

TRANSLATED ABSTRACTS

OLD HABITS DIE HARD: POLITICAL PATRONAGE AND REMITTANCE-LED DEVELOPMENT IN GUANAJUATO, MEXICO

Benjamin James Waddell

RESUMEN: Este estudio analiza el efecto de las remesas colectivas en la promoción de la democracia en México, durante el periodo de descentralización política. En particular, se examina cómo el programa “3 × 1 para Migrantes” condiciona políticas municipales en el estado de Guanajuato, México. Para este propósito, se analizan las tendencias de inversiones del programa 3 × 1 en los cuarenta y seis municipios guanajuatenses, durante el periodo 2002–2011. Los resultados de este estudio indican que bajo las condiciones adecuadas, las remesas canalizadas por el programa 3 × 1 estimulan la participación electoral, y, de esa manera, tienen la capacidad de contribuir a avances democráticos. Sin embargo, las tendencias de los datos también indican que las inversiones del 3 × 1 mantienen una correlación positiva con los ciclos electorales, lo que sugiere que las autoridades locales usan el programa 3 × 1 para obtener apoyo electoral. En ese sentido, el análisis cuestiona el fenómeno de consolidación democrática a nivel municipal en el estado de Guanajuato.

EL DEBATE SOBRE MIGRACIÓN Y DESARROLLO: EVIDENCIAS Y APORTES DESDE AMÉRICA LATINA

Alejandro I. Canales

ABSTRACT: The migration-development relationship is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. However, the debate has been dominated by the views of receiving countries and international organizations. Migration takes on different meanings and political significance from the perspectives of migrant-sending or migrant-receiving countries. In the first case, migration is considered an opportunity to enhance processes of economic and social development. For destination countries, however, the immigration issue focuses on analysis of the social, economic, and political problems of mass immigration, especially given the high proportion of undocumented migrants. In this article I provide analytical and empirical information that helps us to visualize various aspects of the migration-development relationship that remain invisible in this debate. To do this, I focus on the analysis of Latin American immigration to the United States in recent decades. Specifically, I present statistical data around three aspects that seem particularly relevant: the structural causes of international migration, the contributions of Latin American immigrants to the economy and demography of the United States, and the costs and impacts of migration on source countries in Latin America.

AN ORIENTAL ENCOUNTER: INTERCULTURALITY, AWE, AND EQUIVOCAL COMPATIBILITY AT THE EGYPTIAN COPTIC MISSION OF SANTA CRUZ DE LA SIERRA

Jean-Philippe Belleau

RESUMEN: Una iglesia étnica del Oriente Medio, sin tradición misionera, ha crecido en la última década hasta varios cientos de feligreses en Santa Cruz de la Sierra, en Bolivia. Usando métodos antropológicos y etnográficos, este artículo aborda la conversión y el proselitismo como un encuentro intercultural y muestra que la intercul-

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turalidad, si está marcada por la subjetividad, equívocos, culturalismo y efimeralidad, también representa un fenómeno caracterizado por la seducción de los símbolos, la apropiación mutua y la inclusión. Damos atención especial al papel de la belleza asignada y del estupor en la constitución del significado, y mostramos que la compartida inteligencia relacional y seguridad emocional proporcionada por los sacerdotes permiten de superar las distorsiones semióticos.

A LA DERIVA: VIDA COTIDIANA Y VIOLENCIA EN HUITZILAC,
MORELOS, MÉXICO

Margarita Estrada-Iguíniz

ABSTRACT: Mexico is immersed in a process characterized by increased armed violence. However, this is not the only form of violence experienced in the villages. The article discusses three forms of violence that have worsened the lives of the citizens of Huitzilac, Mexico. These forms are, first, the local presence of people engaged in criminal activities such as robbery, kidnapping, and murder; second, the signing of international trade treaties that caused the disappearance of manufacturing activity; and third, insecurity of land tenure, as part of a process of manipulation of agricultural legislation.

THE GLOBAL SOUTH IN THE BELLY OF THE BEAST: VIEWING AFRICAN
AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS THROUGH A TRICONTINENTAL LENS

Anne Garland Mahler

RESUMEN: En enero de 1966, los delegados que representaban a los movimientos de liberación de ochenta y dos naciones se reunieron en el Congreso Tricontinental, celebrado en la Habana, Cuba, para formar una alianza contra el imperialismo. Esta alianza, la Organización de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de África, Asia, y América Latina (OSPAAAL), se convirtió rápidamente en la fuerza impulsora del radicalismo político internacional y el motor de su producción cultural en el mundo. Como se argumenta en este trabajo, este influyente movimiento político, que sorprendentemente se ha estudiado poco, constituye la base ideológica de conceptualizaciones contemporáneas de subalternidad global como la noción del Sur Global. Mediante el análisis del *Boletín Tricontinental* y de un noticiero de Santiago Álvarez titulado *Now* (1965), se examina aquí como la OSPAAAL, debido a su diálogo con el Movimiento por los Derechos Civiles Afroamericanos, presenta una teoría de resistencia política subalterna que resurge en la actualidad en la noción contemporánea del Sur Global.

LAS ENCUESTAS DE OPINIÓN PÚBLICA EN CHILE ANTES DE 1973

Patricio Navia y Rodrigo Osorio

ABSTRACT: Using data from polls conducted in Chile by Eduardo Hamuy before the democratic breakdown of 1973, we question the alleged ideological rigidity of the center. We show that after 1964, identification with the left increased, but identification with the center and right did not vary. Eduardo Frei had a strong and stable approval during his presidential term, as did Salvador Allende. For every one Chilean who was optimistic about the country, there were three pessimists. Pessimism increased in the months before the coup. However, those who believed the future would be better were consistently more numerous than those who believed the future would be worse, even in the months before September 1973. Although those on the left were more optimistic,

one out of three identified with the right or center was also optimistic about the future. The Chilean population in general was less polarized than the elite in particular.

PROTESTANT GROWTH AND CHANGE IN EL SALVADOR: TWO DECADES OF SURVEY EVIDENCE

Patricia B. Christian, Michael Gent y Timothy H. Wadkins

RESUMEN: Este estudio, usando los datos de tres encuestas sobre la religión en El Salvador de 1988 a 2009, investiga los cambios en características demográficas, creencias y prácticas religiosas, y actitudes políticas de Salvadoreños durante su transformación desde la guerra civil hasta una democracia y la participación en la economía global. También, investiga este estudio la transformación de la gente, una población que se afilia cada vez más a iglesias protestantes —principalmente iglesias evangélicas y pentecostales. Durante las dos décadas que abarcan por nuestro estudio, la población protestante ha llegado a ser menos claramente distinguida de la mayoría católica en cuanto a educación, ingresos, ocupaciones, e incluso creencias políticas —mientras esta población protestante se ha quedado totalmente distinguida en cuanto a sus creencias y prácticas religiosas. Este estudio —a diferencia de muchas investigaciones previas— nos permite hacer comparaciones de una década a otra entre los católicos practicantes y no practicantes, además de los protestantes y los que no se identifican con ninguna religión.

COMPETENCIA POLÍTICA Y GASTO PARTICULARISTA DE LOS GOBIERNOS SUBNACIONALES EN MÉXICO Y ARGENTINA

María Alejandra Armesto

ABSTRACT: The existing hypotheses about the relationship between political competition and particularistic spending predict opposite consequences. One view suggests that political competition—divided government—constrains the executive and reduces particularism; the opposite perspective predicts greater particularism as a result of side payments in exchange for legislative support. Both hypotheses rest on the assumption, which is not always true, that partisan veto players are present in the legislature. This article argues that this assumption is crucial for both hypotheses and shows that where this condition is not met the predictions do not hold. The article explores the effects of government with and without a majority on particularistic spending where legislatures are institutionally weak. To do so, it analyzes spending on local public goods by subnational governments in Mexico and Argentina and shows that government without a majority does not lead to any of the results anticipated by existing models.

ACCESSING SCARCE RESOURCES IN THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON: VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND SECURE LAND TITLE

Peter Taylor Klein

RESUMO: Este artigo se baseia na literatura acadêmica sobre os direitos de propriedade e o associativismo na América Latina durante e após as transições democráticas. O artigo avalia a participação em associações voluntárias como uma determinante de posse de títulos de terra. Utilizando dados de *survey* sobre propriedades rurais nos arredores de Santarém, Pará, descreve quem participa em associações voluntárias e, principalmente, visando determinar se a participação em grupos específicos é relacionada com a posse de títulos de terra, um recurso importante e escasso na Amazônia

brasileira. Essa análise quantitativa mostra que proprietários que participam de sindicatos com origens corporativistas e controladas pelo estado têm maior probabilidade de possuir os títulos de suas terras do que os proprietários que não participam. Essa variação sistemática é relevante no contexto amazônico de expansão da soja, da transição de uma agricultura de subsistência para a agricultura mecanizada de larga escala, e do aumento subsequente do valor da terra.

COMUNICAÇÃO, CULTURA E POLÍTICA NAS RÁDIOS DO PODER LEGISLATIVO
NO BRASIL: IDENTIDADE E PERFIL DA PROGRAMAÇÃO DA RÁDIO SENADO
E DA RÁDIO CÂMARA

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Sílvia Mugnatto Macedo*

ABSTRACT: This article discusses the programming and political-institutional identity of radio stations maintained by the Brazilian legislative branch (Rádio Senado and Rádio Câmara) from a perspective of public communication as an interface between culture and democracy. The hypothesis that inspired the study is that these stations, despite being created in 1998, are heirs of a tradition of educational radio in Brazil that started in 1920. It concludes that this heritage persists with a new approach focusing on education for democracy and citizenship. However, the traditional standard of political communication continues to be based on the unilateral power of the state to decide what citizens must know and how education and culture should be treated in society.