“LATIN AMERICA IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY” CONFERENCE

Prominent Policy Makers Analyze Latin America’s Economic Performance

If there is one thing everyone seems to agree on, it is that the economic maladies afflicting Latin America have defied easy solutions.

Although it has been a generation since Latin America began to implement structural reform, difficult questions remain: Was the region given the wrong medicine, not enough of the right medicine or did it fail to follow the prescribed treatment regime?

This was the heart of the discussion taken up at the Kellogg Institute’s conference “Latin America in the Global Economy.” Joining the debate were former Mexican President ERNESTO ZEDILLO and some of the hemisphere’s most prominent economic policy makers, including high-level officials from the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and private banks.

The conference, held on April 19, was sponsored by the Kellogg Institute and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

“In 2004, we had the highest year of economic growth (in Latin America since the late 1970s),” observed Zedillo in his keynote speech. “But, when your economy (citing the example of Venezuela) falls by 25 percent and then rises by 15 percent, that is not something to be proud of.”

Despite the strong growth that some Latin American countries have experienced recently and in the early 1990s, overall growth remains at unimpressive levels and below the rate typical in the region during the 1960s and 1970s. Meanwhile the economies of the Asian ‘Tigers’ have roared to life, vastly outperforming all of Latin America except Chile.

Central to the debate at the conference was the effectiveness of the “Washington consensus,” a phrase coined by economist John Williamson in 1990 that summarized the prevailing view of Washington-based international financial institutions. Among the ten recommendations were proposals to promote macroeconomic discipline, while encouraging trade openness and market-friendly microeconomic policies. (See related Q&A article on page 15 for more on the debate.)

Due to the region’s anemic growth in GDP and the slow progress in raising living standards from 1990 onwards, the market-oriented policies have become something of lightning rod for its critics.

“The disappointing progress in raising standards of living and the related phenomenon of reform fatigue

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International Scholars Program

A Valedictorian Who is ‘Exceptional Even among High Achieving Students’

It is safe to say that even among overachievers, the 2005 Notre Dame class valedictorian, Enrique Schaerer, is exceptional.

For most class valedictorians, finishing top of the class—never mind doing it with a 4.0 GPA as Schaerer did—would be an extraordinary accomplishment; but doing it and writing the equivalent of a master’s thesis in political science puts him in a whole new league.

“I nearly fell out of my chair,” said TONY MESSINA, associate professor of political science, KI Faculty Fellow and Schaerer’s advisor on the project. “And that was when he turned in his first 55 pages.

“I doubt the Department of Political Science has ever had a thesis from an undergraduate of this size and quality in its history.”

How Schaerer managed to complete his project can be traced in part to an innovative new Kellogg program designed to nurture

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The biggest news at Notre Dame in the summer 2005 was the inauguration of our new president, Rev. John I. Jenkins, CSC, and the designation of a new provost, Thomas G. Burish. Rev. Jenkins assumed the presidency on July 1, becoming only the third president Notre Dame has had since 1952. A philosopher by training, Rev. Jenkins worked closely with the Kellogg Institute in his previous role as senior associate provost. He is a person of great intellect, faith, and integrity. We look forward to his presidency and wish him the very best as he assumes his new responsibilities. Our new provost previously served as president of Washington and Lee University and as provost of Vanderbilt. We welcome him back to Notre Dame, where he did his undergraduate work.

The Kellogg Institute conference on “Latin America in the Global Economy” brought together some of the hemisphere’s leading economic policy makers. What I personally found especially interesting was the divergence of opinion on some core issues of Latin American economic policy. Some experts insisted that Latin America needs to continue and deepen market-oriented economic reforms. Others maintained that Latin American governments need to pay more attention to the state’s role in promoting economic development. They argued that most countries in Latin America undertook substantial reforms and that simply deepening reform in a market-oriented direction will not resolve many of the region’s economic problems. If ever the much ballyhooed “Washington consensus” about desirable policies for Latin America existed, it has eroded. The region’s mediocre economic performance since 1990 (notwithstanding the robust growth of 2004) generated new debates about the way forward. Nevertheless, as our overview of the conference suggests, the terms of the debate shifted profoundly and narrowed during the 1990s. Today, even as (very different) left-of-center presidents have come to power in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Venezuela, few prominent economists are calling for a return to state-led development and import substitution industrialization. Unfortunately, given space limitations, we were able to include only a sampling of the opinions presented by distinguished policy makers at the conference.

The debate about Latin America’s economic future carries over to the interview with Francisco Rodríguez and Jaime Ros (pages 15–16), who offer their perspectives on market-oriented economic reforms in Latin America. It will also carry over to a conference on economic integration in the Americas that will take place September 9–10. Organized by Jeff Bergstrand of Notre Dame’s Finance Department and colleagues at two other institutions, the conference will deepen the debate about this crucial aspect of Latin America’s economic future. This conference will bring together prominent scholars and policy makers. I look forward to learning more about these debates so vital for the future of the region.
Exploring the PT and Chilean Pension Reform During Yearlong Visiting Fellowships

WENDY HUNTER and KURT WEYLAND received Kellogg’s new yearlong visiting fellowships, which add teaching opportunities to the program’s traditional research focus. For the academic year 2004–05 both Hunter and Weyland left their faculty responsibilities at the University of Texas at Austin to work on their respective book projects. While at Kellogg, they co-taught a graduate seminar on the “Causes and Consequences of Market Reform.”

Hunter furthered her book on the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), the Brazilian workers’ party that won that country’s presidential elections for the first time in 2002. “If you are in the beginning of a book-length project when you come, a year gives you so much more opportunity,” Hunter explains. “Not only do I have a year, but I have a year in a context that really is focused on political parties.”

Her research concentrates on the PT’s growth and transformation since 1989. “The strong version of the PT’s program was led by anti-market sentiments, pro-equity enhancing social policies and then a real devotion to clean politics—not making alliances with parties outside of the left, not engaging in clientelism and patronage in order to win supporters,” Hunter explains. According to her, a shift in the PT’s economic and political proposals occurred in the second half of the 1990s, as the party endorsed the market and dropped any mention of commitment to socialism, thus garnering a greater base of support.

The PT’s success has practical and theoretical implications. With corruption running rampant in Latin America, one of the PT’s claims to fame is the party’s “absolute, staunch anti-corruption stance,” said Hunter. “One theoretical reason why the PT story is interesting is that we have been told through many, many studies that you needed to control patronage and act in a clientelistic fashion if you were going to get anywhere in Brazilian politics … The PT defies that.”

In July 2005, the party suffered from a string of corruption accusations, causing the most serious crisis in its history. A formal investigation was started by the Congress, which led to a series of high-level resignations.

Weyland’s book spans five countries and examines how nations learn from new models, new principles and new policy experiences. When Weyland arrived at Kellogg, he had rough drafts for three out of seven book chapters. “I wrote most of the book here at Kellogg,” Weyland says. “You have a very nice combination of a vibrant intellectual community in which you can participate during your stay here and also enough time to work on your own project.”

Weyland studied pension privatization and healthcare in Latin America, as those reforms exemplify different ways in which innovation spreads. According to him, Latin American countries either emulate Chile’s pension privatization or not, as opposed to the more eclectic process observed for Latin American healthcare reforms. Weyland challenges the conventional wisdom that the diffusion of innovations occurs through pressure from international financial institutions, through the advent of new international norms or through a rational look at costs and benefits.

“What I am invoking is the cognitive psychological literature called ‘decision heuristics,’” said Weyland. According to this approach, policy makers receive information selectively and use shortcuts in its evaluation. More specifically, Weyland makes three claims: Vivid information has a larger impact than rationally justified information; people draw excessively firm conclusions from small stretches of experience; and initial results, even if accidental, make a big impact on people’s judgments. Weyland attributes the limited use of rationality in policy decision making to time pressures, among other things. “One of the factors that creates these time pressures is the institutional weakness of many Latin American states,” he explains. “Many of these ministerial officials, experts, or specialists, don’t know how long their tenure in office will be because turnover is so high … That gives these cognitive shortcuts so much play.”

The Kellogg Institute established one-year fellowships in response to campus departments’ requests for access to Visiting Fellows’ teaching and to address feedback received from semester-long visiting fellows. Sharon Schierling, associate director at the Kellogg Institute, directs this program. For online information on Kellogg’s visiting fellowships, see kellogg.nd.edu/vfellows.
In the fall of 2005, Kellogg will host scholars whose research activities will contribute directly to the Institute’s major themes. For a list of all fellowship winners and their projects, see kellogg.nd.edu/vfellows/vfcurrent.html.

**Yearlong Teaching Fellowships**

**SUSAN FITZPATRICK BEHRENS**, assistant professor of history at California State University, Northridge, will be a Visiting Fellow at Kellogg throughout the 2005–06 academic year. During that time, she will teach a history course at Notre Dame and work on a project entitled “Transforming Mission: Maryknoll Catholic Missionaries, Indigenous Catechists and Liberation Theology in Peru and Guatemala, 1943–2000.” Her research addresses issues in the sociology of religion and culture by juxtaposing the Maryknollers’ accounts of what they were doing and the indigenous peoples’ accounts of their interactions with the Maryknollers.

In addition to organized civil society and religion in the Americas, Fitzpatrick Behrens is interested in gender and sexuality in the Americas, militarism in Latin America, Latin America/US relations, contemporary Latin American history and 19th- and 20th-century Central America and Peru. She taught at the University of California, San Diego, and was a postdoctoral Rockefeller Fellow at the University of Florida, Gainesville. She earned a PhD in history and an MA in contemporary Latin American history at the University of California, San Diego. Fitzpatrick-Behrens will teach history courses while at Notre Dame.

**LUCAN WAY**, assistant professor of political science at Temple University, will teach a political science course and plans to complete work on two book projects that explore the source of regime trajectories in the 1990s. “Pluralism by Default in Belarus, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine” provides an in-depth structured comparison of this region of the former Soviet Union. His second project, “Competitive Authoritarianism after the Cold War” explores the trajectories of hybrid democratic-authoritarian regimes after the Cold War.

During the 2004–05 academic year, Way was an academy scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. He earned his PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley.

**Fall Semester Visiting Fellowships**

**JAN HOFFMAN FRENCH** will contribute to three of Kellogg’s five research themes: democratization and the quality of democracy, social movements and organized civil society, religion and society. French will examine the “Rewards of Resistance: Legalizing Identity among Descendants of Indians and Fugitive Slaves in Northeastern Brazil.” She will also begin research on a historical and ethnographic project about the Brazilian ministério público federal (federal attorney general’s office), to introduce this method of government legal practice and advocacy to a North American audience and to consider its role in shaping and institutionalizing historical memory.

French recently won a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship at Northwestern University and a postdoctoral fellowship at the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Maryland, College Park. A former practicing attorney, French received The Connecticut Law Tribune Prize for Outstanding Written Work. She holds a PhD in anthropology from Duke University and a JD from the University of Connecticut School of Law.

**KENNETH GREENE**’s specific empirical interest lies with Mexico and better understanding the dramatic process of transition from single-party dominance to multiparty competition. As a Kellogg Visiting Fellow in the fall of 2005, Greene will work on a project entitled “Defeating Dominance: Opposition Party Building and Democratization in Mexico.” He is currently an assistant professor in the department of government at the University of Texas, Austin (UT).

Greene has been a visiting faculty fellow at Georgetown University and a visiting scholar at the University of California, San Diego. In 2003–04, his research was supported by a Mellon research grant awarded through UT’s Lozano Long Institute for Latin American Studies. Greene holds a PhD and an MA from the University of California, Berkeley, where he studied comparative politics, Latin America, and methodology.

**AXEL HADENIUS** won Kellogg’s Hewlett Visiting Fellowship for the fall of 2005. While at Kellogg, Hadenius plans to study preconditions of democracy and to examine democratic attitudes, political participation and popular organization in Russia. To that end, he will reexamine democratization, reappraising leading explanations and examining the advancement/decline in democratic quality. Hadenius has published several books and numerous articles focusing on democratization, a topic that he approaches from a global perspective.

Since 1991, Hadenius has taught political science in the department of government at Uppsala University, Sweden. He was a visiting research fellow at the University of California, Santa Barbara and Berkeley; Michigan State University; and the University of Melbourne. He holds a DPhil in politics from Uppsala University, Sweden.

**TIMOTHY POWER** will be a Visiting Fellow at Kellogg in the fall of 2005. By examining “Twenty Years of Brazilian Democracy,” Power plans to complete the first book-length, fully comprehensive, narrative and thematically integrated study of Brazilian democracy available in English. Among other things, the study will examine macroeconomic management and state reform, institution building and governance, and increasing pluralization of politics. It will combine the rigor expected from a political scientist with the best scholarship from cognate fields, such as history, sociology, anthropology and economics.

Power currently serves as associate professor of political science at Florida International University. Prior to FIU, Power taught at Louisiana State University. He has won several prestigious grants and published numerous journal articles and book chapters. He was a visiting research associate at the Centre for Brazilian Studies at Oxford University and a visiting Fulbright professor at the University of Brasilia and the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. Power received a PhD in government and international studies from the University of Notre Dame and an MA in Latin American studies from the University of Florida. He is president of the Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA).
DONNA VAN COTT will focus on why political elites in Latin America acceded to indigenous movements’ demands for constitutional recognition and why these movements chose to enter the formal political arena through their own political parties. As a Visiting Fellow in the fall of 2005, she plans to assess the results of these processes and to test the claims of these movements that their new rights would improve the quality of democracy in their countries.

Van Cott, assistant professor of political science and Latin American studies at Tulane University, is the author of *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin American* and the forthcoming *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. She earned her PhD from Georgetown University.

**Fulbright Educational Partnerships**

As part of the Fulbright Educational Partnerships project, Kellogg will host MIRIAM KORNBLITH for the fall 2005. In partnership with the Institute for Advanced Studies in Administration (IESA) in Caracas and the Institute of Peruvian Studies (IESP) in Lima, the project facilitates collaborative research on civic, administrative and economic reforms in the Andean region.

Kornblith’s study of the contemporary Venezuelan political system spans constitutional reform, political institutions and electoral processes. From 1998 to 1999, Kornblith was vice president and member of the board of directors of the National Electoral Council (CNE) of Venezuela. While at CNE, she helped oversee five elections, including the one that elected President Hugo Chávez. She has since returned to the CNE as a stand-in associate.

Kornblith is a visiting researcher at the Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración (IESA) as well as professor in sociology and researcher at the Institute of Political Studies (IESA) in Caracas and the Institute of Peruvian Studies (IESP) in Lima, the project facilitates collaborative research on civic, administrative and economic reforms in the Andean region.

**Guest Scholars**

In the fall of 2005, Kellogg will host the following Guest Scholars:

- **CESAR CHANAMÉ**
  Universitat Pompeu Fabra
  Barcelona, Spain

- **JAMES CREAGAN**
  John Cabot University
  Rome, Italy

- **ADRIAN DE LEON ARIAS** (academic year)
  US-Mexico Training, Internships, Exchanges, and Scholarships (TIES)
  Universidad de Guadalajara
  Guadalajara, Mexico

- **ADRIAN GIMATE-WELSH**
  Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana
  Iztapalapa, Mexico

- **AIDA TERESA SEGOVIA** (academic year)
  US-Mexico Training, Internships, Exchanges, and Scholarships (TIES)
  Universidad de Guadalajara
  Guadalajara, Mexico

  Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ)
  Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

**Kellogg Institute Visiting Fellowships 2006–07**

The Kellogg Institute will offer up to 12 Visiting Fellowships for the 2006–07 academic year. A complete application, including references and all documentation, must be received by November 4, 2005. For more information, see the Kellogg web site at kellogg.nd.edu/vfellows/.

**R. SCOTT APPLEBY** explained that tolerance requires self-confidence at a United Nations (UN) seminar on “Confronting Islamophobia: Education for Tolerance and Understanding,” held December 2004. The seminar was the second in a series entitled “Unlearning Intolerance,” organized by the UN Department of Public Information.

**JEFFREY BERGSTRAND** presented “Do Free Trade Agreements Actually Increase Members’ International Trade?”—co-authored with Scott Baier of Clemson University—at the spring Economics Seminar Series of the Office of Economics at the US International Trade Commission in Washington, DC.

**ALLERT BROWN-GORT** was appointed member of the Advisory Committee to the US Senate Task Force on Hispanic Affairs.

**JORGE A. BUSTAMANTE** was appointed by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner of Human Rights as the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Migrants. From 1996 to 1999 he was the chairman/rapporteur for the group of experts for the UN world study on International Migration and Human Rights.

**PAOLO CAROZZA** was elected in June by the General Assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS) to be one of the seven members of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

**MICHAEL COPPEDGE** was selected for an expert group advising academics contracted by USAID to do a quantitative assessment of its democracy promotion activities. Copppedge also advised the Gerson Lehrman Group’s Policy and Economics Council on political risk in Venezuela.

**ROBERT JOHANSEN** was elected to the Executive Committee of the Governing Council of the e-Parliament, an inter-parliamentary forum of democratically elected members of national and regional legislatures throughout the world. He was also selected as lead author and rapporteur for the Working Group for a United Nations Emergency Peace Service, an NGO coalition to develop proposals and political support for a UN rapid-reaction capability to prevent genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

**GEORGE LOPEZ** testified in February before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of the House International Relations Committee on the scope and meaning of the interim report on the UN’s scandal-plagued oil-for-food program in Iraq. He also provided expert commentary before the UN Security Council Special Working Group on Economic Sanctions in June, at the UN headquarters in New York.

**Faculty Fellows in Policy and Public Service**


FRANCES HAGOPIAN and SCOTT MAINWARING co-edited The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks (Cambridge University Press, 2005), for which they co-authored the introduction. Mainwaring also co-authored, with Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, “Latin American Democratization since 1978: Democratic Transitions, Breakdowns, and Erosions,” while Hagopian contributed the conclusion “Government Performance, Political Representation and Public Perceptions of Contemporary Democracy in Latin America.”

GEORGE LOPEZ wrote “Counting the Cost: Telling the Truth About Civilians Killed” for Sojourners Magazine February (2005) and “Get Out Now” for Foreign Policy May/June (2005). He co-authored—with David Cortright—“Bombs, Carrots and Sticks: The Use of Incentives and Sanctions” for Arms Control Today March (2005). Lopez regularly publishes an opinion column in La Opinión, the largest Spanish language daily newspaper in the US.


New Textile Collection Enables Primary Research on Mexico

The Notre Dame libraries’ latest acquisition added an impressive Mexican textile archive to an already strong roster of special library collections for the study of Latin America’s Southern Cone, Caribbean and Andean regions. “Kellogg was key in helping acquire the collection that we have,” says Scott Van Jacob, Iberian/Latin American librarian at Notre Dame.

This recently acquired Mexican historical collection comprises documentation related to rural properties belonging to the Martínez Conde family (1670–1910) and papers related to textile factories (1867–1968). In addition to the subjects of its coverage, the collection’s uniqueness derives from its temporal span and the breadth and depth of its content. In Mexico and elsewhere, the textile industry reflects the transition from artisanal to industrial economies.

Funded primarily through Mexican donor Roberto Garza (BS ’78, MBA ’81), the collection will facilitate primary research on Mexico by Notre Dame faculty, graduate students and undergraduates. It is also expected to attract scholars of Mexico and Latin America. “Several international scholars with whom I have spoken have expressed great interest in these materials,” reported Faculty Fellow TED BEATTY, associate professor of history at Notre Dame.

A fall ceremony will recognize Garza’s contribution and christen the archive. Housing this collection is “a significant step forward because it is a truly comprehensive archive of these textile companies,” Van Jacob explained. “There are very few archives like this. It really does provide a tool for the historian. It is very difficult to get those kinds of archives that are so complete.”

Beatty and Van Jacob spearheaded the group effort needed to bring this acquisition to fruition. “Once Scott Van Jacob heard about this, I wrote a proposal for the archive,” Beatty said. “In terms of Latin American studies at Notre Dame, it is a very nice addition.” Beatty plans to use the archive in his teaching and to do a case study on textile technology.

In addition to efforts led by its Faculty Fellows, the Kellogg Institute contributes to library development by including library acquisitions in many of its partnership agreements and by supporting the Kellogg/Kroc Information Center (KKIC). The Center—dedicated to serving the research needs of scholars from both institutes—has its own senior library specialist, Vonda Polega. According to Van Jacob, Polega is “a great resource for helping scholars to negotiate or navigate the collection and to get their materials quickly, so that they can spend their time researching.”

For online information on Notre Dame’s special collections, visit www.library.nd.edu/rarebooks. To learn more about the KKIC, see kxic.library.nd.edu.

Loom hall of Mexican textile mill ca. 1900, Veracruz

Working Paper Series Welcomes New Editor

The Kellogg Institute Working Paper Series welcomes Faculty Fellow MICHAEL COPPEDGE as its new editor. Coppedge, associate professor in political science, will commence oversight of the publication of working papers in the fall of 2005. The series allows for quick dissemination, free of charge, of the latest research by current and past Faculty Fellows, Visiting Fellows and Guest Scholars. Papers are published several times a year, and the Kellogg home page highlights each addition as it takes place. Researchers can access the archives through kellogg.nd.edu/workingpapers.html. Four titles have been added since our previous newsletter:

#316 “Rational Learning and Bounded Learning in the Diffusion of Policy Innovations” by COVADONGA M ESEGUER

#317 “On the Continuing Relevance of the Weberian Methodological Perspective (with Applications to the Spanish Case of Elections in the Aftermath of Terrorism)” by ROBERT M. FISHMAN

#318 “Class Formation or Fragmentation? Allegiances and Divisions among Managers and Workers in State-Owned Enterprises” by KUN-CHIN LIN

#319 “Party System Institutionalization and Party System Theory after the Third Wave of Democratization” by SCOTT MAINWARING and MARIANO TORCAL

New Staffers Join Kellogg

Two new staff members have joined the Kellogg Institute.

Kelly S. Roberts has been appointed manager of the publications and communications unit. In this position, he is responsible for print, video and web communications, public relations, and acts as the managing editor for the Kellogg Working Paper Series.

Julie Jack has been appointed events coordinator. In this role, she supervises the planning and implementation of conferences, cultural events and the lecture series.
Latest Grants, Honors, & Awards

JEFFREY BERGSTRAND was an invited Visiting Scholar at the University of Munich and the Munich Ifo Institute for Economic Research (CESifo) from May 23–31, 2005. While there, he presented “Bonus Vetus OLS: A Simple OLS Approach for Addressing the ‘Border Puzzle,’” co-authored with Scott Baier of Clemson University. Bergstrand also won the 2004–05 Arnie Ludwig Outstanding Professor Award from Notre Dame’s South Bend Executive MBA Program.

ALLERT BROWN-GORT was named to a second three-year term on the editorial board of Foreign Affairs en Español.

KATHLEEN COLLINS presented “Explaining the Dynamics of Islamism in Central Asia” at a conference held in Istanbul by Uppsala University and the Central Asia–Caucasus Institute of the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

MICHAEL COPPEDGE was selected to serve on the Editorial Board of the IPSA/PSA Committee on Concepts and Methods Working Paper Series.

ROBERTO DAMATTA was appointed columnist for O Globo, a major Brazilian newspaper. The newspaper featured the appointment in a cover story and two full pages in January.

GREG DOWNEY won an individual research grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for the 2006 calendar year.

THOMAS GRESIK was appointed associate editor of the European Economic Review and of International Tax and Public Finance.

REV. GUSTAVO GUTIÉRREZ, OP, received Notre Dame’s Reinhold Niebuhr Award. The award recognizes a faculty member, student or administrator whose life and teachings promote or exemplify the theological and philosophical concerns of Niebuhr, the late Protestant theologian and author.

KRISTINE IBSEN was awarded a Fulbright Senior Research Scholar grant for 2005–06.

SABINE MACCORMACK gave various invited talks including “The Bible in the Andes” at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. MacCormack and TED BEATTY also launched Notre Dame’s PhD track in Latin American History.

SCOTT MAINWARING won Notre Dame’s Rev. James A. Burns, CSC, Graduate School Award, given annually to a Notre Dame faculty member for distinguished teaching of graduate students. Mainwaring was also selected for inclusion in the 32nd edition of the Dictionary of International Biography, published by the International Biographical Centre in Cambridge, England.

NELSON C. MARK acted as guest editor for a special issue of the International Journal of Finance and Economics, which is publishing a selection of papers presented at the 9th International Conference on Macroeconomics and Finance held at the University of Crete.

CAROLYN NORDSTROM conducted research in French Polynesia, Sri Lanka and Burma, in conjunction with a John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship.

GUILLERMO O’DONNELL was appointed member of the editorial board of the Revista Iberoamericana de Derechos Humanos (Mexico) and the Brazilian Political Science Review. He was also selected as a member of the international advisory board of the Center on Accountability, Legality, and Rule of Law, created at FLACSO-Mexico.

EMILY L. OSBORN won a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship for 2005–06 to conduct research on the history of aluminum casting and its diffusion through West Africa. The award will support research for 11 months in Guinea-Conakry, Mali, Senegal, The Gambia, Sierra Leone and Côte d’Ivoire.

REV. ROBERT PELTON, CSC, is serving as the video project director for “Archbishop Romero Martyr and Prophet,” which has been requested by the Faith and Values Media of the Hallmark Channel.

REV. TIMOTHY R. SCULLY, CSC, presented “La Familia en Chile: Tendencias y Retos para el País” to the Intendencia de Coquimbo, in La Serena, Chile.

LYN SPILLMAN was appointed associate editor of Sociological Theory, editorial board member of Cultural Sociology fellow of the Center for Cultural Sociology at Yale University, and 2005 Book Prize Committee member for the American Sociological Association, Sociology of Culture Section.

New Faculty Grants Announced

The Kellogg Faculty Committee recently reviewed and restructured the Institute’s faculty grants program with the goals of broadening the type of support for research available to faculty, increasing the number of faculty grant applicants, and simplifying the application process.

Rather than holding twice-per-year Seed Money and Small Project Grants competitions, which specified the type of project and eligible costs, the Institute will now consider, on a rolling basis, proposals for a wide variety of research-related expenses. The relationship and importance of these to the applicant’s research should be justified in the proposal.

The potential amount of awards was also increased. For individual faculty grants, proposals for any amount up to $10,000 will be considered by the Grants Committee. The Grants Committee may also award up to $10,000 for conferences and collaborative research projects. The Faculty Committee may supplement those awards with additional amounts for collaborative research projects and major research conferences that contribute to Kellogg’s research agenda.

The Kellogg Institute offers an array of awards to promote academic research efforts, including faculty research grants, grants for working groups, conference/workshop grants, and distinguished lectureships. For more information, see the Kellogg Web site at kellogg.nd.edu/grants.html.
Lessons in Cunning from a Capoeira Master

To the casual observer, capoeira looks like a rich display of Brazilian culture, dance and music. Be careful, though, because there is cunning and skilled deception afoot.

Two centuries ago, Brazilian slaves from Africa used capoeira to deceive their masters into thinking that—far from honing their fighting skills for future confrontation or escape—they were in fact having an innocent celebration. Today, the deception continues as capoeiristas slide, sweep and roll in the hopes of manipulating an unwitting opponent’s head onto the business end of an outstretched foot.

These are but a few of the lessons in the cunning art of capoeira that Mestre Cobra Mansa brought to Notre Dame as part of his two-week visit sponsored by the Kellogg Institute and the Brazilian Ministry of Culture. Since Cobra Mansa began his travels in 1991 as an ambassador of capoeira, he has seen it flourish; it can now be found from the streets of Tokyo to Sesame Street.

In the following Q&A, Mestre Cobra Mansa (which means “Tamed Snake”) reveals a few of the secrets of a capoeira master.

**KI:** What are the origins of the word ‘capoeira?’ What is your view on the dispute over its origins?

**MCM:** The original capoeiristas did not call capoeira by that name. They called it *brincadeira de angola, mandinga* and *jogo*, for example. It is one of the two things we are most interested in researching. My theory is that the word came from the indigenous term that refers to the place where people cut down the natural vegetation to start a plantation. It could also be associated with a term that refers to the way roosters fight. In Brazil, there is a lot of documentation on capoeira that has not been examined well.

**KI:** Why was capoeira outlawed in the past?

**MCM:** In the 18th century, capoeira had two big groups, two big gangs. Some politicians hired one of the groups to attack other politicians, and the other politicians hired the other group for protection. A lot of people were using capoeiristas as contract killers. At one time, capoeiristas got organized and tried to invade the presidential palace in Brazil, and the Republic decided that capoeira had gone too far and should be outlawed. Capoeiristas had a bad reputation until the mid-80s. There was a stigma for a long, long time.

**KI:** What prompted capoeira’s recent resurgence?

**MCM:** That is something I am studying with Greg Downey (Faculty Fellow and professor of anthropology at Notre Dame). First, capoeira is not a fight, and it is not a dance; it is a mix of both. Second, there is a social aspect of capoeira. There is no way one can practice capoeira alone. It is different from tai chi or karate, where people can exercise by themselves. In capoeira, you need a whole community. Third, psychologically, capoeira practitioners literally start seeing the world upside down, become more confident and feel like they can challenge themselves. Fourth, there is no age in capoeira. A little kid can practice capoeira with an old man. People are attracted to capoeira for different reasons. Some people like the music; others think it is fun to learn Portuguese through the songs and the Brazilian people who are involved in it; others want to do it because it is a dance.

**KI:** Do you think the resurgence of capoeira will affect the integrity of this art form?

**MCM:** We will see how much good and how much damage there is as we go. I feel somewhat responsible, as in 1991 my Mestre and I started to spread capoeira angola all over the world. Capoeira angola had almost disappeared. It had a few practicing groups in Brazil in 1981, and today we have lost count of how many groups there are around the world. On the other hand, the quality of teaching has decreased, and that makes me upset. We cannot control that. I don’t know how good or bad the resurgence is. What I can say is that capoeira is almost all over the world now.
The question,” writes Fishman, “is not whether a society has encountered a specific solution to the challenges of public policy and social justice but whether it affords citizens an engaging public arena within which they may contemplate, discuss if they wish, and ultimately choose among competing views, alternatives, and proposals.

“I take as a given that free and competitive democratic elections, and the accompanying legal guarantees of freedom, are necessary for political actors to construct a lively public sphere, but the basic institutional framework of contemporary democracy is no guarantee that a society will attain that goal.”

‘Conversation-like Connections’

Since he came to Notre Dame from Harvard in 1992, Fishman has written extensively on the Spanish transition and the consolidation of democracy. Democracy’s Voices represents the evolution of a line of intellectual inquiry on Spain and Southern Europe that Fishman started 30 years ago as an undergraduate at Yale.

He already had a vibrant interest in Spain, having studied there during high school and having followed closely the last throes of Franco’s regime.

He soon discovered the work of Juan J. Linz, now the Sterling Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Sociology at Yale, and continued to study with him throughout his doctoral work at Yale. With Linz’s guidance, Fishman began to use the work of the great German sociologist Max Weber as a way to frame his exploration of the state and political leadership.

Fishman’s work at Yale was also shaped by J. Samuel Valenzuela, then assistant professor of sociology at that university and now professor of sociology and Kellogg Faculty Fellow at Notre Dame. Valenzuela’s framework for the study of labor movements strongly influenced Fishman’s dissertation research.

It was also at Yale that Fishman met Kellogg Director Scott Mainwaring, who shares his interest in empirical investigation of the quality of democracy.

“Robert asks great questions about the contemporary world,” said Mainwaring. “He has done excellent empirical work that contributes in significant ways to our understanding of democracy in Southern Europe. He combines a first-rate theoretical mind with a deep intellectual curiosity about the world we live in.”

In light of Fishman’s research interests, the book jacket of Democracy’s Voices—Picasso’s Friendship Sardana—is particularly appropriate.

“The Picasso lithograph conveys beautifully the central message of the book: that conversation-like connections among people provide the basis for an appealing—and in the best case, uplifting—public life,” said Fishman. “I see this image as capturing the spirit of the globalizing discursive horizons I emphasize in Democracy’s Voices.”

What Fishman means by “discursive horizons” are the actual geographic points of reference in the problems and proposed remedies articulated by local leaders.

Fishman argues that much of the disaffection citizens feel with the quality of public life—and with the rhetoric of many political leaders, who seem to be speaking only to themselves or to narrowly defined constituencies—is directly linked to this issue.

“One of the clear lessons of Democracy’s Voices is that democracy’s quality is substantially enhanced by conversations that cross important social barriers and divides—such as the one that conventionally separates intellectuals from workers—and others,” said Fishman.

“Such conversations may not be very common, but where they exist they allow those who participate in them to grow through the experience.”

For his fieldwork, Fishman surveyed hundreds of local labor leaders, many through lengthy questionnaires, in 49 Spanish municipalities (with populations over 25,000). He augmented this research with a broad array of qualitative fieldwork at the local level.

He shows that political leaders who enjoy such “social ties” typically develop an ability to pose and defend the interests of their constituents in terms that can engage the broader public, whereas those lacking such ties pose and defend such interests in local and narrow ways.

“The book shows that much of what shapes the quality of democracy is found outside the formal bounds of political institutions in the interactions—or isolation—of dissimilar social groups such as intellectuals and workers,” said Fishman.

“Robert’s book is essential reading,” Valenzuela adds, “for anyone interested in understanding the social micro-foundations that permit a deepening of democratic regimes.”
Paradoxes of the Spanish Case

‘From Authoritarianism to Democracy’

Earlier in his career, Fishman explored the tensions in the labor movement during the transition to democracy. In a 1982 paper published in Comparative Politics, “The Labor Movement in Spain: From Authoritarianism to Democracy,” he concentrated on the role the labor movement played in pressing for an end to authoritarian rule and the subsequent balancing act in its efforts to achieve economic and political ends.

In his 1990 book, Working Class Organization and the Return to Democracy in Spain, Fishman surveyed 324 plant-level labor leaders, in addition to collecting a broad array of qualitative data, in order to bring greater specificity to his inquiry. Fishman is known for his expert investigation of the ways in which Spain’s labor movement eschewed its short-term goals in order to promote the fledgling democracy, and of the lessons to be drawn for other democratic transitions.

“A constellation of factors—most prominently the links between the political parties and the union movement, the commitment to democracy and acceptance of the legitimacy of the state by the plant-level leaders themselves, and the economic crisis along with the associated moderation of caution of rank-and-file workers—led the labor movement to conduct its efforts in a fashion that probably helped consolidate the new democracy and certainly did not appreciably destabilize it,” wrote Fishman in the book.

As Linz noted recently, “The way in which he analyzes the role of labor during the Spanish transition has been a model for understanding how trade unions and leftist parties try to adapt to, and moderate, the potential disturbance of the transition.”

‘Transition to Democracy’

Building on his work and interest in Spain, Fishman sought to compare the transition to democracy in other Southern European countries—namely Portugal and Greece—and search for common causes, patterns, and paths of development.

In his 1990 article, “Rethinking State and Regime Change: Southern Europe’s Transition to Democracy” in World Politics, Fishman argued that there are important distinctions to be made in analyzing these cases, and these distinctions focusing on the analytical difference between states and regimes, make it possible to delineate divergent causes, actors, trajectories, and outcomes for the three cases of redemocratization.

“To emphasize the distinctiveness of specific cases in no sense implies that the comparative enterprise has been abandoned. It simply avoids the false assertion that there is one comprehensive causal constellation accounting for significantly different outcomes and process,” wrote Fishman.

As his mentor Linz noted recently, “Robert has worked on a very interesting conceptual distinction of the transitions to democracy, regime change initiated by the political structure on one side and those initiated by the state structures on the other.

“That distinction between the regime- and state-initiated change in the case of Portugal and Spain has been path-breaking.”

‘Paths to Democracy’

Now that his book on social ties is published, Fishman is embarking on an ambitious comparison of democratization in Spain and Portugal. Although these neighbors both democratized in the 1970s, they followed nearly polar opposite paths to democracy and have very different configurations of national identity or identities.

Fishman explains that economists such as Oliver Blanchard, professor of economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, have taken the contemporary contrasts between Spain and Portugal as a “natural experiment” providing social scientists with important explanatory puzzles and answers, but the literature has lacked a systematic socio-political comparison of the two cases that addresses major theoretical questions about democracy.

“One of the most intriguing features of the Portuguese case is that it is a democracy clearly rooted in a social revolutionary experience,” said Fishman. “Spain, in contrast, showed the world that a relatively consensual process of transition to democracy by (negotiated) reform was possible in a society with a history of severe polarization.

“The two cases of democratic transition and the resulting democracies are remarkably different.” His new project addresses the contemporary consequences of these different paths to democracy.

“I have tried to use my work, principally on Spain, but also on other countries such as Portugal, to address general theoretical issues,” said Fishman. “In the work I do, I always try to take the specificities, history and culture of the cases deeply and seriously.

“I am deeply committed to the proposition that one doesn’t have to choose between drawing general theoretical lessons and the commitment to taking very seriously the complexities and specificities of the cases one looks at.

“I want this work to be interesting and applicable to those researching Brazil, Chile, Argentina, France, Italy or Spain and Portugal themselves.”
Revitalizing Scholarship on the Church in Latin America

In an increasingly democratic and secular Latin America, surprisingly little scholarship has focused on the challenges the Catholic Church faces in the region.

To spur interest in the field and renew the focus on this underserved area, the Kellogg Institute held a conference titled “Contemporary Catholicism, Religious Pluralism, and Democracy in Latin America.” This conference, held March 31 to April 1, was an integral component of a larger Kellogg Institute “religion initiative” designed to revitalize comparative social science research on religion and, in particular, Catholicism, politics and society in Latin America.

Sponsored by the Kellogg Institute and funded with support from The Coca-Cola Company, Catholic Relief Services, the Secretariat for the Church in Latin America of the US Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Henkels Lecture Series of the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, and the Kroc and Erasmus Institutes, the two-day conference brought together North American and Latin American scholars, as well as Catholic lay and clerical leaders.

According to FRANCES HAGOPIAN, the conference organizer and Michael P. Grace II Associate Professor of Latin American Studies and Political Science at Notre Dame, the conference represents a significant first step for the religion initiative.

“As opposed to answering the question of why the Church no longer enjoys a near monopoly among the faithful, the major contribution was elaborating the challenges facing the Church, bringing them into sharper focus, and working toward laying out an agenda for the kind of research that needs to be done,” she said.

Hagopian said that these challenges can be divided into three main areas: religious competition and plurality, secularization, and democracy. As presenters at the conference noted, the Church is facing a significant challenge from Pentecostal and charismatic Christian movements in the area. Today, less than 60 percent of the population in Latin America is Catholic, a low number by historical standards.

“People in Latin America believe in God and pray, but they don’t particularly go to church anymore,” said Hagopian. “Low numbers relative to Latin America’s past have been practicing. People believe, but they are not particularly constraining their daily lives by those teachings.”

Moreover, although in many countries the Church was an important defender of human rights and provided important space for opponents of military regimes, democracy today raises challenges for the Church.

“In a democracy that protects pluralism, how does the Church respond to the loss of a legal monopoly?”

On the opposite end, how will the Church respond to the loss of its ability to define the social agenda in the region? “What happens when women’s groups demand reproductive rights that conflict with Church teachings?” she wonders.

“The challenge for scholars is to investigate Church responses to these challenges and systematically explain them, and then to tie that back to understanding the implications for the Church and democracy for the region.”

US-Mexico Partnership Puts Classroom Lessons into Practice

Kellogg has partnered with Notre Dame’s Mendoza College of Business and the University of Guadalajara’s College of Business and Economics to help agricultural producers in Mexico build a strong basis for growth. Funded through a grant from the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the US-Mexico Training, Internships, Exchanges and Scholarships (TIES) program is a three-year initiative focused on “Cooperation on Rural Economic Development and Small Business Entrepreneurship.”

The partnership emphasizes “a dual philosophy of training the trainers and applying the entrepreneurial lessons from the classroom to actual situations in the real world,” reports Faculty Fellow and accounting professor JUAN RIVERA, who oversees the project.

In the academic year 2005–06, the Institute will host AIDA TERESA SEGOVIA and ADRIAN DE LEON ARIAS, both guest scholars from the University of Guadalajara (UG) in Mexico. While at Notre Dame, they will observe entrepreneurship courses, participate in a faculty working group on Mexico, and train on teaching methodology and course management.
Latin Americanists Gather for Regional Workshops

For the second consecutive year, Kellogg hosted two regional workshops in June, attracting faculty members and advanced graduate students from several leading universities in the tri-state region of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan.

Co-sponsored with Michigan State University’s Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS), the workshops brought together Latin Americanists in political science and experts on the history and culture of the Andean region.

“It was not only faculty,” KI Director SCOTT MAINWARING explained. “It is an opportunity for graduate students from our institutions to get together, meet each other, and exchange ideas.”

Giving academics the opportunity to share a day of intellectual interactions and enjoying old friendships was the primary motivator for creating the workshops. “Secondly, we want to exercise a leadership position in bringing people together with common interests in this region,” Mainwaring says. “The plan is to do one next year.”

This year’s political science workshop, led by Mainwaring, offered a new format. “We made the commitment to read each others’ work ahead of time,” Mainwaring says. “We devoted the day to getting feedback on the papers.”

Faculty Fellows TED BEATTY and SABINE MACCORMACK organized an interdisciplinary workshop, “The Andes Then and Now: Anthropology, History, Literature.” In addition to academic presentations in both English and Spanish, the Andes workshop featured a photo display by Maju Tavera on “Juego de Niños [Child’s Play],” depicting children orphaned by political violence.

In the workshops’ organizational stage, Kellogg had invited faculty from three other disciplines to participate. As a result, (Faculty Fellow) KAREN RICHMAN is planning a workshop—“Religion and Migration in the Americas”—also co-sponsored with Michigan State University. Richman is assistant professor of anthropology at Notre Dame.

These regional workshops represent Kellogg’s ongoing efforts to support scholarly entrepreneurship and to encourage communication among individuals and institutions about timely issues in Latin America. For online details on Kellogg conferences, visit kellogg.nd.edu/presconf.html.

“…we want to exercise a leadership position in bringing people together with common interests in this region.”

— Scott Mainwaring

They follow GONZALO AGUILAR and IRVING JOEL LLAMOSAS ROSAS, KI Guest Scholars in 2004–05, who returned to UG to teach MBA entrepreneurship courses and help administer UG’s newly created “Agribusiness and Small Business Units” MBA specialty. In May, three Kellogg Faculty Fellows—KWAN KIM, JUAN RIVERA and LEE TAVIS—taught short courses in the agribusiness track at the University of Guadalajara.

In the summer of 2005, six agricultural units located in Guadalajara received management assistance from a group of ND and UG graduate students working in teams during their summer internships. Students worked directly with the agricultural producers to improve their production and business operations. They will report on their eight-week projects on the Notre Dame campus in the fall of 2006.

Rivera led the creation of the project, and co-directs it with Kellogg’s Executive Director CHRISTOPHER WELNA, a political scientist, and with De Leon Arias, academic provost at UG’s Center for Economics and Business. De Leon Arias earned his PhD in economics from Notre Dame in 1999.

The TIES initiative is a public-private alliance that supports university partnerships and other educational efforts to spur economic and social growth in Mexico. For online information on the project, see kellogg.nd.edu/TIES/.

Child’s Play (Juego de Niños)

In an arts workshop she conducted in Peru, photographer MAJU TAVERA asked groups of orphaned children, many of whom had witnessed the political violence of the 1980s and 90s, to create pictures and costumes that expressed their memory and sense of identity. For each workshop, she took black-and-white photographs of the children with their work. She shared her photographs from the Juego de Niños art workshops with attendees at the regional workshops in June.

Pictured above is Ruben Quispe Pariona, shown surrounded by his favorite and most feared things, and his costume. The project was funded by the Peruvian Ministry of Promotion of Woman and Human Development (PROMUDEH).
are taking their toll on Latin America as large numbers of voters voice their frustrations at the ballot box or on the street,” said E. GERALD CORRIGAN, managing director at Goldman Sachs and former president and CEO of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

‘Much change has been good’

Although there was general agreement that the economic reforms of the last 15 years failed to deliver the expected results, panelists disagreed about the reasons for this underperformance. Moreover, some felt that focusing on the failures obscures the positive results.

As Corrigan pointed out, the region is now less prone to the searing financial shocks that characterized the 1980s and 1990s, and it now enjoys a higher degree of political stability. He argued that the market-oriented reforms have been beneficial to the region.

“Much has changed in the region in 25 years, and much of that change has been for the good,” he said. “State-dominated economies, governments controlled by the military and weak democratic political institutions once were the norms.”

Despite the shortcomings of growth and poverty reduction, the question remains whether there is a better path to prosperity than the one laid out by the “Washington consensus,” he said.

“What many view as the fundamentals for growth and development are under serious challenge, if not attack,” noted Corrigan.

“This drumbeat of criticism strengthens the hand of those who hold out some easier road to living. While that promise is seductive, it is a dangerous illusion.”

‘Benefits to all’

In analyzing the reforms, ANNE O. KRUEGER, first deputy managing director of the International Monetary Fund, agreed with Corrigan about the beneficial impact of market-oriented reforms. She observed that the nature of the implementation varied greatly between countries, as did the enthusiasm with which the reforms were implemented in Latin America.

Indeed, she argued, just because the treatment regime was not followed as prescribed, it shouldn’t detract from the need to press forward with multilateral trade liberalization as expressed through the Doha Development Round of world trade talks.

From Krueger’s perspective, the experience of East Asian countries, as well as Chile, points to the benefits of unilateral trade liberalization and a need to continue toward greater openness.

“The progressive reduction of tariff and nontariff barriers has benefited individuals, firms and national economies. Those benefits are greater for the economies that are more open, but there are benefits for all.”

‘We oversold them’

Regardless of the practical or theoretical benefits, there continues to be palpable disappointment and widespread concern that there hasn’t been a significant reduction in poverty rates.

“The reforms paid off, and they paid off more in countries that did more reforms, but we probably oversold them,” reflected GUILLERMO PERRY, chief economist for Latin America at the World Bank and a former minister of finance and public credit in Colombia. He argued that the market alone will not suffice to resolve Latin America’s economic problems.

Capital inflows and export growth were expected to promote the development of labor-intensive sectors. “This has not occurred,” acknowledged Perry.

“The reforms produced a decline in poverty rates, but this development seems to be more a consequence of the decline in inflation rates and modest growth, rather than of the distributive consequences of trade and financial liberalization.”

From Perry’s vantage point, trade liberalization should continue, but it should be complemented by the need to invest in education, promote the rule of law, and continue investment in infrastructure.

“Modern economic growth is basically about more and better knowledge and production,” said Perry.

‘Medicine without pain’

As many countries in the region are enjoying renewed growth today, President Zedillo pressed for continued institutional reform in Latin America. In Mexico’s case, he suggested, the time is right to move forward on tax reform, promote the rule of law and continue to practice fiscal conservatism.

“This would be the time to apply the medicine without the pain,” said Zedillo, who holds a PhD in economics from Yale.

He called for strengthening Latin American states to offset the increasingly globalized economy. The rise of democratic pluralism in the region does not imply that the state must be less powerful; instead the state’s power must be deployed to promote conditions conducive to global business and trade, reduce poverty, and increase investment.

“Too long we have lived under the belief that our states were strong,” said Zedillo. “Authoritarian regimes do not equate to strength.”

‘Mini-Wall Street?’

Amid suggestions that Latin America’s woes can be blamed on a failure to undertake even more radical economic reform, AUGUSTO DE LA TORRE, a senior regional advisor to the World Bank, and former head of the Central Bank of Ecuador, was skeptical.

“Latin America has reformed quite a lot,” he countered.

Instead, de la Torre, who has a PhD in economics from Notre Dame, suggested that access to local financial services for small-to-medium-sized enterprises should be a key component to growth. Capital, he argued, continues to flow toward much larger companies.

Without access to capital, globalization can magnify the weak currency problems and have the potential to undercut local development, he argued.

“I think, sometimes, that the goal of market reform is to transform Latin America into a mini-version of Wall Street,” he said of global financial institutions. “This should not be the goal.”

“We need a little more modesty when we claim to understand what is wrong with Latin America,” concluded de la Torre.

The following speakers presented at the conference: Guillermo Ortiz, governor, Banco de México; Lawrence Brainard, senior advisor, WestLB AG; Dennis Flannery, executive vice president, Inter-American Development Bank; Michael Gavin, managing director, UBS; Brian O’Neil, managing director, JPMorgan Chase & Co.; and B. Gerard Dages, vice president, Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

The Kellogg Institute is indebted to Louis G. Schirano (ND ’62), adjunct professor of international management and marketing at Saint Mary’s College, and Terrence J. Cheek, executive vice president at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, for their help in organizing and co-sponsoring “Latin America in the Global Economy.”
Why Structural Reform Failed to Deliver Prosperity to Latin America

In light of the Kellogg Institute’s conference, “Latin America in the Global Economy,” Visiting Fellow FRANCISCO RODRÍGUEZ and Faculty Fellow JAIME ROS sat down recently to discuss the market-oriented approach to the Latin American economy and their perceptions of the impact of these policies.

In the following Q&A, Rodríguez and Ros express some of the opposing views to the so-called Washington consensus, a policy agenda that advocated macroeconomic discipline while encouraging trade openness and market-friendly microeconomic policies.

Rodríguez, a spring 2005 Visiting Fellow, is a professor of economics and Latin American studies at Wesleyan University. He was director of the Economic and Financial Advisory Council of the Venezuelan National Assembly from 2000 until the Council’s dissolution in 2004. He is the author of many influential papers, including “Trade Policy and Economic Growth: A Skeptic’s Guide to the Cross-National Evidence” (Macroeconomics Annual 2000) co-authored with Professor Dani Rodrik of Harvard University.

Ros is a professor of economics and policy studies at Notre Dame, and a Faculty Fellow of the Institute. His main research interests are the development, trade and macroeconomic problems of developing countries. He is the author of Development Theory and the Economics of Growth (Michigan, 2000) and Economic Integration in the Western Hemisphere: Issues and Prospects for Latin America (Notre Dame, 1994), which he co-edited and co-authored with Roberto Bouzas.

How important is trade liberalization for the reform agenda?

Rodríguez: A number of economists have previously claimed that there exists a strong, positive and empirical finding to support the impact of trade liberalization. Dani Rodrik and I have argued that, in many cases, the presumed effect of trade policy was actually standing for other variables. Once you do the statistical work, you find little or no relationship. What this means is that some countries with open trade policies have not grown, while others with interventionist trade policies have had relatively satisfactory growth.

We can get some intuition about this result by thinking about the most impressive growth experiences in the developing world in recent years. We tend to look to South Korea, Taiwan, China, and India and Chile more recently. The most striking thing about these examples is the degree of diversity in their approaches to economic policy, including varied strategies for insertion into the international economy. The lesson that emerges is that the appropriate policy for growth is institutionally specific to the history, conditions, and cultural characteristics of a given country. I am very much at odds with the idea that one size fits all.

Ros: The emphasis on trade liberalization as the key policy within the so-called Washington consensus to generate economic growth in Latin America is questionable. We now have two full decades of trade liberalization; the fact that trade liberalization has taken place without much growth should be a source of concern and a reason to look at other reforms.

But those who promote liberalization say the “Washington consensus” reforms weren’t carried out appropriately.

Ros: Yes, the implicit answer is that Latin America has not gone far enough. This lacks credibility to me. Latin America is one of the regions in the developing world that’s gone furthest in trade liberalization. In Latin America, you don’t see a clear relationship between growth and trade liberalization. Mexico, for example, is one of the most open economies in the region, much more so than Chile, and still Chile has had a much better growth performance than Mexico.

Rodríguez: In order for that argument—that Latin America hasn’t gone far enough—to be useful, it has to be made much more concrete. How far is necessary? When do we know that we have done enough? When do we need to do more?

Argentina, for example, was widely touted as having carried out all these reforms and, therefore, was growing at a very high rate. When growth collapsed, interpretations started changing and people started saying that Argentina had not gone far enough. You’re always going to be able to make that diagnosis if your model doesn’t work.

What should be made of the political challenges to reform such as the rise of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela?

Rodríguez: The experience of Hugo Chávez illustrates economic development and political strategies going wrong. The US leadership worries about Chávez and reacts to his anti-American discourse, but many of the reasons for his ascension can be traced back to the inability of the economic policies that were adopted during the past 10 or 15 years to deliver a sustainable level of economic growth with equity. A discourse that emphasizes social conflict does not emerge from a vacuum; it takes hold in a country where income distribution, poverty, and deep social divisions have not gone far enough. This lacks credibility to me. Latin America is one of the regions in the developing world that’s gone furthest in trade liberalization. In Latin America, you don’t see a clear relationship between growth and trade liberalization. Mexico, for example, is one of the most open economies in the region, much more so than Chile, and still Chile has had a much better growth performance than Mexico.

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Why structural reform failed ...
(continued from page 15)

have been systematically neglected. The conspir-
acy that first led Chávez to attempt a coup was
formed precisely after the 1989 implementation
of shock therapy economic reform. The immedi-
ate effects after the announcement were riots that
led to the imposition of martial law.

Let’s assume that all the policies that were
implemented were right and would have gener-
ated greater levels of economic growth. If, at the
same time, it sets in motion a process that leads to
the political collapse of the country, then what is
accomplished? A more realistic view would be
that these pressures are as much a part of reality as
economics. A strategy that is not politically viable
is not viable in any sense.

Ros: When you look at countries across the region
and the disenchantment with economic policies
during the last two decades, you find that those
countries with sharper inequalities tend to have
deeper social divisions. Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil,
and Bolivia are in the process of building up social
pressure for change; whereas you don’t find it in
Chile, which has not suffered from extreme
poverty. This is a factor you should keep in mind
when designing policies and assessing the viability
of these policies.

In what ways did the “Washington consensus”
get it right or wrong?

Ros: There is today a so-called augmented Wash-
ington consensus, which is, in part, a recognition
that structural reforms didn’t work the way they
were expected to.

One key reform undertaken in the region that
was not on the original list of the “Washington
consensus” is the opening of domestic financial
markets to foreign capital. This turned out to be
the major mistake within the reforms that were
undertaken. It increased the exposure of countries
to risk in a period of accelerated capital mobility
in the global economy. The second point is that
on the original list is something that was not
applied. John Williamson called it “competitive
exchange rates,” an exchange rate policy oriented
to growth of output, exports, and employment,
instead of to the stabilization of price levels, which
happened in the 1990s. Price stabilization was
applied quite successfully because inflation has
been brought under control, but at the cost of ap-
preciated exchange rates.

Rodríguez: The experience with reforms has been
much worse than most economists anticipated.
The payoff in terms of economic growth to the
countries that did what they were told to do is, in
the best of cases, much smaller than anticipated
by the designers of these reforms. This has led to
a lot of soul searching within these institutions.
With time, there will be a lot more room to
maneuver and a lot more skepticism. We’ll begin
to see more changes in the actions of these institu-
tions. On the other hand, there is an important
political component in the design of policies that
these institutions promote around the world. It is
well known and transparent that the US admin-
istration has taken an interest in the role played by
these institutions and has certain ideas where
these institutions should be headed. Partly that is
revealed in recent appointments such as the
appointment of (former US Deputy Secretary of
Defense) Paul Wolfowitz as World Bank presi-
dent. There is going to be an interesting interplay
between ideas, reality, and politics, and the direc-
tions these institutions take in the future.

What is the alternative?

Rodríguez: We don’t know what causes economic
growth. This is a confession that many of my col-
leagues would not find easy to make. If we did
know, the world would be simpler. The consensus
of the 1990s had one self-evident flaw. If the only
thing Somalia had to do to achieve economic
prosperity was to carry out a list of 10 reforms,
and there was complete certainty that it was going
to work, then it seems hard to believe that anyone
would block it. Rather, we live in a world where
there is a great amount of uncertainty regarding
the effect that different policies have on growth,
an uncertainty that is made even greater by the
high degree of institutional and structural speci-
ficity in the effects of policies. There is also a very
limited amount of evidence that can be used to
draw lessons on economic growth, and the data
that exists is difficult to interpret. Since the struc-
ture of the world economy is changing so fast,
what generated growth in the past will not neces-
sarily do so in the future.

One of the things you have to do is experiment.
For example, I would prefer to have 300 munici-
palities in a country all trying the strategies that
they feel work best, rather than a central govern-
ment dictating the policy for all or because that’s
the only way they can get loans from multilateral
institutions. That said, two areas that were very
much neglected during the heyday of the “Wash-
ington consensus” and that ought to be reempha-
sized are infrastructure and the provision of public
goods. If Latin American countries are able to
recover past levels of investment in infrastructure
and public goods, that in itself would do a lot to
raise the productivity of the private sector.

Ros: One problem I see with the international
financial institutions is that they tend to favor
universal precepts that can be applied to all coun-
tries. There is an aversion to discretion on the
grounds that we shouldn’t treat one country dif-
ferently from another. I believe that’s what led to
the adoption of the “Washington consensus” as a
universal precept for all to follow. Remarkably,
the region that has followed these precepts most
closely has been the most unsuccessful in the
developing world. International financial institu-
tions did not try to fine-tune the policy design to
national situations and leave more scope for gov-
ernments to try different options and solutions.

Rodríguez: Some idea of the value of experimenta-
tion can be seen from the recent Venezuelan expe-
rience. While I have strong objections to the
Chávez administration’s actions to suppress politi-
cal dissent and its human rights record, this doesn’t
mean that one shouldn’t try to understand which
of its policies have made sense. Since the World
Bank and International Monetary Fund had no
major presence in Venezuela; it was free to try
some new programs. What the government did
experiment; it created a set of social programs
called misiones or missions. It created nine social
programs that ranged from health to education,
employment training to food subsidies. Some of
the programs didn’t pay off, but others were very
successful. Imagine what could happen if we had
this type of experimentation on a wider level.
First-Year Students, Sophomores Experience Latin America

Notre Dame’s first-year and sophomore students now have access to funding for summer projects on Latin America.

Kellogg’s Experiencing Latin America (ELA) Fellowships promote up to three months of exploratory work that might not necessarily fall under the rubric of research. The inaugural 2005 competition awarded ELA Fellowships to one sophomore and two first-year students. This year’s summer projects involved two of Kellogg’s main research themes: public policies for social justice, and growth and development.

Clare Halloran, who will start her junior year in political science this fall, chose to explore the societal effects of a Bolivian education reform enacted in 1992. While abroad, Halloran explored the education system through Mi Casita, a kindergarten school, operated by the Foundation for Sustainable Development. “I intend to investigate how the community has been affected by such changes,” Halloran explained. In keeping with Kellogg’s comparative approach, she will draw on her past work with a South Bend elementary school to identify similarities and differences in the challenges faced by the educational system in each country.

Pablo Ortega returned to his home country of Bolivia last summer to study how Bolivian macroeconomic policies affected poverty in that country from 1985 to 2003. Ortega examined the formation and development of the Bolivian microfinance system, which he considers a critical instrument in poverty alleviation. “In geographic terms, I conducted this research in the cities of La Paz, El Alto and Santa Cruz and the other three selected secondary microfinance centers in Bolivia,” Ortega said. A finance sophomore, Ortega received research assistance from Tironi & Asociados Bolivia, a strategic communications firm based in La Paz.

Another winner, Stuart Mora chose to work for the Foundation for Sustainable Development. As he prepared for his sophomore year, Mora helped one of three programs working with orphaned or abused youths in Peru. “I plan to propose an after-school program based on my experiences in California,” Mora said. The proposed program would raise literacy levels for children and their parents. “The opportunity to organize and implement my own program is one I have sought for some time,” the history major added.

While promoting an academic experience, the ELA Fellowship also aids in students’ professional pursuits. Halloran, for example, hopes “to use my interest in political science and my passion for education as a means to work in educational policy making.”

To learn more about the ELA Fellowships, visit kellogg.nd.edu/lasp/elareq.html. To qualify for ELA Fellowships, students must be enrolled in Notre Dame’s Latin American Studies Program (LASP). For more information on LASP, see kellogg.nd.edu/lasp/.

International Scholars Program ...

promising young undergraduates: the International Scholars Program. Through this program, undergraduate scholars are paired with Kellogg Faculty Fellows who guide their research, and they receive a stipend to support their research projects. Messina nominated Schaerer for the International Scholars Program and acted as his faculty advisor.

‘Distinguished from his peers’

As Schaerer tells it, one of his goals as an undergraduate at Notre Dame was to write a book-length manuscript on an area of scholarly interest.

“I have always set goals for myself and worked hard to follow through on them,” said Schaerer.

After he took Messina’s class his freshman year, Schaerer’s interest turned to comparative research on postwar migration and its corresponding backlash, particularly in Europe.

At the same time, Schaerer hoped to study abroad in Spain during his sophomore year, and thought it might present an opportunity to undertake a research project.

He approached Messina for ideas on an independent research project that could distinguish him from his peers. Between the two, they came up with a proposal to explore the reasons why extreme right-wing political parties haven’t emerged in post-Franco Spain.

On arriving in Toledo, Spain, Schaerer set out on an ambitious course to interview politicians and political actors who could shed light on the issue, review historical documents and explore academic research on the subject.

His work eventually led him to produce a substantive paper, “Spanish Exceptionalism: Immigration, Xenophobia and the Rise of the Radical Right.”

‘Swept up in Ideas’

As a result of the paper, Messina invited Schaerer to do formal research with him as part of the International Scholars Program. He was also awarded a Summer Research Grant by Kellogg, which allowed him to continue his research in Madrid during the summer of 2004.

Gestureing to a point midway up the nearest wall, Schaerer concedes that the volume of research he ultimately generated still stuns him.

“He was swept up in the ideas he was exploring,” said Messina. “It made him push the envelope.”

In Schaerer’s case, his extraordinary tome tackles a significant and under-explored aspect of European political development.

Given Spain’s history of autocratic rule and its status as a top immigration destination in Europe, Schaerer wondered why a far-right movement hadn’t taken hold in the country.

The answer Schaerer arrived at was that Spain’s autocratic history actually had made it a less fertile spot for extremism. He also proposed that the Spanish view immigration in a far more positive light than other Europeans.

In part, Schaerer confesses, his interest in immigration comes from his family’s experience as immigrants to the US.

“As newlyweds, my parents came to the United States from Paraguay in 1981, for much the same reason [as immigrants go to Spain]—to seek out a brighter future for themselves and their children,” Schaerer said.

“As a first-generation American, I was naturally interested in the plight of immigrants.”

In August, it was announced that Schaerer had won the prestigious Jack Kent Cooke Graduate Scholarship, which provides up to $50,000 annually for up to six years of graduate or professional studies. He was one of only 76 students nationwide to receive the scholarship.

In the fall, Schaerer will attend the Yale School of Law to study international law.

“Enrique possesses a degree of intellectual curiosity that is exceptional even among the highest-achieving students,” said Messina.
Scholars, Policy Makers to Explore Trade Integration in the Americas

Discussion on the Latin American economy, trade, and regional economic integration will continue this fall as scholars and policy makers convene for a conference September 9–10.

Titled “The Sequencing of Regional Economic Integration: Issues in the Breadth and Depth of Economic Integration in the Americas,” the conference will be a forum to discuss Latin American economic issues and develop guidelines for policy makers in the sequencing of further economic integration in the Americas.

The conference, which will be held at Notre Dame, is jointly sponsored by the Kellogg Institute, The Coca-Cola Company, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Mendoza College of Business. Conference organizers include JEFFREY BERGSTRAND, professor of finance in the Mendoza College of Business and Kellogg Faculty Fellow; ANTONI ESTEVE-DEORDAL, principal economist in the Trade and Integration Department of the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington, DC; and SIMON EVENETT, professor of international economics at the University of St. Gallen in Switzerland and non-resident fellow of the Brookings Institution.

Bergstrand explains that in light of the breakdown in progress of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), scholars and policy makers need to consider better models of the process of economic integration.

“Although we have many accounts of episodes of regional economic integration from around the world, national and international policy makers still lack a solid understanding of the ‘process’ by which a region decides to move toward broader and deeper integration,” explains Bergstrand. “The purpose is to better frame economic and political issues, and develop a better sense of which agreements should be pursued. Ideally, we hope to use the conference to develop a set of guidelines to aid the process of economic integration.”

Conference organizers hope that this conference will pick up where the “Latin America in the Global Economy” conference left off. (See related articles on page 1 and 15).

The conference will include contributed papers and discussions by prominent academic trade economists and political scientists from Harvard, Princeton, Chicago and numerous other universities, as well as speeches and panel discussions by prominent policy makers from the International Monetary Fund, Inter-American Development Bank, World Bank and other institutions. Conference details are at the website: www.nd.edu/~jbergstr/sequencing.htm.

Democratic Governance Conference to be held Oct. 7–8

How can Latin America achieve economic and social progress while advancing democratic practices?

At this fall’s conference, “Democratic Governance in Latin America: Clues and Lessons,” scholars explore why some countries and policies have been successful in the midst of many failures.

The conference will be held Oct. 7–8 in the Hesburgh Center Auditorium.

“Since the 1980s, few Latin American democracies have been successful,” said Kellogg Director SCOTT MAINWARING who leads the project along with Faculty Fellow TIMOTHY SCULLY, CSC.

Most Latin American democracies have had serious shortcomings. Per capita income in much of the region fell between 1998 and 2003, leaving a majority of Latin Americans poorer than they were nearly a decade ago, in 1996. Only two countries, Chile and the Dominican Republic, experienced robust economic growth in the 1990s. Every country in the Andean region is struggling.

Yet despite the severe deficiencies of most democratic and semi-democratic governments in Latin America, democratic governance in Latin America does not represent an impossible challenge.

The project will assess variance in success and the reason for these variance.

Fall Film Series: ‘Women Make Movies’ tackles political, social issues facing Latin America

The Kellogg Institute’s fall film series “Women Make Movies: A Latin American Perspective” will explore the work of women filmmakers seeking to understand political and social justice issues facing Latin America.

In many cases, the filmmakers will introduce the film and take questions following the screening.

The film series is sponsored by Kellogg and co-sponsored by Gender Studies, Film Television and Theatre, International Student Services and Activities, and the Institute for Latino Studies.

All films will be shown in the Hesburgh Center Auditorium.

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HELEN MACK CHANG will accept the 2005 Notre Dame Prize for Distinguished Public Service in Latin America at a ceremony to be held in Guatemala City on September 7, 2005.

The award will be presented by REV. JAMES MCDONALD, CSC, senior executive assistant and counselor to University of Notre Dame President REV. JOHN I. JENKINS, CSC, on behalf of Jenkins and Notre Dame. The Notre Dame Prize is funded by The Coca-Cola Foundation.

RAFAEL FERNÁNDEZ QUIRÓS, director of Public Affairs and Communications for The Coca-Cola Company's Latin Center division, will present the Prize's matching donation to the charity selected by the recipient. DR. JOSÉ GARCÍA NOVAL, vice president of the Myrna Mack Foundation, will accept a $10,000 check for the Foundation, named for the laureate's sister whose murder motivated her fight for human rights.

This year's prize committee included the late ADOLFO AGUILAR ZINSER, former Mexican senator and ambassador to the United Nations; SOFÍA MACHER, the respected human rights advocate of Peru; and REV. EDWARD MALLOY, CSC, president emeritus of the University. SCOTT MAINWARING chaired the committee.

Since its creation in 1993, the Myrna Mack Foundation has done studies and crafted proposals to further the consolidation of the justice system, the search for peace, the fortification of the rule of law, and the democratization of the political system in Guatemala. The ceremony will be attended by representatives from Guatemala's policy making community, journalists, business leaders, Notre Dame alumni and university officials, Kellogg Institute scholars and former visiting fellows, and guests from Guatemalan universities and research centers.

‘Why get involved?’

Mack, one of Guatemala’s most vocal advocates for justice, has the distinction of facing down the country’s military and winning. In the process, she brought a measure of justice and reconciliation to the families of thousands who perished during country’s 36-year civil war.

In 1990, officers in the Guatemalan military assassinated her sister, Myrna Mack. In her search for justice, Mack pushed the country’s justice system to convict the soldier who perpetrated the crime, and ultimately, the military officers who ordered it.

Born in 1952, Mack was the product of a middle-class life of relative comfort. She was a business executive and devout Catholic who avoided politics. By contrast, her sister Myrna was a prominent activist and renowned anthropologist investigating the army’s abuses of peasants during the civil war.

“I had no opinion of the government,” said Mack in a 2002 profile in the New York Times. “My life was basically like any other middle-class person. As long as the violence did not touch you, why get involved? To get into politics was to be stigmatized.”

An end to impunity

On September 11, 1990, the police told her that Myrna had been in a traffic accident. When she went to the scene, however, the truth quickly emerged: Myrna had been stabbed 27 times.

Convinced that Myrna had been the victim of a political crime, Mack used a provision of Guatemalan law—which allows private citizens to take a prosecutorial role—to seek justice for her family.

“Because of my political naïveté, I thought the system would respond,” said Mack. “But it did not. That is when I recognized the terror that existed in Guatemala. As I learned of my sister’s work, I learned the people of Guatemala were being subjected to repression and intimidation that made you a victim all over again.”

“We are putting on trial the policy of terror in Guatemala of the past 30 years... We are not looking for reprisals but for justice...”

Although she had no legal background, Mack mobilized support from the Guatemalan and international communities to take her family’s case to court. Serious challenges hindered the investigation and prosecution, including assassination of a key witness, destruction of evidence and threats to court officials, witnesses and their families.

Mack persevered and obtained an unprecedented conclusion to the case—a soldier was convicted for direct responsibility for the crime—and several years later, one of the three officers accused of masterminding the crime received the maximum sentence allowed under Guatemalan law. The other two were acquitted due to a lack of evidence.

The breakthrough achieved in the case opened the path for other human rights cases in Guatemala, some resulting in convictions.

Mack’s efforts garnered her numerous accolades, including the Swedish Parliament’s Right Livelihood Award, known as an “alternative Nobel Prize.” With the proceeds from that award, Mack founded the Myrna Mack Foundation to provide training to those interested in ending impunity and defending human rights. In 2004, Guatemalan President Óscar Berger named Mack to the country’s Advisory Council on Security. She is currently a promoter of strategic planning projects.

“We are putting on trial the policy of terror in Guatemala of the past 30 years... We are not looking for reprisals but for justice... What we want is justice as proof that governmental arbitrariness will not continue; justice as a condition for the development of democratic relations free of fear and coercion,” said Mack.
Cecilia Cornejo presents a haunting personal response to the events of September 11, 2001, informed and complicated by her status as a Chilean citizen living in the US. Cornejo will introduce her film and take questions following the screening. 27 minutes, subtitled.

NOVEMBER 2, 8:00 PM

Thunder in Guyana
Suzanne Wasserman’s remarkable tale of Janet Rosenberg, a young woman from Chicago who married Guyanese activist Cheddi Jagan, and set off for the British colony to start a socialist revolution. 50 minutes, subtitled.

NOVEMBER 16, 8:00 PM

Los Rubios (The Blonds)
Albertina Carri’s second feature is a look at Argentina’s recent history from the perspective of a generation forced to mourn those of whom they have no recollection. Carri, who lost her parents to the brutal military junta, travels through Buenos Aires to unravel the factual and emotional mysteries of her parents’ life, disappearance and death. 89 minutes, subtitled.

8/25 Anna Grzymala-Busse (associate professor of political science, University of Michigan), “Strategies of Political Party Survival and the Post-Communist State” co-sponsored with Nanovic Institute


9/1 Susan Fitzpatrick Behrens (assistant professor of history, California State University and Kellogg Visiting Fellow), “Faith, Healing, Knowledge, and Networks: Maryknoll Nuns and Indigenous People’s Creation of Catholic Communities in Peru and Guatemala”

9/6 Miriam Korbith (professor and researcher in political studies at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and Kellogg Visiting Fellow), title TBA

9/7 Notre Dame Prize Ceremony in Guatemala

9/9-10 CONFERENCE: “The Sequencing of Regional Economic Integration: Issues in the Breadth and Depth of Economic Integration in the Americas” co-sponsored by the Inter-American Development Bank and Mendoza College of Business

9/13 Tim Power (associate professor of political science at Florida International University and Kellogg Visiting Fellow), title TBA

9/15 ROUNDTABLE: Andrew Bennett (associate professor of government and international relations Field Chair, Georgetown University), title TBA, co-sponsored by the Working Group on Advanced Methods for International/Comparative Research

9/15 Fellows Reception

9/19 ROUNDTABLE: The Future of Europe,” co-sponsored with Nanovic Institute


10/4 Donna Van Cott (assistant professor of political science, Tulane University and Kellogg Visiting Fellow) “Radical Democracy in the Andes: Indigenous Political Parties’ Experiments with Participatory-Intercultural Democracy”

10/6 Miguel Centeno (director, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies), title TBA

10/7-8 CONFERENCE: “Democratic Governance in Latin America: Clues and Lessons”


10/25 Kenneth Greene (professor of economics, University of Virginia and Kellogg Visiting Fellow), title TBA

10/27-28 Sururu na Roda (Brazilian popular music featuring Nitze Carvalho)

10/27 Teresa Ghilarducci (associate professor of economics, University of Notre Dame and Kellogg Faculty Fellow), title TBA

11/1 Thomas Carothers (associate professor of political science, Tulane University and Kellogg Visiting Fellow), “Political Culture and Democratization: A Survey of Research”

11/3 Kristian Gleditsch (assistant professor of political science, University of California, San Diego), title TBA

11/8 Jan Hoffman French (Rockefeller Foundation fellow at Northwestern University and a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Maryland, College Park, and Kellogg Visiting Fellow), title TBA

11/10 Gene Grossman (Jacob Viner Professor of International Economics, Princeton University), title TBA

11/15 Michael Coppendge (associate professor of political science, University of Notre Dame and Kellogg Faculty Fellow), “Political Culture and Democratization: A Survey of Research”

11/17 Steven Fish (associate professor of political science, University of California at Berkeley), title TBA


12/1 Claudio Lomnitz (distinguished university professor of anthropology and historical studies, New School University), title TBA

Preliminary schedule: for time, venues and further updates, please check our website at kellogg.nd.edu/events.html.