

POL325: Contemporary Latin American Politics

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Contents

1	Development and its Alternatives	3
1.1	Cristóbal Kay (2018) Modernization and Dependency Theory. From The Routledge Handbook of Latin American Development Julie Cupples, Marcel Palomino-Schalscha, and Manuel Prieto, eds. New York: Routledge, pp 15-28.	3
1.1.1	Modernization Theory	3
1.1.2	Dependence Theory (DT)	4
1.2	Laura Zapata-Cantu and Fernando González (2021) Challenges for Innovation and Sustainable Development in Latin America: The Significance of Institutions and Human Capital. Sustainability.	5
1.2.1	Innovation and Sustainable Development in Latin America: Core Challenges	5
1.2.2	Theoretical Framework for Analysis	5
1.2.3	Analysis of Latin America's Performance	6
1.2.4	Proposed Roadmap and Policy Implications	6
1.3	Eduardo Gudynas (2013) Debates on Development and its Alternatives in Latin America: A Brief Heterodox Guide, in Beyond Development: Alternative Visions from Latin America, M. Lang and D. Mokrani, eds. Quito: Fundación Rosa Luxemburg, pp.15-39.	7
1.3.1	The Conventional Concept of Development	7
1.3.2	Early Critiques and 'Development Alternatives'	7
1.3.3	The Ideology of Progress and the Post-Development Critique	8
1.3.4	Alternatives to Development	8
1.3.5	Contemporary Context: Progressive Governments and Neextractivism	9
2	Governance and Protest in the Twenty-First Century	9
2.1	Rosalía Cortés (2009) Social Policy in Latin America in the Post-neoliberal Era. In: Jean Grugel and Pía Riggirozzi (eds) Governance after Neoliberalism in Latin America. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.	9
2.1.1	Introduction to Social Policy Evolution in Latin America	9
2.1.2	Changing Paradigms of Social Policy	9
2.1.3	Economic and Social Reform Under Neoliberalism	10
2.1.4	Legacy of Economic Social Reform (Neoliberalism)	12
2.1.5	Emergence of New Economic and Social Strategies (Post-Neoliberal Era)	13
2.1.6	Current Status of Social Policy in Latin America	14
2.2	Marie-Christine Doran (2017) The Hidden Face of Violence in Latin America: Assessing the Criminalization of Protest in Comparative Perspective. Latin American Perspectives 44(216): 183-2016.	14
2.2.1	Defining Criminalization of Protest	14
2.2.2	Causes and Enabling Factors of Criminalization	15
2.2.3	Case Studies: Mexico and Chile	16
2.3	Adriana Piatti-Crocker (2021) Diffusion of NiUnaMenos in Latin America: Social Protests Amid a Pandemic. Journal of International Women's Studies 22(12)	17

2.3.1	#NiUnaMenos Movement Overview	17
2.3.2	Diffusion of NiUnaMenos	18
2.3.3	COVID-19 Pandemic's Impact on NiUnaMenos	19
2.3.4	Policy Change and Remaining Challenges	19
3	The Changing Left-Right Divide and the Durability of Elite Power	20
3.1	Thomas Chiasson-LaBel and Manel Larrabure (2019) Elite and Popular Responses to a Left in Crisis. <i>European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies</i> 108: 87-107.	20
3.1.1	Central Thesis: A Relational Approach to the Pink Tide's Crisis	20
3.1.2	Timeline of the Pink Tide's Decline	20
3.1.3	Critique of Mainstream Analytical Frameworks	20
3.1.4	The International Context and its Internal Mediation	21
3.1.5	Key Findings from the Relational Approach	21
3.2	Luis Bonilla (2018) <i>Captured Democracy: Government for the Few</i> (Executive Summary). OXFAM International	22
3.2.1	Core Concepts: Captured Democracy and State Capture	22
3.2.2	The Vicious Cycle: Inequality, Capture, and Democracy	22
3.2.3	Fiscal Policy and Its Impact in LAC	22
3.2.4	Mechanisms of Fiscal Capture by Elites in LAC	23
3.3	Lecture	24
4	Bolivia: Continuities and Change during the MAS Era	25
4.1	Gabriel Hetland (2019) <i>Understanding Bolivia's Nightmare</i> . NACLA Report of the Americas https://nacla.org/news/2019/11/19/bolivia-morales-coup	25
4.1.1	The Event: A Military Coup	25
4.1.2	Lead Up and Immediate Causes (2016-2019)	25
4.1.3	Long-Term Contributing Factors	26
4.1.4	The Post-Coup Regime: Jeanine Anez	26
4.1.5	State Repression and Human Rights Violations	27
4.1.6	Resistance and International Reaction	27
4.2	Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl (2014) <i>The Land of Unintended Consequences</i> . In <i>Evo's Bolivia: Continuity and Change</i> . Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, Ch. 2.	28
4.2.1	Geography and Demographics	28
4.2.2	Indigenous Cultures and History	29
4.2.3	20th Century and Neoliberalism	29
4.2.4	The Country the MAS Inherited (2006):	30
4.3	Alina Duarte (2020) <i>Bolivia and Necessary Self-Critique: 'In it not enough to have the government, we have to have people's power'</i> Council on Hemispheric Affairs. https://www.coha.org/bolivia-and-necessary-self-critique-it-is-not-enough-to-have-the-government-we-have-to-have-peoples-power	31
4.3.1	Political Context: 2020 Election	31
4.3.2	The Centrality of Self-Critique	31
4.3.3	Internal Analysis: Why the 2019 Coup Succeeded	31
4.3.4	Future Tasks and Challenges	31

1 Development and its Alternatives

1.1 Cristóbal Kay (2018) Modernization and Dependency Theory. From The Routledge Handbook of Latin American Development Julie Cupples, Marcel Palomino-Schalscha, and Manuel Prieto, eds. New York: Routledge, pp 15-28.

1.1.1 Modernization Theory

Historical Context: Emerged in the North (1950s-1960s) during the Cold War. Arose post-WWII as decolonization accelerated.

Core Idea: Development is a transition from a 'traditional' to a 'modern' society. It posits that underdeveloped countries can 'catch up' by replicating the experience of Western, developed countries.

- Change is seen as determined by internal factors

Dualistic Typology:

- **Traditional Societies:** Simple, rural subsistence economy, family labour, primitive technology, low productivity. Characterized by particularism, ascription, and collective orientation. 'Traditionalism' itself is seen as a barrier due to fatalistic outlook.
- **Modern Societies:** Complex, industrial, market-oriented, wage labour, scientific technology, high productivity. Characterized by universalism, achievement orientation, self-orientation, upward social mobility, and rule of law.

Key Theorists and Concepts:

- **Walt W. Rostow (1960):** Proposed five universal stages of economic growth:
 1. The traditional society;
 2. The preconditions for take-off;
 3. **Take-off (the key turning point);**
 4. The drive to maturity;
 5. The age of mass-consumption.
- **Samuel Huntington (1968):** Prioritized **political order and stability** above other modernization goals, concerned that rapid social change could overwhelm political institutions. Critiqued mainstream MT for being too static, arguing all societies combine traditional and modern elements.
- **Other theorists focused on:** Value changes (Moore), personality transformation (Lerner), psychological factors like the desire to achieve (McClelland), and entrepreneurial spirit (Hagen).

Modernization Theory in Latin America:

- Largely absorbed uncritically by Latin American social scientists and policymakers.
- **Gino Germani (1981):** A notable exception who adapted MT. He argued that transition processes create conflicts and 'asynchronies' as different social spheres change at different speeds. However, his work was criticized from a Marxist perspective for failing to address class and ethnic conflicts.

Critique of Modernization Theory (by Andre Gunder Frank):

- Empirically faulty and theoretically weak.
- **Main flaw:** Assumes underdevelopment is an original state and ignores how development and underdevelopment are part of a single process in the formation of the world capitalist system since the 15th century.
- Fails to account for the impact of colonialism and imperialism.

1.1.2 Dependence Theory (DT)

Historical Context: Arose in Latin America in the mid-1960s, challenging MT. Influenced by theories of imperialism and the Latin American structuralist school (ECLAC).

Core Idea: Underdevelopment is not an original state but a ‘**conditioning situation**’ where the economies of some countries (the periphery) are conditioned by the development and expansion of others (the center).

- Development and underdevelopment are seen as two faces of the same historical process of global capitalism.
- It analyzes the link between external (global capitalism) and internal (class structure, politics) factors.

Precursor: Raul Prebisch and ECLAC Structuralism:

- Developed the **center-periphery paradigm**.
- **Prebisch-Singer Thesis:** Argued the international trade system benefits the center at the expense of the periphery due to the long-term deterioration of the periphery’s terms of trade (prices of its primary commodity exports fall relative to the industrial goods it imports).

Main Strands of Dependence Theory:

1. **Structuralist Strand:** Seeks to reform the capitalist system. Uses heterodox development theory concepts.
2. **Marxist Strand:** Argues dependency can only be overcome by overthrowing capitalism and transitioning to socialism. Relies on historical materialism and the labour theory of value.

Key Structuralist Theorists and Concepts:

- **Osvaldo Sunkel:** Focused on how transnational corporations (TNCs) deepen dependence and cause ‘**national disintegration**’. TNCs weaken the national bourgeoisie, fragment society, and shape public policy against the national interest.
- **Celso Furtado:** Analyzed ‘**dependent consumption patterns**’. The consumption habits of the rich, influenced by developed countries, create a wasteful, capital-intensive, and import-demanding industrial structure that perpetuates income concentration and underdevelopment.
- **Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto:**
 - Emphasized analyzing ‘**situations of dependency**’ rather than a single theory, focusing on internal manifestations.
 - Characterized the process as ‘**dependent development**’, rejecting stagnationist views and acknowledging that economic growth could occur within a dependency framework.
 - Argued a ‘**new dependency**’ emerged under corporatist-authoritarian states controlled by a militarized technocratic bureaucracy.

Key Marxist Theories and Concepts:

- **Theotonio Dos Santos:** Identified a ‘**new character of dependency**’ rooted in industrial and technological dependence. The lack of a domestic capital goods industry and indigenous technological capacity prevents dependent economies from being ‘articulated’ and achieving autonomous development.
- **Ruy Mauro Marini:** Focused on **unequal exchange** (transfer of surplus value to dominate countries) and the resulting **over-exploitation of labour** in dependent countries to maintain profit rates. Also developed the concept of **sub-imperialism**, where a larger dependent country like Brazil under its military regime could engage in imperialist practices toward weaker neighbours to solve its own problems of insufficient internal demand.

- **Andre Gunder Frank:** Coined the phrase “**the development of underdevelopment**”. Argued that the metropolis-satellite linkages constantly recreate underdevelopment. Contended that Latin America has been capitalist since the colonial conquest, challenging the prevailing feudal/semi-feudal characterization and the political strategies based on it. His thesis was famously critiqued by Ernesto Laclau for overemphasizing market circulation while neglecting relations of production.

Decline and Legacy of Dependence Theory: It’s influence waned with the economic crisis of the 1980s and the rise of neoliberalism. Remembered as the **first major challenge to the Eurocentric character of the social sciences** to achieve global influence. It inspired a new generation of scholars to think about development from the perspective of the South.

1.2 Laura Zapata-Cantu and Fernando González (2021) Challenges for Innovation and Sustainable Development in Latin America: The Significance of Institutions and Human Capital. Sustainability.

1.2.1 Innovation and Sustainable Development in Latin America: Core Challenges

Context: Sustainable development is a critical 21st century challenge, compounded by the COVID-19 pandemic which has shifted government and business priorities. Innovation is essential for transitioning to a more sustainable world.

Regional Challenges:

- **High social inequality and poverty** remain significant obstacles.
- The region has a history of **political instability and corruption**, which impacts institutional performance in innovation and sustainability.
- Economies are vulnerable to **commodity price volatility** and uncertainty.
- There is a **marginal contribution to global innovation**, often measured by patent registrations.
- Latin American countries face ongoing issues with nutrition, sanitation, quality education, and economic modernization.

1.2.2 Theoretical Framework for Analysis

Two key theoretical perspectives are used to analyze innovation and sustainable development in the region:

1. **Dynamic Capabilities (DCV):** A framework focusing on a country’s or firm’s ability to adapt and transform in response to a changing environment. It is composed of three core capabilities:
 - **Sensing:** Identifying opportunities and threats by scanning markets and technologies. This aligns with the Global Innovation Index (GII) dimensions of *Institutions* and *Market Sophistication*.
 - **Seizing:** Mobilizing resources to capture opportunities by investing in technology, human capital, and new business models. This aligns with the GII dimensions of *Human capital and research, Infrastructure, and Business sophistication*.
 - **Transforming:** Continuously reconfiguring assets and organizational structures to maintain the competitiveness. This aligns with the GII dimensions of *Knowledge and technology outputs and creative outputs*.
2. **Mission-Oriented Policies:** Systemic public sector initiatives aimed at solving specific societal problems (e.g., climate change) by mobilizing innovation across multiple sectors and actors.
 - These policies define a clear direction, foster collaboration between public and private sectors, and drive technological and systemic change.
 - They require strong institutional support and the development of dynamic capabilities within government to lead change.

1.2.3 Analysis of Latin America's Performance

Innovation (Based on Global Innovation Index 2020):

- **Overall Performance:** The region contributes marginally to global innovation. The analysis covered 15 countries.
- **Performance by Dynamic Capability:**
 - **Sensing (Weak):** The **institutions dimension received the lowest average score**, indicating issues with the political, regulatory, and business environment. Countries with better overall GII scores (e.g., Chile) performed better in this dimension.
 - **Seizing (Mixed):** The **Business Sophistication dimension had the best average score**. However, many countries show a deficit in human capital development and RnD investment, despite having knowledge workers.
 - **Transforming (Partial Success):** Some countries like Costa Rica and Mexico perform relatively well in transforming capabilities (creative and knowledge outputs) but lag in sensing and seizing, suggesting innovation occurs without fully considering environmental changes.
- **Key Deficits:** To improve innovation, Latin America needs to strengthen institutions, increase investment in RnD, develop human capital.

Sustainable Development (Based on Sustainable Development Report 2020):

- **Overall Performance:** Most Latin American countries rank in the middle portion globally. Chile, Costa Rica, Uruguay, and Ecuador are in the top 50 of 166 countries.
- **Regional Priorities (Highest-Ranked SDGs):**
 - SDG 1 (No Poverty);
 - SDG 4 (Quality Education);
 - SDG 13 (Climate Action)
- **Significant Challenges (Lowest-Ranked SDGs):**
 - **SDG 9 (Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure)** was the lowest-ranked goal in 10 countries.
 - **SDG 10 (Reduced Inequality)** was the lowest-ranked in eight countries, indicating it is not a key priority for most governments in the region.

1.2.4 Proposed Roadmap and Policy Implications

Integrated Approach: Effective strategy requires a systemic approach that aligns strong **institutions, mission-oriented policies, dynamic capabilities, and innovation**.

Role of Institutions: Strong, inclusive institutions are crucial for setting the direction through mission-oriented policies that coordinate public and private actors. Weak institutions make it difficult to address critical problems.

Role of Government (Public Sector):

- Government should not just fix market failures but actively **co-create markets and ecosystems**.
- The public sector must take a leading role in translating societal challenges into concrete missions. This requires competent public agencies and dynamic capabilities within the state.

Human Capital: Substantial investment in education and human resource development is essential to build the skills required for innovation.

Policy Focus: Policies must encourage a shift from a risk-management approach to one focused on seizing opportunities for sustainable innovation.

1.3 Eduardo Gudynas (2013) Debates on Development and its Alternatives in Latin America: A Brief Heterodox Guide, in *Beyond Development: Alternative Visions from Latin America*, M. Lang and D. Mokrani, eds. Quito: Fundación Rosa Luxemburg, pp.15-39.

1.3.1 The Conventional Concept of Development

Definition and Origins: Development is conventionally understood as economic and social progress, often tied to growth, modernization, and higher standards of living. Its modern usage in social sciences solidified after World War II, establishing a division between ‘developed’ and ‘underdeveloped’ nations.

Core Ideas (Mid-20th Century):

- Development became almost synonymous with economic growth.
- It was viewed as a **linear process** where ‘underdeveloped’ countries should emulate Western nations, as described in Rostow’s stages of growth.
- Indicators like Gross Domestic Product (GDP) became primary targets.
- This model legitimized resources exploitation and the destruction of cultures and the environment in the name of progress.

1.3.2 Early Critiques and ‘Development Alternatives’

These critiques question the *methods* of development but often accept its core goal of material progress.

Dependence Theory (1960s-1970s):

- Challenged the linear view, arguing that **underdevelopment is a consequence of development**, not a prior stage.
- Ascribed this condition to colonialism, imperialism, and asymmetrical power relations between the industrial ‘centre’ and the resource-exporting ‘periphery’.
- While critical, this school still prioritized industrialization and economic growth.

Ecological Limits to Growth (1970s):

- The 1972 Club of Rome report, *The Limits to Growth*, argued that **perpetual economic growth is impossible** on a finite planet.
- This report was widely attacked, including by some Latin American intellectuals who saw it as a threat to modernization and the use of the region’s resources.
- A Latin American response, *Catastrophe or New Society?* (1975) argued problems were sociopolitical, not physical, and proposed a socialist model but still defended economic growth, albeit regulated.

Human-Centered Approaches:

- Sought to separate development from purely economic growth and focus on social dimensions.
- Key concepts include:
 - **Another development:** Emphasized meeting basic needs, self-reliance, and endogeneity (defined within each society).
 - **Human scale development (Max Neef):** Focused on people, not objects, and addressed poverty as a plural concept of unmet needs.

Sustainable Development:

- Initially (1980), it meant using renewable resources without exceeding their renewal rates to meet human needs.
- The WCED's 'Our Common Future' (1988) report offered a widely cited by polysemic definition that ultimately **reconciled sustainability with economic growth**, turning opposites into mutually dependent concepts.
- This was criticized for being a 'contradiction in terms' as "nothing physical can grow indefinitely".

1.3.3 The Ideology of Progress and the Post-Development Critique

This school of thought critiques the foundational *ideas* behind development itself.

Development as Ideology: The persistence of development, despite its failures, suggests it functions as an **ideology** – the contemporary expression of the ideology of **progress**. This ideology is shared across conventional liberal, conservative, and socialist thought.

Post-Development:

- A post-structuralist approach that deconstructs development as a **discourse** that shapes thought, institutions, and practices.
- It does not seek 'another development' but rather examines its ecological foundations.

Critique of Modernity: Questioning development requires questioning the project of **Modernity**, which is rooted in:

- A universalizing model based on European culture;
- A linear concept of history as progress from 'backwardness';
- A sharp **duality separating society from Nature**, with Nature being an object for human use.

Coloniality of Power: Modernity was introduced to Latin America via colonialism, imposing certain ideas about society, knowledge, and history while excluding others (e.g., indigenous knowledge systems).

1.3.4 Alternatives to Development

These frameworks seek to move beyond the ideology of progress and the assumptions of Modernity.

Core Concepts:

- They are **post-capitalist and post-socialist**, breaking with the shared ideology of progress.
- They challenge the society/Nature duality, often incorporating biocentric ethics (recognizing Nature's intrinsic view) and relational ontologies.
- They prioritize **well-being in a broad sense**, including collective, spiritual, and ecological dimensions, over material accumulation.
- They require intercultural exchange and the inclusion of other knowledge systems, especially indigenous ones.

Buen Vivir ('Good Living'):

- An example of alternative to development, drawing heavily on Andean indigenous knowledge (e.g., *sumal kawasy*, *suma gamana*) as well as critical Western traditions like biocentrism and feminism.
- It breaks with anthropocentrism and linear progress to focus on community well-being in harmony with Nature.
- It can be understood as a political platform for building social orders free from the constraints of modernity.

1.3.5 Contemporary Context: Progressive Governments and Neoextractivism

Since the late 1990s, many Latin American ‘progressive’ governments have rejected neoliberalism. However, in practice, they largely adhere to a conventional development model based on **economic growth, investment and exports**.

This has led to **progressive neoextractivism**: the intensive exploitation of natural resources (mining, oil), to fund social programs. This model perpetuates environmental and social harm, denies ecological limits, and reproduces core tenants of development myth identified by Furtado decades ago.

2 Governance and Protest in the Twenty-First Century

2.1 Rosalía Cortés (2009) Social Policy in Latin America in the Post-neoliberal Era. In: Jean Grugel and Pía Riggirozzi (eds) Governance after Neoliberalism in Latin America. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

2.1.1 Introduction to Social Policy Evolution in Latin America

Focus: Social security and labour law reforms since mid-1980s.

Guiding Argument: Governing coalitions determine national economic strategy, influencing service distribution and social protection access.

Mechanisms: State-directed redistribution via institutions covering goods/services, social assistance, insurance, and labour legislations. These shape social protection levels and economic rights distributions.

Aim: Analyze new social policies in an emergent post-neoliberal era.

Context: Regional social policy matrix reshaped by economic liberalization and neoliberal growth paradigm in late 1980s-1990s.

Neoliberal Social Policy: Result of new governing coalitions incorporating business interests (local/global) and International Financial Institutions (IFIs) demands.

2.1.2 Changing Paradigms of Social Policy

Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) Era (1940s-mid-1970s)

- **Countries:** Larger Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico).
- **Alliances:** Strengthened political alliances between governing parties, employers, and trade unions.
- **Union Influence:** Trade unions influenced policy, securing social insurance benefits and income policies.
- **Social Policies:** Broad access in education and health with stable budgets and centralized implementation.
- **Problems:** Recurrent financing issues, cyclical downturns, inflation resolved by IFI-sponsored stabilization (wage/expenditure constraints). Led to stagnating investment (infrastructure, health, education) and deteriorating living standards (‘lost decade’ of the 1980s).
- **Neglect:** Social Policies and labour law reinforced government-union links, directed protection mainly to workforce, neglecting rural and poorest populations. This segmented provision created long-term difficulties for universal access to welfare and justice.

End of ISI and Neoliberal Shift (1980s Onwards):

- **Transition:** ISI ended in the 1980s, economic strategies shifted from import substitution to open economies.
- **Governing Coalitions:** New governments eliminated unions from policy debates, adopted IFI strategies, and accommodated local/global business groups.
- **Neoliberal Reforms:**
 - Curtailment of public expenditure;
 - Privatization of social security;
 - Introduction of labour regulation flexibilization
 - **Official View:** Policies would protect the poor from economic transition impacts.
 - **Reality:** Reinforced negative impacts of open markets on labour and living conditions.
- **Business Dominance:** Business interest, supported by IFIs, pushed for reduced state economic regulation and social protection.
- **Corporatism:** In Argentina and Mexico, historic links between governing parties and labour helped contain union opposition, leading to corporatist agreements for reform and social security privatization.
- **Initial Outcomes:** Neoliberal policies and financial liberalization brought immediate price stabilization and short-lived growth (except Chile).
- **Negative Outcomes:** Open markets led to declining output, business closures, and growing unemployment. International financial crises (mid-1990s) exacerbated economic crisis.
- **Stagnation and Inequality:** Prolonged period of stagnation and increasing inequality (1998-2003) contributed to social unrest.
- **Social Movements:** Weakened trade unions meant social movements and civil society organizations represented marginalized groups, demanding better living standards and state intervention.
- **Political Shift:** Led to dramatic political changes; Left-leaning presidents emerged since early 2000s, reflecting demands for change.
- **Post-Neoliberal Era:** Policy mix and macroeconomic reshaping varies by country; attempts to combine social citizenship with market-led policies, or state-centered economy. No consolidated new paradigm, but gradual, tentative alternatives to neoliberalism.

2.1.3 Economic and Social Reform Under Neoliberalism

Paradigm Shift: Economic strategies shifted from import substitution to open economies, reflecting global trends and new governing coalitions.

Governing Coalitions: Eliminated trade unions from policy debates, acquiesced to local/global business demands, adopted IFI strategies.

Neoliberal Social Reform (Key Pillars):

- Curtailment of public expenditure;
- Privatization of social security;
- Flexibilization of labour regulations.

Official vs. Actual Impact: Policies officially aimed to protect the poor, but in fact reinforced negative impacts of open markets on labour and living conditions.

Role of Business/IFIs: Business interests (supported by IFIs) gained dominance, pushing for reduced state regulation and social protection.

Political Maneuvering: In Argentina and Mexico, corporatist agreements (historic links between parties and labour) helped contain union opposition to reforms.

A. Social Security Reforms under Neoliberalism:

- **Privatization:** Began around 1992 (Argentina, Bolivia, Columbia);
- **Shift in Responsibility:** Pensions became an individual responsibility, replacing shared risks with privately managed individual savings accounts.
- **Scheme Structure:** Typically maintained a public basic pensions system and introduced a mandatory, fully financed private scheme with fixed worked contributions and variable benefits.
- **Consequences:** Maintained or deepened earning inequalities and breached the social contract between generations.
- **Limited Initial Opposition:** Existing public schemes had limited coverage (excluding rural and informal workers), so privatization mainly affected formal sector workers. Public schemes were also seen as financially failing, fostering a ‘no-alternative’ view among the urban middle class.
- **IFI Influence:** IFIs favoured pension privatization; debate exists on whether they conditioned loans or indirectly influenced market-oriented models. Domestic support was crucial.
- **Country Examples:**
 - * **Argentina:** Introduced a **mixed system** (Reformed public basic pensions + fully funded second tier managed by unions/private banks) after intense negotiations, gaining union approval through economic benefits.
 - * **Mexico:** Initial social security (IMSS) for ISI-era workers faced bankruptcy by the 1980s, exacerbating poverty. Ministry of Finance pushed for privatization. A 1992 scheme avoided structural change, but the 1995 financial crisis led to a new 1997 scheme: increased retirement benefit threshold, closed the old scheme for new entrants (who joined private schemes), while maintaining privileged pensions for state officials. State’s financing shared increased, eventually shifting all formal labour to the new system.
 - * **Brazil:** Did not follow the region’s privatization pattern due to its segmented labour market. The 1988 Constitution recognized universal social rights, but 1990s economic problems limited expansion. President Cardoso made small changes for private sector workers. Brazil implemented a ‘vertical mass expansion’, extending targeted social assistance to uninsured workers, rather than universal access.
- **Outcomes:** Low coverage persisted (2005: 65% formal, 21% informal workers contributed). Compliance fell. Private management became concentrated, with high administrative costs.

B. Labour Market Reforms under Neoliberalism:

- **Traditional Context:** Labour law was generally protective, guaranteeing employment regularity for formal workers (e.g., penalizing dismissals, limiting fixed-term contracts).
- **Neoliberal Reforms:** Aimed to flexibilize contracts, reduce termination penalties, facilitate outsourcing, and link wage increases to productivity.
- **Impact:** Negatively affected workers’ living standards and increased insecurity.
- **Country Examples:**
 - * **Argentina:** Deep reforms, relaxing dismissal costs and transferring employment responsibilities to state/agencies/subcontractors, with some union support.

- * **Mexico:** Adapted labour costs/discipline without new legislation. Agreements with trade unions (CTM) allowed flexible working, short-term contracts, and subcontracting. Fixed earnings meant real wages dropped 60% over 20 years due to inflation.
- * **Brazil:** 1988 Constitution increased worker protections. President Cardoso's 1998 legislation increased flexible working, limited individual rights, introduced part-time contracts, and removed fixed-term contract limits.
- **Overall Outcomes:** Curtailed individual worker rights, expanded short-term contracts, leading to increased employment and income security. The number of unregistered workers (without basic labour rights) grew.
- **IFI Response:** IADB and World Bank programs provided loans for technical cooperation, training, and public works to manage reform fallout and embed labour market reforms.

2.1.4 Legacy of Economic Social Reform (Neoliberalism)

Economic Performance: Improved export performance, controlled inflation, reduced fiscal deficits. However, output growth fell (from 5.7% to 3.5% annually). Financial liberalization increased vulnerability to foreign funds.

Shrinking State Protection: State intervention reoriented towards targeted assistance, reducing social protection and enhancing the labour market's role in shaping living conditions.

Debate on Social Inequality:

- **Walton (2004):** Neoliberal transformation 'highly beneficial', increased growth without increasing social inequality. Attributed social problems to preexisting inequalities/ineffective institutions, not market reforms. Noted mixed impacts on inequality (Argentina up, Mexico down, Brazil improved).
- **Huber and Solt (2004):** Market reforms yielded disappointing results for social equity and democracy.
- **Contradictory Data:** Labour market and poverty data often contradict Walton's view.
 - **Employment:** Unemployment rose (8.2% to 10.5% 1990-2000), informal employment grew due to manufacturing crisis, privatization, and public sector cuts. Public sector jobs declined.
 - **Job Quality/Security:** Deteriorated, leading to employment instability and income security.
 - **Inequality:** Increased income concentration and widening inequality, with wage differentials between formal/informal sectors and declining informal sector incomes. Income share of poorest 40% fell to 10%.
 - **Poverty:** While poverty dropped early 1990s, by 1999 it was still higher than in the 1980s, and the income of the poor increased less than the non-poor.

Persistent Inequality: High poverty levels attributed to persistent long-term income and asset inequality.

Social Services: Changes reinforced barriers to accessing social services. Administrative reforms insufficient; added financial burden for the poor. Middle/high-income groups shifted to private providers.

- **Brazil (Exception):** Broadened social/political access to services to some extent, but mainly expanded social security within the formal sector, leaving informal workers "out of the system".

Civil Society and Clientelism: Claims that civil society channeled demands of the poor, unlike political parties. However, targeted local programs often reproduced exclusionary practices and facilitated clientelism. Local political leaders controlled beneficiary selection, reinforcing dependency. Not clear if it led to greater voice for the poor.

Overall Conclusion of Neoliberal Era: Economic reforms transformed the social world, with social policy reinforcing (not mediating) economic changes. Weakened labour movements and growing civil society

occurred amidst recession, falling incomes, and shrinking social protection, leading to policy crossroads in the early 21st century.

2.1.5 Emergence of New Economic and Social Strategies (Post-Neoliberal Era)

Context (Post-2003): Favourable global economy (commodity prices, exports) improved fiscal accounts. Crisis of 1998-2003 eroded previous coalitions, leading to Left-leaning government winning elections (Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile) on anti-neoliberal platforms.

Uncertainty: Unclear how much these new governments will dismantle existing neoliberal programs or create entirely new strategies.

Country-Specific Trends:

- **Argentina:**

- Began labour market re-regulation (2004).
- Reformed retirement system, encouraging return to public system, extended non-contributory pensions.
- Reoriented economic strategy (2002): currency devaluation boosted manufacturing/domestic market, urban employment.
- **Reinstated Collective Bargaining**, revived tripartite council for minimum wages (tripled by 2008).
- **Limitations:** Income policy primarily benefits formal waged workers, neglecting informal/precarious jobs.
- **Targeted Programs:** “Plan Jefes y Jefas de Hogar Desocupados” (cash transfers for household heads with conditions like schooling/vaccination) had broader but still insufficient coverage, with benefit values eroded by inflation.
- **Emerging Model:** Based on a **dichotomy enhancing rights for formal sector workers while neglecting others**, intensifying the formal/informal labour divide. Shift from ‘poverty’ to ‘labour issues’ on policy agenda.

- **Brazil:**

- **Lula da Silva:** Continued social security expansion for formal sector employees while directing expanding to poor families (“moderate reformism”). Unified public/private retirement schemes, reduced public employee benefits.
- **Targeted Programs:** Expanded conditional cash transfer programs (e.g., Bolsa Familia, which absorbed Fome Zero). Bolsa Familia covered 11 million families by 2006, aiming to reduce poverty and incentivize school/health access.
- **Critique:** Coverage expansion may have political motivations.
- **Overall:** Combines neoliberal continuity in social security with new attention to targeted programs, increased minimum wages, and federal centralization of social policy. The overall policy thrust remains largely inherited.

- **Mexico:**

- Social policy continued towards assistance for the vulnerable/poor, away from labour market support. Reflects collapse of ISI social coalition and declining importance of social security/labour rights.
- Prioritizes market role, with interventions restricted to cash transfer programs for the extremely poor.

- **Pioneer in CCTs:** Progresa (later Oportunidades) alleviated extreme poverty through conditional cash transfers (health checks, school attendance). Reached 24% of the population by 2005, showing some success in secondary school enrollment and child nutrition.
- **Limitations:** Less effective for primary school attendance; doesn't solve long-term access to health/education (90% of poor lacked healthcare in 2006).
- **Overall:** Fragmented social policies, with components from both pre- and post-neoliberal paradigms. Social security not fully privatized, education/health decentralized. Focus shifted from workers to extreme poverty.

2.1.6 Current Status of Social Policy in Latin America

Cash Transfer Programs (CTPs): Remain the **paradigm of social policy** in Latin America, largely due to governmental commitment to fiscal equilibrium.

Limitations of CTPS:

- **Partial Coverage:** Only provide partial coverage and satisfy basic needs, especially without broader redistributive measures (e.g., tax reform). Exclude important segments of the poor (e.g., poorly paid workers).
- **Bypass Institutions:** Often bypass public social institutions, rarely building independent citizenship.
- **Social Control/Clientelism:** Can facilitate interaction between governments and the poor, potentially serving as a means for social control or populist strategies by co-opting the poor and CSOs responsible for distribution. Clientelism arises when actors have discretion over benefit allocation.

Overall Emerging Model: A **segmented and limited model**, divided between regulations/provisions for formal workers and cash transfer programs for “the poor”.

Future Challenges: Universal social security coverage, full access to quality employment, and improved education/health are generally **not yet on the agenda**.

Regional Differences: Argentina has begun to undo elements of the neoliberal legacy, but this is less evident in Mexico, Brazil and Chile

2.2 Marie-Christine Doran (2017) The Hidden Face of Violence in Latin America: Assessing the Criminalization of Protest in Comparative Perspective. Latin American Perspectives 44(216): 183-2016.

2.2.1 Defining Criminalization of Protest

Terminology: Also referred to as criminalization of:

- Collective action/social protest;
- dissent;
- citizen participation;
- human rights defense.

Nature:

- Goes beyond mere penalization (imprisonment, new laws against activism).
- Involves **intimidation and repression** based on antagonizing civil/political rights (essential to democracy) as threats to national security/interest.

- **Delegitimizes citizens** and paves the way for unpunished human rights violations.
- Analytically, it's a **collective trend** that takes into account power relations and critically analyzes the discursive battle over what is 'peaceful' vs. 'illegal' or 'violent'.
- Includes enacting restrictive legislation, impunity for state officials, and refusal to investigate violations.
- Transforms peaceful, democratic actions into crimes subject to punishment.
- Legitimizes repression, turning community members into 'public enemies' accused of violence, delinquency, or terrorism.

Purpose:

- **Obscures the political nature** of violence, presenting it as an objective fact necessary for security.
- A form of **depoliticization**, neutralizing political aspects and providing legal cover for economic decisions.
- An indirect attack on the legitimacy of basic democratic conduct, leading to disregard for human life and gross human rights violations.
- Aims to **restrict democracy** and make it compatible with routinized violence against opponents, leading to "violence-compatible democracies" or "violent pluralism".

2.2.2 Causes and Enabling Factors of Criminalization

Criminalization is rooted in:

1. Continuity with Authoritarianism:

- **Identification of an internal threat** justifying unprecedented security policies.
- Militarization of police and increased military control over politics.
- Security policies in Latin America are continuous with antisubversion policies of authoritarian regimes.

2. Influence of Low-Intensity Democracy:

- **Reduction of democracy to a purely formal concept** (e.g., free elections, multi-party systems).
- **Delegitimization of all claim-based conflict.**
- This narrow view allows measures that render previously peaceful and legitimate practices illegal.
- Targets protests against natural-resource-based industry, educational rights, union rights, indigenous rights, and struggles against impunity.

3. "Blaming the Victims" under National Reconciliation:

- Strategy to eliminate conflict and avoid political instability, or a new 'breakdown of democracy'.
- State violence is attributed to the people's actions, making victims of dictatorship or state violence illegitimate.
- Justice for human rights violations is precluded, often justified as "disadvantageous to democratic processes". Impunity enshrined in reconciliation processes weakens the rule of law.
- Fear of social conflict and demands (especially for justice) has limited participation and led to regimes characterized as 'post-dictatorships'.

4. Intensification of Security Policies:

- Latin America, identified as the most violent continent, has become a “laboratory for security policies” (war on terrorism, drug trafficking, crime).
- These policies create new fronts against social conflict, where any opposition is deemed a threat.
- The state and police adopt a new role: protecting citizens (seen as victims of themselves) from uncontrollable violence, justifying a strong, Hobbesian state.
- This disclosure reduces past state responsibility for violence and reasserts state control over a “violence-prone society”. Militarization of society, as seen in Mexico, expands the military’s role into civil society segments.

2.2.3 Case Studies: Mexico and Chile

The article compares Mexico and Chile, two countries with different levels of civil violence, to illustrate criminalization.

A. Mexico: Beyond the War on Drugs

- **Context:** One of the most significant cases of criminalization since 2000, exacerbated by the “War on Drugs”.
- **Scale of Violence/Repression:**
 - Thousands of lawyers, activists, environmental defenders, and journalists imprisoned, tortured, assassinated, or forcibly disappeared.
 - **300% increase** in disappearances of activists and human rights defenders since 2012.
 - **25,000 forced disappearances** in six years (2008-2014), surpassing records of Southern Cone dictatorships. These are concentrated in states with vibrant social organization like Oaxaca.
 - Systematic and widespread torture (Mexico among top five countries globally in 2014).
 - High rates of sexual violence against women protestors during arrests/interrogations (nearly 75% of imprisoned women).
- **State Involvement and Collusion:**
 - Violence is often presented as solely due to drug traffickers, but this **underestimates the role of state forces** and their collusion with criminal networks.
 - **Narcopastel Dynamic:** Drug traffickers invest dirty money in large projects, often involving natural resources, with the **complicity of political/judicial authorities**. This specifically targets environmental defenders.
 - Direct collaboration between organized crime and police/military elements. Examples:
 - * **Padre Martin Octavio Garcia (2010):** Attacked, abducted, illegally detained, and tortured for organizing against a mine project in Oaxaca.
 - * **Cerezo Committee (2016):** Received death threats for defending human rights organizations.
 - * **Ayotzinapa Massacre (2014):** Exemplifies systematic persecution of social mobilizations.
- **Legislative and Constitutional Changes (2008):**
 - Broadened role and discretionary powers of security forces;
 - strengthened impunity for human rights violations by military and police;
 - criminalized various forms of collective action and restricted prisoner rights.
 - Legalized militarized police, allowing military courts to handle human rights violations by soldiers, upholding *fuero militar* (military immunity). This was justified by ‘efficiency’ in fighting drug trafficking, but had unexpected negative impacts on human rights.

- Established **preventive incommunicado detention** (*casas de arraigo*) for up to 80 days for organized crime suspects, used to repress protest and social movements.
- Application of **military justice to civilians**, denying due process.
- Criminalization of traditional protest practices, such as occupying political offices (*planton*).
- **Judiciary’s Role:** The judiciary in Mexico **actively supports criminalization**, taking social conflicts into the judicial sphere and imprisoning activists.
- **Protection Mechanisms:** New measures like the Victims’ Law and the Mechanism for the Protection of Journalists and Human Rights Defenders have been largely **ineffective** and serve as a “strategy of simulation” to legitimize the government externally.

B. Chile: Authoritarian Legacy of the Pinochet Dictatorship

- **Context:** Despite being a model of democratic transition with low civil violence, Chile exhibits troubling criminalization of human rights defense.
- **Key Legislation:** Primarily uses the **Antiterrorist Act (Law 18.314)**, inherited from the Pinochet dictatorship (1984) and strengthened in 1997.
 - Views peaceful actions, protest organization, and land occupations as ‘terrorist acts’.
 - Allows trials under military court provisions and sentences up to 30 years.
 - **Mapuche indigenous activist** are disproportionately targeted and serve sentences for defending ancestral lands and the environment.
 - Includes abroad definition of ‘threat’ and ‘terrorist intent’, even criminalizing hunger strikes by political prisoners.
- **International Condemnation:** The **Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR)** found the systematic application of the Antiterrorist Act to Mapuche actions inconsistent with the American Convention on Human Rights, violating the presumptions of innocence, equality, freedom of expression, and political rights.
- **Ongoing Repression:**
 - Despite condemnations, the Antiterrorist Act is still applied, and efforts were made to broaden its provisions with the defeated Hinzpeter bill (2012).
 - Beatings, torture, and forced disappearances of students and activists were documented following protests.
 - **Stereotyping:** Media and authorities systematically portray indigenous people, especially the Mapuche, as violent, leading to disproportionate sentencing (e.g., a pregnant Mapuche woman sentenced for stealing a lunchbox based on “presumed use of violence”).
 - Repression of *pobladores* (residents of marginal neighbourhoods) protesting housing issues, with threats to invoke the National Security Council and suspend constitutional guarantees by defining peaceful protests as ‘public calamity’.
- **Judiciary’s Role:** In contrast to Mexico, the Chilean judiciary has played a **progressive role** in countering violent practices against students. Adherence to ILO Convention 169 (right of indigenous peoples to be consulted) also offers potential for strengthening legal defense of indigenous rights.

2.3 Adriana Piatti-Crocker (2021) Diffusion of NiUnaMenos in Latin America: Social Protests Amid a Pandemic. *Journal of International Women’s Studies* 22(12)

2.3.1 #NiUnaMenos Movement Overview

Meaning: #NiUnaMenos translates to ‘Not One (woman) less’.

Origin: Conceived in Argentina in 2015 to protest misogynist violence.

Trigger Event: Sparked by the May 2015 murder of 14-year-old Chiara Paez, whose body was found severely beaten and buried by her boyfriend.

Founders: A group of Argentine journalists, artists, prominent feminists, and lawyers.

Main Goal: To combat violence against women and girls (VAWG).

Key Demands:

- Effective implementation of Law 26, 485 (integral protection against VAWG).
- Publication of official statistics on femicide.
- Creation of shelters for women victims of violence.
- Protection of women's rights, including the legalization of abortion and comprehensive sex and gender education.

Philosophical Approach: Embraces a 'feminism from below' that is intersectional, transversal, and horizontal, engaging with marginalized communities.

Impact: Provided women across Latin America a platform to demand greater gender equity and an end to misogynist violence.

2.3.2 Diffusion of NiUnaMenos

Definition of Diffusion: The process by which institutions, practices, behaviours, or norms are transmitted among individuals and/or social systems. The "transfer in the same or similar shape of forms and claims of contention across space or across sectors and ideological divides."

Diffusion Mechanism:

- **Relational Models:** Involve interpersonal contact and communication between transmitters and adopters. Activists often used similar social networks.
- **Non-relational Models:** Emphasize channels of information diffusion not dependent on personal contact, such as the media and **digital platforms**.

Role of Social Media:

- **Platforms Used:** Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and WhatsApp.
- **Impact:** Changed the depth and scope of protests, leading to an **unprecedented speed** in transmitting messages, strategies, identities, and goals.
- **Functionality:** Allowed large numbers of people worldwide to access and participate in protests through microblogging (e.g., Twitter) and social networking (e.g., Facebook). Hashtags connected groups with meaning and content.
- **Rapid Spread:** The #NiUnaMenos hashtag was globally trending on June 3, 2015, the day of the first protest. A Facebook page for the movement gained 130,000 likes early that month.

Transitional Spread and Adaptation: The movement diffused rapidly across Latin America, replicated in major cities like Lima (Peru), Quito (Ecuador), and Mexico City. Diffusion often involves **adaptation (re-invention)** to local cultural or institutional circumstances, while maintaining similar goals.

- **Example of Adapted Hashtags in Mexico (2016-2020):**

- **#MiPrimerAcoso (My First Assault):** to share experiences of sexual assault.
- **#SiMeMatan (If They Kill Me):** to protest authorities falsely claiming femicide committed suicide.
- **#JuntasyOrganizadas (Together And Organized):** for marches and strikes.

2.3.3 COVID-19 Pandemic's Impact on NiUnaMenos

Contrasting Effects:

- **Increased Urgency:** Measures to contain COVID-19 exacerbated gender-based violence (termed the 'second pandemic'), making #NiUnaMenos demands more urgent.
- **Challenges to Mobilization:** Government policies to contain the virus (e.g., stay-at-home orders, bans on gatherings) restricted mass street demonstrations, which were a core strategy.

Movement Adaptation: Initially, women's groups became more creative by organizing **virtual protests** to hold leaders accountable. Later in 2020 and beyond, street protests gradually resumed as domestic violence reached "unprecedented levels of urgency" and policy inaction persisted.

Exacerbation of Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG):

- Mandatory lockdowns and stay-in-place orders confined women with abusers, removing previous escapes.
- Worldwide, domestic violence increased **10% to 30%** within the first weeks of lockdown.
- **Latin American Examples (2020):**
 - Peru: Over **1,000 women disappeared** between March and June.
 - Paraguay: Domestic violence cases rose by over **35% per day** during lockdown.
 - Columbia: **99 women murdered** (January-June); emergency hotline saw a **230% increase** in domestic violence calls.

Governmental Responses and Their Efficacy: Many Latin American countries adopted COVID-19 specific measures (e.g., essential service declarations for shelters, new hotlines, pharmacy reporting points). However, despite these policies, domestic violence and femicide rates remained high, and implementation was often ineffective. Street demonstrations were often more effective and accessible for poor women with limited or no access to virtual venues.

2.3.4 Policy Change and Remaining Challenges

Increased Visibility: #NiUnaMenos significantly increased in visibility of gender-based violence and femicide across the region.

Existing Legislation: Even before #NiUnaMenos, 24 of 30 Latin American/Caribbean countries had legislation to protect victims of domestic violence, and over half had laws against femicide.

Persistent High Rates: Despite legislation, femicide and domestic violence rates remain high and often underreported (e.g., Bolivia had the highest femicide rate in South America in 2019 at 2.1 per 100,000 women; Mexico had 1.5 per 100,000).

Need for Effective Action: While digital platforms are crucial for activism, sustained change requires that activism and governmental policy translate into effective, operational action.

Root Causes: The problem is deeply rooted in Latin America due to pervasive sexism, discrimination, and machismo.

3 The Changing Left-Right Divide and the Durability of Elite Power

3.1 Thomas Chiasson-LaBel and Manel Larrabure (2019) Elite and Popular Responses to a Left in Crisis. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 108: 87-107.

3.1.1 Central Thesis: A Relational Approach to the Pink Tide's Crisis

The crisis of the 'pink tide' (a wave of left-of-centre governments from the early 2000s) is best understood through a **relational approach**.

This approach challenges **state-centred** perspectives that overemphasize the autonomy of the state and the role of charismatic leaders.

It focuses on the **balance of class forces** by analyzing the interactions between three key actors:

- Governments;
- Economic Elites;
- Popular Movements.

The central question is whether pink tide governments successfully empowered popular sectors while undermining the political capacity of economic elites.

3.1.2 Timeline of the Pink Tide's Decline

Early Signs: The 2009 coup in Honduras and the impeachment of Fernando Lugo in Paraguay were initial indicators.

'Undeniable' right turn (2015-2016):

- **Argentina (2015):** Mauricio Macri, a wealthy businessman, won the presidency.
- **Brazil (2016):** The impeachment of Dilma Rousseff set the stage for the rise of the far-right Jair Bolsonaro.
- **Venezuela (2015):** The opposition coalition won a majority in the National Assembly for the first time since 1998.

Further Signs of Decline:

- **Ecuador:** President Lenin Moreno shifted to a neoliberal path, splitting his own party.
- **Bolivia:** Evo Morales lost a 2016 referendum on term limits but ran for re-election anyway in 2019; protests over suspected electoral irregularities led to his ousting.

3.1.3 Critique of Mainstream Analytical Frameworks

State-Centred Perspectives: These analyses assume the state acts independently of social forces, focusing only on government actions. They often exhibit a paternalistic tendency a 'coloniality of knowledge' by using the Global North as a model for comparison without adequately integrating local context.

The Populism Thesis: This popular framework divides the left into a 'good' institutional left (e.g., Brazil's PT) and a 'bad' populist left (e.g., Chavez, Correa, Morales).

- **Critique 1:** This thesis incorrectly portrays populist leaders as the *cause* of weak institutions. A better perspective sees populism as the *result* of a broken institutional order that fails to meet popular demands.
- **Critique 2:** The focus on charismatic leaders portrays popular sectors as passive followers, overlooking the vibrant and often autonomous social movements that were active during this period.

3.1.4 The International Context and its Internal Mediation

A. The Economic Context:

- **Commodities Boom:** Driven by China’s growth, a boom in commodity prices allowed Latin American economies to resist the 2008 global financial crisis.
- **‘Re-primarization’:** A key failure of all pink tide governments was their inability to diversify their economies. Instead, they deepened their reliance on primary resource extraction. This left them vulnerable when China’s growth slowed and commodity prices fell after 2012-2014.
- **Internal Mediation:** The effects of the global economy were mediated locally. For example, Bolivia and Ecuador pursued counter-cyclical public investment, while Brazil adopted austerity, which was still not enough to satisfy local elites.

B. The Geopolitical Context:

- **‘International Bonapartism’:** The rise of the left was enabled by a geopolitical ‘window of opportunity’ where US hegemony was diminished (due to its focus on Iraq and Afghanistan) and China had not yet become a dominant global power.
- **Alternative Regionalism:** This period allowed for the creation of new regional institutions (e.g., UNASUR, ALBA-TCP, CELAC) that challenged US influence and provided stability for left-wing governments.
- **Decline of Alternative Regionalism:** These institutions were heavily dependent on the governments that created them and on Venezuelan oil rents. They did not survive the pink tide’s decline, the end of the commodities boom, and the reassertion of US influence in the region.

3.1.5 Key Findings from the Relational Approach

The core argument is that the changing balance of power is best understood by examining the relationships between the state, elites, and popular sectors in specific national contexts.

Conclusion 1: Left governments failed to durably undermine the political power of economic elites.

- Elites developed strategies to block reforms, regain influence, and eventually recapture state power.
- Examples of Elite Resilience:
 - **Argentina:** Elites engaged directly in politics by forming the PRO party, which won the 2015 election.
 - **Ecuador:** Elites adapted to the Correa government’s institutional changes, developed new means of influence, blocked reforms like an inheritance tax, and eventually gained access to the executive.
 - **Bolivia:** Elites from Santa Cruz instigated protests and forced the Morales government into a ‘catastrophic standoff’, which resulted in a less radical program and compromises with elite interests.
 - **Chile:** The center-left government developed intimate ties with economic elites, who in turn created sophisticated ‘technologies of power’ to ensure consent for extractivist projects.
- **Conclusion 2: Interactions between governments and popular movements did not sufficiently strengthen popular sector capacities to counterbalance elites or radicalize change.**

- The relationship was complex, often involving simultaneous support and defiance, rather than a simple alliance.
- In many cases, left government **weakened autonomous social movements**, viewing them as threats to stability rather than as essential allies.
- Examples of weakened movements:
 - * **Ecuador:** The Correa government bypassed, repressed, and closed institutional spaces previously won by the Indigenous movement (CONAIE).
 - * **Brazil:** The PT government formed alliances with right-wing parties, disappointing its base and failing to cope with ne democratic demands that erupted in 2013.
 - * **Bolivia:** The government dismissed left-wing critiques from social movements with paternalistic labels like ‘NGOism, the infantile disease of rightism’.

3.2 Luis Bonilla (2018) Captured Democracy: Government for the Few (Executive Summary). OXFAM International

3.2.1 Core Concepts: Captured Democracy and State Capture

State’s Role in a Democracy: To design public policies that tackle poverty and inequality while enhancing citizens.

‘Captured’ State: A state is ‘captured’ when it grants privileges to a few over the majority, and its policies reduce or limit the rights of citizens. This process involves the abusive influence of an elite for its own interests over the public policy cycle.

Public Perception in LAC: 75% of the population believes their government is run by powerful groups for their own benefit. 65% report dissatisfaction with democracy.

3.2.2 The Vicious Cycle: Inequality, Capture, and Democracy

Inequality as a Democratic Indicator: High inequality is a significant indicator of a democracy’s quality, as democracies are based on the premise of equal rights for all.

Relational Cycle:

- High concentration of wealth and power increases the elite’s capacity to shape laws and policies to protect their privileges.
- This ‘state capture’ leads to policies that reproduce inequality.
- To tackle capture, one must tackle inequality, and vice versa.

The Paradox: Increasing democracy is the only way to limit state capture, which will increase equality. However, increasing equality is also the only way to increase democracy.

The Solution: The imbalance can only be addressed by ensuring **greater citizen participation and representation**.

3.2.3 Fiscal Policy and Its Impact in LAC

Purpose: Fiscal policy is the state’s primary tool for wealth redistribution.

Ineffectiveness in LAC:

- Fiscal policy in LAC is a ‘missed opportunity’ for reducing inequality.

- While OECD countries reduce market income inequality by 35% through fiscal policy, the reduction in LAC is only 6%.

Poverty Increase:

- In six LAC countries, fiscal policy's net effect *increased* the number of people living in poverty (Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, and El Salvador).
- The poorest people in six countries are **net contributors** to the fiscal system, rather than beneficiaries, due to the impact of indirect taxes like VAT. This reduces their access to basic human rights like health and education.

3.2.4 Mechanisms of Fiscal Capture by Elites in LAC

Elites use various mechanisms to influence fiscal policies for their own benefit. The most common are:

1. Media Campaigns (69% of cases):

- **Definition:** Controlling information to define the public debate agenda and shape public opinion. Media ownership is highly concentrated ('media feudalism').
- **Example:** In Paraguay (2012), a media company owned by a major shareholder in soya bean exporting company led a campaign that contributed to the ousting of a president who supported taxing soya products.

2. Revolving Door (69% of cases):

- **Definition:** The unhindered movement of high-ranking individuals between the public and private sectors, leading to conflicts of interest.
- **Example:** In Argentina (2017), 40% of top officials in the treasury ministry were former CEOs or managers from the private sector.

3. Extraordinary Regulatory Procedures (62% of cases):

- **Definition:** Routinely using non-standard procedures (e.g., executive orders, fast-tracked bills) to bypass public deliberation and participation.
- **Example:** In Peru (2015), 62% of public-private partnership (PPP) contracts has addenda added after being signed, suggesting contracts are won with non-viable proposals and then renegotiated.

4. Exploiting Political/Electoral System Weaknesses (54% of cases):

- **Definition:** Using party funding and other electoral system features to secure fiscal privileges.
- **Example:** Brazilian company Odebrecht systematically funded political campaigns across LAC to secure lucrative public works contracts.

5. Lobbying (46% of cases):

- **Definition:** A disproportionate capacity to lobby due to greater financial resources and access to informal networks (e.g., shared schools, social circles.)
- **Example:** In Chile (2014), a tax reform bill negotiated in private meetings between government officials and private sector representatives, outside of any formal lobbying law.

6. Technical Smokescreen (31% of cases):

- **Definition:** Repackaging political decisions as highly technical issues to exclude the general public from the debate. Elites can also fund think tanks to present their interests as objective research.
- **Example:** In Peru (2014), a tax reform law was so technical that 74% of the population reported not knowing about it.

7. Exploiting Regulatory Frameworks for Participation (31% of cases):

- **Definition:** Creating or using regulations to ensure elite over-representation in decision-making bodies.
- **Example:** In the Dominican Republic (2014), committees on tax incentives for companies had no space for citizen participation and were dominated by private sector interests.

8. Judicialization of Policy (23% of cases):

- **Definition:** Using the court system, particularly constitutional courts, to delay or block fiscal reforms that affect elite interests.
- **Example:** Guatemala's Constitutional Court received hundreds of petitions between 1996-2018 or to halt or weaken tax reforms, often benefiting business elites.

9. Bribes and Influence Padding:

- **Definition:** Illegal payments to influence policy and budget allocation.
- **Example:** Odebrecht admitted to paying \$780 million in bribes across 10 LAC countries, which allowed the company to achieve profits of almost \$3 billion.

10. Co-opting Marches and Protests:

- **Definition:** Elites encouraging social mobilization to support measures that favour their own interests.
- **Examples:** In Ecuador (2015-16), business leaders led a campaign against an inheritance tax, mobilizing people who were unlikely to ever be affected by it.

11. Opacity in Tax Havens:

- **Definition:** Using banking secrecy and tax havens to evade taxes and conceal illicit activities.
- **Example:** Odebrecht was linked to at least 17 companies in tax havens, which were used to launder money and hide payments to politicians.

3.3 Lecture

- The roster of elites hasn't changed much despite all events taking place in Latin America, and all the regime changes.
- Left/Right distinction as a matter of situating ideologies.
- Left considered an expansion of social rights;
- Right considered a constriction of social rights.
- Economically, left calls for regulation;
- Economically, the right calls for deregulation. privatization, austerity, and security.
- The distinction between left and right is *relative depending on context* (very partial list of factors):
 - State power;
 - Previous experiences of the left or right in power;
 - Allies and Affinities (IMF/International Financial Institutions (IFIs)?);
 - Elite networks (regional/global powers);
 - Cosmopolitanism vs. Tradition;
 - Time (future/past, duration in position (government opposition));

- Relation/Reaction to Contestation.
- Governments have increasingly seen political dissent and protest as dangerous and criminal as opposed to the liberal definition of a healthy society.
 - This is especially prominent concerning national development projects being protested by land defenders, water defenders, indigenous defenders etc.
 - A series of legal and discursive techniques are used, including anti-terrorism laws, restrictive legislation, impunity for official violators, refusal to investigate, ‘delinquency’ and securitization of civil society, and stability and economic measures as supreme social values.
- Seen in recent events in Chavez’s Venezuela.
- A new reaction to socialist ideology in the context of the developing global order. This reaction is in line with traditional elite mechanisms and interests (establishing control over institutions and legal mechanisms to maintain elite status without legal or political recourse unlike political figures who experience this recourse).
 - Return to Comparative Advantage, market fundamentals;
 - Defense of traditions vs. accelerationism;
 - populism – mass mobilization;
 - re-emergence of cold war framing;
 - China, decline of the US, climate crisis and decarbonization;
 - Persistence of elite power despite turbulence in the 1990s-2000s.
- The elite responses to the pink tide:
 - Cooperation with governments in power and adapting to new realities;
 - protests to changes and capitalizing to protests;
 - Barry Cannon: ‘Coups, Smart Coups, and Elections’.

4 Bolivia: Continuities and Change during the MAS Era

4.1 Gabriel Hetland (2019) Understanding Bolivia’s Nightmare. NACLA Report of the Americas <https://nacla.org/news/2019/11/19/bolivia-morales-coup>

4.1.1 The Event: A Military Coup

The events in Bolivia culminating in President Evo Morales’s ouster constituted a coup.

Defining Factor: The military demanded that Morales step down.

- The military head’s use of the word ‘suggest’ is considered irrelevant; when the military intervenes to ask a president to leave, it is a coup.
- This occurred on November 10, and Morales resigned shortly after.

4.1.2 Lead Up and Immediate Causes (2016-2019)

A. Presidential Re-election Controversy

- **2016 Referendum:** Morales narrowly lost a referendum on allowing indefinite presidential re-election.

- * His supporters claimed a ‘dirty war’ involving a media scandal about a ‘love child’ may have influenced the result.
- **2017 Court Decision:** An electoral court overturned the referendum’s result, permitting Morales to run in 2019.
- **Outcome:** This decision generated widespread dissent, particularly among urban middle classes.

B. The October 20, 2019 Election

- **Result:** Morales won the election in the first round.
- **Fraud Allegations:** The Organization of American States (OAS) led charges of fraud, stating on November 10 that it could not certify the result.
- **Counter-Evidence:** A report by the Center for Economic Policy and Research (CEPR) argues that OAS was biased and failed to present actual evidence of fraud.

C. Protests and Escalation

- **Initial Protests:** Large protests against Morales occurred in the weeks following the election, fueled by both the re-election issue and fraud allegations. They were initially led by urban middle classes.
- **Right-Wing Leadership:** **Luis Fernando Camacho**, a conservative businessman, led calls for Morales’s resignation, pushing the protests to the political Right.
- **Final Events:**
 - * Police mutinies occurred on November 8 to 9.
 - * The military ‘suggested’ Morales resign on November 10.

4.1.3 Long-Term Contributing Factors

The 2011 TIPNIS Conflict: A plan to build a road through the TIPNIS national park created divisions.

- Led to a split between Morales and some leftist figures and organizations.
- **Weakened Social Movements:** The government (MAS party) played a role in dividing popular organizations, weakening their capacity to mobilize in Morales’s defense in 2019.

4.1.4 The Post-Coup Regime: Jeanine Anez

A. Nature of the Regime

- Described as a ‘**far-right regime of terror**’ and a ‘**dictatorship-in-embryo**’.
- Marked by systematic violation of political and human rights.

B. Anez’s Illegitimate Ascension

- **Power Vacuum:** Assumed the presidency after the forced resignations of Morales, his VP, and the heads of both houses of Congress.
 - * Resignations were coerced via kidnapping of officials’ relatives and arson.
- **Unconstitutional:** As vice president of the Senate, she had no constitutional authority to assume the presidency.
- **Lack of Quorum:** Sworn in a nearly empty Senate, as MAS senators (two-thirds majority) were boycotting due to safety fears.
- **No Mandate:** Her political party received only 4% of the vote in the October 20 election.

C. Ideology and Policy

- **Religious and Anti-Indigenous:** Anez and her mentor Camacho are described as fervently Christian and highly racist.
 - * Symbolic acts included bringing an oversized Bible to the palace and a pastor declaring “Pachamama will never return”.
 - * Led to a wave of anti-Indigenous racism, including the public burning and police desecration of the **wiphala flag**, an official national symbol.
- **Cabinet:** Her initial cabinet included no Indigenous ministers.
- **Foreign Policy:** Broke relations with Venezuela and Cuba.

4.1.5 State Repression and Human Rights Violations

A. Violence Against Protestors

- State security forces killed peaceful protestors with live bullets.
- **Sacaba Massacre (Nov 15):** Security forces killed nine nonviolent protestors.
- **Legal Impunity:** Anez issued a decree exempting armed forces from prosecution for use of force, effectively a ‘**license to kill**’.
- As of November 16th, at least 23 people had been killed and 715 injured in the violence.

B. Political Persecution

- The government threatened to detain MAS senators for **sedition and subversion** and prevent MAS from running in future elections.
- Anez’s minister of government called a former MAS minister an ‘animal’ he would ‘hunt down’.
- Threats were made against ‘seditionous’ journalists.

4.1.6 Resistance and International Reaction

Domestic Resistance:

- Massive Indigenous marches and protests erupted across the country against Anez’s government and the repression.
- Mobilizations included MAS supporters and a broader base of popular sectors opposed to the right-wing seizure of power.

International Reaction:

- Condemnation from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- US Senator **Bernie Sanders** called the events a coup.

Outlook:

- The sources describe Bolivia’s situation as a “descent into a full-blown far-right military dictatorship”.
- The state’s ferocious response suggests a “long, uneven, and deadly struggle” ahead.

4.2 Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl (2014) *The Land of Unintended Consequences*. In *Evo's Bolivia: Continuity and Change*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, Ch. 2.

4.2.1 Geography and Demographics

Physical Geography:

- **Extremes:** Renowned for extremes in landscape, history, and resources.
- **Diverse Terrain:** Encompasses two Andean mountain ranges, the high-altitude **altiplano** (over 11,500 ft.), temperate valleys (8,000 ft), Amazonian rainforests, wetlands, and the semidesert Chaco.
- **Geographic Superlatives:**
 - World's highest navigable lake (Lake Titicaca).
 - World's largest salt flat (Salar de Uyuni).
 - World's second-largest wetlands (Pantanal).
- **Administration:** Divided into nine departments.

Population and Ethnicity:

- **Density:** One of South America's lowest population densities.
- **Indigenous Majority:** Approximately **65% of Bolivians self-identity as indigenous**, the highest percentage in the Americas.
 - This identity is a fluid social category, not a racial one.
 - The percentage claiming indigenous heritage grew steadily for two decades.
- **Major Indigenous Groups:**
 - **Highlands:** **Aymara** and **Quechua** speakers are the most populous groups.
 - * **Quechua:** A conglomeration of ethnicities merged by the Inka Empire.
 - * **Aymara:** Resisted both Inka and Spanish domination, retaining their language and culture.
 - **Lowlands (East):**
 - * **Chiquitanos** (195,000): An ethnicity forged by Jesuits in the 17th-18th centuries; later subjected to force labour and debt peonage.
 - * **Guarani** (130,000): Conquered in 1892, they have since faced continuous dispossession of their lands.
 - * **34 smaller groups** (150,000 total): Devastated by disease, missions, and loss of territory.
- **Other Groups:**
 - **Mestizos** (25%): People of mixed European and indigenous heritage, or urbanized indigenous people.
 - **Criollos** (10%): Claim European heritage; historically the most economically and politically powerful group.

Socio-Economic Indicators (c. 2005):

- **Urbanization:** Two-thirds of the population lives in cities.
- **Inequality:** One of the most unequal income distributions in the world; the wealthiest 10% earned over 90 times more than the poorest 10%.
- **Poverty:** 60% of the population lived below the poverty line, with 37% in extreme poverty. Rural poverty was nearly double that of urban areas.
- **Demographics:** Life expectancy was 68 years; over a third of the population was under 15.

4.2.2 Indigenous Cultures and History

Ancient Andean Civilizations:

- **Tiwanaku** (300CE - 1000CE): Flourished near Lake Titicaca with complex hydrological systems; collapsed after a major drought.
- **Inka Empire** (15th Century): Dominated the region before the Spanish arrival through conquest and negotiation. They imposed the Quechua language guaranteed food security.

Social and Cultural Structures:

- **Ayllu**: A nested kinship system that continues to shape local governance.
- **Reciprocity and Collective Labour**: Practices like **ayni** (family labour exchange) and **mink'a** (community work) are common. Status is often based on contributions to the group's well being.
- **Cosmovision**: A worldview mixing animism with respect for nature.
 - **Pachamama** (Earth Mother) is a central living deity.
 - Time and space are seen as simultaneous reality, express in the word **pacha**.

Five Centuries of Globalization:

- **Extractive Economy**: Bolivia's vast natural resource wealth (silver, tin, rubber, hydrocarbons) has historically profited global powers rather than local interests.
- **Spanish Conquest (1532)**:
 - **Potosi Silver Boom**: For over a century, Potosi's **Cerro Rico** (Rich Hill) produced half the world's silver, fueling Europe's industrial revolution.
 - **Human Cost**: An estimated 1 to 4 million indigenous miners died. The indigenous population collapsed by 75-90% within 40 years due to disease and conquest.
- **Resistance**: Indigenous resistance to domination has been constant, with major uprisings led by the Aymara and Guarani during and after the colonial period.
- **Post-Independence (1825)**: Independence failed to improve conditions for indigenous people. The nation has struggled with internal cohesion, political instability (frequent coups), and regional demands for autonomy, especially from Santa Cruz.

4.2.3 20th Century and Neoliberalism

Tin Economy: By the early 20th century, tin replaced silver as the main export, making three 'Tin Barons' exceptionally wealthy and politically powerful.

1952 Nationalist Revolution:

- A coalition of middle class, miners, and peasants overthrew the elite government.
- **Key Reforms**: Nationalized the mines, implemented land reform in the highlands, and granted universal suffrage to indigenous people and non-literate women.
- **State Policy**: The ruling **MNR** party sought to create a unified mestizo nation, renaming 'Indians' as *campesinos* (country people). The **COB** (Bolivian Worker's Central) labour confederation was formed and became a powerful force for social justice.

Military Dictatorships (1964-1982):

- The army seized power, ushering in 18 years of repressive rule.

- The COB led the fight to restore democracy. The military maintained power partly through a pact with *campesino* unions, promising to protect the 1952 land reforms.

Neoliberal Era (1985-2005):

- Democracy returned in 1982 amid economic collapse and hyperinflation (estimated at 25,000%).
- In 1985, the government implemented a severe IMF-backed **New Economic Policy (NEP)**, a structural adjustment program that slashed public spending and liberalized trade.
- **Consequences:**
 - The global tin price collapsed, leading to the closure of state mines and the firing of 23,000 miners, which **eviscerated the COB labour movement**.
 - The workforce shifted from unionized formal labour to a largely informal one, with many displaced workers turning to coca cultivation in the Chapare region.
 - **Decentralization (1994):** Channeled 20% of the national budget to municipalities, expanding local political participation and strengthening indigenous identity.

Rise of Social Movements (2000s):

- Neoliberalism's failure to reduce poverty led to widespread protest.
- **Cochabamba Water War (2000):** Successfully reversed the privatization of the public water company.
- **Gas Wars (2003, 2005):** Mass protests forced two presidents from office, demonstrating the power of social movements to challenge corporations and governments.

4.2.4 The Country the MAS Inherited (2006):

Urban Landscape:

- Bolivia underwent a rapid transition from a rural to an urban society.
- **Santa Cruz:** Grew from 40,000 people in 1950 to 1.8 million, becoming the country's largest city and economic hub for agribusiness and natural gas. It is marked by extreme inequality.
- **La Paz-El Alto:** A metropolis of 1.8 million.
 - **El Alto** grew exponentially from displaced peasants and miners. By 2010, 74% of its residents self-identified as Aymara. It is known as the hemisphere's "most indigenous, most radical, and, ironically, most neoliberal city".
- **Cochabamba:** The country's former 'granary', now a metropolitan area of 1 million, with an economy shaped by the nearby coca/cocaine trade.

Challenges for the Morales Administration

- When Evo Morales was elected, the traditional political parties were in disarray.
- However, his government faced five major challenges:
 1. Navigating powerful **transnational actors (World Bank, IMF, U.S.)**.
 2. Diffusing opposition from **domestic elites** and institutions (Senate, judiciary).
 3. Reforming a public service built on old **patronage systems**.
 4. Governing with a **small pool of trained professionals** while facing pressure to reward supporters with government posts.
 5. Managing **enormous expectations** for immediate and radical change from its poor and indigenous base.

4.3 Alina Duarte (2020) Bolivia and Necessary Self-Critique: ‘In it not enough to have the government, we have to have people’s power’ Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://www.coha.org/bolivia-and-necessary-self-critique-it-is-not-enough-to-have-the-government-we-have-to-have-peoples-power>

4.3.1 Political Context: 2020 Election

MAS Victory: After a year-long de facto government established by a coup, Luis Arce of the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS) won the presidency with 55.11% of the vote. The prior regime was characterized by repression, racism, and corruption.

Morales’s Return: Former president Evo Morales returned from exile in Argentina.

Strengthened Social Movements: Resistance to the coup invigorated and renewed social organizations.

4.3.2 The Centrality of Self-Critique

Core Lesson: Self-criticism is presented as the most crucial lesson and the strongest tool for MAS to resume and fortify the “process of change”. It is necessary for understanding the errors that allowed the coup to happen.

Return to Origins: A primary challenge for MAS is to return to its origins as a ‘**political instrument**’ for popular sovereignty, not just a conventional political party. The goal is to build ‘**communitarian socialism**’ with the people.

4.3.3 Internal Analysis: Why the 2019 Coup Succeeded

Over-reliance on Government: A key mistake was the belief that simply holding government power was enough.

- High economic growth (annual GDP growth of 4.9% from 2006-2019) and infrastructure projects were insufficient without an accompanying process of political formation and consciousness among the populace.

Demobilization of Social Movements:

- When an indigenous leader (Morales) took power, the ‘enemy’ (capitalism, patriarchy, colonialism) was no longer a visible figure in office, leading to demobilization.
- Social movements became bureaucratized as they adopted the logic of wanting to be in office.

Failure to Transcend Capitalism: The government focused on meeting basic needs within the capitalist market rather than moving beyond it.

Internal Weaknesses:

- The party’s internal diversity, while a strength, also a “generated a weakness because it has not strengthened the axis of discussion”.
- Some sectors of the administration shifted to the right, implementing contradictory policies.

4.3.4 Future Tasks and Challenges

Build Popular Power: The main challenge is to decentralize government so that “**the real power is with the people**”. Revolutions are understood to be made by people through their organizations, not by governments.

Counter the Far-Right:

- Far-right paramilitary groups (e.g., Santa Cruz Civic Committee) have not been dismantled and continue to use threats and violence.
- Ending impunity for these groups is a key task for the new administration.

Strengthen International Solidarity: The need to rebuild regional organizations like ALBA and UNASUR is critical to defend against foreign intervention.

Media and Information: Independent media and social media were crucial in countering the corporate narrative during the coup. A future task is to restructure the media to support popular emancipation.

Immediate Goals: Protect the new government, defend the ‘process of change’, and rebuild the economy for the benefit of the people.