in Argentina and New York City that gather to discuss the precepts of Rich Dad and play Cashflow. This project originated with his general interest in the intersection of economics, culture, and society, along with questions of consumption, consumer culture, and development. Fridman’s teaching in sociology and Latin American studies reflect these interests. He teaches the undergraduate-level Economy, Culture, and Society, which looks at gift-giving, altruism, generosity, and self-interest. He also teaches both undergraduate and graduate versions of the course Consumption in Latin America, offered through both LLILAS and the Department of Sociology. Fridman uses the Benson’s extensive collection of Latin American magazines for his research on consumer policy and consumerism in Mexico and Argentina.

LLILAS graduate student Leon Leid describes Fridman as an engaging teacher with a “special knack for keeping class discussions both challenging and lively.” Leid goes on to say that Fridman’s “rigorous guidance as an adviser has been invaluable.” Undergraduate Latin American studies and economics major Andrés Junca says of his class with Fridman, “I learned a lot and had fun while doing it,” adding that in his teaching, Fridman “focuses on relevant issues applied to real life.”

Kenneth Young

As a biogeographer, Kenneth Young pursues a scientific discipline that has existed since the time of German naturalist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt. A professor in the Department of Geography and the Environment and a LLILAS associate, Young studies the geographical distribution of living things on Earth—plants and animals, ecosystems—conducting policy-relevant research in the areas of biogeography and ecology. He holds a PhD from the Department of Geography, University of Colorado at Boulder.

Young’s work encompasses several areas of the globe, but is focused at present in Peru, where he studies ecosystems in the high sierra and the Amazon. Since 2010, under a grant from the National Science Foundation, he has conducted ongoing research on climate change and coupled natural systems with a team that includes human geographer Jeffrey Bury, environmental historian Mark Carey, glaciologist Bryan Mark, and hydrologist Jeffrey McKenzie. Together, they are examining the retreat of glaciers in Peru’s Cordillera Blanca and how this is affecting farmers, institutions, water use, and water quality in the area.

Young has conducted research in Peru since 1981. In the late 1980s, he and his colleagues were among the first to observe climate change. Assessing long-term records of forest growth in the Río Abiseo National Park of north-central Peru, they noted that the altitude of forest growth in the high sierra was extending upward, meaning that higher elevations were becoming warmer and therefore able to support forests. Collaboration with an interdisciplinary team led to the additional discovery that the new forest had expanded the habitat of a rare species of mouse—one example of climate change benefiting a species.

Peru has some 77 protected areas, natural reserves making up 17 percent of the land there. But these areas are separated from one another by lands that remain unprotected. Young supports work toward a national policy to create conservation corridors where population permits. This goal reflects the interconnectedness of ecosystems, and the necessity of recognizing them as dynamic systems.

Young’s other current project is an investigation in the Peruvian Amazon in collaboration with colleague Eugenio Arima (assistant professor in Young’s department) and University of Texas at Austin PhD student Sara Diamond. Under the auspices of the Wildlife Conservation Society, the team is using GIS tools to assess the environmental impact—specifically carbon loss—associated with road and railroad construction, petroleum extraction, river channelization, and other activities.

When he is not on research leave, Young teaches an interdisciplinary graduate seminar course that combines geography, biology, and public policy. He is also a dissertation adviser. Doctoral student Molly Polk says Young is “a fantastic adviser and mentor because he’s so willing to help and share his experience and ideas.” Polk is investigating the effects of glacier recession on high-altitude wetlands in Peru’s Huascaran National Park. Her dissertation, she says, is inspired by much of Young’s work. “His expertise in biogeography, landscape ecology, biodiversity, conservation, and human–environment interactions are all critical to the ways I am trying to conceptualize changes in high-altitude wetlands in a national park.” She is working with park officials on maintenance and, where possible, restoration of wetlands. “Like Ken,” she says, “I am passionate about sharing our scientific findings with policymakers in hopes that my research will have direct application to conservation strategies in the tropics.”

On his use of the rich resources of the Benson Collection, Young says, “I make my pilgrimage to the Benson to be surrounded by books on the places I am doing research. I go there especially before I visit a new study area (or a place I have not been to for years) or when I am trying to learn background for a new research topic.”
LLILAS Visiting Academics Programs, 2013–2014

The LLILAS Visiting Academics programs bring new perspectives and regional insights to the study of Latin America. Distinguished Latin American scholars are brought to the University of Texas at Austin 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 one-semester teaching visits by scholars. In spring 2014, Raquel Padilla Ramos held this visiting professorship. She is a research professor at the National Institute of Anthropology and History in Sonora, Mexico. A leader in the field of diasporic indigenous studies, Padilla Ramos is one of the foremost Mexican experts on Yaqui culture and history, having taught and published extensively on the deportations of the Yaquis. She taught a LLILAS graduate seminar in spring 2014 titled Yaqui History and Culture.

The Tinker Visiting Professor program, endowed since 1973 by the Edward Larocque Tinker Foundation, brings preeminent thinkers from Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula to the United States to encourage contact and collaboration among scholars. Two Mexican scholars visited LLILAS Benson during fall 2013 under this program—Pablo de Larrañaga and Magdalena Villarreal.

**Pablo de Larrañaga** is professor of law at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) in Mexico City and director of the Program in Regulation, Infrastructure, and Development, and of the LLM in administrative law and regulation at ITAM. His research expertise includes Mexican public law, constitutional law, regulation, globalization, and economic law. He taught two courses in fall 2013—a LLILAS graduate seminar, Latin American Market Systems, and a Law School seminar, Mexican Public Law.

**Magdalena Villarreal** is senior researcher and professor at the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS) Occidente in Guadalajara, Mexico, and a member of the Academia Mexicana de Ciencias. She is currently co-director of two research projects: one on poverty and aging in collaboration with the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores Occidente (ITESCO) at the Universidad Jesuita de Guadalajara, and one on financial practices in Mexican and Indian rural communities with the University of California, Irvine. Her research expertise includes poverty, indigenous issues, finance and development issues, migration and human rights, social policy, and gender issues. She taught the graduate seminar Poverty in the Age of Financialization during fall 2013.

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. Its purpose is to foster greater understanding of Mexican culture and society through the presence and participation of distinguished Mexicans from the public and private sectors, as well as from academia. Fall 2013 Matías Romero visitor Guadalupe González is a professor in the Division of International Studies at the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) in Mexico City. She is an expert in foreign policy and international relations, with specific research interests in Mexico–U.S. relations, Latin American–Mexican relations, comparative foreign policy in Latin America, national security, drug trafficking, and organized crime. She was a founding member of the Mexican Council of International Affairs and has been a member of the Academic Council of the School of Intelligence for National Security. During fall 2013, she taught the LLILAS graduate seminar Public Opinion, Political Culture, and International Relations in Latin America.

In 2010, the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies and the Fulbright Commission of Brazil signed an agreement creating the UT–Fulbright Visiting Professorship in Environmental Sciences and Policy, which brings an eminent Brazilian scholar to UT Austin to teach a graduate course and conduct research for one semester each academic year, from 2011 through 2015. This program is testimony to the strong cross-university interest in environmental and Brazilian studies and to LLILAS Benson’s leading role in bringing these diverse constituencies together, while attracting prominent Latin American scholars to the UT campus. It is supported by five different units of the university, including the Office of the President, the Jackson School of Geosciences, the LBJ School of Public Affairs, the McCombs School of Business, and the School of Law. The spring 2014 UT–Fulbright Visiting Professor was Celio Bermann, associate professor and vice-coordinator of the Graduate Program on Energy at the Institute of Energy and Environment at the University of São Paulo, Brazil. Professor Bermann teaches courses on environmental energy systems fundamentals, resources and energy supply, and policy analysis of energy and environmental issues. He taught a LLILAS graduate seminar titled Biofuels Production and Consumption: The International Context and the Brazilian Experience in Replacing Fossil Fuels.

Visiting resource professors are invited by UT Latin Americanist faculty to lecture for one or two weeks in graduate or undergraduate classes, or to present symposia. Visitors for the 2013–2014 academic year were: Pablo Ceriani Cernadas, PhD, coordinator of the Migration and Asylum Program (UNLA), Center for Human Rights, Universidad Nacional de Lanús, Argentina; Andreia Beatriz Silva dos Santos, PhD, and Hamilton Borges dos Santos, community organizers at Quilombo X Ação Cultural Comunitária, Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, an organization that combats state violence against Afro-Brazilians; Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, PhD, Aymara sociologist from Bolivia and renowned indigenous scholar, past president and longtime member of the Andean Oral History Workshop; and Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida, PhD, anthropologist, director of Projecto Nova Cartografia, a project on social cartography, Universidade Federal do Amazonas, Manaus, Amazonas, Brazil.

**JUAN PABLO GONZÁLEZ** (cover photo) is an emerging photographer, film director, writer, and cinematographer. He is currently a student in the MFA in Film & Media Production program at The University of Texas at Austin.