Born in the Cradle of Evangelicalism: Second-generation evangélicos in the Andes

By Kathleen C. O’Brien
Ph.D. Student in Anthropology

“Marta” is an evangelical indigenous woman from the Ecuadorian province of Chimborazo. I met her in 2002 while doing my MA thesis research. During lunch at a workshop in Quito, I learned that this women’s group leader was the daughter of one of Chimborazo’s first indigenous pastors. She said she was “born in the cradle of evangelicalism.”

Marta invited me to go live with her and her husband “Juan” and children in a highland evangelical indigenous community near Colta Lake in Cantón Colta. So, I did!

Much of the literature on evangelical Protestantism in Latin America focuses on conversion, not on its implications for subsequent generations. A research project was born.

Five years later, in the summer of 2007, I returned to Ecuador with a Tinker Field Research Grant to conduct preliminary dissertation fieldwork. I examined how second-generation indigenous evangélicos negotiate their gender, religious, and ethnic identities differently than the first generation of converts. Some second-generation evangelical leaders and intellectuals have questioned fundamentalist Christianity on various accounts while still maintaining an evangelical identity.

I wanted to return to Marta’s community, but could not reach her by phone. So, on a sunny morning in early July, I boarded the colorful Ñuca Llacta (My Town) bus in Riobamba and traveled 15 miles southwest on the Pan-American Highway. Nervous to show up unexpectedly, I scrambled off the bus and walked down the road that leads to her house. It is easy to see why Marta said she grew up “at heaven’s gate.”

I passed the huge, modern evangelical church, five times the size of any built structure for miles and one of 700 indigenous evangelical churches in Chimborazo. I recognized the former Gospel Missionary Union compound, where U.S. missionaries once provided schooling, jobs, and medical care in their efforts to “save indigenous souls.”

Next door to the compound, Marta’s house is unmistakable. The word AMAUTA is written in large, bold letters on the front wall. Amauta Yuyay (Wise Thought) is the indigenous evangelical political party. Until recently, evangelical Protestants were forbidden to become politically involved, as such activities were considered “of the world.”
Our Mission

We are an interdisciplinary unit within the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences that brings together faculty and students who have a common interest in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Through colleges and departments across the campus, we seek to support and enlarge an inter-disciplinary faculty who maintain an active research agenda and teach courses on Latin American subjects. We support faculty and graduate research, travel, and dissemination of research results. We promote the presentation of Latin American art, literature and music, and scholarly research to the larger community through exhibits, performances, and lectures. We also assist the Latin American Collection at the University Library in purchasing teaching and research materials.

Finally, we sponsor conferences, symposia, colloquia, and outreach activities on current affairs and other matters of scholarly and general interest.

The University of Illinois and the University of Chicago form a consortium that is funded by the U.S. Department of Education and constitutes a “Title VI” National Resource Center in Latin American Studies. The combined resources of the consortium provide one of the largest concentrations of human and material resources on Latin America in the United States, with over 120 core faculty, over 11,000 course enrollments, and 700,000 library volumes that constitute one of the three largest Latin American library resources in the nation.

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Director’s Corner

I had the privilege of spending the academic year 2006-07 on a stimulating sabbatical. I found concentration to write day after day on my book manuscript, “Peru in Revolution: The Civil War of 1894-95 and the Origins of the Nation’s Modern Political Culture.” I was invited to lecture in Bogotá and Bucaramanga, Colombia, and learned about the rich work of Colombian historians.

I spent spring semester of 2007 as Santo Domingo Fellow at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University. Entering one of the brand-new twin buildings that house Harvard’s international studies programs, one is immediately struck by their impressive architecture. DRCLAS, only 13 years old, has had the resources and leadership to rapidly catapult itself into a prominent position among Latin American Studies centers. Its director, Merilee Grindle, and the Center’s large staff were very hospitable and helped make my semester productive and pleasant. Above all, my visit demonstrated to me Harvard’s unrivalled convening power: hardly a week passed that I did not meet an important scholar from around the world.

When I returned to Illinois and our Center, my life changed quite suddenly again: By mid-August 2007, our small, highly dedicated staff and I were busy preparing the fall semester’s programming, putting finishing touches on our team-taught course “Introduction to Latin America” (enrolling 400 students each year!), orienting our bright new cohort MA students, finishing reports for Title VI, writing the Tinker grant proposal, attending meetings, etc. But my sojourn on the East Coast brought one thing home to me: We can be proud of our outstanding work on Latin America and the Caribbean here at Illinois. Our scholarship is deep and broad on many subjects central for understanding the region, from Maya archaeology to the ecology of rainforests, the world of music, the politics of democracy in Brazil, the effects of the soybean boom, and the border culture between Mexico and the US, to mention just a few. Across campus we attract outstanding students, some of them equal to the best students at elite private universities. And our growing outreach efforts are motivating ever more students and community members to take note of the region’s affairs and culture.

This newsletter showcases two important contemporary Latin American issues: the state of Hugo Chavez’s Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela, and the transformations of Ecuador’s protestant communities. We also highlight the work of one of our esteemed scholars – anthropologist Norman Whitten – and one of our many outstanding alumnae – Erin O’Rourke.

For the remainder of this semester, CLACS has scheduled exciting events on Latin America: the 2nd Annual Film Festival, a conference on Latin American heritage cities, the Midwest Wokshop on Latin American History, a Maya weaving exhibit at the Spurlock Museum. Also note our new awards for the best undergraduate and graduate papers on Latin America and the Caribbean, and our awards for faculty travel to the region.

We are looking forward to seeing you at some of these events.
2007 Highlights

CLACS Announces Paper Prizes

Brazilian Governor Visited U of I
Governor of Mato Grosso, Brazil, Blairo Maggi, talked about the future of agriculture and the environment on May 3. Maggi serves as the president of the Maggi Group, the largest grower of soybeans in the world.

Lecture Series:
David Guss, Department of Anthropology, Tufts University, presented on “Placemaking, Cities, and the Request of La Paz, Bolivia,” Oct. 25.

Lecturer Discussed US-Latin America
Michael Shifter, vice president of the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington, DC, discussed the importance of Latin America for the United States during the brown bag “US-Latin American Relations: Can the Damage be Repaired?” on Oct. 18.

Cotler Appointed to CLASP Committee
CLACS Associate Director Angelina Cotler was elected to serve a 2-year term in the executive committee of the Consortium for Latin American Studies Programs (CLASP).

LAST TA Wins Teaching Award
Luis Eduardo Herrera won the LAS Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching for Graduate Teaching Assistants. He will also be forwarded to campus for competition at that level. This year Herrera came out on top of our strong team of Teaching Assistants for Latin American Studies 170.

CLACS Reception

Mary Weismantel, Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University on “Modern Sex and Ancient Passions: Alfred Kinsey and Rafael Larco Hoyle,” Nov. 1.
2007 Highlights

Doctor Wins Humanitarian Award
Better health care required learning indigenous language

By Angelina Cotler
CLACS Associate Director

Peter Rohloff, a recent M.D. graduate from the College of Medicine and a Ph.D. in Pathobiology, has been awarded two very prestigious prizes. Upon CLACS nomination and the School of Medicine, Rohloff has received the Charles C. Stewart International Young Humanitarian Award and the 2007-2008 Illinois International Graduate Achievement Award.

Rohloff’s international humanitarian service focuses in providing medical services in Guatemala, emphasizing a humanitarian side of scientific and medical problems—that research must be responsible, that it should always have an eye toward the alleviation of human suffering and the enhancement of human existence.

Rohloff made his first trip to Guatemala in 2003 to learn Spanish, volunteered in a public health clinic, and studied with colleagues working with impoverished indigenous Mayan communities. He developed his interests in primary, preventative, and comprehensive care for all ages, especially working with disadvantaged and at-risk populations.

After several trips to Guatemala, Rohloff came to appreciate the bleak contrasts in health care access and outcomes between the middle- and upper-class Spanish-speaking population and the desperately impoverished indigenous Mayan populations, and decided to continue his work in Guatemala by enrolling in a field school to learn the Kaqchikel Maya language. CLACS supported his proposal, the value of his research, and his commitment in this area, and funded him two summers through Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships.

Fluency in Maya opened up a number of exciting opportunities, the possibility to serve in clinics, and to spend more than one year living full-time in indigenous communities, working with community leaders and international development workers on a wide range of projects.

Since June 2006, Rohloff has led a free medical clinic in San Antonio Suchitepequez run by Partners in Development, a small NGO providing microloans, home-building, and medical care in Haiti and Guatemala. His duties include resource management and allocation, patient triage, and educational and health program development. In one year, he saw the number of patients grow from 200 to 2000. Responding to the needs of the patient population, mostly indigenous women, children, and elderly suffering from anemia and chronic malnutrition, he designed several targeted programs. These included screening and treatment algorithms for malnourished children, a prenatal program, and measures designed to reduce soil-transmitted helminth. He successfully implemented a small laboratory that provides basic hematologic, urine, and fecal analyses, and was able to attract the interest of several U.S.-based pediatricians, obstetricians, and internists, who provide oversight, resources, and patient management services.

Rohloff is also the co-founder and director of a new development organization, Wuq’u Kawkq, which he formed in January 2007 at the request of indigenous colleagues.

The goal of the organization is to address the failure of development work in Guatemala to provide programs and health care in the indigenous languages, a major barrier to deliver quality care.

Rohloff’s approach to health care is based on what he calls “ethics of encounter,” which implies a radical switch of previous ways of providing health care to indigenous population. It implies that doctors pay personal visits to their patients without charging a bill and all speak Maya Kaqchikel.

One of the most exciting new programs that he is involved with is the midwife training programs, which provide instruction in prenatal care and management of the complications of the perinatal period and infancy. Midwives are important leaders in Mayan communities. Despite the Guatemalan governmental efforts to force
Focus on Venezuela
Why did Chávez referendum fail?

By Damaris Canache
Associate Professor in Political Science

Since his arrival to power in 1998, Hugo Chávez has enjoyed substantial backing from multiple social sectors in Venezuela, especially popular sectors. At the center of Chávez’s relationship with the popular sectors are issues of autonomy and dependence vis-à-vis the Venezuelan state. These issues are connected to the reasons why the proposal of constitutional reform, containing the legal bases of what Chávez calls Socialism of the 21st century, was rejected in a national referendum on Dec. 2, 2007.

The outcome of the referendum in Venezuela indicates that a sizeable portion of the electoral basis of chavismo did not approve of Chávez’s constitutional reform. Whereas in 2006 President Chávez was elected with 62.84% of votes (7,309,080 votes), his 2007 reform proposal only obtained 49.3% of votes (4,379,392) according to figures of the National Electoral Council. This represents a 40% drop of his 2006 electoral share. While some of these voters decided to cast a NO vote for the reform, the majority likely abstained. The ensuing question is why is it that some former Chávez supporters did not approve his latest reform proposal?

Although no single factor can explain the level of rejection among former Chávez supporters, I suggest, that one of the key factors is the rupture of a vital bond between the leadership of Chávez and popular sectors: the breakdown of the promise of participatory democracy implied in the constitutional reform proposal.

In 1998, when Chávez was elected for the first time as president, he rapidly sought to replace the model of representative democracy installed in Venezuela since 1958 with a model of participatory democracy. The promise of participatory democracy, which was eventually sanctioned in the new Constitution approved in 1999, constituted a cornerstone of Chavez’s ambitious political project, the Bolivarian Revolution.

However, the idea of participatory democracy is not the exclusive property of the chavista movement. In the 1970s and 1980s, a growing, heterogeneous grassroots movement effectively used a diverse repertoire of societal and political activities to reach its goals of greater participation in the decision-making process at the local, state, and national levels, ultimately bringing administrative and political decentralization to Venezuela. Later, under the effervescence of the victorious Bolivarian project, a renewed grassroots movement actively participated in the Constitutional Assembly convened in 1999 to draft the new constitution. The majority of proposals included in the new constitution came from social organizations whose values were consistent with the Bolivarian project.

After almost a decade since the Bolivarian revolution, students of civil society stress the heterogeneous nature of chavista social and political organizations. This heterogeneity is vital to understand the electoral fate of Chavez’s proposed constitutional reform. On one side, there are social organizations created from above and highly dependent on the state. One of the most emblematic of such organizations is Círculos Bolivarianos, described by Chávez as an essential mechanism for the implementation of participatory democracy. Originally, Círculos Bolivarianos were supposed to work on community problems concerning education, health, and other social

Dr. Peter Rohloff and Ixkamey (Magda Sotz Mux) walk down the street in Chiq’a’l (San Juan Comalapa). Ixkamey is one of the field managers and will visit CLACS/Spurlock this spring.

women to deliver babies in hospitals and demonize indigenous practices, the current health care system cannot provide enough resources. Moreover, indigenous women trust their local midwives and their traditional practices more.

Rohloff has also developed bilingual resources on the safe and effective use of traditional and herbal remedies, as well as nutrition and self-care, a matter of great importance in this region, where chemical and allopathic remedies are used usually only secondarily. He started a Kaqchikel-language diabetes clinic in Santiago Sacatepéquez, where he and three local doctors provide home- and community-based supportive therapy and instruction in nutrition, foot care, and the like, as well as furnishing financial support for blood glucose monitoring and the purchase of oral hypoglycemic agents.

Rohloff’s commitment to practice medicine in indigenous communities and improve their lives is worth of recognition. We are proud and happy CLACS played a small role in helping Rohloff start such a notable and important work.
Focus on Venezuela

issues. But as the political crisis intensified in Venezuela in 2002-2004, these organizations proved to be very effective in mobilizing political support from the popular sectors. Other pro-government organizations have mushroomed around specific social programs or misiones sociales (Misión Barrio Adentro, Misión Robison I and II, Mercal) that have formed a vast network of clientelism that is instrumental in addressing some of the needs of these sectors, while assuring political support.

On the other side of the chavista field, social organizations—some of them existing prior to the arrival of Chávez to power—such as Comités de Tierras, Mesas Técnicas de Agua, Consejos Comunitarios de Agua—focus on social rather than political issues, and strive to maintain their own identity and autonomy from Chávez, his party, and the state bureaucracy.

A major development concerning the relation between state and civil society, and the future of participatory democracy refers to the establishment of the Popular Power, whose central elements are represented by the consejos comunales. The Ley de Consejos Comunales approved in March 2006 defines these organizations as units formed by a group of families that should act as means of articulation and integration of disparate community organizations toward assuring that people participate in public policy. These new community organizations would be the last link in a complex network of state organizations aiming to achieve greater inclusion of the citizens in the formulation, administration and control of public policies. According to the law, however, the consejos comunales are highly dependent on the executive power, and more specifically on the Presidential Commission for the Popular Power (CPPP) where they must register (and therefore be recognized as legitimate community organizations) and present the proposals related to their community and local needs. At the end, it is the CPPP, and Chávez who decide on the financing of resources for these projects. Thus, as the law is conceived, rather than people’s empowerment, these programs may promote clientelism, limiting in this manner the idea of autonomous participatory democracy.

The development of participatory democracy logically implies societal autonomy vis-à-vis the state and greater power dispersion. In contradiction with this premise, Chávez’s proposal would have introduced profound political changes—in addition to major changes in the country’s economic organization—such as greater power concentration (including elimination of term limits for the presidential office), re-centralization of the state, geopolitical restructuration, and configuration of the Popular Power conceived as a new, and non-autonomous, structure of the state. The content of the proposal of constitutional reform would have concentrated rather than democratized power, and a majority of Venezuelans understood so. The promise of a better democracy rooted on the principle of the people’s participation in politics and public policy has been at stake in Venezuela sociopolitical dynamics since the 1970s, and it was a key factor in Chávez’s history of electoral success. His attempt to depart from this principle contributed to his first electoral defeat.

Movie Review ‘Puedo Hablar: May I Speak?’

By Cristóbal Valencia Ramírez
Ph.D. Student in Anthropology

In October, CLACS screened the film “Puedo Hablar: May I Speak” a documentary about the 2006 presidential election in Venezuela. “Puedo Hablar” is shot from the hip, moving from the backseat of a taxi to the academic and media offices of well-known Venezuelan scholars and social commentators.

Director and co-producer Christopher Moore introduced the film explaining that it intended to present multiple opinions in an unbiased and straightforward manner about social and political changes that have polarized Venezuela. Moore said the film was shot with a total crew of three persons (Sol Productions) a week after receiving their undergraduate degrees from Trinity College.

The film was edited at the Berkeley public library in order to make use of public computer resources and save on energy bills at home.

Audience members critiqued the film for some oversights in subtitling that altered the meaning of some of the commentary. “Puedo Hablar,” like other popular documentaries about Venezuela, continue to represent Chávez supporters as spontaneous masses in the streets to the detriment of deeper understandings of the grassroots collective organizing taking place across the country. “Puedo Hablar” is a testament to the difficulties of taking the focus off Chávez and putting it on popular mobilization.
Erin O’Rourke is Assistant professor of Hispanic Linguistics at the University of Pittsburgh. Before living in Pennsylvania, she spent several years in the plains as an undergraduate and later Ph.D. student at the University of Illinois.

CLACS caught up with her via e-mail.

CLACS: You have studied and compared Aymara and Quechua. What attracted you to indigenous Latin American languages?

O’Rourke: I wanted to study languages that were spoken bilingually by Spanish speakers so that I could see how these languages interact with Spanish. Also, I wanted to study languages that were genetically unrelated to Spanish.

CLACS: What is your favorite topic to teach?

O’Rourke: I enjoy teaching Hispanic linguistics courses and courses related to the sound system of a language, including phonetics and phonology. Most recently, I have taught courses in Hispanic sociolinguistics, History of the Spanish Language, and a course on Language Policy and the Education of Linguistic Minorities with Christina Bratt Paulston at the University of Pittsburgh.

CLACS: What would be your best advice to students who want to pursue teaching?

O’Rourke: My advice is to consider teaching a skill that develops over time. It is important to seek out new teaching experiences, but also to pursue training and feedback as you go along so that whatever ability you start with, you can always add to and improve upon. Teaching is a practice.

CLACS: What would you say is your greatest accomplishment?

O’Rourke: I am most happy with the fact that I still enjoy the path I have chosen. I believe it is an accomplishment to try to figure out who you are and what your interests are, and then to take the risks and accept the challenges necessary to pursue your goals. I like imagining what would be the ideal opportunity, and then trying to make it happen.

CLACS: What professors played a role in shaping your academic training and what did you learn from them?

O’Rourke: My interest in indigenous language research was developed through the Hispanic sociolinguistics classes taken with Anna María Escobar, the field methods classes on Aymara offered by José Ignacio Hualde in conjunction with Elabas Bennamoun and Jennifer Cole, and the Quechua classes with Clodoaldo Soto. These professors helped me to learn how to investigate a language, including the techniques of data collection and analysis, and how to work consistently on long-term projects. I also feel very fortunate for the support awarded through grants and scholarships from the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies and the Graduate College to participate in research and study abroad programs in Peru and Bolivia.

CLACS: What is your favorite U of I memory? What do you miss?

O’Rourke: One of my hobbies is playing music, including folk music. I played flute in the U of I bands and the Russian Folk Orchestra during my undergraduate years at Illinois. I participated in the Andean Ethnomusicology Performance Ensemble in the School of Music as a graduate student, and have even taken Andean folk music classes in Chicago, Cuzco (Peru) and Cochabamba (Bolivia). I like the idea of learning something (non-linguistic) related to the culture or language that you’re studying because it provides another way to interact with people from a particular area.

CLACS: What are your plans for the future?

O’Rourke: I have recently begun to collect data in the Amazonian region of Ecuador. I hope to continue to conduct research on Quechua and Spanish in the Andean region and compare the outcomes of language contact in the different Andean countries.
Now, second-generation evangélicos are taking on political positions at all levels. Marta ran twice for the position of councilwoman. Though she loves to sing religious songs about heaven, she is not alone in claiming that here is “where we need to fight” to resolve social, political, and economic problems.

Half a century ago, this land was an hacienda, one of many large landed estates that contributed to the province’s infamous history of indigenous labor exploitation. Marta’s parents lived nearby as “free Indians.” In the 1950s, at a time of great poverty and discrimination, Marta’s father was one of the first to convert from Catholicism to Protestantism. Though persecuted for his new beliefs initially, a mass conversion of indigenous people followed in the 1960s and 1970s, coinciding with Ecuador’s agrarian reform. Today, the missionaries are followed in the 1960s and 1970s, coinciding with Ecuador’s agrarian reform. Today, the missionaries are.

Before going to Chimborazo, I attended Otavalo’s Inti Raimi (Sun Festival), where townsmen dressed in costume, danced, and drank chicha (corn fermented beverage). However, activities like these are banned in Colta. First generation converts had to give up all cultural practices deemed “sinful.” Though this impacted local traditions considerably, not all aspects of indigenous identity were condemned; folks still wear traditional dress, speak Kichwa, and do collective labor (minga). In the community, I noted how pre-evangelical practices are reconstituted in religious settings. At a wedding, where chicha would traditionally have been served, the host served Coke out of a bucket instead. He scooped Coke into each person’s cup, but as a joke he sometimes chugged down the drink himself, much in the same fashion as I had just seen in a fiesta in Otavalo. Marta and Juan credit their parents for planting the seeds of evangelicalism, as they have reaped the benefits, like education and domestic tranquility. They acknowledge the “freedom” from moral vices that “receiving Jesus” signifies. However, they fault the first generation for “blindly” adhering to what the missionaries preached and condemned. Marta has wondered: “Why did they [the first generation] listen to the gringos and accept everything they said as the truth? Why didn’t we relate it [the religion] to pachamama [mother earth]? Why didn’t we relate it to human rights, knowing that we were oppressed?” Marta and Juan believe their more educated perspective enables them to be more critical, saving them from being “slaves” to the church as they feel their parents were because of their illiteracy.

In the community’s past, evangelical Protestantism was instrumental in curbing domestic violence due to the strict prohibition of alcohol. At the same time, fundamentalist missionaries stipulated that women must be submissive to their husband and silent in meetings. Today, key Bible passages are used to justify limited leadership roles for women in the church. First generation converts, especially pastors, tend to reproduce these ideas, but Marta has spent her life’s work contesting such notions. For the past 20 years, she has given workshops for women on gender equality using Biblical reflections. Like most community members, I did a lot of traveling back and forth between the community and...
An indigenous evangelical church near Colta Lake.

Born in the Cradle of Evangelicalism: A Tinker Report from Ecuador

The workshop showcases graduate students’ travel research in Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula. Supported by a grant from the Tinker Foundation, the program is designed to encourage preliminary travel and exploratory fieldwork by graduate students in any field who are in the process of defining their future research and/or PhD proposals.

Carolina Sternberg, Geography
Neoliberal Governance in Buenos Aires: Some Elements of Discussion

Ana Vivancos, Comp. Literature
Problems of Representation of Homosexuality and Transsexuality in the Spanish Press between 1975 and 1980

Evelina Jagminaite, Agricultural and Consumer Economics
Linking Agricultural Production Systems with Changes in Ecology and Disease Dynamics in Tropical Environments: The Case of Para, Brazil

Claire Baldeck, Biological Ecology and Evolutionary Biology
Leaf Chemistry to Soil Nutrients on Barro Colorado Island, Panama

Andy Eisen, History
Unwanted Citizens: International Racial Exclusions along the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1920-1954

Christa Olson, English
Images and Absences: Research Depictions of Urban Indigenous Laborers in Late 19th Century Quito

Kathleen O’Brien, Anthropology
Second Generation Indigenous Evangelical Leaders in Chimborazo, Ecuador: Negotiating Indigenous, Gender, and Religious Identities

Ashlee McLaughlin, Urban and Regional Planning
Land Tenure Study in Xalapa, Veracruz, Mexico

Maria del Mar Lopez Soria, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese
Working against the Odds: Female Workers and Their Representation in Spanish Magazines (1931-1960)

In contrast to Marta and Juan, these indigenous theologians affiliate themselves with the Catholic sector of the indigenous movement like CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), as well as the political party Pachakutik, not Amauta Yuyay. For this reason, many church leaders disparage progresistas, calling them “liberals” and “heretics.”

The way second-generation evangelicals talk about and live their identities is anything but uniform across Chimborazo. However, there seems to be a collective concern about the third generation. The children of second-generation converts are thought to be losing their evangelical identity altogether, “returning to what it was like before,” meaning that they drink alcohol and do not understand the Word of God. Their indigenous identity is also in crisis due to migration and technology. Marta and Juan’s two teenage children speak little Kichwa. They prefer Christian Reggaeton and Western-style clothes. Will the fears of the second generation be realized or will the third generation transform the religion in a different way, as their parents and grandparents did before them? Evangelical indigenous religiosity in Chimborazo is dynamic and its future is difficult to gauge. My project will take me back someday.
Merle L. Bowen (Political Science/African Studies) organized a panel, Latin America’s Shifting Landscape of Citizenship and Exclusion: Ethnicity, SocialMovements and the State, for LASA 2007. She presented a paper with Gabriel Mathy (Economics, UC-Davis), Beyond Images: Gaps in the Research on Brazil’s Contemporary Quilombo Communities.

Anna Maria Escobar (Span, Ital, and Port) received a Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities grant (with Zsuzsanne Fagyal, French) to organize the Dynamics of Language and Dialect Contact reading group. Recent publications include: On the Development of Contact Varieties: The Case of Andean Spanish, in Spanish in Contact, ed. by Potowski / Cameron (Benjamins); Performative verbs in Spanish monolingual and bilingual colonial court documents, in Romance Linguistics 2006, ed. by Ca-macho / Flores-Ferrán / Sánchez / Déperez / Cabrera (Benjamins); Migración, contacto de lenguas encubierto y difusión de variantes lingüísticas, Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana 17 (Vervuert/Iberoamericana).


Ellen Moodie (Anthropology) received a 2008 Wenner-Gren Foundation International Conference Grant for the workshop, After the Handshakes: Rethinking Democracy and Living Transition in Central America, co-organized with Jenniffer Burrell (SUNY-Albany).

Cynthia Oliver (Dance) won a Rockefeller Multi-Arts -Production award, U of I Research Board and Creative Research awards for the production of new dance theatre work Rigidigidim De Bamba De: Ruptured Calypso to premiere in Philadelphia’s Painted Bride Arts Center in 2009. Oliver was also invited to perform with Bebe Miller Company on a new work entitled “Necessary Beauty.”


Ryan Shosted (Linguistics) received a Research Board Grant entitled Documentation of the Q’anjo’bal Language.


Robert L. Thompson (Agricultural & Consumer Economics) was interviewed on the expansion of soybean in Brazil and Brazil’s future as a global breadbasket by CNBC for a 15-minute segment on “Business Nation” to be broadcast in April and for a one-hour documentary.

Angharad Valdivia (Communications Research) was an invited participant, funded by the Ford Foundation and representing Chilean children’s television, to the Geena Davis Institute on Gender and the Media held in Los Angeles Jan 28-31. Valdivia also edited the book Latina/o Communication Studies Today, Peter Lang Pub Inc.

Edna Viruell-Fuentes (Latino/a Studies) published Beyond Acculturation: Immigration, Discrimination, and Health Research among Mexicans in the United States in Social Science and Medicine, 65 (7).

New Faculty

Jovita Baber is Assistant Professor of History. Baber specializes in the legal and social history of Colonial Latin America and the early modern Iberian world. Her research focuses on the development of the social, political and legal apparatus governing the Iberian world, and the unique contributions of native people (Native Americans, Africans and Asians) as they acted in and on the developing imperial system. Challenging the notion that empire was imposed on native people, she shows how native people acted—albeit as unequal partners—and contributed to the construction of the empire. Her research has been supported by the National Science Foundation, Fulbright-Hays, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, American Philosophical Society and John Carter Brown Library. Baber received her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

Lisa J. Lucero is Associate Professor of Anthropology. Lucero’s long-term interests revolve around political systems and ritual histories, which have shaped the Valley of Peace Archaeology (VOPA) research project from 1997 through 2003, where fieldwork concentrated on collecting ritual data at two Maya centers in Belize—Saturday Creek (c. 900 B.C.-A.D. 1500), a minor river center, and the major center of Yalbac (c. 300 B.C.-A.D. 900). A NSF grant funded the 2001 season, which resulted in her 2006 book In Water and Ritual: The Rise and Fall of Classic Maya Rulers. Her field goals for the next seasons include the collection of data from the six temples at Yalbac in central Belize. She holds a Ph.D. and M.A. from UCLA.

Marcela Raffaelli is Professor of Human and Community Development. Previously, she was at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln (UNL), where she had a joint appointment in the Department of Psychology and the Institute for Ethnic Studies (Latino & Latin American Studies). Her research and teaching focus on sociocultural influences on child and adolescent development. One of her major areas of interest is the developmental impact of poverty and homelessness; much of this work focuses on Brazil. At UNL, Raffaelli taught a seminar entitled “Health and development in Latin America” that explored how macro factors (e.g., urbanization, income inequality, political violence) affected child development. She has a long-standing collaboration with scholars at the Center for the Psychological Study of Street Youth at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil.

Gilberto Rosas is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Latina/o Studies. He holds a doctorate in Anthropology from the University of Texas and multiple fellowships. His first project concerns the production of criminality among a population of street youth in Nogales, Arizona and Nogales, Sonora in the context of a seeming paradox: vast undocumented border crossings and intensified militarized border policing. His new project will track the transnational effects of the immigrant rights social movements. He has published in Aztlan, La Jornada, Latino Studies, and Social Text, and other journals. He is also the co-editor of a volume of Cultural Dynamics on Post-9/11 policing and empire.

Ryan Shosted is Assistant Professor of Linguistics and Director of the Illinois Phonetics and Phonology Laboratory. He has published articles on speech aerodynamics, acoustics, and perception, with a particular emphasis on Brazilian Portuguese. Shosted is a graduate of UC Berkeley (2006) and spent a post-doctoral year at UC San Diego before coming to Illinois. A former Fulbright Fellow, Shosted conducted linguistic fieldwork on the Tshwa-Ronga group while at the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo, Mozambique. He is currently undertaking an extensive documentation project on Q’anjob’al, a Mayan language of Guatemala.

Edna Viruell-Fuentes is Assistant Professor of Latino/a Studies. Her health disparities research seeks to unravel the complex relationships between immigration and health. Based on her research in immigrant communities, she has proposed several conceptual re-directions to immigrant health research. She is testing these ideas in her quantitative work and conducting a project to examine the (health) impacts of migration in Mexican immigrant-sending communities. She is the co-author of several publications on community-based participatory research. In addition, she is the author of ‘My heart is always there’: The Transnational Practices of First-generation Mexican Immigrant and Second-generation Mexican American Women, Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 13(July-September 2006). She holds an M.P.H. from the University of North Carolina and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. She completed a Yerby-Kellogg Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Harvard School of Public Health.
Out of Bounds
Islands and the Demarcation of Identity in the Hispanic Caribbean
Dara E. Goldman
Bucknell University Press

Faculty Interview

A professor emeritus in the Department of Anthropology, Norman E. Whitten Jr. specializes in cultures and societies of indigenous peoples of South America and African Diaspora studies. In addition to research and travel in Colombia and Peru, he has spent about a third of his time since 1961 doing active research in Ecuador (coast, Andes, and Amazonia). Since 1968, his ethnographic and historical research has been joint with his spouse, Dorothea Scott Whitten, a research associate of CLACS. He has written or edited 26 books and monographs (several joint with his wife), many dozens of articles and book chapters, and has directed 40 doctoral dissertations and served on well over 100 doctoral committees and he currently edits the book series Interpretations of Culture in the New Millennium for the University of Illinois Press. The Whittens have also curated and mounted 20 exhibitions of indigenous art in the U.S. and Ecuador. He is the past head of the Department of Anthropology, past director of CLACS, and has served on or chaired many committees of LAS and the Graduate College.

CLACS: How did you become interested in Latin America? What attracted you to this area of studies?
Whitten: My interests have long been in both Latin America and the Caribbean, not just “Latin America.” Late in my undergraduate years (1958-59) I became interested in expanding Afro-American Studies to regions where indigenous people also lived; this took me to readings on Latin America in general, and specifically to Central and South America. I first traveled to Ecuador as a graduate student with National Institute of Mental Health funding in 1961 to begin ethnography with the Afro-Ecuadorian population in the northwest coast and after more research in Colombia and Maritime Canada became “hooked” on longitudinal research in the multicultural country of Ecuador by 1968.

CLACS: How has Latin American Studies changed since you came to U of I? What’s better and what’s worse?
Whitten: As an undergraduate at Colgate University (1955-59) I was influenced by John Longyear (Latin America), and in graduate school at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (1959-64) by John Gulick (Middle East), John J. Honigmann (Northern North America), and Charles J. Erasmus (South America). I read broadly in social structure and culture change; I cannot come up with specific works back in the 1960s.

CLACS: Who and what works influenced you?
Whitten: When I came here in 1970 Latin American Studies was divorced from Caribbean Studies, and I was interested in both regions. Afro-Latin Americans were not part of Latin American Studies, in spite of the pioneering work by such scholars as Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán in Mexico and Robert Cooper West in
Norman E. Whitten Jr.

Colombia. Studies of indigenous peoples and studies of Afro-Latin Americans, such as they were, never intersected, and Andean and Amazonian Studies were pretty much divorced from one another. Today these dichotomies and research silences are being addressed, bit-by-bit. In the American Anthropological Association, there was no Latin American Studies section in the 1970s, nor had the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) formed. We now have a dynamic Society for Latin American and Caribbean Studies in anthropology as well as the Latin American Studies Association.

CLACS: What are the major challenges for further developing Latin American Studies?

Whitten: Breaking the stereotype now common among funding agencies and some university administrators that “globalization” and “international studies” must replace “area studies.” The challenge is to understand specific areas of Latin America and the Caribbean in terms of interethnic-intercultural localities and in terms of global pressures and opportunities. Area Studies and Globalization Studies must achieve a dynamic complementarity in the eyes of those outside of our fields as well as within our fields; this is a major challenge.

CLACS: How do you construct a transnational perspective of indigenous Latin America?

Whitten: Indigenous people are forming what are often called “nationalities” that cross national boundaries. To understand this dynamic phenomenon one must read the literature of and about indigenous people in different countries, regions, economic circumstances and political situations while listening with care to indigenous people in various walks of life. Study of documents of conquest, colonial rule, republicanism and building of modern nation-states vis-à-vis the silencing of indigenous voices is a critical component of understanding. Equal attention to Afro-Latin American people, among others engaged in multicultural and intercultural experiences in their local, regional, national, diasporic, and global dimensions is essential.

CLACS: What do you consider your greatest achievement?

Whitten: Demonstrating ways by which ethnography is a theory-constructive endeavor in Afro-Latin American and indigenous Latin American cultures and social systems. This involves communication in various media of the ways by which local-level imagery and macro-power structures merge and diverge to create otherwise unforeseen events.

CLACS: You established a non-profit in the Amazon Ecuador whose proceeds go to a medical-care delivery program that serves indigenous people. Please tell me why you created this organization, and what attracted you to this region.

Whitten: Dorothea Scott Whitten and I created the Sacha Runa Research Foundation in 1975 in response to the felt and expressed needs of indigenous people with whom we have done ethnographic and historic research since 1968. The foundation serves people in 19 diverse communities in a very broad rain-forest—riverine Upper Amazonian territory stretching throughout most of Pastaza Province, Ecuador, and includes participants from Canelos Quichua, Napo Runa, Andoa, Záparo, Shuar, Achuar, Shiwiar, and Waorani cultures. The attraction to the region is the multicultural and intercultural system of indigenous peoples that offers endless sources of research material among dynamic individuals, groups, and communities.

CLACS: How can students and staff help Sacha Runa?

Whitten: The foundation is funded primarily through an annual pre-Christmas sale and occasional contributions. Help with information flow about the foundation is most welcome.

CLACS: You retired a few years ago but continue to be a prolific scholar. What has your retirement been like? What have you been working on?

Whitten: Moving to emeritus status in late August 2003 altered my scholarship only by relieving me from the joint tasks of administration and formal teaching at graduate and undergraduate levels. Work with my wife and co-researcher, Dorothea Scott Whitten, and with advanced students, is a major contributor to sustained research and publication. Sibby (Dorothea Scott Whitten) and I have just published Puyo Runa: Imagery and Power in Modern Amazonia (University of Illinois Press), and are working on shamanic themes in Ecuadorian art and imagery. We continue our longitudinal ethnography on intercultural and cultural transformations in Amazonian and Andean Ecuador, endeavoring to set such local and regional research in national, diasporic, and global dimensions.

CLACS: And finally, what do you hope your students took from your teachings?

Whitten: A strong sense of the ways by which committed ethnography is theory constructive, and appreciative of the multiple and productive interfaces among ethnography, literature, history, and area studies.
In the fall of 2007, CLACS launched two programs: CLACS Speakers Bureau and CLACS Outreach Library.

CLACS Speakers Bureau connects teachers with U of I faculty and graduate students who are available to talk about Latin America and the Caribbean in K-14 schools. Schools, and libraries as well, have contacted us about presentations on the topic they need or view the list of possible topics on our Web site.

CLACS Outreach Library is our first outreach library with the goal of assisting teachers with K-12 materials on Latin America and the Caribbean. Teachers may place their selection online or make an appointment with us at their most convenient time to look at the materials in person.

Both services are free of charge as they are funded by the U.S. Department of Education.

Our goal is that when the community thinks of learning more about Latin America and the Caribbean, they think of us. For more information on our outreach component, visit CLACS on the Web at http://www.clacs.uiuc.edu/outreach/.

A Ph.D. student in Geography, Carolina Sternberg, discussed the military dictatorship in Argentina with an honors Spanish class at Central High in Champaign on Jan. 7.
Brown Bag Lecture Series Spring 2008
Brown Bags are on Thursdays at noon at 101 International Studies Bldg.

TH January 24
Markus Schulz, Department of Sociology, U of I
Media, Power and Mobilization: The Zapatista Movement, 1994-2008

TH January 31
Jovita Baber, Department of History, U of I
Interpreting Conquest and Colonialism: Native Allies, Rights and Rhetoric in Spanish Imperial Courts

TH February 7
Ellen Moodie, Department of Anthropology, UIUC
'Adventure Time' in San Salvador: Care and Temporality in Millennial Crime Stories

MO February 11, 5:30 p.m. Room 62, Krannert Art Museum
Adam Herring, Department of Art History, Southern Methodist University
Inka Light

TH February 14
Catherine Bechtoldt, Ph.D. Student, School of Integrative Biology, UIUC
Conservation in the Central Brazilian Amazon: Views from a Gringa Biologist Based in Manaus

TH February 28
Anita Bravo, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, UIUC
Commerce, Culture and Colonial Social Order in the Plaza: The Marketplace in Mexico City, 1765-1829

TU March 4 Room 201, International Studies Building
Molly Doane, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Chicago
From Mexico to the Midwest: The Structure of Meaning in the Fair Trade Coffee System

TH March 6
Ulises Zevallos Aguilar, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Ohio State University
Gestion Cultural en los Andes. Literatura Quechua Hoy

TH March 13
Luciano Tosta, Department of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, UIUC
Tradition and Innovation in Contemporary Capoeira Songs

TH March 27
Eduardo Herrera, Ph.D. Student, Musicology, U of I
Composing Peripheries: Musical Creation and Power in Latin America

FR March 28 Campbell Lobby, Spurlock Museum
Inauguration of the Art Exhibition (March 25 - June 8)
Qak’aslem, Qakem: Kaqchikel Maya Weavings

WED April 2
Friederich Katz, Department of History, University of Chicago
The United States and the Overthrow of the First Democratic Government of Mexico in 1913

TH April 3
Gilberto Rosas, Department of Anthropology and Latino/a Studies, U of I
Title TBA

TH APRIL 3-5
Third Annual Midwest Workshop of Latin American History

FR APRIL 4-10 Boardman’s Art Theatre, Champaign
2nd Annual Latin American Film Festival

TH April 17
Brodwyn Fisher, Department of History, Northwestern University
Title TBA

TH April 24
Ryan Shosted, Department of Linguistics, U of I
Linguistic Structures of Q’anjob’al, a Mayan Language of Guatemala

A lecture by a Jovita Baber, new faculty, on Jan. 31.
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