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EDUCATION

- Ph.D. 1990 University of California/Berkeley, Department of Political Science
Subfields: Latin American area studies, Comparative Politics,
International Relations
Dissertation: "Stabilization Policies under Revolutionary Transition:
Nicaragua, 1979-1990" (David Collier, Committee Chair)
- M.A. 1981 University of California/Berkeley, Department of Political Science
- B.A. 1979 Brandeis University (Massachusetts), Department of Politics
Magna Cum Laude, Phi Beta Kappa
- Junior Year Abroad,
1977-78 London School of Economics, Department of International Relations

MAJOR AREAS OF INTEREST

Teaching

Latin American Politics
Comparative Politics
International Relations

Research

social movements, indigenous autonomy
development, revolution
political economy, globalization

PUBLICATIONS

Forthcoming

"Hegemony, Counterhegemony, and Everyday Politics in Mexico." Review essay on 3 books on Mexican politics, Latin American Perspectives, forthcoming (published online 21 June 2019):

- Nicholas Henck, ed. *The Zapatistas' Dignified Rage: Final Public Speeches of Subcommander Marcos*. Chico, CA: AK Press, 2018.
- Mariana Mora, *Kuxlejal Politics: Indigenous Autonomy, Race, and Decolonizing Research in Zapatista Communities*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018.
- Randal Sheppard, *A Persistent Revolution: History, Nationalism, and Politics in Mexico since 1968*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016.

Books

(co-edited with Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker), Rethinking Latin American Social Movements: Radical Action from Below. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014. Includes my chapter, "Autonomy, Collective Identity, and Social Movement Strategies: The Zapatistas and Beyond," and co-edited introduction and conclusion.

(co-edited with Bruno Baronnet and Mariana Mora Bayo), Luchas 'muy otras': Zapatismo, autonomía, y las comunidades indígenas de Chiapas. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas (UAM-X/CIESAS/UNACH), 2011. Includes introduction and conclusion by co-editors and my chapter, "Autonomía y la economía política de resistencia en las Cañadas de Ocosingo."

(co-edited with Harry E. Vanden and Glen Kuecker), Latin American Social Movements in the 21st Century: Resistance, Power and Democracy. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008. Includes introduction and conclusion by the three editors and my chapter on the Zapatista autonomy movement. Book won Choice Academic Title award.

Journal Articles

"Resistencia, identidad, y autonomía: La transformación de espacios en las comunidades zapatistas." *Pueblos y fronteras digital*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)-PROIMMSE, 10(19), Jun.-Nov. 2015.

(with Harry E. Vanden), "A Second Look at Latin American Social Movements: Globalizing Resistance to the Neoliberal Paradigm." Editors' introduction to special issue, Latin American Perspectives, 38(1), Jan. 2011.

"The Zapatista Social Movement: Innovation and Sustainability." Alternatives, 35(3), Jul.-Sept. 2010.

(with Harry E. Vanden and Glen David Kuecker), "Globalizing Resistance: The New Politics of Social Movements in Latin America," editors' introduction to special issue, Latin American Perspectives, 34(2), Mar. 2007.

"Resisting Neoliberal Homogenization: The Zapatista Autonomy Movement." Latin American Perspectives, 34(2), Mar. 2007.

"Time of the Snails: Autonomy and Resistance in Chiapas." NACLA Report on the Americas, 38(4), Mar.-Apr. 2005.

“The Presidential and Legislative Elections in Nicaragua, 2001.” Electoral Studies, 22(3), September 2003.

“Globalization and Social Movement Resistance: The Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico.” New Political Science, 23(4), December 2001.

“Central America: A Few Steps Backward, a Few Steps Forward.” Latin American Perspectives, 26(2), Mar. 1999.

“Massacre in Chiapas.” Latin American Perspectives, 25(4), Jul. 1998.

“The Lessons of Acteal.” NACLA Report on the Americas, 31(5), Mar.-Apr. 1998.

“The Dog that Didn’t Bark: Labor Autonomy and Economic Adjustment in Nicaragua Under the Sandinista and UNO Governments.” Comparative Politics, 28(1), Oct. 1995.

“El Salvador's Negotiated Transition: From Low Intensity Conflict to Low Intensity Democracy.” Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, 36(4), Winter 1994.

“El ajuste neoliberal y sus opciones: La respuesta del movimiento sindical nicaragüense.” Revista Mexicana de Sociología, 56(3), Jul.-Sept. 1994.

“Stabilization, Destabilization, and the Popular Classes in Nicaragua, 1979-88.” Latin American Research Review, 25(3), Fall 1990.

“Debt, Stabilization and Adjustment: The Transformation in Nicaragua, 1979-1986.” Annual Review of Nicaraguan Sociology, 1(1-2), 1988. (Co-authored with Mario Arana and Gerardo Timossi.)

“Los dilemas de las políticas de ajuste y estabilización en una transición revolucionaria: Nicaragua, 1979-86.” Estudios Sociales Centroamericanos, No. 45. San José, Costa Rica: Sept.-Dec. 1987. (Co-authored with Mario Arana and Gerardo Timossi.)

“The National Bourgeoisie in Post-Revolutionary Nicaragua.” Comparative Politics, 16(3), Apr. 1984.

Book Chapters

(with Marc Becker), “Indigenous Movements in Latin America,” Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics, oxfordre.com/politics, published online 29 Aug. 2019, pp. 1-22.

“Zapatistas and New Ways of Doing Politics,” Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics, oxfordre.com/politics, published online 29 May 2019, pp. 1-17.

(with Bruno Baronnet) “‘Never Again a Mexico without Us’: Education and Indigenous Autonomy Struggles in Mexico.” In: Robert Aman and Timothy Ireland, eds., Educational Alternatives in Latin America: New Modes of Counter-Hegemonic Learning (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 63-87.

(with Bruno Baronnet) “‘La comunidad es nuestra escuela’: luchas indígenas y autonomía en México” [“‘The Community is Our School’: Indigenous Struggles and Autonomy in Mexico”]. In: Sebastián Plá and Sandra Patricia Rodríguez Ávila (eds.), Saberes sociales para la justicia social: Educación y escuela en América Latina (Bogotá: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, 2017).

“Constructing Autonomy: Zapatista Strategies of Indigenous Resistance in Mexico,” in Harry E. Vanden, Peter Funke, and Gary Prevost (eds.), The New Politics: Global Social Movements in the 21st Century (London & New York: Routledge, 2017).

“Sustentabilidad, resistencia, y otra forma de hacer política: reflexiones a partir del zapatismo.” In: Amalia Gracia, ed., Trabajo, reciprocidad, y re-producción de la vida: experiencias de autogestión y economía solidaria en América Latina. Mexico City and Buenos Aires: El Colegio de la Frontera Sur/Miño y Dávila, 2015.

“Mexico: The Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas.” [Revised and expanded for new edition.] In: Joseph R. Rudolph, Jr., ed. Encyclopedia of Modern Ethnic Conflicts. 2nd ed. Westport, CT: ABC-CLIO/Greenwood Press, 2015.

“Revolution.” In: James D. Wright, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, 2nd ed., Vol. 20 (Oxford: Elsevier Publishers, 2015).

“Autonomy and Resistance in Chiapas.” In Teo Ballvé and Vijay Prashad, eds. Dispatches from Latin America: On the Frontlines Against Neoliberalism. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2006.

“Government and Politics: Central America.” Handbook of Latin American Studies, Vol. 61. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2006.

“Mexico: The Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas.” In Joseph R. Rudolph, Jr., ed. Encyclopedia of Modern Ethnic Conflicts. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

“Government and Politics: Central America.” Handbook of Latin American Studies, Vol. 59. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2001.

“External Actors: Other States.” In Thomas W. Walker and Ariel C. Armony, eds. Repression, Resistance, and Democratic Transition in Central America. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000.

“Structural Adjustment and Resistance: The Political Economy of Nicaragua under Chamorro.” In Gary Prevost & Harry E. Vanden, eds. The Undermining of the Sandinista Revolution. London: Macmillan, & New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997.

“The Nicaraguan Economy and Economic Policy, 1979-1988.” In Neil Snarr et al., eds. Sandinista Nicaragua, Part 2: Economy, Politics, and Foreign Policy. Ann Arbor: Pierian Press, 1990. (Co-authored with Michael E. Conroy, María Verónica Frenkel, & Gregg L. Vunderink.)

“Deuda, estabilización y ajuste: La transformación en Nicaragua 1979-1986.” In José Roberto López and Eugenio Rivera, eds. Deuda externa y políticas de estabilización y ajuste estructural en Centroamérica y Panamá. San José, Costa Rica: CSUCA, 1990. (Co-authored with Mario Arana.)

“Foreign Debt and Economic Stabilization Policies in Revolutionary Nicaragua.” In Rose J. Spalding, ed. The Political Economy of Revolutionary Nicaragua. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987.

“Organized Labor in Nicaragua.” In Sheldon L. Maram and Gerald Michael Greenfield, eds. Latin American Labor Organizations. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987.

“Building Democracy in Nicaragua.” In George A. López and Michael Stohl, eds. Liberalization and Redemocratization in Latin America. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987.

“The Economy: External Constraints.” In Thomas W. Walker, ed. Nicaragua: The First Five Years. New York: Praeger, 1985. (Co-authored with Sylvia Maxfield.)

Reviews

Book review of Kemi Fuentes-George, Between Preservation and Exploitation: Transnational Advocacy Networks and Conservation in Developing Countries (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2016), in The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Latin American History, 74(4), Oct. 2017.

Book review of Paul Almeida, Mobilizing Democracy: Globalization and Citizen Protest (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), in Journal of Latin American Studies, 47, Nov. 2015.

“Tiempos de depredación.” Book review: Mariflor Aguilar Rivero, Olinca Valeria Avilés Hernández, and Carlos Andrés Aguirre Álvarez, eds., Depredación: ciudades rurales, comunidades intervenidas y espacios en conflicto (Mexico City: UNAM/Juan Pablos Editor, 2013), in Revista Teoría (journal of the College of Philosophy and Letters, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-UNAM), No. 26, June 2014.

Book review: John Gledhill and Patience A. Schell, eds., New Approaches to Resistance in Brazil and Mexico (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), in Journal of Anthropological Research, 70(1), Spring 2014.

Book review: Adam David Morton, Revolution and State in Modern Mexico: The Political Economy of Uneven Development (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), in Bulletin of Latin American Research 33(2), 2014.

Book review: Shannon Speed, Rights in Rebellion: Indigenous Struggle & Human Rights in Chiapas (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), in The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Latin American History, 69(4), Apr. 2013.

“Searching for the Spirit of Zapata.” Review article: Niels Barmeyer, Developing Zapatista Autonomy: Conflict and NGO Involvement in Rebel Chiapas (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009); Kara Zugman Dellacioppa, This Bridge Called Zapatismo: Building Alternative Political Cultures in Mexico City, Los Angeles, and Beyond (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books/Rowman & Littlefield, 2009); and Tanalis Padilla, Rural Resistance in the Land of Zapata: The Jaramillista Movement and the Myth of the Pax Priista, 1940-1962 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), in Latin American Perspectives, 39(6), Nov. 2012.

Book review: Aaron Bobrow-Strain, Intimate Enemies: Landowners, Power, and Violence in Chiapas (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), in Journal of Latin American Studies, 41(3), Aug. 2009.

Book review: Dennis Gilbert, Mexico’s Middle Class in the Neoliberal Era (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), in Bulletin of Latin American Research, 28(3), July 2009.

“Unmasking Mexico.” Book review: Nick Henck, Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2007), in A Contracorriente, online journal of social history and literature in Latin America, North Carolina State University, 5(2), Winter 2008, http://www.ncsu.edu/project/acontracorriente/winter_08/Stahler-Sholk%20review.pdf.

“A World in Which Many Rebellions Fit.” Book review: Thomas Olesen, International Zapatismo: The Construction of Solidarity in the Age of Globalization (London & New York: Zed Books, 2005), in A Contracorriente, online journal of Latin American studies, North Carolina State University, 4(2), Winter 2007, http://www.ncsu.edu/project/acontracorriente/winter_07/Stahler-Sholk.pdf.

Book review: Duncan Earle and Jeanne Simonelli, Uprising of Hope: Sharing the Zapatista Journey to Alternative Development (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press/Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), in Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 12(2), June 2006.

“Nicaragua in the Mind’s Eye.” Book review: Matilde Zimmermann, Sandinista: Carlos Fonseca and the Nicaraguan Revolution (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), in Left History, 8(2), Spring 2003.

Book review: Vikram K. Chand, Mexico’s Political Awakening (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), in Perspectives on Political Science, 30(3), Summer 2001.

Book review: Susanne Jonas, Of Centaurs and Doves: Guatemala’s Peace Process (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000); and The Battle for Guatemala: Rebels, Death Squads, and U.S. Power (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), in Latin American Perspectives, 28(5), Sept. 2001.

Book review: Aviva Chomsky and Aldo Lauria-Santiago, eds., Identity and Struggle at the Margins of the Nation-State: The Laboring Peoples of Central America and the Hispanic Caribbean (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); and Henry J. Frundt, Trade Conditions and Labor Rights: U.S. Initiatives, Dominican and Central American Responses (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), in Labor History, 42(1), Feb. 2001.

Book review: Cynthia Chávez Metoyer, Women and the State in Post-Sandinista Nicaragua (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), in American Political Science Review, 94(4), Dec. 2000.

Book review: David Close, Nicaragua: The Chamorro Years (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), in The Americas, 57(2), Oct. 2000.

Book review: William M. LeoGrande, Our Own Backyard: The United States in Central America, 1977-1992 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), in Political Science Quarterly, 114(3), Fall 1999.

Book review: Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, eds., Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), in Perspectives on Political Science, 28(3), Summer 1999.

Book review: Christopher Clague, ed., Institutions and Economic Development: Growth and Governance in Less-Developed and Post-Socialist Countries (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), in Perspectives on Political Science, 27(2), Spring 1998.

Book review: James E. Mahon, Jr., Mobile Capital and Latin American Development (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), in American Political Science Review, 91(3), Sept. 1997.

Book review: Ilja A. Luciak, The Sandinista Legacy: Lessons from a Political Economy in Transition (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), in Journal of Politics, 58(4), Nov. 1996.

Book review: Max Spoor, The State and Domestic Agricultural Markets in Nicaragua (N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1995), in Journal of Latin American Studies, 28(2), May 1996.

Review article: "Sandinista Economic and Social Policy: The Mixed Blessings of Hindsight." Latin American Research Review, 30(2), 1995.

Book review: Rose J. Spalding, Capitalists and Revolution in Nicaragua (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), in Journal of Latin American Studies, 27(2), May 1995.

Book review: Linda Fuller, Work and Democracy in Socialist Cuba (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), in Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 47(2), Jan. 1994.

Monographs & Essays

"Latin American Directions in Popular Struggle." University of Notre Dame, Center for the Study of Social Movements, Mobilizing Ideas online publication, 8 Aug. 2013.
<http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2013/08/08/latin-american-directions-in-popular-struggle/>

"Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas." In Richard T. Schaefer, ed. Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2008.

"Nicaraguan Revolution." In James V. DeFronzo, ed. Revolutionary Movements in World History: From 1750 to the Present. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006.

"Down by the Riverside in Chiapas." A Contracorriente, online journal on social history and literature in Latin America, North Carolina State University, 2(2), Winter 2005,
<http://www.ncsu.edu/project/acontracorriente/>

"Nicaragua." Encyclopedia Britannica Book of the Year 2004. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2004.

"Nicaragua." Encyclopedia Britannica Book of the Year 2003. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2003.

"Revolution." In Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, eds. International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, Vol. 26. Oxford, UK: Pergamon, 2001.

"Structural Adjustment and the Labor Movement in Nicaragua." Industrial Relations Research Association, 48th IRRA Annual Proceedings. Madison, WI: IRRA, 5-7 Jan. 1996.

“Stuck at the Crossroads: Nicaragua's Uncertain Transitions.” Latin American Studies Association, LASA Forum, 26(3), Fall 1995.

“I Never Promised You a Rose Garden: Will Democrats in the White House Make a Difference?” (Contribution to symposium.) Socialist Review, 92(3), Jul.-Sept. 1992.

“Research Seminar in Nicaragua.” Latin American Studies Association, LASA Forum, 23(3), Fall 1992.

“Nicaragua: Reconciliation Awaiting Recovery. Politics, the Economy and U.S. Aid under the Chamorro Government.” Washington, D.C.: Washington Office on Latin America, Apr. 1991. (Co-authored with Laura J. Enríquez et al.)

“Ajuste y el sector agropecuario en Nicaragua en los '80: Una evaluación preliminar.” CRIES, Cuadernos de Pensamiento Propio. Managua: Mar. 1990.

“La política económica en Nicaragua, 1979-1988.” CRIES, Cuadernos de Pensamiento Propio. Managua: Aug. 1989. (Co-authored with María Verónica Frenkel et al.)

Nicaragua: Las políticas macroeconómicas y sus efectos en la agricultura y la seguridad alimentaria. Consultancy report to Nicaraguan Food Program (PAN), Central American Economic & Social Development Action Committee (CADESCA), and European Community (EC). Managua: July 1989. (Co-authored with Max Spoor.)

“De la planificación al realismo.” Pensamiento Propio, 7(61). Managua: July 1989.

“Ajuste y estabilización en Nicaragua.” INIES, Boletín Socio-Económico, No. 7. Managua: May 1988.

“Nicaragua: Un tratamiento 'shock' para la economía.” Pensamiento Propio, 6(49). Managua: March 1988.

“Deuda, estabilización y ajuste: La transformación en Nicaragua, 1979-1986.” CRIES, Cuadernos de Pensamiento Propio. Managua: Nov. 1987. (Co-authored with Mario Arana, Gerardo Timossi and Carmen López.)

“Centroamérica: Hacia una política de ajuste.” Pensamiento Propio, 5(44). Managua: Sept.-Oct. 1987. (Co-authored with Gerardo Timossi.)

“Nicaragua.” In Abraham F. Lowenthal, ed. Latin America & Caribbean Contemporary Record, 1985-86, Vol. V. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1987. (Co-authored with Xabier Gorostiaga et al.)

“Nicaragua.” Collier's Encyclopedia, 1984 Year Book. New York: Collier MacMillan, 1985.

“Comparative Aspects of the Transition from Authoritarian Rule.” The Wilson Center, Latin American Program, Working Papers, No. 114. Washington, D.C., 1982.

PRESENTATIONS/CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

“Resistance at the Borders of Power: Reflections on the Zapatista and Palestinian Experiences,” paper accepted for panel on “Sumud: Crossing Boundaries, Building Movements,” Association for Humanist Sociology annual conference (El Paso, TX & Juárez, Mexico: 30 Oct.-3 Nov. 2019).

“Zapatista Ways of Doing Politics in the Neoliberal Era.” Paper presented on panel co-organized with Prof. Jennifer Goett, Michigan State University, on “Reframing Autonomy: Decolonizing Practice in Indigenous and Afrodescendant Communities.” Accepted as a sponsored panel by the Ethnicity, Race & Indigenous Peoples (ERIP) section for the 37th international congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Boston, 24-27 May 2019.

“Indigenous Autonomy and the Reconfiguration of Space: New Subjectivities in the Zapatista Communities.” Paper presented on panel on “Afro-Latin and Indigenous People: Governance, Social Movements and Politics” at 36th International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Barcelona, Spain: May 23-26, 2018.

Chair of roundtable on “Indigenous and Afrodescendant Identities and Movements in the Americas,” and presentation on “Indigenous Autonomy Movements in Mexico.” Annual conference of the Michigan Political Science Association, MIPSAs (Ypsilanti, MI: 26-27 Oct. 2017).

“La construcción de autonomía indígena en México frente al Estado y al capital” [The Construction of Indigenous Autonomy in Mexico: Confronting the State and Capital.”] Paper presented at V Conference of the Ethnicity, Race & Indigenous Peoples (ERIP) section of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA). (Morelia, Michoacán, Mexico: 4-6 Oct. 2017).

“Autonomía, resistencia, y luchas de pueblos indígenas” [Autonomy, resistance, and indigenous peoples’ struggles]. Invited presentation at Institute of Historical-Social Research, University of Veracruz (Xalapa, Mexico, 8 June 2017).

Discussant for presentation of book edited by Jorge Regalado, *Pensamiento crítico, cosmovisiones y epistemologías otras para enfrentar la guerra capitalista y construir autonomía* [Critical thought, alternative cosmovisions and epistemologies to confront the capitalist war and construct autonomy] (University of Guadalajara Press and CIESAS, 2017). (Xalapa, Veracruz: Institute of Historical-Social Research, University of Veracruz, 8 June 2017).

“Social Movement Activism and Scholarship in Dialogue.” Organizer and chair of workshop at Latin American Studies Association (LASA) 34th International Congress (New York: 27-30 May 2016).

“Constructing Autonomy: Comparing Strategies of Indigenous Resistance in Mexico.” Paper presented at panel on “Globalized Social Movements: Latin America, the Arab Spring, and Beyond,” Part 2, 33rd International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association – LASA (San Juan, Puerto Rico, 27-30 May 2015).

Discussant, panel on “The Governance and Management of Mineral Resources in Latin America,” 33rd International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association – LASA (San Juan, Puerto Rico, 27-30 May 2015).

with Judith Kullberg: “Lenin Lives! Revolutionary Legacies and Resistance to Liberal Democracy in Russia and Cuba.” Paper presented to Michigan Political Science Association (MIPSA) conference (Oakland University, Rochester Hills, MI, 23-24 Oct. 2014).

“Autonomía, identidad colectiva, y estrategias de los movimientos sociales frente al Estado: Zapatismo y otras variantes de organización indígena en México” [Autonomy, collective identity, and social movement strategies for confronting the state: The Zapatista movement and other variants of indigenous organization in Mexico]. Paper presented at IX Congress of the Latin American Rural Sociology Association, ALASRU (Mexico City, 6-11 Oct. 2014).

“De Facto and Negotiated Strategies of Indigenous Autonomy in Mexico.” Paper presented at meeting of Working Group on “Indigenous Peoples in Struggle for Autonomy: Movements and Politics in Latin America,” Latin American Social Science Council (CLACSO), Mexico City, 8-9 Oct. 2014.

“Autonomy, Collective Identity, and Social Movement Strategies: The Zapatistas and Beyond,” paper presented at XXXII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA). (Chicago, IL, 21-24 May 2014).

“Sustentabilidad, resistencia, y otra forma de hacer política: reflexiones a partir del zapatismo.” Paper presented at seminar on “Challenges of Self-Managed Associative Labor for (re)Production of Life, El Colegio de la Frontera Sur-ECOSUR (Chetumal, Mexico: 6-7 Mar. 2014).

“Autonomía, identidad colectiva, y estrategias de los movimientos sociales frente al Estado: zapatismo y otras variantes de organización indígena en Chiapas, México.” Paper presented at meeting of Latin American Social Science Council (CLACSO) Working Group on “Indigenous Peoples in Struggle for Autonomy: Movements and Politics in Latin America.” (Tarija, Bolivia: 4-8 Nov. 2013).

“Resistencia, identidad, y autonomía: la transformación de espacios en las comunidades zapatistas de Las Cañadas.” Paper presented at meeting of International Congress on Indigenous Peoples of Latin America (CIPIAL). (Oaxaca, Mexico: 28-31 Oct. 2013).

“Silencios políticos: una reflexión sobre la objetividad, el compromiso, y las ciencias sociales en la Selva Lacandona de Chiapas.” Paper presented at Third Conference of the Ethnicity, Race and Indigenous Peoples (ERIP) section of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA). (Oaxaca, Mexico: 23-25 Oct. 2013).

“Ser el cambio que uno quisiera ver: identidad colectiva y prácticas de autonomía en las comunidades zapatistas de Chiapas.” Paper presented at seminar on “20 Years of the Zapatista Rebellion.” Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco. (Mexico City: 28 Jun. 2013).

“To Be the Change You Want to See: Collective Identity and Practices of Autonomy in the Zapatista Communities of Chiapas.” Paper presented on panel on “Social Movements and Political Processes in Latin America,” XXXI International Congress, Latin American Studies Association (Washington, DC: 29 May – 1 Jun. 2013).

(with Judith Kullberg), “Lenin Lives! Revolutionary Legacies and Resistance to Liberal Democracy in Russia and Cuba.” Paper presented on panel on “What is Hampering the Diffusion of Democracy?,” 54th Annual Convention, International Studies Association, ISA (San Francisco: 3-6 April 2013).

“Reconfiguración de espacios en un movimiento social: Las comunidades autónomas zapatistas en la zona Selva Tseltal.” Paper presenter on panel on “Autonomía indígena: Lecciones de la experiencia zapatista,” XXIV International Congress, Latin American Studies Association, LASA (Toronto: 6-9 October 2010).

“Zapatismo and Social Movement Sustainability.” Paper presenter on panel on “The Challenge of Zapatismo,” 7th International Conference, Rethinking Marxism (Amherst, MA: 5-8 Nov. 2009).

“Dimensiones de la autonomía: La experiencia zapatista y otras.” Invited participant at research colloquium on Latin American autonomy movements, Colegio de México (Mexico City: 21 September 2009).

“Autonomía en las comunidades indígenas zapatistas: Modos ‘muy otros’ de disputar el poder.” Paper presenter and organizer of panel on “La autonomía en comunidades indígenas de Chiapas,” VII Congress of the Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Rurales, AMER (San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico: 18-21 Aug. 2009).

“Alternative Views of Zapatismo.” Paper presented at conference on “Fifteen Years after the Zapatistas: Social and Political Change in Mexico and Chiapas since 1994,” Harvard University (Cambridge, MA: 10 April 2009).

“Resistance and Sustainability: Radical Possibilities and Dilemmas in the Zapatista Autonomy Movement.” Paper presenter and organizer of panel on “Indigenous Communities and Social Movement Dynamics in Chiapas,” 27th International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, LASA (Montreal: 6-8 September 2007).

“Autonomy and the Political Economy of Resistance in the Cañadas de Ocosingo, Chiapas.” Paper presented on panel on “Issues in Recent Mexican Politics and History,” 54th Annual Conference, Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies, RMCLAS (Santa Fe, NM: 24-27 Jan. 2007).

“Autonomy and Social Movement Strategies in the Neoliberal Era: The Zapatista Movement in Chiapas, Mexico.” Paper presented on panel on “Fresh Momentum: Social Movement Innovation in a Neoliberal Latin America,” XXVI International Congress, Latin American Studies Association, LASA (San Juan, Puerto Rico, 15-18 Mar. 2006).

Chair and discussant, panel on “Participation, Civil Society, and Democratic Deepening in Latin America,” 63rd Annual National Conference, Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago: 7-10 Apr. 2005).

“New Social and Political Movements in Latin America: The Zapatistas in Comparative Perspective.” Paper presented at 38th Annual Conference, Southwest Council of Latin American Studies, SCOLAS (Veracruz, Mexico: 9-12 Mar. 2005).

“Social Movement Resistance to Neoliberalism: The Zapatista Autonomy Movement in Chiapas, Mexico.” Paper presented on panel on “Globalism, U.S. Hegemony, and Resistance to the Same,” 62nd Annual National Conference, Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago: 15-18 Apr. 2004).

Chair and discussant, panel on “Patterns and Outcomes of Civil Society Engagement in Central America,” 62nd Annual National Conference, Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago: 15-18 Apr. 2004).

“Zapatistas and the Struggle for Autonomy.” Paper presented on panel on “New Social Movements in Latin America: New Repertoires of Resistance in a Globalizing Reality,” 51st Annual Meeting of the Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies (Santa Fe, NM: 10-13 Mar. 2004).

Acting chair and discussant, panel on “New Political Movements and Community Response in a Time of Neoliberalism,” 24th International Congress, Latin American Studies Association (Dallas, TX: 27-29 Mar. 2003).

Chair and discussant, panel on “Toiling in the Caribbean: Social, Racial and Political Dimensions,” 23rd Annual North American Labor History Conference (Detroit: 18-20 Oct. 2001).

“Globalization, Peasant Resistance, and the Rebellion in Chiapas.” Paper presented on panel on “Peasants and Globalization in the Americas,” 23rd International Congress, Latin American Studies Association (Washington, DC: 6-8 Sept. 2001).

“The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) in U.S. Strategy: Lessons from Mexico.” Paper presented on panel on “The Free Trade Area of the Americas: A Critical Assessment of Process and Prospects,” 42nd Annual Convention, International Studies Association (Chicago, IL: 20-24 Feb. 2001).

“Mexico’s 2000 Elections in Global Perspective.” Paper presented on panel on “Democratization Around the World?,” 32nd Annual Michigan Conference of Political Scientists (Alma, MI: 26-27 Oct. 2000).

“Thinking Globally, Acting Locally: The Zapatista Autonomy Movement in Chiapas, Mexico.” Paper presented on panel on “Political Economy, Cultural Hegemony, and Democratic Civil Society,” 96th annual meeting, American Political Science Association (Washington, DC: 31 Aug.-3 Sept. 2000).

“A World in Which Many Worlds Fit: Zapatista Responses to Globalization.” Paper presented on panel on “Globalization in the New Millennium? Perspectives from/for Latin America,” 22nd International Congress, Latin American Studies Association (Miami: 16-18 Mar. 2000).

“Economic Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Central America.” Paper presented on panel on “Democracy, Human Rights, and Popular Participation in Latin America,” 57th Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago: 15-17 Apr. 1999).

“External State Actors in the Central American Transitions of the 1980s and 1990s.” Paper presented on panel on “Democratic Transition in Central America,” 21st International Congress, Latin American Studies Association (Chicago: 24-26 September 1998).

Chaired panel on “The Role of the State and Social Justice: Comparative Development Lessons,” 21st International Congress, Latin American Studies Association (Chicago: 24-26 September 1998).

“Neoliberalism and Democratic Transition: Looking for Autonomy in the Jungles of Chiapas.” Paper presented on panel on “Labor & Opposition in Mexico,” 56th Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago: 23-25 Apr. 1998).

“Neoliberalism and Democratization: The Zapatista Challenge in Mexico.” Paper presented on panel on “Comparative Democratic Development,” 29th Annual Michigan Conference of Political Scientists (Ypsilanti, MI: 23-24 Oct. 1997).

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Teaching

Professor, 2008-present; Associate Professor, 2000-08; Assistant Professor, 1997-2000
Eastern Michigan University, Department of Political Science

- Latin American Politics
- Introduction to Comparative Government (regular and honors sections)
- Third World Politics/Politics of the Developing World
- Political Violence and Revolution
- Poverty, Human Rights, and Health (co-taught, with summer study abroad in El Salvador, Cuba, Guatemala, and Russia, 2008-present)
- American Government (regular and international sections)
- International Organization
- Model United Nations
- Politics and Power
- Globalization and Democracy
- Social Movements

Faculty advisor, student organizations at Eastern Michigan University:

- Young Democratic Socialists, 2019-present
- Model United Nations Club, 1999-present (co-advisor)
- Global Brigades, 2015-2019
- Student Alliance for the Benefit of El Salvador, 2011-14 (co-advisor)
- Students for Ethical and Participatory Education (SEPE), 2010-13 and 2014-16
- International Students for Social Equality (ISSE), 2010-13, 2018-present
- Amnesty International-EMU, 2007-08
- Campus Progressive Network (CPN), 2004-08
- La Raza Unida (Latino/a student organization), 2006-07
- Student Peace Action Network (SPAN), 2000-2003

Study abroad/experiential learning trips with students:

- Honduras: Global Brigades, rural medical volunteer trip with Eastern Michigan University students, summer 2016
- “Poverty, Human Rights, and Health” course sequence, co-led with Prof. Judith Kullberg, Political Science, Eastern Michigan University:
 - Russia, summer 2018
 - Guatemala, summer 2016
 - El Salvador and Cuba, summer 2012
 - El Salvador, summers 2008, 2009, 2010, spring 2011, summer 2012
- Mexico: helped with social movements class led by Prof. Ian Robinson, Sociology, University of Michigan

Visiting Assistant Professor, 1996-97 and 1991-95

Pitzer College (Claremont, CA), Political Studies Field Group

- Latin American Politics
- Latin American Popular Movements
- Race, Class and Gender in Latin America
- Central American Politics
- Revolution in Central America: Politics and Literature (co-taught)
- Cuba
- U.S.-Latin American Relations
- International Relations of Latin America
- Comparative Politics (co-taught)
- Comparative Revolutions
- Third World Socialism
- Debt and Democracy in the Third World
- The New World Order (co-taught)
- Money, Power, and Sex in the World Economy
- Globalization and Democracy

Visiting Assistant Professor, 1995-96

Pomona College (Claremont, CA), Department of Politics

- Comparative Latin American Politics
- Introduction to International Relations
- Comparative Revolutions and Political Violence
- Comparative Politics
- International Relations of Latin America

Adjunct Assistant Professor, Spring 1993

Claremont Graduate School, Center for Politics and Policy

- International Political Economy (graduate seminar)

Lecturer, 1989-90

San Francisco State University, Department of Political Science

- Central America, Cuba, and Mexico

Teaching Assistant, 1981-84 and 1990

University of California/Berkeley, Department of Political Science

- Latin American Politics, Prof. David Collier
- Introduction to Comparative Politics, Prof. Kenneth Jowitt
- Introduction to Comparative Politics, Prof. Y. Sadowski
- Latin American Political Economy (Reader), Prof. Van Whiting
- Empirical Analysis, Prof. A.J. Gregor

Research positions

Visiting Researcher, 2013-14

Centro de Estudios Superiores de México y Centroamérica (CESMECA), Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas (UNICACH), Mexico.

Sabbatical year research on indigenous autonomy movements.

Visiting Researcher, 2005-06

Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas (IEI-UNACH), Mexico.

Sabbatical year research on Zapatista rebellion and autonomy movement.

Research Associate, 1990-91

Dr. Laura Enríquez, Department of Sociology and Institute of International & Area Studies, University of California/Berkeley.

Research on Latin American agricultural development, agrarian reform, and social movements.

Research Associate, 1984-89

Coordinadora Regional de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales (CRIES), Managua, Nicaragua.

Coordinated project on Nicaraguan debt management and stabilization policies. Led survey team evaluating economic and political impact of stabilization measures on coffee producers in three Nicaraguan regions. Conducted study of wage policies as part of project on "Problems of Transition in Small Peripheral Countries." Participated in regional study on Central American economic adjustment, sponsored by Ford Foundation and Central American University Confederation (CSUCA).

Research Assistant, 1983-84

Dr. Abraham F. Lowenthal, University of Southern California, School of International Relations.

Research and writing for book on U.S.-Latin American relations.

Research Assistant, 1983

Dr. Albert Fishlow, University of California, Berkeley, Institute of International Studies. Project on U.S. policy in Central America.

Wilson Center Intern, 1981-82

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars/Latin American Program, Washington, D.C.

For Dr. Abraham F. Lowenthal, Director. Research on Peru, Brazil, and Latin American international relations.

Other Professionally Relevant Activities:

Associate Editor, 1997-present; Participating Editor, 1996-97

Latin American Perspectives (theoretical journal of Latin America area studies).

- 2017-19, invited to be Associate Editor on Oxford Reference Encyclopedia of Politics, Latin America section edited by Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost. Co-coordinating the section on social movements.

International Board of Directors, 2009-present; Treasurer, 2013-present
International Service for Peace/Servicio Internacional para la Paz (SIPAZ). Human rights organization based in San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico.

Executive Advisory Board, 2001-present

James Guadalupe Carney Latin America Solidarity Archive (CLASA)

Invited by director to join advisory board for historical archive housed at University of Detroit Mercy.

Member, 1997-present

Latin America Task Force, Interfaith Council for Peace & Justice (ICPJ), Ann Arbor, MI.

Immigration consultations, 2005-present

Immigrant rights consulting, 2017-present

Provided data and expert affidavits on human rights conditions and political violence in Mexico and Central America, for political asylum cases.

Co-chair, Civil Society & Social Movements Track, 2015-16

(with Prof. Rose J. Spalding of DePaul University), reviewed and ranked hundreds of paper and panel proposals and grant applications

Latin American Studies Association, 2016 International Congress, New York City.

Consultant/grant reviewer, U.S. Department of Education, Aug. 2014

Reviewed institutional proposals for National Resource Centers (NRC)/Latin America and for Foreign Language & Area Studies (FLAS) program, Washington, D.C.

Researcher, 2013-14

Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) [Latin American Social Science Council], Working Group on “Indigenous Peoples in Struggle for Autonomy: Movements and Politics in Latin America.”

Board of Directors, 2002-2014

Huron Valley Chapter (Michigan), United Nations Association of the USA.

Executive Council member, 2009-2012

Ethnicity, Race & Indigenous Peoples (ERIP) section, Latin American Studies Association (LASA).

Consultant to Library of Congress, 1997-2006

Invited by the Library of Congress/Hispanic Division to serve as consultant and Contributing Editor (Government and Politics: Central America) for the Handbook of Latin American Studies.

International peace observer, 1994-2005

Over a dozen trips to areas of operation of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in Chiapas, Mexico, as an observer accredited by the National Intermediation Commission and Mexican human rights center. Led delegations of students and faculty, 1995-96 and 1996-97.

Advisory Council, Central America section, 2000-03

Appointed by co-chairs of this section of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA).

National Board of Directors, Witness for Peace, 2000-03

Elected for 3-year term to board of non-profit organization supporting human rights and social justice in Latin America. Participated in delegation to Colombia, summer 2001.

Multicultural service activities:

- Steering Committee member, Washtenaw Congregational Sanctuary (immigrant rights coalition, southeast Michigan), 2017-present.

- Member, Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights, 2008-present.

- Member, Latino Advisory Council of Staff and Faculty, Eastern Michigan University, 2011-present.

- Member of Academic Affairs Committee on Curriculum Diversity, Eastern Michigan University, 1998-2003.

- Panelist for International and Intercultural Competence Institute, World College at Eastern Michigan University, summer 2002.

- Seminar presentations for Prudential Intercultural Services, 2000-07, and Brookfield Global Relocation, 2015.

Mexico election observer, 2000

Participated in independent Global Exchange/Alianza Cívica election observation delegation, accredited by Mexican Federal Electoral Institute (IFE).

Central America Task Force, 1992-97

Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Central America.

Immigration expert witness, 1993-96

Testimony for immigration legal services agencies on Central American political asylum cases in Los Angeles area.

Seminar coordinator, 1992 and 1995

Latin American Studies Association, summer research seminar in Nicaragua.

Designed itinerary and led study tour of academic specialists.

Election observer, 1994

Three trips to El Salvador to observe the first election since the end of the civil war.

Delegation member, 1991

Latin American Studies Association (LASA) Task Force on Nicaragua and Central America.

Fact-finding mission to report on transition process in Nicaragua.

Consultant, 1989

European Community (EC), Central American Economic & Social Development Action Committee (CADESCA), and Nicaraguan Food Program (PAN). Project on “Nicaragua: Macroeconomic Policies and their Implications for the Agricultural Sector and Food Security.” Coordinated inter-ministerial research team at Nicaraguan Ministry of Agriculture & Agrarian Reform.

HONORS & AWARDS

24 April-7 May 2019, faculty development seminar in Palestine. Chosen to participate in program by Palestinian American Research Center (PARC), to develop knowledge of the Middle East region and establish ties to local academics and institutions.

Eastern Michigan University, Center for Multicultural Affairs Cornerstone Award, “created to give graduates a chance to nominate and recognize an Eastern Michigan University faculty or staff member that uniquely contributes and assists to the growth and development of our Multicultural Community.” (Fall 2017)

Eastern Michigan University, College of Arts & Sciences, award from CAS Faculty Travel Fund, \$750 for travel to Morelia, Michoacán, Mexico for presentation at V Conference of the Ethnicity, Race & Indigenous Peoples (ERIP) section of the Latin American Studies Association, LASA. (Fall 2017)

Eastern Michigan University, College of Arts & Sciences, James H. Brickley Award for project on “Indigenous Autonomy Movements and Participatory Democracy in Mexico.” \$1,000 to support travel to May 2017 Latin American Studies Association conference in Lima, Peru, and to research meetings in Chiapas, Mexico. (Winter 2017)

Eastern Michigan University, College of Arts & Sciences, award from CAS Faculty Travel Fund. \$750 for June 2017 travel to Xalapa, Veracruz, Mexico for presentations at University of Veracruz. (Winter 2017)

Eastern Michigan University, College of Arts & Sciences, Program Development Initiative (with other members of the International Affairs faculty). For activities to strengthen the interdisciplinary International Affairs program. (2015-16)

Eastern Michigan University, Sabbatical Research Award. For field work in Mexico on “Indigenous Autonomy and Social Movements: Lessons from the Zapatista Experience in Chiapas, Mexico.” (2013-14)

Eastern Michigan University, Provost’s International Education Stimulus Grant (co-recipient). For developing international internship programs in Central America and Mexico. (Summer 2010)

Eastern Michigan University, Faculty Research Fellowship, Winter 2009. For research and writing on the Zapatista autonomy movement in Chiapas, Mexico.

Eastern Michigan University, World College Travel Grant. To present paper at Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Rurales (AMER) conference, San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico (8/09)

Eastern Michigan University, Ronald W. Collins Distinguished Faculty Award. For service to the university. (2007-08)

Eastern Michigan University, Sabbatical Research Award. For field work in Mexico on “The Zapatista Autonomy Movement: Social Movement Innovation in Chiapas, Mexico.” (2005-06)

Eastern Michigan University, World College Travel Grant. To present paper at Southwest Council of Latin American Studies conference in Veracruz, Mexico. (2005)

Jackson Social Welfare Fund, Ann Arbor, MI. Grant for Model United Nations program and participation by Eastern Michigan University students in Midwest Model UN simulation conference. (2002/03, 2003/04, and 2004/05)

Eastern Michigan University, World College Fellowship. For developing Latin American Cultural History Tour, summer study/travel program in Cuba, Mexico and Central America. (2001-02)

Eastern Michigan University, World College Travel Grant. For summer research on democratization in Mexico. (2000)

Eastern Michigan University, Graduate School Research Support Fund. For summer research on Central America, Mexico, Cuba. (1999)

Eastern Michigan University, Provost’s New Faculty Research Award. For summer research on political transitions in Mexico and Central America. (1998)

Eastern Michigan University, Collegium for Advanced Studies, Faculty Research and Creativity Assistance Fund. Supplementary travel funding; research in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. (1998)

Pitzer College, International Activism Award. For service learning projects, leading student delegations of human rights observers to Mexico. (1997)

Pitzer College, Global Impact Award. For coordinating independent study project on Cuba and U.S. foreign policy. (1994)

Pitzer College, Faculty Research & Development Grants:

- Social Movement Strategies for Resisting Neoliberalism: Chiapas (1996-97)
- Chiapas and El Salvador: The Political Economy of Rebellion and Negotiation (1994-95)
- Elections and Democratization in El Salvador (1993-94)
- The Political Economy of Adjustment: Nicaraguan Transitions of the 1980s/90s (1992-93)

American Political Science Association (APSA) research grant: Economic Adjustment and Organized Labor in Nicaragua. (7/92)

Grants for doctoral dissertation research: Foreign Debt and Stabilization Policies in Revolutionary Nicaragua. (1984-85)

- Doherty Foundation. Princeton, N.J.
- Institute for the Study of World Politics. New York.
- William Harrison Mills Traveling Fellowship. University of California/Berkeley.

Tinker Foundation and University of California/Berkeley. Travel grant, research in Nicaragua: External Financial Problems and the Nicaraguan Economy. (8/83)

Humanities Graduate Research Grant, University of California/Berkeley. Research in Nicaragua: Economic Policies of the Sandinista Government. (12/82-1/83)

Tinker Foundation and University of California/Berkeley. Travel grant, research in Nicaragua: State-Private Sector Relations. (8/81)

World Affairs Council. Grant to participate as Commentator, Asilomar Conference on U.S.-Latin American Relations. (5/81)

Foreign Language & Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship, U.S. Department of Education. University of California/Berkeley. (1980-81)