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Estimado Lector:

We are pleased to bring you the Spring edition of *Visions of Latin America*, the semi-annual academic journal founded in 2005 by students and members of the academic community at the University of Pittsburgh. The journal, sponsored by the Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS), is a venue for students and others to publish their work on a multitude of topics and perspectives on Latin America. Our fall edition reflects this diversity of interests and includes features such as:

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Andrea Marcolla's (Sociology/Business, BA candidate) timely research on the rise of Latino migration to more non-gateway areas in the US. A new demographic has been rapidly emerging since 1990 resulting in Hispanic population booms in the mid-west, Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee and North Carolina, which experienced an almost 400% increase between 1990 and 2000.

Andrew Rishel's (Economics/Spanish, BA candidate) observations of the 2008 elections in Paraguay in which president and former bishop Fernando Lugo ended 61 years of rule of the Colorado party.

Professor Alvaro Antonio Bernal's (Faculty, University of Pittsburgh—Johnstown) review of the Colombian writer Mario Mendoza's 2007 novel, *Los hombres invisibles*. Mendoza was the winner of the National Prize for Literature in Colombia and has taught literature at various universities including La Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá and James Madison University in Virginia.

Koichi Hagimoto's (Hispanic Languages & Literatures, PhD candidate) analysis of Nobel laureate Octavio Paz's poem *Cuento de Dos Jardines*.

Daniel Ippolito's (GSPIA, MA candidate) investigation of the conflict between economic development and environmental degradation in Amazonia.

Jorge Zavaleta's (Hispanic Languages & Literatures, PhD candidate) *Un Lustro Sin Roberto Bolaño*—an essay on the self-exiled Chilean poet turned novelist in his 40s before his premature demise.

Gabriela Nuñez's (Communication, PhD candidate) assessment of the significance of traditional oral vs. written forms of communication in Andean education.

CLAS welcomes submissions for *Visions of Latin America* year round and we hope that you will help contribute to its continued excellence in scholarly exploration of Latin American topics. As CLAS celebrates its 45th anniversary in 2009, be sure to visit the CLAS website: www.ucis.pitt.edu/clas/ for announcements of special events—special guest lectures, student-run events, outreach activities, the spring *Amigos del Cine Latinoamericano* free film series, and, of course, the 30th annual Latin American and Caribbean Festival which expects to draw record-breaking attendance!



Saludos,
Julián Asenjo, Editor

The Rise of Latino Migration to “Non-Gateway” Areas: Massive Migration and Social Networks

By undergraduate student Andrea Marcolla—anm77@pitt.edu

Abstract

Latinos represent the largest minority group in America and immigration from Latin America has not subsided, rather it continues to rise rampantly. However, typical migration patterns have shifted throughout the past decade with more immigrants settling in locations which are not classified as gateway cities. Specifically, the new immigration trend has been extremely prevalent for Mexican immigrants, who are more likely to migrate to the U.S. due to proximity and social factors. Although research has reviewed the new immigration shift, little research has examined why the shift is actually occurring or its impact on the United States. Potential reasons for the shift include policymaking, economic changes, and immigrant social networks (Rodriguez, Saenz, Menjivar, 2008). Because limited research has applied theory to the latter (i.e. immigrant social networks), this paper will examine the network theory of immigration, which may be the leading cause for the Latino immigration shift to new enclaves across America. Moreover, immigrant social networks have been overlooked when explaining reasons for continued massive Latino immigration to the U.S. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to examine the rise of Latino immigration to non-gateway areas, while paying close attention to the network theory and chain migration. Therefore, this research is important because it explores Latino settlements in new enclaves across America, not just typical gateway areas. This paper concludes by reviewing the implications of such a demographic shift, which is affecting areas which had almost no Latino immigrant population in the past.

Introduction and Literature Review

Latinos are currently the largest minority group within America and many arriving immigrants are settling in new locations within the United States. During prior decades, immigrants typically settled in cities referred to as “gateway cities.”



http://msnbcmedia3.msn.com/j/msnbc/Components/Photos/060607/060607_immigrant_hmed_7p.hmedium.jpg

For instance, Latino immigrants used to migrate to large metropolitan areas typically in the Southwest and Northeast in states such as: California, Texas, New York, and Florida. (Rodriguez, et.al, 2008). Moreover, immigrants usually migrated to larger cities within those states (i.e. Los Angeles, Dallas, New York City, and Miami), forming cluster-like Latino populations. However, new enclaves of Latino immigrants, specifically of Mexican-origin, have developed in areas which had almost no such population in years prior. According to Rodriguez (2008), “most of the Latino immigrants settling in non-gateway states are Mexican” and Mexican populations in older gateway cities have actually experienced a decline (p. 25). The Latino population in new areas is growing at a dramatic rate, with many of the immigrants being of Mexican-origin, because of the historical and spatial context of immigration from Mexico to the United States. For example, between 1990 and 2000, the Mexican-origin population in the U.S. increased by 53% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000) Furthermore, Mexican-origin immigrants make up 58% of all Latinos in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Finally, the number of Mexican-origin immigrants migrating to non-gateway states such as Iowa and Nebraska increased by 22 % (Katz, Stern, & Fader, 2007).

The reasons for such a demographic shift have not thoroughly been examined; however, some theories have been developed by prior researchers, which should be examined further. By researching prior literature and using population data bases, such as the U.S. Census, I examine one of the proposed causes of the rising development of Latino enclaves in non-gateway areas. I will specifically focus on the network theory of immigration, which argues that migrants form interpersonal origin-destination links with one another in order to sustain immigration to a particular area (Weeks, 2008). Moreover, this paper examines chain migration, which “involves migrants in an established flow from a common origin to a predetermined destination where earlier migrants” have already settled (Weeks, 2008, p.281). Furthermore, I will analyze the basic migration process and the role which a social network plays in the decision to migrate. As a result, I argue that immigrant sociocultural resources and social networks are the main causes of the emerging passages of Latino immigrants to non-gateway areas. First, I provide a review of existing literature about Latino immigration to the U.S. A theoretical framework and valuable background information is also provided. Next, I discuss and analyze general trends and findings of U.S. Census data. Finally, I conclude and offer further directions for future research.

Immigration of Latinos to the U.S. has received much attention by the academic community due to the rising number of Latinos in America. For instance, between 1990 and 2000, the U.S. experienced a 58% increase in overall Latino population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Furthermore, most of the immigrants residing in the U.S. are from Mexico, a country which

Change in Paraguay

Outsider Fernando Lugo ousts the long-standing Colorado party

By undergraduate student Andrew Rishel—Andrew.rishel22@gmail.com



When Barack Obama was declared the winner of the United States election, it signified voter's affirmation of his call for a change from the administration of the last eight years. It wasn't, however, the only national election that took place this year. In the South American landlocked country of Paraguay, voters opted for an outsider who ushered in a new era that broke the 60-year reign of the previous ruling party.

Paraguay is no exception to the rule that most Latin American countries have had troubled pasts. It suffered through the territorial War of the Triple Alliance in the 1860s, one of the bloodiest in South American history, when it was defeated by virtually all of the country's then neighbors: Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. From 1932-1935, another territorial war, this time with Bolivia, over the rural Chaco region was fought. Most recently, the infamous dictator Alfredo Stroessner, who ruled for 35 years, was stripped of power in a coup in 1989. Stroessner was a member of the Colorado party, which remained in control, albeit in a more democratic fashion, even after Stroessner was removed from power. It is for this reason that Fernando Lugo's win has been so monumental in his country.

On the surface, Lugo appears to give more evidence to the view that Latin American politics is moving to the left. He served for over a decade as the ordained bishop of the department (Paraguay's equivalent of a state) of San Pedro, where he played the role of advocate for the poor. His theological upbringing was in the Liberation Theology school, which he developed since his early days as a missionary in Ecuador. This branch of theology regards capitalism as sinful, as it is seen as oppressing the poor, and encourages the implementation of Marxist political policies. His history, then, suggests that Lugo will join the ranks of Latin America's more partisan leftists, such as Bolivia's Evo Morales, Ecuador's Rafael Correa and of course, Hugo Chávez of Venezuela.

The challenges facing Paraguay, an all too often overlooked country on the international stage, are mostly domestic. The country is largely rural, with almost half of the population residing in or around the two largest cities: the capital, Asunción, and Ciudad del Este, on the border with Brazil. The rest of the country's six million people are spread over an area almost the size of the entire state of California. The economic base has been overwhelmingly agrarian, and deep inequality persists. It is estimated that 1 % of the population owns over 75 % of the land. One promise that helped propel Lugo into office calls for giving land titles to those without one. This, along with other Lugo policies, is short on details, but it appears to incorporate an air of pragmatism that contrasts with more populist measures in, say, Bolivia. Evo Morales has made headlines with such fanfare of "radical land reform," while Lugo's policies could include anything from forcible land redistribution to a more moderate plan to simply give titles to those who already "own" land, but may simply lack the documentation to prove it. Peruvian economist, Hernando de Soto, has studied the subject of property title reform in his own country, suggesting that the poor are significantly disadvantaged by not being able to use their land as collateral for raising capital. The kind of land reform that President Lugo pursues will be carefully observed, along with other pressing issues.

Paraguay has a deep history of corruption, which has yet to be successfully tackled by any previous administration. Transparency International, a leading anti-corruption research group has placed Paraguay at 116 out of 163 countries surveyed in its latest Corruption Perceptions Index. Compared to others in Latin America, Paraguay holds the distinction of having one of the highest rates of corruption in the region. Aside from giving his presidential salary of \$72,000 to social causes, Lugo has so far been vague on his plans for tackling endemic corruption. The make-up of Paraguay's institutions is such that the Colorado party still plays a significant role in day-to-day operations. While Fernando Lugo is certainly a new face for the country, political squabbles could stall his plans for reform.

One issue that unites most Paraguayans is the terms under which the world's second largest hydroelectric dam operates. Itaipu dam, which straddles the border with Brazil, north of Ciudad del Este, has harnessed the power of the Paraná river to supply Paraguay with almost all of its energy needs. Since Brazil footed a large portion of the bill for the project, Paraguay is required to sell any excess power to its large neighbor at below the market rate. If Lugo can cultivate good relations with Brazil, and negotiate a more favorable price for the energy that Paraguay exports, it will bring in much needed revenue for the government. Another area in which the government could turn for more funds is the agriculture sector. Para-

guay is currently the fourth largest soy exporter in the world, and raising tariffs on soy exports is another potential stream of cash for Lugo's administration.

Only several months into Lugo's five-year term, it is far too early to speculate on his legacy, much less analyze his successes and failures. His inauguration was no small event, as one would expect at such an historic occasion. In attendance were heads of states from across the region, spanning the left-of-center spectrum. Argentina's Kirchner, Bolivia's Morales, Chile's Bachelet, Ecuador's Correa and Venezuela's Chavez were all present at his August 15 swearing in ceremony. Later, Chavez and Lugo appeared at a rally together, celebrating Lugo's victory.

Lugo's cabinet, despite what some outside observers may think, includes some experienced moderates. His economic minister, Dionisio Borda, received his education in the U.S. and steered the economy in the right direction when he was the economic minister from 2003-2005. Sound tax and budgetary reform are both priorities on his agenda. Lugo does not have a majority in Congress, which may make it difficult for him to enact all of the tenants of his plan. Whether Paraguay will be in better shape in five years than it is now remains to be seen, but the new face of Paraguay, Fernando Lugo, is at least a welcome change from over six decades of one-party rule.

Mario Mendoza. *Los hombres invisibles*

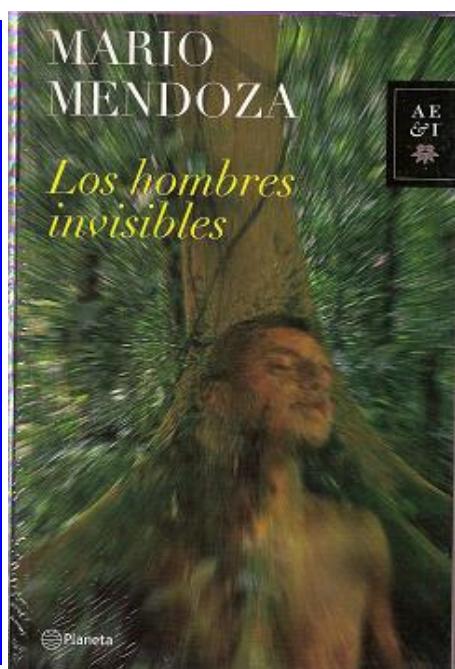
By Professor Álvaro Antonio Bernal (University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown)—
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Desde las primeras páginas de su reciente novela *Los hombres invisibles* identificamos una vez más el estilo realista con elementos de sensibilidad gótica del escritor colombiano Mario Mendoza (1964) que ha sido una constante a través de su saga de novelas. En ellas sus personajes realizan un viaje introspectivo y dejan cierto halo existencialista acerca de lo que realmente somos y lo que buscamos en nuestras vidas. Muchas veces tales personajes terminan desfogando su angustia en actos violentos o irracionales.

El autor conocido como uno de los tantos cronistas contemporáneos de Bogotá en las últimas décadas y clasificado por la crítica como un observador meticoloso de los más oscuros y paupérrimos rincones de la ciudad, esta vez nos embarca en una jornada por las zonas más apartadas de la geografía colombiana. Alejándose de las frías y oscuras calles del centro de la ciudad y de los barrios marginales bogotanos, Mendoza nos guía por la Colombia abandonada y olvidada, aquella que sólo se ve en los mapas y que se relaciona siempre con la miseria, la insalubridad y el conflicto armado de la nación.

El personaje de las novelas de viajes, el aventurero que se enfrenta a los peligros insospechados y a la vez el individuo que vive un drama personal y a la vez denuncia la realidad conflictiva de un país tan convulsionado como Colombia se encarna en la figura de Gerardo Montenegro. Este personaje-narrador después de sentir el hastío de la gran ciudad y de verse abatido ante las desgracias familiares decide fugarse de la jungla de cemento e irse en busca de una nueva vida. Siguiendo las especulaciones de un desequilibrado profesor de antropología de la Universidad Nacional, Jesús María Castelblanco, Gerardo se esfuerza en encontrar una tribu de "hombres invisibles," misteriosa leyenda acerca de la última tribu nómada colombiana, que podría darle la tan anhelada paz mental que persigue y un autoconocimiento necesario para sobrevivir.

Como buen admirador y seguidor de la obra de Eduardo Zalamea Borda y en particular de su legendaria novela: *Cuatro años a bordo de mí mismo*, las historias de Mendoza hacen participar al lector de un contexto colmado de colores, olores y sabores que encuadran sus relatos dentro de un arco iris de sensaciones. Sin duda, aquí se descubre una de las cualidades de esta novela pues durante buena parte de la travesía de Gerardo Montenegro se ilustran diferentes ambientes, algunos de ellos exóticos y salvajes, en los que el lector se podría sentir como un testigo presencial. Mendoza maneja bien este elemento discursivo como también conoce a la perfección el recurso de las descripciones de encuentros sexuales que introduce metódicamente dentro de la trama como un generador sensorial para el lector.



Gerardo es un viajero que no desfallece y desea urgentemente transformar su vida y en ese viaje físico y mental se enfrenta a vivencias diarias con diferentes personajes que le dejan algún tipo de huella tanto en la mente, en el corazón como en la misma piel. Un viaje por las selvas colombianas y por áreas tan estereotipadas como el departamento del Chocó o la población de Buenaventura en el Pacífico colombiano por ejemplo, no tendría mayor credibilidad aparentemente si no se decorara con las alusiones típicas relacionadas con la pobreza, el calor del trópico, los misterios de la selva, los secuestros o los enfrentamientos entre grupos paramilitares y guerrilleros entre otros.

Bien sabe Mendoza que esta mezcla atrae y entretiene al lector desprevenido. Además, si al anterior collage se le inyectan algunos relatos de amores clandestinos y anécdotas eróticas con mujeres de figura casi animal la fórmula parece infalible. No cabe duda que la novela entonces se lee rápido por la curiosidad que inspira el destino peregrino del protagonista, sus aventuras y su probable encuentro con los llamados "hombres invisibles," pretexto y motivador de esta jornada épica. Mendoza entonces echa mano de sus conocidos artificios y en algunos episodios de la narración sale victorioso a través de un personaje principal creíble y bien logrado que deambula por varios escenarios desconocidos.

Pero también otras veces la novela cae en esa continua letanía de aventuras, en esas fugas del individuo incomprendido, algunas de ellas predecibles o en el drama mental de algunos de sus personajes que podrían volverse también calcos de un molde que no se niega a morir. De esta manera, el lector conocedor de la obra del autor sabrá que Gerardo Montenegro bien podría ser uno de tantos individuos psicológicamente alterados de Mendoza, o simplemente un clon de algún personaje de los que aparecen en textos anteriores como *Scorpio City* (1998), *Relato de un asesino* (2001) o *Rastro de sangre* (2004). Todos estos individuos giran en un eterno círculo de experiencias al margen de la vida cotidiana y sedentaria, esa tendencia de vivir, buscar y entender el sueño de la aventura y alejarse del purgatorio de la vida formal, aquella de todos los días, la de la cotidianidad y monotonía. Y en ese camino, una vez más Gerardo como otros personajes del autor desea ser otro, vivir como otro y expulsar sus demonios.

Toda esta tradición surge de los relatos de viajes y en este texto Mendoza desea insistir en tal dinámica. El autor intenta entonces mezclar esa jornada de vivencias en zonas rurales colombianas, variación que hace pues nos había acostumbrado a la atmósfera urbana, con la violencia política y con aquel tipo de violencia que Baudrillard denominó como transpolítica, aquella violencia o agresividad que surge dentro del propio centro del sistema sin causa o detonante conocido. Lo anterior enunciado varias veces por el propio escritor al querer explicar las similitudes que se encuentran en sus novelas y relatos.

Pues bien, la novela *Los hombres invisibles* de Mario Mendoza deja la satisfacción de un texto que alimenta la intuición y esa curiosidad del lector ávido de aventuras, encuentros eróticos, sentimientos de fuga y rebeldía, y los bien elaborados cuadros sensoriales que Mendoza sabe confeccionar para hacer del lector un testigo casi ocular. Pero a su vez también deja un texto con representaciones ya conocidas, personajes pasados por el papel carbón y desencuentros predecibles muy a su estilo hiperrealista.

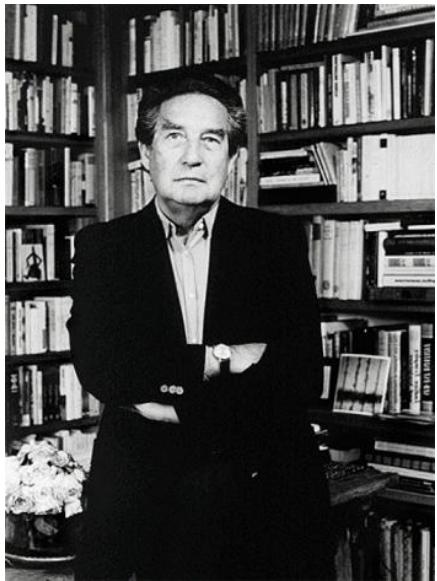
Para el lector novato de este escritor colombiano la novela será un buen descubrimiento que lo encarrilará en un viaje también por conocer su obra; un buen anzuelo para fisgonear algunas de sus anteriores novelas bien elaboradas con escenas articuladas y algunos sorprendentes episodios hábilmente entrelazados. Por otro lado, para el lector perseverante y degustador de varios de sus libros la novela se resbalará y se podría perder en su biblioteca personal. De ella quedará el recuerdo borroso de haber leído una novela melliza, muy similar a trabajos previos pero que en esta oportunidad la ligera diferencia solamente se notará en el escenario de la trama que se ha mudado de los barrios subnormales de Bogotá a los parajes tropicales y abandonados de una Colombia pocas veces mencionada.

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Reading Orientalism in Octavio Paz: The Articulation of Time, Space and Otherness

By Graduate Student Koichi Hgimoto—koh2@pitt.edu



[/www.bnpp.gob.pe/portalbnp/images/stories/
Noticias/Junio_2007/octavio.jpg](http://www.bnpp.gob.pe/portalbnp/images/stories/Noticias/Junio_2007/octavio.jpg)

In this paper, I examine Octavio Paz's Orientalism by analyzing his poem "Cuento de dos jardines" (1968). Paz uses rich poetic images to suggest that the Occidental self and the Oriental other are fundamentally indivisible. His articulation of otherness, however, reveals a certain problematic when the poet projects the inferiority of Mexico by defining it as a land of complete abandonment. I argue that through an attempt to unify contradictory realities, Paz creates an impeccable representation of the Orient while simultaneously subalternizing the Occident.

Octavio Paz attempts to capture the reconciliatory aspect of Oriental philosophy through his poetry and various essays. However, in doing so, the poet seems to construct a problematic vision concerning the relationship between the Occident and the Orient. Unlike José Juan Tablada, another Orientalist poet from Mexico, Paz learned about diverse Asian traditions directly and not from second sources. He was Ambassador to India between 1962 and 1968 and lived in New Delhi during this period, constantly studying Indian cultures and religious teachings. Paz also resided for a while in Japan and his experience there led him to translate some of the finest Japanese traditional *haikus*, including a collection of poetry written by Matsuo Basho (1644-1694). For these reasons, it is possible to argue that, following Manuel Durán, "la poesía de Paz será un gran puente tendido entre el Occidente y el Oriente" (98).

The presence of Eastern elements in Paz's poetry has been studied by many critics who tend to claim that a fusion and blending of opposition often exist in his literature about the Orient. Julia A. Kushigian, for instance, suggests that "[i]n Paz, Orientalism follows a renovative act of fusion, separation, and fusion of opposing realities" (71). We can then assume that Paz's theory of Orientalism is different from that of Edward Said since it essentially attempts to reconcile the conflicting realities (body/non-body, spiritual/material, East/West, etc.) based on the notion that the two are intrinsically inseparable. Perhaps this creation of synthesis is best manifested in the central theme regarding his discourse on Orientalism: the fusion of the Occidental Self and the Oriental Other. In this paper, I want to recuperate and problematize Paz's articulation of the relationship between the Occident and the Orient through an analysis of "Cuento de dos jardines" (1968).

Prior to "Cuentos de dos jardines," Paz's earlier works such as *El arco y la lira* (1956) demonstrate his profound interest in the Oriental philosophy of Buddhism and Hinduism. In *El arco y la lira*, he discusses various Sanskrit concepts, quotes from Prajnaparamita Sutra, refers to the two most important figures in Hinduism (Krishna and Arjuna), and explains the significance of emptiness in Oriental philosophy when he writes, "[un] todo está presente equivale a un todo está vacío" (132). Most importantly, Paz characterizes the Oriental other as "la otra orilla," where he discovers the possibility of unifying distinct times, spaces and subjects:

[En el Oriente,] la experiencia de lo Otro culmina en la experiencia de la Unidad. Los dos movimientos contrarios se implican. En el echarse hacia atrás ya late el salto hacia delante. El precipitarse en el Otro se presenta como un regreso a algo de que fuimos arrancados. Cesa la dualidad, estamos en la otra orilla. Hemos dado el salto mortal. Nos hemos reconciliado con nosotros mismos (133).

However, I argue that Paz's Orientalism does not only comprise a mere illustration of Eastern experience for the Occidental reader. As we shall see later, the poet also invites the audience to participate in the discourse about the relationship between Self and Other. If we follow Jurij Lotman's analysis of language, we can suggest that "any language is not only a communicative system, but also a modeling system, or rather, that both these functions are inseparably linked" (14). Lotman departs from the traditional criticism which views solely the communicative aspect of language. By perceiving language as "a modeling system," he proposes that language not only functions as a means of communication but also a mode of participation. In Paz's poetry, the poet is not really a communicator or a translator of Oriental philosophy, but rather a creator of an alternative space, time, viewpoint, power structure, and positionality of the subject(s). In the case of "Cuentos de dos jardines," Paz provokes a dialogue between the Occidental Self and the Oriental Other. "Cuentos de dos jardines" is composed during Paz's journey from Bombay to the Canary Islands in 1968. "Dos jardines" refers to the actual gardens the poet ex-

perienced in his life: the Occidental garden signifies Mixcoac in Mexico where he lived during his childhood, whereas the Oriental garden represents the one in India where he spent six years as Ambassador. First of all, the symbol of the garden is central to Paz's Orientalism for it creates a new sense of time and space. He begins the poem as follows:

*Una casa, un jardín,
no son lugares:
giran, van y vienen.
Sus apariciones
abren en el espacio
otro espacio,
otro tiempo en el tiempo (412).*

These "otro espacio" and "otro tiempo" produced by the garden is a world of fusion and synthesis where the poet finds "verdes claridades" (412). From the beginning, we can see how Paz creates the possibility of transcending opposing realities by proposing an alternative spatiality and temporality capable of unifying differences. Moreover, this "jardín" as "nolugar" also corresponds to multiple spaces and times. That is to say, the poet not only alludes to a garden but to a series of gardens, which "giran, van y vienen" and whose "apariciones" generate a new kind of space and time. This movement can be best explained as a fusion of oneness and wholeness. A garden symbolizes all gardens, just as a drop of water contains elements of all the ocean or a grain of sand bears components of all the land. Paz then reiterates his declaration about the characteristic of "jardín," albeit from a different perspective:

*Un jardín no es un lugar,
Por un sendero de arena rojiza
entramos en una gota de agua, (417)*

In Paz's vision of poetry, this blending of oneness and wholeness plays an important role. As he states in *El arco y la lira*, "Todo es hoy. Todo está presente. Todo está, todo es aquí" (127). The presentation of this synthesis also appears in "Cuentos de dos jardines" when the poet realizes,

*un todo es cada uno
en otro todo,
en otro uno.
El otro está en el uno,
el uno es otro:
somos constelaciones. (415)*

The unification of contraries and binaries is the basis of the general stream of religious thought in Buddhism and Hinduism. "Uno" is placed together with "todo," and "otro" is also incorporated into "uno." Any opposition is transfigured into a kind of harmonious synthesis, forming a collection of "constelaciones." The two gardens mentioned in the poem are essentially "las dos orillas" of the same river. As Kushigian describes, it is "the river that stretches indefinitely, its body in constant communication with both shores" (44). For Paz, there is no distinction between the Occidental Self and the Oriental Other. Firstly, I want to examine the ways in which Paz portrays the Oriental garden because this is where the poet recognizes "una claridad," or the way to achieve *Prajnaparamita* (Perfect Knowledge). The search for this "claridad" also implies the poet's symbolic return to the past:

*Un día,
como si regresara,
no a mi casa,
al comienzo del Comienzo,
llegué a una claridad. (414)*

"Claridad" in the Oriental garden, understood as a metaphysical moment of spiritual enlightenment, unifies such elements as "aire," "agua" and "luz" (414). The poet's acknowledgment of these components reminds us of the cosmological vision described by the Chinese/Taoist concepts of Yin and Yang. According to this philosophy, the feminine subject symbolizes earthly elements ("aire" and "agua"), while the masculine subject is a sign of light ("luz") among other positive factors.

The image of *nim* tree perhaps best exemplifies the idea of perfect unity in Paz's Orientalism. Usually known as "neem" in English, *nim* is a tree of the mahogany family grown in such countries as Burma, India and Pakistan. In India, the tree is regarded as the "Divine Tree" or "Nature's Drugstore" because of its ability to cure diseases. In the poem, the *nim* tree emerges from the heart of darkness: "Oí rumor verdinegro/ brotar del centro de la noche: el *nim*" (414). Paz describes the tree as the supreme representation of positive force:

Amazonia and the Initiative for Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America: Economic development vs. environment integration?

By Graduate Student Daniel G. Ippolito—dgi2@pitt.edu

1. Introduction

In October 2000, twelve South American countries launched the Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA). This scheme of international cooperation constitutes a regional forum *aimed at coordinating the integration of South America through the development of physical infrastructure*. Its ultimate goal is to promote the social and economic development of the integrating countries in a competitive and globalized world through the development of ten hubs or *ejes de integración y desarrollo*. Within the last three years several meetings have been held among executives, officials, and technicians to support the implementation of this mega plan which has recently approved 31 projects for the attainment of its goals. Yet, serious environmental concerns remain around its implementation regardless of its promising economic potentiality and significance for the energy, transportation, and communication sectors. The project might clearly threaten the already damaged ecosystem services of the Amazon unless serious environmental reviews and practices are implemented.

This article reviews this problematic situation or dilemma between the *need for integration and economic development* and the *protection of the environment* in Amazonia for the case of IIRSA. Even though it is difficult to assess *ex ante* how the means for the integration process can impact the environment -due to its incalculable magnitude, lack of designed experimental models, and the scarcity of published surveys on the issue- this work reflects on how the “precautionary principle” does not seem to play a major role in the implementation of the plan. After all, most scientists and environmentalists in general have set clear that there is no certain way to understand to what extent this plan might impact the high component of natural capital contained in the so-called “lungs of the Earth.”

2. The sustainability of IIRSA’s projects in Amazonia

IIRSA contemplates the development of several extended “multimodal hubs” which encompass the Amazon territory: the Orinoco-Amazonas-Plata hub, the Venezuela-Brazil-Guyana-Suriname hub, the Amazonas hub (Brazil-Colombia-Ecuador-Peru), and the Peru-Brazil hub (Acre-Rondonia). All of these hubs were firstly accorded in the Montevideo Summit of December 2000 (p. 9) and were later redefined as the Amazon Hub, the Guianese Shield Hub, and the Peru-Brazil-Bolivia Hub. These connecting projects will be developed through the build-up of the necessary “infrastructure” to ultimately provide South American nations and the rest of the world with energy sources such as oil, gas, minerals and biomass to feed the regional and global economy.

Six processes have been defined by IIRSA as a complement of the Integration and Development Hubs (EID): 1) Operative system of multimodal transportation, 2) Operative system of aerial transportation, 3) Borderlines, 4) Harmonization of regulatory and interconnection policies, technical standards, and universalization of internet, 5) Instruments to finance projects for regional physical integration, 6) Normative frames for regional energy markets.

GRAPH 1:
IIRSA Hubs



Source: Pitou van Dijck Dijck, , Cedla Cedla, October 2006

IIRSA's governments have presented 506 projects of transportation infrastructure, energy, and communications, all of them grouped in 47 sets of projects which account for a total investment of US\$ 68 billion. In addition, these governments have selected 31 projects of high-impact for deeper physical integration in the short-term, contained in the 2005-2010 agenda (www.iirsa.org). For the Amazon, there exist 10 projects, of which 3 are already being executed, as shown in the following table:

TABLE 1:
Summary of the Projects in Execution Based on Consensus 2005-2010

Hub	Number of Projects	Total Investment (in millions of U\$S)	Projects under execution	
			Number of Projects	Investment (millions of U\$S)
MERCOSUR-Chile	7	3295.80	3	1662.80
Capricorn	2	65.00	0	0.00
Central Interoceanic	7	1038.50	3	574.80
Andean	3	117.50	0	0.00
Amazon	4	1215.30	1	338.00
Peru-Brazil-Bolivia	2	1067.00	1	1055.00
Guianese Shield	4	119.10	1	10.00
All	2	2.90	1	2.50
Total	31	6921.10	10	3643.10

Source: Estimates based on data provided by IIRSA 2008

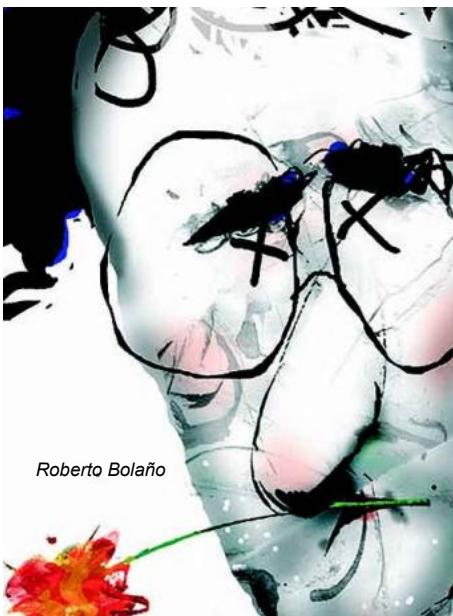
The projects for the territory involving the Amazon area account for approximately US\$ 2.4 billion dollars, almost 35% of the total investment estimated for the 2005-2010 period (third column of table 2). The development of these areas is an imperative for the Brazilian government as well as for the overall region itself to attain economic and social goals, expand their energy matrixes, and interconnect the region to boost intra and extra regional trade with key markets such as Europe, China, India, Japan, and the United States. At the regional level, there exists a strong political will to integrate the region and to increase trade flows which was a contributing factor in launching of the South American Community of States in December of 2004.

The 2005-2010 agenda identifies the following goals: “1) Ensure the Implementation of the projects of the Implementation Agenda based on Consensus; (2) Work towards making a qualitative leap in the territorial Planning process and the decision-making process related to investments in South American integration infrastructure; (3) Capitalize the Initiative’s actions and experience gained in Integration Sectorial Processes to support integration infrastructure-specific projects; and (4) Strengthen the Outreach strategy of the Initiative.” In spite of the alleged “sustainability” of the projects financed by the Initiative, skepticism exists among environmentalists and economists. According to Thomas Lovejoy -scientist who coined the expression “biodiversity”- the current debate “is about a race to finish fine” between two opposing tendencies in the development of Amazonia: a) *deforestation* as an “unintended consequence” of infrastructure and development initiatives, and b) “*conservation* that strives to promote better use of resources, avoiding their depletion as well as environmental destruction” (Wright & Yeon, 2008, p. 2).

The problem associated with the deforestation of Amazonia is the access to new isolated and pristine areas with incredible levels of biodiversity. The frequently hypothesized argument is that *the more access to these areas, particularly in the West and North parts, the greater the extraction of natural resources will be, and therefore, the more harmful this will be not only for the ecosystem itself but also for socio-economic activities*. Ironically, the direct consequences are endured not only by the biomass itself but also by the aboriginal populations established in the area. Moreover, what is not seriously taken into consideration are the global implications of such actions for the already unacceptably high levels of CO₂ concentration in the atmosphere.

Un lustro sin Roberto Bolaño

By graduate student Jorge Zavaleta—joz5@pitt.edu



http://www.ellabrador.com/blog/mntv/0001/d22/s02/b02933e/www/elhablador.com/blog/wip-content/uploads/2008/02/escritor_chileno_Roberto_Bolaño.jpg

Recordar a Roberto Bolaño, el inigualable escritor chileno, a cinco años de su muerte, es un acto de fe literaria. Convertido póstumamente en un súper ventas a raíz de la publicación de esa novela magna y abismal que es *2666*, Bolaño representa un reencuentro con los mejores escritores del “boom” latinoamericano pero también la certera señal de que su narrativa abre nuevos caminos para una ficción siempre un poco al borde de todo.

Dicho de esta manera, Bolaño se nos aparece, como él mismo hubiera querido, transfigurado en el boxeador que tanto retrata metafóricamente en sus relatos -por ejemplo los que conforman los volúmenes de *Llamadas telefónicas* y *Putas asesinas*-, un ser ágil que rápido se desprende de la anécdota y pasa a la siguiente y más difícil etapa.

Los primeros años de este narrador, que sus biógrafos aún no autorizados vienen tratando de reconstruir desde hace un tiempo, transcurren en Santiago, pero poco se sabe de esa época. Incluso los pocos libros de crítica que circulan sobre su obra, desde hace unos años, destacan que realmente Bolaño se reencontró con Chile una vez que alcanzó la gloria literaria. Aquel momento fue el de la publicación de *Los detectives salvajes* (1998), que obtuvo el premio Rómulo Gallegos así como galardones de la editorial Anagrama y de la Municipalidad de Santiago. Sólo es en ese instante que propios y extraños se ven vinculados a este autor talentoso que un tanto silenciosamente había venido acumulando premios de los ayuntamientos españoles en una carrera, que, como sabemos, terminó de una manera grandiosa y aún dejándonos con ganas para más, aunque la muerte al final ensombreciera el panorama.

Pero, como diría el mismo Bolaño, hay que decirlo todo. Entonces tenemos que hacer un viaje en el tiempo y revivir los años como poeta, el autoexilio y la marginalidad primero en México DF y luego en Barcelona o en alguna otra ciudad española o de Europa. Aquí y allá. O aquí y ahora, como diría Cortázar, alguien a quien el autor chileno admira explícitamente. Esos años en México son los del movimiento infrarrealista, de las revistas hoy recuperadas como tesoros, y se reviven, a través de múltiples perspectivas, actos, secuencias y homenajes, en *Los detectives salvajes*. Es en esta fresca, ambiciosa y sobre todo delirante novela -nueva piedra de toque de la literatura del continente- que el aspirante a poeta Juan García Madero se presenta como un personaje solitario e inocente que camina por las calles de ese distrito federal infinito y, de pronto, conoce a Arturo Belano y Ulises Lima.

Belano y Lima son los detectives del título, en busca de Cesárea Tinajero, una poeta de la vanguardia mexicana perdida en algún momento de la historia del siglo pasado. Belano es el alter ego de Bolaño, Luna lo es de Mario Santiago, el mejor amigo del novelista y compañero de aventuras no sólo literarias. El viaje, la búsqueda, tiene como referente esa mítica ausencia de Odiseo en Ítaca, y toma veinte años. Estos serán narrados por las voces de más de un centenar de testigos que conocen a Lima y Belano en diferentes lugares y circunstancias, en Israel o en México, o donde sea. De pronto, la novela se transforma en un inevitable *tour de force* que da cuenta de la enorme marginalidad y sufrimientos personales del intelectual o seudo intelectual latinoamericano en tierras extrañas. Lejos de su país, en donde es permanentemente postergado o ignorado y donde no recibe ayuda alguna, este intelectual encuentra un sustituto geográfico, temporal, pero ciertamente no un refugio para sus pasiones más íntimas y más deseadas.

Así, la aventura de Belano y Lima reproduce la tragedia del hambre y la miseria ficcionalizadas en la literatura del Siglo de Oro español, como en las *Novelas Ejemplares* de Cervantes o en el típico *leit motiv* de *El Lazarillo de Tormes*. Y es que no otra cosa son estos *borderlines*, *outsiders* o *losers* representados por las figuras de Belano y Lima, y por uno y otro seguidor. Por temporadas apenas tienen con qué alimentarse o rentar una habitación, o se dedican a robar la línea telefónica para hacer, de madrugada, infinitas llamadas a sus familiares y amigos de los países de donde provienen. Es el terciermundismo que Bolaño acusa en un registro duro, contrastado con un humor por momentos grueso y casi siempre negro y exagerado.

Pero no sólo eso, por supuesto, es esta estupenda novela que descubrió a un autor nuestro, un fenómeno editorial, sí, pero para ser honestos, al mismo tiempo un escritor con un testimonio propio y con un vuelo narrativo que convoca en sus historias recuerdos, a la manera de *flashbacks*, de voces mayores y envolventes como la de el Carlos Fuentes de *La región más transparente* o *Cambio de piel*, el joven y rebelde Vargas Llosa de los años 60, el Cortázar lúdico y amante del jazz y las aventuras urbanas. Y en los momentos más álgidos, críticos, cómo no reconocer la presencia del Onetti que divaga en Santa María, entre prostitutas, rostros de la desgracia y seres sin destino. Más allá de esta presencia “textual” o intertextual, Bolaño es un convencido de que la escritura, el acto de escribir ficciones, se gana como un combate, a fondo y hasta el final. Esas convicciones lo llevaron a componer *2666*, auténtica meganovela, para usar un término contemporáneo y no exento de ecos vinculados a la mercadotecnia y el espectáculo.

Se trata, esta vez, de cinco historias que, según se cuenta, el autor, al saber de su próxima desaparición y queriendo asegurar el futuro de sus hijos y esposa, indicó que se publicaran individualmente. Pero una vez fallecido, primó otro criterio editorial y la voluminosa obra -poco más de mil páginas- se entrega así, tal cual, al lector. Entonces asistimos a la nueva apuesta de un autor que en *Los detectives salvajes* nos había emocionado y divertido, que había dado cuenta de nuestro “lugar en el mundo”, de esos permanentes “territorios en fuga”, como da a entender la crítica chilena Patricia Espinosa. Y es que *2666*, concebida a sí misma como novela total, capaz de superar cualquier ambición, se propone a la vez como un inteligente *puzzle*, empotrando y recolectando historias, proponiendo cada vez más extrañas salidas narrativas, quizás hasta voces y temas incómodos.

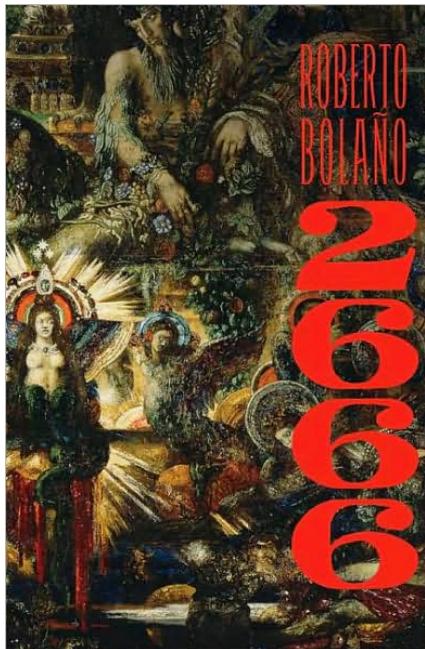
Las cinco partes de la novela resumen la búsqueda por unos críticos europeos de un misterioso escritor alemán, Benno Von Archimboldi, al que nadie ha visto pero que es voceado con insistencia para el Nobel. No es este el lugar para detallar lo que sucede en esta dislocada aventura pero señalemos que la novela, con suma habilidad, adhiere otras historias, como la de Fate, un periodista norteamericano de raza negra que, viniendo de la crónica política, protagoniza secuencias más bien al estilo de las películas de Tarantino.

Y eso nos abre camino a la parte más oscura, extraña y extravagante, “la de los crímenes.” Es ésta la verdad-ficción de los asesinatos de mujeres en Ciudad Juárez, convertida en la pluma de Bolaño en Santa Teresa, un lugar que ya se anuncia al final de *Los detectives salvajes*. La frontera entre México y Estados Unidos va a ser, por muchas páginas, centro neurálgico de la acción. Las obreras de las maquiladoras están siendo victimadas. La presencia de un *serial killer* adscribe la narración al género policial que Bolaño también demuestra admirar y que lleva hasta sus últimas consecuencias.

Pero *2666*, con todo lo caleidoscópica y con su constante cambio de giros, es, asimismo, esa obra que recuerda voces oprimidas y marginadas, que habla continua y rabiosamente de la soledad, ese gran mal de nuestra civilización posmoderna, y que tiende fraternal puentes, acaso un tanto inocentes, entre seres que en realidad poco tienen en común o qué compartir. Los críticos que siguen la pista de Archimboldi o el periodista que encuentra líos sin buscarlos (*Fate*) o el propio escritor

perdido, desviándose en su propio misterio, son parte de este “teatro del mundo” en que el autor de *Amuleto* y *La literatura Nazi en América* sitúa las propias contradicciones de nuestros pueblos, su falta de un proyecto común, sus continuas carencias y frustraciones.

Roberto Bolaño falleció el 15 de julio de 2003, a los 50 años. Con él se fue el talento que de pronto, violento y “salvaje,” irrumpió en las letras latinoamericanas para dejar una impronta que reclama su propio lugar. Sus novelas y cuentos, tan requeridos ahora, demuestran ser voluptuosos, dinámicos, trasnacionales, y enriquecen a quienes creen, como Mario Vargas Llosa sostuvo alguna vez, que “la literatura es fuego.” El fuego incandescente de Bolaño y sus ficciones se nos aparece, así, como un constante descubrimiento, un deleite que se convierte en sentido homenaje, nunca marcado por la levedad sino, todo lo contrario, por una potencia volcánica que estalla ya en cuentos tan curiosos como “*Sensini*”, donde recupera la figura del escritor que vive ganando concursos de cuentos. O “*El gusano*,” famoso por la sorprendente aparición de la gran estrella de cine mexicana Jacqueline Andere. O por ese cálculo matemático y buscavidas que subyace a “Últimos atardeceres en la tierra,” un relato económico y circular que todo el tiempo no hace más que anunciarlo a sí mismo. Ese es el Bolaño que trasciende en el tiempo misterioso, acaso cifrado en el *2666* de su novela final.



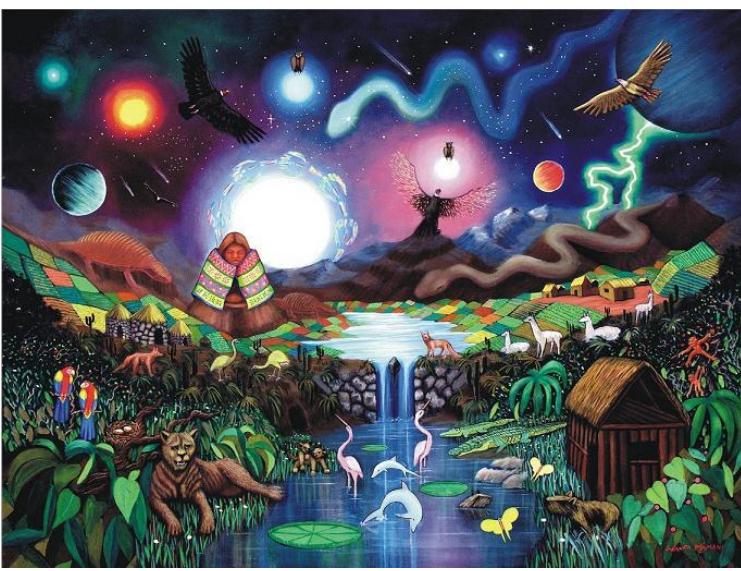
Oralidad y Escritura en la Educación Andina

By graduate student Gabriella Nuñez—gan11@pitt.edu

Este breve ensayo intenta reconciliar la relación entre oralidad y escritura como medios comunicativos complementarios y necesarios para facilitar el proceso de descolonización en las comunidades andinas de América Latino a través de la educación. Los promotores de la historia oral como alternativa para recuperar la historia de la cultura andina (Ticona, Mamani, Rivera Cusicanqui, etc.) aciertan en considerar a la oralidad como un instrumento fundamental para la reconstrucción de la memoria histórica de los pueblos andinos y como una herramienta de descolonización. Estos autores sostienen que con el rescate de la memoria oral de los pueblos andinos se puede hacer frente a una historia oficial impuesta desde la conquista. Historia oficial que desconoce la historia de los pueblos andinos por no contar éstos con registros escritos. Aunque este esfuerzo por el rescate de la memoria y la historia oral andina es meritorio e imprescindible, no debería caer sin embargo en el mismo error que intenta criticar. Es decir, el considerar al discurso oral y al escrito como excluyentes: el sistema oficial excluye la oralidad, y los promotores de la historia oral parecieran excluir la escritura en su discurso.

Es un hecho innegable que con la llegada de los colonizadores se produjo un encuentro desigual entre dos sistemas comunicativos: el oral y el escrito, imponiéndose uno sobre otro. Carlos Iván Degregori (1991) nos recuerda la “Emboscada de Cajamarca,” en la cual al mostrársele la Biblia al último Inca (Atahualpa), éste no “escuchó” la palabra divina y tiró la Biblia al suelo. De allí que el trauma de la conquista fue también un trauma lingüístico y un desencuentro entre dos sistemas comunicativos: el oral y el escrito. El sistema de escritura alfabetica fue pues impuesto con violencia. La escritura era el único sistema comunicativo con prestigio para los europeos. Estableciéndose una estrecha relación entre escritura y poder, cualquier otro sistema de notación o registro como los glifos o kipus perdieron todo valor. Lienhard (1992, p.30) señala otro factor que también dificultó aún más la apropiación de la escritura por parte de los pueblos sometidos durante la época colonial: el fetichismo que existió en relación a la escritura; así, la población aborigen percibió a la escritura como una facultad mágica que los Europeos poseían.

La escritura sigue representando hasta nuestros días un símbolo de dominación en América Latino . Esta situación es posible de revertir no solamente con la revaloración de la oralidad como sistema comunicativo que expresa la identidad, tradición e historia de las comunidades andinas; sino, a través de la adquisición de la escritura misma. Aunque la escritura sigue generando en muchas comunidades orales-andinas un sentimiento de rechazo por la forma en como es impuesta, es necesario que estas comunidades se apropien de la escritura. Carlos Mamani (1989, p.24) considera que “la tradición oral se ha convertido en estos casi 500 años de dominación colonial, en el único registro de nuestra memoria,” pero deja de lado el hecho de que la escritura constituye una herramienta importante para el registro de la memoria e historia oral una vez que éstas son recuperadas. La escritura es un medio que permite el acceso a los sistemas académicos, legales, políticos, etc. El mismo Mamani hace uso de la escritura para exhortar la recuperación de la memoria oral. Lo cual, lejos de ser contradictorio, es solo una muestra de que no podemos ni debemos priori-



<http://juanyupanquivillalobos.files.wordpress.com/2008/03/30311.jpg>

zar un sistema comunicativo sobre otro. Los diferentes medios de expresión, sean oral, escrito o audiovisual, nos permiten aprehender la realidad y manifestar ideas, pensamientos y sentimientos de manera individual o colectiva dentro de una cultura.

En el mismo texto, Mamani sostiene que “debemos desarrollar un estudio, desde nuestra perspectiva, para reconocer en la tradición oral una forma de preservación de nuestra memoria histórica, y una manifestación de nuestra filosofía de la historia.” (p.25) ¿Pero cual es el papel que juega la escritura en este proceso? ¿Cómo deben relacionarse la oralidad con la escritura en las comunidades andinas? ¿Cómo debe ser el proceso de apropiación de la escritura en las zonas rurales andinas donde el medio predominante de comunicación es la oralidad? La recuperación de una historia oral andina debe ir de la mano con una adquisición adecuada de la escritura que no implique la imposición de un sistema oficial-occidental de enseñanza de la lecto-escritura sobre un modo de comunicación predominantemente oral. Escritura y oralidad deben adquirirse de manera integrada. La escritura debe dejar el estigma de “colonizadora” y pasar a convertirse más bien en el arma principal de descolonización. Pero para lograr este objetivo, los pueblos eminentemente orales deben aprender a escribir respetando su lengua, sus tradiciones e historias orales y todas sus formas de comunicación social (ritos, danzas, cantos, mitos, etc.). La escuela no debe separar la escritura de otros sistemas de aprendizaje que los niños andinos –en especial de áreas rurales—están familiarizados, como el contacto directo con la naturaleza o el trabajo en el campo.

El error que ha cometido el sistema oficial de educación es el de imponer un sistema de aprendizaje de escritura que legitima medios específicos de transmitir conocimiento pero sin considerar las formas de aprendizaje locales e imponiendo prácticas discursivas foráneas. Si consideramos que los diferentes usos del lenguaje, son al mismo tiempo, reforzadores y productores de identidad; entonces, al haber una apropiación adecuada de la escritura, las comunidades andinas reforzarán su identidad y crearán otras nuevas. Las identidades no son fijas ni estáticas y se recrean constantemente. Renato Ortiz señala que en el Perú, el poblador andino pasa de una identificación a otra con cierta holgura, y en cada círculo el ser es diferente y las lealtades también. Ortiz dice: “El ser o no ser no es un dilema de muchos rostros, porque no solemos pretender ser siempre el mismo. El andino no se place en la permanencia, gusta de las novedades y de ponerse distintas máscaras” (Ortiz, 1999, p.131).

El poblador andino es pues un ser flexible capaz de apropiarse de una multiplicidad discursiva. No debemos entonces encasillarlo sólo o predominantemente en el discurso oral, menos hoy en un mundo contemporáneo que le exige no sólo apropiarse del medio escrito sino del electrónico y del audiovisual. Actualmente las sociedades andinas se caracterizan por lo múltiple, lo heterogéneo, las mezclas, los encuentros y los desencuentros. Entonces, toda propuesta educativa que asuma el reto de respetar los procesos de aprendizaje propios de cada comunidad, debe hacer un esfuerzo por combinar todos los medios comunicativos respetando los modos de socialización locales.

Sheila Aikman, estudiosa de la educación indígena en Sud América señala que “el uso escrito de un lenguaje indígena es importante para facilitar la comunicación entre grupos y/o realizar la identidad cultural, al determinar el valor puesto por los pueblos indígenas a la alfabetización en la lengua materna.” Aikman indica por ejemplo que “muchos de los pobladores de la Amazonía peruana perciben la educación bilingüe y ‘bi-alfabetizada’ como un medio de fortalecer sus propias lenguas dentro del contexto nacional” (Aikman, 2003, p.56-67).

La idea que las modalidades discursivas expresan, refuerzan y recrean las identidades ha sido sostenida por Scollon y Scollon (1981) quienes consideran que los patrones de discurso en las diferentes culturas reflejan una visión particular del mundo y constituyen las expresiones de identidad cultural y personal. Scollon y Scollon realizaron un estudio de las prácticas discursivas y visión del mundo de los Atabascanos en Alaska y el norte de Canadá, contrastándolos con los patrones de discurso y visión del mundo de las sociedades Anglo-Canadiense y Anglo-Americana. Encontraron que para los Atabascanos aprender a escribir a través del sistema educativo anglo-sajón implicaba no sólo el aprendizaje de una nueva tecnología, sino también, la asociación a nuevos valores y prácticas sociales que entraban en conflicto con sus propias prácticas.

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sends the most emigrants than any other country (Weeks, 2008). Moreover, the geography of immigrant destinations within America has also experienced a change and growth has risen in non-traditional areas. For example, “a number of cities have experienced a sudden and substantial influx of Hispanic residents” (Smith & Furuseth, 2004). Smith and Furuseth (2004), examine this new demographic shift by paying close attention to Charlotte, North Carolina, which experienced a 932% growth of Hispanic population between the years of 1990-2000. Other researchers have also focused on areas within North Carolina which have experienced similar Hispanic growth. For instance, Siler City, a once small and racially segregated town experienced a large Hispanic population increase, as Hispanics became 40% of the city’s population (Rodriguez et. al., 2008). Other towns and cities across America are experiencing a similar, dramatic growth of Hispanic immigrants; however, “the rise of a new geography of Latino settlement is a developing story” and “much research remains to be done” (Rodriguez, et.al., 2008, p. 32). Thus, my research offers further understanding on this new topic in order to disseminate more knowledge and propagate the need for future research.

Theoretical Framework

What is an immigrant social network: a Brief Example and Personal Note

Before beginning to describe the network theory, it is necessary to define what is meant by an immigrant social network. Moreover, it is extremely important to understand what this term means in relation to Mexican immigrants. For example, many Mexican immigrants in the U.S. are classified as transnational migrants. Transnational migrants are immigrants, planning to return home at some point, who keep in close contact with residents of their home country and relay information back to them. Some transnational migrants even send money in the form of remittances back to their home country (Weeks, 2008). Thus, immigrants from Mexico are different from previous groups of immigrants, not only because of Mexico’s proximity to the U.S., but also due to the strong social transnational ties kept while residing in the U.S.

As a result, Mexicans are more likely to relay valuable information (i.e. employment opportunities, safety, types of social/cultural services etc.) back to their home country, which attracts future migrants to a designated area. For example, within the Pittsburgh, area the Latino population is growing daily, although in 2000 the population was only 1.3% of the total Pittsburgh population (U.S. Census, 2000). Due to personal social connections with the Mexican immigrant population within Pittsburgh, it is evident that many of them have migrated from around same area of Sultepec, Mexico. This is an example of an immigrant social network. After arriving and scoping out an area, established immigrants send information back to a particular area (PittsburghàSultepec), causing more immigrants to migrate to the same destination. Finally, as a personal note, I had the opportunity to visit Sultepec, Mexico this summer—a rather small Mexican village with limited technology. However, almost everyone was familiar with Pittsburgh due to the information they received from loved ones currently living and working in the Pittsburgh area.

Network Theory: Chain Migration due to Established Social Networks

Although several theories exist to explain the flow of immigration, numerous theories have ignored that Latino immigration to the U.S. is continuous and does not seem to be slowing down anytime soon (See Weeks, 2008, p. 282). For instance, prior research on immigration has focused on the “push-pull theory” of immigration, which argues that people are pushed out of sending countries for various reasons (i.e. policies, economics, population size etc.) and attracted to receiving countries which offer better alternatives (Weeks, 2008). The “push-pull theory,” can be used to explain the initial and continuing reasons why immigrants from Latin America are arriving to the U.S. However, similar to Garcia’s (2005) argument, such a theory is based upon the idea that networks already exist within the host country. Moreover, since immigration from countries in Latin America, such as Mexico, has not subsided, many people within sending countries already have social networks within host countries. According to Carlos Garcia (2005), immigration theories are based on “the assumption that institutionalized social networks are already in place in the receiving countries” (Garcia, 2005, p. 5). Thus, sociocultural resources and social networks play significant roles in attracting migrants to locations (Rodriguez, et. al.). Such an explanation of migration corresponds specifically with the “network theory” of migration, which I believe is the leading explanation for the rampant increase of Latino population in non-traditional locations (Massey quoted in Weeks, 2008, p. 283). According to the “network theory,” immigrants base their decision to migrate upon the social networks which already exist in a desired location. For example, if an immigrant in Mexico wants to migrate to the U.S., he/she would be more likely to migrate if a social network was preexistent. This reduces the costs and risks of migrating to a new location, for an established network “connects migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin” (Massey qt. Weeks, 2008, p. 283).

It is also important to note that “once these networks have begun, they tend to get increasingly stronger” (Garcia, 2005, p. 5). Although Garcia (2005) examines the development of immigrant social networks, he does not expand on how this contributes to rising Latino migration to non-gateway areas. Moreover, Rodriguez (2008) argues that, “the *final* piece of the puzzle (i.e. changing Latino immigrant geography) has to do with the immigrant networks role in the emergence and growth of new destinations” (italics added, Rodriguez et.al. 2008, p. 28). However, I argue that an existent immigrant social network has become the *immediate* factor in determining Latino immigration to non-gateway areas. As a result, the network theory has played a crucial role not only in sustaining Latino immigration, but it has also caused the diffusion of migrant

pathways to non-gateway areas in America. Although other factors may have been the initial causes behind Latino immigration, the steadiness of Latino migration flow to the U.S. has increased the development of immigrant social networks throughout America. Such strong networks have created the foundation for increased Latino immigration flow to non-traditional immigrant destinations. According to Garcia (2005), focusing on social networks helps to understand the idea of chain migration and its impact on the migration process (Garcia, 2005). Moreover, the continued flow of Latino immigrants, due to the “push-pull theory,” has increased the social linkages between sending and receiving countries. The cost of international movement is reduced when such a social network develops and

The range of social contacts in the network expands with the entry of each migrant, thus encouraging still more migration and ultimately leading to the emergence of international migrations as a mass phenomenon (Weeks, 2008, p. 293)

Both Weeks (2008) and Garcia (2005), refer to such migration networks as “social capital.” Moreover, Weeks (2008) states that social capital makes it much easier to migrate as anticipatory migrants realize the human capital (i.e. the real benefit received by established migrants in a particular area) available to them in a particular location. For example:

The resources embedded within a social structure are important because they aid in the transmission of information, influence decision making, serve as a social reference for members of a network and reinforce group identity (Garcia, 2008, p. 6)

Furthermore, due to the long history of immigration from Mexico to the U.S., social networks have spread to various locations throughout America, prompting a spread of migration to non-traditional U.S. immigrant areas. As a result, chain migration, “the process whereby migrants are part of an established flow from a common origin to a prepared destination where others have previously migrated,” has contributed to the rise of Latino migration to non-gateway areas, as Latino social networks have spread throughout the country (Weeks, 2008, p. 547).

Data

Since Latinos in the U.S. have historically migrated to large metropolitan areas in the Southwest and Northeast, it is necessary to examine the growth to areas other than the above regions (Rodriguez, et. al., 2008). As a result, my data includes a comparison of regions throughout the U.S. between the years 1990 and 2000. Thus, by using U.S. Census Data from the 1990 Census and 2000 Census, I compiled various graphs to demonstrate the Latino demographic shift to non-gateway areas throughout America. Moreover, I focused on four of the top states who have experienced the most Latino growth between 1990 and 2000. These states include: North Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, and Tennessee—all states who are not part of the Southwest or Northeast. Lastly, I created a separate graph, showing the Mexican-Origin population within those states, because the Mexican-Origin population played a crucial role in Hispanic growth to non-gateway areas. Note: I could not compare Mexican-Origin in 1990 to 2000 because Mexican-Origin residency was not recorded in 1990. Also, I used the words Hispanic/Latino interchangeably throughout my data and results section. This is due to the conflicting definitions of each word and the fact no such exact term has been developed to clearly focus on the Hispanic/Latino population in the U.S. (Casañas, 2005).

Figure 1. Population of Hispanic Origin according to U.S. region, 1990-2000.

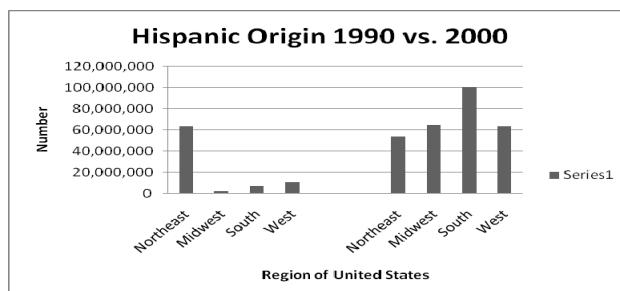


Figure 2. Population of Hispanic Origin according to top Hispanic (non-gateway) growing States

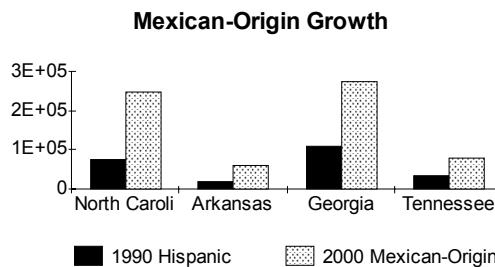
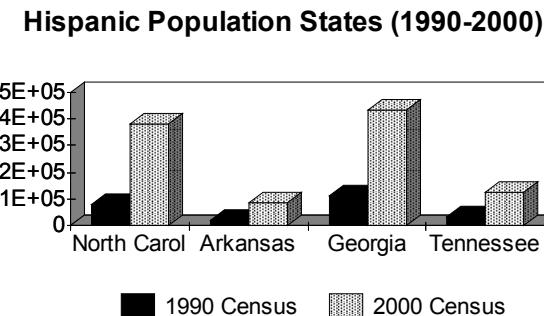


Figure 3. Hispanic (1990) vs. Mexican-Origin (2000), U.S. Census



Results

Based upon my results, it is evident that the Hispanic population in non-gateway areas is growing. I will offer an analysis of each table below.

Figure 1

This graph demonstrates the massive growth of Hispanic people within the U.S. between 1990 and 2000. Moreover, it illustrates that the Hispanic population grew in regions which had almost no such population in 1990—previous non-gateway regions. For example, between 1990 and 2000, the Hispanic population increased by 394 % in North Carolina (Rodriguez, et. al., 2008). The region which experienced the most growth of Latinos was the Midwest; its Latino population grew 81% (Rodriguez, et.al. 2008). An interesting piece of information, shown in figure 1, is that the Hispanic population actually decreased in the Northeast, an area which was a previous gateway area. Future research should examine why the Hispanic population has decreased in this once fast-growing Hispanic region.

Figure 2

Figure 2 clearly demonstrates the amount of Latino growth taking place in the top four fastest growing Latino states, which were previously non-gateway states. Specifically, North Carolina had the highest growth; in 1990, the Hispanic population was about 77,000 and in 2000, it was about 379,000 (U.S. Census, 1990 & 2000). Furthermore, when comparing the Hispanic growth to actual general population growth in these areas, one notices the Hispanic population is growing much faster (not demonstrated in figure 2). For example, in Arkansas, the total general population grew 13.7 percent, while the Hispanic population increased by 337 percent (U.S. Census, 1990&2000). The evidence provided in figure 2 shows the dramatic growth occurring in states which had a very small Hispanic population in years prior.

Figure 3

I compare different variables in figure 3, Hispanic population in 1990 versus Mexican population in 2000. However, I did this to demonstrate the impact Mexican-Origin immigration has had on the total Hispanic growth between 1990 and 2000. Moreover, the 1990 census did not record Mexican-Origin population; if so, I would have compared the same variable—Mexican-Origin. On the other hand, the figure does illustrate the large amount of Mexicans residing in areas which had almost no Hispanic immigrant population in the past. Thus, Mexicans are the likeliest group of Hispanic immigrants contributing to the increased migration to non-gateway areas within the U.S. For example, in Georgia, the Mexican-Origin population in 2000 more than doubled the Hispanic population of 1990.

Discussion and Conclusion

This research is significant because it applies the network theory and chain migration to the recent rise of Latinos in non-gateway areas. Specifically, it is evident that Mexican-Origin immigrants are the main contributors of the major demographic shift. Such a massive growth of Latinos, to areas which had no Hispanic population in the past, may severely impact immigrant-sentiment, policies, and social services within those areas. For example, communities which are not used to a large Latino population may not be efficiently prepared to serve the basic needs of new immigrants. Compared to established Hispanic areas, non-gateways may be limited in institutions to aid immigrants. For example, non-gateway areas may lack individuals who are bilingual or who encompass bicultural knowledge. Furthermore, populations already living in non-gateway areas may react to the rising Hispanic population negatively and tensions may rise. For instance, some areas are experiencing a rise in violence against immigrants and others are dealing with the massive exodus of whites, who are relocating due to the immigrant influx. Thus, xenophobia has experienced a rise amongst residents in many communities, where immigrants were not present ten years prior. Moreover, immigrant-specific policies, which may have been non-existent in decades prior, have been implemented in non-gateway areas. Inclusion policies have been more prevalent in gateway areas,

while exclusion policies have been successfully implemented in many non-gateway areas. On the other hand, each area tends to react uniquely but familiarity with immigrant groups tends to play a role. Some areas have even enforced English-only policies, while others have worked hard to incorporate new Hispanics by offering bilingual services and accepting their culture and needs. More research needs to be conducted in order to focus on the mixed immigrant-sentiments which exist in non-gateway areas—sentiments which not only impact residents, but also new immigrants and immigrant social networks.

Finally, it must be noted that my research was limited due to the fact that one cannot measure the amount of social networks within a given area. Moreover, my research did not take into account the fertility rate of Latino immigrants which has been typically above the average rate in America. High fertility may play a role in the increased growth of the Hispanic population in non-gateway areas, but because the growth has been so large, another factor (i.e. social networks) must play a significant role. Thus, immigrant social networks have been established in new regions of the U.S., which are attracting large numbers of Hispanic immigrants to areas which had no such population in past decades. More research is needed to identify what types of social networks exist and how they contribute to future migratory patterns. For instance, I suggest that future research performs ethnographic studies in these non-gateway areas. An ethnographic study would contribute to a thorough examination of a Latino immigrant social network and how it actually functions. By talking and interacting with both established immigrants and new immigrants, researchers are more likely to identify how social networks contribute to increased immigration to particular regions. Perhaps future research would be based on qualitative measures (i.e. interviews), since quantitative studies have already determined that new Latino destinations exist. Finally, researchers should also examine how these new areas have prepared for Latino immigrants and how assimilation is affected. For example, immigrants may find it hard to assimilate, due to the immigrant sentiment which exists in communities, which are not accustomed to a large Latino immigrant population. Therefore, research which is currently revealing the massive Latino migration to non-gateway areas should be widely disseminated and reviewed in order to accurately prepare such regions for the demographic shift. Researchers should also focus on how Latinos are adapting to these new non-gateway areas, while researching the implementation of immigrant-inclusion/exclusion policies.

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El árbol no cedía.

Grande como el monumento a la paciencia,
justo como la balanza que pesa

la gota de rocío
el grano de luz,
el instante.

Entre sus brazos cabían muchas lunas.

Casa de las ardillas,

mesón de los mirlos. (415)

A fusion of opposing worlds becomes once again evident since “El *nim*, enorme,/ sabía ser pequeño” (415). The tree is “grande” and “justo,” capable of embracing from “la gota de rocío” to “el instante.” It is also a refuge for squirrels and blackbirds to protect themselves. In other words, the tree is a symbol of compassionate and encompassing “madre India.” Or perhaps better expression to define the focal point of Paz’s vision of the Orient is *Prajnaparamita* (Perfect Knowledge), which he identifies as “Nuestra Señora de la Otra Orilla” (418).

As many critics argue, it is true that Paz’s Orientalism constructs a poetic space capable of reconciling contradictory realities. In his poetry, he uses rich images to convey the message that the Occidental Self and the Oriental Other are fundamentally indivisible: “la otra orilla está aquí” (418) and “el uno es otro”(415). His articulation of otherness, however, reveals a certain problematic in terms of Paz’s Eurocentric vision. We can perceive two layers in his Orientalism. On the one hand, Paz exalts the Oriental philosophy of *Prajnaparamita* in search of harmonious synthesis. On the other hand, the poet projects the inferiority of Mexico by defining it as a land of complete darkness. Through his effort to unify the two worlds, Paz creates an impeccable representation of the Orient while simultaneously subalternizing the Occident. In other words, his Orientalism exposes the problem of “Orientalized” Mexico.

I use the term “Orientalization” different from the earlier application of Paz’s “Orientalism.” The second idea simply refers to Paz’s perception about Asian philosophies, but the first notion creates a complex power relationship between Self and Other. Here Said’s classic theory of *Orientalism* is useful to explain what I call the act of Orientalization. According to Said, “the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony” (5). Following Said’s idea that the Occident defines its identity by imposing its superior status upon the Orient—by “Orientalizing” the other—I employ the term “Orientalization” to mean the act of making the other subject inferior, which also implies the act of subalternization.

An examination of the “Orientalized” Mexico is related to Lotman’s idea of language as “a modeling system” because it underscores not the act of communication but rather that of participation. Paz alludes to the importance of poetic participation when he writes in *El arco y la lira*, “[e]l poema se realiza en la participación, que no es sino recreación del instante original” (117). Paz’s project in “Cuento de dos jardines” involves not only the transmission of a message about the comprehensive philosophy of the Orient, but a participatory event in which both the poet and the reader are asked to define the characteristic of the Mexican subject. The more the poet highlights the blending of East/West and Self/Other, the more he eliminates each other’s unique differences. The act of Orientalization/subalternization thus signifies the erasure and the abandonment of the Mexican subject.

In “Cuentos de dos jardines,” we can perceive the act of Orientalization in the way the poet illustrates the Mexican garden. Unlike the purifying world depicted in the Indian garden, the garden in Mixcoac appears as a place of total destruction and abandonment:

Aquel de Mixcoac, abandonado,
cubierto de cicatrices,

era un cuerpo

a punto de desplomarse.

Yo era niño

y el jardín se parecía a mi abuelo. (413)

In this scene, the abundant symbols of fusion and perfection we have witnessed in the Orient have completely disappeared. The Occidental Self is violently abandoned and covered with scars. Paz characterizes Mexico as “un cuerpo a punto de desplomarse,” suggesting that the future of his native land represents a total collapse. Only negative images emerge out of the Mexican garden, including “condenado,” “destrucción,” “la sangre,” “la muerte” or “la otra cara del ser,” and “mi ruina” (413).

The poet further “Orientalizes” the Mexican population by portraying them as “una masa cárdena” and “una protuberancia enorme.”

For Paz, the Mexican subject is represented by “la piedra ensangretada,” as opposed to the “grande” and “justo” *nim* tree in India. Dispirited by his fellow Mexicans, the poet decides to leave them as he announces the following statement: “Los pinos me enseñaron a hablar solo./ En aquel jardín aprendí a despedirme” (414). As a privileged intellectual who experiences the life of “la otra orilla,” Paz abandons the Mexican land in search of the state of perfect unification. This unification, however, implies the idea of radically combining diverse elements and of eliminating all the distinctive components. In this sense, it is not an exaggeration to assert that Paz’s vision demonstrates a kind of imperial strategy in which the poet orientalizes the subaltern subject. His proposal demands the elimination of Mexican histories and cultures under the name of cultural hybridism, announcing that the country is “un nombre sin substancia” (419). In the last stanza of the poem, consequently, every peculiar feature of the Occident and the Orient is erased and absorbed into each other as the poetic “yo” stands alone: “Los signos se borran:/ yo miro la claridad” (419). The poet separates himself from his countrymen, trying to discover and envision what he considers “la claridad.”

In conclusion, we could perhaps read the following line based on the multifarious structures of Paz's Orientalism regarding the relationship between the Orient and the Occident:

uno en todo,
todo en nada.

Paz's approach to the Orient involves the blending of two contradictory forces into one, then one into nothing. This argument is reinforced by the fact that Paz defines the Mexican man as "Don ninguno" in *El laberinto de la soledad* (1950). If the end is always nothing and void, it is once again the image of garden that plays a significant role. The garden is not a place but rather a transition—"Un jardín no es un lugar:/ es un tránsito" (417)—, representing a movement between conflicting worlds, subjects, space, and time. In effect, reading Paz's theory of Orientalism perhaps only requires constant passing of these oppositions as the poet declares in the poem: "transcurrir es suficiente" (417).

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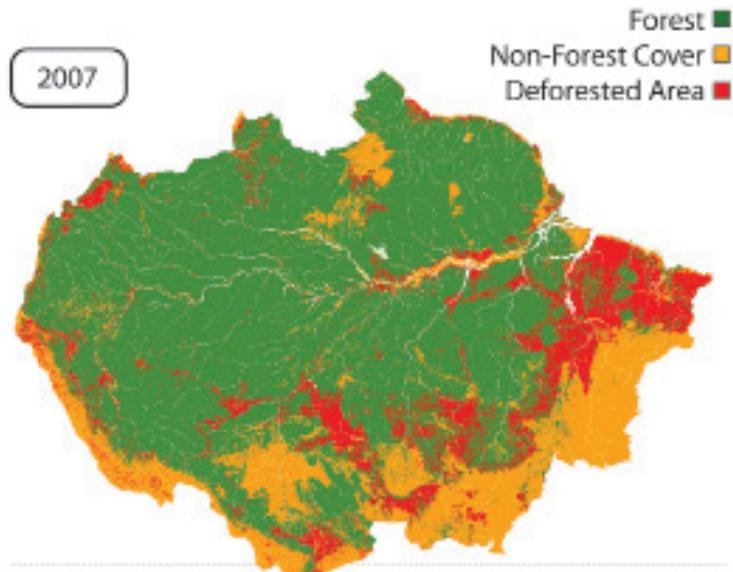
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In turn, a well-known Brazilian climate scientist, Carlos Nobre, has urged for the invention of a “*new development paradigm*” capable of valorizing “biodiversity”, the heart of the rainforest. His proposal consists of “bringing knowledge to the Amazon by establishing a network of Institutes of Technology for Amazonia (ITA)...whose design would replicate the model and structure of the prestigious Brazilian Instituto Tecnológico de Aeronáutica” (Wright & Yeon, 2008, p. 3). This policy would consist of promoting economic activities not highly intensive or dependent on the extraction of natural resources from the ecosystem. Instead, these institutions –highly professional in the composition of students, researchers, and specialists- would enhance the region’s scientific base and entrepreneurial capacity employing high-end technology such as biotechnology, biomimicry, and nanosciences. Yet, this scenario might be one in which the Amazon could be “progressively drier and warmer, with tree plantations and mechanized agriculture replacing the natural forest ecosystem”, but in which “ecological collapse is avoided because of sustainable production practices and technological progress” (Wright & Yeon, 2008, p. 6).

To the previously identified scenario, Timothy Killeen adds two more: a “utopian” one that depicts an “ideal future” in which nations cooperate to conserve the environment with significantly positive results; and another one which is the most likely to occur, characterized by short-term economic interests, incapable governments, and failed international efforts to preserve the ecosystem. On the whole, Killeen concludes that the two major threats are *climate change* and *deforestation* and that IIRSA could be a “double edge sword”. Undoubtedly, international actors are strategic players which have the power and economic resources to contribute to preserve the rainforest’s ecological services for the well-being of future human generations. In this sense, the US and the EU should redirect the funds spent in globally inconvenient subsidies to the conservation of the forests (Wright & Yeon, 2008, p. 8). Similar to Nobre’s proposal, Killeen suggests a “new development paradigm” based on the establishment of technology-based industries in cities of the Amazon.

Amazonia’s current levels of natural capital depletion are extremely critical. Existing investigations indicate that the threshold at which the ecological characteristics of the Amazon would be changed irreversibly is approximately 40%. The bad news is that 17% percent of the Amazon has already been deforested and that if another 23% of the forest is destroyed, this situation can ultimately lead to the “savannazation of the Amazon.” Unfortunately, social demands for the land possession and migration flows to this particular region mix up with environmental needs and end up impacting the most vulnerable social sectors.

TABLE 3:
Current situation of the rainforest



Source: W. Wilson International Center for Scholars, Brazil Institute, 2008

This concatenated problem originated in the 1950s, when the development and integration of the Amazon turned into a national security issue and became part of Brazil’s overall strategic development plan. Since then the problem –which has not encountered a solution yet- was aggravated by the “Movimento Dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra” (the landless population). In the search of better social and economic opportunities, this movement has also contributed, though unintentionally, to the depletion of the rainforest. However, they should be considered more as a consequence than a cause of the conflict.

TABLE 4:
Amazon Hub and Group of Projects—Source: IIRSA

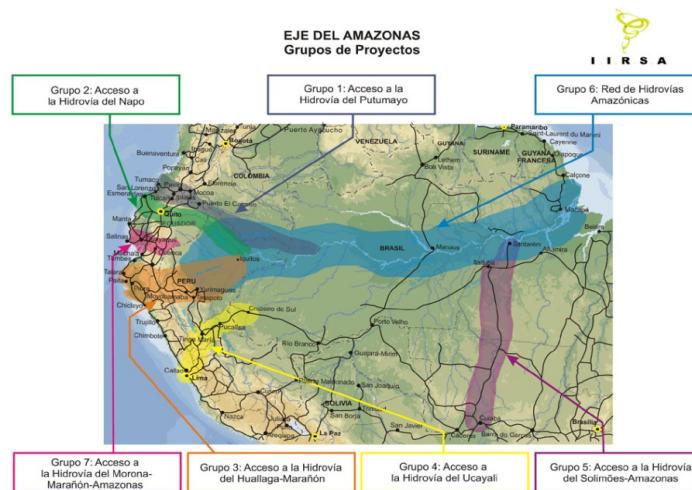


TABLE 5:
Guianese Shield and Group of Projects—Source: IIRSA

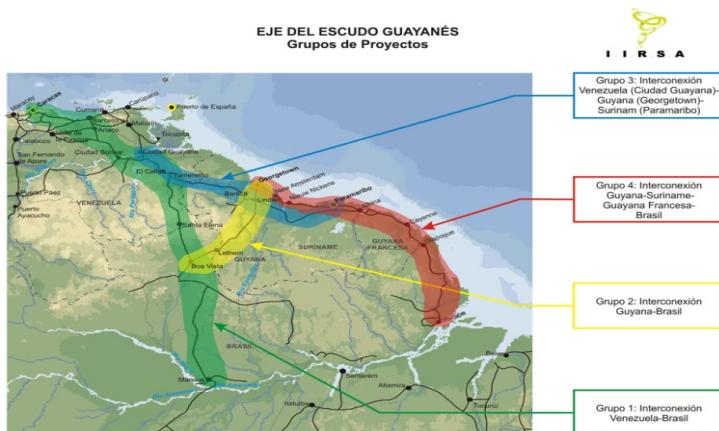
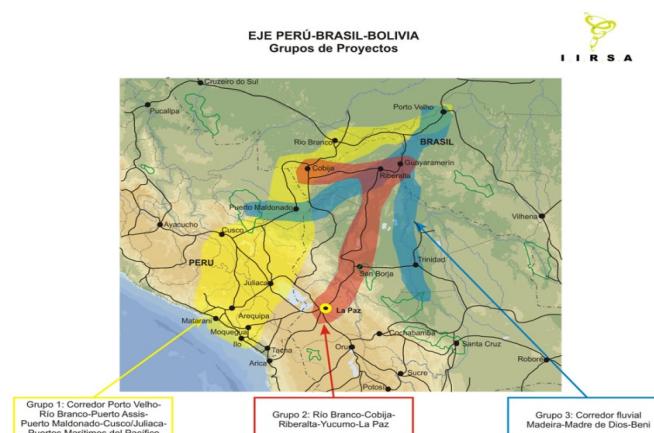


TABLE 6:
Peru-Brazil-Bolivia Hub and Group of Projects—Source: IIRSA



3. Overcoming the dilemma: challenges and commitments

Policies aimed at economically developing the Amazon have resulted in detrimental consequences for the environment, such as the well-known fiasco of the inter-Amazonian highway BR-364 which connects Cuiabá and Porto Velho (paved in 1984). Moreover, deforestation has occurred as a consequence of infrastructure development such as roads, railways, ports, etc., which in turn have triggered urbanization processes throughout Amazonia. The dilemma presented to the government in the 1960s was an example of the problematic complexity in handling the pressure to populate, integrate, and even urbanize considerable parts of the rainforest.

The problem has been depicted as not only a quandary between economic growth and social needs, on the one hand, and the preservation of the ecosystems on the other hand, but also as an issue of “national security”. Owing to the current critical limits imposed by the biosphere to the global economy, and more particularly due to climate change, the Amazon has turned out to be seen as an “invaluable source of future availability of ecosystem services capable of regenerating the global biomass itself”: woods, minerals, fauna, water, crops, etc. all are invaluable resources offered by these lands.

National security, economic development, social demands for land and jobs, and pressures for the territorial integration to satisfy the demands of regional and global trade, constitute factors that exert pressure on the Amazon’s natural limits and life. In terms of Goodland et al (1992), it is a case in which the world, and the rainforest itself, seems to be reaching its limits. The challenge for the region if governments continue to finance infrastructure development projects is to implement accurate systems of environmental reviews and monitoring mechanisms. In this sense, the Inter-American Development Bank, FONPLATA, and the CAF as the multilateral organisms on which governments rely on for financial and technical assistance, should assume greater responsibility in conducting, demanding, or supervising those environmental impact assessments (EIA). Undoubtedly, governments are projecting this plan in the future under a “utilitarian” scenario as defined by Killeen, which envisions that future productive forces will be “sustainable” due to the role of technology and scientific progress (technological fix).

Nevertheless, addressing and overcoming the challenge of economic development without environmental degradation entails a high level of political, social, economic, and ecological risk. It seems that the precautionary principle has not been enshrined in the IIRSA case, explained by the fact that its ecological consequences are still incommensurable. As Dijck says,

“an assessment of its probable economic and non-economic impacts exceeds by far the traditional framework for project assessment and evaluations, as provided by cost-benefit analysis (sic) Essentially, a comprehensive ex-ante assessment would require a regional computable general equilibrium model that would allow simulation runs...the time span of such models does not allow for inclusion of environmental effects and their (second round) economic repercussion. At this stage, such model studies have not been prepared in the context of IIRSA”.

In spite of this uncertainty and inaccuracy, monitoring systems such as the Sistema de Vigilância da Amazonia (SIVAM) - aimed at protecting the area from illegal invasion and occupation and which belong to the System for Monitoring Amazonia- have been already implemented. In addition, since 1989, the World Bank started to develop new methodologies to assess environmental impacts called Strategic Environmental Assessments (SEAs). Yet, experience with the application of this type of methodologies by multilateral financial institutions in the developing world is still limited (Dijck, 2006, p. 25).

The question whether it is possible to integrate the region’s infrastructure without the destruction of the environmental resources is difficult to answer under these limited scientific circumstances. As the team leader of the Natural Resources Division of the Global Environment Facility, Gustavo Fonseca affirms that “we must recognize the future value of the ecosystem and the need to ensure future generations access to the Amazon’s enormous economic potential; current conservation efforts are a vital strategy in the long-term effort aimed at realizing the future environmental and economic potential for the Amazon basin”.

The main challenge is, therefore, attending present demands and needs without depriving future generations from natural resources, as well as advancing towards adaptation measures for climate change in the region. Since Amazonia’s ecosystem services function as main regulators of the CO₂ cycle, any governmental and private effort should include the promotion and development of renewable energies. Similarly, adaptation and mitigation measures to reduce negative social impacts on local populations constitute a first step to curtail the complexity of the phenomenon. In addition to this, the productive structure of regional economies demand that agriculture and its related industries cannot be simplistically traded off for physical infrastructure: the entire region depends, directly and indirectly, on the rains and wind flows provided by the Amazon’s biome.

4. Conclusion

The environmental impact of the projects supported by the IIRSA cannot be effectively assessed in the short term due to the previously stated reasons: the magnitude of the region as well as the lack of precise models do not allow for present accurate measures. However, important data such as satellite images exists about the levels of deforestation of the region, which reveals how human activities, with the exemption of aboriginal populations, have caused havoc to the environment. Undoubtedly, in order to boost economic growth and social progress, physical infrastructure needs to be built up and implies certain costs for the biomass. This does not mean, nevertheless, that in the long run, regional integration of regional infrastructure will be entirely unsustainable. The social component within the equation of a sustainable economy would reveal that enormous

economic opportunities exist for the local populations of Amazonia, and that job creation and social-economic progress significantly depends on more integration and territorial interconnection.

It is impossible to deny that large firms -particularly agricultural and mining- will benefit from the projects supported by the Initiative. However, enhanced programs of “corporate social responsibility” and the implementation of stricter environmental standards such as “clean development mechanisms” can be encouraged by the Government of Brazil and international agencies. These governments should also require foreign export credit agencies (ECA) greater commitment to environmental principles when financing projects in developing countries. The Brazilian State has an important role to play in this sense, not only for its own good, but also for humanity’s future well-being. As Nobre has said, “Brazil must emerge on the international stage as an environmental power” (cited in Wright & Yeon, 2008). Also, in conjuncture with the rest of the countries sharing Amazonia, it should strengthen educational programs aimed at promoting environmental awareness and at facilitating the transit towards a more sustainable economy. These countries should also improve the available mechanisms to measure the impacts of human activity on the environment, making the resulting information available to policymakers, local governments, and citizens in general. NGOs also have an important role to play, not only owing to their lobbying power, but also due to their status of consultancies for both firms and the government itself.

The current situation is critical enough and deforestation, pollution, and depletion of natural resources have soared during the last two decades. Within the current discussions in the international forums and the recommendations of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, IIRSA must address the problem advancing towards adaptation, mitigation, and prevention measures if it is to make the regional plan a sustainable model for the future. Within the global context of 60% the total ecosystems having been stressed or depleted, this is a key opportunity for major governmental action regarding the protection of the rainforest and the defense of aboriginal cultures. Even though cap-and-trade systems seem a farfetched mechanism for the region nowadays, other incentives must be provided by public policies in the short-term towards the development of a more sustainable economic model.

On the whole, a significant debate persists among scientists, politicians, businessmen, and environmentalists about the problem of *how to improve social and economic opportunities without destroying the environment and the aboriginal cultures of Amazonia*. Whether or not a new paradigm is invented, the truth is that regional needs for economic development and its integration to the global economy are the main leading forces supporting the implementation of the IIRSA initiative. Yet, this path should be followed contemplating long-term effects for a geographic area not only which is strategic for the oxygen cycle, but also for food provision to the rest of the world.

Footnotes:

¹IIRSA's main executive branch is represented by all Infrastructure Ministers of every State and is supported by a Committee of Technical Coordination integrated by the Inter American Development Bank (IDB), the Andean Development Corporation (CAF), and the Financial Fund for the Development of the River Plate Basin forum (FONPLATA). The European Bank of Development (EBD) also participates in the Initiative through its technical assistance to the governments of the region.

²The World Bank (1994) defines infrastructure as “long lived engineered structures, equipment and facilities, and the services they provide that are used in economic production and by households.”

³Director of the Center for Climate Studies and Weather Forecasting and senior scientist at Brazil's National Institute for Space Research (INPE)

⁴Author of “A Perfect Storm in the Amazon Wilderness: Development and Conservation in the Context of IIRSA” Conservation International 2007

⁵This vision on the role and place of the Amazon wilderness of Brazil was captured by the phrase ‘integrar para no entregar’, or integrate not to forfeit” (2003, p. 103). Operation Amazonia started in 1966 and the National Integration Plan of 1970 “reflected in particular the military geopolitical priorities of the time”

⁶Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005. *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: Synthesis*. Island Press, Washington DC .

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Así, Scollon y Scollon señalan que las prácticas discursivas de los Atabascanos reflejan una conciencia que ellos denominan “arbusto,” integral, asociada con valores de sobrevivencia, mientras que los ingleses presentan una conciencia “moderna lineal” que se basa en valores establecidos por el estilo prosístico de un ensayo escrito, en el que se produce una descontextualización que es incompatible con los valores comunicacionales de los Atabascanos.

Existen muchos estudios como los de Scollon y Scollon, realizados principalmente por sociólogos y lingüistas que se enmarcan dentro de los llamados “New Literacy Studies.” Estos estudios valoran la relación que existe entre las prácticas de aprendizaje de la escritura y las estructuras sociales en las cuales están embebidas estas prácticas. Así, sostienen que las prácticas de adquisición de la escritura no son las mismas en contextos distintos, ya que las personas participan de diferentes prácticas discursivas en los diferentes dominios de la vida. Entonces, el hecho de que aún exista un sistema educativo oficial imperante no significa que sea el único ni el más adecuado.

La aproximación de los New Literacy Studies al proceso de adquisición de la escritura es útil para comprender los procesos de adquisición de la escritura en la educación andina. Es importante mencionar, sin embargo, que mucho antes de la aparición de los “New Literacy Studies” y mucho antes que los gobiernos latinoamericanos incorporen en sus políticas educativas, los términos de “educación bilingüe intercultural,” existió en los años 1930s, en Bolivia, el proyecto de la Escuela Aylu de Warisata, cuyos fundadores fueron Avelino Siñani y Elizardo Pérez. Este proyecto educativo pionero planteó un sistema de aprendizaje de la escritura que respetaba los modos de socialización andina (Ayllus) y fracasó no porque no fuera exitoso, sino porque fue saboteados por constituir un peligro para el sistema feudal imperante en la época. La escuela andina, en especial la rural, debe recuperar el modelo de la escuela Warisata adaptándolo a la realidad contemporánea. Este proyecto precursor comprendió que cuando los niños entran a la escuela, no solo aprenden los aspectos técnicos en el proceso de aprender a leer y escribir, sino que también aprenden un modo específico de usar la lectura y la escritura que puede generar un conflicto traumático si ese modo de aprendizaje no es el apropiado. Cada comunidad debe encontrar el mejor método de aprendizaje de la escritura, de acuerdo a sus propias necesidades y costumbres locales, apropiarse de ella, y usarla como herramienta de descolonización.

Se debe sacar también provecho a la condición bilingüe de la mayoría de los pobladores andinos, pues como señala Carlos Salazar Mostajo en *3 Ensayos Disidentes*, con su naturaleza bilingüe, poblador andino dispone “de un doble instrumento idiomático: el castellano, que corresponde a su desarrollo económico social, que le permite actuar en los modernos usos del comercio, la industria, la ciencia, la tecnología, la cibernetica; y su idioma nativo, que corresponde al mantenimiento de su cultura”(Salazar Mostajo, 1995, p.77).

Para revertir la dominancia del uso oficial del lenguaje sobre los usos vernaculares del lenguaje en las áreas andinas, el sistema educativo tiene que aprender a rescatar el componente oral como elemento transmisor de conocimiento complementario a la escritura. La escuela oficial, por ejemplo, promueve nociones como “objetividad”, “abstracción”, o “racional”, que pueden estar fuera del contexto de los estudiantes de áreas rurales andinas. Existen algunos estudios como el de Virginia Zavala (2002) que sugieren, por ejemplo, que en la escuela rural andina se combine el uso del lenguaje metafórico de las adivinanzas locales con los textos escolares oficiales. Zavala señala que en la comunidad andina de Umaca, en Perú, las adivinanzas son usadas como medios de participación e integración dentro de la comunidad, pero esto no es comprendido por los profesores que suelen provenir de áreas urbanas, quienes desconocen los modos de comunicación y socialización de sus alumnos. Las comunidades andinas tienen una fuerte tradición oral que es inhibida por el sistema oficial impuesto en las escuelas. Este sistema oficial le quita al poblador andino la posibilidad un aprendizaje apropiado de la escritura, haciéndole más difícil su resistencia a un engranaje social y político dominante.

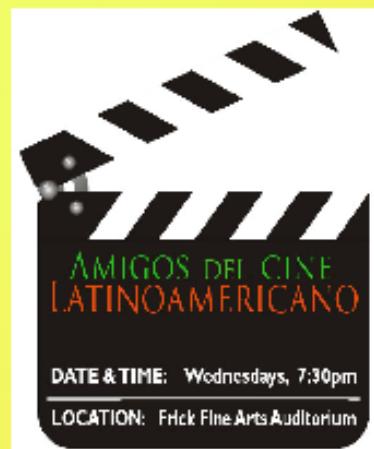
Quisiera terminar esta reflexión haciendo referencia a la inserción de nuevas tecnologías comunicativas en el sistema educativo andino. Me refiero al uso de las computadoras y del Internet. La forma cómo estas tecnologías están ingresando en las escuelas andinas adolece de las mismas fallas que tiene el sistema educativo, con el agravante de que los docentes mismos no están familiarizados con la nueva tecnología que se desea insertar. Rocío Trinidad

(2005) realizó en el 2003 un estudio sobre la incorporación de la tecnología de la información en escuelas públicas de Ayacucho, Perú, para analizar algunos resultados de proyectos gubernamentales como el Proyecto de Educación a Distancia y el Proyecto Huascarán. En el año 2001, el gobierno peruano creó el proyecto Huascarán para implementar el uso de Internet en las escuelas públicas de todo el país. Trinidad encontró que el proyecto se centró en la tecnología pero no en el factor humano, pues no existen instituciones “formadoras de formadores” es decir instituciones “que permitan a los docentes principiantes adquirir nuevas competencias personales, sociales y educativas para afrontar la introducción de nuevas tecnologías.”(Trinidad, 2005, p.278).

Vemos, que una vez más se cae en el mismo error. Primero se fetichizó a la escritura y ahora se fetichiza a las tecnologías electrónicas. Se sigue persiguiendo el mito del progreso y se cree que la adquisición material de una tecnología es suficiente. Se ha confundido educación y comunicación con la presencia física del artefacto. La tecnología comunicativa es sólo un instrumento que por sí misma no educa integralmente a un individuo. La educación en las regiones Andinas de América Latina debe poner énfasis en las interacciones entre los diferentes sistemas comunicativos (oral, escrito, audiovisual), pues todos ellos se combinan y coinciden en la vida de las mujeres y hombres andinos contemporáneos pero prestando atención a los procesos sociales, culturales y comunicativos que enmarcan el aprendizaje.

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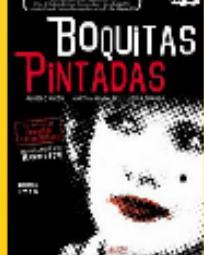
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