Special Publications on Development 5

Civil Society and Social Movements

Building Sustainable Democracies in Latin America

Arthur Domike
Editor

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SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS ON DEVELOPMENT No. 5

Civil Society and Social Movements:

Building Sustainable Democracies in Latin America

Edited by
Arthur Domike,
Esquel Group Foundation and
Fundação Grupo Esquel Brasil

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to Juan Felipe Yriart, former Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank and Uruguay's Ambassador to the United States. His infectious enthusiasm, particularly as President of the Esquel Group Foundation, brought many followers to the cause. His persistence helped the IDB recognize the role of civil society both in the governance of Latin America and in the IDB's development work.

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Preface

Over recent decades, the political and social landscape of Latin America has been transformed by the impressive growth of civil society organizations (CSOs) and civic activism. These citizen organizations have become an important and vibrant way to mobilize political energies and social aspirations of the least powerful: those who have been historically unrepresented or underrepresented by the political systems. Fueled by attention from the media and the Internet, CSOs have helped create an entirely new context for governing.

The book recognizes three types of CSOs:

- *Community-based organizations* pursue specific economic, political, or social objectives.
- *Social movements* are regional or national in scope and pursue well-specified social, economic, and/or political objectives.
- *Non-governmental organizations* engage in advocacy and service provision to target groups.

The 11 case studies in this book present a wide and varied view of CSOs in Latin America. Their impacts are examined under the still changing political environments in Latin America:

- Under dictatorships or where dictators recently ruled, CSOs and social movements are helping to achieve democracy (Chapters 2 and 3).
- In newly formed democracies with largely untested traditions, rules, and political leaders, CSOs are involved in the process of consolidating democratic institutions (Chapters 4 and 5).
- In effective, working democracies, CSOs seek to deepen democratic institutions by promoting wider political engagement and expanded social and economic opportunities (Chapters 6 through 12).

The first two case studies trace the role of CSOs in recapturing democracy in Brazil, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay (Chapter 2) and evaluate the part played by human rights organizations in Guatemala (Chapter 3).

The next two cases examine a progressive movement seeking an identity (the civic alliance in Mexico) and civil society's role in the spread of democratic institutions (participatory budgeting throughout the region).

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Four of the essays (Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 10) examine how citizens with little access historically to power—the rural poor, the Andean indigenous, the Amazonian natives, and women—have mobilized to improve their status and to be heard.

As a study in contrasts, Chapter 9 describes a failed social experiment—social housing in Chile—while Chapter 11 focuses on the roles of CSOs in building successful public-private programs to create and expand employment and business opportunities.

Chapter 12 explores the global system of philanthropies that has sprung up, driven by 25 million transnational Latin American and Caribbean families. Their remittances are creating new patterns of global giving and civic engagement across borders.

These cases show how CSOs have given birth to independent community leadership, taught people how to organize themselves and to design and implement new approaches to social problems. Against this backdrop, CSOs are almost certain to play an expanding role in shaping Latin America's future political and social landscape.

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Deep gratitude is due to the authors of the 11 case studies; their ample qualifications are summarized in the Annex. One of our authors, who was an important champion of civil society and co-founder of the Fundação Grupo Esquel Brasil, Marie-Madeleine Mailleux Sant'Ana, died suddenly on June 28, 2007.

The authors and editor worked under the guidance of our editorial board: Thomas F. Carroll, Ramón Daubón, Christof Diewald, Patricia Fagen, Carlos Garramon, Judith Gilmore, Roberto Mizrahi, Stahis Panagides, Patrick Quirk, Eduardo Remolins, Silvio Sant'Ana and Ana Tenorio.

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Chapter 1

Building Sustainable Democracies in Latin America

Arthur Domike

A post-dictatorship "rebirth" of Latin American democracy was celebrated at the 1994 Presidential Summit of the Americas. On subsequent reflection, Jorge Castañeda (2003:69) noted that "the region today faces an increasingly unpredictable future. People increasingly blame democracy for economic stagnation, or at least for failing to deliver economic growth."

Castañeda's view is confirmed by various opinion surveys. For example, Latinobarometro found in 2005 that citizen support for democracy was less than it had been a decade earlier.[1] Belief that their government is serving them well was very low in Peru, Paraguay and most of Central America. The picture is not all bleak, however: majorities supported their governments in Venezuela and Uruguay, and support was increasing in Chile and Mexico. In a parallel development, traditional political parties have lost their hold on broad sectors of the electorate. According to the *New York Times* (April 20, 2006) majorities of voters have rejected historically strong political parties in Bolivia, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, Mexico, Perú, and even in Costa Rica.

The Fundação Grupo Esquel Brasil, the Esquel Group Foundation and their associates accepted a challenge two years ago from the Inter-American Development Bank to help determine "the direction which future efforts should take to strengthen people's trust in their government systems and foster the broader engagement of civil society." The main challenge has been to "provide concrete guidelines for government, civil society and multilateral institutions in fostering and maintaining effective citizen participation in economic and social development projects."[2]

[1] See http://www.latinobarometro.org/. The results of their 2005 poll in eleven countries is found at http://www.economist.com/displaystory.cfm?story_id=5093522. These pessimistic views were only slightly less common in 2006, when only 54% of Latin Americans favored democracy over alternatives, as reported in *The Economist*, December 9–15, 2006.

[2] Terms of Reference for the grant to the Fundação Grupo Esquel Brasil, July 2005 by the Inter-American Development Bank.

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What has emerged from the study is not what the inherited wisdom may have led us to expect. Instead, we see that the broadly felt dissatisfaction with governments was not without cause. Many citizens who lacked confidence in their governors reacted by forming or joining new social movements and citizens' organizations. This phenomenon obliged an intensive look at the reasons for the emergence of civil society as a major political and social force, at the consequences for both the citizenry and the governments, and at the process of governing itself. The studies are presented below in Chapters 2 through 12, while the concluding Chapter 13 offers lessons to be drawn.

The widely felt disaffection with governments in Latin America has had many mothers. One is certainly the general lack of progress in meliorating social inequalities and poverty. The failure of most governments to confront these concerns became more pressing after adoption of economic policies by most countries that left the least well-off without the economic "safety nets" that earlier regimes had provided. These adverse impacts have been worsened by shifts in world industry and trade patterns and massive internal and international population migration. In addition, instant worldwide communications and media proliferation multiplied both citizens' awareness and their ability to react.

A second source of weakened citizen support and confidence in government is the memory of recent dictatorships. Almost everyone of voting age recalls that virtually all of continental Latin America[3] was ruled by dictators for some period between the 1960s and the 1990s. Today, these countries all have elected chief executives and legislatures with some form of democratic political structure. Even though this represents real improvement in the forms by which Latin Americans are governed, many citizens remember and resent the repressive years, and feel they have received few benefits from the democratic transformation.

The growth in numbers and effectiveness of citizen organizations has not gone unnoticed nor unsupported. For more than a decade, governments, international organizations, foundations and individuals have been investing resources in "democracy assistance" to civil society organizations (CSOs) in Latin America and elsewhere, in the hope that they would foster more effective democratic institutions (Ottaway and Carothers 2000; Shifter 2000; Manor, Robinson and White 1999; Feinberg, Waisman, and Zamosc 2006).

Our task is to explore the experiences, favorable and otherwise, of organized citizens in the region, and establish whether and how their activities effectively foster and expand "democracy." Democracy is seen as a culture and a set of values, and not simply as formal institutions and procedures, political parties and elections. We examine a range of civil

[3] During this period, Costa Rica, Mexico and Colombia were not presided over by unelected presidents, nor were several of the island countries of the Caribbean. However, Colombia's armed forces have had a substantial voice in the country's internal affairs for this period and Mexico's pre-1990 government was described as the "world's oldest authoritarian democracy" (see Chapter 4).

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society organizations, including social movements, currently operating in three political environments:

- under dictatorships (or where dictators recently ruled), CSOs and social movements are seeking to *achieve* democracy (Chapters 2 and 3),
- in nascent democracies with largely untested traditions, rules and political leaders, CSOs are involved in the process of *consolidating* democratic institutions (Chapters 4 and 5), and
- in effective, working democracies, the target CSOs are seeking to *deepen* democratic institutions by promoting wider political engagement and expanded social and economic opportunities (Chapters 6 through 12).

The CSOs and social movements selected here for close attention espouse concerns with human rights, environmental threats, treatment of women, opportunities for indigenous peoples, overcoming rural poverty, housing for low-income families, promoting small enterprises and local employment, participatory government budgeting, and immigrants' links to their home countries. These concerns are each important in defining democracy, and the values that sustain these organizations are the foundation of democracy's historical heritage. From these experiences we seek to show what is possible, what is desirable and what is problematic in efforts by civil society organizations (CSOs[4]) and their adherents to gain not only their specific organizational aims, but also to foster greater civic engagement and achieve more effective and durable democratic institutions and greater accountability to the governed.

To give a firm footing to our conclusions, we offer descriptions of key terms in the following pages, including that for civil society and the organizations on which study is focused, for democracy among diverse forms of governance, and for the often contentious interactions between civil society and the political society that citizens elect to govern.

What Is Civil Society?

Civil society, its citizen constituents and its organizations, are the prime focus of this work. Contradictory conceptions of civil society are easily found, both as to the definition and to the importance of its interaction with political society.

The idea of "civil society" is inherited from Greek and Roman philosophers, but has become an important element of contemporary political thought. Among other

[4] Without prejudice to those who use the term "non-governmental organization" (NGO) and "civil society organization" (CSO) interchangeably, we reserve CSO to characterize the broad category. We define the term "NGO" as advocacy and service organizations. See below and Sorj (2005).

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encomiums, it has been credited with "bringing down several dozen dictatorships of every possible description—authoritarian, communist, fascist, military …" (Schell, 2005). Edwards (2000) calls attention to the variations in appreciation of what civil society can achieve. For example, the libertarian Cato Institute in the U.S. sees CSOs as "fundamentally reducing the role of politics in society by expanding free markets and individual liberty." Meanwhile, the World Social Forum contends that civil society is "the single most viable alternative to the authoritarian state and the tyrannical market." To the UN, the World Bank, and the U.S. aid agencies, civil society is the key to "good governance and poverty-reducing growth."

The belief shared here respecting the social and economic roles of civil society and its organizations is well described by Daubon (2002:1):

> Recent evidence on economic development … suggests that a community's art of associating, its capacity to act together, may be the single most important factor in its economic advancement … And this capacity cannot simply be built; it has to grow organically in the political culture of a country … The silver bullet became civil society … But if civil society had been there all along, it had been either remote, charitable or oppositional. What governments now discovered was civil society, as it existed in the Northern countries, could be omnipresent, activist and collaborative.

CSOs are defined by the Institute of Development Studies (Manor et al. 1999:1) as "an intermediate sphere between the State and the household, where groups and associations of individuals are organized in a voluntary and autonomous way with respect to the State, with the purpose of defending and extending their interests, rights and identities." Even if we agree that CSOs "occupy the unstructured space between individuals and the collective," the definitional borders are still murky. When a fuller effort is made to determine which groups are "in" or "out," practitioners most often insist that CSOs do not include 1) political society (that is, government institutions and political parties), 2) for-profit, market-oriented businesses (although associations of businesses and their organized interest groups are clearly part of civil society), 3) families and kinship groups, and 4) violence-oriented associations.

Regarding the latter exclusion, it is clear that not all groups of citizens or organizations of civil society are of high social merit. "Violence-oriented" groups—the guerrillas and paramilitary in Colombia or Guatemala, Al Qaeda, the KKK and Minutemen groups in the United States—are not here considered part of "civil society." Since such groups do not accept the fundamental premises of democratic systems, they sacrifice claims to be on the same legal and political footing as nonviolent associations.

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In this work, we are not centrally concerned with these definitional distinctions. We are focusing on those CSOs that speak for and/or work with those who are generally disenfranchised or underrepresented—the rural and urban poor, women, indigenous communities, and others with limited or no effective access to political representation and power. Our primary concern is with discovering how such organizations and/or movements are able both to serve their clienteles and to strengthen democratic practices and institutions.[5]

The motivations for citizens to associate for a common purpose began with organized society, and are as endless as people's desires. In Latin America, there are probably several million loosely or formally organized not-for-profit, non-governmental organizations whose memberships, adherents or beneficiaries seek "common" goals. CSOs may originate in meetings of neighbors, or be promoted by trained professionals, or sponsored by foundations or Northern NGOs. Some CSOs have ample participation by the "beneficiaries" while others are managed by outside specialists with scant interest in recruiting local adherents. CSOs may grow out of established organizations or be set up by those disaffected with the ruling political power system. The association may want to build a health clinic or a community center, or it may be part of a larger social movement.

In sum, our attention is focused upon the three types of civil society organizations active in support of the specific target constituencies:[6]

- *Community-based organizations* which typically have no full-time or professional staff; pursue specific economic, political or social objectives (e.g., setting up a community health clinic, getting improved roads); and are essentially self-financed (Shearer and Tomlinson 1997).[7]
- *Social movements* are regional or national in scope; maintain full-time staff and well specified social, economic and/or political objectives; are often "contentious" and confrontational with governments; have affiliates and membership from local activist organizations (e.g., women's movements in Chile, rural movements in Brazil, etc.); often receive funding from foundations, aid agencies, and the like.

[5] Labor unions have historically been among the few "civil society movements" in the region in which the primary clientele is low and middle income families, and have often enjoyed substantial access to power, particularly where they have close alliances with political parties (Inter-American Development Bank/Harvard 2006:111 and following). However, labor movements represent quite different constituencies than do the social movements studied here, and their political impact is also quite different. Because of their continuing importance to very large numbers of citizens, labor organizations merit separate study.

[6] A useful description of these groups is found in Inter-American Development Bank/Harvard (2006:112–122).

[7] Shearer and Tomlinson (1997) conducted an heroic effort to count and classify CSOs in the region. They found 220,000 registered CSOs in Brazil alone. Fewer than half of these were believed to have professional staff. These unstaffed organizations would include community based groups, rather than social movements or "think tank" NGOs.

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- *Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)* engaged in advocacy and service provision to the target groups; are staffed by professionals tasked with identifying and supporting initiatives favoring the target groups; have few direct members or affiliates from among target groups; often receive contracts and funding from outside sources (for example, Sur in Santiago, DESCO in Peru, Sur-Norte in Argentina).

Since "social movements" are so central to this investigation, the term requires a fuller definition. Tilly (2004:3–4) defines a social movement as having the following characteristics: it is a *sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authorities (i.e., a campaign); … employ(ing) (diverse) forms of political action … ; (with) participants' concerted public representations of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment*." Such movements often present threats to the political and economic "establishment," particularly when the movements sponsor direct action that creates nuisances for ruling authorities.

In this context, Schönwälder (2002:9) observes that:

> Latin American social movements, long a limited range of relatively homogenous entities representing workers, peasants or students, have changed dramatically over the last three decades. The return to democratic rule and the economic crises of the 1980s propelled new social actors to the scene, the so-called popular movements. Much less homogeneous than their predecessors and often exhibiting an outlook reflecting their diverse origins, these new social actors were nevertheless characterized by a wide array of novel collective identities and social practices.

Our target social movements, community organizations and NGOs clearly differ in membership and purposes from traditional "interest groups" representing business, religion and agriculture, which have historically enjoyed close ties with the political power structures. In contrast, the target CSOs represent social and economic outsiders, and, as challengers to the *status quo*, often are contentious in their relations with the government power structure. The historically important interest groups, on the other hand, "represent the more powerful social and political actors that have a stake precisely in the *continuity* of the existing social and political order" (Schönwälder 2002:12).

A further concern is the quality and responsiveness of CSO leadership to its clientele (Wiarda 2003; Stiefel and Wolfe 1994). Durston (Chapter 6) recalls Michels' Iron Law of Organizational Oligarchy (Michels 1915/1962), which holds that leaders of grassroots organizations "inevitably develop into oligarchies" which can suffocate internal democracy. Several of our case studies give attention to the background and training of community and social movement leaders, and their ability to reflect the needs of their members or constituents they purport to represent.

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What, Then, Is "Democracy"?

In spite of limitless high-minded oratory, there is no simple definition for democracy, and inevitable quibbles surround the concept. Like obscenity, we may have trouble defining it, but we certainly know it when we see it. Government is defined as the social institution with a monopoly on the power of coercion. Such power does not confer wisdom, but it does explain Churchill's well-known aphorism:

> Democracy, we know, is but one of many forms that government may take. … No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government, except for all the others that have been tried from time to time (Rhodes 1974:7566).

Athenians prided themselves on their discovery of democracy. When Pericles was asked to give an oration for Athenian soldiers who died in the opening battles of the Peloponnesian War, he declaimed:

> It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few … While we are thus unconstrained in our private business, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for the authorities and for the laws, having a particular regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

The definitional question transcends political and cultural boundaries. In the 1750s, well before the founding of the United States as a nation, Benjamin Franklin, who was then representing the Pennsylvania Colony as Indian Commissioner, wrote:

> It would be a very strange thing if Six Nations of Ignorant Savages should be capable of forming a Scheme for such a Union and be able to execute it in such a manner, as that it has subsisted Ages, and appears indissoluble, and yet a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies.[8] (Johansen 1982:29)

In our search for a useful definition, we borrow from political sociologists who offer a "political process" definition (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001:265):

[8] Excerpt from Chapter 7, by Charles Kleymeyer.

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> A regime is democratic insofar as it maintains broad citizenship, equal and autonomous citizenship, binding consultation of citizens at large with respect to governmental activities and personnel, as well as protection of citizens from arbitrary action by government agents.

Political scientists suggest specific operational requirements of a democracy, but recognize that practices differ greatly (Schmitter and Karl 1993:45; Whitehead 2002:10–11):

- Practically all adults have the right to vote in election of government officials, and are guaranteed freedom of expression and association.
- Elected officials are chosen in frequent and fair elections where voter coercion is illegal and uncommon.
- Practically all adults have the right to run for elective offices.
- Control of government policy decisions is constitutionally vested in public officials.
- Power is delegated by citizens to the elected authorities as a public trust.
- Citizens have the right to search for and use alternative sources of information, and there is official protection to alternative information sources.
- Citizens have the right to form and to join independent organizations, interest groups and political parties, and to mobilize and influence decisions of public authorities.
- Elected officials must be able to exercise their constitutional powers without decisions being overridden by unelected officials of state agencies.
- Majority rule is constrained, based upon the rule of law, with minority rights protected by a fundamental charter which is not easily modified.

Democratization is an "open-ended, long-term and complex process" (Whitehead 2002) that may be compared to science in that the process is never complete, always open to new tests and improved ideas. Within these boundaries, political analysts have identified two operating models of "democracy": the *adversarial* and the *deliberative*.

In an *adversarial democracy*, each party with access to the public decision-making process seeks maximum benefit from each exchange as it is "negotiated" in the political "marketplace" (Sunstein 2002:17–39). Players assume that all negotiations are zero-sum, with only winners and losers. Participants approach the process with non-negotiable preferences, and are adversarial in all political dealings. They put little or no value on reaching consensus or compromise with other players on the basis of shared principles or visions of social reality (Saba 2000).[9] This approach was congenial to elites when they were pressured to present their citizenry with a "democratic" form of government allowing the formal trappings of democracy to exist, but not ceding effective control. Even after the oligarchs lost

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undisputed control of governments, the succeeding elite-dominated and military-populist "democracies" followed adversarial not deliberative models (Wiarda 2003).[10]

In contrast, the "deliberative" or participatory democratic model emphasizes continuity and process. It is messy but has proved durable. The controlling belief of the participants is that public policies are, and should be, constructed *within* the political realm. Personal and group preferences are defined and defended on the grounds of their contributions to the general welfare, rather than on ideological grounds. A "public agenda" emerges from the deliberative process that would not have been designed by any of the contending groups acting alone. While differences in preferences remain, they are aired in the electoral process, after the citizens have had a chance to discover on what they concur (Mathews 2003).

Participants in a deliberative democracy assume that conflicts over priorities and policies are negotiable, not irreducible. Preferences are exhibited and justified in the democratic forum and its institutions. Participants accept that policy decisions are collectively achieved, not unilaterally imposed. They do not expect to make conflicts disappear, but to find space for action, based on shared interests that are discovered amid the disagreements. The zero-sum games of adversarial democracies give place to trade-offs in which participants sacrifice something in order to achieve decisions collectively. No one is completely excluded from the public arena. The similarities to New England town meetings in the United States and to community-based decision-making processes are obvious (Fung and Wright 2001).

Although a few countries in the region—most notably Uruguay and Costa Rica—follow the "deliberative" model, the adversarial model better characterizes more Latin American governments (Garretón and Newman 2001, Wiarda 2003).[11] The differences between these forms helps explain the differences in growth and effectiveness of civil society and its organizations, and the evolution of the roles of CSOs in shaping forms of governance.[12]

---

[9] Saba (2000) contends that the historical problems with Argentina's governance have been that their "political culture is associated with the adversarial model instead of a deliberative model." His insight may well fit other countries in the region. Nowhere is the failure of the adversarial model more obvious than in the continuing strife in Colombia (Romero 2000).

[10] Wiarda (2003) argues that in almost all of Latin America, state control of civil society—that is, the corporatist ideology—has been the historic norm, building on the models of Franco's Spain (e.g., Pinochet's Chile) and Mussolini's Italy (e.g., Peron's Argentina, Mexico under PRI, Brazil under Vargas).

[11] Claudio Veliz (1994:12) offers the view that "Latin Americans are bound together by an emphatically monarchical past and undisguised latter-day republican centralist inclinations." However, the implied contrast of Latin America's "undemocratic heritage" with that of the United States fails to recognize that the southern states of the United States at its founding were dominated by slave-operated plantations, and that the United States did not extend the electoral vote to non-land owners, women or blacks for a century and more after its founding.

[12] Putnam (1993:182) found in Italy that "Social context and history profoundly condition the effectiveness of institutions … Toqueville was right: democratic government is strengthened, not weakened, when it faces a vigorous civil society."

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The variations and complexity of democratic systems in Latin America are a heritage of power structures in colonial and early post-colonial periods (Lijphart 1984). In both Spanish and Portuguese America, those who took power from the monarchs were, with few exceptions, oligarchies of large rural landowners, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, military cadres, and more affluent commercial traders. The oligarchs sometimes encouraged (or at least tolerated) ambitious caudillos and military dictators, or allowed a carefully circumscribed citizen participation that did not threaten their effective control.[13] This history helps to explain the dominance of an adversarial or "corporatist" approach to governance, and that a "statist" approach to political decision making became embedded in the political cultures.

The argument developed in the following chapters builds on the belief that deliberative democracy is preferable both for its long-term durability and its ability to support and protect all citizens, not only the elites. In championing deliberative democracy, Edwards (2000:4) argues that:

> The concept of a public … is central. The development of shared interests, a willingness to cede some territory to others, the ability to see something of oneself in those who are different and work together more effectively as a result—all these are crucial attributes for effective governance, practical problem-solving, and the peaceful resolution of our differences. In its role as the "public sphere," civil society becomes the arena for argument and deliberation as well as for association and institutional collaboration, and the extent to which such spaces thrive is crucial to democracy, since if only certain truths are represented, if alternative viewpoints are silenced by exclusion or suppression, or if one set of voices are heard more loudly than those of others, the "public" interest inevitably suffers. When all politics are polarized—even privatized—public policy problems become embedded, even frozen, in polities that cannot solve them.

Our task is not to argue that some national political regime fits one or another model of democracy. We are interested instead in the evolution of civil society, governments and

[13] Nineteenth century caudillos such as López de Santa Anna of Mexico or Rosas of Argentina, seized control of the nations, but did not disturb the holdings of the provincial landowners or the Church. In more recent times, other caudillos—Rafael Trujillo's 1930 coup in the Dominican Republic and Fulgencio Batista's 1933 ascendancy to power in Cuba—continued that sordid tradition. These modern caudillos presented themselves as national leaders, sometimes even supporting progressive or populist measures. The 1943 Perón regime, for example, was established by nationalist army officers committed to reform programs and explicit ideological goals. Recent military dictators in Latin America frequently allied themselves with elite social classes who sought to maintain the interests of the traditional power structures (e.g., Pinochet in Chile, Stroessner in Paraguay, Castelo Branco in Brazil), but some military rulers worked with elements of the political Left to enact social reforms (e.g., Morales Bermúdez in Peru in 1967). Hugo Chávez in Venezuela appears increasingly to fit this latter model.

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in their interactions, brought on by the agonies of dictatorships and the deep economic and political changes over the past half century. These events are also forcing both the political societies and CSOs of the poorly represented to reexamine their core notions of democratic governance.

Civil Society, Political Society and Democracy

The above definitional discussion sets the frame needed to examine how citizen participation in civil society organizations, and the interactions of CSOs with political society, can contribute to strengthening democracy. The case studies offer tests of whether and how these interactions help their countries achieve, consolidate and deepen democratic institutions.

Education of the citizenry in how their government works—and collaterally, educating public officials in citizen organizations—is certainly a relevant approach to improving participation within the political system. The ways in which CSOs work with their adherents to improve their understanding of the political process are examined in several of the case studies and summarized in Chapter 13.

But educational efforts are clearly only a part of what is needed to increase citizen engagement and strengthen democracy. Community organizations, social movements and advocacy/service NGOs affect their governments and public policy when they are able to gain access to the halls of power. In broad terms, the interaction of civil society with political society impacts governance in at least four ways (Manor et al. 1999):

- by influencing public policy and decision making;
- by enhancing performance of state agencies;
- by achieving greater transparency and information about official acts and actors; and
- by fostering social justice and the rule of law.

Political policymaking processes are inherently complex, whose many actors have different decision power, sources of influence, time horizons, and incentives. There are many arenas in which the influence game is played, with obscure rules of engagement that affect the outcomes. But it is in this arena, Reilly (1995:251) observes, "voluntary associations and NGOs promote the exchange of information, financial resources, demands and supports: the stuff of power."

Individuals who seek to influence government have two conventional ways to gain attention and a seat at the table: through their votes for political parties and candidates, and through CSOs that can represent them in the political forum. They also have an "unconventional" way to be heard: direct action. Each of these tactics demands consideration since their prevalence and effectiveness is at the core of this study.

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Respecting the power of the ballot box, some CSOs and their leaders have chosen to be open allies and proponents of particular political parties. Active CSO support of elements of political society is obviously intended to gain supporters in legislatures and executive offices. Interest groups representing business and other elites have been successful in allying themselves, and becoming active proponents of their preferred political parties. Similarly, CSOs for the poorly represented can support politicians and parties who favor their issues. However, concerned intellectuals of the region, as well as operatives in the CSO community, worry that the traditional political parties have often excluded the social movements from the more important stages of policy and program decision making.[14]

Linz and Stepan (1996) argue that civil society can destroy an authoritarian regime, but a full democratic transition must involve political society. Democratization involves civil society, but fundamentally the achievement depends upon the political society. Both civic activists and politicians recognize that citizens and their organizations can "propose," while it is the role of political society to "dispose." Although this assertion does not imply that citizens must cede unchecked power to politicians, it recognizes that CSOs play quite different roles from politicians and the agencies of government in forming policy and its execution.

The state itself defines the rules of the game affecting the ongoing interaction between those championing our target groups and political society. The state, for example, establishes the legal requirements of how civil society may organize, and which groups receive favors or subsidies and which do not.[15] In this context, the target CSOs and their constituencies have historically been in the weakest position vis-à-vis the existing political and economic power structures. The requisite forms of a functioning democracy may be in place, but the poorly represented citizens have at best limited effective access to decision makers. For access, they must typically depend upon forceful representation by their social movement or advocacy NGO representatives.

After a dictatorship is overthrown, the democratic political process must be reinvigorated and institutionalized (O'Donnell et al. 1986). The consolidation of democratic systems takes time. There are many reasons for a pause in the rhythm of change. Bureaucrats who continue in position in the new, democratic environment have been accustomed to authoritarian ways, so need retraining or replacement. In some cases, the post-dictatorship government fears a counter-revolution and treads carefully, as did the Chileans after deposing Pinochet.[16]

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[14] See, for example, Orlando Fals Borda's (1992:303–316) doubts of the effectiveness of CSOs forming political alliances, even though he hopes such alliances might work to the advantage of the citizen groups.

[15] Some democratic countries maintain strict controls over CSOs, requiring, for example, approval of the President's Office for groups seeking to organize, or setting reporting requirements more onerous than those of private businesses. (See Inter-American Development Bank and UNDP [1997]. These studies were originally presented at the South American Conference on Legal, Fiscal and Regulatory Framework for Civil Society, sponsored by Esquel Group Foundation and Grupo Esquel Argentina.)

[16] As a condition of the replacement of Pinochet's military dictatorship by a democratically elected government in

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As democratic institutions and processes are reestablished after dictators are displaced, it is inevitable that citizens with different agendas and tactics compete for access to power and advantage—preferably within a broadly recognized "public interest." Indeed, wide acceptance of a common "public interest" and of democratic "rules of the game" is needed to set the boundaries and rules within which myriad groups compete for power in an effective democracy. A serious test of nascent or untested democratic institutions is how well they encourage or allow dialogue and compromise among the competing groups. Such systems are not simple to design or implement; the competing groups need to support a "deliberative" process that allows the possibility of their losing historic advantages. In this circumstance, our target civil society organizations, as well as their rivals, need to engage in building and maintaining a public interest "ideal." The problem of reaching this goal is illustrated in the case study of Guatemala's continuing difficulties in governing where large segments of the population continue to be effectively excluded from access to power (Chapter 3).

A main route to power by citizens in the target groups is through their CSOs. The fundamental task of social movements and NGOs is to influence the terms of public discussion, and to establish networks of like-minded groups to gain influence with political society both nationally and internationally. "Networks influence politics at different levels because the actors in these networks are simultaneously helping to define an issue area, convince policy-makers and publics that the problems thus defined are soluble, prescribe solutions, and monitor their implementation" (Keck and Sikkink 1998:201).

The ability of CSOs to impact political dialogue has proved particularly effective at the local or municipal level. Against historic tradition, almost every central government of the region has granted increased political and budgetary power to local municipalities in recent decades. Both Reilly (1995)[17] and Schönwälder (2002)[18] provide useful insights on how CSOs have grown with this challenge. The growth in political participation by the perennially subjugated indigenous peoples provides further evidence on this matter (see Chapter 7).

Reilly is optimistic that the post-dictatorship CSOs are successfully engaging their constituencies, and that O'Donnell's dour prediction that the public was accepting CSOs as "delegative" democracy, is not being supported over time (O'Donnell 1986). The study of "participatory budgeting" in Chapter 5 gives further evidence that the most effective engagement by citizens is often with the government closest to them.

1990, the military obliged the political parties to retain many antidemocratic articles in the constitution which the military had imposed during its 17-year reign. A number of these articles have still not been altered.

[17] Reilly's study includes numerous examples of effective NGO interaction with local governments in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru. See particularly, "Topocrats, Technocrats, and NGOs," pp. 247–272.

[18] Schönwälder explores in detail the origins and growth of Lima's community-based CSOs and their rise to power in the period of mass urban migrations, tumultuous economic crises, Sendero Luminoso guerrilleros and political party transformations through 1992.

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Table 1-1. Examples of Tolerated and Less Tolerated Direct Action Tactics of CSOs and Social Movements*

More tolerated →					Less tolerated
Marches and demonstrations with permission of authorities Press conferences Mobilization of voters Petitions and referenda	Civil disobedience Marches and demonstrations without permission Hunger strikes	Street barricades Occupation of public buildings	Violence against private property Street battles with police and military Occupation of private property	Violence against persons	Terrorism with intent to murder officials and the public

* John Durston prepared this table.

In a well consolidated democracy, the citizens can directly challenge their governors to gain attention to their causes (Inter-American Development Bank/Harvard 2006:91–124). Few question that the Solidarity movement in Poland or the civil rights movement in the United States made large positive contributions to their country's democratic institutions. The tactics these movements used were largely peaceful, but not all their tactics were on the "more tolerated" end of our scale (see Table 1-1). Can a similar answer regarding impact and tactics be given for Latin America's social movements and its proliferating citizens' organizations? Both analyses of the rural poor movement and that of the indigenous (Chapters 6 and 7) are relevant to this issue.

Confrontations, almost always at the peril of the demonstrators, attracted favorable world attention when their target was dictatorships.[19] The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo became a symbol of resistance to the Argentine military.[20] In Chile, the "days of protest" in 1983 led by the copper workers union and joined by thousands, were illegal but became the most visible sign of wide disaffection with Pinochet.[21] Similarly "illegal" direct action by the citizenry was important in the 1970s, and helped force dictators in Brazil and Peru to cede power.

Public applause for direct action by CSOs is muted, however, when they confront democratically elected governments—as the civil rights movement did in the United States. In the

[19] The Catholic Church was active in many pro-human rights, antidictator demonstrations, often shielding demonstrators from direct retaliation by the military.

[20] The signal event of the human rights movement occurred on January 31, 1983, when 1,200 demonstrators, led by Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, marched in front of the Argentine Presidential Palace, demanding the return of their "missing" children.

[21] For a description of this process, see Chapter 2, and Martinez (1992:142–160).

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early post-dictatorship periods, CSOs would be expected to continue to seek the attention of a fledging political society. Where the attention seeking escalates to violence, bloodshed and organized pillage, democratic values are severely challenged. The justification offered for such action is often that the government and its agencies are part of the cabal arrayed against the interests of the poor and the repressed whom the CSOs seek to protect.[22] One recent and widely publicized case is Brazil's *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (MST) which has used land invasion and "violence" in its continuing effort to put agrarian reform on the government's agenda. (This topic is given extended analysis in Chapter 6.)

There is good reason for even elected presidents and their supporters to recognize (and fear) the potential power of civil society and its organizations.

Since 1993, presidents in eight countries of the region have been deposed as the result of civil demonstrations (Table 1-2). Even in cases where the deposed executives were recognized miscreants, vide Fujimori in Peru, this manner of achieving political change does not directly strengthen democratic institutions.

Another recent study (Feinberg et al. 2006) examines the role of Latin American civil society in strengthening democratic values—with attention to Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela. Their conclusion is that confrontation cannot be counted upon to improve the lot of the disadvantaged. Clearly, no simple answers as to the prudence and success of various tactics of civil society are possible. Our working hypothesis is that action of both the "contentious" social movements and community organizations, on balance, enhance the quality of governance, and make bureaucracies more responsive (Manor et al. 1999). The case studies offer both supporting and contrary evidence.

Why Is Citizen Engagement Weak?

A brief recapitulation is offered here of reasons for the widespread citizen dissatisfaction with government, the emergence of new organized social movements, and the declining support for the traditional political parties. These developments are interrelated, and largely explained by the traumas of dictatorships, the precipitous shifts of economic policies in keeping with the Washington Consensus, and the availability of cheap and easy communications. The roller-coaster history of citizen-government relationships over the past half century may be summarily characterized as follows:

- The wide acceptance of a "statist"[23] view of government by both the governing elite and those outside the power structure is historically rooted. In some cases,

[22] See Chapter 2 for an extended discussion of the role of civil society during the transitions to democracy, and their relations with the political parties.

[23] A dictionary definition of "statism" is "the practice or doctrine of giving a centralized government control over economic planning and policy."

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Table 1-2. Civil Demonstrations That Played a Significant Role in Deposing of Latin American Presidents since 1993

Country	President	Date of deposition	Crisis factors
Argentina	De la Rúa	December 21, 2001	• Widespread dissatisfaction with socioeconomic performance and with the political class • Collapse of the economy • Cases of corruption
Bolivia	Sánchez de Lozada	October 17, 2003	• Widespread discontent due to socioeconomic situation • Demands of indigenous peoples • Exportation of natural gas
Bolivia	Mesa	June 6, 2005	• Lack of sufficient social support and political backing • Demands for nationalization of natural resources and a greater state role in the economy; better representation of indigenous communities; regional autonomy
Brazil	Collor de Melo	December 29, 1992	• Economic crisis, including hyperinflation • Human rights violations • Corruption, personal scandals
Ecuador	Bucaram	February 6, 1997	• Corruption, patronage, nepotism • Institutional disorder • Attempt to privatize major state enterprises • Elimination of public service subsidies
Ecuador	Mahuad	January 21, 2000	• Economic crisis • Loss of confidence in the banking system (freezing of savings) • Dollarization of economy
Ecuador	Gutiérrez	April 20, 2005	• Partisan struggle for control over Supreme Court and unconstitutional dismissal of judges • Struggle for governability in the context of a highly fragmented and regionalized party and political system • Deep disenchantment with congress and political system • Loss of support of armed forces
Guatemala	Serrano Elías	June 1, 1993	• The *Serranazo* (attempted self-coup by Serrano) • Suspension of the constitution • Dissolution of congress, Supreme Court, and Constitutional Court
Paraguay	Cubas	March 23, 1999	• Amnesty of General Oviedo • Congress, the attorney general's office, and the Supreme Court declare pardon unconstitutional • Assassination of Vice President Argaña

(*continued on next page*)

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Table 1-2. Civil Demonstrations That Played a Significant Role in Deposing of Latin American Presidents since 1993 (*continued*)

Country	President	Date of deposition	Crisis factors
Peru	Fujimori	November 19, 2000	• Authoritarian practices/concentration of power • Electoral fraud • Large-scale political corruption
Venezuela	Pérez Rodríguez	May 20, 1993	• The *Caracazo* uprising: popular revolts violently repressed • Broad disenchantment with traditional political parties and the political system • Economic crisis and austerity measures • Social programs abandoned • Two attempted coups d'état: February 3, 1992 and November 27, 1992 • Allegations of corruption

Source: Inter-American Development Bank/Harvard 2006:113–114.

governments and traditional political parties tightly controlled relationships between citizen groups and the official decision makers within a "corporatist"[24] model. Brazil, Argentina and Mexico are clear examples of where such relationships prevailed, with Costa Rica and Uruguay as contrary exceptions.[25]

- Democracies throughout the region were usurped by authoritarian—typically military—governments in the 1960s and 1970s, and many of these dictatorships endured into the 1980s and early 1990s. The dictators (often with U.S. support within its cold war initiatives) sought to eliminate left wing influences. The first targets of repression were usually civic action groups. In some countries, elements of the traditional political parties supported these policies. Military takeovers included the Brazilian coup in 1964, dirty wars in Uruguay (1967) and in Argentina (1967), Pinochet's Chile (1973), and Peru's military *golpe* (1967). In addition, long-standing dictatorships continued in place in Paraguay, Bolivia, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Panama and Guatemala. Cuba, which enjoyed support from the USSR, was often used as the rationale for the takeovers.

[24] Political scientists use the term corporatism to describe the process by which an authoritarian state, by licensing and regulating social, religious, economic, or popular organizations, co-opts their leadership or circumscribes their ability to challenge state authority, thus making the state the source of their legitimacy.

[25] In the early 1980s, Guillermo O'Donnell, Fernando Enrique Cardoso, Thomas Carroll and Thomas Carothers began chronicling shifts in Latin America away from the centralized bureaucratic-corporatist state to various forms of official decision making in which citizen participation played an active role. A relevant bibliography is found in Reilly (1995:273 passim).

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- Beginning in the late 1970s and continuing into the 1980s, most of the region's governments adopted economic policies favored by the Bretton Woods institutions, and abandoned their import-substitution industrialization (ISI) policies. In response to economic crises and pressure from international agencies and banks, credit availability and employment support to business were severely curtailed, and state enterprises were closed or sold to private interests. Even more significantly for most citizens, governments reduced or abandoned measures that had benefited urban, low-income families, including subsidies on housing, food, health and transport. The subsequent economic crises were compounded—and made more visible— by massive rural-urban migration in Brazil, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia and Chile.
- When the dictators finally ceded power, the citizens who had suffered most from repression and deprivation showed their dissatisfaction with the elite-supported political parties by denying them their votes. "New social movements" emerged to support the claims of both organized labor and students and the previously unrepresented causes such as women, environmentalists, urban and rural poor, and the indigenous.
- The roles of the new social movements and the advocacy NGOs in the democratic policy arena are still evolving. The old reliance on the state to articulate and solve social problems is being replaced—or at least supplemented—by advocacy NGOs and participatory citizen engagement. New political parties have formed, and older parties have restructured to gain the adherence of members of the disaffected movements. Alliances are being made by some social movements with parties that effectively challenge the old elites for political control.

The remaining chapters provide a view of some of the region's more important civil society movements, with particular attention to their roles in giving formerly voiceless citizens access to their governments, and to ways these civil society organizations are fostering improvements in Latin American democratic institutions.

CSO Roles in Achieving, Consolidating and Deepening Democracy

It is evident that citizen organizations play quite different roles in authoritarian, emerging and established democracies. In Chapter 2, we offer a summary of how dictatorships dominated the region beginning in the 1960s, and continuing into the 1990s. Under dictatorships, citizens in disagreement with the rulers are not given effective voice, and, if they protest, effectively choose among harassment, prison, exile and execution. Guatemala is just now emerging from this stage, but even today human rights and other "contentious" social movements continue to face attacks (Chapter 3). As a newly formed democracy emerges from totalitarian governance, citizens become actively involved in consolidating its institutions,

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but are vulnerable to attack by those disadvantaged by the change—some of whom would willingly sacrifice the nascent democracy to regain power.

Once an authoritarian government has been displaced, CSOs can be catalytic in consolidating democratic institutions within the emerging political system. Linz and Stepan (1996:5) offer the following guidelines that signal that a government is in the process of democratic consolidation:

- serious attempts to overthrow the regime by non-constitutional acts are non-existent or marginal;
- there is wide acceptance of the view that changes in the constitutional structure and procedures must be achieved only by following the existing rules; and
- there is wide acceptance of the need to resolve political conflicts of any intensity by following constitutional norms, and that those who seek change outside these norms will probably fail.

The cases examined in Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate how CSOs have been critical elements in consolidating democracy, attacking corruption and waste, promoting fair voting systems, as well as fairness, transparency and competence in government. These efforts in Mexico, as chronicled in Chapter 4 by Sergio Aguayo, show CSOs working to transform the country's entrenched autocratic "democracy." Benjamin Reames, in Chapter 5, makes the case that "participatory budgeting," which began in Brazil but is now extended to twenty or more countries, offers real opportunities for overcoming clientelism, cronyism, graft and other sources of official corruption, particularly at the local level.

Long-run achievements of civil society are made possible by "deepening" democracy and its institutions, contributing to their evolution and sustainability (Chapters 6–12). When it is well consolidated, democracy becomes both a goal and the instrument for its improvement. Fung and Wright (2001) hold that a government's institutions are *deepened* by extending access to power beyond the well-to-do and elite political organizations. Such deepening can be hastened and monitored by civil society and its organizations working with sympathetic elements of political society.

Income and wealth distribution in Latin America are more unequal than any other region in the world (Morley 2001; Birdsall 2007). The balance of political and economic power is arguably worsening for most of the region's poor as they are enveloped by "globalization" and associated trends.[26] If a strong middle class and equitable access to economic and social opportunities are serious objectives of democratic societies, civil society must

[26] The benefits from global market expansion, according to observers such as Chua (2003), are captured by the elites of developing countries at the same time that government "safety nets" to protect the poor are being dismantled.

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actively pursue its role of persuading and assisting those in power to meet the needs of all its citizens. Deepening of democracy, as seen in Chapters 6 to 12, is a never-ending process.

The "democracy deepening" case studies address issues that have long been on the region's political and economic agendas, including the fate of the rural poor and the indigenous; handling threats to the environment; overcoming poverty by employment creation; the changing roles of women, urban poverty and social housing; migration and community development.

The seemingly intractable problem of the rural poor, and the work of the CSOs that support them, is told in Chapter 6 by John Durston, who examines explicit contributions of the groups to strengthening democracy in Chile, Guatemala and Brazil. A notable example of civil society's expanding role is provided in Chapter 7 by Charles Kleymeyer, who recounts how indigenous peoples in the Andean countries have sought to gain political and economic strength while preserving a large portion of their cultural heritage.

Lincoln Avelino de Barros and Marie-Madeleine Mailleux Sant'Ana (Chapter 8) demonstrate how a campaign led by CSOs was able to mitigate environmental problems and threats to the livelihood and health of indigenous tribes in the Amazon. In a contrasting case study, Alfredo Rodríguez and Ana Sugranyes, in Chapter 9, demonstrate how government and private developer "solutions" to the problem of massive shortages of affordable housing which exclude any role for the "beneficiaries" or sympathetic CSOs, have created all but insurmountable social problems. The multiple roles of CSOs in overcoming legal and other barriers faced by women, in their families, in politics and in the workplace, are explored by Joan Caivano and Thayer Hardwick in Chapter 10.

New opportunities for deepening of democracy are explored in two future-oriented chapters. Roberto Sansón Mizrahi (Chapter 11) reports on how CSOs can work with individuals and small businesses which lack access to credit, marketing and technical facilities. Nelson Stratta (Chapter 12) examines the possibilities for transnational CSO collaboration between migrants from the region, and the families and communities in their home countries.

In Chapter 13, conclusions are drawn from the study in an effort to guide future action of the CSO community, political society, governments and international institutions seeking to achieve both mutual accommodation and progress toward democracy—where civil society and social movements are now a permanent part of the environment.

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Section 1

Introduction to CSOs in Achieving Democracy

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Introduction to CSOs in Achieving Democracy

Civil society organizations—particularly those seeking to protect human rights—play very different roles under dictatorships, in transitions to democratic access to government, and under consolidated democracies. In the next chapter, attention focuses on the transition from authoritarian to civilian government in Brazil, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. Then, in greater detail, the transition in Guatemala is examined. For more than three decades, Guatemala suffered the region's most brutal series of dictators and unrelenting warfare, what has been called "ethnic cleansing" of the country's indigenous Mayans. The country was taken over by a conservative military group in 1954 and, in spite of electing several civilian presidents since then, is yet to regain a fully democratic, repression-free government that protects its least powerful.

In most countries that dislodged dictators, it was human rights, labor, women's and indigenous movements, as well as elements of the Catholic Church, that spurred "change from below," and made it possible for power to be wrested from the dictators. However, when Michael Shifter (2000:251) examined civil society during transformations from dictatorship, he found that CSOs "played a role in the democratization process in Latin America," but their organizations typically failed to gain substantial influence with the new, democratic governments. The predictatorship political and economic elites were granted power by the departing dictators. Since many leaders of the traditional parties saw the new social movements as competition for their voter base, they were reluctant to cede them space or voice. This is relevant as one reason for broad citizen disillusionment with government and rejection of traditional political parties. Latinobarómetro (*The Economist*, October 29, 2005:39) asserted that "There is an ever increasing—16% in 1996 to 22% in 2003—indifference to regime type, between democratic and authoritarian leadership." Attempts to activate the citizenry or gain broader support for democratic governments can draw lessons from this experience.

The long periods of military and autocratic repression of civil society created both the desire and the leadership capabilities within the CSOs to represent the demands of those who had been perennially un- or underrepresented by the old political systems. It may be seriously argued that the repression was in democracy's long-run interests insofar as repression of activist social movements under the dictatorships gave birth to new and independent community leadership, taught people how to organize themselves and to design and implement new approaches to social problems. These new social movements and

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community organizations grew in importance when faced with unfriendly political office holders. The movements used these challenges to mobilize their membership. This view is explored more fully below.

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Chapter 2

Recapturing Democracy in Brazil, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay

Arthur Domike

To provide a frame for evaluating the impacts of the long reign of dictators on citizen engagement and the transformation of political structures, we offer brief case histories of military takeovers and the re-democratization process in Brazil, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay.[1] Although the details vary, the military and their political figureheads not only repressed civil society movements but—once forced to cede control—the dictators assured that an elitist political society was given the reins of power, and that the new social movements were marginalized.

After democracy was restored, the relationships have matured between the political society and civil society, including the more confrontational movements. Some of the new social movements became instrumental in creating or supporting political parties that oppose the "old guard." Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela and Ecuador are immediate cases in point. That process is still evolving.

Brazil's Dictatorship (1964–1985)

As successor to the presidency of Juscelino Kubitschek's (1956–1961), a conservative São Paulo politician, Jânio Quadros, was elected. In August 1961, only months after taking office and failing to gain support for several initiatives, Quadros resigned. He purportedly believed that Congress and the military would insist that he return and refuse to replace him with his vice-president, João Goulart. Although the military leaders did seek to block Goulart's nomination—accusing him of being communist with links to workers' parties—Congress resolved the crisis by limiting presidential powers and creating the office of Prime Minister. However, Goulart wanted to be more than a figurehead, so he called and overwhelmingly won a 1962 plebiscite which restored the presidential system.

[1] O'Donnell (1978), Collier (1979) and Garretón (1984) provide detailed histories of the dictatorships. The following exposition draws upon their analyses as well as essays in Corradi et al. (1992), Eckstein (2001), Linz and Stepan (1996) and Goodman et al. (1990).

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Goulart's relations with his own military leaders did not improve nor did his relations with the United States. The United States resented Brazil's unwillingness to isolate Havana, and after President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, relations turned frigid with Lyndon B. Johnson.[2] Goulart led a series of public demonstrations to mobilize pressure for basic reforms. In a rally in Rio de Janeiro on March 13, 1964, Goulart decreed agrarian reform and rent controls and promised more. A counter-rally against the government was organized six days later in São Paulo, with 500,000 people marching in the streets.[3] Then, sailors and marines in Rio de Janeiro mutinied in support of Goulart. Over the following two days, the military moved to take over the country, and Goulart fled to Uruguay. The period of the military dictatorship had begun.

Both civil society and Brazil's electorate underwent substantial changes during the nation's twenty-one years of rule by the military. The political structure that had been shaped by the revolution of 1930 and the populist governments of 1946–64, was fundamentally changed. Getúlio Vargas, mimicking Mussolini's Italy, began state-led industrial capitalism in the 1930s, with state control of labor and civil society organizations along corporatist lines. Political organizations, labor and other civil organizations were effectively brought under state control. This same power structure was accepted by the elected governments from 1946 until the military coup of 1964. But after 1964, the military seriously restricted civil liberties and democratic institutions, and repressed political expression. The rapid industrialization promoted by the military's economic policies spurred a massive rural-urban migration. These millions then became an active part of the electorate. The side effect, which was certainly unintended by the military, was a deep change in how the citizenry viewed itself and the government.

Following the 1964 military coup, labor and other activists were put under close official scrutiny and frequently arrested; some were deported or chose exile, others executed. Repression of the unions led many workers to change organizational strategies, and to form "ties with other classes opposed to military governance" (Moreira Alves 2001:278). In 1967 the traditional political parties—including that of the exiled President Goulart and politicians who had supported the original coup—formed a Frente Amplio pledged to "fight for the return of democracy." The military government reacted by prohibiting the party and instituting even more repressive measures. In April 1968, the Presidency issued

[2] Declassified documents posted by the Washington-based National Security Archive (NSA) revealed the extent of U.S. support for the 1964 ouster of Brazilian President João Goulart. On a declassified audio tape, President Lyndon Johnson said "I think we ought to take every step that we can, be prepared to do everything that we need to do," in reference to preparations for the Brazilian coup.

[3] In contrast to the later antimilitary women's groups in the mid-1970s, the conservative opposition to President Goulart promoted and mobilized the *Campanha da Mulher pela Democracia*—"a coalition of the wives and daughters of military, industrialists and landowners"—and other conservative women's groups to stage "pots and pans demonstrations" and implore the military to do "the manly thing" and take over the government (Alvarez 1990:6).

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Institutional Act No. 5 (IANo.5), followed by the National Security Law of 1969. With these decrees, habeas corpus rights were eliminated, opposition became a crime against the state, all non-government-sponsored political parties were banned, and the military was enabled to take over trade unions, prohibit strikes, censor media, and jail dissidents.

The immediate public reaction was mostly passive acceptance, but student-based guerrilla groups initiated campaigns that included kidnapping and bank robberies in an antimilitary campaign that brought international attention—and more official repression. From October 1969 until March 1974, under the presidency of General Garrastazu Médici, violent repressive measures were implemented. Soon after Médici gained power, however, the problems of the regime were all but forgotten as Brazil won the 1970 Soccer World Cup. The administration's industrialization program advanced with massive infrastructure projects: construction of both the Trans-Amazonian Highway and the world's largest hydroelectric dam at Itaipu on the Rio Paraná. In this fashion, an alliance of the military and the technocrats took shape during the most repressive period of the dictatorship. The economy boomed, reaching 12 percent annual growth rates of GDP. Accompanying the "economic miracle" were arrests, torture, and censorship of criticism and labor. By 1973, the guerrilleros had been beaten.

The long transition to democracy began in the mid-seventies, driven increasingly by civil society and social movements formed in opposition to the military regime. By the 1990s, an active civil society had emerged with new visions of both democracy and citizenship (Teixeira Chaves et al. 2001). The course followed by the state and by the diverse opposition groups over this period helps explain how the human rights, labor and other social movements became significant players in the democratization process.

The officially sanctioned opposition party, the Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (MDB), gained strong voter support in the legislative elections of 1974. As a result, President Geisel, a moderate among the military, began a slow process of democratization, the *distensão*. Geisel meant for the transition to transfer control to the old elite, but, instead, a multiclass resistance to the military arose with open support from the Catholic Church. Over the next six years, until IANo.5 was finally repealed, this nonviolent opposition gained adherents from elite society, including the legal profession, business, as well as labor and peasant groups. The very fact that so many non-government-sponsored groups joined a common cause created a bond among them, and an appreciation of their strength.

In 1976, the human rights-oriented Movement for Amnesty brought together a range of social movements, including urban action and church groups, students, women, leftists and trade unions. The Movement achieved national and international visibility, and, in 1979, the government granted a general amnesty, political prisoners were released and those in exile allowed to return.

The transition to democracy began to take fuller shape in 1980 when the opposition secured changes in the electoral laws, allowing the nonofficial political parties to gain a ma-

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jority in Congress in 1982. However, the military appointed a third of the Senate, so retained effective legislative control. The opposition also won governorships in the ten richest, most populous states. Again, these gains were effectively neutralized by the tight control by the military's government over taxation and allocation of revenues. The opposition politicians were starved for resources, yet held responsible for the growing public complaints.

The process of displacing the military was still far from complete. Its downfall was eventually linked to the regime's inability to overcome chaos in the economy. The oil crisis and a declining world economy created massive economic and social problems beginning in the late 1970s. In 1978 and 1980, strikes in industrial São Paulo were led by future President Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, seeking wage increases to match yearly inflation rates of 200 to 800 percent. At the behest of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the government imposed an austerity program that included a wage freeze to fight inflation, curtailment of food and fuel subsidies, and firm commitments to pay foreign creditors ahead of social spending. In reaction, both workers and the middle class went into the streets.

The underlying opposition to the military-led government was most dramatically shown in the campaign for direct election (*direitas já*) of the president. The campaign began in late 1983, culminating with public demonstrations throughout the country and polls showing 97 percent of the public supported direct elections. Nonetheless, the constitutional amendment to allow direct election was defeated in Congress by the government's supporters. Still the drive for democracy continued, and eventually succeeded. As Roett (1986:381) observed in the mid-1980s, "Brazil remains a deeply elitist society in which the social agenda is largely unmet. Those who support societal reform hope that the innovations of the last decade, such as the ones within the labor movement and the Catholic Church, will result in continuing and organized pressure from below." In addition, much of the media began to openly criticize the military and support the move toward democracy.

By 1985, Brazil's social movements had assumed new organizational forms, made new demands and established new relations with the state and the political parties. The urban-based movements sought improved housing, child care, and public health facilities. These movements rejected the state as sole arbiter of social needs and of solutions. The labor movement also took on a new shape. The "Novo Sindicalismo" rejected the state-controlled structure inherited from Vargas. These new actors politicized issues not previously considered in public, supporting women, blacks, the indigenous, gays and solutions to the country's increasing ecological problems.[4]

When power was finally passed to civilians in 1985, the government-sanctioned political party joined the main opposition party to form a "New Republic" government which did not include labor and left wing groups. In Brazil as elsewhere, the labor-led social movements helped

[4] This new assertiveness of civil society in relation to government also led to "participatory budgeting" gaining a foothold in Brazil, starting in Porto Alegre and Minas Gerais. See Chapter 5.

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win the battle against the military, but lost the campaign for greater influence in governing. The salutary up side was that "during the authoritarian regime … the notion, widespread and deeply-rooted in Brazil, that it is up to the State alone to devise and implement a project of society … the 'statist' conception of politics itself, is reviewed and questioned with civil society leading in this new perception in a now mostly urban Brazil. This created new references for democracy in Brazil … after the dictatorship" (Chaves, Silva and Dagnino 1999).

Brazil's social movements and an activist civil society have continued to gain strength in the years since the dictatorship. Those seeking to overcome enduring social and economic problems have strong proponents in women's rights movements, supporters of landless farmers, and for the urban poor. The "new" labor unions were important in the creation and electoral success of the Workers' Party, which gained the Brazilian presidency in 2002 and 2006, electing as its president a migrant to São Paulo from the impoverished Northeast, a shoe-shine boy and metal worker. Civil society continues to play a key role in the consolidation and evolution of Brazilian democracy. And because of its wealth and dominant size—with 40 percent of the region's population—Brazil is disproportionately important to the evolution of politics and civil society in the rest of Latin America.

Peru's "Soft" and "Hard" Dictatorships (1968–1980)

On October 3, 1968, a military junta assumed power in Peru from the weakened Belaúnde presidency which had only five years earlier assumed power from an earlier military government. A dispute with the International Petroleum Company over licenses to oil fields in northern Peru sparked a national scandal and gave Col. Juan Velasco Alvarado an excuse to seize absolute power and close down Congress. President Belaúnde was sent into exile, and the oil fields in dispute were taken over by the Army.

The junta initially followed a populist agenda. The "Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces" nationalized entire industries, expropriated companies, including fisheries, mining, telecommunications and power production, and created government-run entities such as PescaPeru, MineroPeru, PetroPeru, ElectroPeru, EntelPeru. In addition, sugar plantations and latifundia in the altiplano were expropriated and, with mixed success, distributed as part of an agrarian reform effort.

With respect to civil society and political expression, Peru's military did not mimic the military in Brazil and the Southern Cone with massive repression. Peasants were allowed to organize, as were other groups, and, in the initial years, the media were not controlled. Increased internal economic troubles and conflicts with the United States over relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union brought on government control of the press by 1974. These pressures on the Velasco administration led to its downfall. On August 29, 1975, military commanders in several districts initiated a coup, declaring that an already ill Velasco had not achieved the "Peruvian Revolution" and was unable to continue in his functions. Prime

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Minister Francisco Morales Bermúdez was appointed president by the new military junta to which Velasco acceded.

The political posture under Morales Bermúdez changed dramatically. During this second phase of military control, the military effectively reversed Velasco's progressive social and economic measures. Responding to pressures from the IMF, subsidies on food and fuel were abolished. This structural adjustment program led to deterioration in the levels of living for the poor and most of the middle class. The post-Velasco regime faced an angry populace. A vigorous middle-class women's movement, joined by groups promoting an expanded role for the indigenous as well as trade unions and students, played critical roles in organizing protests that eventually ousted the military. Street riots began in Lima in July 1976 and spread to other cities, where student protests and labor stoppages led to mass arrests and deaths.

Finally, in 1978, the junta initiated a move to return to a civilian constitutional government by calling a constitutional assembly. The transition to democratic elections in 1980 followed after more street demonstrations and mobilizations by both the strong NGO community and the traditional political parties. The new constitution, approved in 1979, called for a bicameral legislature and a single term for the president. In 1980 Peru held its first general elections since 1963, electing the same president—Fernando Belaúnde Terry—who had been deposed by the military. His Acción Popular party also won control of the legislature.

However, the transition to democracy coincided with the decision by a splinter Communist group, the *Sendero Luminoso*, to launch a guerrilla war beginning in the Peruvian highlands, a war that would continue for more than a decade, during which it colored all the nation's political and social programs. Sendero's initial successes were partly fueled in highlands universities by resentment of unfulfilled expectations of working class mestizos, who had been, ironically, beneficiaries of the junta's early massive education programs (Gotarri Ellenbogen 1991).

Peru's civilian governments, after the restoration of civilian power in 1980, were under continuing pressure to quell the Sendero rebellion, which helps explain why the new social movements failed to gain influence in the revivified democracy (Lynch 1997). Fujimori's surprise election in 1990 is widely attributed to his appeal to middle-class fears of the Sendero, as well as his support by certain religious groups (Degregori and Grompone 1991). Fujimori's administration actively opposed the NGO and social movement communities. The rights of CSOs were weakened by a Fujimorist majority in their 1993 constitutional congress after he accused CSOs of being influenced from abroad. Since Fujimori's flight from prosecution in November 2000, Peru has returned to democratic rule.

In contrast to the other countries of the region, Peru's military dictatorships allowed civil society a relatively free rein, but then the civilian governors imposed controls and restrictions, particularly under Fujimori. Civil society in Peru is today one of the most active of the region. The movements continue to fight for influence on policy (Arce 2005; Schönwälder 2002), with literally thousands of CSOs supporting a wide range of causes:

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rights for women, rural and indigenous peoples, poor urban migrants, the environment and participatory budgeting (see Chapter 5). In their support, international NGOs, European and U.S. government agencies have also been extremely active.

Chile under Pinochet Dictatorship (1973–1990)

Immediately after taking power in 1973, the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile introduced repressive measures against social movements similar to those that had been perfected by Brazil's military. It immediately arrested thousands, banned activities of the left's political parties and restricted other parties, as well as labor and peasant organizations (Valenzuela 1978). During the first ten years of his reign, Pinochet severely restricted open demonstrations of opposition, although the Catholic Vicariate of Solidarity gave some protection to the occasional mobilizations focused on human rights, aid to families of the "disappeared," as well as claims by students and families seeking housing.

The government instituted its economic "shock treatment" in the mid-1970s, and in 1982 worsened the adverse economic impact on the poor and middle classes by effectively pegging the Chilean economy to the U.S. dollar, which eliminated Chilean industries that were not "world competitive." The shock to employment and incomes was severe. A public works *programa de empleo mínimo* was instituted as a stopgap measure, with limited results even though it absorbed a large share of the Chilean labor force. Between the presidency of Allende in 1970 and the end of Pinochet's rule in 1989, average family incomes and social services declined dramatically: real wages decreased by 8 percent; family allowances in 1989 were 28 percent of what they had been in 1970 and government budgets for education, health and housing had decreased by over 20 percent on average (Sznajder 1996).

It was not until 1980 that the regime formalized a new constitution which foresaw an eventual transition to a civilian, but still authoritarian, government. Almost immediately thereafter, increasing signs appeared that the military and its application of "free market" economic programs were broadly rejected. The first openly expressed protests appeared. A massive street protest against Pinochet was triggered by the copper workers' union in May 1983, and was joined by demonstrators on the streets of Santiago. Even though the military repressed these demonstrations, new protests were organized on almost a monthly basis, primarily in working-class and shantytown areas where police where met by rock-throwing youth and street barricades, and often lost control for entire nights.

The movement reached a peak in October 1984 with a general strike, to which the military responded by proclaiming a state of siege. The protests nonetheless gained momentum. Alliances were formed by the political parties of the middle and left joined by a variety of citizens' organizations. The Asamblea de la Civilidad, led mostly by middle-class groups, brought together students, shantytown dwellers, human rights advocates and the women's movement. The government reacted by offering measures that satisfied the de-

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mands of middle-class workers, but which left the more militant activists exposed to further attack (Garretón 1995).

Pinochet's 1980 Constitution called for a plebiscite on October 5, 1988, to approve a new eight-year presidential term for Pinochet. The rules for the plebiscite provided equal TV time for "Sí" and "No" supporters. The opposition *No* campaign, headed by future President Ricardo Lagos, called on Pinochet to account for the "disappeared" persons. The *Sí* campaign insisted that voting "no" was the same as voting for a return to Allende's Unidad Popular government. Pinochet lost the referendum, with 55 percent rejecting an extension of his rule, which triggered elections in 1989 to choose his replacement. Pinochet left the presidency on March 11, 1990, and transferred power to the newly elected Patricio Aylwin, heading a center-left Party coalition. However, Pinochet retained the command of the armed forces and his constitution provided him with both a Senate seat for life and immunity from criminal prosecution—all of which he subsequently lost.

A consortium of political and CSO groups, led by the activist Vicarate of the Catholic Church, helped bring democracy back to Chile. The political environment was enlivened by literally thousands of community organizations and civic movements that had grown—often clandestinely—during the dictatorship. However, a number of the CSO leaders in the democracy campaign joined the new government and the Vicariate was disbanded after the retirement of its founder, Cardinal Silva Henríquez.

Measures of political interest among the wider public have declined under civilian governments since 1990. "Paradoxically, as in other countries of the region, the return to a democratic regime that eliminated repressive measures imposed by the dictatorship and opened the structure of political opportunities had the short-term effect of reducing the opportunities for the development of civil society and different forms of collective action within it" (Ríos Tobar 2000; Garretón 1995).

What some called a "conspiracy of consensus" began as public life in Chile was again dominated by political parties, and citizens' organizations were often marginalized from the political process. Surveys of the Chilean public have since shown a growing disillusionment with both political parties and politicians traceable to lack of action on social problems, and a failure to attack cronyism and clientelism. New contentious social movements appeared in the late 1990s around indigenous rights, rejection of neo-liberalism, APEC, environment and education issues. Civil society gradually began to be revitalized in mid-decade of 2000. The election of Michelle Bachelet in 2006 has been attributed to a participatory citizen engagement that rejects the traditional parties.

Argentina's Peróns and Dirty War (1966–1983)

In Argentina in 1966, a junta of military leaders supported by business interests seized power and named as President, Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía, a right-wing opponent of the

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elected President Arturo Illía. Onganía's government dissolved the legislature, banned all political parties, exercised unofficial press censorship, and placed the national universities under government control. Widespread opposition to the rigid rule of the Onganía regime caused the military to replace him in 1970, with Gen. Roberto M. Levingston. In the face of economic problems and increased terrorist activities, Levingston was then replaced by General Alejandro Lanusse who initiated programs aimed to encourage economic growth and political stability.

The still exiled figure of Juan Perón hovered over these changing regimes. After extended negotiations, Lanusse called for national elections and a civilian government in 1972. As planned by his cohorts, this resulted in the return of Perón to the country, which revivified the labor-based Peronista political party. Perón was technically ineligible for nomination in the March 1973 elections. When the stand-in Peronist candidate, Dr. Héctor Cámpora, won, he immediately resigned to force new elections. Perón, in September 1973, was elected president and his third wife, Isabel Martínez Perón, vice-president. When Perón died in July, 1974, his widow assumed power. Her hapless government faced labor unrest, political violence, and deep divisions in the Peronista party. The problems were made worse by Isabel's advisor, José López-Rega, who had ties to an ultra-right Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA) and who led Isabel's anti-terror campaign.[5]

In 1976, Isabel Perón was finally deposed by the military under Jorge Rafael Videla. Videla's administration was also ineffective in correcting the ills of the economy or in curbing the struggle with the Peronists' own Montonero urban guerrilla movement, but he expanded the anti-terror campaign into what became known as the *Dirty War*. He suspended political and trade union activity, dissolved the Congress, changed the constitution, and removed most government officials while arranging even more detentions and "disappearances." Videla defined a terrorist as "not just someone with a gun or a bomb, but also someone who spreads ideas that are contrary to Western and Christian civilization" (Navarro 2001).

A subsequent count found at least 8,700 victims had been murdered or disappeared (Gareau 2004). The largest group (30 percent) consisted of blue collar workers; second were students (21 percent); the third largest (18 percent) white collar workers; and even maids (4 percent). Unrefuted evidence indicates that most prisoners were drugged then dropped in the ocean from helicopters. The military itself confirmed that more than 5,000 were being detained incommunicado in 1977. Those who disappeared, according to Amnesty International, included citizens of 28 countries.

Human rights activists, with support of some representatives of the Catholic Church, and international groups such as Amnesty, and the U.S. State Department Assistant Secretary

[5] In January 2007, a Spanish court caused the arrest of Isabel Perón based on orders she signed that led to the deaths of many dissidents. See http://www.guardian.co.uk/argentina/story/0,,1989531,00.html.

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for Human Rights under President Carter, sought relief, but the activists were then arrested, their offices raided and testimony prepared for the official foreign delegation destroyed. The Madres de Plaza de Mayo began their first vigil on April 30, 1977, which continued for the succeeding years in mute testimony to the repression.

A military campaign effectively led to the end of military rule. In 1981, Argentina petitioned the United Nations for possession of the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas) which had been settled by the British since 1832. On April 2, 1982, Argentina's military under General Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri invaded and occupied the islands. British forces responded, forcing an Argentine surrender six weeks later. The Madres and other protesters began to gain some ground and, after the Falkland disaster, took leadership of the movement that displaced the military.[6] In disgrace, Galtieri resigned and general elections were called.

In 1983, Raúl Alfonsín of the Radical Civic Union was elected president. His tenure was marked by an attempt to bring some of the military to justice for their brutal crimes, but he was forced to compromise. He was faced by continued partisan infighting and unrelieved economic problems, with inflation rates rising to 200 percent per month. He resisted calls for his departure until six months before the end of his term when he turned the office over to Carlos Saúl Menem who had been elected president in 1988.

Menem brought the Justicialist (Peronist) party back into power. An adherent to the Washington Consensus, Menem instituted a program of privatization, encouraged foreign investment, and tied the Argentine peso to the U.S. dollar. However, the measures failed to address underlying weaknesses of Argentine industry and, combined with widely acknowledged corruption in the privatization schemes, the financial house came tumbling down in 2001, with the peso falling by two-thirds against the dollar, and real incomes by over one-half.

The relationship of Argentina's CSOs with their governments has a tortured history both before the military coups and since (Shumway 1991). The human rights movements had been instrumental in bringing down the Argentine dictators, but they were less successful in gaining access to the industrial and trade union power brokers who continued their effective controls.

But the picture then began to change. From a series of opinion surveys, Mora y Araujo (2006:124–128) charted particularly sharp shifts in public attitudes in "power distribution preferences" beginning with the immediate post-dictatorship period. In 1985, "corporatist preferences"—a strong concentration of power in trade unions and the military, both with and without a central role in the state—were the first plurality. In the early 1990s, however, "pro-market, neoliberal preferences were higher." But public attitudes changed sharply in the first years of the new century. These changes were spurred by an urban uprising—the

[6] Argentina had won the 1982 World Cup on its home turf. The general exultation of the populace is widely believed to have allowed the military regime to enjoy a longer life than it might have otherwise.

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cacerolazo beginning in December 2001—which led to the resignation of two presidents. Mora y Araujo's more recent polls show clear evidence that "anti-corporatist preferences dominate." Even sharper preference shifts were seen in the support of political parties. In 1984, 73 percent of those polled were members or "felt affection" for a political party, but by 2002, all such support had dropped to only 27 percent. Over these same two decades, public support grew for the "social sectors"—including activist community CSOs as well as social movements.

Among the reasons for the historic weakness of CSOs given by one analyst (Saba 2000), is that:

- Argentina lacked experience with participatory self government;
- Most of the populace distrusts the key political actors (political parties, the military, the church, etc.); and
- The system of strong presidential powers limits achieving a deliberative democracy in which agreements, alliances and social networks are valued.

The same author was nonetheless optimistic about the role that CSOs could play in post-dictatorship Argentina. "The amazing development and maturity of civil society in Argentina brings hope to the future … After having achieved a broad recognition and respect for human rights, raising awareness about the role of civic responsibility in a modern constitutional democracy, the next step … is the building of a democratic society united by a sense of a public enterprise that involves all citizens."

Uruguay's Dictators (1973–1984)

In the early 1960s, Uruguay was still relatively affluent and politically stable compared to neighboring Argentina or Brazil. It had a large middle class and a welfare-state style government with few restraints on civic freedoms. In 1968 there were only 12,000 in the armed forces and 22,000 police to keep order for a population of 3 million. However, its export-led economy then began suffering sharp economic declines; Uruguay's historic calm was interrupted by labor and student unrest and, for the first time in its history, armed guerrillas.

The leftist National Liberation Movement (MLN, known as the Tupamaros[7]) was formed in the early 1960s and soon began urban guerrilla activity including robbery and kidnapping of prominent figures. As with other guerrilla movements of the period, Castro's Cuba claimed to be supporting them with training and finance. The Tupamaros succeeded

[7] A history of the Tupamaros can be found at http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/uruguay/tupamaros-uruguay.htm.

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in embarrassing the government and successfully eroded the image of the reigning civilian government. As the political situation deteriorated in the early seventies, the government gave the military increasing authority. The violence created by the Tupamaros led President Pacheco to declare a state of siege.

In September 1971, the president, with the consent of the parliament, called upon the military to quash the Tupamaros. In November, the Partido Colorado won a plurality in the national election and Juan María Bordaberry was named president. He immediately asked for a declaration of an "internal state of war." The declaration was approved in a 24-hour session of the National Assembly over the opposition of the Frente Amplio. The declaration reduced constitutional guarantees of citizens and gave license to subsequent human rights violations. The state of war lasted only until June 11, but the constitutional guarantees were not reestablished for a decade.

In February 1973, the military staged a coup d'état, objecting to the president's appointment as Minister of Defense. The "doctrine of national security" adopted by the Uruguayan military borrowed directly from that of the Brazilian generals responsible for its 1964 coup. That view holds that sovereignty no longer resides in the people but derives instead from the need for state survival.[8] The military proposed political, social, and economic measures and demanded military participation in political decision making. After Bordaberry granted them the extra-official powers, he was allowed to retain office.

The military next pushed for legislative approval of a State Security Law. They issued two communiqués (Nr 4 and Nr 7) calling for a new government and a platform including agrarian reform and similar liberal measures. The president futilely sought the support of the political parties to confront the military. Behind the opposition were political maneuvers reportedly including:

- The opposition Blanco party was negotiating to depose Bordaberry, create a ruling triumvirate, and call for new elections.
- The Frente Amplio entertained the idea of achieving a Peruvian-style military rule. The parties of the Left supported the idea of civilians and military coming together (*un planteo de convergencia cívico-militar*).
- The trade unions (CNT) supported Communiqués 4 and 7.

In response, on June 27, 1973, with the backing of the armed forces, Bordaberry dissolved the General Assembly and announced a de facto dictatorship, with the armed forces

[8] General Artur Golbery do Couto e Silva (1967:24–34), argued that the world was irreconcilably divided into the capitalist and Christian West and the communist and "atheistic" East. The generals saw themselves as engaged in an unrelenting global struggle, without room for uncertainty against a cunning and ruthless enemy, making it necessary to sacrifice freedoms to protect and preserve the state.

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and police empowered to take measures to ensure normal public services. Two minority groups from the Colorado and Blanco parties supported the military regime. However, the major trade union, CUT, called a general strike that lasted almost two weeks. The new dictatorship then banned the trade union, and any groups accused of left or Marxist-Leninist connections. It also intervened in the university to quell dissident students.

"Preventive" repression by the Uruguayan military regime was intense. Leaders of both parties were sent into exile, with other members of the political establishment prosecuted. In 1976, Amnesty International found that Uruguay had more political prisoners per capita than any other nation. During this period, an estimated 10 percent of the population emigrated for political or economic reasons. In addition to the dead and disappeared, thousands were jailed, many tortured and accused of political crimes. Government employees considered disloyal were fired. The regime restricted all party political activity, the press and association. Unlike Chile and Brazil, where the Catholic Church took the lead in protesting violations of human rights, the church hierarchy in Uruguay was evidently convinced that the junta would jail the country's bishops if they spoke in the same terms as their colleagues. The Uruguayan church clearly had little influence in this most secular country of the region.

In June 1976, Bordaberry was finally forced to resign after he proposed to eliminate political parties and to create a permanent dictatorship—with himself as president. National elections were to have been held that same year, although politicians were increasingly skeptical of Bordaberry's intentions after two leading Uruguayan political leaders were assassinated. Bordaberry was succeeded by Alberto Demichelli Lizaso, who promptly suspended the call for elections.

In 1977, the military government announced its long-run plan: the National (Blanco) Party and the Colorado Party would be purged of "leftist elements," a new constitution would be submitted to a plebiscite, and national elections would be held with a single candidate agreed upon by both parties. A charter that gave the military virtual veto power over all government policy was drawn up, and in 1980 the armed forces submitted their constitution to a plebiscite. Uruguay's citizens went to the polls, and dealt the military a blow, rejecting their constitution by a vote of 57 to 43 percent.

So began a slow process during which the military bargained with civilian political elites while promising to restore civilian rule. Demichelli was replaced as president by Aparicio Méndez, who stayed in power until 1981. He prohibited political activity by everyone who had participated in the 1966 and 1971 elections. Political life came to a halt.

The return to democracy was finally sealed in a pact with the military signed by the Colorados and the Frente Amplio. The Blancos rejected it because their candidates from the 1971 election would be barred from running. In 1984, the Colorado party candidate Julio María Sanguinetti then won the presidential election. But the election left many unanswered questions—most obviously with regard to human rights. What was to happen to

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the torturers who had flourished during the dictatorship? In Argentina, the generals had failed in their attempt to bargain for their immunity with prospective civilian governments. The issue was resolved in Uruguay with the *Ley de Caducidad* on December 22, 1986, which gave the armed forces immunity from prosecution for their crimes.

When civil rule returned to the country, the burgeoning grassroots movements and civil society thought they had reason to believe there would be good working relations with the newly elected leaders and political society. Beginning even before the military gave over government control, community organizations in Montevideo set up food kitchens, health clinics and cooperative buying groups in the poorer barrios, trying to relieve the extreme poverty that many faced after years of slow growth and depression. According to Canel (1992) the Montevideo CSOs also set up coordinating bodies for health, food, soup kitchens and housing, many allied with trade unions, churches and outside NGOs. Nonetheless, there was evident tension between the new civilian governors and activist civil society organizations when Montevideo authorities sought to forcibly relocate families into precarious housing on the city's periphery.

In spite of the rapid growth and seeming strength of the newly formed community organizations, they were not able to substantially influence the revivified civilian government. In part, this was due to their loss of foreign funders and supporters for their activities. Soon after Sanguinetti assumed presidential powers in 1985, it became evident that at least some elements of the traditional parties opposed efforts of the civil society to assume their role of "articulators" of the interests of their clienteles.[9] Both the major parties were almost a century old, and had clienteles drawn from the range of political views. It was only after formation of the socialist-oriented Frente Amplio in 1971 that ideology become an important basis for party adherence. After the military relinquished power, it was in the interest of the older parties to rebuild direct relations with their voting clienteles without having to deal with the CSO as intermediaries. Even the parties linked to the left in the Frente Amplio appeared to join in weakening the civil society organizations, according to one observer (Canel 1992).

The decline of citizen loyalties to the traditional Blanco and Colorado parties is graphically seen in their increasing difficulty in retaining voting strength. Until 1971, the two parties held 90 percent or more of voter support, but this fell to 70 percent in 1989. In 2005, the nontraditional Frente Amplio party eclipsed them both and its leader assumed the presidency.

In the years since democracy was renewed, however, civil society has had a major resurgence. In a subsequent evaluation, CIVICUS (2000) concluded that Uruguay's civil society plays a significant role in Uruguay and that the involvement of CSOs contributes

[9] Serious, though only partly successful, efforts were made by members of the Colorado Party, particularly Amb. Juan Felipe Yriart, to build bridges to these civil society groups.

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to the development of the country. CIVICUS found thousands of organizations providing crucial social services, representing the interests of workers, organizing cultural, educational and development services, recreational activities, promoting the rights of children, women, the African-Uruguayan population, promoting respect for human rights, and lobbying for social, political and economic change.

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Chapter 3

Human Rights Organizations in Guatemala: An Evaluation

Rosa María Cruz López

During the last forty years in Guatemala, authoritarian and repressive regimes have constantly violated the human rights of the population. The result of this policy during the years of armed conflict was the destruction of any expression of civil society and, in consequence, the social fabric was destroyed. Even though the process of "redemocratization" formally began in 1996, the adverse effects of the war on society still linger, and are being exploited by drug traffickers and organized crime.

Today, some organizations are working to revive and bring together Guatemalan society. Energy is being generated from various social movements: indigenous, agrarian, women's, unions and urban. The coordination of these efforts, even though they share objectives, has still not produced the organization needed to effectively demand social responsibility from the state. The sectors repressed during the long era of dictatorships continue without voice or access to power. Human rights organizations, such as the Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo (Mutual Support Group, GAM), still report attacks on *campesinos*, women and youth in marginalized areas (GAM 2006).

The long and tragic history of repression is detailed in the following pages. In this context, the work of human rights organizations has sought the full implementation of the Peace Accords that have been largely ignored by successive governments since 1996. This essay examines the origins, objectives, work strategies and lessons learned of seven organizations[1] that are working to protect the first, second and third generation rights[2] of the Guatemalan population in rural, urban and marginal urban zones. A catalogue of the armed conflicts under the successive presidencies from 1954 to 1996 is offered in Annex 1 (Chronology of the Armed Conflict in Guatemala).

[1] The organizations studied and the leaders interviewed were: Miguel Ángel Albizurez, Centro para la Acción Legal en Derechos Humanos; Carmen Aída Ibarra, Myrna Mack Foundation; Adela Camacho de Torrebiarte, Madres Angustiadas; Carlos Barreda, Colectivo de Organizaciones Sociales; Cecil de León, DESC Guatemala; Joaquín Cajbón, Museo Comunitario Rabinal Achí; Doryan Bedolla, Catalina García and Samuel Ochoa, Colectivo Caja Lúdica.

[2] A discussion of these rights is found at http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Derechos_humanos.

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The commitment of the people and organizations studied is directed generally towards the construction of a State of Rights, within which people, at the individual level, know their rights and obligations, and at the collective level, create responsibility and build consensus respecting diversity.

Democracy Interrupted[3]

Guatemalan history during the 1950s saw the shattering of the beginnings of democracy that had begun in 1944. In July 1954, the military, with support of conservative politicians, forcefully overturned the Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán government and the reforms produced during the democratic decade (Adams and Bastos 2003). The military took control of the government and society, reversed the previous economic and social programs, and subsequently introduced extremely violent policies that created a polarized society (ASIES 2004).

In the sixties, the first guerrilla groups were organized in the eastern part of the country.[4] In 1962, students led a series of protests in Guatemala City against the regime called "March and April Sessions." The demonstrations were strongly repressed by Miguel Ydigoras Fuente's military regime (Luján Muñoz 2004). One year later, his government fell after another military coup led by the Minister of Defense, Carlos Peralta Azurdia. This government viewed democracy as an obstacle in the battle against the guerrilla groups and those who wished to install a socialist regime in the country. Using this as the reason, Peralta Azurdia suspended all citizen political participation by decree laws, and abolished the Congress, Supreme Court and revoked the constitution (Luján Muñoz 2004).

During the Peralta Azurdia government, state-sponsored violence was concentrated in the urban areas, and the first "disappearances" of union and university leaders occurred. This was the initial manifestation of a national policy of assassination and forced disappearance of political opponents, including not only from the insurgent groups but of persons who showed an interest in reestablishing a democratic government.[5]

During that period, the University of San Carlos (USAC) and its Asociación de Estudiantes Universitarios (Association of University Students, AEU), working with labor unions, were among the few civil society groups to demand rights for the general population.[6] Their

[3] A summary of major political events under the successive governments since 1954 is given in Annex Table 3-1.

[4] The Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (Historical Clarification Commission, CEH) reported that in December 1962, three small guerrilla groups joined with the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (Guatemalan Worker's Party, PGT), to form the Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (Armed Rebel Forces, FAR).

[5] CEH's report documents the first massacre of the civilian population in 1965 in the eastern part of the country and in 1966 the case of the "28"—massive disappearances of members of the PGT and MR-13.

[6] During these years a few farmers' leagues and cooperatives were organized. In 1965, the student movement CRATER was established, inspired by members of the Maryknoll and Jesuit orders.

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outspoken position meant that students, professors and administrators, together with the Mayans, became targets of state repression. The de facto government of Peralta Azurdia responded to the political activities of the students by putting the public educational institutions under military control (ODHAG 2004).

From 1966 to 1970, a civilian, Julio César Méndez Montenegro occupied the presidency but the military obliged him to sign a pact that prohibited his government from signing any "truce or agreement with the guerrillas." It also exonerated military leaders from any prosecution for crimes committed during the Méndez mandate (Kobrak 1999).

During Méndez's tenure, the government expanded the use of forced disappearances, so there were fewer political prisoners. Paramilitary groups published lists of students, union members and intellectuals, calling them "enemies of the regime" to be assassinated or detained and disappeared. These measures coincided with the campaign led by the chief of the Zacapa military base, Colonel Carlos Arana Osorio, which defeated the guerrillas in the eastern part of the country.[7]

Because Arana Osorio played the part of a strong man, militants from the extreme right supported him in the elections of 1970. After assuming the rank of general, Arana Osorio was elected president (Aguilar Peralta 1997). During his regime, there was a prolonged state of siege during which time violence escalated and violations of the rights of the citizens continued (Luján Muñoz 2004).

The army, together with other elements of the military, political parties from the extreme right, and powerful business and agriculture interests, formed a political alliance. They established a variety of extra-legal businesses whose revenues were used to strengthen the military. Because the military controlled these resources, members of the military with rank of general were to become presidents during the succeeding 15 years. However, in spite of the censorship and terror they imposed on the general public, public campaigns were mounted against the corruption in the government—above all in the execution of large infrastructure projects.

In 1973, the increase in world petroleum prices led to a national economic crisis, since Guatemala needed to import all its oil, and prices of all basic necessities rose dramatically. The purchasing power of the population fell, especially for those in the rural sector. Public demonstrations followed, in which the student and union organizations again played a key role. The government put the country under a state of siege for one year. However, this triggered a campaign of teachers to organize and present their demands. The teachers union then led a general strike in 1973, and the social movement emerged strengthened (Kobrak 1999).

[7] CEH describes the massacres between 1966 and 1968 that destroyed the villages that had been bases for guerrillas in the east, and the proliferation of death squads supported by the political right.

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The Open Social Conflict

In the elections of 1974, the conservative Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Movement) and Partido Institucional Democrático (Institutional Democratic Party) carried General Kjell Eugenio Laugerud García to the presidency with serious election irregularities, bordering on fraud. Students and workers led protests. Some of their political and economic demands were accepted by Laugerud as he sought to obtain popular support and legitimacy for his office (Luján Muñoz 2004).

In this period, an earthquake on February 4, 1976 led to the deaths of more than 25,000 people and one million were left without shelter. The disaster showed the corruption and inefficiency of the government. The consciousness of urban organizations was raised, as they coordinated the clearing of rubble and caring for the survivors. The university students strengthened their contacts with other movements, such as the Movimiento Nacional de Pobladores (National Settlers Movement) and the Coordinadora de Estudiantes de Nivel Medio (Coordinator of Middle School Students). These contacts helped develop an opposition with the capacity to mobilize citizens (Kobrak 1999).

The workers' movement also strengthened its organization by setting up the Comité de Unidad Sindical (Trade Union Unity Committee, CNUS) which acted as a coordinating body of the urban struggles. The Comité de Unidad Campesina (Committee of United Farmers, CUC), was also created and became the largest farmers' organization in the country (CEH 1996). The year 1977 was also important for workers who began using the strike tactic to press their demands. This culminated in a massive march called the "Miners of Ixtahuacan," which drew an estimated 150,000 demonstrators (ASIES 2004).

In the next elections, amidst more accusations of electoral fraud, General Romeo Lucas García won the presidency. From the beginning, Lucas showed what his rule would bring with a massacre in Panzos, Alta Verapaz (Luján Muñoz 2004). Repression increased in direct relation to the demands of the popular sectors; these movements were accused of collaborating with the insurgency. The increased costs of basic goods and public transportation only worsened the economic situation for almost all families. The attacks on human rights under the Lucas regime were later labeled as the worst in the history of Central America (Kobrak 1999).

The United States, under Jimmy Carter's presidency, forcefully condemned the Guatemalan government and conditioned its aid on respect for human rights. This helped to open room for some stirrings of democracy by permitting political parties to be formed. However, the opening also resulted in political leaders being assassinated: in 1979, both Manuel Colom Argueta of the United Revolutionary Front and Alberto Fuentes Mohr of the Social Democratic Party were assassinated (Luján Muñoz 2004).

The war in the rural areas continued between three different guerrilla groups and the army, with the mostly Mayan citizens in the middle. Many were forced to seek refuge

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in neighboring countries and others lived in constant hiding within the country. In 1981, the Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil (Civilian Self-Defense Patrols, PAC), were formed and they collaborated with the military in massive repression against the civilian population in Maya-dominated rural areas.

In the cities, kidnappings were frequent, as were assassinations and disappearances. For their part, the guerrilla groups occupied embassies, such as the Swiss, Mexican and Brazilian (Luján Muñoz 2004). On January 31, 1980, a farmers' organization occupied the Spanish Embassy. The brutal treatment they received gave rise to a new phase in the political struggles.

The Lucas García government's contempt for human rights led to its international isolation. Far from being embarrassed, the government justified its actions as necessary in a war without limits against any political opposition (Kobrak 1999). During that government, leaders of diverse citizens' groups were assassinated, including the Secretary General of the AEU, Oliverio Castañeda de León, and rural massacres continued. Meanwhile, there were even more guerrilla attacks as they called for a final offensive, but it was never achieved.

On March 23, 1982, opposition from within the military led to a coup by young officers, which installed a triumvirate of General Efraín Ríos Montt, General Horacio Maldonado Schaad and Colonel Luis Gordillo. In December of that same year, Ríos Montt led his own coup against his associates and gained power as part of a "divine plan"—according to his own statements. With the destruction of the urban movements, the government of Ríos Montt directed the repression in the rural areas. The Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil were strengthened in the fight against the guerrillas, adopting a strategy of scorched earth. They moved the remaining population into "development poles" and "model villages." These PACs also established special local tribunes which delivered summary justice (Luján Muñoz 2004).

On August 8, 1983, military leaders decided to depose Ríos Montt because he had involved the Protestant church in state matters. According to the coup leaders, this put at risk the integrity of the military. Immediately after the coup, the special local tribunals and State Council were abolished. Colonel Oscar Mejía Víctores was put in power, and called for elections to a National Constitutional Assembly that subsequently formulated the constitution of 1985 (Luján Muñoz 2004).

By mid-1985, the Guatemalan economy was again in crisis as uncertainty led to the flight of investment capital. The fears were provoked in part by the armed conflict, but also by the increasing corruption of high military officials. The military sought to make the citizens pay the consequences of the crisis by suspending subsidies for basic goods and public services. The increase in the cost of public transportation provoked urban residents to organize a coordinating body to unite the popular sectors with the student movement (ASIES 2004).

In 1986, following the new constitution, Guatemalans elected Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo president. He promised to end corruption, stop the human rights violations and restore the

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confidence of the citizens in public institutions (Luján Muñoz 2004). A few months into his term, however, it was evident that Cerezo Arévalo controlled only 60 percent of the government since he competed with a parallel power structure. The impunity and mismanagement of the presidency was seen in criminal acts such as the assassination of the anthropologist and sociologist Myrna Mack (ASIES 2004). Nonetheless, because the military was divided, Cerezo Arévalo ended up with a comparatively moderate strategy.[8] The government of Cerezo Arévalo withstood several unsuccessful coup attempts originating from within the military.

The economy at that point suffered repercussions from a monetary crisis. The quetzal was devalued and some civil society sectors organized to deal with the social costs of the armed conflict (Brett 2006). During the government of Cerezo Arévalo, negotiations with the guerrillas began, supported by the Central American peace process. The first firm negotiations for these accords took place in Madrid in 1987 (Luján Muñoz 2004).

In January 1991, Jorge Serrano Elías assumed the presidency. In one sense, the process of "democratization" began at this time. Serrano was a civilian who, following the policy of Cerezo Arévalo, continued negotiations with la Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit, UNRG). This pleased the international community, but Serrano also continued armed confrontations with the guerrillas. For nearly two years, the United States suspended military aid and imposed economic sanctions on the Guatemalan government until the human rights situation improved. In October 1992, Serrano openly fought with the National Congress over negotiations associated with the privatization of the national electric company. In March 1993, he enacted the "Temporary Norms of Government," dissolving the Congress, Supreme Court, Constitutional Court and the Attorney for Human Rights (ASIES 2004).

Because of this new constitutional crisis, the private sector and a large part of Guatemalan society organized a multisectoral forum to put pressure on Serrano. On June 6, 1993, Congress appointed the Attorney for Human Rights and the President of the Election Tribunal as President and Vice-President, respectively, in order to reestablish constitutional order (ASIES 2004).

The government of De León reformed the constitution, reduced the number of representatives in the Congress and called for elections in 1994. In that year, the socioeconomic situation generated a new conflict between the state and popular sectors. With the students leading protests against the increase in the cost of public transportation, the government again repressed the protests at the cost of lives. The case of Mario Alioto López Sánchez, a student beaten to death, was taken to the courts and for the first time high-level government officials were found guilty. However, three months later, they were exonerated (ODHAG 2004).

[8] During Cerezo Arévalo's tenure, the Comisión Nacional de Reconciliación (Nacional Reconciliation Commission) was formed, led by Monsignor Rodolfo Quezada Toruño.

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The government of De León continued negotiations with the guerrillas. In an attempt to reach an agreement, the first major group of refugees from Mexico returned to Guatemala. However, in October 1995, in the community of Xamán in the municipality of Chiséc, Alta Verapaz, many of the returned refugees were massacred (Luján Muñoz 2004).

A Firm and Lasting Peace

The government of Arzú gave a definitive push to the negotiation process. On December 29, 1996 the final peace accords were signed. The peace process was watched over by the military to ensure that they did not lose their privileges. Two investigative reports were being prepared at that time: one from the Comisión del Esclarecimiento Histórico (Historical Clarification Commission, CEH) and the Recuperation of Historical Memory Report. Both reports documented the crimes committed during the armed conflict.[9] The seventh report from the United Nations Mission to Guatemala (MINUGUA) was also issued, calling attention to the fact that the military was delaying the demilitarization process, and avoiding strengthening the civilian control of the state (MINUGUA 2004).

Offsetting the progress in human rights that these reports might have brought on, Monsignor Juan Gerardi was assassinated. Gerardi had been the Auxiliary Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Guatemala and the director of the Recovery of Historical Memory project.

Arzú's government applied certain portions of the Peace Accords, pushing for a cease fire and disarmament, but did not address the social and economic concerns. In 1997, the government sought tax reform and gave priority to economic issues such as the privatization of telecommunications and electricity companies (IDEA 1998). However, the weakened state did not attend to the profound and continuing problems of public health, education and housing.

The new social climate permitted manifestations by organized civil society without their being seen as a threat to the state. The climate of peace and the absence of armed repression, both in the countryside and the cities, permitted the flowering of new social organizations. These new ethnic, environmental, cultural, youth and women's groups united with the traditional social groups to push for human rights.

In 1999, the Frente Republicano Guatemalteco (Guatemalan Republican Front, FRG) was victorious over the Partido de Avanzada Nacional (National Advancement Party, PAN) with Alfonso Portillo winning the presidency. However, human rights continued to deteriorate

[9] Freddy Pecherely, director of the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropological Foundation, in an interview with Marielos Monzón of Radio Universidad, stated that the number of disappeared and killed during the conflict exceeded 50,000 and 250,000, respectively. His analysis is based on CEH's 18-month-long investigation of 36 years of conflict. While the work was thorough, it only provided a partial accounting. The Foundation has since conducted 700 additional investigations of communities that were not included in the CEH report.

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in the country. In its 2001 report, GAM reported a 25 percent increase in political violence, documenting 2,000 cases of political violence, 24 extrajudicial executions and 3 forced disappearances (GAM 2006). Among the disappearances was professor and researcher Mayra Gutiérrez; this inhibited the civil society movement during this time of political instability and transition towards a new government (Cabanas and Del Cid Vargas, 2003).

Portillo's term was marred by numerous business scandals and escalating violence in the form of delinquency and organized crime. Problems with the education system and a lack of housing, potable water and food affected the majority of the population. On the other hand, paramilitary groups left over from the armed conflict, such as the PAC, were strengthened, and there were new ties between organized crime and drug traffickers. News was again seen of intimidation of indigenous and farmer's organizations, as well as human rights activists and journalists. The findings of the CEH were ignored, along with the Peace Accords.[10]

The government of Oscar Berger, which began in January 2004, used its power to regain control of the principal public decision-making bodies and to recapture control and management of the state. His government did not attack existing interests, nor did it place a priority on solving social and economic problems affecting most Guatemalans: security, health, education and employment. The government continued pushing for the transfer of public services to the private sector (DESC, 2006). It also encouraged a policy of farm takeovers intensifying confrontations in the countryside (GAM 2006). By rejecting the creation of a Commission for the Investigation of Illegal Entities and Clandestine Security Groups and blocking the installation of a United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights in the country, the work of human rights groups has been made more difficult.

The judicial system is affected by a lack of resources and the influence of organized crime. In consequence, perpetrators of corruption and attacks against human rights groups, journalists, political representatives and community leaders are not prosecuted. These attacks continue. Few or no serious investigations to bring the guilty to justice have been undertaken (GAM 2006).

In addition to continuing human rights violations, there are increasing cases of violence against women. These create a security problem that is beyond the capacity of the state to confront as the result of weak enforcement, and failure to respond to the affected sectors. The violence against women is evidently tolerated, in that cases are not even investigated to determine whether they are isolated or connected. Youth organizations have also denounced the government's strong tactics and social cleansing.[11] The state is effectively violating the human rights of women and other victims when it fails to provide adequate judicial procedures (Gaviola et al. 2005).

[10] Interviews with Miguel Ángel Albizurez of CALDH and Cecil de León of DESC Guatemala.

[11] Interview with Doryan Bedoya of Caja Lúdica.

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Human Rights Organizations in Guatemala

The years of military rule during which members of any organized social group were terrorized left the social fabric in tatters. It was not until the 1980s that new organizations were formed to struggle for the respect and protection of the human rights of the citizens. In 1984, during the worst of the government oppression, GAM was formed to denounce forced disappearances, extrajudicial assassinations and village massacres. It led peaceful protests to both pressure the government and shed light on the crimes (Balsells Tojo 2001).

In the months after the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996, a report by the Inter-American Development Bank on civil society organizations in Guatemala divided civil society groups into private sector organizations, political parties and nonprofit organizations. In 2001, the United Nations Development Programme's Fourth Report on Human Development grouped social organizations into technical or service-providing groups and community or base groups. This same report found human rights organizations working in both categories and gave examples of technical groups, victims' associations, Maya coordinating organizations and religious groups (Balsells Tojo 2001).

Since that time, additional civil society organizations were formed seeking respect for the civil and political rights of Guatemalans, justice for the crimes of the conflict, and exposing the existence of a government policy to exterminate Maya during the war. Based on the Peace Accords, civil society organizations have been formed to protect the social, economic and cultural rights of both individuals and communities.

Origin and Objectives of Human Rights Groups Studied

The earlier human rights movements in Guatemala were formed to oppose an authoritarian state that violated the rights to life and liberty. By the end of the 1970s, however, these movements disappeared under brutal government repression. As respect for basic rights grew, new organizations appeared that worked toward the signing of a peace agreement. They followed new strategies for negotiating with the government and expanded the definition of human rights, strengthening a formulation of a culture of rights. Within this culture of rights, some organizations pushed for the recognition of gender and ethnic rights as well. A sample of current groups seeking to improve human rights is discussed here, to provide insight into their origins, achievements, and impediments to achieving their goals.

The **Centro para la Acción Legal en Derechos Humanos** (Center for Legal Action on Human Rights, CALDH), based in the United States, began investigating cases of human rights violations in 1989. In 1994, CALDH opened a Guatemala City headquarters to strengthen the leadership and the impact of the diverse social movements committed to human rights, the peace process, the state of rights and democracy in the country. Later, CALDH widened its scope to provide legal assistance and support to strengthen social organizations and their

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citizen participation, impact on public policies and control over the judicial system and its processes. Since then, its strategy has been the promotion of the organization and reweaving the social fabric in local, regional and national settings, in addition to providing legal advice and consultation to social organizations, victims and following paradigmatic cases.

Currently, CALDH's actions are based on justice, solidarity, autonomy and responsibility. Its main lines of work include: strengthening social participation, gender issues, the national ethnic dilemma; thus, most of CALDH's work revolves around racism and discrimination and efforts to legally expose the genocide against Maya during the armed conflict.

The **Fundación Myrna Mack** (Myrna Mack Foundation, FMM) began around the same time, with the intent to share with different national and international groups the experience it had gained while demanding justice for the assassination of the anthropologist Myrna Mack. After the Peace Accords in December 1996, FMM reaffirmed its objectives, focusing on providing space for citizen participation, on building social cohesion and democratization through modernization of the legal system and on building support for the state of rights. Its strategy has been to conduct research and analysis on issues of politics, security, military conversion and, supplemented by training, information gathering and documentation of lessons learned.

It was in a different social and economic environment, but still within the difficult post-conflict period, that **Madres Angustiadas** (Suffering Mothers) organized in 1995. This group was organized by a group of friends preoccupied with the insecurity with which they and their families lived, particularly due to the number of ransom kidnappings. They gathered signatures of 15,000 women and presented them to then president Ramiro de León Carpio as evidence of solidarity with its cause. Madres Angustiadas also sent demands to the president of Congress, the Attorney General and president of the judiciary. While each specific list of demands differed, they called for the respective leaders to meet their constitutional obligation for citizen safety and the application of justice. Their tactics also included leading peaceful protests in front of the Supreme Court to demand that the institution carry out justice. The group believes that Guatemalans lack a culture of participation, and act to support their neighbors only when they are directly affected.

The strategy of the group currently focuses on pressuring the Public Ministry, police and justice system. Adela Camacho de Torrebiarte, coordinator of the group, comments that, "the group has gained respect 'without a template,' working and being very proactive." To that end, members have attended numerous training courses because in the world in which they work, it is common for them to find men who do not believe in the capacity of women.

After the Peace Accords and with the ratification of several international agreements, other organizations arose with agendas including respect for cultural diversity, the rights of access to land, agricultural credit, better prices for agricultural products and increased salaries in the rural sector. There are also new groups supporting greater cultural diversity, the environment, minorities, emigrants and fighting violence against women and children.

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Within this context, the **Colectivo de Organizaciones Sociales** (Association of Social Organizations, COS), a second-tier organization, was formed. It is an alliance of social organizations with diverse backgrounds that came from an assembly of civil society and the coordinating group *Sí Vamos por la Paz* (Yes, we are for peace). Their strategy is to promote consensus and reduce dissention. By doing so, various organizations successfully negotiated a tax reform agreement with the government on May 25, 2000. They also appointed representatives to design a formal constitution for the association.

Once the tax issue was finalized, however, COS lost some of the participating organizations including ASIES, Landivar and Sí Vamos por la Paz. Carlos Barreda explained that "…the discussion was around the value added tax, but the root of the division was due to differences between the moderate social left, represented by NGO organizations, and the radical left, represented by organizations with a more populist alignment." The disagreements over strategies and the ideological position of the group ultimately led to the breakup of COS.

In 2002, the association restarted within a consultative group in Washington, D.C., after an evaluation of the peace process and FRG's fulfillment of the accords. The meeting was hosted by the Inter-American Development Bank which invited not only development organizations and government officials, but also members of civil society who presented a common position. During the evaluation process, a proposal was presented that called for cooperation, to reconnect social and popular organizations, especially into an association like COS. This time, COS began with a clearer political and ideological basis in the center left and a strategy of achieving consensus among similar organizations before starting discussions with other sectors.

After establishing a clear organizational identity, COS focused on promoting and monitoring the implementation of the Peace Accords. This strategy combined the efforts of all the left political groups as they sought consensus with business associations in keeping with the Peace Accords.

COS sees itself today as a research and analysis organization that provides technical support to popular movements. It is considered the center of research on Guatemalan social movements where ideologically similar student leaders and social organizations get together. In 2003 COS, as part of the national human rights movement, founded DESC Guatemala (Economic, Social and Cultural Rights) which specializes in the economic, social and cultural rights of Guatemalans.

Also after the Peace Accords in 1996 and in support of cultural rights, a museum for and by the community was founded in the municipality of Rabinal, Baja Verapaz—**Rabinal Achi Community Museum**. At the end of 1998, a group in Rabinal first made contact with the Unión de Museos Comunitarios de Oaxaca (Union of Community Museums of Oaxaca). This led to a temporary exhibit of artwork, human rights and medicinal plants in Rabinal. The public's reaction to the exhibit encouraged its organizers to make it permanent.

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Since then, a provisional board of directors of the committee supporting the museum obtained space in the city and on January 20, 2001 (the day of the patron saint), the museum opened its doors. The coordinator of the museum formulates projects directed at members of the community so that they may help rescue their culture and learn their history. Also, the museum coordinates with community and local leaders to carry out training for youth and intergenerational exchanges. Community members, leaders, students, women, artists, traditional dancers, museum staff and board members all participate in the group's activities. Presently, the museum has three exhibition rooms. The first presents the culture of Rabinal: artwork, dance, archeological pieces and indigenous music. In the second, there is an exhibit of 300 photos of victims of the armed conflict. The third contains a documentation and research center with a library and video collection open to the public.

During this same period, and also with a cultural focus, the group **Caja Lúdica** (Recreation House) was created in Guatemala City. An organization drawing youth from diverse urban backgrounds, Caja Lúdica promotes the peace process and increases the public's knowledge of cultural artwork. Its objectives include: contributing to the national reconciliation process, reweaving the social fabric and strengthening the culture of citizenship in urban and rural areas. Caja Lúdica espouses the values of coexistence, solidarity and human rights through its cultural and artistic educational work.

Caja Lúdica is building on previous experiences in Medellín, Colombia, where the group used a recreational methodology of action, participation and transformation. José Osorio describes Caja Lúdica as "…a training and cultural project that puts into movement categories of thought and action necessary to intelligently and imaginatively tackle processes as complex as those of war and peace."

Reaching out to youth from marginalized and squatter neighborhoods, Caja Lúdica invites them to plan and carry out a *comparsa* (a public parade that includes singing and dancing). This event serves as a basic methodological tool to realize a collective, festive and creative manifestation that values reconciliation and helps build social capital.

Leadership, Accomplishments and Contributions to Democracy

Inside each of the organizations studied, leaders have developed what ultimately becomes the face of the organizations. The commitment with which these leaders carry out their functions and provide their support has been significant to Guatemalan social development. Miguel Ángel Albizurez, coordinator of CALDH, became involved in the human rights struggle after participation in popular organizations that were destroyed by state repression during the war, which included assassinations and kidnappings of union leaders. His work began in the Central Nacional de Trabajadores (National Workers' Center, CNT) when relatives came seeking help after the disappearance of 28 leaders in March 1966.

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On a personal level, Albizurez considers it an accomplishment to still be alive after so many years of working on human rights, especially since during the armed conflict many activists were persecuted and assassinated. He notes that "…to see that even with limitations there are now other types of political space that did not exist when he was young since now doing, saying and questioning, although it carries some danger, is not like it used to be." He also feels it was an accomplishment that his children were not hurt during the war, considering that other families participating in social movements lost their lives.

CALDH's broad programmatic reach gives it diverse institutional accomplishments, including training of new youth leaders inside and outside the organization. Currently, their Anne Frank exhibit lets them establish a relationship between the Holocaust and the genocide in Guatemala. The exhibit is reaching children all over the country and allows teachers, volunteers and school directors to collaborate on this historical recuperation project.

Another important accomplishment has been the sustainability of the organization. CALDH now has its own offices and financial stability that allows it to operate independently from the government and political parties. Albizurez says, "…for CALDH the achievements still do not end. Justice for the genocide will be a huge achievement for the organization, since in Guatemala no one speaks of massacres or genocide; not even the latest UNDP report mentions it." For that reason, he considers that when the organization's actions shock the justice system, it is contributing to strengthening democracy. All of CALDH's work is directed towards building a state of rights and for that it must point out failures and what must be changed in order to live in a democratic country. CALDH also contributes when, through education, participation and demands, society struggles for the validity of human rights and they protest impunity.

The political coordinator of FMM, Carmen Aída Ibarra, says her vision of human rights work is one of a technical position that searches for justice, not vengeance. She feels FMM's most valuable contributions to Guatemalan society have been the construction of a state of rights. These contributions come in the form of studies and proposals designed after the group's experience pushing for justice in the Mack case. On a personal level, Ibarra most values "…the frequent satisfaction of seeing how to push different cases in the search for justice that is not linked to vengeance or revenge." For FMM as an organization, she feels its greatest accomplishment has been to strengthen the justice system in Guatemala.

Adela Camacho de Torrebiarte, the coordinator of Madres Angustiadas, became more involved with the movement in 1996, after the two-month-long kidnapping of one of her children. Since then, she dedicated herself to work so that what happened to her family would not happen to others. "I decided to not stay quiet because the one who keeps quiet becomes an accomplice," she says with determination. Since then, she has participated in victim's assistance work.

Madres Angustiadas has dedicated itself to accompanying affected families, with the objective of reporting crimes and building the confidence of families in the justice system.

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Adela Camacho de Torrebiarte's personal achievement is having built a link between reporting crimes and justice, while recognizing that "the trials are very difficult because they are very long and the victims' families feel like the laws do not help them." In her opinion, "…democracy also means that citizens must take action, security is the responsibility of everyone, so we must be involved and not leave it all to the police."

The organization also takes pride in their public image in society. Now, when people speak of Madres Angustiadas they say "they are brave." De Torrebiarte notes that in 85 percent of the cases they have pursued, the lawsuit was led by a woman. "Love moves us," she emphasizes. On a personal level, what De Torrebiarte most values about her work is the ability to help victims and serve the country. She considers that, "communicating to people the message that you need to participate with commitment, despite how hard that may be and confronting the risks that may arise, that is what makes the difference."

Madres Angustiadas has contributed to strengthening democracy by promoting and increasing citizen involvement in the process of reporting crimes. It has also contributed by building consensus around the issue of justice by working with other groups with differing ideologies.

Carlos Barreda, the director of COS, became involved in the social movement as a student in 1993 and after that he worked with the larger social movements involved with the peace accord negotiations. The achievements of COS happened when it played a significant role in the process, such as its involvement in negotiating the tax reform pact, which could be a model for other countries.

Similarly, Cecil de León began her human rights work as a member of AEU. In May 1993, AEU was one of the groups that defended the democratic process, rejecting the coup led by Serrano and demanding the restoration of institutional order. Currently, Cecil de León is the deputy coordinator of the Human Rights Commission of the National Council on the Peace Accords. She also participates in UNDP's human rights project.

De León considers that the first human rights struggles focused on the right to life, but after the armed conflict the movement has broadened. For this reason, the objective of DESC is to become a legitimate negotiator for the economic, social and cultural rights of Guatemalans before the United Nations. She considers the organization's contribution to democracy is DESC's belief that all human rights are related.

De León comments that "… democracy in Guatemala is very complex, with many costs and one of DESC's contributions is to identify strategic issues that if consolidated can shake up the bases upon which those who control the country rest." A personal success has been "… bringing up the issue of human rights in a country like Guatemala, where for many years it has been impossible to speak loudly about rights without suffering the consequences." She values her time as a student leader, the serenity of her actions during confrontations between students and police and participating in the return of refugees to Ixcan. Especially, she shares an anecdote from her adolescence, when in March 1982, in the

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municipality of Todos Santos, Huehuetenango, she stole the church's car in order to take two young girls to the hospital. The girls had witnessed the assassination of their father and the rape and assassination of their mother. Later, De León realized that the girls were nieces of one of Romeo Lucas García's security agents.

Doryan Bedolla is the founder of Caja Lúdica and her work in human rights began in Medellín, Colombia with the Colectivo Barrio Comparsa. Later, the group was invited to participate in the Blue October movement in Guatemala and it was after this that Caja Lúdica formed. From her experience, one of the greatest accomplishments of the association has been to elevate the profile of youth in Guatemala society. The group works to build the confidence of youth by letting them define themselves, speaking with love and happiness in a painful environment and generating social capital destroyed by the war. In her opinion, another accomplishment has been the opening of public spaces and the democratization of art, considering that Guatemala is a sad and silent country where people cannot express themselves freely.

As an example, she shares the recent experience of a young poet in Chimaltenango of kaqchikel background, Rosa María Chávez, who represented Guatemala in the XVI Poetry Festival in Medellín, Colombia—a meeting of poets from around the world who speak about dignity, liberty and life. As a member of Caja Lúdica, Rosa María facilitated the wide exposure to cultural art. Currently, she participates in theater productions, circuses, dances, music productions and she gives poetry readings in public spaces, cultural centers, educational institutes, jails, hospitals and foundations. Her everyday poetry, irreverent and blunt, denounces violence and the exclusion of women, invites reflection and the transformation of restrictive attitudes and structures. Her poetry breaks the silence and breaks down the walls that limit dialogue and solidarity.

Samuel Ochoa and Catalina García, two of the group's facilitators, share their experiences with Caja Lúdica's public awareness projects. Samuel connected with the group through a project run in El Mezquital and Catalina from Medellín since her father was the founder of Barrio Comparsa and she was invited to take part in the Blue October movement. This invitation was originally for three months, but she has stayed in Guatemala for three years. Samuel and Catalina have observed that after two months, youth involved in their projects begin to break down their internal walls and stop acting timid, unconfident and repressed. Their work aims to empower youth individually to be able to construct a collective consciousness.

The coordinator of the Rabinal Achi Community Museum, Joaquín Cajbón, became involved with the group, coming from the teaching profession, since the museum values and promotes the Achi cultural history and the creation of more community museums in the country. The Community Museum supports historical and cultural expressions of Achi Maya in Rabinal through its permanent expositions, whose accomplishments are reflected in the increasing numbers of visitors and schools involved in their student projects.

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The work of the museum is recognized both locally and regionally for its contribution to recuperating the historical memory of the Achi Maya population and to strengthening the community's social fabric.

Facilitators of Social Movements

The participation of different actors during the peace process, along with the strengthening of the social movement after the conflict, has been politically and financially significant. The contributions of strategic issues, logistics and human resources gave organizations opportunities to be effective despite their powerful opponents that for decades have held power.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the first solidarity aid in defense of human rights came from Oxfam Novib. The unions were supported by their Latin American counterparts, as well as those from Sweden and Norway. Organizations such as the Frederick Ebert Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation granted funds to facilitate and disseminate the peace accords, among other issues.

Many human rights groups maintained, or still maintain, financial cooperation relationships with international groups such as: Norwegian Popular Aid, Canadian International Development Agency, CEE, DIAKONIA, Dan Church Aid, the MacArthur Foundation, the Soros Foundation of Guatemala, Hivos, ICCO, Miserior, MINUGUA, NED, Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, Oxfam U.K., Bread for the World, Culture Fund, Foundation for Culture and Human Rights, UNESCO, Italian Development Cooperation, PRODECA, European Union.

Organizations have also established relationships with governments, agencies and institutions in Europe, the United States, Latin America and the UN. Nationally, human rights groups have come together to form second- and third-level organizations such as: Pro-Justice Movement, Citizens Movement, Guatemalan Forum and the Monsignor Gerardi Movement. They have also worked with academic institutions such as the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, the municipalities of Guatemala City and Rabinal, the Guatemalan Tourism Institute, Artisans Group of Rabinal, the Central Historic Department and the Metropolitan Cultural Center of the University of San Carlos. Many of them also coordinate activities with the PDH, Social and Justice Movement, Experimental Quetzal City Institute, Network for Life, Médicos Descalzos, GAM, the Rigoberta Menchú Foundation and the Indigenous Women's Defense.

CALDH receives support from several international development organizations, which by conducting constant evaluations and requiring administrative transparency have helped CALDH gain credibility. The group maintains a good relationship with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, so when it presents cases the Commission takes them seriously and responds promptly. CALDH also coordinates with Amnesty International and the European Union to support local human rights work.

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In COS's cases, its natural allies are all the organizations participating in social and popular movements, as well as farmers', religious and women's organizations. Depending on the circumstances, its number of allies increases and diminishes. It also coordinates with political parties from the left, such as URNG, New Nation Alliance and Encounter for Guatemala. However, it recognizes that those political parties do not work together, since they lack a common project.

Since May 2005, DESC has participated in PDH's Project that has a commission to search for victims of forced disappearances and now is presenting a related law to Congress. The strategy was to form a preparatory commission comprised of the Public Ministry, PDH, Presidential Commission on Human Rights, Congressional Commission on Human Rights, International Red Cross and the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights, to highlight the issue and draw international support.

DESC is in charge of the strategy and development of activities, such as forums with congressional representatives and other activities that spotlight the issue in the media. It also maintains alliances with USAC, teachers and professional associations to sustain the process of searching for victims, keep the issue on the minds of voters and obtain promises from those running for office.

At the community level, the Rabinal Achi Community Museum has received support from the Samuel Rubin Foundation. In December 2005, the traditional dance of the Rabinal Achi was declared a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO. In addition, the museum receives support from Volens and the municipality of Meise, both in Belgium, and the Inter-American Foundation.

Opponents of the Work of the Groups Studied

Defending human rights in Guatemala was, and continues to be, a dangerous and risky endeavor. As human rights are systematically violated, so are their defenders. The movement has numerous martyrs, such as Monsignor Juan Gerardi and even Amnesty International delegates. The work of MINUGUA in relation to human rights centered on providing activists with protection and its thirteenth report details the following:

The aim of the threats is to intimidate the activists and disturb their work with the hope of blocking their advance. Other strategies of intimidation include break-ins and lootings that might be attributed to general delinquency, but those doing the break-ins lacked interest in objects of value, and used the tactics of paramilitary groups during the armed conflict.

All of the organizations studied have suffered attacks at the hands of their opponents. CALDH has a tense relationship with the military since the organization seeks to obtain justice for victims, while the military sides with the victimizers. Nonetheless, it has maintained contact with the Public Ministry, Governance Ministry, Constitutional Court, President and Vice-President throughout the years.

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Table 3-1. Alleged Violations against Human Rights Defenders Violations and Victims, January 1, 2000–September 15, 2002

	Human Rights Activists	Justice Employees	Witnesses	Media	Politicians	Union Leaders/ Organizers	Rural/ Indigenous Leaders
Threats	74	12	5	66	14	126	5
Death Threats	48	10	5	28	11	158	7
Kidnappings	1	0	2	1	0	0	0
Attempted Executions	14	2	0	1	2	0	0
Extrajudicial Executions	2	1	0	2	1	4	0

Source: 13th Report on the Human Rights Situations in Guatemala. MINUGUA. p. 118.

CALDH is in conflict with the Presidential Commission for Human Rights for not following up on the sentence in the Plan de Sánchez case. Others in conflict include journalists and columnists aligned with the military who seek to discredit CALDH, as it struggles to prove that genocide did occur in Guatemala. In recent time, however, relations with the national police have improved.

FMM encountered the most violent opposition when they worked on the Myrna Mack case. They repeatedly received anonymous threats and that continues to happen occasionally. This year they asked for protection from the government and now their offices are guarded by members of the national police.

Other opponents to FMM's work include conservative lawyers who do not allow improvements to the justice system. Those who abuse the appeal system are most opposed, "since it is very lucrative to appeal and appeal and charge for each one," according to Ibarra. She adds, "it is simply in the economic interest of corrupt lawyers not to change the structure."

When judges or jurists are elected, FMM encounters opposition since they have the power to veto the election of judges and document the suitability of candidates and transparency of the elections process. The group maintains a list of judges who have denied justice in their cases and have brought suits against these judges in international courts. They also inform the Inter-American Court when tribunals with a corrupt judge have dismissed valid cases.

Opponents of human rights work also include lawyers for organized crime and political parties. Some members of Congress oppose this work, with those from anti-communist parties the most aggressive. Nonetheless, Ibarra explains that none of FMM's members were involved in the armed conflict, since the majority of them are foreigners and youth, "Staff does not have links to any ex-guerrilla group, either personally or organizationally, and for that reason they are estranged from other human rights groups," but FMM does work closely with GAM and CALDH.

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Ibarra explains that FMM is not a traditional human rights organization, but rather a technical one that works to reform the justice, security and democratic systems, along with demilitarization. She insists that FMM as a technical group does not focus on denouncing the system, since other groups already do that. This strategy has facilitated the group's work with political parties such as The Patriot, the Union of National Hope and PAN and made their congressional proposals viable.

For Madres Angustiadas, opposition comes from men who try to slow down its work and stop the women from pushing the group's agenda. The group also considers as opponents those who incorrectly label it as supporting the death penalty. Rather, the organization works for "prompt and complete justice," but since the justice system is so slow in Guatemala, it would seem there is no justice.

COS recognizes that their opponents include those that keep the political debate focused on ideology such as private sector groups and pro-business groups like the Coordinator of Commercial and Financial Associations, political parties from the right such as GANA, FRG, Patriotic Party, Unionist Party and PAN. The ideological debate occurs with sectors like the National Economic Research Center, the Association of Social Research and Studies, the Professional Association of Exporters of Non-Traditional Products, Wardrobe and Textiles and the Francisco Marroquín University and its neoliberal communications system.

Carlos Barreda comments that, "at the executive level we have confronted the leftists that have been incorporated into FRG and GANA governments since during the peace negotiations there were leftists in the executive branch that were open to negotiation, however, the progressive groups in the different conservative governments have been worn out and not made concrete gains since those governments used them to subdue conflicts rather than solving them."

For Cecil de León, the work of DESC is impeded by the lack of awareness of human rights conflicts, both by public officials and the general population. The group feels public officials' lack of awareness is often premeditated. They have also confronted international development agencies that do not support human rights work.

Caja Lúdica constantly confronts repression from the military and police, as well as evangelical churches and criminal gangs. The military and police do not respect youth identity and for this reason they are frequently stopped and beaten simply for looking different. There have been occasions when their presentations have been interrupted by police accusing them of creating a public nuisance.

Certain fundamentalist evangelical churches oppose youth participation in the organization's activities such as juggling with fire, calling them "satanic." This happens both within families and at the organizational level. Gangs frequently threaten and intimidate the group because of its motto "yes to life, yes to love." The positive changes made by ex-gang members make them targets for members of their old gang.

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Lessons Learned

After the Peace Accords were signed, human rights organizations were accused of being communists and defending the rights of delinquents. As human rights gained some support as state policy, some saw human rights advocacy as an ideology. As a consequence of the armed conflict, the work of human rights defenders is not seen positively, nor well received in rural communities. Even though they are working to change this image, it is still a struggle where the state is indifferent.

Cecil de León of DESC says that, "…the human rights situation in Guatemala is not fortuitous, it is part of a design that benefits the few, at the cost of the poorest majority … the inequality and inequity of incomes is Guatemala's fundamental problem. Once this issue is resolved, there will be another Guatemala."

In contrast with the above, Carmen Aída Ibarra of FMM says that in her work experience, she "has found that when the objective is social development and one works objectively, in an environment of seriousness and responsibility, conscious of your duty and obligation, it makes negotiating with the government possible, even if it is difficult." At the organizational level, though, FMM has observed that the same means created during the war to violate human rights are now being used by organized crime and political parties.

The secret nature of the state that allowed the military to refuse information to judges and prosecutors during the armed conflict continues to be used as a mechanism for impunity in cases against military officials. Given this experience, the pro justice movement has presented legal reforms that would supply information and start cases against the government of Guatemala in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights for denying information and misusing the appeal process.

Madres Angustiadas' lesson came during the legal oral arguments as members learned how to present cases, and observed that this type of trial is more transparent because the judges know they are being watched by society. Since then Madres Angustiadas has emphasized the importance of public participation during trials, both to accompany victims and to demand justice.

CALDH feels that Guatemalan society has developed a higher level of consciousness regarding human rights, particularly those related to excluded and discriminated groups. Even so, the cases of massacres committed during the conflict have frequently been delayed and are currently stalled. However, the group hopes that a recently arrived Spanish trial commission will be able to speed up the process of justice.

For COS, and specifically Carlos Barreda, experience has taught him that "the peace process opened a space for us, but the social and popular movement disappeared because of a thematic and sectoral separation between the women's, agrarian and educational sectors. This division is clearly evidenced in the indigenous sector where development organizations insisted on emphasis on conflict resolution and on appointing commissions and staffs.

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They were given many tools and training, but withdrew from multi-sectoral work and some organizations became hybrids. This caused fragmentation and ultimate abandonment of the political and popular education process.

Barreda explains that during COS's initial stages, it focused on specialized technical proposals. Its deliberate strategies were directed towards the political sphere, but the movement lost momentum because it abandoned its base of community work. The strategy came to a standstill, results were slow coming and it never resolved the fundamental issues.

He comments that democratization in Guatemala is a slow process and cannot be the work of social organizations alone. "Confronting problems such as agrarian and tax reform and dismantling clandestine power structures, require a change in the power relationships. Those changes cannot be made by organizations alone; they require the work of strong alliances."

Given this situation, COS knows it must work to recover space for public deliberation now that the process specified in the Peace Accords has stalled. The social movement needs to return to alliance building to push for institutional change. Mobilizing the populace is important, but this requires political organization and accompanying technical proposals. Learning from experience, COS plans to form a political alliance in 2008 that focuses on ethical action. "Eradicating corruption from the social movement is essential," says Barreda.

In DESC's estimation, "there are oppressive businessmen and politicians cloaked in impunity who enjoy privileges, but society is an energetic force that through different manifestations forces the state to begin its work and give answers to the populace." There are various supports and changes that have allowed those in the field to keep working. Civil society must construct instruments to monitor the justice system, as well as the state's budget and its social spending. The greatest challenge is for all sectors to direct their demands in the same direction using appropriate strategies and with the support of social, academic and political constituencies.

Caja Lúdica has found that working with trust and values as a foundation generates a culture of peace that reweaves the social fabric. Using art breaks down invisible walls in people and allows them to call things by their name, recover memories, know the truth and think differently. Fostering values contributes to breaking the silence, ending fear and distrust and with exchanges this knowledge replicates giving rise to a situation where everyone learns. The group has learned that a methodology of learning through playing creates critical thinking and because everything is political, it searches for those who propose change rather than only complaining. It achieves this by a learning process that first changes the individual to be able to later help and change with others.

Another lesson for the organization has been learning how to coordinate with other groups. Developing solidarity has allowed Caja Lúdica to experiment in different areas and receive different reactions. Nonetheless, it recognizes it has not overcome a lack of confidence on the part of the public and this slows the construction of social cohesion. The

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group works to change this lack of confidence in the hopes that more people are able to speak about their ideas, grow as humans and live in a better world. It hopes that everyone is able to recover their inner child.

Cajbón comments that he personally "values the knowledge gained over the years since it serves as the basis to strengthen the organization … and the exhibits about the armed conflict have become a space for people to unreservedly express feelings and value peace as the foundation for democracy and brotherhood among people."

Conclusions to Be Drawn

During the last four decades, few Guatemalan families and no social movement escaped the direct and indirect consequences of state repression. The military governments that initially led the attacks against the guerrillas extended repression during a dirty war to all democratic expressions. Thus, human rights violations became the common denominator for the destruction of the Guatemalan social fabric.

The majority of leaders who are now supporting human rights were themselves direct victims of state repression. For this reason, their commitments to the movement have become their life's work. Many of them now work for human rights NGOs financed by international partners, weakening the social movements by their departure. In the search for social reconstruction and democratization of the country, they accompany communities and promote local organizing. Nonetheless, their actions require struggles against those who seek to blot out the memory and hide the crimes of the state, so they can maintain their immunity and privileges.

With the peace process, indigenous organizations, women's and farmers' groups and hundreds of NGOs with different ideologies emerged. Currently, the social and popular movement is being dismantled, with few proposals and little technical expertise; and the deficiencies of the organizations that struggle for human rights center around the fact that there is not an integrated vision of human rights. They work primarily for political rights. Even though they have expanded from individual and political rights to social, economic, cultural dimensions and collective rights, these demands have yet to be incorporated into the social movement.

Internally, some human rights organizations experience competition and dispersion, and have forgotten the rationale of the group. Externally, they have politicized the issue of human rights, considering that some think of human rights as part of the armed conflict or as a tool for immunity that protects criminality.

As a social movement, it has been difficult to relate an ethical movement to a political one, since in the eyes of most Guatemalans, politicians are primarily interested in supporting partisan or personal interests. In Guatemala, it is still a great challenge to articulate an inclusive social movement.

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With respect to building a democratic Guatemalan state, civil society organizations became alarmed at the suspension of the Peace Accords during the Arzú and FRG governments, and many now doubt the current administration will change the situation. Nevertheless, the agreements contained in the Peace Accords should be widely circulated and their completion demanded because these agreements provide a participatory and inclusive model for future relations.

While it is true that conditions have varied over the years, repressive practices continue. This repression often targets delinquent youth, members of gangs that have emerged as part of organized crime and a lack of education and work opportunities. There has also been an increase in crimes against women from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, and against agrarian and popular sectors that fight for political, cultural and labor rights. Given this context, the work of human rights organizations is still considered extremely risky.

Those who live in urban areas of Guatemala do not understand the rural reality and the rural population does not know its rights. Given this situation, the transformation of Guatemalan society will only be possible after constitutional and tax reforms, the demilitarization of society, equitable and fair administration of justice, women's political participation, the security of citizens and the formulation of an agrarian policy in the country as a minimum agenda for social development.

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ANNEX Table 3-1. Chronology of the Armed Conflict in Guatemala 1962–96

Government	General Policies	Counterinsurgency Strategy	Social Movements	Insurgency
1958–63 General Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes elected Constitution of 1965	Popular and anticommunist discussions Limited opening for new social organizations Country enters Central American Common Market Collaboration with the U.S. to invade Cuba	Detentions, kidnappings, executions, military tribunals	1962: March and April sessions, social mobilization against the government, led by students, provokes political crisis for the Ydigoras government Movement ebbs after repression. Some activists join insurgent movement Influx of foreign clergy with missionary, anticommunist vision. Impacted by poverty in the communities and the Second Vatican Council, many participate in the new Social Doctrine, giving preference to the poor	1962: Insurgent group MR-13 starts military activity, their persecution forces them back to the capital to reorganize Dec. 1962: three small guerrilla groups unite with PGT to form the first FAR, with Marco Antonio Yon Sosa named commander-in-chief. They start three campaigns: Mico Mountains, Izabal; Granadilla, Zacapa; Sierra de las Minas
1963–66 Colonel Enrique Peralta Azurdia coup Fundamental Letter of Government	National Security Doctrine Increasing militarization as an institutional project of the military Push for infrastructure projects and industrialization under Mercomun 1965: Constitutional Assembly writes new constitution 1966: Elections	1963–67: Military designs intelligence systems and control mechanisms in rural areas: 1. Military officers, network of control and information against insurgent groups 2. Size of military doubles 3. Area covered by Military Police expands to cover all rural areas 4. Militarization of police 5. Institution of Civic Action programs	Catholic Action, social organization and training in rural areas Development of farmers' leagues and cooperatives, increase in farmers' organizations with salary and land demands Since 1965, Maryknoll, Jesuits and other congregations conduct consciousness-raising with urban youth, Crater formed	1964: Breakup of first FAR 1965: Second FAR formed (FGEI and PGT), distanced from MR-13 1966: Pre-electoral cease fire; support for Méndez Montenegro's candidacy 1966: FAR kidnaps three government officials to push for the release of the "28"

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ANNEX Table 3-1. Chronology of the Armed Conflict in Guatemala 1962–96 (*continued*)

Government	General Policies	Counterinsurgency Strategy	Social Movements	Insurgency
		1965: First civilian massacre in the east 1966: Case of the "28", massive forced disappearance of PGT and MR-13 members		
1966–70 Julio César Méndez Montenegro elected 1965 Constitution in effect	Pact with military that conditions executive power based on National Security Doctrine Discussion of "third revolutionary government" Widening of agricultural frontier in North Failure of tax reform	Proliferation of rightist death squads 1966–68: Massacres to destroy guerrilla bases in the East, systematic terror policy, escalated repression against FAR, MR-13 and PGT leaders Defeat first insurgent military action	First colonization projects in Ixcan and Peten supported by the Catholic Church 1968: Creation of the CNT, with a Christian democratic orientation, later unites with other unions	1966: Death of Turcios Lima in an unexplained accident 1966–68: Organizations disrupted due to repression in East and the capital Due to repression in the rural areas, FAR retreats to the capital and starts a campaign of kidnapping and assassinations 1968: Breakup of FAR-PGT 1968: Kidnapping and assassination of U.S. Ambassador Gordon Mein by FAR after the capture of their commander, Camilo Sánchez 1970: Kidnapping and assassination of German Ambassador Karl von Spreti by FAR
1970–74 General Carlos Manuel Arana Osorio elected Constitution of 1965 in effect	Continuation of counterinsurgency strategy Support for National Development Plan, State as Industrial and mining promoted, especially of nickel and petroleum	State of siege for one year, house-by-house searches in the capital Selective terror, assassination and disappearances of political leaders, union and student activists, forced disappearance of PGT's political arm (1972)	1971: Assassination of opposition representative Adolfo Mijangos López 1973: Teachers strike for several months 1973–78: Increase and expansion of union activity	Leadership crisis in insurgency, some leaders leave for Mexico, others prepare in Cuba 1970: Yon Sosa assassinated in Mexico

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ANNEX Table 3-1. Chronology of the Armed Conflict in Guatemala 1962–96 (*continued*)

Government	General Policies	Counterinsurgency Strategy	Social Movements	Insurgency
1974–78 General Kjell Eugenio Laugerud García elected Constitution of 1965 in effect	Continuity of counter-insurgency model Opening of political spaces allows more social organizing Push for agricultural colonizing projects in North 1976: Poor response to earthquake reveals weakness of political model	Military Civic Action 1974: Assassination of Huberto Alvarado, General Secretary of PGT 1976–78: Repression in Ixil, Ixcan, Guatemala City and southern coast 1977: Assassination of Mario López Larrave, professor and labor lawyer 1978: Assassination of Father Hermogenes López 1978: Massacre at Panzos, Alta Verapaz in response to qeqchi land demands	Indigenous movement begins. First seminars held, National Indigenous Coordinator formed, newsletter Ixim published Cooperative movement in Ixcan, Peten, Huehuetenango, Central Plain 1976: After the earthquake groups form to help with reconstruction, giving rise to large increase in rural and urban organizations 1976: Creation of CNUS which in the following years will ally itself with other social groups 1976–80: Intensification of social struggles led by unions, farmers, students, professors and Christians given the lack of response to their demands and increasing repression 1977: Miners of Ixtahuacan march to the capital to demand labor rights, meet up with unions and total more than 150,000 persons 1977: Burial of López Larrave is one of the first that becomes a protest 1978: CUC formed; largest farmers organization since 1954	EGP settles in Ixcan, southern coast and the capital, makes first military moves in 1975 with the assassination of military officer and Luis Arenas, an important farmer ORPA moves into Sierra Madres, Boca Costa and the capital FAR concentrates activities in the capital and Peten

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ANNEX Table 3-1. Chronology of the Armed Conflict in Guatemala 1962–96 (*continued*)

Government	General Policies	Counterinsurgency Strategy	Social Movements	Insurgency
1978–82 General Romeo Lucas García elected Constitution of 1965 in effect	Continuance of counterinsurgency model Populist discussion, violence caused by "two extremes", with government trying to control them Public investment in infrastructure projects, marred by corruption scandals	1978–80: Repression produces leadership void in social movements and opposition political parties, assassinations of community leaders in rural leaders 1978: Assassination of Oliverio Castañeda de León, general secretary of AEU 1979: Assassinations of Alberto Fuentes Mohr and Manuel Colom Argueta, opposition politicians and social democrats Repression against Catholics increases 1980: Massacre at Spanish Embassy 1980: Forced disappearances of union members from CNT headquarters and Emaus 1981–82: Large counterinsurgency offensive begins, military operations to destroy organizations in capital and massive repression of civilian population to destroy guerrillas' community support 1981: PACs form	1978: Urban transportation strike and protests last more than one week Formation of Democratic Front against repression 1980: Strike in South led by CUC draws 70,000 agricultural workers 1980: CNUS orders overthrow of government 1980: Diocese of Quiche is closed due to severe repression 1981–82: Low point of human rights movement due to repression	1979: ORPA conducts first military operation 1979: PGT, FAR and EGP unite and agree to work together 1980: Guerrilla operations intensify in the capital and rural areas, including executions and armed propaganda Assassination of Enrique Brol, important farmer in Ixil Assassination of Alberto Habie, president of CACIF 1981: Peak of guerrilla activity in all parts of country, including control of municipalities, sabotage, road closures, executions Activities in capital increase with attacks on police and large scale sabotage 1982: URNG forms

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ANNEX Table 3-1. Chronology of the Armed Conflict in Guatemala 1962–96 (*continued*)

Government	General Policies	Counterinsurgency Strategy	Social Movements	Insurgency
1982–83 Military triumvirate, later, General Efraín Ríos Montt, Head of State Fundamental status of government	Total militarization of public administration Corporate model Moral discussion Promotion of evangelical churches Failure of tax reform, IVA enacted	Formulation and implementation of National Security and Development Plan 1982: Victory '82 campaign, massacres and scorched earth policy, PAC extend coverage Special Local Tribunals	Increase in and expansion of evangelical sects Massacres cause large scale displacement of people; some seek refuge in Mexico, others in the capital, mountains and southern coast	Due to the government's offensive, URNG retreats Adoption of defensive and erosive strategy
1983–85 General Oscar Humberto Mejía Víctores coup Fundamental status of government in peril	Military reassignment of displaced population Implementation of military's project for political transition 1984: National Constitutional Assembly 1985: New constitution approved that includes political openings such as PDH and Constitutional Court 1985: Elections	Firmeza '83 campaign to improve control over civilians and strengthen PACs Model communities and development centers are organized to resituate and control the displaced population Reencuentro Institucional '84 and Estabilidad Nacional '84 campaigns with strong political emphasis on transition process Selective repression of union members, students and human rights groups	Internally displaced groups organize in Ixcan, Ixil and Peten Partial political opening leads to formation of GAM and new union groups	Regrouping, little military activity Try to recover support
1986–90 Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo elected	Promotion of a negotiated solution to conflict Political opening 1987: First conversation between government and URNG in Spain	National Stability project, led by military seeks new way for military to play role in society Military operations concentrated in CPR against ORPA and EGP	Social movements center on land issues, Maya rights, return of refugees, struggle against impunity and human rights 1989: 13-week-long teacher strike supported by state unions, 70,000 workers strike	1987–91: URNG increases offensive capacity and withdraws to new areas 1987–92: Participation in peace negotiations as tactic to wear down government

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ANNEX Table 3-1. Chronology of the Armed Conflict in Guatemala 1962–96 (*continued*)

Government	General Policies	Counterinsurgency Strategy	Social Movements	Insurgency
	1987–89: Limited power due to successive coup attempts Creation of National Reconciliation Commission, led by Monsignor Rodolfo Quezada Toruño Failure of tax reform Policy of public input on national problems	Selective repression against political and social activists Push to maintain power of military over state policy Conversations between government and URNG viewed with skepticism Push for surrender of URNG through negotiations Massacre at Santiago Atitlan, population demands military withdraw	1990–91: URNG meets with civil society groups to discuss peace process 1990: CPR publicly revealed	From 1989 on, attacks focus on agricultural export sector, demand for a "war tax"
1991–93 Jorge Serrano Elías elected Constitution of 1985 in effect	Continuing dialogue with URNG Corruption crisis in Congress 1993: Coup provokes constitutional crisis	Continuation of previous strategy	1992: New Maya movement, Rigoberta Menchú Tum wins Nobel Peace Prize 1992: October 8th Accords signed between government and refugees, defining conditions for their collective return from Mexico	Continuation of previous strategy
1993–95 Ramiro de León Carpio appointed by Congress Constitution of 1985 in effect	1994: Global Accords on Human Rights signed, MINUGUA established Peace negotiations restart, moderated by the UN 1994: Agreement creating CEH signed 1995: Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples signed	Pressure on returned and rootless populations persists 1995: Massacre in Xaman, refugee community	1994: Civil Society Assembly is formed to work on peace accords, CACIF decides not to participate 1994: First major group of refugees from Mexico returns on Jan. 20	1993: Recognition of negotiation as only way to end conflict

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ANNEX Table 3-1. Chronology of the Armed Conflict in Guatemala 1962–96 (*continued*)

Government	General Policies	Counterinsurgency Strategy	Social Movements	Insurgency
1996– Alvaro Arzu Irigoyen elected Constitution of 1985 in effect	Strong push for peace negotiations Dec. 26, 1996: Peace Accords signed			Oct. 1996: Crisis in peace process after kidnapping of Olga Alvarado de Novella by ORPA commander

Source: Guatemala Memoria del Silencio. Conclusiones y recomendaciones del Informe de la Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico. CEH. pp. 73–79.

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Glossary

AGEXPRONT	Asociación Gremial de Exportadores de Productos no Tradicionales (Professional Association of Exporters of Non-Traditional Products)
ANN	Alianza Nueva Nación (New National Alliance)
APN	Ayuda Popular Noruega (Popular Norwegian Support)
ASIES	Asociación de Investigaciones y Estudios Sociales (Association of Social Research and Studies)
BID	Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (Inter-American Development Bank)
CACIF	Coordinadora de Asociaciones Comerciales Industriales y Financieras (Coordinator of Commercial and Financial Associations)
CALDH	Centro de para la Acción Legal en Derechos Humanos (Center for Legal Action on Human Rights)
CEEM	Coordinadora de Estudiantes de Nivel Medio (Coordinator of Middle School Students)
CEH	Comisión de Esclarecimiento Histórico (Historical Clarification Commission)
CIEN	Centro de Investigaciones Económicas Nacionales (Center for National Economic Research)
CICIACS	Cuerpos Ilegales y Aparatos Clandestinos de Seguridad (Commission for the Investigation of Illegal Entities and Clandestine Security Groups)
CNUS	Comité de Unidad Sindical (Trade Union Unity Committee)
COPREDE	Comisión Presidencial para los Derechos Humanos (Presidential Committee on Human Rights)
COS	Colectivo de organizaciones sociales (Association of Social Organizations)
DESC	Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales (Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)
FLACSO	Facultad de Ciencias Sociales (Faculty of Social Sciences)
FMM	Fundación Myrna Mack (Myrna Mack Foundation)
FRG	Frente Republicano Guatemalteco (Guatemalan Republican Front)
GAM	Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo (Mutual Support Group)
GANA	Gran Alianza Nacional (Great National Alliance)
INGUAT	Instituto Guatemalteco de turismo (Guatemalan Tourism Institute)
IVA	Impuesto al valor agregado (Value-added Tax)
MA	Madres Angustiadas (Anguished Mothers)
MINUGUA	Misión de Naciones Unidas para Guatemala (United Nations Misión to Guatemala)

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MLN	Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Movement)
MP	Ministerio Público (Public Ministry)
MONAP	Movimiento Nacional de Pobladores (National Settlers Movement)
OACDH	Oficina del alto Comisionado de Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos (United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights)
ODHAG	Oficina de Derechos Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala (Human Rights Office of the Archbishop of Guatemala)
PAN	Partido de Avanzada Nacional (National Advancement Party)
PDH	Procuradoría de Derechos Humanos (Human Rights Solicitor General)
PID	Partido Institucional Democrático (Institutional Democratic Party)
REHMI	Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica (Historical Memory Recuperation)
UNE	Unión Nacional de la Esperanza (Union of National Hope)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URNG	Unidad Nacional Revolucionaria de Guatemala (National Revolutionary Unit of Guatemala)
USAC	Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (University of San Carlos, Guatemala)
VESTEX	Vestuarios y textiles (Wardrobe and textiles)

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Section 2

Introduction to CSOs in Consolidating Democracy

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Introduction to CSOs in Consolidating Democracy

Guillermo O'Donnell (1996:34) helped define the consolidation process that Latin American post-dictatorship countries must pass through:

> Over the last two decades … many countries have rid themselves of authoritarian regimes. There are many variations among these countries. Some of them have reverted to new brands of authoritarianism (even if from time to time they hold elections), while others have clearly embraced democracy. Still others seem to inhabit a gray area … The bulk of contemporary scholarly literature tells us that these "incomplete" democracies are failing to become *consolidated* or *institutionalized*.

Once freed of dictators, each country of the region set up new procedures and institutions—that is, consolidated its own democracy, in its own manner, and at its own pace. All needed to go through a similar process, and the resulting institutions are often quite different from those of the predecessors of either the authoritarian or democratic past. And, as O'Donnell notes, some of the results form the gray area of "incomplete democracies."

The present work cannot pretend to encompass all the options explored, rejected or adopted by reemerging democratic political societies as they institutionalized their new power. Political society was often under the skeptical eye of both a rejuvenated civil society and unrepentant members of the military. The following two essays present important insights concerning the roles of civil society and allied social movements in the consolidation process.

First, Sergio Aguayo Quezada examines the roles of civil society in Mexico's break from one party rule under the "world's oldest authoritarian democracy."[1] Then, Benjamin Reames describes and evaluates the growth of citizen-led "participatory budgeting" designed by civil society representatives in Brazil to achieve greater control over politicians in public expenditure decisions. As different as the cases appear to be, they share an important

[1] This description of Mexico under the PRI has been used by many observers. For explanations of how PRI was able to retain control, see, for example, Jesús Reyes Heroles (1966), and Francois Guerra (1989). However, when one of the present authors sought the opinion of "experts" on how the Mexican political system worked, he was told that "anyone who thinks he understands Mexican politics is completely confused." See also Sergio Aguayo (2000:33–36).

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characteristic: the key role of civil society organizations in defining and strengthening new democratic institutions.

Both cases also help test a central hypothesis of this study. We have argued that the interaction of the citizenry with its government and the political society was permanently altered by the experiences under the dictatorships, and by the imposition of new economic policies that adversely impacted the most vulnerable sectors of society. People of all classes saw the evil that unchecked authoritarian power imposes, so trust in government was eroded for both the rich and poor.

In the early post-dictatorship periods, many formerly inactive or fearful citizens saw that they could influence government by working together. It became evident that joint action by their organizations was effective in confronting problems in ways that did not require that the government play exclusive or dominant roles. The "statist" solution, so commonly accepted before the authoritarian era, lost its status as the preferred approach to solving social problems. Most people did not—and do not now—reject a participatory role for government, but the new civil society and their independent organizations seek to be proactive in the design and implementation of any officially supported and funded social programs. This was certainly true in Mexico, where political party control of peasant organizations, trade unions and business associations had endured for as much as seven decades; an independent civil society was clearly a novelty.[2] Similarly, Brazil's associations and trade unions, which had been controlled from the "top down" since President Dutra's regime in the 1930s, gained new leadership and initiative. Similar transformations in attitudes and leadership followed in other countries.

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[2] Mexico has not avoided the human rights violations that open dictatorships imposed in the region. The history of such abuses in Mexico was recently revealed in detail by government-sponsored studies available at National Security Archive (2006).

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Chapter 4

The Mexican Civic Alliance: A Progressive Movement Seeking an Identity

Sergio Aguayo Quezada

To establish the role played by progressive civil organizations (PCOs) in Mexico's transition to democracy, one must recall the extraordinarily slow pace of that evolution: it began in the 1960s and continues unfinished in 2007. Throughout those decades the country has undergone important transformations, which can be summarized in three variables:

1. The slow degradation of the old regime, which was losing its capacity to control the country; by the 2006 elections, for example, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) that had dominated the country for most of the 20th century had plummeted to third place;[1]
2. The sudden appearance of new players snatching some of the power from the old regime: business groups, political parties, mass media and civil organizations, and;
3. The change in the way in which Mexico related to the outside world. The government's monopoly on foreign affairs ended, the number of social actors with an international agenda increased, and the international community withdrew its support of the authoritarian regime.[2]

The confluence of these factors expressed itself at several levels. Regarding the economy, state participation declined in importance as the role of the market in the economy grew stronger. In the political arena, greater social diversity was reflected in political parties and there was a partial renewal in the influence of the elites. Within the realm of political culture, the ideology of the Mexican Revolution was partially replaced by democratic ideals. From another point of view, the slowness of the transition will allow the validation of a statement of the theory of modernization: economic, political and cultural changes each have their own unequal rhythm, causality and effect. This can be found in the present case study (Inglehart et al. 2004:6–7).

[1] The PRI ended in third place and its candidates did not win in any state, not even in the 17 states ruled by the PRI.

[2] These variables were taken from one of the best theoretical considerations on social change; see Skocpol (1979).

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Within this complex situation, the PCOs played an important role in transforming the culture and the political regime. At the beginning, they confronted the authoritarian regime, with calls for equality, social justice, respect for human rights, and the environment. During the 1980s, these organizations incorporated fair and reliable elections into their priorities; this allowed them to reach agreements with conservative civil society organizations. The coalition created during the 1990s became the source of a powerful mobilization that modified the rules for electoral competition, made it possible to achieve a change of parties in the presidency, and accelerated the first peaceful transition between regimes.

This context is the framework of the history of the Civic Alliance, a coalition of civic organizations that, since its creation in 1994, has contributed to the building of democracy, but has suffered long periods of lethargy due in part to a poorly defined identity.[3] The common thread will be the gradual building of its identity as a historic subject which moved from anonymity to leadership in its evolution, an evolution that might lead to the consolidation of a civic Left, a category different from the social and political Left, as explained later on.

Explaining the constitution of this social subject requires us to recognize its successes as well as its failures, the alliances that were established, and the resistance and obstacles it had to overcome within a changing national and international context. Recovering this history is relevant in the face of the conflict unleashed in the July 2006 presidential elections; one must ask whether the Alliance or any other coalition will be able to assume the tasks required from a civic Left able to play a central role in the restructuring of a democratic system that is still under construction.

The Public Emergence of Progressive Civil Organizations

Progressive civil organizations—which I will refer to here as the civic Left—became common in public life in the decade of the 1970s and since the beginning had characteristics that differentiated them from the social or political Left.

Its members belonged to the middle class, an important proportion were from Christian movements, with higher levels of education than the average, and were willing to negotiate with foreign counterparts who provided the financing to develop specific projects. They were considered part of the myriad formed by the Latin American Left which shared similar programs. However, PCOs were characterized by their emphasis on horizontal democracy—which explains their endless meetings —the emphasis on tolerance and plurality, and, unlike political parties and guerrilla groups, they were not interested in achieving power, through either votes or bullets.

[3] This is the first time I have written the story in which I was personally involved: since the beginning of the 1980s, I participated in civil organizations, was among the founders of the Alliance and was part of their National Coordination from its founding in 1994 to 1999. This work is intellectually indebted to Alberto Olvera and Rafael Reygadas' research. I thank Silvia Alonso, the current Director of the Alliance, for her collaboration.

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Alberto Olvera (2001:23) best summarizes the multifaceted nature of the original Civic Alliance. In the capital and in the state of Mexico, the "majority of the mobilized groups came out of the experience of solidarity with the indigenous groups in Chiapas, or informal civic networks that in only a few cases were recognized by the NGOs." In states such as Veracruz, Morelos, and Jalisco, among others, this was a "conjunction of networks of ecclesiastical base communities, NGOs and groups of professors and students from local universities." In Sinaloa, Nuevo León, Yucatan, Sonora, Baja California Sur and Quintana Roo, scholars were predominant. In others, there was a "curious mixture of conservative citizen's groups, scholars, and activists." There were also entities that encompassed "groups in various cities that were reluctant to participate in a state's coordination."

The PCOs were considered a backbone of change, a secondary actor responsible for supporting historic agents—like political parties or guerrilla groups—that would head the regime change. They wanted a change in government that they could influence through peaceful means, albeit they did not condemn those who opted for an armed solution. Their theories and practices are also characterized by very basic but strong ethics (Aguayo Quezada and Parra Rosales 1997). For instance, they considered it incorrect to collaborate and maintain a relationship with a government known to be repressive and corrupt, and rejected those who abandoned civil society organizations for government posts. Their relations and influence with the public sector were limited to a few public policies. While social left movements defend the interests of very specific groups, the PCOs embrace very general principles and support large-scale projects through which they seek to modify the political culture. In any case, they were incapable of recognizing that they were a different kind of political subject: the civic Left.

The influence of these organizations increased substantially during the 1970s and 1980s as they organized themselves into thematic networks with national representation, and addressed gender rights, the defense of refugees, the protection of children, etc. They used their influence to propose public policies that occasionally were taken into account by political decision makers, who tended to look down on these organizations in spite of the fact that they had enormous influence in the transformation of political culture.

Concurrently, the political system became increasingly fractured. The economic model was exhausted, and the country was forced to open itself to the world, a fact that accelerated the dismantling of the old state. The conservative National Action Party (PAN) began to win local elections, and the authoritarian government responded by organizing fraudulent elections, as occurred in Sonora and Chihuahua (1985 and 1986), which brought on numerous protests. For example, that was the first time that such fraud was denounced abroad without receiving much attention from the international community that unanimously supported the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) government. It is curious but revealing that that was one of the few issues on which Washington and Revolutionary Cuba agreed (Aguayo Quezada 1998:123–138).

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The majority of the PCOs merely took note of these events because voting, as an instrument for transforming the system, had been minimized. That changed in 1988 when the National Democratic Front was formed and presented the presidential candidacy of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. In the end, Carlos Salinas emerged victorious, through a blatant electoral fraud, so offensive that it led an important number of civil organizations to conclude that defending the vote would be the lever for promoting social transformation. This created synergies with conservative civil society groups with whom they promoted a movement in favor of free and reliable elections in the 1990s. In this way, the left ratified, in practice, their pacifist vocation and adoption of liberal-democratic principles.

Creating the Civic Alliance

Civil organizations tend towards dispersion and when unity does occur, it is the result of external stimuli, a clear objective and a strategy and methodology as concrete as the projects in which they participate.

In 1991, certain PCOs started a movement to support free and reliable elections by initiating electoral observations in various states. Social science scholars joined this effort and contributed methodologies to verify the impartiality of mass media, buying or coercion of the vote, exit polls and quick counts, etc. Common citizens interested in being involved in the changes taking place in the public arena also participated in this first stage.

While the observation techniques became more sophisticated, the political agreements were still based on the autonomy of each organism. In other words, when local elections occurred, a local organization invited groups from other places to participate in the observation. This collaboration strengthened a network with election monitoring experience, which in most cases had an enormous impact on mass media and society as a whole. As the 1994 presidential elections approached they began to discuss future action. In 1993, for example, a number of organizations met in Cocoyoc, Morelos, to outline a draft cooperation agreement that they would soon sign.[4]

At the end of that year, the Family Civic Front of Yucatán extended an invitation to observe the gubernatorial elections of Yucatán held on November 28, 1993. By mid-morning, they learned that the ruling PRI had nominated Luis Donaldo Colosio as its presidential candidate. In reality, it was the ruling president who had personally appointed the candidate (known as *dedazo*) and would inform his decision by "revealing" him (known as *destape*). This began the *cargada* (mobs of politicians hustling to swear their loyalty to the chosen one), which led to another ritual known as the *besamanos* (kissing of hands). Meanwhile,

[4] Participants in this meeting included, among others: the National Agreement for Democracy, Citizens' Movement for Democracy, the Potosino Civic Front, Convergence of United Civil Organizations for Democracy, the Family Civic Front of Yucatán and the Civic Front of Sinaloa (Reygadas Robles Gil 1998:337).

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in Yucatán, a sketch befitting the fraudulent culture played out: the electrical power went out and the darkness allowed for a series of fraudulent maneuvers.

With the election observation in disarray, representatives of the organizations meeting in Merida spent the night discussing the possibility of joining forces to monitor the 1994 presidential elections. Back in the capital, representatives of seven organizations began deliberating. The fact that two of the seven groups have sympathies for the right-wing candidate (from PAN) is indicative of the plurality that would distinguish the Alliance. In other words, even when the majority leaned towards the left in the political spectrum, they came to agreements with other organizations to promote free and reliable elections and oppose the authoritarian regime.

During the following weeks, the groups decided to create a national organization through various informal agreements: with a collegiate leadership there would be a National Coordination based in Mexico City with representatives from the seven organizations (two of them were national networks). They would make decisions based on consensus; projects would be financed with resources from each of the groups or the coalition; and the sole objective of the organization would be to monitor the 1994 presidential elections, and it then would disband in December of that same year.[5] Those agreements set the Alliance in motion, but also created unanticipated problems because no one imagined the intensity of the changes that would come after 1994.

Monitoring a presidential election was quixotic because the seven groups had very few resources and they faced a very strong political regime. Until December 1993, Carlos Salinas and his party controlled all political strings in Mexico and were supported by an international community fascinated with Salinas and his regime. Those who denounced violations of political rights were tolerated, but ignored. On January 1, 1994, history changed when the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) began its rebellion in Chiapas. Weeks later, in March, Luis Donaldo Colosio, the regime's candidate, was assassinated in Tijuana. Two days later, the seven civil organizations decided to found the Civic Alliance and after its legalization in April, it experienced spectacular growth.

[5] The following organizations, in alphabetical order, participated in these meetings: the Mexican Academy for Human Rights (AMDH), the National Agreement for Democracy (ACUDE), Council for Democracy (CD), Convergencia of United Civil Organizations for Democracy (Convergencia), Arturo Rosenblueth Foundation (Fundación), the Citizens' Movement for Democracy (MCD) and the High Institute of Democratic Culture (ISCD). These organizations all had different origins, membership and financial sources. AMDH, ACUDE and CD were formed by individuals who had played important roles in different areas of national affairs and were represented by the author of this piece, Clara Jusidman and Julio Faesler, respectively. Convergencia was represented by Martha Pérez Bejarano, Rogelio Gómez-Hermosillo and José Luis Barajas and MCD by Luz Rosales and Luis Nava. The Rosenblueth Foundation is a company that works with the information and was represented by Enrique Calderón and Daniel Cazés. Finally, the ISCD was a training center linked to the PAN and other center-right groups and its representative was Eduardo Mendoza Ayala.

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Within a few weeks, more than 400 civil and social organizations (unions, coffee producers, etc.) and tens of thousands of volunteers had joined. An indispensable ingredient was the Citizens' Council, which had members from all ideological and social groups. Participants included: Francisco Cano Escalante, María Elena Cardero, Humberto Murrieta and Olga Pellicer. The Council's role was to guarantee the monitoring was impartial, transparent and professional.

The Alliance's spectacular growth was possible due to an unusual combination of factors. The indigenous rebellion and the death of Salinas de Gortari's successor spurred citizen participation that needed innovative organizations to define it. Rafael Reygadas Robles Gil (1998:364), who studied that process, noted: "the Civic Alliance offered concrete, appropriable, simple and manageable instruments and methods that facilitated the inclusion of people from different social sectors and with different experiences, with the clear conviction that it could be useful to a general democratization process in the country." The Alliance lacked economic resources, but those would come from unexpected sources.

In 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement came into effect. That same year was the end of the presidency of Salinas, who wished to continue his career as the head of the World Trade Organization. Given this context, peaceful and credible elections certified by an independent organization like the Alliance and by international observers (they were technically referred to as "visitors") were indispensable. A sector of the government distrusted an organization that was so progressive and critical of the government; others, such as the Secretary of State, Jorge Carpizo, trusted its objectivity, guaranteed by the United Nations (UN).

Enrique Calderón and Daniel Cazés (1994:156) noted that the approach between the UN and the "Mexican government began in April 1994; in less than one month, the UN accepted the invitation, despite the serious logistical problems that would have to be solved in a few days." Its mission would be to provide technical assistance to the Mexican observers. To help convince the UN, the Mexican government donated $5 million that would later return to Mexico administered by the UN Development Programme (UNDP). The Alliance presented the most ambitious and solid proposal to UNDP and received the majority of the funds (almost $1.3 million). But the Alliance was also the organization with the tensest relationship with the UN's mission which tried to impose some observation methodologies that modified those that the Alliance had successfully tested in the Mexican context. This tension nearly caused the breakup of the collaboration, but the Alliance's original project prevailed and it led to an unprecedented mobilization that over time came to be known as the "Mexican Model" (Middlebrook 1998).

Another consequence worth mentioning briefly was that these measures accelerated the dismantling of the political walls built by authoritarianism in order to avoid international scrutiny of what was happening in Mexico. Due in great part to the indigenous revolt, some in the international community began to be more critical of the situation in Mexico. In any

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case, the authoritarian regime continued to seek to control the independent organizations, and Carlos Salinas sought to contain the Alliance by encouraging the powerful National Educators Union (SNTE), led by Elba Esther Gordillo, to create the Magistrate's National Organization of Electoral Observance.[6] In spite of the resources it employed, the teacher's observation was largely ignored due to its lack of credibility before the national and international public opinion, and the organisms that created the Alliance.[7]

From April until the election in August of that year, the Civic Alliance presented dozens of reports on the objectivity of the media; it systematized and filed lawsuits alleging electoral crimes related to buying and coercion of the vote; it undertook sample studies of the electoral rolls; it carried out three national surveys on election issues; and launched a national citizen education campaign called "Fair Play." In addition, the Alliance developed special projects, such as observing the elections in the Zapatista-controlled territory (at that group's behest) which was coordinated by Clara Jusidman.

The observation was plagued by difficulties, especially in rural areas. An example would be the poor access to official information. According to Clementina Gutiérrez, the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) agreed to promptly deliver lists of the rural voting booths on a diskette. But it was delivered too late and the diskette had a virus, making it impossible to read or utilize the information. Given this situation, the "Look Alive" campaign used a study by Paulina Grobet on "shoe booths" (when all votes go to one party) for the PRI in 1991. It later used this information to develop a proposal on how to distribute the "Look Alive" throughout the country.[8]

The "Look Alive" program was coordinated by Rogelio Gómez Hermosillo and consisted of 4,500 voluntary observers, mostly young people, who were sent to the most high-risk zones, accompanied by more than 400 international visitors invited by the Alliance. Their work was the basis for documenting the irregularities that characterized the election.

During the election on August 21, 1994, almost 20,000 citizens (11,800 were registered with the IFE) were mobilized all over the country. In the most high-risk areas they were accompanied by 450 international observers from 19 countries (mostly from North America, Latin America and Europe). The Rosenblueth Foundation designed an observation methodology (using random and stratified sampling) to inspect the 2,400 voting booths and also to provide a quick, precise count that "constituted a great national innovation" (Olvera 2001:18).

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[6] This began the involvement of an individual who later launched a defamation campaign against the Alliance and the author—accusing them of acting as an instrument for U.S. intervention due to the funding they received from the U.S.-based National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

[7] The strategy to search for media presence was a constant in civil organizations borrowed, in great measure, from Amnesty International (Acosta 2005:72).

[8] Quoted in Reygadas 1998:347.

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The Alliance's observation—Martha Pérez Bejarano played an important role in its organization—adhered to the principles of objectivity and summarized its findings in two reports. Its main conclusion was that although the election had been legal, it had been illegitimate. Alberto Olvera (2001:20) summarized the conclusion by saying that the elections had been founded on a "profound inequity in the electoral competition. The official party had access to incalculable resources, overwhelming media coverage and discretionary and selective control over social policy. In the countryside, there was shameless and widespread vote buying and coercion."

The following is an excerpt from the Alianza Cívica report (1994a:iv) addressing the quality of the election:

> There were two clearly differentiated elections: one in the urban, modern areas where the elections were relatively clean, and another in the rural areas, especially in the South, where there is a high incidence of grave violations against citizens. This may explain the difference of those international observers that witnessed a modern election, and those who were in the rural zones … The rural voting booths in the Southern states, which concentrate the highest indices of poverty and marginalization, peasant struggles and political conflict, suffered grave violations during the election. Sufficient indications exist to strongly question the electoral process in that part of the country, given the number of crimes and fraudulent practices that breached it.

Regarding the election results, the PRI candidate Ernesto Zedillo held a considerable lead. The Alliance concluded that, despite the election's irregularities and campaign inequities, these did not affect the results of the presidential election, which favored the authoritarian party's candidate. This conclusion created a deep division within the Alliance because many of the observers had participated in order to prevent the fraud and/or attain victory for the opposition. None of these objectives were achieved, although democracy undoubtedly was advanced.

The Alliance had transformed reality in different ways. The right to reliable elections became part of the national conscience and the observation led to an agenda of electoral reforms that, once implemented, would break the backbone of authoritarianism. It also demonstrated the importance of organized citizen participation willing to respect pluralism and tolerance within.

In the end, Civic Alliance became a point of reference for its assessment of the results due to its pluralism, professional capacity and because, despite the fact that the majority of its members opposed the PRI, it did not favor Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas or Manuel Clouthier, the Democratic Revolution Party and PAN candidates. It was also an example of the potential of a working relationship between academics and activists. In sum, the Alliance successfully

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exemplified what Cohen and Arato (quoted in Olvera 2001:9) referred to as the "politics of influence, in other words, the indirect pressure on the political system exercised by appealing to criticism, mass mobilization and conviction." The praise came from all corners of the political world inside and outside of Mexico.[9]

With the election process over, the Alliance had to make a decision about its future. It was a strange situation. While it had not been their original intention, seven small organizations had created an organization with presence in the country and enormous prestige inside and outside Mexico. The decisions about its future were influenced by the inertia of success, the inexperience of its leaders in the face of an unprecedented situation, and the objective conditions they faced.

1994: Disappear or Carry On?

The original agreement called for the Alliance to disappear in December 1994, but even before the elections were held, pressure to preserve the organization indefinitely had begun.

Its success had demonstrated the potentials of collective action oriented towards dismantling authoritarianism. Moreover, the collective identity had benefited from most of its members; the state Alliances, for example, had found a national arena that reinforced their local presence. In broader terms, the citizen observation of 1994 whetted the appetite of citizens for participation because, after all, voting every three years was insufficient for a civic Left that was just discovering its potential.

In September 1994, the National Assembly decided to continue pushing for federal electoral reform and to achieve reliable state elections. During the following year, the Alliance added two new issues to its agenda: (a) the creation of a National System of Consultation, promoted by Enrique Calderón and Daniel Cazés;[10] and (b) accountability and transparency.

The first consultation conducted was in reaction to the serious national financial crisis unleashed in December 1994. On February 26, 1995, 16,000 people set up 3,491 booths, which allowed 626,525 citizens to express their opinions on issues like prosecuting Carlos Salinas, rejecting the U.S. credit package because it endangered the country's sovereignty, and returning to dialogue to resolve the conflict in Chiapas.

In June 1995, the clandestine leadership of the EZLN requested the Alliance to organize a consultation to decide its future. On August 27, 1995, the National Consultation

[9] Even the leader of EZLN, Subcommander Marcos, recognized that the Alliance had achieved an "impressive moral authority, to be able to rate an electoral process and have the people believe what it says" (LeBot 1997:300–301).

[10] This program took up the plebiscite in favor of democracy held in the capital in March 1993, during which 300,000 citizens voted in favor of democratizing politics. The majority of the Alliance participants clearly understood this referral.

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for Peace and Democracy requested by the EZLN was held. This involved approximately 12,000 people who set up 8,652 booths while 1,500 indigenous communities expressed their opinions according to common customary practice (in other words, raised their hands in assemblies). In total, 1,088,094 citizens gave their opinions and the majority requested the EZLN to become an independent political force.

The consultation's organization was impeccable and even EZLN's critics recognized the Alliance's professionalism. Later on, Marcos would comment that it was the "EZLN's only alliance that has yielded concrete results. And we have taken so many pictures with the PRD, the PT, Cárdenas and other NGOs and still there have been no concrete results. And with them [the Alliance], we never took pictures and yet something concrete came from the consultation" (LeBot 1997:301). His comments (on photographs) referred to a peculiar situation: the agreements were made through an intermediary because there was never a meeting between the National Coordination of the Civic Alliance and the clandestine leadership of the EZLN.

Between September and November 1995, to respond to the consequences of the financial crisis, the Alliance led a petition in the so-called "Liberty Referendum" that searched for an alternative economic strategy. In total 428,345 citizens signed it. Finally, in September 1996, it held the "First National Day of Condemnation of the Government's Economic Policy": 1,950 panels were installed in twenty states, and 182,366 individuals presented their testimonies regarding the damages caused by the government's economic policies.

The consultations held in 1995 and 1996 demonstrated the need to establish legal mechanisms to strengthen citizen participation. Different politicians and parties committed to legalize the referendum, the initiative and the plebiscite, but they never did so, and in 2006 they are still not part of federal law. Only seventeen states have done so, with so many restrictions that render them ineffective.

In 1995, the program "Adopt a Public Official" also began in order to promote transparency and accountability, rights set forth in the Constitution that had never been regulated by statutory laws. In March of that same year, the Alliance requested President Ernesto Zedillo to present information on his income and the use of the "secret line item" (a variable amount of the budget authorized by the Constitution, and which he was not accountable for). Similar requests were made to Roberto Madrazo (the governor of Tabasco) and to the mayors of Celaya, Guanajuato; Mérida, Yucatán; and Saltillo, Coahuila. After a year without a response from the president, the Alliance filed a lawsuit in the courts. A judge ordered the president to respond, which provoked a media frenzy. In a presidential country, a civic organization suing the president … and winning … was unprecedented!

After some time the legal struggle failed, although the need for increased transparency remained ingrained in the public opinion. The Alliance's program was weakened by the lack of resources; monitoring the government requires the resources to support specialized groups. Another important lesson was the potential of the use of the legal system. In the

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years since, accountability has peaked in Mexico and information access laws have become a tool for increasingly specialized citizen participation. In the short term, however, the lawsuit irritated a part of the government and unleashed, after 1997, an effort to undermine Civic Alliance's prestige, based on some of the funding it received.

The Syndrome of '94 and a Painful Reality

The year 1994 multiplied the expectations of the Alliance's capacity; everything seemed possible for an organized and determined society. Reality hit in 1995, when the organization found itself short of resources in order to respond to all of the requests; tensions developed within the Alliance, which led to a campaign of defamation.

It is notable that the Alliance received $1.7 million in 1994 even though the organization only received legal status in April, and because, until 1994, funding for clean and reliable election monitoring was limited (see Table 4.1). The next year it received considerably less funding, a situation that only improved during the years when federal elections were held. The Alliance's capacity to mobilize society was real, its effectiveness was unquestionable, but its financial situation was so uncertain that it became difficult to progressively fulfill more ambitious programs.

From a different perspective, in 1994 the Alliance received 90 percent of its funding from Mexican sources: $1.3 million came through the UN, as previously mentioned, which operated with a $5 million grant from the Mexican government and $330,000 (18.4 percent of total funding) from the Trust for Democracy—a creation of Santiago Creel Miranda and Jaime González Graff and supported by the Secretary of State, Jorge Carpizo, raising funds from Mexican businessmen.

Since 1995, Mexican funding had dried up. The Trust ceased to work, the Alliance was unable to create a national network of donors. It faced an increasing irritation from the government with the group's independence as expressed through its criticisms of economic policy and its backing of the EZLN. This anger was evidenced by the Ministry of Finance's rejection of the Alliance's request to receive tax-deductible

Table 4-1. Funds Received by the Civic Alliance, 1994–2006 *(in U.S. dollars)*

1994	$1,793,457
1995	181,873
1996	173,910
1997	580,471
1998	115,433
1999	254,240
2000	620,021
2001	174,950
2002	275,467
2003	285,989
2004	96,580
2005	236,798
2006	326,441

Source: Civic Alliance's Financial Reports, Declarations to the Ministry of Finance. Civic Alliance, Transparency International (financing), http://www.alianzacivica.org.mx/pdfs/transparenciainsam.pdf June 16, 2006.

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donations, which made fundraising to promote democracy in Mexico even more difficult. There was still the possibility of international funding, but the government approached different foreign governments, such as Canada and the European Union, to block funding to the Alliance and its member organizations.[11]

Civil organizations that promoted democracy and defended human rights were used to seeking funding abroad; for a long time these were the only funding sources available for this activity. When the Alliance was being formed in early 1994, the urgency to gain funding was evident, and it followed a policy of absolute transparency. In a report by Alianza Cívica (1994c:21–22) publicized before the elections, they noted that:

> Some of the projects implemented required funding. We searched unsuccessfully for it in Mexico and ended up requesting international funding, with the condition that it would not limit our autonomy or the independence of our integral observation project. From foreign sources, the Civic Alliance received $155,000 from the National Endowment for Democracy; $50,000 from the National Democratic Institute; 26 used computers and 14 used printers (valued at $8,000) from the East-West Foundation; and $1.5 million from the United Nations.

The Alliance was never criticized for misusing funds because it maintained the scruples of the organizations that created it:

1. The National Coordination never received honoraria for the work it did. The Technical Secretariat did receive a salary comparable to current salaries in civil society organizations.
2. The way it distributed money was approved by the National Coordination and the state representatives according to criteria known and accepted by all.
3. It always revealed the sources of its funding and provided clear economic reports to all donors, and the Alliance was never accused of bad management.
4. The Alliance never modified its agenda, methodology or political independence in order to guarantee funding.

In 1994, no one criticized this financing because electoral observation was a priority for most sectors. As the Alliance carved out its broader niche and established its independence from the government (with the consultations and "Adopt a Public Official"), its projects became increasingly contentious. Around 1997, a systematic effort to discredit the Alliance and its members began. They were accused of being puppets of the United States

[11] The best known case occurred when the Ministry of Foreign Relations pressured the European Union not to make a $400,000 grant to the Mexican Academy of Human Rights to observe the election for the mayor of Mexico City.

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because the Alliance had received funding from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), a private organization that had received funds approved by the U.S. Congress.[12] The author of this chapter finally decided to sue the main promoter of the defamation and won the suit.[13]

The NED is similar to the foundations of German political parties (Ebert, Adenauer and Naumann), the Westminster Foundation of Great Britain and Canada's International Center for the Development of Human Rights and Democracy. Given that these groups receive public funding, the organizations are supervised by the legislatures of their respective countries. Albeit the NED informs the U.S. government about its activities, it does not mean it works for the government. In fact, its bylaws forbid it from being an "agency or institution of the government of the United States."

The National Coordination did not know how to handle these criticisms. Instead of openly responding and explaining the legality and legitimacy of international funding as a method of pursuing an urgent democratic agenda, it avoided the topic assuming criticism would stop. This did not happen.

A lesson from this part of the Alliance's history is that the members of the National Coordination did not understand that in a democracy you have to publicly respond to your detractors. Another, more complex angle relates to the difficulties the Mexican Left faced in forming a relationship with the United States—a neighboring country to which Mexico lost a war and half of its territory, and whose aggressiveness and arrogance continues to antagonize the Left throughout the world.

The Organizational Dilemma

Another alarming problem was the Alliance's organizational structure, because it had to be urgently modified to reconcile efficient decision making with a large, diverse and complex national structure.

The National Coordination was originally made up of seven PCOs, diverse in origin, ideological stance and size. They had agreed to work in search of reliable elections, to have its headquarters in the Capital and to stay together until December 1994, after which each

[12] With these resources, the NED supports organizations of all political inclinations that fight for democracy and human rights around the world. Because of its independence and plurality, the NED has financed groups of all ideological schools, including those critical of U.S. foreign policy. In the Philippines it supported those opposed to Ferdinand Marcos and in Chile it favored those who organized the plebiscite held in 1988 that removed Augusto Pinochet from power. In Peru, during Alberto Fujimori's government, the NED financed the Press and Society Institute (in defense of journalists) and the Democratic Forum (electoral observation). The NED receives public funding and despite its non-governmental status, it still must abide by the Freedom of Information Act (any person—regardless of their nationality—may request and obtain information about the NED).

[13] All documents about the case can be found in www.sergioaguayo.org.

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group would return to its original place in the civic Left or Right. After its spectacular growth, the Alliance adjusted its structure to the following scheme (Alianza Cívica 1994:8):

- A National Assembly comprised of a representative of each coordinating body or State Alliance and from the member organizations of the National Coordination.
- A National Coordination comprised of the founding members of the Alliance (the seven original PCOs).
- An Executive Secretary … (with different operational areas and) regional coordinators that provide support and follow-up to the different Alliances' bodies.
- Each one of the coordinators or State Alliances is organized according to its own form and style.

When it decided to continue, some of the civil society organizations maintained the two identities, others decided to merge under the new name. There was no lack of organizations or people who walked away from the new organization or its members. The chosen solution kept the principles from 1994 of horizontal democracy. The National Coordination simply grew beyond the seven founding organizations, to accommodate states that were granted the same representation despite differences in political power. Under this arrangement, representation for the capital was always a problem given the city's large size.

It was then that the enormous diversity of backgrounds and cultures of the Alliance's members became obvious. A commitment to "democracy" united them, but it was interpreted and lived in different ways. This civic Tower of Babel was made up of academics, activists, residents of the capital and the rest of the country, purists and pragmatists. Even with the memory of a successful year, the different proposals began to clash; the lack of resources and different organizational styles only aggravated the divisions. Some states demanded democracy in the National Coordination, but refused to discuss how to renew its leadership. Additionally, each entity decided who would represent it and how in the national assemblies, which led, in some cases, to rotations that caused tension inside the organization.

A number of the problems were due to the lack of clarity and of time to discuss vital topics, such as the rules for renewing the leadership. The priority was democratic transition, and there were a large number of tasks to be performed. The National Coordination was integrated by volunteers who took up their time, which in turn placed them at a disadvantage before the professional political bureaucracy. The Alliance continued operating under the romantic idea that its leadership existed because of its commitment to principles; they were citizens who acted for the common good with no aspirations for power.

The situation became more complicated due to the reactions of the political parties and the political class who, with a few exceptions, preferred the Alliance to be less influential and credible, since it was seen as a potential competitor in the dispute for and distribution of power and resources. There were isolated expressions of recognition, but

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no effort was made to channel resources to the Alliance or open legal or institutional spaces. It is only fair to add that the Alliance did not lobby the political class because it remained anchored in the logic of "denouncing" and had an inherent lack of confidence in those wielding power. Under these conditions, the Alliance became smaller but did not disappear altogether if only because of the work of a solid nucleus willing to defend the principles of the civic Left. Gradually, this nucleus began to accept the idea that a transformation was essential.

False Assumptions and the Alliance's Identity

If there never was time to discuss the Alliance's deficiencies, perhaps it was due to the fact that the Alliance was based upon naïvely optimistic assumptions. The participants believed that when the political parties alternated control, and federalism was a reality, the opposing parties would convert the civic Left's agenda into public policy. This reasoning matched the original belief that PCOs were the rearguard of change and left the responsibility to realize that change to others.

In addition to the lack of resources and the tensions over organizational makeup was the bitter recognition that the bulk of the political class and its parties felt reliable elections were all that was needed, and were not interested in accountability or the participation of an active and alert citizenship. This was made particularly evident after the victory of the left-wing candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas in Mexico City in 1997 and conservative Vicente Fox's election to the presidency in 2000.

In the background was the Alliance's incapacity to adapt its identity, theory and practice to a Mexico of alternating parties in power. As previously mentioned, the National Coordination did not have a mid-term strategic discussion, and its weekly meetings were used to react to petitions of national scope (the local agendas were set by each of the organizations). Also apparent was the Alliance's incapacity to accept that it was a different social subject which gained a national role through a rare combination of factors, and had a social base distinct from that of the social and partisan Left.

The National Coordination was not prepared to assume this identity, which explains experiments such as the creation of a National Political Association (APN). (This is a legal entity that appeared in the electoral code in 1996 and is an intermediate entity between a civil organization and a political party.) In 1996, APNs seemed to be a good way to participate in politics partly because they received acceptable public financing, which gave them a margin for maneuvering. The APN was registered, but it cost the Alliance more internal divisions. The APN tried to solve this by forbidding the nomination of candidates for office in its bylaws. However, since this went against current APN legislation it lost its registry, which was inevitable because the Alliance of 1996 had not yet come to terms with the leap associated with an APN.

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The Alliance continued living in a culture of denunciations based on the assumption that all elected officials were illegitimate. To the extent that elections became reliable, elected officials gained more and more legitimacy and the Alliance faced the challenge of increasing its influence, which would require continuing interaction with public power. The APN captures this tension very well, though without a solution, because the Alliance wanted to participate, but wanted to write its own rules of the game.

There were of course individuals willing to immerse themselves in the new rules, which led to the migration of many early members to government or political positions, which is similar to what happened to other organizations in Mexico and Latin America.[14] To a certain degree this was inevitable, but a lack of discussion sparked an unfair condemnation of those who made the transition. The absence of planning prevented a leadership succession which weakened the quality of work of civil organizations.

But there would be a final contradiction. Even if the Alliance had lived through a transformation and decided to participate in public life, it would have faced a reality that no one had anticipated: Mexican democracy had been built on the belief that political parties were privileged actors, and without creating sufficient institutional space for civil organizations to participate. This brought about a situation that in 2006 opened opportunities for the Alliance and similar organizations.

The Need for a Civic Left

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan (2001:93) formulated a fundamental thesis describing the current reality in Mexico and Latin America: "free and competed elections are a necessary condition for a democratic transition, but in no way are they sufficient to complete that task." Latinobarómetro data[15] confirmed the general dissatisfaction with the functioning of democracy and explained it in a lapidary phrase: "the mistake was to inaugurate the building of democracy while barely having put in place the first brick: free elections."

Hence, the challenge is to make democracy work. Using this logic, the experience of the Mexican Civic Alliance shows the importance of civil society organizations to adapt to changing realities. When the reality changes, national demands can be formulated which, when tended to, give beneficial results for the quality of democracy. The conflictive presidential elections of 2006 are a clear example. The quality of democracy would have been better defended if the Alliance had had the resources to fight for a reliable election. It did not have the resources because none of the political parties were willing to support the strengthening of organizations devoted to improving the quality of democracy.

[14] An excellent summary of these experiences can be found in Basombrío (2005).

[15] Informe Resumen, *La democracia y la economía.* Latinobarómetro 2003 (based on polls in 17 countries), October 2003, p.1.

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The situation is another demonstration of the deficiency of political parties which have become, in the case of Mexico, a dead weight for democracy. They consume a large amount of money—in 2006, they received approximately $500 million in public federal funding—and contribute very little to the construction of a democratic culture.

The need for an organization such as the Alliance continues to exist. After the 2006 elections it could have a relevant function, avoid setbacks in the quality of democracy, fight to improve the quality of elections and exert pressure to make governments more responsive to citizens' demands. Such an organization can play this role because the organizations and leaders of the original Alliance are still active and they have preserved solid ethical standards indispensable to the future.[16] The experience of the civic Left leaves a number of points to consider:

1. The 2006 elections polarized politics into left and right, which is healthy for democracy. The rebirth of the old coalition is desirable insofar as it openly defines itself as ideologically progressive, considering that, since its beginnings, this has been the position of most of its members. Agreements with conservative organizations should only occur around specific projects.
2. Such a coalition has to assume itself to be a social civil Left, clearly differentiated from a political party or other social movement. It is an organization of small groups, not of the masses, better educated than the average citizen and willing to fuse political practice with specialized knowledge on the "politics of influence."
3. The former requires the move from a culture of denunciation to one of influence—what feminists refer to as moving from protesting to proposing.[17] This requires a proactive relationship with political parties and governments whose legitimacy must be accepted: a critical but productive relationship. An inevitable consequence is to respect the members of the civic Left who choose to become public servants or elected officials. A relationship of respect would transform them into the best counterparts, given the aim is to improve the work of government institutions so that democracy works.
4. In the area of financing, improvements must be made towards building a network of small donors and continue seeking public and private funding within Mexico, without disregarding foreign sources.[18]

[16] Among others: Patricia Hernández from Baja California Sur, Hugo Almada from Chihuahua, Francisco Goitia and Nelly Herrera from Coahuila, Rebeca Vejar from Mexico City and Patricia McCarthy from Yucatán.

[17] Martha Lamas, presentation at a roundtable organized by the Colegio de Mexico about "Other Actors", May 25, 2006.

[18] Chapter 12 discusses various alternative funding opportunities, particularly the Internet.

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5. It is crucial to avoid the concentration of PCOs in Mexico City. According to the National Institute of Social Development's INDESOL) data, 28 percent of PCOs are located in the capital, followed by Nuevo León with 5 percent and Chiapas with less than 1 percent.
6. Another essential need is the strengthening of relations with academia. Breaking down barriers and gaps between activists and academics requires a deliberate effort to smooth over difficulties and differences. It also should incorporate new members who have studied abroad and carry out a planned succession strategy for historical leaders.
7. Regarding areas of concentration, the agenda demands a return to the roots: reliable elections, consultations and accountability, including legal action.

In summary, organizations exemplified by the history of the Alliance should seek to experiment at this moment when Mexico is rebuilding its democracy. There are enormous windows of opportunity for new initiatives; in this case, a civic Left that fearlessly assumes its role as an historic subject with its own characteristics and merits; a subject that recognizes the bruising nature of democracy in which those who pressure, investigate or best argue are successful. The civic Left has what this fight requires; it requires decision, which presupposes the completion of a process begun decades ago when a few organizations and scholars intuitively began the never-ending search for its identity.

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Chapter 5

Participatory Budgeting from Above and Below: Civil Society's Role in the Spread of Democratic Institutions

Benjamin Reames

Over the past 15 years, a policy innovation called "participatory budgeting" (PB) has stimulated citizen participation in local government at unprecedented levels and helped to achieve greater transparency. The term "participatory budgeting" can refer to an array of policies and practices that directly involve citizens in decision making and priority setting with regards to local public budgets. These mechanisms make it possible for citizens to participate in more regularized, active, and informed ways.

Ever since reformers in the city government of Porto Alegre, Brazil and civil society organizations there worked together to originate PB in 1989, the policy has spread and become a major achievement for other local governments and civil society throughout the region.[1] Some observers believe that PB holds great promise for achieving increased accountability, reducing corruption, and aiding in critically needed decentralization. If it fulfills that promise, PB would not only help consolidate democracy but also deepen and strengthen the institutions of governance.

The purpose of this chapter is to: (1) explain what PB is and describe it in a regional context; (2) analyze how PB has spread; and (3) demonstrate how successes of PB grew out of cooperative efforts among government and civil society actors, using examples from Brazil and Peru.

Democracy and Participatory Budgeting in Latin America

The Practice of PB

Used broadly, the term "participatory budgeting" encompasses divergent policies that engage citizens in budget-related decision making. Here, PB will be defined as *regular mechanisms*

[1] Although PB began as a predominantly Brazilian phenomenon—with Belo Horizonte and Santo André in addition to Porto Alegre capturing a great deal of press and academic attention—there are high-profile PB programs in Montevideo, Uruguay and Cuenca, Ecuador, and cities in Europe and Canada have also adopted the innovation.

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that directly involve citizens in decisions on the allocation of public resources and the monitoring of expenses at the local governmental level.

There are at least three distinct approaches to PB: (1) "pure PB" programs engage citizens to vote directly on decisions about the funding or supervision of public works projects for a subunit or locality; (2) "participation-focused" programs aim to involve historically excluded groups, usually by focusing on citizens in marginalized areas/segments of society and by building their capacity to participate in local budget decisions; and (3) "transparency-focused" programs increase participation in monitoring public budgets and the budget-making processes; this approach usually requires raising public awareness, improving the quality and quantity of public information, and developing the expertise of citizens around specific policy issues (Reames and Lynott 2005).

The Purpose of PB

Just as the approaches vary, the *purposes* of the PB projects also vary. PB aims to achieve three types of overarching (but not mutually exclusive) objectives:

1. Greater efficiency in the provision of services and public goods through the reform of the administrative apparatus;
2. Greater social justice through the fairer allocation of resources; and
3. More active citizen engagement and greater commitment to democracy (Wampler 2000).

Each goal stands on its own merits, but also connects to broader aims, namely good government and democratic deepening. For instance, the first goal addresses the efficiency of local government and public administration through increased accountability and by exposing corruption. The second goal encompasses a variety of social justice objectives, including efforts to involve socially excluded or underrepresented groups in government, improve social cohesion and trust, and alter spending priorities towards more egalitarian and sustainable objectives. The third goal serves political objectives that may further decentralize democracy, open government processes, and/or inject more deliberation and civic participation into decision-making practices.

In other words, each goal advances democracy regardless of the definition used: If one conceives of democracy in simple procedural terms, then PB will improve democracy if PB stimulates greater participation. If one uses the richer idea of substantive democracy, then PB will improve democracy if PB is able to lead to more egalitarian outcomes (Marshall 1992). Further, the three objectives are often mutually supportive and can therefore be pursued simultaneously. However, the three objectives listed above do not match up neatly with the three approaches defined previously because there are different means to the same ends.

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A clearer picture of PB's historical growth improves our understanding of the relevant context: according to a low estimate, by 2000 nearly 100 cities and five states had implemented PB in Brazil (Wampler 2000:3). Another estimate put the number of adopting municipalities, between 1997 and 2000, at greater than 130 (Cabannes 2004:29). It is certainly clear that participation in PB practices went from a few thousand people in 1990 to well over 20,000 people per year in the first half of the 1990s. More recently, PB has been adopted, in some form, in more than 250 cities that are predominantly located in the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) region—though especially in Brazil—but have spread to Europe and elsewhere (Cabannes 2004).

Politics of PB

Participatory budgeting came to the fore at the same time that the LAC region's record on government transparency and fighting corruption was poor and stagnating.[2] A host of scholars, analysts, and major NGOs have long feared that the lack of government accountability could undermine or slowly erode democracy in the region (Oxhorn 2004; Agüero and Stark 1998). While "political citizenship" (the right to participate in government) does not appear to be in jeopardy, "social citizenship" (inclusion, participation, and equality) has not been significantly expanded in most LAC countries. The result has been pockets of frustration—areas of society where have-nots are politically alienated and/or suffering material deprivation (Avritzer 2002; O'Donnell 1993). Economic prosperity and increasing egalitarianism have been slow to come, and public support for democracy is likewise looking more fragile. Though recent polls show that most citizens do not want a return to authoritarian governments, their unequivocal support for democracy has actually fallen since 1996 in all but four countries.[3] Many are ambivalent about democracy because they perceive that the misuse of power to obtain privileges has continued under democratic leaders and democracy still results in unfairly distributed resources and economic burdens.[4] There are further concerns that the culture and practice of democracy (such as participation and reaching consensus through public deliberation) will erode if public institutions are not reinvigorated and reformed.

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[2] In recent cases, including Peru in 2000, Argentina in 2002 and Haiti in 2004, corruption was a major factor in political destabilization, while corruption scandals continued to rock Brazil and Nicaragua in 2005. According to Transparency International's yearly index, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) has made only modest progress, with a score of 3.6 in 2005 (on a scale from one to ten, with ten being the "cleanest"). This was the lowest regional score in the world after Africa. In countries such as Guatemala, Costa Rica and Honduras, these corruption measures had been actually worsening.

[3] See the summary of Latinobarómetro data, *The Economist*, "Democracy's Ten-year Rut" (October 29, 2005:39). Also according to Latinobarómetro, "There is an ever increasing 16 percent in 1996 to 22 percent in 2003 indifference to regime type, between democratic and authoritarian leadership."

[4] Mauro (page 2) estimates that corruption cuts growth rates by 0.5–1 percent annually.

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PB is a policy innovation that provides genuine hope for real improvement in governance, not only for Latin America, but for other regions. Reforms of public budget processes can do what few other reforms can do by directly addressing civic participation, accountability, transparency, and the strengthening of public institutions—and all simultaneously. This set the stakes and hopes high. Budgets designate money for projects and enable governments to function; budgets also establish priorities and set public commitments (Sugiyama).[5] Budgets grow out of a politically contested process of identifying options, making decisions, and allocating resources. Monitoring and evaluation are required for transparency after public budgets are implemented. Thus, public budgeting is an inherently complex, ongoing and important process that can remain closed to the public and understood by an informed few; or public budgeting can be arranged in a way that incorporates citizen participation and increases public awareness. The intention of reformers is that PB will stimulate the latter, leading to fairer and more stable and representative democracies.

PB enjoys an excellent reputation but is not without political controversy. On the one hand, many researchers have reached the rosy conclusion that PB can improve government efficiency, increase the accountability of public officials, build greater trust between citizens and government, support collective decision-making capacity, and even generate more tax revenues. Others argue that PB can lead to unneeded conflict, cause the usurpation of power by executive branches from the legislative powers (i.e., municipal councils), enhance the power of more savvy groups, or result in merely cosmetic changes (Wampler 2000; Cabannes 2004:29).

In order to appreciate fully what is at stake with PB, one must consider methods to evaluate and gauge the impact of PB. Extensive research efforts have been dedicated to PB's effects and political impact; though the results are frequently positive, they are also often incomplete or ambiguous:

- A major concern is participation. An obvious measure of increased participation is the count of people participating in meetings and/or voting. Break-outs of the participation of women and historically excluded groups are helpful in gauging how well PB expands participation (Avritzer 2000:14).[6]
- The performance of government should also be improved by PB. Creative ways to measure this impact include the number of projects completed, the proportion of public money actually spent as a share of the money allocated, and in one case

[5] From an NGO perspective, see the comments from the International Budget Project, *Latin American Index of Budget Transparency 2003*. Available at http://www.internationalbudget.org/thems/BudTrans/English.pdf.

[6] One study calculates that "approximately 390,000 people participated in 2002 in the 11 Brazilian cities studied. Participation rates varied, usually from 2 percent to 7 percent of the total population. Higher figures are quite exceptional" (Cabannes 2004:36).

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even the actual distance of sewage pipelines that were laid down in a given time period (Avritzer 2000; Wampler 2000).

- Qualitative measures are also used, for example, under the assumption that the distribution of public resources should also change in favor of poorer or more excluded neighborhoods. Others have attempted to measure the share of long-term projects as opposed to short-term projects.
- Since PB aims to deepen democracy and strengthen civil society and the cooperative relationship between the state and civil society, measures of social capital for given communities may also be indicative of success. Another suggested measure that might fall into this category is the reduction of property tax delinquency, which may reflect a stronger commitment to or better understanding of local government.

The multiple methods of evaluation—in addition to PB's diverse objectives—make it clear that PB should not be conceived as a static "best practice" to be pulled off the shelf and inscribed into every locality's law. Rather, PB is an adaptable, diverse, context-specific set of policies with many benefits and some potential pitfalls.

The present contribution does not attempt to settle whether or not PB is the paragon of government efficiency and participatory democracy that some of its supporters claim it to be. Instead, we argue here that the dynamic aspects of PB deserve more attention: over time, PB has become more diverse and adaptable in its forms; civil society has increased its own capacity to work with local governments and guide the implementation of PB; and governments have become better able to engage civil society in the practice of governing. In short, a dynamic, reciprocal relationship between civil society and that state has developed in the regions that practice PB. The next section explores those relationships and identifies two models that represent different ways that civil society and government interact to spread the practice of PB, as well as identifying a third framework that may underlie both conceptualizations.

The Dynamic Spread of Participatory Budgeting

PB did not spread by simple replication. Its diffusion among cities has been encouraged and modified by national states, as well as by international agencies, multilateral bodies, and global civil society. This second section examines how those players interacted to determine the spread and success of PB.

Latin American governments, especially at the national level, alter PB-related projects and generate spin-offs. Decentralization is a major governance movement that has dovetailed synergistically with PB. For instance, Nicaragua began decentralizing the National System of Public Investment in 2003, and subsequently passed the law of "Municipal Transfers,"

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which requires an annually increasing portion of the national budget (starting at 4 percent) to be transferred to municipal governments. Nicaraguan cities and national NGOs, such as ASPRODIC and *Grupo Fundemos*, increasingly involve citizens in participatory budgeting mechanisms as a means of improving transparency and building public support for long-term projects instead of short-term, politically motivated expenditures.

Sunshine laws also require, encourage, or permit localities to make local practices more participatory and transparent. Peru passed a national law that requires municipalities to consult the public on the budget. Though enforcement of the law is weak, each year more cities are implementing and expanding mechanisms to increase transparency, solicit support, and educate the public. The Dominican Republic's national legislature has encouraged municipalities to replicate successful PB projects in the Cibao region (notably, in the municipality of Villa González). Guatemala passed a "trifecta" of laws in 2004 that call for local budget transparency, the creation of community-level citizen councils, and more decentralization.

National-level reforms have stimulated the need for participatory budgeting practices, but the expanding number of states using PB mechanisms has also stretched the concept of PB. Bolivia's program of "Participación Popular," created in 1994 by Law 1551 in an attempt to democratize decision making, was well received by the international community (Daniere and Marcondes 1998). The law was passed under the Sánchez de Lozada administration and subsequently imitated by other national governments, especially in the Andes. Under its provisions, municipalities receive a larger, preestablished portion of the budget (20 percent in Bolivia), but disbursement of funds is contingent upon the presentation of a municipal development plan and is subject to the scrutiny of local watchdog groups (or "vigilance committees"). Bolivia's acclaimed experience (especially in Cochabamba) is similar to the PB projects of Peru discussed below. This commonality underscores how international players and a confluence of other factors, such as the need for transparency and decentralization, can dovetail to generate a range of policies all related to one overarching purpose—which here would be broader participation in budgeting.

International organizations (IOs) and large non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have heavily influenced the development of PB as well. The UN-Habitat Program has collaborated with local civil society organizations (such as Cidade in Porto Alegre) and with municipal governments, to research the best practices of PB. The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) supported a number of local projects in implementing or expanding PB throughout Latin America, as the has the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), through the Inter-American Democracy Network (IADN), a North-South association of NGOs (Reames and Lynott). Other organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund and Transparency International, have advocated greater transparency in budget documents and processes. Foundations with global reach, such as Ford and Mott, have also underwritten civil society efforts to increase transparency and participation in budgeting (Sugiyama 2002).

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Civil society matters to this inquiry not only because its high-profile, influential institutions have supported PB, but because civil society is also integral to the very functioning of PB. PB is, at its core, a government policy that involves citizens in state activities; it is also a real-life practice—a series of procedures that rely on voluntary citizen activity and political will by government leaders. In that sense, one cannot overlook the critical role that civil society has played in developing, refining, diffusing, and sustaining the practice of participatory budgeting.

For instance, civil society is (almost by definition) the organizing force that can channel and stimulate the otherwise disparate and sporadic involvement of citizens in public life. The PB innovations have spread rapidly across many countries because civil society provided the spark (Abbers 1996; Avritzer 2000). Experts affiliated with civil society organizations developed many of the methods and certainly the public justifications for PB. Researchers further recognize that, in general, there is a reciprocal relationship between the state and civil society required to make participatory budgeting a reality (Abbers 1996; Avritzer 2000). Participation cannot be mandated, so the state and civil society must cooperate in the practice of participatory budgeting. Simply put, without some degree of civil society, PB would be a dead letter.

Given that state-civil society cooperation lies at the heart of PB, the question arises: What does civil society, *writ large*, have to do with diffusion? PB policies have leaped over borders and local boundaries to spread across jurisdictions, but neither the average citizen nor the typical government bureaucrat has made international popularity their primary concern. Their primary concern is with their own jurisdictions and constituencies. Instead, the actors who are most decisive in the diffusion of PB include civil society activists and networked policy entrepreneurs. Together, these civil society entrepreneurs have operated at many levels to involve IOs and civil society organizations (CSOs), creating unique relationships between grassroots groups and organizations with global reach.

A confluence of events and factors has given PB momentum and a sense of urgency. Both decentralization and initiatives that support transparency and participation at the local level moved up the political agenda at roughly the same time. So while PB has been increasingly popular, the concomitant change in the context of public budgeting and decentralization encouraged its spread. Changes internationally and on the national stage have facilitated the broader adoption of loose adaptations of PB.

A summary observation would be that the broad view of PB paints a promising picture, but one that risks being too teleological and not focused enough on the conditions that have enabled PB. After a period of experimentation (and perhaps infatuation) in the policy world, PB continues to evolve. One analyst argued that PB entered a third phase in 2000, in which it expanded beyond Brazil and "diversified" in its forms (Cabannes 2004). It seems that PB's growth and popularity obscured many of the divergent causes and interesting innovations that were driving diffusion under the radar.

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Frameworks of Diffusion

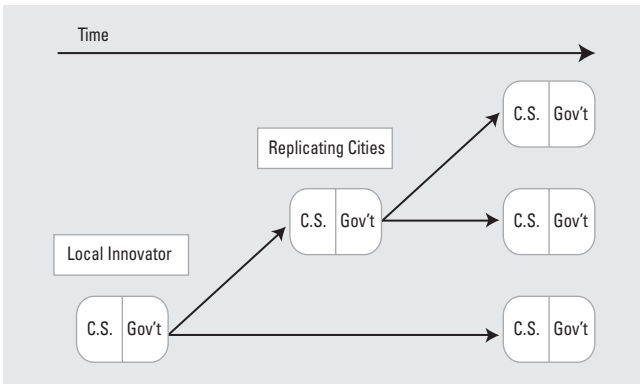
There are two simple ways to describe how civil society has been involved in PB:

- Policy analysts often suppose that innovations such as PB come about through horizontal, grassroots efforts that link reformers in many locations. In this formulation lessons percolate slowly up to the national government, but most of the action happens spontaneously at the local level and involves learning and imitation ("horizontal diffusion") (Meseguer 2005).
- A second common conception is that reforms happen when "windows of opportunity" are opened by a progressive national government, an engaged international agency, or some other exogenous force that promotes the innovation as a "best practice." These fortuitous events on the national stage may encourage (or require) the policy to be replicated via "top-down diffusion" (Kingdon 1984).

Both processes may be found at different times and different places. Diagrams 5.1 and 5.2 depict simplified models of how diffusion happens. Civil society (labeled "C.S.") and the state (or "Gov't") are placed together in one circle in order to account for the fact that the two elements of the national polity work together, despite the level of government, if a jurisdiction is to implement PB successfully. The arrows that connect the various subunits (representing new PB projects) are meant to indicate the policy learning, support, or even political pressure that results in replication of an earlier innovation.

The case-based examples that follow will show that these two notions about how reform happens are blurred and may in fact be two sides to the same "innovation coin." In other words, either the "top-down" or "horizontal" model may seem to explain more than the other model, but any such result might be inverted simply by changing the scope of attention to a different country or larger set of cases. On the other hand, if we consider that multiple types of diffusion processes occur at once—albeit some with processes more prominent than others depending on the case—then civil society's role in deepening democracy through innovations is both more complex and clearly fundamental: Civil society serves as more than a "check" on the

5.1. Simple Diagram of Horizontal Diffusion



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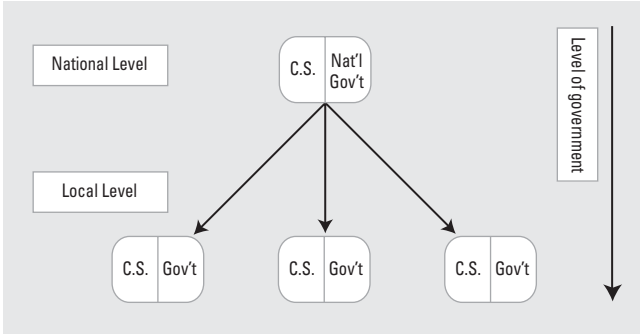
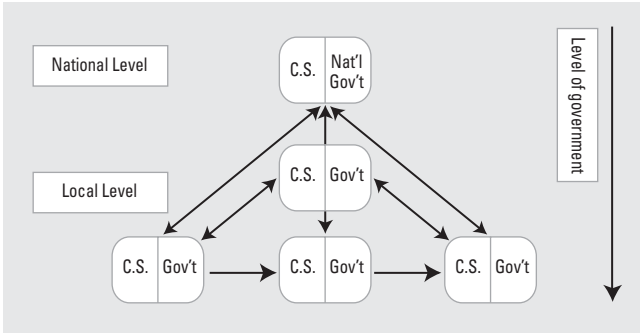
rhetoric of political actors by advocating for transparency and by determining whether policymakers' public goals coincide with priorities in the budget. Civil society also serves as key partner, driving force, and intellectual author of the growing "good government" practices whether they seem to trickle down or percolate up through government.

I suggest a third model that blends both frameworks. I start with the finding of many researchers that global civil society, Latin American NGOs, and the Latin American states in the contemporary political arena are interacting in changing ways that alters public policy (Chalmers et al. 1997; Friedman and Hochstetler 2002). Consider the fact that civil society promotes and experiments with policies, then develops practical knowledge ("lessons learned") which it shares in professional networks and with governments and lending institutions. If we accept that civil society is an actor in policy diffusion and at international and grassroots levels, then there should be multiple processes occurring simultaneously and multidirectionally in the spread of innovations. For this reason, arrows in the third model point in both directions. Also note that the chart shows "exogenous forces" that may begin or stimulate the policymaking process. This synthetic version of diffusion (Diagram 5.3) better depicts how PB spread unpredictably over time and maintained momentum because sources of support exist at various levels.

5.2. Simple Diagram of Top-Down Diffusion



5.3. Synthetic Diagram of Diffusion



Illustrating Civil Society and Participatory Budgeting

This section presents two cases that involve municipalities in Brazil and Peru where PB *seemed* to spread along the lines of horizontal and top-down models, respectively. The examples drawn from Peru's PB diffusion appear to illustrate "top-down" diffusion, while Brazilian examples seem mostly "horizontal." The two cases can serve as "hard tests" of the

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two simplified models of how citizen-entrepreneurs, working through CSOs, are responsible for making PB a reality through diffusion and strategic development (George and Bennett 2005).[7] Data gathering was accomplished through secondary research, literature review, and site visits to some areas. In the end, both cases demonstrate that an interactive explanation of how civil society helped drive the diffusion of PB is most apt.

Peru

The spread of PB in Peru is a case where the policy seems driven by both civil society demand and a coordinated effort at the national level. In short, it appears to be a top-down model of diffusion, but the history of PB in Peru is richer and more dynamic than that simplified explanation. A special Working Group ("Mesa de Concertación") on the struggle against poverty was established among NGOs with national scope and government agencies in Lima at the beginning of the last decade. In the context of the corruption and authoritarian tendencies of President Fujimori's regime, the Working Group began to ask what legal mechanisms could be instituted to increase transparency in government, especially with respect to monitoring and tracking expenses. When the Fujimori government fell in 2002, the Working Group had the opportunity to do something concrete with the ideas that had been proposed. One previously tested idea was participatory budgeting, which had not only already been popularized by the experience of Porto Alegre, but had also been tried in dozens of small regions, villages and municipalities of Peru—a fact often overlooked.[8]

Based on that prior experience, the Working Group proposed a pilot project. (Thus, PB actually got its start in Peru by way of decentralized efforts at the local level that were also instigated by the federal government.) Peru is a country with 25 regions, 200 municipalities, and about 1,800 smaller districts. To support pilot projects in this diverse and decentralized environment the "ANC" (National Association of "Centros" or CSOs) became engaged in the work. Thus, the Working Group and the ANC become natural allies and partners. Approximately 16 cities tried PB, and ten were deemed successful, so they received a 30 percent increase in their budgets the following year. This amounted to a significant boost since about 90 percent of the budgets of Peruvian municipalities come from the central government, and 50 to 60 percent of that is used for investment and projects.

Many municipalities, such as Cajamarca, flourished under this program of the Toledo administration, but they also encountered problems. In response, a number of important

[7] In explicit terms, if civil society-led diffusion defies the models in these cases, then it enhances the probability that civil society working in concert with public officials and international organizations is responsible for making PB work in more complex ways than either of the two models would suggest.

[8] Interviews by the author with Alejandro Laos in Lima, Peru at Asociación SER's headquarters between June 14 and 16, 2006.

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changes were instituted, including a national law requiring that municipalities have participatory budgeting practices. The mandate, however, did not guarantee that PB would exist, because the law did not supply funds. Further, as with all laws in Peru, PB legislation required regulation and a set of protocols for how to implement PB, both of which were slow to come.

The influence of the national government can be over-emphasized, and correspondingly it is common to downplay the local influences. One influential, local experience was in Villa El Salvador, a poor, industrial district in outer Lima. Villa El Salvador stands out for its high levels of citizen participation and its "mixed design." The social control of budget projects is exercised by citizens' organization and neighborhood groups. Also, budgetary decisions are made both through neighborhood organizations (indirect, but community-based representation) and through the citizenry as a whole (direct democracy) (Cabannes 2004:37). Besides being an early innovator, Villa El Salvador pioneered approval of its PB program through a referendum and conceived of PB as an integral part of the development plan.

Another pioneering example comes from Ilo, a city on the coast of Peru. After instituting its PB program, Ilo has seen its tax delinquency drop dramatically, in part because the city's distribution of resources is inversely related to each district's level of tax delinquency. The city also established a system to ensure that at least half of the PB delegates are women and at least three of them are part of an executive committee (usually 12 people). In the earlier stage of PB diffusion, Peruvian officials at the national level sent a message to citizens that it was prepared to be transparent and stimulate participation, and civil society engaged with government (especially at the local level) in unique ways. In the next phase, the major civil society push was to expand PB to areas beyond the original innovators.

Peruvian NGOs sought to expand PB not by the passage of laws alone but by increasing the participation of citizens and their capacity to engage in participatory budgeting and to demand transparency. Asociación SER, one of a few nationally important CSOs engaged in PB work, developed an approach based on Peru's conditions: namely, the legal framework for PB was favorable, and the major impediments were citizens' capacity and interest to participate. According to interviews with civil society leaders, Peruvians in general lack accurate information about public budgets and/or sufficient confidence in public officials. The situation of disinterest and distrust, if it goes uncorrected locally, exacerbates conflict and cynicism, and weakens the participatory nature of development activities.

Asociación SER designed its own projects for rural communities, such as those in Cajamarca and Puno, which provide training to citizens and community leaders about what public budgets are and how they function. SER used USAID funds to stimulate the participation of community leaders. SER reasoned that the local elected officials were under a federal mandate (though hardly enforceable) to elicit participation regarding the budget, so they would only find it in their interest if capable counterparts in civil society structure

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and rewarded the work. The strategy called for the creation of "vigilance committees" to monitor public budget projects (as in Bolivia), and a unique media strategy aimed at building participation among underrepresented indigenous populations. Finally, SER supported exchanges of community leaders between two regions, which functioned like externships, accelerated learning, and improved the individuals' capacity to implement innovations.

Workshops explained to community leaders how to access public information, how PB mechanisms work, how to form vigilance committees, and how to generate citizen participation. Local radio stations became hubs for information on the public budget and the PB projects. SER took the relatively unique step of producing broadcasts and publications in both Spanish and Quechua for all of these awareness drives. The bilingual radio spots proved essential to strong and diverse participation since literacy rates are low in the two regions where SER selected to work (Puno and Cajamarca). Also, print media does not reach most of the citizens in these sparsely populated, mountainous regions. The local radio stations often function as a primary source of news and public information.

The PB efforts in Peru draw on the unique civil society arrangements of the region. *Rondas campesinas,* which are citizen security patrols established in mostly rural areas of Peru, have developed into extensive civil society networks and have played a significant role in curtailing the power of the state (by pressing for more autonomy), decrying corruption, as well as resisting the reach of traffickers and illegal groups. Since the use of force is implicit in their organizations, some have praised their independence while at the same time questioning their ability to be active in traditional civil society. The *rondas* took to the role of developing the "vigilance committees" that monitored the execution of the budget and implementation of PB projects. The individuals who served on the vigilance committees often overlapped with the leadership of the *rondas*; in that way, the work of vigilance committees was publicized and legitimized. Likewise, interviewees said that the projects also lent the *rondas* more public legitimacy by allowing them to prove to be capable collaborators with government, a function important to their continued relevance in regions where serious security concerns had abated.[9]

In Peru, two concerns dovetailed to create the political space needed to implement PB: good governance and decentralization. Since the corruption of previous regimes (notably Fujimori's) made citizens increasingly suspicious of centralized power and concerned about corruption, interest in innovative reforms was piqued. "Good governance" typically refers to policies that endorse the notion that development depends on accountable, transparent governing practices that follow the rule of law and allow for participation (Brautigam 2004). Governance is commonly understood to include the relationship between civil society and the state, between rulers and the ruled, the government and the governed. In the good

[9] Author's interview with town council in the municipality of Macusani, in the region of Puno, Peru.

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government sense, civil society has been engaged at all levels of the Peruvian government to institute participation and transparency as core components of good governance. While many of these disparate efforts remain to be linked to one another and consolidated, the basic framework of a more participatory and decentralized system of governance has evolved, and PB has played a role in that.

PB in Brazil

The spread of PB in Brazil, its birthplace, seems to adhere better to the more organic, horizontal model of diffusion, wherein civil society at the grassroots level helps disseminate innovative policy ideas. This perception is due to the extensive and broad implementation of PB in local Brazilian government and the limited involvement of the national government. Grassroots involvement has indeed been strong and decisive, but it is also true that national and international organizations and civil society are also responsible for PB's spread. Second, civil society has not been simply replicating the Porto Alegre model; rather, there has been an ongoing process of experimentation and adaptation.

One example of innovation is Recife, a major city in northeastern Brazil that developed a model of PB, which has involved children and young people and pays special attention to gender issues since 1997 (Sugiyama 2002). Belo Horizonte is a high-profile case of PB in Brazil and has stood out for its introduction of PB for housing, which aims to meet the needs of homeless citizens (Avritzer 2000). Belém, with over a million people and sitting at the mouth of the Amazon, has adjusted its PB program to work with the "City Congress" and to involve citizens from traditionally excluded sectors (Cabannes 2004). In addition, small to medium-sized cities have also adopted and adapted PB. Mundo Novo, Icapuí, Alvorada, and Juiz de Fora—with populations ranging from 16,000 to half a million—became touchstones in the PB community for their innovative programs. City leaders and policy entrepreneurs reported in interviews, local Brazilian policymakers may feel inspired or compelled to adopt innovations, but not necessarily to copy them; every municipality wants to put its own stamp on PB, so the experimentation results in a great deal of diversity.[10]

The case of Brazil requires us to step back and consider meta-institutional and macro-political questions. In struggling against an authoritarian regime in the 1980s, Brazilian civil society increased its organizational capacity, defended its distance from the state, and challenged the exclusionary political practices inherent even in previous democratic regimes (Keck 1992). Also, dominant loci in the struggle for democratization were the subunits (states and cities) of this federal and territorially vast country. These factors meant that by the late

[10] Belo Horizonte. 2004. Author interviews conducted on October 10–12, 2004 with public officials from various states at a conference in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil.

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1980s, when the idea of PB was germinating, it was clearly defined as a democratizing initiative of the Left (notably the Workers' Party or the PT) and as a local government project that would bypass the national government. (Though PB remains a hallmark program of the PT in local government, it has developed separate legitimacy across the political spectrum because the policy has moved well beyond Porto Alegre.) So while the national government of Brazil seems to be a minor player, as compared to the Peruvian case, in fact the relationship of civil society to the state was key to determining how PB spread across the country, if only because of civil society's distrust and the Left's critique of the state.

The projects of the cities mentioned above diverge from the Porto Alegre 1989 model in instructive ways. To illustrate the scope of the Brazilian system we can consider the characteristics of Belo Horizonte's PB program from 1993. In the latter design, citizen assemblies elect delegates to represent their interests, while Porto Alegre citizens vote directly on the projects. Belo Horizonte has reduced to two the number of rounds in which citizens review, rank and revise their desired public works projects, lowering the demand on citizens' time engaged in the PB process. The monitoring of public works projects is managed by decentralized bodies created especially for the purpose of monitoring specific projects, rather than by a central PB committee. Belo Horizonte submits only half of the public works budget for infrastructure investments to PB processes. While half is much higher than most cities, it is lower than Porto Alegre's (Avritzer 2000).

Networks of civil society activists have been important vehicles for sharing ideas, spreading lessons, and providing the political justifications to support PB. For example, "Cidade" of Porto Alegre is a local NGO, albeit with a national audience, that has been at the forefront of general research on the impact and process of PB. A variety of other CSOs have been strengthened by or developed out of PB experiences. For one, neighborhood associations (such as UAMPA) have become more powerful in many of the Brazilian cities that have PB because of citizen efficacy and interest in local politics, and strengthened neighborhood groups' capacity to serve as political power brokers and conduits for that interest. Another example of CSO strengthening is that the community councils or organizations that channel citizen participation usually develop into autonomous structures. Their organization and strength vary greatly and include Popular Councils, Township Unions, and Regional Articulations, not to mention the various councils (COPs) and fora of delegates.

The operational complexity of PB in Brazil grew as the social composition became more diversified and the number of participants increased. These core facts made PB an appealing policy to be emulated in cities throughout Brazil. This phenomenon lent to the general impression of a horizontal diffusion. Critics in the media and the political opposition argued that PB was merely a new incarnation of "rice n' beans" politics, a cynical system wherein urgent problems affecting the "popular classes" are addressed (Belo Horizonte 2004). By this neo-clientelistic formulation, PB would play on the immediate needs of the electorate. PB was especially successful where it overcame this critique by making constant

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improvements to process. For example, thematic meetings based around particular policy issues generated more depth of knowledge, and citizen participation increased in quality and quantity. Also, where projects might have stumbled in the early stages of PB, international banks provided loans for the initial PB-generated projects, notably to build infrastructure, thus guaranteeing completion and bolstering the legitimacy of PB.

Case Study Observations

Given the picture of how PB spread, a mixed diffusion model would explain the trajectory of PB better than a simple top-down or horizontal model would. The diffusion and strategic development of PB has been a result of a coordinated effort by an increasingly professional civil society and partners in the international community. Despite its successes in the LAC region, PB remains one step—and rarely the first—toward making local government more open and transparent. It is an ongoing and dynamic process.

The complex interaction of policy issues (relating to decentralization, democracy, and good government, etc.) and structural factors (the party systems and meta-institutions of government) means that PB will not be perfect or uniform. Innovation is both natural (because of the necessity to adapt) and often encouraged by incentives in unforeseen ways. When an idea such as PB becomes attractive to the policy world (i.e., the IOs, philanthropies, policy networks, academics, civil society networks, good government experts, and multilateral lenders), then strategic decision makers in local government and local civil society have the incentive to use the original policy's caché for support and funds. This may involve adopting altered models of the policy, or altering other programs to look more like PB; thus, programs involving participation and/or transparency may get molded into PB programs.

The selected cases further illustrated how government often depends on civil society not only to develop ideas and champion causes, but to catch problems and propose solutions. After the inception of PB in a particular jurisdiction, both realms of the polity find themselves in a mutually reinforcing relationship that can enhance their respective legitimacy and effectiveness. In these ways, general models that explain the spread of PB enhance our understanding of civil society's role in this important innovation, and also in other decentralized reforms intended to deepen democracy in the region.

Conclusion: Effects on Democracy and Development

The wave of democratization that swept LAC countries, especially in the 1980s, left state apparatuses of authoritarian regimes crumbled in its wake. These were slowly supplanted by new and revived democratic governments. These democratic institutions throughout the region are vulnerable to weakening by corruption and inequality. As one analyst put it, "In

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countries that are seeking to consolidate democratic transitions, the budget can be a crucial mechanism to ending clientelistic practices" (Sugiyama 2002). More generally, democratic legitimacy rests on decisions, policies and procedures that are regarded as fair and participatory (Keohane and Nye 2001). Unequal outcomes are seen as especially injurious when the processes leading to them seem to have been unfair.

Accountability helps engender legitimacy by subjecting leaders to criticism and consequences for illegal, unethical, or otherwise undesirable activities. For this to happen, public actions must be regularly reported, and sanctions must be applied when rules are violated. In a democracy, citizens can be thought of as principals who require their agents, i.e., the public officials, to provide information and justifications for their actions. Elections, courts and the like provide citizens with venues to sanction their agents. Transparency—as practiced in access to legislative voting records, campaign financing records, and budgets, for example—enables citizens to assess their leaders' performance. So transparency is a first and important step in accountability.

Transparency as a step towards accountability is especially true where public budgets are concerned. Public budgets made behind closed doors are less likely to support equitable and sustainable projects, and are rarely effective in achieving the common good. Services for politically and/or socially marginalized groups are often neglected or redistributed to more politically powerful groups, leaving a void in public services that reach the most vulnerable or needy. In that way, participation is a necessary complement to transparency. In principle, PB mechanisms should advance and deepen democracy as long as they are poised to promote accountability, transparency, and participation.

Transparency also promotes development by reducing the amount of public resources lost or misallocated as a result of corruption. High levels of corruption also create an environment that investors perceive as unsafe, leading to lost investment as well. A closed model of budgeting can waste public resources, regardless of who benefits from them. Governments in the LAC region tend to pay up to 30 percent more than the market price for comparable goods and services (Transparency International). This loss and misallocation of resources hinders investment in government programs that could improve levels of living and address the population's expectations of democracy.

Acutely aware of these problems, decision makers within the LAC region and international actors increasingly want to see participation and transparency mechanisms used to address the region's public policy challenges and democratic deficits. Increasing awareness of corruption and lack of accountability has become intertwined with other trends in the region. For instance, the burgeoning of civil society has made CSOs valuable partners in improving democratic governance and increasing development, and fiscal and governmental decentralization in Latin America continues to raise the stakes of local reforms.

Decentralization can bring government closer to the people and prevent power from becoming concentrated in the hands of a few. Decentralization is well underway in South

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America where 75 percent of the populace lives in urban areas.[11] As the urban population swells and as decentralization continues, the salience of local government practices increases dramatically. In the early 1980s, directly elected officials controlled municipal governments in only six countries in the LAC region; today they do so in 23 countries. In 17 countries, mayors are now elected by citizen vote rather than appointed by the central government.

Expanding the role of municipal government, however, suggests that citizens will need to become better informed, more active, and engaged, as well as more capable at administration of local government. For example, when the decentralization of authority brings fiscal decentralization, local governments find themselves to be novices in engaging citizens and managing transparency, not to mention the technical side of handling larger budgets and increased demands for public accounting. After developing local expertise, civil society often seeks to institutionalize PB processes by channeling participatory practices through social networks in order to ensure stability. For that reason, reform advocates have focused on creating and strengthening networks of civil society actors and supporting local institutions, enabling the two to become more integrated, more democratic, and more durable. Associations of mayors, networks of local CSOs that support democracy and development, grassroots organizations, and neighborhood groups have become key players in the push to make decentralization and local democracy a functional reality in the LAC region.

Interest in good governance, development, democracy and decentralization has increased the opportunities and resources for CSOs and local governments that present innovations or adaptations to popular innovations. Municipal governments have responded to incentives to develop policies that are participatory, while modifying them in practice. It logically follows that with more localities experimenting with PB, the possibility to learn from other localities and share successes will grow as well. The new round of participatory approaches to governing and budgeting will continue to build on established civil society networks and use leverage to innovate and replicate existing PB approaches.

[11] United Nations, "World Urbanization Prospects: The 1996 Revision," 1998, 93, cited in Richard Stren, "New Approaches to Urban Governance in Latin America," April 2, 2000.

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Section 3

Introduction to CSOs in Deepening Democracy

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Introduction to CSOs in Deepening Democracy

There are still myriad unsolved social problems, repressed minorities, gross economic inequalities, and bureaucratic failures in almost every part of Latin America. The slow pace at which many governments have acted to solve these manifest problems contributes greatly to citizen disenchantment with political parties and, indeed, with democracy as a system. In most countries of the region, social movements represent very large numbers of families (and voters) seeking change and obliging political parties and governments to take their demands into account, at the peril of electoral defeat. However, many of the political solutions being offered can be characterized as temporary, or even as counterproductive.

The "cure" for building stronger democratic systems can be found in greater "deepening" of democracy. We accept the meaning of the expression given by Fung and Wright (2001): "facilitating active political involvement of the citizenry, forging political consensus through dialogue, devising and implementing public policies that ground a productive economy and healthy society, and … assuring that all citizens benefit from the nation's wealth."

Democracy has been facilely identified with competitive election of political leaders. Participative democratic governments, however, must support other means for recognizing priorities and deepening democracy in order to build the trust by its citizenry based on realistic assessments of fairness and progress. These issues are discussed further in the concluding chapter.

As the tasks of the state have become more complex, the voices of the governed have become more numerous. Social movements and civic activism are helping to redefine Latin America's post-dictatorship, post-Washington Consensus politics. These manifestations of civic action are magnified and complemented by attention from the media and the Internet. This has created an entirely new context for governing. Latin American's leading social analysts—including Fals Borda (1992), O'Donnell (1996) and Cardoso (2005)—have all recognized the importance of these changes, even though they differ concerning the ability of civil society and social movements to transform the political structure. The examples presented here are, in effect, tests of their guesses about the political future of the region.

These case studies each take quite different approaches to analyzing how social movements are helping to deepen democracy. Four of the essays (Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 10)

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examine how citizens with little access historically to power—the rural poor, the Andean indigenous, the Amazonian natives and women—have mobilized to improve their status and to be heard. The contributions these movements make to deepening democracy cannot be easily summarized but, without question, they each provide excellent illustrations of the recent and continuing evolution in the political landscape.

Rural poverty continues to be a serious social problem throughout Latin America.[1] Although agrarian reform had some political support under the *Alianza para el Progreso* in the 1960s, the measures taken then alleviated only a few situations in a few countries before reform opponents killed hopes for change (Domike 2005, Barraclough and Domike 1966). John Durston's essay in Chapter 6, based on recent field interviews and long professional acquaintance with the issues, examines how civil society organizations are seeking to relieve rural poverty in Chile, Guatemala and Brazil. He offers explicit measures of the impacts of their activities on the deepening of democracy and its institutions.

For centuries, the Andean indigenous in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and much of Central America and Mexico were held in bondage to landowners, deprived of political rights or basic citizenship. Beginning with Mexico, then Bolivia's 1952 revolution, the situation of the indigenous peoples has gradually improved, though not without stumbles and falls. Today, Bolivia has its first president of indigenous origin in 400 years and the indigenous movements are active throughout the region. Many problems remain, but Charles Kleymeyer (in Chapter 7) draws upon some forty years of personal engagement with these issues to offer a unique perspective on the present social and political situation of the Andean indigenous peoples, and how they are transforming themselves and their countries.

In Brazil's Mato Grosso, on the northern edge of the Pantanal and the watershed between the Rio Plate and the Amazon basin, an extensive ecological reserve was created for the fourteen tribes of the Xingú people. However, beginning in the 1960s highways were built to the east and west of the reserve, bringing waves of new settlers. By the 1990s, it was apparent that pollution and resource misuse were completely out of hand. Not only were the Xingú rapidly losing their habitat, but the new agricultural enterprises and urban settlements were themselves threatened. In Chapter 8, Lincoln Barros and Marie-Madeleine Mailleux Sant'Ana review both the many obstacles and the eventual success that a dedicated civil society organization negotiated to mitigate their problems. Their story provides lessons on how fundamental conflicts of interest can be at least mitigated by active CSOs, even where government agencies, churches or the victims themselves fail to take leadership.

[1] For abundant details on the levels and geographic distribution of the region's economic "outsiders," see Inter-American Development Bank/Harvard (2007). A World Bank study on rural poverty is available at: http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/external/lac/lac.nsf/9ef9ab0df45c3532852567d6006c59a4/79c57f6539e8b3d7852567eb005300f6?OpenDocument.

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The women of Latin America, it may be argued, have the region's longest history as a social movement. There were adherents and spokespersons for women active a half century and more ago, but they gained major impetus in the 1970s with support and example from the European and American movements. During the dictatorships in Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Peru, it was women who often faced down the troops with demands for the truth about their husbands and sons who had "disappeared." Clearly, the election of Chile's first woman president has set a milestone for the region, now reinforced by Argentina's election of its first woman president. Joan Caivano and Thayer Hardwick, in Chapter 10, provide an overview of how the movement has evolved and how women have begun to gain legal, social and political equality.

Lest there be undue optimism that civil society always triumphs in democracy, the case of a failed social experiment—social housing in Chile—is the subject of Chapter 9. In the twenty years since the program began, neither the supposed beneficiaries nor organizations that might represent them have been brought into the design or execution of the program. Housing for the poor has been operated completely from the top down by developers and government officials. The result, detailed by Alberto Rodriguez and Ana Sugranyes, has been shoddy but costly subsidized housing that created massive new social and economic problems. The new government is now seeking ways to resolve these failures and bringing the ostensible beneficiaries into the debate.

Finally, two essayists analyze future-oriented possibilities for deepening democracy, first, for achieving improvements in the economic capabilities of small and middle-sized businesses, and, second, by creating channels for migrant family members to help both their families and their former home communities.

In Chapter 11, Roberto Mizrahi describes a finely structured public-private program for creating and expanding employment and business opportunities, with emphasis on capturing local skills and employment opportunities. He draws on his own extensive experience with "angel" and venture capital ventures to offer practical suggestions to overcome operational, marketing and capitalization problems typically faced by small and mid-sized companies in the region.

Nelson Stratta, in Chapter 12, explores the global, "transnational" system of philanthropies, already in place but poorly understood. The system creates opportunities and challenges for nonprofits in the region, driven by 25 million "transnational" LAC families worldwide. Their remittances are testimony to the strength of family ties across national borders. His essay reviews recent changes in global giving and analyzes relevant LAC experiences of civic engagement across borders, such as home town associations and other social inclusion mechanisms and Internet-based models.

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Chapter 6

Social Movements of the Rural Poor and Their Contributions to Democracy[1]

John Durston

The rural poor are, for more than the obvious reasons, the most politically marginalized social sector in Latin America. The simple act of their mobilization into civil society organizations (CSOs) and becoming social actors that interact with groups and the state can constitute a contribution to the deepening of democracy in the region.[2] Nonetheless, how they interact with other actors and the ultimate impact of their actions on democratization can vary widely from country to country.

In this work, deepening democracy is understood as increased political inclusion that allows for the effective representation of excluded or underrepresented sectors in the electoral process, political parties and policymaking (Inter-American Development Bank 2005, 2007).

Not all CSOs limit their activities to participation in the electoral process or other formal institutional spaces. The option to "act outside of the rules of the game" is based on a vision of a gravely unequal socioeconomic system within which the political power of an economic oligarchy distorts the formal, democratic institutions. In this analysis, socioeconomic barriers effectively negate the citizenship of large sectors of the population. These barriers include the influence of privileged sectors and the limited access of the poor to stable resources and decision making in government.

This difference between "the formal country and the real country" has led various analysts to detect a "venomous relationship" (Salman 2004) between existing democracy and excluded sectors (such as the rural poor) in many Latin American countries. From this, analysts conclude that the reduction of economic inequalities is a key element of the deepening of political democracy. Following this diagnosis, the contributions of CSOs to democracy are not limited to their participation in formal political institutions, but include advances in the area of general rights and the reduction of socioeconomic inequalities that restrain the deepening of democracy.

[1] The author is grateful for the support and patience of the many leaders and analysts interviewed for this article and the comments on drafts from Tom Carroll, Arthur Domike and Rolando Franco.

[2] This work does not analyze the successes and failures of the struggle against rural poverty.

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This empirical research has applied an inductive methodology[3] to three cases of CSOs in social sectors of extreme rural poverty. These three cases are organizations with two or three decades of interaction with successive national governments in three different countries (Brazil, Chile and Guatemala). These cases of rural, grassroots organizations all give central importance to the issue of land rights; take part in true, rural social movements; and have contentious orientations and strategies of civil disobedience and direct action (See Chapter 1 for the framework of this analysis).

The three national contexts in this work represent extremely varied realities, but there are certain parallels among them that make comparison possible. All three countries suffered bloody military dictatorships and returned to formal democracy only in the second half of the 1980s.[4] And the three are also among the countries in the world with the greatest inequality of income distribution.[5]

These few commonalities, however, are where the parallels among the countries end. In terms of size, Brazil is a giant, with a population of more than 187 million, while the total population of Chile is 16 million and Guatemala's is 12.7 million (ECLAC 2004). The percentage of persons in rural areas living below the poverty line is 68 percent in Guatemala, 54.5 percent in Brazil and 20 percent in Chile (data for 2002–03; ECLAC 2006). The differences between the three countries go on: the percentage of population that is indigenous in Guatemala (nearly half) and in Chile (around 10 percent); the socio-occupational structure, the human rights situation, among others. In summary, the three countries also present contrasting situations that provide a richness of empirical diversity for comparative analysis.

Democratization and Rural Social Movements

In all three countries, organizations of the rural poor have been seeking for decades to advance their claims with successive national governments. Their ability to survive and to influence democratic values are examined here.

Contentious Movements as Borderline Cases

The three movements analyzed in this chapter represent "borderline cases" of CSOs; that is, they are *not* limited to proactive and accountability roles and they are *not* always able to prevent the use of violence by their members (see Table 1-1, Chapter 1). The direct actions of these movements of the rural poor are often illegal; their marches and street

[3] For more on the inductive methodology of "grounded theory" see Durston et al. 2005, Methodological Annex.

[4] See Table 6-1.

[5] According to ECLAC (2006), all three countries have high or very high levels of income concentration. The poorest 40 percent of the population (which includes the rural poor) receive only 12 percent of total personal income in Guatemala and only 14 percent in Brazil and Chile.

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Table 6-1. Chronology: Three Rural Poor Movements in Brazil, Chile and Guatemala

	MST: Brazil	Mapuches: Chile	Peasant-Maya: Guatemala
Pre-1985	1960–1964: peasant leagues in Pernambuco 1964: military coup 1975: creation of the Rural Land Commission by the Catholic Church 1979: first land occupations 1984: MST founded; strong influence of progressive Catholics	20th century (before 1973): Mapuche political participation, organizations, parliamentarians 1970–1973: agrarian reform in Mapuche area 1973: military coup; repeal of reforms and repression of organizations 1978: creation of Mapuche Cultural Centers by the Catholic Church	Mid 1960s until mid 1980s: guerrilla war; military repression, genocide of rural Maya; support of Catholic Church to Maya communities 1978–1985: founding, repression of CUC; organization goes underground
1985–1989	1986: confrontations increase 1988: rural organizations achieve the inclusion of agrarian reforms as part of the new democratic constitution	1980: Ad Mapu founded, with participation of Socialist and Communist parties 1988–1989: plebiscite ends military dictatorship, return of democratic national elections	1985: first formal democratic presidential election
1990–1994	1991: violent confrontations in Porto Alegre lead to police fatality 1990–1993: MST transformed into a centralized, national organization 1993–1996: cooperative production and education in land reform settlements organized by MST	1991: first temporary land takeovers by the Mapuche group All Lands Council 1993: Indigenous Law, founding of CONADI	1992: CONIC splits from CUC; massacre at CONIC demonstration shown on television 1992: first national peasant congress; mobilization of agrarian and indigenous sectors 1993: CNOC founded 1994: founding of Assembly of Civil Society; peace negotiations
1995–1999	1996: killing of 19 MST demonstrators in Eldorado dos Carajás, in front of television cameras, incites worldwide indignation 1997: march against neo-liberalism and in favor of popular projects 1997: MST's increasing autonomy from Catholic Church 1998: MST supports Lula's presidential bid	1995–1997: • confrontational positions against large hydroelectric projects in indigenous areas; • president removes successive directors of CONADI; • indigenous movement rebukes government violation of indigenous rights. 1997: radical Mapuche group damages forestry company's property	1996: Peace Accords signed 1998: second peasants congress 1999: plebiscite rejects constitutional reforms to fulfill the Peace Accords

(*continued on next page*)

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Table 6-1. Chronology: Three Rural Poor Movements in Brazil, Chile and Guatemala (*continued*)

	MST: Brazil	Mapuches: Chile	Peasant-Maya: Guatemala
2000–2004	2000: MST member named head of the Institute for Land Reform. President Cardoso announces punishments for land invasions 2002: MST plays a key role in the election of Lula 2000–2005: more than 800 land invasions	2000: municipal elections; Mapuche candidates to municipal councils and mayorship 2001: creation of Commission for Historical Truth and New Treatment 2002: Orígenes Program begins 2003: Mapuche condemned for "terrorism" 2004: Ralco hydroelectric dam floods Mapuche-Pehuenche land; Puehuenches accept compensation 2004: Negative report on Chile from the UN's Commission on Human Rights' Rapporteur for Indigenous Peoples	2000: mobilization of Maya peasants 2002: negotiations about agrarian issues 2002: Councils on Urban and Rural Development Law
2005–2006	2005: neo-liberal policies, broad subsidy to poor; corruption crisis in PT; strategic reorientation of MST away from PT; creation of Citizen Participation Councils 2006: MST continues land occupations, leaders arrested 2006: Lula reelected; MST orders temporary standoff during campaign	2006: first phase of IDB's Orígenes program ends 2005: Mapuche mayors elected in various towns 2005: election of Michelle Bachelet 2006: Mapuche condemned for "terrorism" stage hunger strike; government announces it will eschew use of terrorism law against Mapuche 2007: second phase of Orígenes	2006: march for Agrarian Reform 2006: New Government-OSC Working Group rejects inclusion of agrarian themes; CNOC resigns from Group 2006: CONIC leaves CNOC and participates in Working Group with government and business sector

demonstrations frequently involve battling antiriot police; and they sometimes commit violence against private property and occasionally persons.

On occasion, some groups associated with these movements have turned to armed conflict. In the case of Guatemala, some of the CSOs studied had links to guerrilla groups during the 1980s (Brett 2006). However, none of the rural grassroots organizations in this study are terrorist or insurrectional groups. All of them struggle to deepen democracy by participating in official debates and also by leading acts of civil disobedience.

The predominant vision today within these movements is that the moment for discussion has passed and it is now necessary to dedicate themselves to action:

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> I could have comfortably continued participating in seminars, criticizing the system, without criticizing through action. This is the only way to reach people who are constantly bombarded with media messages—to make an example of oneself. (Aucán Huilcamán, Mapuche leader)[6]

> Our organization and others negotiated because there were spaces for dialogue, but the Working Groups were not respected by the government … after three months of dialogue we still ran into the same wall. Fortunately, the majority of us have moved past dialogue … The confrontations are provoked by [the government] because they do not solve problems. (Maya leader, Guatemala)

In the center of this issue there are two conceptual questions upon which there is little agreement: the legitimacy of existing governments in the region, on the one hand, and of the extrajudicial actions of civil disobedience by CSOs that participate in social movements, on the other.

Three Rural Grassroots Organizations in Three Contentious Movements

Brazil–MST: It is widely agreed that Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (Landless Workers Movement, MST) of Brazil is the largest and most politically important CSO in Latin America in recent memory. However, there is no consensus about the nature of the organization in terms of internal processes and of the legitimacy of their extra-institutional and extrajudicial actions. Nor is there agreement concerning the reactions of recent Brazilian governments to MST's campaigns.

MST has more than one million members, some of whom live in precarious camps on the border of the enormous farms that they protest against. Other members live in the Land Reform settlements on land they were awarded by the state. However, MST (like the Chilean and Guatemalan CSOs studied here) is only part of a larger Brazilian rural movement together with the Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura (National Confederation of Agricultural Workers, CONTAG) and Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura Familiar (Federation of Peasant Family Workers, FETRAF). While MST received more media coverage during the 1990s, it continues to grow and transform itself today. In April 2006, to commemorate the ten-year anniversary of the massacre of peaceful demonstrators in Eldorado dos Carajás, MST invaded land, took over offices, blocked highways and some members looted trucks. The land invasions, arrests and assassinations of leaders continued for the next few months.

[6] These citations do not list the year of publication, as they are taken from recorded interviews conducted between September 2005 and August 2006.

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> The Landless movement began in the late 1970s with the isolated struggles of rural workers in the Southern part of the country to win land.
>
> Brazil was experiencing a political opening after the military regime … As the different isolated struggles continued, little by little they began to work together and this led to the organization of the Landless Movement, which was based on the example of the encampment of Encrucijada Natalino, in Ronda Alta (Rio Grande do Sul) and the Landless Farmers Movement of western Paraná.
>
> During the struggle for democratization, between 1979 and 1980, a new type of pressure tactic began: land occupations organized by hundreds of families. In early 1984, the participants of these early occupations held their first meeting and formed MST. The Brazilian Constitution, approved by Congress in 1988, established agrarian reform as a main objective of the government. Nonetheless, the Constitution exempted productive properties from this reform and laws defining what constituted a productive property were never enacted. In 1987, MST, together with two other union organizations—CONTAG and CUT (Central Única dos Trabalhadores, Central Workers Union)—presented an agrarian reform project endorsed by 1.2 million voters … The project was rejected by Congress.
>
> MST employs some of the most distinctive forms of struggle that are always massive in scale. The most frequently used tactics are: street demonstrations, hunger strikes, temporary settlements in cities or next to farms, occupations of public institutions like the National Institution for Colonization and Land Reform and occupations of land to be expropriated. (CLOC 2006)

The internal democracy of MST has been questioned by some (Navarro 2005; Fox 2006); other analysts argue that internal democracy has reemerged after a period of national centralization in the 1990s (Medeiros 2005). The leaders of MST explain its participatory system in the settlements and also at the regional and national levels:

> A "núcleo" is composed of about 15 families. They discuss all the activities in the settlement and each family participates in the decisions about the different issues in the settlements (funds for self-sufficiency, gender, production, education, type of settlement, health, trash). The settlement has a coordinating committee that leads it. Each nucleus nominates two members (one man and one woman) from their settlement as candidates. The nominees with the most votes are elected to the committee. Also, each settlement elects equal numbers of men and women to represent them in a "brigada" representing various settlements.
>
> The annual National Congress is not authoritarian because the members spend much time preparing and discussing issues at the community level. With

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> this system they are able to come to a consensus; voting is a last resort when consensus cannot be reached. (MST leaders)

Chile–Consejo de Todas las Tierras (Mapuche): The Mapuche people came to occupy a large portion of present-day Chile, by first resisting the Incas, then the Spanish and later, the Chilean military. They finally lost their territorial autonomy in 1883. Currently, there are close to a million Mapuche in Chile, with the majority living in urban areas. However, there are also more than 2,000 small rural communities in reservations, primarily in the South between Concepción and Osorno. The Mapuche are the poorest in the most impoverished regions of the country.

The origins of the present-day Mapuche movement[7] can be traced to the founding of Mapuche Cultural Centers in September 1978. These centers, operating under the auspices of the Bishop of Temuco, were a reaction to the policies of the military dictatorship that deprived the Mapuche of their integrity as a distinct people (due to the division and sale of communal land). This group organized more than a thousand communities and offered training on Mapuche culture and language and also on organizing and leadership. The Cultural Centers later became independent from the Catholic Church, reestablishing themselves as Ad Mapu associated with the prohibited Communist and Socialist parties, but also incorporating Mapuche identity and traditional communal authorities.

In 1990, a division among the leaders of Ad Mapu led to the founding of the Mapuche organization, All Lands Council (in Mapudungún, *Aukiñ Wallmapu Ngulam*). The All Lands Council is the first Mapuche organization to work to recover their land:

> Aukiñ Wallmapu Ngulam or Consejo de Todas las Tierras [All Lands Council] is among the most polemic Mapuche organizations in recent years. Its land "recoveries" (1991) and "symbolic" occupations (1992) have awakened all manner of reactions from Chilean and Mapuche societies. (Marimán 1995)

This breakaway group came to greatly influence public opinion and also the Chilean government, which presented a bill to Congress establishing special programs for indigenous peoples (approved by Congress in 1993). Over the years, the Council has used methods like civil disobedience and the arrest of its leaders, as well as dialogue with the authorities and symbolic participation in the electoral system.

It has also succeeded in gradually participating in the international indigenous movement, which has resulted in new links to forums that discuss and develop positions on indigenous rights, notably the United Nation's Commission on Human Rights.

[7] During the entire 20th century, the Mapuche formed important organizations and participated in the political system. See Bengoa (1999).

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Its contentious mobilizations, alternating with dialogues with government representatives and international groups, have made the Council and its leader the most widely recognized representatives of the Mapuche movement (both within Chile and internationally). The Council was the first supporter of the "ethno-territorial" self-governance proposal in 1992 and continues to disseminate the idea, based on the *Wallmapu* concept—a large territory that was the Mapuche people's ancestral domain (Lavanchy 2005).

The Council is one of many Mapuche CSOs: some are communities that occupy ancestral land currently on the properties of large farms or large forestry companies; others are regional and national grassroots or intellectual groups that frequently disagree, particularly over the issue of the use of violence. These groups only occasionally succeed in coordinating their positions and actions to create a "movement" with a common meaning.

Guatemala–CNOC: The Coordinadora Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas (National Coordinating Committee of Peasant Organizations, CNOC) is an example of an indigenous coordinating body providing a voice for peasant political demands. Based on the shared principles of its members, CNOC works to formulate, define, implement and evaluate systemic rural development policies. These policies combine the issues of social justice, gender equality, intercultural understanding and environmental conservation. The group began in late 1992 and garnered public attention in 1993 as it led various struggles: defending farm wages, ending abuse of peasants by landowners, gaining access to land and denouncing the repression still a part of daily life in the cities and rural areas.[8]

At the first National Peasants Congress, held November 30 through December 3, 1992, peasant groups from all over the country came together and formed CNOC after finding they had shared ideas and opinions. The group has not been able to work continuously since its founding; most notably during the negotiation of the Peace Accords (signed at the end of 1996), CNOC leaders were the victims of political persecution and the group's work was limited.

The strength of the organizations that united to form CNOC allowed it to profoundly analyze the agrarian problem, open space for participation and study issues debated during the peace negotiations. Since 1997, the partial implementation of the Peace Accords has created more space for society to participate in the political system. For example, the slow demilitarization of the Guatemalan state and the establishment of different commissions have increased participation.

Over thirteen years, CNOC's member organizations have presented coherent demands and realistic proposals which have translated into the first steps towards organized, active and proactive participation in the political, economic, social and cultural fields.

[8] Despite the fact that by 1985 Guatemala technically had a formal, democratic election process, the military retained its autonomy and for many years continued to violate the human rights of its citizens (see Chapter 3).

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Currently, CNOC is made up of eight organizations: Solidarity and Services of Rural Peasants, PCSS; the Peasant Unity Committee, CUC; Council of Displaced Guatemalans, CONDEG; the Xinca Indigenous Community of Jutiapa; the K'utb'alb'ey Indigenous and Peasant Council; the Kabawil Peasant Council, CCK; Committee for Peasant Development, CODECA; and the Peasant and Indigenous Coordinating Committee of the Petén, COCIP.

CNOC is nationally and internationally recognized for its work on behalf of peasants and indigenous peoples, which it accomplishes by mobilizing the masses to demand changes from the state. Since 2004, CNOC has served as the Executive Secretariat of a network of rural and urban organizations called the Indigenous, Peasant, Union and Popular Movement (MICSP). This group has started a national dialogue on issues such as rural development, labor and social problems, taxes and the government budget and free trade agreements. (CNOC website, http://www.cnoc.org.gt/)

Brief Descriptions of Three Rural CSO Leaders

Since leaders play a key role in CSOs and social movements, the following brief descriptions of some of the leaders interviewed give a human face to the movements.

Celso Antunes (MST): Celso was one of the youngest of ten children born to a peasant family in the southern state of Paraná. Since he would not inherit land, he joined an MST land invasion that later became an agrarian reform settlement. Celso participated in self-education programs and was elected leader of the settlement. Based on his skills, he was chosen by MST to organize the first encampments in the state of Rio. Today, he lives in a settlement, works on the MST's state committee and also studies at the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro.

Aucán Huilcamán, Mapuche from southern Chile, is the son of a *lonko* (a local community chief) and studied law at the University of Temuco while working with Ad Mapu and the Socialist Party. After he and some fellow Mapuche founded the Council, he had to abandon his studies after his arrest for temporary land invasions (local universities continue to reject his admission). He was a pre-candidate in the presidential election of 2005. He is a member of international commissions and is, without a doubt, the most recognized Mapuche, both by his community and internationally.

Alfredo Che Choc (CNOC) is an indigenous Maya Q'eqchí, whose parents migrated from Cobán, Alta Verapaz, to the lower Petén. Under the auspices of the Rural Society of the Petén Diocese and the Guillermo Toriello Foundation, various Maya organizations sprang up in the newly colonized area, the majority of which began after the peace agreements. In 1998,

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Alfredo participated in the Petén delegation to the second National Farmers' Congress and joined CNOC that same year; he is now in charge of communications and propaganda.

Three Struggles for Land

The comparison of these three rural movements confirms the hypothesis that their effects on democratization are indirect, mediated and not always intentional or foreseeable. Their success in employing direct action led these CSOs to enter the "field" (Bourdieu 2001) of the state and the formal party system. In doing so, as we shall see, they created changes in the strategic opportunities for the latter two actors.

Although the three rural movements grew as a result of the opportunities of democratization, all of them began under adverse conditions. The landless in Brazil, for example, faced repression and hunger and were defenseless at the hands of large landowners; the Mapuche movement started during the repressive cultural ethnocide policies of the dictatorship; and CUC, the precursor to CNOC, started as the military massacred rural communities, committed genocide and practiced a policy of scorched earth. Thus, the three movements contributed to keeping diverse grassroots groups alive during the military dictatorships. This would later become a key factor in the return to democracy.

It is not by chance that the Catholic Church played a facilitating role in the development of all three movements. On one hand, it was the only important institution that received any kind of tolerance from the repressive dictatorships. Also, it served as an "incubator of incipient organizations" (Durston 2002). However, the historical role of the Catholic Church in the seventies and eighties was even more important. Liberation theology had emerged a few years earlier in Brazil, and the Second Vatican Council and the 1968 Conference of Medellín incorporated part of that social doctrine into the Church's work.

In Brazil, the creation of the Catholic Rural Land Commission (1975) led to the formation of many ecclesiastic grassroots communities in the countryside. By 1984, these institutions had spread and when they held a national meeting in Chapecó, the MST was born. Holding the meeting in an extremely poor, rural municipality in the state of Santa Catarina (southern Brazil), was a result of the work of "José Gómez, the bishop of Chapecó, who had begun an awareness process with peasant youth. From there, the participation in agrarian land conflicts started and the idea to form the Movement emerged" (Sampaio).[9]

[9] Economist, co-founder of the Workers' Party (PT), co-sponsor of the agrarian reform program during Lula's government, former national congressman for the PT. As a student, he was active in the Juventude Universitária Católica (JUC; Catholic University Youth). During the military dictatorship, he participated in protests against the regime and was among the first hundred Brazilians to be deprived of their political rights. In 2006, he ran for governor of the state of São Paulo as the Socialist and Liberty Party candidate, with the support of MST. Interviewed August 2006.

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In Chile, Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez valiantly confronted the dictatorship following the 1973 coup. "The Catholic Church was the first to publicly draw attention to the new indigenous policy and its profound implications on Mapuche culture. At the same time, it lent its support and protection to Mapuche leaders so they could organize and have their voice heard" (Toledo Llancaqueo 2005). The bishop of the Mapuche zone, Sergio Contreras, founded the Indigenous Institute Foundation and in 1978, he pushed for the formation of Mapuche Cultural Centers so the communities could defend their identity and cultivate organizational and leadership capacities[10] (Reuque 2002).

> It was from that context that many of the current Mapuche leaders emerged. That process bore much fruit: today we participate, are members of the organizations, sometimes without sharing strategies, but we all have the same final objectives. (Isolde Reuque available at http://www.conadi.cl/noticia147.htm)

In Guatemala, beginning in the 1970s, the Jesuits and Maryknoll priests and nuns, among others, risked their lives to organize and defend Maya communities. Many of them were later assassinated or expelled from the country. The regional mother superior of the Maryknoll order wrote in 1964:

> One cannot overemphasize the long term effects of training apostolic teachers … revolution is in the air in Latin America and it is our students and alumnae that should lead the revolutionary movement … not to violently destroy governments, but to radically change the economic and social structures in Latin America. (Kita s.f.)

In the 1980s, the Catholic Church in Guatemala promoted the foundation of catechist training centers (for lay religious leaders) and, in addition, 70 social action centers were created in rural areas of Guatemala. The mission of these centers was to teach the Catholic religion and work on social programs that benefited the poor and indigenous. In May 1982, the Church denounced the continued abuse of indigenous communities; the Episcopal Conference spoke of "the massacre of numerous indigenous and peasant families" and "the rigorous persecution of many Maryknoll and Jesuit members" (CIDH 1983).

It was through this work in Brazil, Guatemala and Chile that the most progressive priests, nuns and lay volunteers contributed to the intellectual, ideological and strategic formation of the three movements and their leaders. Over the years, the heritage of the liberation theology period, combined with the profound Christian beliefs and accompanying

[10] Several Mapuche and Chilean NGOs, as well as the Netherlands-supported PRODECAM program, also provided Mapuche leadership training in the nineties.

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rituals and symbols of popular religion, have continued to feed the feelings of belonging, hope and mission among MST members,[11] "even though the leadership no longer has as many connections" to the Church (Sampaio 2006). In the other two countries, the Maya and Mapuche world visions, rituals and leadership serve similar purposes.

Causes and Campaigns: Land as an Example

Right to Land and Democratization

For many, the consolidation of democracy is a question of struggle (Carter 2005; Quirk 2006), since the socioeconomic barriers prevent changes to the status quo of political oligarchy. From this perspective, democratization advances when subordinate actors have effectively won their fundamental rights.

While only some rights are considered essential for democracy to exist, other rights directly contribute to strengthening it and others create a political culture that promotes social justice. The right to life, free speech, vote, information and association are essential to democracy. The right to education is an example of the second type of right: it is complementary to strengthening democracy as it permits citizens to be uniformly informed and have the capacity to make public decisions.

The poor's demand for land is not directly related to political democratization, but it forces public awareness about a key aspect of rural inequality. And to be successful, organizations of the rural poor enter the world of civil society as actors—democratizing rural society simply by "joining the game." Once the initial struggle for recognition as actors in the game of democracy is won, organizations can secure the support of political parties and influence legislative and executive decisions. Medeiros (2005) explains:

> [peasants] are here, challenging public space, politicizing daily life and trying to learn the rules of politics, change their social position and search for ways to change their subaltern status. At the center of these changes is a social utopia that sustains the resistance of these new agents that reject the universalism of market relationships and to attract attention to spheres of life that do not accept being conquered by the market.

Surprisingly, in the 21st century the historical demand for land has reemerged in new terms that give it legitimacy within a broad vision of human rights. Thus, when Leite speaks of the "process of democratizing land" he argues that, "…access to land and water

[11] "*Hope, always hope … hope of having our dreams realized.*" MST, Agenda 2006. See also Quirk (2006).

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are based on fundamental human rights" (Leite 2006). Thus, the "Land, Territory and Dignity" Forum (held in Porto Alegre by rural grassroots organizations in response to the FAO's International Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, March 6–9, 2006), formally declared, "we claim that our occupation of, recuperation of and/or defense of our territories, seeds, forests, fishing areas and housing is necessary and legitimate in the defense and attainment of our rights" (ICARRD 2006).

Leite (2006) expands on this topic: "Those inclined towards carrying out an agrarian program have changed their thesis to indicate that the transformative potential for rural democratization is through increasing citizenship in the marginalized sector of society, more than through increasing employment and farm yields ..."

But the effective and permanent introduction of a right occurs only as an exercised policy of the state. Next, we examine the reactions of the three movements as the initiative gradually passes from them to the state.

Convergence of the "Movement" and "Judicial" Fields

Houtzager (2005), following Bourdieu, analyzes the complex relationship between the two autonomous "fields" of social movements and the judicial system. The movements achieve a social and political impact with actions that symbolize the social injustices their members suffer. These actions cause the two different "fields" of conflict to converge when members and leaders of a movement are accused of crimes against properties. Thus, the disruptive and illegal actions of movements create a context that connects these two fields because they force the judiciary to apply laws that have been violated, but also, in some cases, to establish new legal precedents.

MST, CNOC and the All Lands Council have developed diverse strategies that combine direct action (that gets the attention of the public opinion) with court action supported by progressive lawyers, in order to defend their rights to life, land and democratic participation. In the case of MST, its occupation of land in Pontal do Paranapanema (SP) in 1991 provoked a series of judicial decisions that in the end legitimized collective actions designed to guarantee the right to protection against hunger. It established the primacy of the right to life over the right to private property (Houtzager 2005). Even in a system like Brazil's, where civil rights are based on the constitution and not judicial rulings, these decisions have brought the judicial system more in touch with new issues of democratic rights (Houtzager 2005).

> [Previously] anyone who entered private land [in Brazil] was automatically charged with trespassing. Today, the judiciary and the tribunals do not consider that option, if the land is unproductive. This has been a big advance. It is more democratic and peaceful. (Sampaio 2006)

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In Guatemala, occupations of land stolen from peasants during the "dirty war" also take place *before* legal action, which is then principally defensive. As a Maya peasant leader describes: "First, we investigate who originally owned the land, but we do not immediately go to court. Rather, we need to know how to defend our members who are arrested during a land invasion."

As a result, there have been local judicial decisions in Guatemala that have supported the same principles as in Brazil. However, according to the MST, CNOC and CUC leaders, the majority of cases in both countries do end with a ruling in favor of the landowners.[12]

These victories are limited in part because the legitimacy of economic, social and cultural rights is still not universally accepted. The transition from contentiously challenging policy on the part of movements to real policy changes by governments is more feasible in the case of human rights than in that of economic, social and cultural rights. It is more difficult in the case of the latter because these rights usually imply a zero sum game regarding scarce resources. This is especially so in the case of land rights, which affect the right to property and market activity.

In Guatemala, though violations of human rights continue to occur, the popular movement (including CNOC) has successfully changed the political culture regarding respect for human rights, but has been defeated in its struggle to win respect for economic, social and cultural rights (Brett 2006). The right to land was excluded during the 2006 citizen and government dialogue, at the behest of the business community.[13] This caused CNOC to reject the government's invitation to participate in those discussions.

In Chile, the occupations of large farms led by the All Lands Council and other Mapuche organizations have elicited similar responses. Until recently, the government routinely accused Mapuche groups of "terrorist action" (using an antiterrorism law enacted during the military dictatorship) when they set forestry plantations and machinery on fire. In 2005, however, judges began to accept the arguments of terrorism experts and international legal organizations (Observatorio 2005) that crimes against property were not terrorism but subject to other existing laws. They stopped interpreting these crimes as terrorism and exonerated some of the accused.

In 2006, leaders convicted earlier in southern Chile under the antiterrorism law began a hunger strike, which Mapuche CSOs unanimously supported. The recently elected government reacted with a series of strategic changes: first, it ignored the case, then it vowed not to apply the antiterrorism law to the Mapuche, then supported a proposed law to release those imprisoned. Finally, it proposed amending the antiterrorism law to correct the most unjust sections. The Mapuche movement supported this last effort.

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[12] From interviews of Brazilian and Guatemalan leaders in May and June 2006.

[13] Some sectors of Guatemala's business community have agreed to discuss market-based agrarian reform, based on a proposal from the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank.

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The 1993 Indigenous Law in Chile foresaw that the state would buy land, but in contrast with the other basic principle of the market-based agrarian reform that called for the beneficiaries to pay for the land, lands were given to indigenous communities at no cost. In recent practice, much of this land has been given to "communities in conflict"—small movements of Mapuche that have broken the law by invading or attacking large farms to reclaim ancestral land.

Despite the broad scope of the proposals made by MST, the All Lands Council and CNOC, their central demand continues to be land. In order to succeed in this objective, movements must first formulate coherent discourse that can mobilize the grass roots as well as have an impact on public opinion and governments. The carrying out of direct actions converts land demands into an effective tool to pressure governments.

Movements focusing on land rights have become globalized and have strongly impacted the international political culture. The right to land has come to be recognized as related to democratization. The World Forum on Agrarian Reform, held in Valencia in 2004 (Carta Maior 2006), and the FAO's International Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development are examples of the way movements considered to be utopian can insert topics once seen as irrelevant into public discussions. Also, potent virtual networks, such as Via Campesina (www.viacampesina.org) and CLOC (http://movimientos.org/cloc/) are new manifestations of international social capital among peasants that influence public opinion and, directly or indirectly, public policy (Ostrom and Ahn 2003; Fernandes 2006).

Democratization of Land and Politics

What does the achievement of these demands for land, through forceful, illegal actions, have to do with the deepening of political democracy? The answer is related to the historical legal struggle of land occupations and the legal debate over the "right to have rights" that has emerged from this struggle.

This analysis begins with the democratizing effect of land redistribution. Stimulated by the actions of these three organizations of the rural poor and others following their example (Navarro 2005; Rosa 2006), there is now a growing acknowledgment that land concentration is an obstacle to democratization. As Leite (2006) describes it,

> The high levels of economic and land concentration are also obstacles to the creation of social justice because they leave millions of people on the fringes of real citizenship … land is not only a factor of production, but also of wealth, prestige and power. For this reason, more equal land distribution will lead not only to an increase in the economic activity of the poorest, but also an increase in their political power and their social participation.

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Co-evolution of Strategies of Multiple Actors

A working hypothesis of this study is that political parties and the government try to co-opt or neutralize social movements. They use the carrot-and-stick strategy, offering alliances, resources and posts in the administrative system, at the same time as they attempt to weaken the movements using legislative, administrative or judicial means. They strive to control the movements, since the latter constitute a large group of voters and are capable of direct action.

Changes in Government Strategy

The strategies of CSOs, political parties and the state will "co-evolve," each responding to the other; searching for new allies and supporters within the country (especially through mass media) and internationally. The complexity of this process and the number of actors involved make it unsure whether the final result will be more or less democracy.

The early successes of contentious movements made the formal political system react: not only those who oppose the movements but also those who see an opportunity in an alliance with them. The movements make more demands and attract more followers, but at the same time they lose part of their initiative at the hands of the formal political sector.

In all three countries, the state has established legal and political mechanisms to punish the movements that occupy land by not allowing their participation in agrarian reform (Brazil), authorizing the immediate detention of their leaders (Guatemala) or enacting a policy that excludes them from participating in the government's land program (Chile). These strategies have been strictly applied in the first two countries. In the case of Chile, however, the sensitivity of governments to international public opinion (especially that of private enterprise) led them to hold discreet negotiations with Mapuche leaders.

Adaptations in Movement Alliances

In general, the organizations studied have forged important alliances with religious and rights groups, unions and other grassroots organizations. However, their allies are not always the most obvious ones: "It is not only the rich who are against MST; there are also poor people who think the MST activists are *bagunceiros* (disorderly) and adversaries of the right to property that the former yearn for" (Marcelo Rosa). And: "It is not clear that the Mapuche cause can gain support from the [urban non-indigenous] lower income sectors. This sector is the most misinformed about the reality of indigenous communities in Chile. In these neighborhoods we collected fewer signatures [to support the symbolic inclusion of a Mapuche presidential candidate]. We obtained more signatures from the middle and upper classes; in the rich neighborhoods they watch the news and read the newspaper" (Mapuche leader).

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Other important allies are those that can provide financial, analytical and theoretical resources. In large part, European NGOs provide the organizations studied with much of their financial support (many land reform beneficiaries of MST also contribute dues to the organization). Analytical and theoretical support has come primarily from national intellectuals. At least in the beginning, they came from the Catholic Church and academia. In Brazil, MST has continued to receive support from university professors. CNOC relies on its ally CONGCOOP (the national NGO and Cooperative Coordinating Committee) and in Chile academicians in several universities support the Mapuche.

But over the years, both first- and second-generation rural leaders have gained the capacity to analyze, formulate their own strategies and write their own proposals. In all three cases, the movements have become independent from the tutelage of the Catholic Church. Moreover, their intellectual self-esteem is evidenced by their rejection of help from anthropologists (in the Mapuche case) and agronomists (in the case of MST) that are not themselves indigenous or do not have peasant roots. Most notably, MST has created its own educational centers with an increasing number of teachers from peasant backgrounds. In 2005, this culminated in the founding of the Florestan Fernandes National School, with financing from the European Union, Caritas-Germany, the French NGO Frères des Hommes and MST's own members.

Co-Evolution of Strategies in Brazil

In Brazil over the years, the strategies of MST have evolved in relation to the established actors, especially towards the most powerful and those within the state and political system.

MST's first mobilizations and those of other progressive organizations focused on collecting signatures on petitions for agrarian reform. These petitions were delivered to the government and led the state and the political parties to include a specific reference to land reform in the Constitution of 1988. The strategy of successive governments changed over time, with the first new government preventing implementation of that article of the Constitution.

The first large wave of MST land occupations forced the government to promise to complete agrarian reform settlements. According to MST leaders, the government in the 1990s tried to weaken the movement by co-opting and/or criminalizing its leaders, enacting a "temporary measure" that prohibited agrarian reform on land occupied by the landless and proposing the inscription of landless in post offices. MST reacted in largely peaceful fashion; they blocked highways in front of the disputed farms, organized the inscription of 2 million landless persons, among other imaginative ideas (MST leaders, interview May 2006).

In other words, the reaction of government to MST's original strategy forced the organization to change its strategy. These new strategies would at times prove to be more effective than the original ones. An example of this is the establishment of media-visible

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precarious settlements on highways in front of large farms, which dramatically illustrated the inequity of the situation.

In 1996, the massacre of several peaceful MST demonstrators was shown on television, causing worldwide indignation and also affecting the international prestige of the president. He was then compelled to show concrete steps towards agrarian reform. The proposals for market-based agrarian reform caused new protests and MST broadened its demands to include the plight of the urban poor. To this end, it organized a huge, peaceful march to Brasilia the following year.

More recently, MST went through a brief period when its leaders participated in Lula's first government, a phase that ended abruptly because they saw few concrete advances on agrarian reform and other social and economic issues. However, current policies reflect the broad social resources harnessed by the movement and institutional space has been created for grassroots groups to participate in local decisions.[14]

Co-Evolution of Strategies in Chile

The first large farm occupations by the All Lands Council in the early 1990s, together with the demands of other organizations and communities, contributed to the passing by Chile's Congress of the Indigenous Law and the creation of CONADI (Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena, a mixed government body with elected indigenous members) in 1993, with a "Land and Water Fund." This marked a brief period of understanding and collaboration between Mapuche organizations and the government. It was followed by a series of conflicts over indigenous rights, environmental principles and large infrastructure projects. These conflicts led the majority of Mapuche organizations to curtail relations with the government around 1997.

The demands for autonomy by the major organizations of the Mapuche movement were accompanied by the destruction of forestry plantations, houses and machinery by small groups of activists. The government, as we have seen, responded with repression and criminalization of these organizations. But at the turn of the 21st century, the government also increased monetary resources for indigenous communities, principally the Orígenes program cofinanced with a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).[15]

[14] Pereira (2006) gives a more pessimistic evaluation: "[Under Cardoso] ... the policies directed at agrarian reform settlers and peasant families were united, centralizing public resources in the MDA that would then be disputed by the social movements and unions … [Under Lula there has not been] encouragement of popular participation and social struggles. In summary, while the social movements are not repressed—which is important and should not be overlooked—Lula's government has not led to any fundamental changes."

[15] The first phase of the Orígenes program (2002–2005) committed $58 million to the principal indigenous communities in Chile and the second phase (2007–2010) is investing over $100 million more.

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At first, the increase in resources through the Orígenes program was largely channeled through patronage networks controlled by local politicians. Communities began to compete among themselves to access resources; however, at the same time, intercommunity organizations emerged that demanded the completion of the programs and of government promises. These new collective actors began to be taken into account in the negotiations about the evolution of the Program and the future of CONADI.

A critical evaluation of the former government summarizes the complex challenge that the Mapuche movement currently faces (Yáñez and Aylwin 2007):

> The Lagos administration, whether or not premeditatedly, assumed a dual strategy towards the indigenous community. This included a policy of rewarding those who did not question the model of development with land and resources for material and cultural development … and another policy, of a repressive nature … in the criminal treatment of indigenous protests by using special legislation, including the anti-terrorism law, to confront protestors by using police violence against the communities and efforts to destroy the more "radical" organizations.

The growing complexity of the strategies employed by the different parties in the Mapuche case is illustrated by the government's decision to detain leaders of disruptive street demonstrations and the Mapuche response to this. The arrests allow the movement to denounce the criminalization of a just cause; moreover, the Mapuche have integrated the arrest of its leaders into their own strategy: "A leader should be in jail, not when the State decides he should, but when he does" (Aucán Huilcamán, interview June 2006).

In this particular case, the co-evolution of strategies took an additional turn in September 2006, when the Chilean judiciary ordered the arrest of Huilcamán upon his return from a meeting on the implementation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and other organizations intervened on his behalf and the arrest order was lifted (interview, October 2006). Court jail sentences and appeals, however, continued for months.

Co-Evolution of Strategies in Guatemala

After the near-total destruction of CSOs by the military repression during the civil war, the Maya and "ladino" peasant movement began to re-form by demanding fundamental human rights: life and liberty. In 1994, two years after its creation, CNOC joined the UN-supported Civil Society Assembly that was key to successfully negotiating the Peace Accords. The gradual (and partial) increase in respect for human rights in Guatemala is part of the great symbolic impact on political culture that CSOs have had (see Chapter 3).

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Holding free local and national elections has been another achievement. However, during some governments of the last decade, rural grassroots organizations such as CNOC have had to confront issues of government corruption, political patronage and repression. An effective implementation of the spirit of the agrarian reform contemplated by the Peace Accords seems elusive and disagreement between the movement and the government has created new confrontations. There have also been recent divisions between those organizations willing to discuss policy changes that explicitly exclude agrarian reform and those CSOs that are not.

Contentious and Participatory?

The success of these social movements in democratizing rural life and opening spaces for participation in civil society for the poor now presents them with a new context and a difficult decision. While governments and political parties are formally democratic, they still operate based on favors and backroom negotiations. CSOs must decide how to maintain their own legitimacy given this environment. As Brett (2006) describes the case of Guatemala, social movements must choose between "negotiated settlements that preserve their autonomy … or participation in the state-managed mechanisms for inclusion."

In practice, however, rural CSOs can alternate between these two strategies. For the three organizations studied here, the institutions of participatory management also serve as spaces to denounce the persistent injustices of governments and socioeconomic systems they reject. MST, for example, has maintained a high degree of autonomy from its principal political ally, the Workers Party (PT), at the same time that they accept public resources. This strategy allows MST to criticize patronage, favoritism and corruption. By contributing to the reduction of these practices, MST deepens democracy.

In Guatemala, CNOC has also rejected alliances with political parties, but in recent years has participated in government "working groups." And in Chile, over the years, the All Lands Council has negotiated with political parties and governments, but never committed to one particular party.

In summary, in all three cases the evolution of strategies by the three types of actors (movements, political parties and governments) has led to a systemic transition in which *the game of rules* (Abramovay et al. 2006) generated new perceptions about the "rules of the game." In this new phase, contentious rural organizations exercise their strategies both within and outside established institutional mechanisms.

Confrontation and Negotiation?

At the same time that the movements studied have struggled to realize their grandest dreams—inclusive agrarian reform, the elimination of socioeconomic obstacles to political

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equality or the respect of the rights of indigenous communities—they also conduct dramatic acts of civil disobedience with a view towards negotiating short-term benefits.

In Brazil, MST has worked to create "a specific type of conflict, that of *movement and occupation*, [that] has been established in different parts of the country as a legitimate form of relation between agents of the State and organized groups that demand its attention" (Rosa 2006).

In the Maya-peasant movement, "We obtain material benefits not through dialogue, but by protesting and demonstrating. When the government does not show a will to resolve our problems, then we decide to pressure the government by taking to the streets. The occupations are carried out in the context of dialogue and serve to make them listen ... Portillo's government was more inclined to respond to the peasants, our actions led to rapid dialogue and quick responses" (Maya leader).

And, in the Mapuche case, "[Mapuche organizations] are always threatening stronger action, making use of the imaginary Chilean fear of an 'Indian attack.' The small land takeovers are symbolic, to show what they can do. The state reacts quickly with an offer, to stop the threat. The leaders are personally strengthened because they obtain benefits from the government and with these resources they gain the loyalty of the grass roots. In this way, they emerge as social actors" (Francisca de la Maza).

There are various examples of Mapuche organizations that occupy farms and offices, block highways and confront police with the purpose of negotiating with the government. The occupiers negotiate the return of the land and in many cases they become clients of the political party leaders that negotiate the conflict settlement.

Influence on Public Policy

In addition to winning immediate material benefits, the rural movements analyzed here have also had an important impact on provoking changes in social policies. The influence of MST on the institutionalization of agrarian reform was achieved through public opinion and the vigilance of congressional actions.[16] But this influence also extends to policies on rural education, peasant credit and others.

[16] MST's National Coordinating Committee, in a December 2005 press release, expressed: "MST wishes to demonstrate, through this note, its indignation regarding the actions of the Parliamentary Land Commission … the Commission's spokesman provided a detailed analysis about the agrarian situation in our country and the many proposals that would fulfill the Constitution, or in other words, democratize land distribution. The rural members of the Commission have defied the spokesman's recommendations since their only objective is to criminalize the agrarian social movements and de-legitimize the activities of the groups that seek agrarian reform in Brazil. …The Congress, which should represent all Brazilians, demonstrates yet again that it continues to be an instrument that only defends the most powerful that resist agrarian reform. MST rejects the position of the approved proposal and reaffirms its commitment to continue fighting so that the more than 4.8 million landless families will have access to agrarian reform." (http://www.nuestraamerica.info/leer.hlvs/4496)

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The All Lands Council influenced decisions on indigenous policy in Chile during the 1990s and later promoted international norms of indigenous rights and probably contributed to the decision to dedicate public resources (together with the IDB) to the economic and institutional development of indigenous communities.

CNOC is particularly active in efforts to reform the rural public policies of Guatemala. According to CNOC's Web site (http://www.cnoc.org.gt/.):

> After the second National Peasants Congress in 1998, CNOC began to execute a general strategy to increase citizen participation and present the government with development proposals … with the objective of improving the reality of indigenous peoples and peasants in Guatemala and in search of alternatives that meet their needs, CNOC has presented proposals to three government agencies. It has coordinated marches for: indigenous identity, women's rights, complete agrarian reform, better working conditions and fair salaries … During recent years, different governments have accepted its proposals on access to land, food security and community development.

But in addition to pressuring the government through marches and other contentious actions, CNOC has also published technical studies that critically analyze the traditional policies in the aforementioned fields and propose concrete reforms. For example, in 1995, CNOC published the book *A Proposal for Significant Agrarian Reform* and continues to produce public policy proposals to reform labor laws, rural development and alternative development.

Participation in Electoral Campaigns

These three rural poor movements live with a permanent tension between discourse and practice, especially as it relates to participating in electoral campaigns. On one hand, many leaders reject the electoral system as they see it in their respective countries—weakened by grave inequality, corruption and patronage.

In Brazil:

> There is a group of leaders that do not even want to vote anymore. For them, working through the electoral process does not solve anything and their fundamental work is direct action. This is their theoretical position." (Sampaio 2006)

This suspicion is evident at the national level as well as the local, in the three movements studied:

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> All [presidential] candidates promise solutions, but at the last minute, they take the side of the powerful … in the last election we did not support any candidate. (Maya leader)

In the case of the Mapuche, movement leaders criticize collaboration with parties:

> Mapuche [municipal] councilmen and mayors do not owe their [office to] communities, but to their parties. Without the party, they are nothing. The parties are machines and have ways of influencing. (Aucán Huilcamán)
> [The Mapuche mayor] had a powerful benefactor—[the congressman who] supports him ... he gave him resources and vehicles. He also provided easy access to national government. (Mapuche anthropologist)

In spite of such reservations, the movements have had internal debates about local and national elections that result in candidacies of their own leaders and, more commonly, in the informal support of individual candidates that sympathize with their causes:

> The main tendency [in MST] is not to formally support a particular candidate, but leaders speak to their members and suggest candidates. This method is being increasingly used. (Sampaio)

> In my municipality, there were 26 land reform settlements and we had influence over local power. We won the township in 1994, against a large landowner who controlled the area. We supported his rival's campaign. (MST leader)

> We are thinking about supporting pro-agrarian reform candidates. We have negotiated with 21 congressmen … now we are analyzing the possibility of supporting some of them. (Guatemalan peasant leader)

On occasion, this participation does not aim to win representation, but rather it represents a tactical advance:

> Today we need to fight for other rights—political rights. For this reason I became a presidential candidate. We need time for this process … the right to participation is not something they are going to hand over and we have to develop our own mobilization strategy. The point of this campaign was to call attention to the need to improve the relationship between the Chilean state and the Mapuche. My action was oriented more towards the non-Mapuche. I led a procession to Santiago to get to know non-Mapuche. I obtained 39,000 signatures on my petition for candidacy. I knew perfectly well that there would be problems legalizing

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> the signatures. I used the system to confront the system. (Aucán Huilcamán, Mapuche leader)

And in the case of the campaign for governor of the state of São Paulo in 2006, with MST backing:

> The candidacy's purpose was not to win, but to accumulate political force. The objective is to reconstitute political groups and social movements that have been disoriented after the turnabout of the Workers' Party, to unite those who had been dispersed by their disenchantment with Lula. (Sampaio 2006)

In the 2006 Brazilian presidential elections, the MST provided only indirect and temporary support for Lula. During the four months of campaigning, MST reduced the number of land occupations to 46, down from 134 during the preceding four months. But MST returned to the doctrine of occupations after the elections, and in early December presented Lula with an "ultimatum" to implement agrarian reform. An MST national coordinator stated that there would be no more excuses, that now member families would be given liberty to pressure for more land reform settlements (various news reports, Internet December 2006).

Three Rural Movements and Impacts on Democratization

The three contentious movements differ in many ways from CSOs that act only within formal legal institutions. They also differ in two important respects from the European and North American movements (labor unions, students, and women) that have inspired much of current theory on social movements. Various authors (Foweraker 1995; Brett 2006; Rosa 2006) believe that these conceptual frameworks do not completely satisfy the demands of the Latin American reality.

One important difference is that in the northern hemisphere, the existence of a democratic culture, a developed civil society and a democratic political system have favored the emergence of social movements, while in the cases studied here it has been the movements of the rural poor that have contributed to the expansion of human and social rights (Brett 2006), of civil society based on the participation of multiple actors (ibid.) and have contributed by their direct actions to the arrival of democratic institutions and practices to many regional and local territories where they had been absent (Rosa 2006).

A second difference is that the three movements have already lasted approximately three decades without showing signs of ending the "contentious cycle" that Tarrow (1998) proposes. They have given democratizing shocks to their countries and contributed to the deepening of national, regional and local democratic systems. The movements have not

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weakened and governments have not implemented the profound, democratizing reforms that would make the movements irrelevant.

The rural CSOs that operate on the margin of legality also share similar difficulties that contribute to their disenchantment with the current state of affairs: police specialized as antipopular repression forces and biased information transmitted by the media. Even the CSOs that want to become part of formal institutions continue suffering violations of human rights and the harassment and criminalization of their leaders. In sum, they seem to be around for the time being, even if their evolution is as unpredictable as ever.

Outcome of Contentious Movements of the Rural Poor: Land Redistribution

The results of the prolonged co-evolution of movement and government strategies, discussed above, have varied widely with regard to their shared demand for land as a means of socioeconomic democratization. This is in part because different governments have reacted quite differently to movement tactics to force land redistribution, though the former have increasingly shared a policy of "market-based land reform," with recipients paying full market prices for land.

Of the three movements, MST has gained the most substantial, concrete changes in socioeconomic policy. Most recent observations and analysis of agrarian reform in Brazil have focused on MST's frustrations, both in terms of broken government promises of quantitative benefits and in terms of the transformation and distortion of the original principles of the reform. However, seen from a Latin American and international perspective, the achievements of Brazilian agrarian reform in recent years are impressive. According to official data, in three years over 22 million hectares were assigned to land reform and more than 700,000 families have been settled on land in the last ten years (Government of Brazil 2006: II National Land Reform Plan-BRAZIL). The accuracy of these data (particularly for the latest period) has been put in doubt by MST and others, but the order of magnitude is not in question. Even though the affected area represents a small portion of the total agricultural land in the country (Navarro 2005), there is no doubt that this has been an achievement of MST and the other organizations and movements in Brazil that have fought for the implementation of agrarian reform. (See, also, Chapter 8 regarding land reform implementation in Brazil.)

In Chile, the work of CONADI to increase the amount of Mapuche land in response to pressures by movement organizations like the All Lands Council has had to face a series of problems, from the stagnation of its budgets to the lack of technical assistance for its beneficiaries. The mechanism for buying land near land-poor Mapuche communities has stimulated land speculation and CONADI has had to pay the higher prices. In spite of this, the market-based strategy delivered around 200,000 hectares of land to the Mapuche between 1994 and 2005 (Aylwin 2006).

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In Guatemala, the Peace Accords and the pressure of rural organizations such as CNOC led to the creation of FONTIERRAS that implemented "market-assisted agrarian reform." According to an analysis by CONGCOOP, "in eight years, only 4 percent of productive land has been redistributed (to 15,996 families, despite an estimated demand of 300,000 families) …" (Alonso 2006). In the author's opinion, under this program "it seems the only winners in this model are the landowners that have been able to sell their land for more than the market value." Later, limited funding led FONTIERRAS to switch to a rental program: "Obviously, dealing with simple rental … that covers small lots with little productive potential, is more a food security strategy than one of land access and territorial negotiation … renting is a palliative measure" (Alonso 2006).

Outcomes of Rural Movements: Democratization

As we have seen, the impacts of the three rural movements studied here go beyond the issue of land to include several aspects relating to the deepening of democracy. Deepening democracy means a more equitable participation in the design and application of laws and public policies. In the case of the rural poor, it means greatly reducing exclusion from decision making. It means, at least, that they can vote freely and secretly to elect deliberative representatives and public executives. It implies reducing the asymmetry of political patronage and corruption and that politicians keep the promises made during campaigns.

But more than anything, it means that their voices will be heard. They will be able to give their opinions on public policies and push for accountability and their participation in the necessary corrections of these policies. Social policies, in a broad sense, are central to deepening democracy since they are the principal instruments that promote greater equality of opportunities for all citizens, including the poorest and most isolated. A formal democracy that reproduces these inequities is a superficial, "shallow" one.

If socioeconomic inequality obstructs democratization, does that imply that it is necessary to eliminate those barriers as a *precondition* for real democracy? On the contrary, more effective participation of marginalized sectors in the elaboration, implementation and evaluation of public policies (including holding the government accountable) is one way to deepen democracy.

Social movements are one of the most effective forms of increasing this influence. More than voting in elections, which is hindered by party patronage (exchanges of favors for votes; Auyero 2001), the movements bypass these practices that perpetuate an exclusionary and dependent relationship among social classes. Accountability is especially important in the case of the participation of stakeholders vitally affected by the policy, such as the rural poor.

The movements of the rural poor still represent the lowest level of the social pyramid, especially in the case of indigenous rural communities. Their contribution to the deepening of democracy is that their actions have forced the state and political parties to act and react

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to consider more profound reforms. At the same time, modest achievements or mitigations are denounced by those utopian movements that reject diverse types of offers, in order to maintain their autonomy.

In Brazil, despite MST's negative reaction to Lula's presidency, Lula has helped MST and other social movements that supported him, by opening up new space for citizen participation and empowerment. These include creating a number of advisory councils (local and/or municipal councils; regional councils, for land and food security; national councils on rural sustainable development, small-scale agriculture, agrarian reform and economic and social development). He has also promoted direct negotiation between civil society and the government (Sergio Leite).

The history of MST is a clear example of the manner in which the increasingly utopian demands of the movements of the rural poor can yield results that, even if they are denounced as mere "betterism" (Sampaio 2006),[17] represent objective advances. While these advances are not necessarily irreversible, they are steps towards the deepening of political, economic and social democracy.

In Chile, public opinion has increasingly supported the Mapuche demands for the right to exist as a people, for land and for greater autonomy. The evolution of Mapuche democratic power over their own matters—in consonance with the theoretic framework laid out in this work—has followed a complicated path with the participation of supportive actors and the opposition leading to unpredictable results. For example, it was the most anti-indigenous media outlet, the newspaper *El Mercurio*, which forced the government to give priority to those Mapuche who were forced to rent their land due to lack of resources.

The Orígenes program in Chile is in large part the result of a government strategy of reaction to the actions of the most confrontational organizations of the Mapuche movement. The Chilean government requested, in 2000, an IDB loan and expertise in economic, social and cultural programs for indigenous communities. IDB experts have been in continuing dialogue with their Chilean counterparts and the Mapuche movement to try to free the program from its bureaucratic shackles and end the "clientelistic" distribution of the program's resources by local political leaders (Tiempo Dos Mil, 2005).

Contentious Rural Movements and the Alternatives

If MST, CNOC and the All Lands Council did not exist, what directions would the frustrations of the rural poor have taken? While it is speculative, the question helps to evaluate in global

[17] "Betterism is less than reform, it is slight improvements—and this is the [current] tendency … MST is working for something more profound." (Sampaio interview, August 2006): "The capitulation of Lula's government to the status quo was a hard blow to the working class … the contradictions between 'revolutionaries,' 'reformists' and 'melhoristas' ('betterists') had compromised the possibility of joint action and limited the social response." (Sampaio 2006)

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terms the contributions of these contentious but essentially nonviolent movements. As Sampaio (2006) observes, "One of the most important things for democracy is the civilization of rural conflict. MST prevents rural conflict from evolving into an armed struggle, which freezes the process, like the situation in Colombia. The conflict [in Brazil], is becoming institutionalized. If MST did not exist, we would have something close to [the situation in] Colombia."

This argument takes on more strength if we take into account the negative impact attributed to the actions of marginal groups that systematically advocate and employ violence, such as the Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco in the Chilean situation. In the Mapuche case, in José Aylwin's (2006) opinion, "A discourse of [Mapuche] alliance [with other progressive actors] in civil society, based on Gandhian peaceful protest, would have achieved more mobilization and popular support."

Conclusion: Relationships between Grassroots Organizations of the Rural Poor and the Deepening of Democracy

Diverse democratizing impacts of these rural movements can be identified. The analysis of the three countries brings us to the conclusion that the rural grassroots organizations that have opted for the path of contentious movements have contributed to democracy in eight ways:

Democratization through inclusion and mobilization of subaltern social actors. The multiplication and strengthening of social actors such as the rural poor, with the capacity for negotiation, alliance building and proposal formulation, has meant the strengthening of civil society and the appropriation of opportunities to pressure the state.

One of the democratizing effects of successful movements is their demonstration effect. In some cases, other rural organizations have emerged that imitate or improve upon the original strategies. In this way, a greater proportion of the rural poor have been represented. This last aspect is more important than the relatively low achievement of their specific demands, such as the calls for agrarian reform.

Democratization through the expansion of actual rights for the whole population, including political rights, but also economic and social rights whose conversion into real policies facilitates the completion of preconditions for the effective exercise of political rights such as the right to vote, freely associate and participate in making public decisions. This implies the effective expansion of rights to subordinate sectors, strengthening their capacity to influence all branches of government.

It also implies broadening the rights of those "doubly discriminated against" at the center of subordinate sectors, such as indigenous communities, in the cases of Chile and Guatemala, but also of women and youth. While the three movements have some women leaders, MST has advanced the most by requiring that representatives at all levels of internal

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decision making are gender equal. Intergenerational relations are also relevant. The lack of opportunity for generational advancement led many young leaders of other rural OSCs to join MST (Rosa 2006). And within MST, youth are more critical of the government than many older leaders.

Democratization of political culture (the public perception of rights, social injustices, acceptable or desirable practices, and democracy). One contribution from these three movements to this process has been a broadening of the political cultures of their respective countries, integrating into the culture concepts of rights that deepen the idea of democracy. But this broader acceptance of human rights, which later came to include indigenous, social, economic and cultural rights, has not meant structural changes or concrete actions. And this is especially pronounced in countries controlled by political elites that include ultraconservative groups who are both producers and reproducers of the grave inequalities and privileges in the distribution of economic assets (Brett 2006).

Democratization of access to information and knowledge. The movements studied have carried out successful efforts to inform the rural poor of their rights, starting with "the right to have rights." But these social movements have also provided the poor with technical information and political knowledge. This has included the training of groups and the grass roots, producing numerous potential leaders, generational changeover, learning by experiencing new environments and thus redistributing information as a tool for combating the "iron law of organizational oligarchy."[18]

The democratization of information and knowledge has various components. Obviously, it means that excluded sectors are given access to the information and useful and necessary skills to function in the modern world. This implies the acquisition of teaching skills, so that members of the movement can later teach their peers. It also involves an important level of control over communicative information technology. This is for two reasons: one, to ensure that their information and proposals reach the national and international public via mass media; and, two, to form informational networks that promote linkages and alliances among likeminded organizations around the world, improving the capacity of all their members to make decisions.

It has also meant the democratization of the production, transmission and exchange of information. In recent years, the movements studied have played an important role in producing original media messages and in the expansion and consolidation of information

[18] The iron law of organizational oligarchy: in a classic work of political sociology, Michels ([1915] 1962) established that the leaders of political, grassroots organizations inevitably develop into oligarchies once they distance themselves from local groups. " … the leaders of large, membership organizations necessarily develop their own interests, and this increases their autonomy from the grassroots. This strong tendency sometimes suffocates internal democracy …" (Fox 2006).

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networks such as Via Campesina (www.viacampesina.org) and innumerable pro-indigenous rights Web sites.

Democratization of the electoral and legislative system, be it from the inside, through the participation of movements in campaigns and negotiations about the approval of democratizing laws, or through criticism from the outside by opening new spaces for debate, dialogue and demands. This contribution to democratization has resulted from the initiatives of the movements studied, particularly in the electoral process at the municipal level. In the three countries studied, during the past decade there have been numerous peasants elected to local political posts. In some cases this has meant an important systemic transition that can generate a bottom-up deepening of national democracy.

Democratization of public decision making, through participation in diverse councils, with voice and vote, at different territorial levels. Leite (2006) explains that,

> ... in Brazil, agrarian reform has brought many positive results at the local level, like ... the political strengthening of the beneficiaries, whose demands for physical and social infrastructure cannot be ignored … Another important effect of the process of agrarian reform has been the establishment of a dialogue between the government and social sectors that were never listened to before. This has changed the traditional, clientelistic relationships predominant in rural Brazil.

And, according to Heredia (Heredia et al. 2002), in those regions of Brazil where the actions of social movements have created the greatest density of land reform settlements, the quality of life in the settlements is better, there is more political participation and the local economy is more dynamic.

Democratization through a more equitable redistribution of public resources. Many of the demonstrations and other methods of pressure used by the movements were designed to force governments and political parties to legislate and establish programs that direct goods and services towards the excluded sectors. This has been important in the case of MST, which today directly and indirectly administers educational, agricultural extension and health programs in many land reform settlements. In the Mapuche case, the resources managed by CONADI and Orígenes have reached many groups, sometimes through consulting businesses formed by Mapuche CSOs. In Brazil, one of the greatest impacts on income redistribution has been that of today's rural pension system, which was one of CONTAG's demands.[19]

[19] Interview with Sergio Leite, May 2006.

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Democratization through the formulation of alternative proposals for "projects of national society." The utopian vision that characterizes the mature phase of social movements has permitted these CSOs to remain independent from cooptation and political patronage. Such independence allows the movements to be the "conscience" of parties with progressive discourses. Utopian movements are among the actors that lead to democratic reforms, even while criticizing them as insufficient. All the movements analyzed here support radically different proposals than those offered by the current governments. This "mere betterism," which has led to the disillusionment of many leaders, may in fact be the way movements that do not achieve power through revolution contribute to democratization.

Democratic governments, political parties and international organizations need to know and understand contentious movements such as those of the rural poor analyzed here, in all their complexity. This necessity is born not only out of the movements' disruptive actions that affect economic life and the work of the government, but also because the strategies of direct action are responses to the inequalities that are obstacles to deepening democracy. In their two or three decades of existence, these movements have forced political actors to support democratizing reforms. Thus, conflicts between contentious rural OSCs and governments have often led to negotiations resulting in improved democratic institutional designs that could not have been anticipated by well-intentioned technocrats.

Finally, they demand attention and understanding because their visionary goals mean that they will be present as part of national and international political settings for a long time to come—at least until profound reforms change the current sociopolitical inequalities. The alternative, in the visions of some leaders is that, "in 15–20 years, peasants will rise up …" (Maya peasant leader). The legitimacy of such action is based on their perception of the illegitimacy of existing political systems that maintain democratic forms without real democracy.

In this analysis then, the operative term is "*profound*" reforms. Contentious movements will never achieve their full utopias, but they are unleashing processes that can achieve authentic, "profound" reforms, not just in "betterism": "It is realistic to seek profound reforms because it is a question of accumulating strength … It is a long-term process, as there is surely no solution in the short term" (Sampaio 2006).

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Chapter 7

Indigenous Movements, Empowerment, and the Advance of Democracy

Charles David Kleymeyer

The massive bulldozer roared into action and inched forward through the night, its engine grinding. The diminutive figure stood immobile in front of it, head high, hands on her waist, feet planted firmly in the middle of the highway. Just behind her ankle-length skirt, a jumble of rocks and logs stretched across the road, blocking all transit. Surrounding the blockade and this tiny young woman—17 years old and barely five feet tall—was a throng of indigenous people, most of them older folks and adolescents. At each side of the bulldozer stood a handful of men in fatigues and riot gear.

The young woman—for whom we shall use the name Yana Quilla (Black Moon)—was a trusted cadre in the Imbabura Province indigenous organization FICI (Federación Indígena y Campesina de Imbabura) of highland Ecuador. She was trained and experienced and highly disciplined. Earlier that evening in the winter of 1999, she had received an emergency message about a threat to the road blockade near her village, which was part of the national strike for indigenous rights that had brought transport to a halt throughout the nation.

The vibrating bulldozer blade jerkily approached to within one meter of her chest, when the big machine fell silent. An officer leapt up onto the bulldozer, swung his arm from side to side expansively and shouted, "Stand aside! I have orders to clear this road!"

Without missing a beat, Yana Quilla spread both arms wide and answered with equal volume, "And I have orders to hold fast! To not give up even a centimeter!"

A deathly silence hung over the tense gathering. The edge of a cliff had been reached. Yana Quilla would not move and no one dared to touch her. Moreover, not a single indigenous person reached for a rock or club. And not only because they were adhering to a strategy of nonviolence. What everyone present recognized, including the uniformed men and their officer, was that at that moment Yana Quilla had the power.

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To avoid the public humiliation of an order being ignored indefinitely, or the male shame of crushing a small, defenseless young woman, the officer had to cede and pull back his troops and bulldozer. To save face, he did so with forceful commands, gesticulating abruptly with his arms, and finally kicking the pavement with his boot.

Not one indigenous person whistled or mocked him. They sensed innately that it was crucial, with victory in their hands, that the officer not lose face or, indeed, be given any pretext for punitive action, which could turn the situation violent, shifting the advantage away from them. They had gained the upper hand.

Other such faceoffs and negotiated confrontations happening throughout the country led to the indigenous movement achieving some of its concrete demands and goals for that particular national strike, other results being more symbolic in nature. Due in part to this movement, the Ecuadorian nation was moving ever closer to broad-based democracy, sometimes being pulled and pushed forward, sometimes reaching out bravely and embracing change.

Indigenous movements throughout the Americas have become, in recent decades, increasingly sophisticated, visible, and successful at moving towards well-defined goals. Those goals vary by context, but they virtually always include increases and enhancements in social and economic justice, cultural survival, and political participation. Such improvements generally require and produce enhanced democratization both inside and outside these movements, which are carried out locally, regionally, nationally, and even internationally.

Enhanced participation and improved democracy are key to poverty reduction and broad-based socio-cultural development in Latin America, as is called for by the Inter-American Development Bank's "Strategy for Promoting Citizen Participation in Bank Activities":

> Indeed, participation enhances the quality of development policies, which in turn contributes to the consolidation of the democratic system. In consolidated democracies public policies are more sensitive to the demands, aspirations, interests and opinions of citizens, and hence development policies and projects are more responsive to those demands and interests, especially to those who have traditionally been the victims of economic, social or cultural marginalization. (Inter-American Development Bank 2004)

It is the goal of this chapter to discuss trends in the emergence and evolution of indigenous movements, primarily in the Andean region of the Americas—Ecuador in par-

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ticular—where the author has the majority of his first-hand experience. No attempt will be made to detail the specifics of this evolution or the full gamut of its modern-day status, given space limitations and the fact that others have already chronicled this quite well in numerous books and articles.[1]

The chapter will present a concise description of the context that made indigenous mobilization necessary, because the seeds of indigenous movements and strategies lie buried deep in the conditions that necessitated them (Kleymeyer 1973, 1982, 2000, and 2003). A range of indigenous organizational types that emerged to shape and drive the larger movements will be described, at various levels.

The chapter will then turn to an analysis of empowerment tactics and strategies used by movements, especially in Ecuador, and look at how these tactics and strategies have impacted, prodded, and been responded to by democratic and nondemocratic government entities. This will include a discussion of the strengths and challenges of indigenous movements over time.

Key to the entire argument will be a definition of empowerment, and of power, and a laying out of the specific social processes associated with increases and decreases in power, particularly within relatively rigid, *vertical* power relationships such as those that have been typical between indigenous and nonindigenous actors in Latin America.

The analytical description that forms the backbone of this chapter is based on qualitative data gathered between 1966 and the present, as described in the footnote below.[2] Such a qualitative approach enables one to systematically, efficiently, and economically collect

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[1] See: Albó 2002; Albro 1998: 99–115; Andolina 2003: 87–108; Bebbington et al. 1992; Bretón and García 2003; Brett 2006; Brysk 2000; Carroll 2003; de la Torre 2006: 247–259; García 2005; García and Lucero 2004: 158–188; Greene 2006: 327–354; Healy 2001; Korovkin 2001: 37–67; Langer 2003; León 2001: 48–56 and 2003: 61–110; Lucero 2003 and 2006: 31–56; Martin 2003; Mattiace 1997: 32–71; Maybury-Lewis 2002; Meisch 2000: 14–16; Nash, 2001; Oxhorn 2001: 163–182; Pallares 2002; Postero 2004: 189–216; Postero and Zamosc 2004: 1–31; Ramón 1993; Rathgeber 2004: 105–130; Selverston-Scher 2001; Sieder 2002; Stavenhagen 1998: 133–152; Stavig 2001: 656–657; Stern 1987; Thorn 2001; Van Cott 1994, 2000 and 2005; Varese 2000: 378–379; Warren 1998; Warren and Jackson 1998; Yashar 2005; and Zamosc, 2003: 37–63 and 2004: 131–157.

[2] I collected the data and developed the analysis in this chapter during four decades of work—consisting of field research, direct organizational support, and collaborative action with countless indigenous communities and more than 60 local, regional, national, and international federations and confederations. This work took place in the high Andes, the Amazon and Orinoco river basins, and the west coast of South America—in Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, and Venezuela. Less extensive research and action were also carried out in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mexico, and Panama. It included not only Amerindian peoples, but African-descendant ones, as well. The above work entailed six periods of residence in Latin America, mostly in or near indigenous communities, plus approximately 100 field visits of two to four weeks duration while I was a social science analyst and foundation representative for the Inter-American Foundation (1979–2000). I was privileged to not only be allowed to live in and visit these areas, but to be a non-acting observer in countless meetings, congresses, negotiations, strikes, and other actions, and an active participant in dozens of workshops, training and planning sessions, and grassroots development and cultural revitalization efforts. My various roles included the following: advisor, organizer, trainer, cultural activist, foundation representative, researcher, lecturer, and author (in English, Spanish, and Quichua/Quechua). The sum total of these experiences—plus the shared wisdom of local leaders and analysts—has informed the analysis in

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empirical evidence, and then classify it into categories and draw conclusions about relationships and causality through a process of rigorous analysis.

Some of this qualitative data is presented here in the form of short but telling vignettes, juxtaposed with sociological analysis of processes and structures. The objective was to employ narrative/descriptive techniques to give color and texture to the sociological analysis of living people, the groups they form, and the culture they inhabit and create, allowing the reader to better understand the choices various actors make and the costs and benefits that result. Ideally the description will illuminate the analysis and the analysis will fortify the description.

There is a unique aspect to indigenous movements that sets them apart from most other identity-based movements in Latin America (e.g., feminists, students, miners and other workers), the sole exception being the emerging African-descendant (or Afro-Latino) movements. This unique aspect is generally experienced as ethnicity from within and race from without (although social scientists and biologists long ago discarded the concept of race as a scientifically accurate differentiating factor among human beings, racial perceptions and racism will still be important phenomena and analytical constructs for generations to come).

Anthony Bebbington[3] argues that in the final analysis, most of Latin American society, and especially Andean society, is organized more around ethnicity and race than around class (or gender or region). Ethnicity and race make up the main axis of difference and conflict, the main axis of social psychological traumas about the past. It is because of this that ethnic-based (not just indigenous) movements have so much influence and resonance —they work along the main fault line in Latin American society (see also Postero and Zamosc 2004: 1–31). This is particularly true in the Andean countries (with the possible exception of Chile) and it forms the subtext of an argument that underlies much of the description and analysis in this chapter.

Context and Roots

In 1967 a local indigenous leader gave me a tour of an ex-hacienda near Cuzco, Peru. At one point we stood in front of a two-story, white-washed, adobe-brick building, with an orderly tile roof. Through the open doorway, we could see the long series of empty animal stalls and the smooth concrete floors designed to be hosed-down for hygiene.

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this chapter. During my decades of work in the field, my personal policy was to publish no accounts or names that would compromise individuals or groups in the indigenous movement. This continues to be my policy.

I take this opportunity to thank María Bautista, Anthony Bebbington, David Bray, Thomas Carroll, Mac Chapin, José Chávez, Mariano Curicama, Shelton Davis, Arthur Domike, Kevin Healy, José Antonio Lucero, Lynn Meisch, Carlos Moreno, Rita Murillo, Martin Scurrah, Donna Lee Van Cott, and Ron Weber for their incisive comments and suggestions regarding this chapter.

[3] Anthony Bebbington, personal communication, December 2006.

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My host raised a poncho-covered arm and pointed at the building. "When I was a peón here," he said, "this is where the pigs lived. Their feed was stored in the loft, away from the rats that dug holes in the earth below. Every day, the pigs got one meal of slop and one of corn. And their water troughs were always full."

Then he motioned for me to follow him. His rubber-tire sandals padded softly on the llama-cropped grass in front of the pig house. We circled around the building till he came to a halt in back. Down a dirt path we stared at door after door in a long wall of bare adobe bricks the same color as the soil. Just above the hand-hewn eucalyptus lintels was a roof of ancient, moss-covered tiles, many of them broken or missing. We could see bare, smoke-blackened rafters showing through here and there. A thin dog poked its head out of one of the doors. Sunlight fell on a dirt floor next to the dog.

The leader did not look at me when he next spoke. Nor did he raise his arm to point. "And here is where the Indian families lived." He paused. "Some people said we lived like animals. But that isn't true. The animals had a higher value and lived better."

Then he turned abruptly and walked back in the direction from which we had come. I followed. Neither of us broke the silence until we reached his home.

Other leaders like this one recounted stories of their youth. They told how they were prohibited from speaking Quichua or Quechua in or near their school. How there was no recourse in the local offices of the Ministry of Education when a teacher consistently arrived at the village on Tuesdays and went home to the city on Thursday afternoons, or when teachers abused students physically or emotionally. Indigenous Peruvians, Bolivians, Colombians, or Ecuadorians were not represented in the education system—there were no indigenous teachers or administrators. Indigenous communities were powerless and voiceless, blocked from making their opinions known or expressing their will overtly.

These leaders told me how they were beaten by the hacienda manager for taking home the biggest potato from the harvest (an Andean tradition), and how they watched their fathers line up in front of the hacienda house to receive their work orders in exchange for a tiny garden plot on the hacienda-controlled lands that formerly belonged to their ancestors.

Indigenous people were second-class citizens with few rights and no influence in the police stations or the courts. If and when elections were held, they had no right to vote. They were considered a legal underclass (under Colombian law, for example, they were legally not adults, but minors), outside the system looking in, and they were treated with impunity by whatever authorities were at hand: government, military, or church. Any effort to take individual or collective action was suppressed, often brutally. Organizing and public assembly were seen as a threat to public order and the status quo.

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In very proscribed ways, however, many indigenous people were allowed to manage their own affairs at the local level—in free communities (known as *ayllus* in Peru, Bolivia, and elsewhere), in remote communal fields and pastures, in religious fiestas and *cofradías*, and so forth. These were the incubators and preservers of Andean self-governance, complete with ancestral traditions such as collective work sharing (e.g., the *minga, ayni, randi randi*, and others). And they enabled indigenous people to develop and maintain human and cultural capital, that is, knowledge, skills, and capabilities that would be useful to them when their broad-based movements emerged (see Bebbington 1999: 2021–2024, 2006; Bourdieu 1986: 241–258; Carroll 2002; Fowler 1997; Kleymeyer 1993; Montgomery and Inkeles 2000: 227–243).

Violent rebellions, though harshly repressed, were periodic training grounds in low-power organizing and resistance, bubbling up in the face of extremely limited alternative paths to empowerment and to land and political rights. Almost invisible between the bouts of rebellion, unless one knew to look for it, were the various (and costly) forms of passive resistance (such as noncompliance, subterfuge, and physical and psychological withdrawal) that also became building grounds for developing political strategies and group identity and tradition. This is where the foundations for nonviolent action were shaped and laid down.

The Deep Roots of Indigenous Organization

I was abruptly awakened late at night by a male voice that sounded like two flat pieces of wood being repeatedly slammed together over a frozen lake. Still groggy with sleep, my mind could not decipher whether the man was angrily shouting invective, perhaps lubricated by drinking too much chicha*, or whether he was soberly barking out commands to cowering subordinates. Whichever, I could feel my heart racing as I listened, straining to pick out meaning from the staccato Quechua phrases.*

It was early 1967, and I was on my first visit to the indigenous village of Piscaya, to meet with the villagers about a self-help school construction project. I was following up on earlier meetings with Don Marcos Huaman, the remote town's teniente gobernador *(appointed local official), who on three occasions had come to see me in Abancay, the quiet little capital of poverty-stricken Apurimac Region in the Peruvian high Andes. I had come to know Don Marcos as a gentle, soft-spoken man, polite to the point of near obsequiousness. Underneath the shyness, however, he displayed a quick mind able to grasp complex situations. Lying on my platform of eucalyptus boards under a mountain of wool blankets, I wondered what Don Marcos would make of this midnight altercation, how he would explain it to an outsider like myself.*

The shouting continued and I could now pick out other voices, much softer, punctuating the phrases issuing from the mouth of that penetrating, clamorous voice.

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Nearly every word was in Quechua, some of which I could figure out. But mostly I was riveted by the contrasts in tone, and by the commanding diction and phrasing of the more powerful voice. As the back and forth droned on, I felt calmer until my curiosity at last got the best of me. I sat up in bed, wrapped myself in several blankets and searched in the dark for my boots underneath the bed. Then I shuffled to the door and cracked it open. At one end of the tiny, moonlit plaza—formed by just four houses on each of three sides and a squat, white-washed church on the fourth—I saw two lines of three or four men in ponchos. A single figure paced back and forth between the lines, gesturing sharply and roaring out phrases with clipped-off words, first to one side, then to the other. It was Don Marcos!

Was he lecturing the men? Negotiating? Whatever it was, there seemed to be no easy end in sight. And the voice was relentless. It struck me: Don Marcos had two distinct personas—one for the city and another for the village.

As my eyes adjusted, I could see women in the background, behind each row of men. As I watched and listened—who could sleep now?—a thought slowly formed and began to clarify (which would be finally confirmed the next morning). This was no quarrel, no besotted gathering. Don Marcos was holding court. He was mediating some dispute, sitting as investigator and judge and jury, hearing evidence, cross-examining, quoting chapter and verse, rendering a verdict—with all the precision and authority of a big-city courtroom. And it was no idle matter. Any crack in Don Marcos's final decision could spring a leak and open up a torrent that would erode the civic peace of the village. Things had to be resolved—fairly, skillfully, and on the spot, before the situation could deteriorate.

My eyes left the group and circled the plaza. Every door except the one in the small church, was cracked open just like mine, with a face or two peering out. I realized that I and half the village were witnessing indigenous self-governance. This was a new concept for me since everything I had previously seen, heard, and read told me that disenfranchised Peruvian indigenous people had no rights, no power, no authority to take their affairs into their own hands. Ever.

Finally, Don Marcos questioned each side over and over (questions in Quechua are linguistically unambiguous and therefore impossible to mistake for another grammatical form), until finally no one spoke or protested verbally or with body language. Many of the questions were in the Quechua dual interrogatory: "Hinachu? Manachu?" (Is it like that? Or is it not like that?) When a point of no disagreement was finally reached, everyone nodded, took their leave, and disappeared into the night.

Bottom-up, indigenous coalition formation and self-governance is not new in the Americas. Consider just a few examples: As early as the 12th century, the Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida,

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Cayuga, and Mohawk tribes, and later the Tuscarora, formed the Haudenosaunee or Six Nations Confederacy (known among outsiders by the French term, *Iroquois* Confederacy) in what are now the northeastern United States and southeastern Canada. Recognized by some as the oldest, continuous participatory democracy on earth, the Haudenosaunee numbered as many as 12,000 persons in colonial times. Complete with a constitution known as the Gayanashagowa, or Great Law of Peace, the Six Nations Confederacy was formed by warring indigenous nations who had been persuaded by an itinerant peacemaker that confederation, not conflict, was in their own best interests. Eventually neutralized militarily by George Washington's Continental Army in 1789, the Six Nations Confederacy survives to this day and numbers more than 30,000 people (Johansen 1982, 1997, and 1998).

There are other similar examples. In the Virginia Colony of the 16th and early 17th centuries, the Powhatan Federation united approximately 30 tribes—including Powhatans, Arrohatecks, Appamattucks, Pamunkeys, Mattaponis, Chiskiacks, and Kecoughtans—ultimately totaling some 8,000 indigenous villagers. In 1644 the Powhatan Federation was crushed by the British army, and its tribes driven nearly to extinction (Rountree 1989).

The absence, during the emergence of both the Haudenosaunee and Powhatan confederations, of an occupying colonial or imperial power that responded to political threat with brutal repression may explain why these indigenous coalitions were able to forge such wide-spread alliances of diverse tribes and make them last.

More recent examples of confederation and self-rule include the Kuna of Panama's Atlantic Coast and the Shuar-Achuar in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Early in the 20th century, the Kuna banded together and rebelled against Panamanian forces, until finally in 1938 the government of Panama legally recognized the Comarca de Kuna Yala as a semiautonomous territory (measuring some 5,400 square kilometers, including the ocean territory surrounding the San Blas islands). Currently, some 50,000 Kuna live in the Comarca on more than 300 islands and a long stretch of mainland coast. A key factor in the success of the Kuna campaign for liberation and autonomy, not enjoyed by most other indigenous groups, was the strong military and political backing of the U.S. government, which had its own vested interests in Panama at the time (Howe 1998).

The Shuar of Ecuador live in more than 300 isolated communities, or *centros*, widely dispersed throughout the Amazonian region and the eastern, tropical slopes of the Andes, and also number approximately 50,000 people. As late as the mid-20th century, the Shuar and closely related Achuar were engaged in brutal battles and blood revenge, centro against centro. However, in 1964, with the advice and aid of Salesian priests, the Shuar and Achuar formed what became arguably the strongest federation of indigenous communities in the entire Amazon Basin, the Federación Interprovincial de Centros Shuar-Achuar (Interprovincial Federation of Shuar-Achuar Centers), complete with a radio school, an agricultural program, a healthcare system, a fleet of airplanes, and a land surveying and titling effort recognized by the national government (Harner 1984; Rubenstein 2001: 263–293).

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The Shuar and Achuar benefited not only from the wise counsel and broad support of the Salesians over many decades, but from benign neglect by a series of distant Ecuadorian governments that allowed them to function and to self-govern. Moreover, the nearly impenetrable forest that characterizes the Amazon Basin first helped cover successful Shuar-Achuar resistance efforts against incursions by both the Incas and the Spanish, and later stymied Ecuadorian national governments. The fact that oil discovery and drilling in the Ecuadorian Amazon began outside Shuar territory was also serendipitous, but oil operations are now encroaching on the territories of the Shuar and Achuar (who for some time have had their own federation).

The high Andes saw other forms of emergent self-governance. For instance, in the Piscaya, Peru case cited above, it became increasingly clear to this observer that the village had not only a de facto mayor and judge, Don Marcos, but a council of elders, strict local rules, skilled laborers, Spanish-speaking ex-army conscripts—in short, a full array of roles, skills, and human resources. A village like Piscaya might appear to be a remote backwater, but it was not the backwards-drifting boat that mestizos perceived it to be, nor the half empty vessel of inexpert exploitable labor for nearby haciendas and Abancay construction sites. Piscaya was an *ayllu*, a self-governing free village with pre-Columbian roots. It had all the faults and idiosyncrasies of any human settlement, including leaders who at times appeared to be autocratic, but who were not exempt from democratic accountability. In a nearby community, villagers removed their mayor, complaining that, "*¡No sabe mandar!*—He doesn't know how to give orders!" Piscaya, in spite of its shortcomings and internal tensions, practiced face-to-face democracy in a community that provided a measure of justice for all, managed communal lands, negotiated with the dominant mestizo world for goods and services, and ultimately decided to build its own school to educate its youth and improve its status, through self-help development.

Perhaps even more surprising was the hidden power of women. Decision making in Piscaya, and other villages like it, was shared in a sequential system in which men met in public, often standing in a compact circle in the village square, after which women, who rarely spoke in public gatherings, were consulted back at home. This process meshed with Andean cultural norms of male-female duality and reflected the relatively egalitarian structure of free indigenous villages. While all significant decisions were usually channeled first through the men, they were next vetted through their spouses before taking final shape. Outsiders who did not understand this were often frustrated in trying to get things done in Piscaya and other villages they worked with, frequently accusing the men of being fickle, untrustworthy, impossible to pin down, and incapable of making decisions on the spot. And if an imported plan were acquiesced to by the men, community opinion for no apparent reason seemed to shift by the next day.

In fact, the seeming invisibility of decision making in Piscaya also tells us much about the deceptively sudden emergence of later Andean popular movements. These early free

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communities were fertile training grounds for the later movements, especially indigenous federations and peasant unions. Self-rule was a practical necessity that grew up in the narrow crevices that remained beyond the reach of the state, and was condoned by the state, as well. Governments could not possibly have a presence in every remote village—fortunately for the villagers—so it had to rely on local people to manage most of their own affairs. The roots of broader organization were already present and functioning long before federations and movements showed their faces.

The indigenous movements of the last few decades differ in important ways from the orchestrated rebellions and the many spontaneous insurrections or strikes that have occurred since contact with Europeans centuries ago. The most successful movements usually have emerged from a bottom-up process characterized by growing alliances among communities that developed into local federations, which in turn coalesced over time into regional, and then into national federations and confederations. Attempts to organize federations from the top down have usually fizzled out, even when they sometimes garnered short-term fame and victories.

In short, these movements are attempts to organize and prepare to systematically and permanently transform social perceptions and behaviors, common practices, and official policies of outside individuals and groups toward those inside the movement, as well as to transform perceptions, behaviors, and practices that movement participants apply to themselves. The tactics they use include strikes, sit-ins in public offices, marches, civil disobedience, street and road blockades, media campaigns, and electoral politics by local, regional, and national organizations, all directed towards achieving specific and explicit goals.

None of the above activities succeed without a carefully planned and lengthy process of consciousness-raising, and especially *empowerment*, of indigenous men and women and their organizations.

Empowerment—Strategies and Tactics

Empowerment

The concept of empowerment long ago became ensconced in the lexicon of academics and practitioners struggling with new ways to approach impoverishment, domination, and dependency, and the liberation movements that have arisen in response to these ancient ills. For the sake of brevity, the literature on empowerment will not be reviewed here. (See efforts by the author and others to cover that concept: Kleymeyer 1973, 1982, 1991: 38–39, 1992: 20–28, 1994, 1998: 56–59, 2000, and 2003: 154–169; Emerson 1962: 31–40; Narayan 2002.)

While many utilize the term, few have attempted to define empowerment. The lack of a clear consensus about a workable definition, however, threatens to reduce the concept to

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trendy rhetoric. Only by understanding what is meant by empowerment—and even more important, what is meant by power and how power is deliberately increased or decreased—will promising strategies and tactics be put forth in a comprehensive and comprehendible form. Hence, what follows is a working definition of empowerment.

Empowerment entails the progressive and collective acquisition of human and social capital, plus the less quantifiable cultural capital—including certain skills, knowledge, and capacities—by relatively low-power persons and groups, resulting in those persons overcoming barriers, reducing dependencies, and gaining control over social outcomes to which they aspire. Empowerment involves action and/or negotiation that results in counteracting, neutralizing, or even winning over those individuals and groups who would limit the power of the aspirants while maintaining their *own* ascendancy in vertical power relations. Empowerment is significantly enhanced and hastened by favoring collective over individual action, as well as by building and maintaining strong social and cultural identities at both the group and individual levels.

Empowerment occurs on many levels: societal (from nation to community), interpersonal, and psychological. Targeting only one level limits the degree of success, because each level is necessary for broad and lasting change, and the levels are interactive and mutually reinforcing. Starting in the 1960s, activists and leaders began working at the individual and community levels (a logical, if incomplete, starting point) to support the efforts of ethnic minorities in both Latin America and the United States to rebuild their identities, empower themselves, and seek social and economic justice.

Indigenous movements are first and foremost about empowerment. Virtually all of their objectives depend on achieving an empowered membership (individuals *and* organizations). The capacity for negotiation and dialogue to enunciate and achieve demands; for collective protection and defense of physical welfare and control over resources; for progress towards realizing human, social, and property rights; for assertion of the right to convoke large assemblies and to then actually mobilize people; for being seated at the decision-making table—all of these hinge on any lower-strata group's leadership and membership becoming empowered.

As one Colombian leader told me, "You sit at the table because you have power. Not because you are deserving or because you happen to be 'el indio del día' ('Indian of the day') or because others at the table stand up and pull out a chair for you. If you have power, you take hold of a chair and seat yourself at the table. If you don't have power, you stand at the door peering in. Maybe shouting in protest, but peering in."

Understanding expanding empowerment as a multilevel and integrated process driving social movements requires us to look deeper and apply sociological theories of power and dependency. Doing so is a far more productive line of analysis than relying only on the examination of surface epiphenomena captured in popular terms like *movement*, *national strike*, and *uprising* that are only the hardened cone of an active volcano. All directed change

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needs theory and is informed by theory: which actions cause what consequences; what works and what does not, and how.

Problems arise when these theories are subconscious assumptions or when they are incompletely formulated. Assumptions that go untested or are not reflected upon are more likely to be wholly or partly erroneous, leading to stumbling actions and the squandering of energy and resources. Since it is imperative that conscious, tested, informed, and refined theories underlie all action directed at change, a theory of indigenous empowerment movements in the Andes needs to be developed if these movements are to further refine their own methods of self-determination, and if nonindigenous entities are to become more effective allies.

A second and equally important reason for analyzing (and directing) movements using the lens of social power theories is to uncover latent forces lying deep within the root causes of powerlessness, repression, impoverishment, and spoiled identities so as to identify the seeds of tactics and strategies whose growth can be nurtured along the lines of empowerment for social change.

Although some of the Andean indigenous theories and strategies of empowerment and change have been imported from the outside, the dynamism driving movements have developed internally, evolving gradually from generations of practical experience at surviving and then managing exploitative vertical power relations with large landowners, the police and military, local and regional politicians, functionaries of the Catholic Church, and industries dependent on cheap manual labor (mining, construction, agriculture, etc.).

It follows that the evolution of indigenous movements is best understood by looking at the root causes of mass disempowerment (leading to high levels of dependency and impoverishment) and at the root causes of collective social empowerment. That is to say, how do social relations come to be asymmetrical or imbalanced initially, on a power axis? And how can they become less asymmetrical or imbalanced as movements emerge and achieve increased empowerment?

Defining Power and How It Increases Intentionally

Until the early 1980s, Llinllín was a classic hacienda in Chimborazo Province, Ecuador, spanning 10,000 acres of rich lands ceded by the Spanish Crown to ancestors of the recent owners. The Llinllín hacienda was famous throughout Ecuador for supplying the country's bullrings with some of their finest fighting bulls. Living and working on the hacienda were 1,100 Quichua families who were allowed to plant small plots of land for their own subsistence and paid a minuscule wage that was less than the equivalent of one U.S. dollar per month. All 10,000 acres, of course, had earlier been the property of the ancestors of these very families. Had the hacienda

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owners decided to sell their lands, like other local owners had done, they would have listed it in this way: "For sale, 10,000 acres with 5,500 Indians."

It was inevitable that change would come to Llinllín. Yet when it came, almost everyone was caught by surprise, especially the owners and the government. The 1,100 families, after a long process of considering their plight and organizing themselves, finally laid down their tools one day in protest, and went on strike. The strike lasted 120 days, turning into a veritable state of siege, with first the local police and then the army surrounding the hacienda and rounding up leaders. Every time one was jailed, two emerged to replace him. Or her—the women were the staunchest movement members.

Throughout the struggle, the indigenous campesinos held fast to their nonviolent strategies, and Llinllín became a cause célèbre in the Ecuadorian media. Solidarity groups sprang up around the country. Clergy members and lay people held vigils in the churches of Quito and Guayaquil. The heart of Ecuador opened up for the steadfast people of Llinllín.

Finally, the national government had to do something, and one afternoon an army helicopter landed beside the great hacienda house, and out stepped the director of the national agrarian reform agency and the army general in charge of maintaining domestic peace. The general and his official guards were immediately disarmed by two tiny, grey-haired indigenous women who smiled at them toothlessly and scolded in Quichua, "Mana armacuna caypimi ministin!" (No guns allowed here!) Perplexed, he had to turn to one of the indigenous leaders for a translation.

After three days of negotiations, the siege of Llinllín was lifted, with the promise that the agrarian reform agency would expropriate the hacienda from the owners, paying them the equivalent of US$180,000 in cash up-front. The campesinos in turn would pay back this amount plus interest to the agency over a period of 15 years. Unfortunately for the new owner families, when the former owners left, they stripped the hacienda of everything of capital value that moved or could be moved—all the farm machinery, all the tools, all the seed, and nearly all the animals (the fighting bulls remained up on the high tundra). Only the trees surrounding the hacienda house and the bullring were left standing.

Completely decapitalized and deeply in debt, the new Llinllín community turned to funding agencies for help, and in that capacity I attended a meeting in the late 1980s. Asked to describe the foundation I worked for, I began the way I always do in these circumstances, by skipping the usual formalities and protocol of speeches, in which each "important" person present is recognized in order, and I launched right in with: "Compañeros y compañeras." (Men and women companions.)

To my surprise, the entire crowd burst into applause. A little stunned, since I had not yet given any message, I finally began to talk. After the meeting broke up, I told

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a local adviser to Llinllín, "I think I know why they applauded after I had said only 'compañeros y compañeras,' but maybe you could give me your interpretation."

He looked back at me, and answered, "It was because you mentioned them first … and because you included them with those of us present who are not indigenous." He paused. "They can bear to be poor, but what is really hard for them is to be made to feel that they are less than others."

For the purposes of this discussion, let us agree on a working definition of social power and delineate the ways in which that social power increases and decreases, particularly in the context of social movements such as those that indigenous groups have constructed in recent decades.

Social power is one's ability to maximize desired actions by others, which they would normally not carry out were that power not present. Relatedly, social power is also the ability to *minimize* undesirable actions that others normally *would* carry out were that power not present. For further discussion, see Emerson (1962: 31–40) and Kleymeyer (1973, 1982).

As stated earlier, empowerment is the progressive acquisition of social power through deliberate application of specific tactics and strategies designed to maximize the facets of that power. Likewise, disempowerment entails the *loss* of social power through deliberate application by *others* of specific tactics and strategies designed to minimize that power. Although this phenomenon is not always a zero-sum game, the process tends toward self-perpetuation—victory in one area provides momentum and resources that can be tapped in future struggles, while defeat makes it more difficult to defend one's position.

According to theories of power (Emerson 1962: 31–40; Kleymeyer 1973, 1982), empowerment tactics and strategies consist primarily of four interrelated actions:

- Gaining control over resources, and over social outcomes and alternatives that oneself and others desire to maximize or to minimize;
- Coalition formation;
- Development of human, cultural, and social capital and related skills; and
- Identity building

Gaining Control over Desired Outcomes

Key to balancing vertical power relations are strategies that develop and apply techniques for gaining control over desired outcomes and alternatives that oneself or others desire to maximize, or to minimize. Before indigenous peoples developed a more positive and productive path by mobilizing social movements, they employed an array of low-power strategies (or "weapons of the weak") designed to manage or fend off, if not balance, repressive relationships and encounters. Specifically, they employed nonconfrontational tactics,

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including passive resistance (individual or collective noncompliance, such as saying yes and doing no), withdrawal into safe havens (jungle outposts, higher altitudes, urban refuges), and subterfuge (e.g., "midnight harvesting"). These strategies were only partially successful, not without risk, and always ultimately costly. They were basically handling tactics, focused on survival but never meant to bring about change. They may have worked at the time, but had to be applied repeatedly, in response to recurring threats to well-being (Kleymeyer 1973, 1982). Rebellions and uprisings provided limited success at temporarily balancing power by means of violence and the threat of violence, but were brutally repressed and also highly debilitating both during and after.

Far more successful have been the modern empowerment tactics of indigenous organizations and their broader movements (what are called "weapons of the strong"). Dominant parties or individuals in any vertically structured society are not only positioned to impose their own will when possible, they are also prisoners of their need, sometimes elevated, for valued outcomes such as cheap labor, easily available services, public order, free transit for themselves and for products (for instance, fresh food in the market to buy and sell), and a positive national and international reputation. Organized indigenous efforts can deny all of these outcomes partially or totally, and then restore them when demands are met or goals attained.

This tactical rationale for gaining control over desired outcomes explains the prevalence of peasant unions in mining and sugarcane regions, and the massive national strikes that can shut down an entire country for days or weeks with roadblocks and labor stoppages (Ecuador and Bolivia being prime examples). When produce markets start to empty out, fresh produce begins rotting in the fields, urban construction projects grind to a halt, domestic servants disappear back to the villages, and virtually all intracity travel for business and pleasure is halted, people at the top of the pyramid take notice. Issues and debates, and ways of framing them, can make relatively sudden shifts, as can perceptions of what is negotiable and what is non-negotiable.

Coalition Formation

This classic strategy was not invented by indigenous movements, but has long been used by workers' unions and others struggling for rights and a share of resources and other benefits. Low-power individuals and groups know that by forming lasting coalitions, power is enhanced through numbers since the strength and intensity of virtually all tactics and the ability to persist in using them are magnified by the sheer volume of participants and the availability of replacements. Indeed some tactics, such as labor strikes and road closings, are completely hopeless without coalitions. Hence indigenous movements are built, brick by brick, from ever broader alliances, particularly in terms of geography and ethnicity.

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Over the past four decades or so—especially in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia—local indigenous coalitions (of communities and other grassroots groups) have emerged that fall within the general rubric of "intermediate" or "secondary" organizations (Bebbington et al. 1992; Carroll 1992, 2003). They in turn have joined together to build regional coalitions (federations and confederations), which eventually have coalesced into national coalitions (confederations). The most effective and numerous of these organizations have emerged from the bottom up and are internally managed, although in a number of cases over the years, outside religious organizations, the military, and even oil companies have tried to co-opt existing federations or spawn and fund competitors to impede and debilitate the existing ones.

These federations and other coalitions tend to be ethnically rooted and homogeneous, but not always, and they can vary in size from a handful of communities to as many as 300 or more, plus other local organizations such as cultural associations, women's groups, or youth organizations. One of the largest, the Interprovincial Shuar Federation (mentioned earlier), representing nearly 350 member communities (or centers), was a leader in the formation of the Ecuadorian Amazonian confederation CONFENIAE, in 1980, and later the national-level indigenous confederation, the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE). The Shuar Federation exported its leaders, experience, skills, structures, and processes to the scaled-up efforts. It also assisted other local federations in getting established, in a fascinating case of both bottom-up and horizontal transfer of technical assistance.

Coalition formation can even become transnational. In the Amazon Basin, an international coordinating body was formed in 1984, the Coordinadora de Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazónica (COICA), which was comprised of the Amazonian confederations in nine countries of the basin.[4] To appreciate the breadth of this accomplishment, one must note that beyond the geographic diversity of the groups, their organizational names span four colonial languages (Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and English) and more importantly, their combined memberships speak literally hundreds of indigenous languages, several of them with roots in Africa (in the case of groups from Suriname).

COICA was established to coordinate and support the activities of its member confederations and to serve as a collective institutional interface with multilateral international institutions in brokering resource mobilization and human and cultural rights support with bilateral and multilateral donors and other international organizations, as well as to represent

[4] These organizations include: Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana (AIDESEP); Amerindian Peoples' Association of Guyana (APA); Confederación de los Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia (CIDOB); Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana (CONFENIAE); Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira (COIAB); Consejo Nacional Indio de Venezuela (CONIVE); Fédération des Organisations Autochtones de Guyane (FOAG); Organisatie van Inheemsen in Suriname (OIS); and Organización de los Pueblos Indígenas de la Amazonía Colombiana (OPIAC).

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those interests at meetings of international bodies and conventions. Each member confederation also acts as its own agent in similar relations, however, and reaching consensus when differing interests conflict has been challenging and time consuming. Recently COICA has been mired in a paralyzing process of infighting and competition that has left it in organizational disarray. It is not presently clear what its future will be, but past accomplishments have been significant. Without a doubt, according to David Bray, the transactional costs of organizing at the transnational level are very high, and it is where indigenous organizations have met one of their greatest challenges.[5]

Indigenous coalitions are more likely to be sustainable and successful at making a real difference when they have strong linkages with nonindigenous allies. Allies can not only muster financial and other necessary resources, they can lobby legislatures and world bodies and use the courts to fight for justice and legal protections. They can provide research, cross-pollination of new ideas, and technical assistance with all aspects of movement activities, from planning and execution to evaluation and rethinking. They can also help movements to shift the national dialogue and to insert positive, informative messages into the national and international mass media. Their presence is critical, even though their relations with indigenous organizations and movements can be problematic—due to a mixture of differences in class, ethnicity, and personal and political goals.[6]

Without the entities mentioned, the indigenous movements would not have been able to achieve what they have, and movement leaders are the first to affirm this fact. It is notable,

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[5] David Bray, personal communication, January 2007.

[6] These allies are many and varied, including other coalitions, such as trade unions, feminist organizations, or sui generis groups like the Amazon Alliance for Indigenous and Traditional Peoples of the Amazon Basin and the Climate Alliance of European Cities; sources of financial and technical assistance such as the Garfield Foundation and the Mariah Fund, plus bilateral aid organizations such as the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), the earlier Inter-American Foundation, and SwissAid; international bodies such as the International Labor Organization (ILO) of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS); local, national, or international NGOs, such as Fundación Pachamama, Ayuda Popular Noruega, the Center for the Support of Native Lands, Cultural Survival, Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking (HIVOS – International Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries), Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke (IBIS – Danish Association for International Co-operation), the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), Oxfam Novib, Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV); human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA); academic organizations, such as the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) and its subgroups and national-level associations; faith-based entities, such as the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and Catholic Relief Services (CRS); and large, humanitarian/development agencies, such as the various Oxfams and CARE International.

In several national contexts, nonprofit organizations founded and run by urban, nonindigenous professionals such as lawyers and anthropologists have played a crucial role in achieving changes in policy and practice and assuring that indigenous peoples are afforded statutory protections at the national level. This is true in Colombia in particular, perhaps more than in any of the other Andean countries. Examples that stand out are Centro de Cooperación al Indígena (CECOIN) with Roque Roldán, and Fundación Comunidades Colombianas (FUNCOL) with Adolfo Triana and Carlos Morales (see Roldán 2004 and Zuluaga 2006: 55–61).

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however, that the most productive alliances have often been with international organizations as opposed to national or local ones, although recently disturbing tensions have emerged in these relationships as well, due to sometimes conflicting interests between international and indigenous organizations, arrogant and/or top-down behavior on the part of many international functionaries, lack of good communication between and among the various parties, internal politics within both the international organizations and the indigenous ones, and other factors.

Indigenous efforts to identify and develop lasting alliances with anyone but other indigenous groups or foreign entities have frequently been frustrating, temporary, and of minimal advantage. Nonindigenous political parties have a long history of using indigenous groups and making hollow promises to them. Although there are ample exceptions at the individual level, such efforts to ally with other national-level interest groups have also been largely unproductive. Many national and local NGOs have worked tirelessly and selflessly on behalf of indigenous peoples; however, the resulting relationships are generally not alliances, per se, but facilitator-recipient compacts regarding the provision of services such as technical assistance, legal aid, training, and funding. Another form of cooperation offered by these NGOs to indigenous organizations consists of advocacy, such as in the joint efforts to oppose the Camisea natural gas project in Peru or to establish Amazonian indigenous reserves in Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, and elsewhere.

Effective coalition formation requires significant skill levels (in both breadth and intensity) in negotiation, mediation, compromise, social promotion, relationship maintenance, and so forth. Indigenous people's level of success at forming coalitions can be affected by issues of internal and external ethnic identification and differences in geography, language, religion, politics, and social class. Inter- and intra-group ethnic differences often require delicate and skillful negotiation and perpetual caretaking at the regional and national levels, as to electing leaders, selecting staff members, planning, making decisions, and allocating organizational resources in ways that are perceived as fair.

For example, there are perpetual tensions within both the Bolivian and the Ecuadorian indigenous movements at the national level, regarding highlands versus lowlands, largely due to ethnic differences. At the regional level, in the case of the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana (CONFENIAE), there has been periodic tension between the Interprovincial Shuar Federation and the Quichua-speaking federations, leading at least once to the Shuar pulling out of CONFENAIE for a significant period of time. This tension is exacerbated by the fact that the Shuar are viewed by other lowland groups as being too friendly with national governments, due to the Shuar frequently deciding to negotiate directly with official entities rather than joining with the rest of CONFENAIE to push forward those same issues with traditional coalition tactics such as demonstrations and marches. CONFENAIE has had its own problems as well, ranging from corruption among leaders and internal splits, to oil company's efforts to buy influence and compliance at all

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levels of the organization. Nevertheless, these problems do not erase CONFENAIE's earlier accomplishments—such as its successful, self-managed bilingual education program—nor do they preclude its future possibilities.

Internally, the Shuar Federation also had a rocky relationship for years with the less numerous Achuar, culminating in the Achuar splitting off and forming their own federation. Ethnic differences within indigenous movements and organizations are commonly a challenge to manage. There is also a rival federation of Shuar communities, Asociación Independiente del Pueblo Shuar, AIPSE, which was formed by North American missionaries. And there are periodic tensions with local colonists. In Quichua and Huaorani areas of the northern lowlands, there have been repeated attempts by antagonistic national governments and by oil companies to form and support rival federations. In spite of this complicated and contentious social landscape, the Shuar Federation and other Amazonian region federations continue to survive and log accomplishments, to a large extent due to their organizational skills and other forms of human, cultural, and social capital.

Developing Human, Cultural, and Social Capital

> *Not more than an hour's drive from where Yana Quilla made her symbolic stand in front of a bulldozer, a far different kind of power negotiation took place during the same national strike. On the Pan American Highway, some 30 miles from the outskirts of Quito, a roadblock had been set up by local indigenous leaders of communities known for their firmness and sacrifice to the cause. Cars and trucks were backed up for a mile or so on each side of the blockade.*
>
> *Curiously, traffic was inching along and the roadblock itself went only to the middle of the road, where a uniformed policeman stood directing passage alternately for traffic going north, then south.*
>
> *Earlier, skillful negotiations in the middle of the road had led to this balanced compromise. The indigenous cadres got their roadblock and publicity; the police got their orderly traffic flow; the drivers and passengers got their relief when they realized that in fact they would arrive at their destination that day. Everyone had their needs met; no one got hurt.*

Building skill levels and capacities, often known as human, cultural, and social capital development (Bebbington 1999: 2021–2024, 2006; Bebbington and Perreault 1999: 395–418; Carroll 2002; Montgomery and Inkeles 2000: 227–243) also lead to increased power and can be seen as building blocks of a sociological theory of empowerment and democratization that is applicable to other kinds of low-power groups. Skills in literacy and numeracy, bilingualism and multiculturalism, planning and management, communications and mass media, social analysis and participatory evaluation, negotiation and mediation, and so on,

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are all empowering capacities that enable individuals and groups to increase their control over social outcomes and resources, as well as to limit the capacity of outsiders to control these outcomes and exert *their* will.

Whereas the concept of human capital is fairly well known by now, the idea of cultural capital is not as widely shared among social analysts and practitioners. Pierre Bourdieu first introduced the concept (Bourdieu 1986: 241–258; Fowler 1997), although his focus was primarily on education and not on indigenous, traditional culture, as in this instance. For our purposes here, cultural capital facilitates the generation of cultural energy, which is a driving force in development and sociopolitical change (Kleymeyer 1992: 20–28, 1993). Cultural capital is the accrued knowledge, skills, and practices that are rooted in ones ethnic traditions and passed down through associations with others of that ethnicity by means of rituals, traditional practices, example, and direct teaching. Stored cultural capital entails a wellspring of ideas, worldviews, methodologies, techniques, approaches, solutions, expressions, and explanations, which are drawn upon when confronting challenges, dilemmas, threats, and opportunities. The concepts of cultural capital and human capital overlap and intertwine. Moreover, cultural capital, although more qualitative in nature, is closely related to social capital, when it has to do with the particular ways in which ethnic groups organize themselves, distinct from other groups (e.g., matriarchal totem clans among Native Americans).

Examples of cultural capital include: reciprocal work forms such as the Andean *minga, ayni, and randi randi;* genres of oral tradition; and forms of cultural expression (especially ones such as song, dance, and art, that can be vehicles for sociopolitical discourse and instruction). The well-known song "We Shall Overcome" is a manifestation of African American cultural capital and has been a significant factor in the success level of numerous liberation movements in the United States and around the world.

Developing this human and cultural capital in turn enables groups to build *social* capital, the asset that inheres in social relationships—the links, access, trust and so on that are thereby opened up to groups and organizations. Hence, the ability, specifically the skills, to build organizations stems from human and cultural capital; *social* capital is the resource that results due to an organization or network having subsequently been developed.[7]

Examples of skills that are linked to both empowerment and democracy encompass public dialogue/discourse (including planning and managing demonstrations and protests); diplomacy and self-governance; the development and application of power tactics and strategies; and the analysis and negotiation of conflicts, plans, policies, rules, and parameters. These are some of the building blocks of democracy that emerge from an empowerment approach.

[7] Anthony Bebbington, personal communication, December 2006. See also Bebbington and Perreault 1999: 395–418.

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Such skills are learned and developed especially through self-governance at the community (Korovkin 2001: 37–67), federation, and confederation levels but also by navigating bureaucracies (*tramitando*) and petitioning the government. The management of grassroots self-help projects is another living classroom for learning empowerment skills. Many financial grants to federations and supportive NGOs throughout the Andes were designed to provide such learning opportunities, especially planning, management of project activities, and participatory evaluation and other forms of rapid assessment and analysis.

One prime example was the Unidad de Educación de Chimborazo (Chimborazo Education Unit) which was formed in 1979 to run the literacy campaign of the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education and Culture in Chimborazo Province. With some 1,050 indigenous communities incorporating approximately 250,000 villagers, Chimborazo had one of the highest concentrations of indigenous peoples in a single province in all of Latin America. The Unidad eventually established a literacy training center in virtually all of these villages, breaking the national mold by recruiting and training indigenous rather than mestizo trainers to staff them (sometimes leading to conflict with local authorities). Drawing from the ranks of these trainers the Unidad developed the inspectors and supervisors who managed the literacy campaign. Eventually the trainers of trainers were also indigenous. This was a giant democracy and empowerment classroom complete with a multifaceted social laboratory in the form of program management and execution.

Next the Unidad acquired grant money from the Inter-American Foundation, a small, independent funding agency of the U.S. government, and began establishing community bakeries, weaving centers, reforestation projects, and other self-managed economic efforts, located in the villages and fully managed by villagers. Now the giant classroom and laboratory included grassroots development and taught, with hands-on practice, everything from vocational skills to accounting, inventory keeping, marketing, and evaluation. It was this practical approach to human and cultural capital formation that ultimately contributed to a large number of local federations forming and consolidating throughout the province, and finally to indigenous peoples taking up the reins of local government, social empowerment thereby channeling into direct political empowerment. The most prominent manifestation of this involvement is the electoral process that produced 12 indigenous mayors and a significant number of provincial council members in Chimborazo, plus the first indigenous prefect (the highest elected governing official at the provincial level in Ecuador).

Hence, skills are efficiently developed by design. Lessons learned from workshops and other efforts leading to empowerment of indigenous men and women have a direct impact on movements and on democratization of the local, regional, and national governments of which they are citizens. These lessons can be disseminated to other low-power groups in their efforts to increase their levels of power and democratization. The Feria Educativa (Educational Fair) was yet another innovation that emerged from the Unidad. The Feria was a group of a dozen young, indigenous musicians trained in sociodrama who visited

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over 700 of Chimborazo's 1,050 communities to do training, promotion, and consciousness raising—using the Quichua language and local music and dance to democratize and energize the events. Performances of the Feria were usually held in the village school where the normally early-to-bed villagers often held the Feria captive until after midnight, singing, dancing, and discussing local affairs. This process included public speaking and dialogue opportunities for the villagers and had a significant impact on the level of local communities' participation in available development projects as well as local political participation (Kleymeyer and Moreno 1988: 32–40).

The Power of Identity and the Identity of Power

Identity is intimately and strongly related to power and empowerment. Just as strengthened identities can enable low-power individuals and groups to better gain control over outcomes, build coalitions, and develop skills and other forms of human, cultural, and social capital, weakened identities can block or reverse those gains (Kleymeyer, 1973, 1982, 1988: 32–40, 1991: 38-39, and 1992: 20–28). Empowerment efforts that ignore identity-strengthening are certain to achieve weaker results than those that focus on identity as a key factor, especially in the Latin American context where ethnic and racial categories run so deep and so strong.

Former hacienda communities have steeper hills to climb, in sociopolitical terms, than do the descendants of free communities. The Shuar and Achuar—never conquered by military powers of the likes of the Incas or Spanish—have been quicker to form strong coalitions and to negotiate from a position of strength than have, for example, Afro-Ecuadorian communities that descended from slaves whose cultures were brutally fractured and repressed (families dismembered, individuals beaten and literally muzzled for speaking African languages, and musicians suffering abuse such as broken fingers and hands as punishment for playing their drums and marimbas).

The demonstrations, sit-ins and marches that have characterized the indigenous movements in Latin America have been designed not only to change the hearts and minds of nonindigenous observers (and national and international image and opinion, as well). They have also been designed to shape and strengthen identity, in both social and ethnic/racial terms, with a focus on empowerment. For example, a march in Riobamba, the capital of Chimborazo, Ecuador, was conspicuously characterized by nearly identical lengths of wood the size of fence-posts, brandished in a two-handed grip by each marcher, male and female. Those who expected these apparent weapons to be used on police or bystanders' heads, or downtown store windows, were surprised that not a blow was struck. These *palos* were props: symbols of the new indigenous status and reminders of the broadly empowering factor that is the *perception*, if not the reality, of the threat of violence. An observer concludes: they have the power to use violence, and at the same time they have the power to remain nonviolent.

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This *marcha de los palos* (march of the clubs) was intended, in part, to shape identity through changed perceptions of the participants vis-à-vis themselves, collectively and as individuals, but even more importantly, it was meant to change identity by transforming perceptions that *others* have of the individuals and group in the process of becoming empowered. Sociologists have long known this as the "looking-glass self," in which one's identity is formed to a large degree by what *others* perceive one as being.

Ecuadorian leader Shuar Ampam Karakras, who has worked at all levels of the indigenous movement, argues: "People try to give us a bad image by accusing us of being separatists. We do not want a separate nation within a nation. We want to be part of this nation—but on our own terms. Those terms are simple: we want *integración sin asimilación* (integration without assimilation)." Then he smiled. "We do not insist that the 'blanco-mestizos' become indios; and we don't want them pressuring us to become 'blanco-mestizos.'"

Identity has to do not only with self-perceptions of one's individual traits and capacities, it also involves one's perceptions of sharing a collective identity as a member of a group (in this case an ethnic group), with a long tradition. Who I am as *me* can be, in many cultures, less important than who I am as a member of my family, my community, my ethnic group. Just as collective identity can be based on inclusiveness (shared traits) or exclusiveness (who is not part of the group), personal identity can be based on what makes one unique, or on how a person is connected to others.

Practical experience and empowerment/disempowerment research (Kleymeyer 1973, 1982) demonstrate how identity is intimately related to power. Individuals and groups gain and lose power in relationships, in part to the extent to which key changes take place in their self and group identities. Particularly, their perceptions of themselves as effective, skilled persons solidly tied with a capable group and a valued tradition, are directly related to their ability to take effective action in their relations with others (Kleymeyer and Moreno 1988: 32–40; Kleymeyer 1993, 1994).

In other words, the more one is convinced that one is a person able to stand up to another's demands, and capable of handling confrontations in which attempts are made to control one's behavior, the more power one possesses and is able to act from. Moreover, the more one perceives oneself as belonging to a solid group (substitute: ethnicity) with a significant history of defending its rightful claims, the more powerful is the foundation upon which one stands when dealing with high-power individuals or groups. Afro-Ecuadorian leader Juan García refers to this latter source of power as "*Nosotros gente*… (We the people…)." We are able: to survive, to deal, to negotiate, to triumph, to create, to assert ourselves, to demand our rights, to make claims on resources, and so on.

In Sucre, Bolivia, the Centro Cultural Masis, founded by a well-known music group, has carried out cultural activities to promote community development, influence public school curricula, and strengthen local pride and identity in Quechua villages. Another Bolivian group, Taller de Historia Oral Andina (THOA), used the collection and dissemination

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of oral histories to reinforce a positive ethnic identity among the Aymara and to encourage democratic forms of organization based on the Andean community tradition. In Peru, the Centro de Estudios Andinos Rurales "Bartolomé de las Casas" established a radio station and campesino center in Cuzco, geared toward strengthening cultural identity and awareness of Quechua speakers and teaching skills and knowledge. In Lima, the Centro Latinoamericano de Producciones Tele-Educativas (CEPTEL) produced 50 scripts for a telenovela designed to introduce critical thinking and awareness of cultural and social change issues and perceptions of ethnicity into Latin American television programming. In Colombia, the Cabildo Kamza, a multi-community, self-governing body, simultaneously collected and published oral histories and worked to secure property rights to several thousand acres of tribal lands in the subtropical Sibundoy Valley.

All of the above organizations understood the relationship between strong social and ethnic identities, empowerment, and socioeconomic advances. For more description of such efforts to link cultural expression, grassroots development, and democratization, see Kleymeyer (1993, 1994).

The Strategic Indigenous Innovation in 20th Century South America: Broad-Based, Nonviolent Insurrection and Organizing

Disciplined nonviolent action is the essential innovation that has made the current indigenous movements in the Andes more successful than historical efforts to obtain significant and long-lasting gains in justice, rights, and participation.

The underlying sources and manifestations of nonviolent tactics are numerous, varied, and well-documented (Ackerman 2000; Boulding 2000; Schock 2004). Whereas two of the most prominent 20th century precedents—Mahatma Gandhi's independence movement in India and the U.S. civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King, Jr. and others—relied heavily on spiritual as well as tactical bases for nonviolence, evidence suggests that the nonviolent approach that has been adopted and adapted by most indigenous movements in Latin America has been driven largely by pragmatism. Generations of frustrated efforts at violent change were followed by an emerging set of tactics that emphasized a different style of confrontation, accompanied by a skillful use of mass media to appeal to national and international public opinion.

Until recently, Andean history has been a continuous loop in which indigenous groups have periodically engaged in violent uprisings, provoking even more massive crackdowns by public and private forces (Cleary 2000: 1123–1153; Gosner 1996; Kicza 1993; Stern 1987; Zamosc 2003: 37–63). Although some temporary gains were won here and there, few *lasting* advances were achieved in quality of life, human rights, or social power. The norm has been uprisings sandwiched between long stretches of debilitating and futile passive resistance, until simmering pressures boiled over into another violent spasm. In desperation, people

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have turned to violence as a last-resort response to repression, when all other alternative paths were closed to them. The result has been drearily familiar, with indigenous liberation efforts ultimately being suppressed, leaving groups and individuals physically broken and emotionally demoralized, and movements fractured into shards.

Furthermore, the record of violent movements leading directly to democracy is spotty at best. Consolidated democracy is usually a product of organizing and governance, requiring sustained effort by individuals, groups, and movements to open up access in lethargic or post-revolutionary systems typically dominated by elites. Take the United States for example, which was formed to provide equality to "We the People" but for generations afforded political participation and power only to white, male landowners. It was 145 years before women obtained the right to vote, and fully 230 years later African-Americans are still struggling to guard the voting rights that were only conferred a few decades ago. Native Americans meanwhile are largely marginalized politically and economically from the "American Dream" that is ostensibly accessible to all who now inhabit the lands first settled by the ancestors of these native peoples.

Historically, the very act of participation in violent insurrection has brought about contradictory changes in individuals and groups, often distorting their idealistic goals and transforming them into shadowy images of their former oppressors. In violently overthrowing tyranny, it seems, insurgents too often learn the skills and internalize the methods of the tyrants they displace and then ironically replace.

The same cruel mimicry occurs, of course, in failed violent rebellions, including non-indigenous ones such as that of the Shining Path in Peru, whose leaders became a caricature of Pol Pot ideologues, with their minions massacring villagers, assassinating elected officials, and bombing urban targets. The Peruvian military massacred as well, taking its orders from Alberto Fujimori, the democratically elected but dictatorial president who carried out an "auto-golpe" to consolidate his power in a context of fear. The villagers were, as an Amnesty International report described it, "Caught Between Two Fires" (Amnesty International 1989). Consequently democracy was charred on both ends of the battleground and, significantly, no strong highland indigenous movements have risen yet from the ashes.[8]

Therefore, many leaders and cadres of indigenous movements are well aware that violence and the threat of violence can increase social power over the short term, but the bitter experience of history has shown them that such advances are generally fragile, ephemeral, and ultimately corrupting. Only rarely have violently gained increases been broad-based and enduring. They tend to be localized geographically and limited to certain groups, and

[8] Nevertheless, as Martin Scurrah points out in a January 2007 communication, an indigenous movement has emerged in Peru in recent years in which highland indigenous people are beginning to vindicate their identity and rights as indigenous peoples in alliance with Amazonian indigenous organizations who have been doing this since the 1980s. If this collaboration develops into a lasting alliance, it will contrast with the Ecuadorian and Bolivian experiences, in which highland-lowland tensions have been problematic much of the time.

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they too often trigger a top-down, scorched-earth policy in reaction, leaving people more disempowered and demoralized than before, with their organizations and communities in shambles.

By the last third of the 20th century a major institutional innovation was emerging, based on an informal consensus about the lessons of this social history and the need to try a different path. The new idea was the development of broad-based, nonviolent indigenous movements throughout the region, crafted to confront long-entrenched social, cultural, and economic injustices. Although rarely voiced as such (possibly to maintain the *threat* of violence as a latent source of power, lying in wait, twitching like a dozing puma), these movements have deliberately and systematically employed an array of strategies that are nonviolent both by design and in practice, particularly the national strikes, public manifestations, and organized civil disobedience mentioned earlier.

Sometimes in conflictive situations different decisions regarding violence are made by indigenous groups and individuals, particularly when not facing an overwhelming disadvantage from the dominant culture. One example is the case of violence between indigenous parties in Bolivia. The MIP (Movimiento Indígena Pachakuti—Indigenous Pachakuti Movement) and the MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement towards Socialism) have used force to prevent each other's militants from campaigning in their areas of dominance.[9] In other instances, male campesinos have used violence against female municipal councilors and mayors. In addition, violence between Catholics and Protestants in Ecuador and elsewhere has been present for decades, sometimes splitting indigenous villages down the middle.

Furthermore, strikes, manifestations, and civil disobedience sometimes, and in some places, produce unintended violence that has been neither planned nor prepared for, and which takes place outside the tactical parameters of a given action. Rocks are thrown; roadblocks are crashed. These incidents are often leapt upon by the press, the U.S. Embassy, and so on, to demonstrate the illegitimacy of the action and even the movement itself. Of course, there is also violence on the side of the civilian and military forces, sometimes planned for and always prepared for (shields, small arms, ammunition, tear gas, tanks, water cannons, special training, battle formations, and so on). This violence is nearly always a result of orders that pass down through a chain of command. When violence happens during movement manifestations and other actions, in the view of one seasoned observer it is usually overwhelmingly on the side of the "forces of order." [10]

In sum, in spite of these very human tendencies to revert to violence, most contemporary Andean movements, rather than handing authorities easy justification for violent repression—so frequently out of proportion with the stimulus for it—have repeatedly, though not always, chosen nonviolent tactics and strategies, and the result has been a key factor in

[9] Donna Lee Van Cott, personal communication, December 2006.

[10] Kevin Healy, personal communication, October 2006.

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achieving long-lasting increases in empowerment. That decision is still in the process of being carried out, however, and the last act in the play has not yet been written.

The Mobilization Potency of Indigenous Movements and Organizations

The village of Gatazo Hospital derives its name from a bloody battle between Conservatives and Liberals more than a century ago, when there were so many life-threatening injuries that the victims were carried to the Gatazo hacienda house where their wounds were tended.

For many years, the village depended on rainfall and on a ration of irrigation water from the far side of a massive hill just behind it. Thursday night through Sunday morning villagers had permission from the authorities in Riobamba to raise a small floodgate in an existing irrigation ditch and let water flow around the base of the high hill and circle back to the community lands. As fate would have it, the only route for the irrigation ditch traversed hacienda lands.

The hacienda owners resented this minor intrusion and repeatedly redirected the water from the community ditch onto their own fields. To remedy this, the community members had to either sneak in at night and try to fix it, avoiding watchdogs and armed guards, or pay an exploitatively high (and illegal) tribute to the hacienda owners for passage of water to which the village was already entitled.

Finally, the villagers had had enough. They formed a water committee made up of veterans of local marches and protests and of manual laborers from nearby road and railroad crews, as well as village-level trainers from the revolutionary literacy program instituted by progressive national president, Jaime Roldos, in 1979. The committee decided that the entire community would recover a broken-down, half-century-old irrigation tunnel through the hill, with nothing but picks and shovels. This would mean going through 300 meters of soil and bedrock, thereby completely avoiding the hacienda lands.

The community used the traditional Andean minga, *or community work party, to mobilize the necessary volunteer labor. Taking turns, roughly 50 men and boys dug for four months, half from one end, half from the other. They worked day and night—one laborer died in a cave-in—totaling some 6,300 days of labor. Another 50 or so women and girls cooked food and hauled rock and dirt out of the tunnels and cleaned houses in Riobamba to raise funds for tools and flour and cooking oil.*

The government engineer who inspected the tunnel after it was completed said that from a technical standpoint, the feat was impossible. Then he thrust his hand into the flowing water and swore under his breath. As the water surged into the rows of a hundred-hectare plot of bone-dry communal land, the villagers leapt into the ditch, mixing their sweat with the life-giving liquid.

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Indigenous movements have numerous strengths—some of which come from lessons learned throughout their history of organizing—that impact not only democratization but the planning and execution of all grassroots development efforts (and are therefore applicable to other kinds of group endeavors). In particular, indigenous movements have an unusual capacity to mobilize resources to accomplish difficult goals, these being the measurable material impacts of prior social capital investments. There are at least four types of resource mobilization at which indigenous movements are unusually adept:

- Human resource mobilization, also known as the power of convocation: indigenous peoples are able to call upon an immense pool of man and womanpower to get the work done in projects and movement activities. In one case, a small federation of seven communities in Zocabón, Chimborazo, Ecuador, with men and women using only simple tools plus their hands and their backs, built an irrigation system stretching more than 25 kilometers, by donating 700 days of free labor per *family*. When an estimate was made of the equivalent financial value of the approximately 250,000 days of labor that resulted, the total came to more than $1.5 million dollars, dwarfing the $50,000 in funding from two foreign funders.
- Material resource mobilization: in spite of existing levels of poverty, indigenous organizations have considerable access to local resources such as soil, water, wood products, and rock and other minerals, particularly for supplying infrastructure projects such as agricultural terraces and other soil conservation efforts, water systems, schools, community centers, roads, bridges, and airstrips. Often these resources are held in common, or at least are community-controlled.
- Sociocultural resource mobilization: indigenous peoples can readily call upon their cultural heritage and social structures to produce necessary results. A key example is the array of time-honored and dynamic labor traditions, such as the Andean *minga* (community work party), that have built the infrastructure mentioned above and have planted and harvested communal lands for centuries. This is where the concept of cultural energy plays a key role: many traditions and social structures (festivals, sacred observances, local political and religious systems) serve as powerful generators of the cultural energy necessary to promote membership, participation, and labor in development organizations and activities. And the relationship between cultural expression (in the form of music and dance, traditional foods, and so on) and cultural energy (channeled through forms like the *minga*) is reciprocal. Cultural expression fuels the *minga*, for instance, while the *minga* in turn is a vehicle for preserving those forms of expression (Kleymeyer 1988: 32–40, 1992: 20–28, and 2000).
- Financial resource mobilization: this is the resource that indigenous peoples have *least* access to, and the one, of course, out of the four, that external support orga-

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nizations are frequently best equipped to provide. Such differences in capacities are precisely what innovative partnerships are made of, and indigenous movements have shown that they are often quite adept at initiating, negotiating, and managing such partnerships with local, regional, national, and international NGOs and other allies.

The Impact of Indigenous Movements on Democracy

In 1992 an indigenous federation leader, Mariano Curicama, became in his own words "the first Indian to be elected mayor in Latin America." He was certainly the first ever in Ecuador and the impact was significant, at all levels of the society. This was only 13 years, after all, following the vote being given to illiterates: that is, primarily indigenous and African diaspora peoples and others who had long been marginalized from the electoral process due to ethnicity or social class.

In the Municipality of Guamote that elected Curicama, the local mestizo elites informed him that they would block him from "taking possession" of the mayor's office on the first day of his term. Curicama looked them straight in the eye and pointing to a hillside miles away, replied, "Fine, if you do that, then I will be forced to establish the municipal offices way out there in my village, and all of you will need to travel for hours, back and forth, day after day, to get your official business done!"

When inauguration day arrived, the elites stood aside. And on Curicama's first anniversary as mayor, many of these same elites threw a dinner in his honor, to recognize the new efficiency and integrity with which the municipality was now being run. One mestizo was overheard saying, "Este indio ha hecho lo que los blancos no pudieron hacer." (This Indian has done what Whites were unable to do.)

The history of indigenous movements and social structures influencing democracy in the Americas runs far deeper than is commonly known. Since the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution (a document that has influenced literally scores of national constitutions around the world), there has been considerable discussion about the extent to which its original framers were inspired by knowledge of indigenous governance in pre-Columbian and colonial America. In particular the previously cited Haudenosaunee (Six Nations) Confederacy offered the drafters of the Constitution their only real-life example of a broad-based, classless, and egalitarian form of governance, unfamiliar to the European transplants who were designing their new nation. Certainly the Magna Carta and the English Revolution, plus the idea of a social contract introduced by Rousseau and Locke, were major influences, but European history had been dominated by aristocracy and monarchy since the ancient Greek city states and the Roman Republic.

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With biting irony (perhaps unwittingly), Benjamin Franklin, who represented the Pennsylvania Colony as Indian Commissioner, wrote in the 1750s: "It would be a very strange thing if Six Nations of Ignorant Savages should be capable of forming a Scheme for such a Union and be able to execute it in such a manner, as that it has subsisted Ages, and appears indissoluble, and yet a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies. . ." (Johansen 1982: 29). And on June 11, 1776, while the question of independence was being debated, the visiting Haudenosaunee chiefs were formally invited into the meeting hall of the Continental Congress in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, where they addressed the full body (Grinde and Johansen 1990: Chapter 8).

As for today's indigenous movements, and all social movements, one must also bear in mind that in and of themselves they *are* democracy. This is not a case of one distinct phenomenon acting upon another one, but of grassroots democracy—in the form of social movements—shaping and reshaping institutionalized democracy. What are some specific ways in which indigenous movements are transforming and deepening democratic traditions?

First, indigenous movements have expanded the reach and diversified the nature of democracy throughout the Andean countries and the rest of Latin America. There has been a significant upsurge in indigenous participation in electoral politics and civic discourse, including but not limited to demonstrations and protests, which are legitimate forms of participation in particular in nonelectoral years (Andolina 2002: 289–305).

This bottom-up impact has swelled as indigenous organizations and the political parties that they have spun off have nominated and then elected more and more candidates for office first at the local, then the regional, and finally the national level. Building on those successes, scores of individuals of indigenous extraction—like Ecuadorians Luis Macas and Nina Pacari—are now becoming national legislators and/or ministers in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. A major breakthrough occurred when Víctor Hugo Cárdenas Conde was elected vice-president of Bolivia in 1993, followed by two presidents of indigenous descent—Alejandro Toledo Manrique in Peru (2001–2006) and Evo Morales Ayma in Bolivia (inaugurated in January 2006). But the broadest and deepest impact of indigenous movements on institutionalized democracy has been at the local level, in races for mayor and municipal and provincial council members. In regions heavily populated by indigenous people, the expectation is for most if not all office holders to eventually be indigenous.

This local emphasis by the movements is demographically smart and strategically wise. It is far easier to build local political pacts and relationships than ones at the national level, and in several countries one can now run for office as an independent, without being a member of a national party, which has opened up elections to many indigenous candidates. A local emphasis also reflects the movements' internal histories of organizational growth. Finding success starting from the bottom up, they are reconstructing history from the foundations of civic life.

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To illustrate, let us inspect the results from the 2004 Ecuadorian elections. From no indigenous office holders in the late 1970s, the following numbers were achieved in a scant quarter-century: 5 prefects (heads of governments of the country's 22 provinces), 28 mayors (out of 215), 110 municipal *concejales* (councilmen/women), 21 consejeros (provincial councilmen/women), and 750 members of *juntas parroquiales* (parochial boards). At the national level, there were 11 indigenous deputies elected to the congress (out of 100).[11] This figure represents 11 percent of the total, a significant accomplishment when compared to the recent past, but still far below the percentage of indigenous people in the nation's population—which, depending on whose figures you accept, is somewhere between 25 and 45 percent.

In Bolivia, results have been even more impressive but statistics were harder to come by (Albó 2002: 74–102). In brief, roughly two-thirds of Bolivian municipalities are currently lead by indigenous elected officials, from mayors to council members. On an even more visible level, the Bolivian indigenous movement spearheaded the electoral victories which gave the indigenous sector control of the executive branch (with the highest percentage of votes in half a century, 53 percent), and part of the legislative branch. This accomplishment has produced an increase in indigenous pride and sense of self-worth resulting from lifting an indigenous leader into the presidency. For the first time ever, Bolivian indigenous citizens can identify fully with their head of state. This promises to produce a renewed commitment to democracy and an enhanced faith in its fairness and efficacy.

In general, the Bolivian indigenous movement has succeeded in "decolonizing the political system," the most significant manifestation being that indigenous people are now occupying spaces that they have never occupied before. It must be underlined, of course, that this does not mean that everything changes. The first step is to occupy the space, the second to *use* that space to effect lasting and broad-based changes for the better.[12]

A less welcome result in Bolivia has been a backlash of resentment and increased sentiments for a return to past exclusionary practices that kept indigenous peoples on the outside looking in. It remains to be seen if the long-term net effect on democracy will continue to be positive, but at this time that seems likely. A risk is that the unrealistically high expectations that the indigenous electorate harbors regarding what President Evo Morales will be able to accomplish with his administration will eventually produce disillusionment and resentment and even a substantial decrease in support for the Morales government. Some signs of this backslide are already evident.[13] According to David Bray, indigenous movements have not yet successfully confronted the biggest challenge of all: wisely exercising power for an entire society, with their hands on the direct levers of national political power.[14]

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[11] Carlos Moreno, personal communications, October 2006.

[12] Kevin Healy, personal communications, October 2006.

[13] Rita Murillo, personal communications, October 2006.

[14] David Bray, personal communication, January 2007.

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On the positive side, at the community, federation, and confederation levels, indigenous movements throughout the Andes and beyond have prepared leaders for governing and then exported them into the electoral process and ultimately into power at all levels of government. Even when they have not been able to command absolute electoral majorities, movements have reached the stage at which mainstream political parties, in order to achieve power and hold onto it, have had no choice but to actively reach out to indigenous organizations and leaders in search of political alliances.

At times, such alliances have backfired for movements as established political forces used them to divide and manipulate indigenous groups and politicians, producing internal divisions and competition and weakening movements, which then find it difficult to mount united fronts.[15] But as the Evo Morales campaign in Bolivia demonstrates, indigenous movements can learn and profit from this experience and mount successful campaigns on their own terms in the future (keeping in mind that Morales himself came out of a peasant union background, the coca growers of the Chapare, and managed to embrace the indigenous unrest as well).

Related to electoral successes, a second major impact of indigenous movements on democracy has been at the level of policy and legislation. In Bolivia the bilingual education programs promoted by the movements of the 1980s and by indigenous Vice-President Víctor Hugo Cárdenas in the 1990s represent an early example. Cárdenas also helped revitalize land reform efforts, although in the end the program was not well implemented. Morales is renewing these efforts and more solid results are expected. Moreover, after the turn of the century, the indigenous movements spearheaded the significant changes in the hydrocarbon law, which had the support of many civil society organizations. And now the Morales government has augmented the impact of that law with the nationalization of natural gas and oil, a long-standing goal of indigenous and nonindigenous groups.

A third major type of impact on institutionalized democracy by indigenous movements has been indirect, helping to reshape by pressure and by example, the norms in mainstream society. In other words, nonindigenous office seekers and holders are gradually changing their philosophies and working styles due to contact and competition with indigenous politicians. This shift functions at the societal as well as the individual level—for example, the decentralization of state authority that is taking place in Bolivia, with the financial and political empowerment of communities, which results in local leaders wielding real power, strengthening their base for further democratic action. Not enough time has passed to judge the depth and breadth of these various changes, but already many elected governments have had to make policy concessions and change their practices in order to gain and maintain power in the wake of the indigenous movements.

[15] José Chávez, personal communication, September 2006.

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Not all impacts of movements on democracy have been straightforward and simple, or unidirectional for that matter. Auki Tituaña, the popular indigenous mayor of Cotacachi, Imbabura, Ecuador since 1996, put it this way: "I thought being mayor would be exciting and that I would be doing great things. Now that I'm in office I find that I am actually mayor of cemeteries, street repairs, and garbage collection!" His transition from indigenous movement leader to elected official also brought unexpected challenges, such as an immediate demand from his former federation members that he fire all of the *mestizos* employed by the municipality and replace them with indigenous cadres. But acquiring office gave Tituaña a different perspective, forcing him to remind his friends, even at the risk of displeasing some: "*Primero, hay leyes laborales que prohiben esto. Pero aún más importante, no soy alcalde de los indios. Soy alcalde de todo el pueblo.*" ("First of all, there are labor laws that prohibit this. But even more important, I'm not the mayor of the Indians; I'm the mayor of the entire city.")[16]

A fourth impact of indigenous movements on democracy has been to shape public opinion generally, inspiring nonindigenous citizens to also think critically about their governments and about the human and cultural rights of their less-advantaged fellow citizens. Most Latin American voters and politicians over 30 years of age vividly remember a time when their nations were ruled by dictators. Many others have experienced limited democracy in which national elections were little more than elites trading off the presidency, or the military was the de facto power behind the scenes, no matter who occupied the presidential palace. Thus many citizens instinctively grasp the yearnings and tactics of indigenous organizations. The result is not only openness to the goals of indigenous movements but a desire to see national governments adopt some of the indigenous practices and policies.

By skillfully managing images and messages through the media and by reaching out via direct contact, indigenous movements have become adept at focusing public attitudes not only to shape electoral outcomes but in mobilizing mass protests to hold elected officials accountable and to achieve distinct policy goals. Sometimes that has led to officials being removed from office, other times it has resulted in policies being changed or abandoned, such as in the case of official efforts in recent years to institute privatization of water rights in Ecuador and Bolivia.

Perhaps the most dramatic manifestation of public mobilization has been the long-distance march, in which large numbers of participants walk as far as 300 kilometers or more over a period of weeks, for example, from the Amazon region of Bolivia or Ecuador to the seats of power in La Paz or Quito. These marches, which have become commonplace in the region, capture the imagination and energy of scores of communities along the way, *mestizo* as well as indigenous, that supply the marchers with food, water, and first-aid (Healy 2001; León 2003: 61–110; Whitten 1997: 335–391). Radio, television, and newspapers report

[16] Auki Tituaña, personal communication, 1999.

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the story intently, transmitting images and personal stories of the sacrifices endured by the marchers and the support they receive from ordinary citizens. The marchers' demands and critiques are soon front and center as an entire nation focuses on the political drama that is playing out before them.

Shorter marches are also popular tactics, and visitors to La Paz or other cities often run into street protests with marchers carrying banners and shouting slogans protesting government policies, especially neoliberal ones that lead to the privatization of water rights, selling off of oil and gas rights to foreign corporations, and raising prices on gasoline, cooking gas, and water, not to mention U.S.-backed efforts to eradicate coca production. In these marches indigenous groups frequently join forces with nonindigenous pressure groups such as labor unions and students.

Indigenous Movements' Lessons for Democracy and Civil Society

In 1989, I was the only nonresident foreigner present at the 25th annual Congress of the Shuar-Achuar Federation. The Congress took place in a large meeting hall packed with representatives, two for each of the more than 300 communities in the federation —filling all the chairs and standing against the back wall. And this was only the flowering top of a deeply rooted plant. Each community consisted of some 100–150 individuals, and local associations of a dozen or so communities had met periodically during the year to discuss issues, respond to consultations from the central federation offices, and plan this event.

At one point in the Congress, I was asked to approach the head table and say a few words about the foundation I worked for and its grant to the federation for a land surveying and titling project. I made my way forward and was ushered to a seat facing the crowd. The person who handed me the microphone smiled broadly and said, "Speak clearly into this. Your voice will reach 50,000 Shuar listeners throughout the Amazonian forest, to whom we are broadcasting the full content of this meeting."

Caught off guard, I recovered enough to explain my function and the project and to state how impressed I was by the levels of representation of each community at the meeting and by the fact that collective, representative decision making was much closer to the average Shuar individual than was the case of far older democracies such as that of my home country.

The establishment and consolidation of democracy hinges upon broad-based empowerment, just as the growth of indigenous movements do. Significant changes in power relations enable the ever-increasing sharing of decision making and influence both within a democratic group and across an entire democratizing society. So, lessons learned by emerging indigenous

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movements can be applied to democracy in general and can be used by other groups seeking to make their voices heard (women, the disabled, and so forth). Among these skills and lessons are ones that relate to the following challenges:

- How to maximize representative and participatory democracy while avoiding social paralysis from an overload of internal dialogue and dissent, using bottom-up, multilayered representational bodies to build larger structures that depend on a high level of involvement from people and groups at the base (Chalmers et al. 1997; Korovkin 2001: 37–67);
- How to form multiethnic organizations in which diversity is an advantage rather than a major source of conflict, chaos, and institutional weakness—indigenous movements, after all, often mesh multiple languages and cultures, even though their members may appear from the outside to be a widespread, homogeneous indigenous population (Albó 1996);
- How to communicate and negotiate across cultural and class lines, sometimes chasms—both internally and with outside individuals, groups, and entities in the surrounding, dominant society (Karakras 2003: 20–47);
- How to maintain a high degree of leadership accountability and integrity at various organizational levels—in the best circumstances, leaders being monitored closely and with effective mechanisms and processes for bottom-up assessment, and consequences for miscreants, including removal;
- How to mobilize vast quantities of people and resources (as described earlier).

Inclusion of the Other Half of Humanity: The Role of Women

For several years in the 1980s I had a series of meetings with the leaders of the Federación de Campesinos de Licto (FEDECAL) in my role as representative in Ecuador for the Inter-American Foundation. I knew that Licto was a rather militant region, and it was obvious that these men were checking me out (as well they should have). Usually, they would be waiting to speak to me when I arrived at another organization in Chimborazo Province, sometimes in the capital city of Riobamba. Finally, I was invited to come address the entire federation leadership. I traveled by four-wheel-drive vehicle to a village where the meeting was being held in the church. There on the steps to greet me was a small band of men. Most of the faces I recognized. We chatted for a bit, and then they turned and gestured for me to follow them into the building.

As I stepped from the brilliant, high Andean sunlight through the church doors, my eyes had difficulty adjusting to the sudden darkness that was broken only by the light filtering in from the open doorway and a few small windows up near the

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roof. I blindly followed my hosts down the aisle, aware that the church was packed, but unable to see much more than the swaying ponchos directly in front of me. By the time we arrived at the altar, my eyes were beginning to adjust. We all turned and the FEDECAL president began to speak in Quichua. I kept my gaze on his face to pick up what I could of his message, and then I heard him mentioning me, so I turned to nod an acknowledgement to the audience.

What I saw struck me like a thunderbolt—this movement organization had a male face, but it had mainly female hands and feet. Virtually every pew in the church was filled with women—children by their sides, babies on their backs. In the 1980s, this was unusual if not unheard of. Curious, I leaned toward the closest leader and whispered, "¿Y dónde están los hombres?" (And where are the men?) He answered: "En la costa. En Quito. Trabajando de peones. Cada líder hombre tiene a su mujer como suplente. ¡Esto fue nuestra decisión colectiva!" (On the coast. In Quito. Working as manual laborers. Every male leader has his wife as a replacement. This was our group decision!)

The Federation of Licto had quietly stepped forward, taking its place in the vanguard.

The role of women in indigenous movements has changed dramatically in recent times, although most would agree that there is still room for improvement. Historically, women have always been militantly involved in Andean social unrest, though not commonly as leaders. Outstanding historical exceptions are Micaela Bastidas Phuyuqhawa (Quechua) in Colonial Peru and Bartolina Sisa (Aymara) in Colonial Bolivia. At different levels of speed and intensity, indigenous movements throughout Latin America have come to understand that collective solidarity and democratic governance cannot stand on one leg, at least not for long. This realization has come both from within (in response to participatory pressure from indigenous women, plus the growing awareness of progressive-thinking men) and from without (in response to nonindigenous feminists and international funders and allies).

As women have gained experience and savvy, some have been elected to lead indigenous organizations (such as Carmen Yamberla of FICI in Imbabura, Ecuador) and been appointed to high positions (Nina Pacari, as Ecuador's Foreign Minister). And one such leader, Avelina Morocho, in 1996 became the first indigenous woman to be elected mayor in Latin America (she was head of the local federation, Asociación Indígena Cañar Ayllu—AINCA, in Suscal Municipality, Cañar Province, Ecuador).

The emergence of federations, and then broader movements, has provided many women with opportunities for leadership and participation in democratic processes at the community level. In Chimborazo Province in the 1980s a local, indigenous/mestizo NGO, Corporación Ecuatoriana de Promoción Popular, Investigación y Desarrollo (CEPID), grew

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concerned about women hesitating to break the taboo against speaking at public meetings. The tactic chosen to counteract this was cultural. A group of young girl singer-musicians was formed, and they performed to great acclaim at local festivals and community and federation meetings. The subliminal message was as powerful as it was indirect—women, including young women, could and did have a voice in public and exercising it brought no repercussions. Indeed it brought accolades. Soon, similar groups were springing up around the province, and observers subsequently noted an increase in women raising questions and offering comments and critiques at public meetings and informal gatherings. Some resistance persists, of course, to women participating equally in indigenous movements and local politics. Some indigenous men frown upon their wives and daughters being involved in activities outside the home, unless these are economic in nature. In another example of resistance, a Bolivian case is also revealing: the candidacy of a Chapare woman, Juana Quispe, was imposed in Chimoré by the indigenous party, MAS. She was elected to office and then forced out by local indigenous men who were having none of it.[17] It seems that progress rarely takes a uniformly straight path.

Problems and Dilemmas: The High Price and Repeating Dilemmas of Indigenous Movement Participation

Despite the achievements of indigenous movements, they are not free of costs and difficulties. Individuals and groups that participate in indigenous movements and their public actions typically pay a high price (though not as high as during earlier times of violent rebellion). Moreover, leaders in all spheres have recurring problems, weaknesses, and quandaries. Some of these issues are as follows:

- Lost income and productivity during strikes, marches, and demonstrations. Due to these truly substantial costs, sustainable strikes are only feasible every few years, since federation and community members cannot afford to participate more often and failure to take that into account risks not reaching the critical mass needed to affect change. This situation could be moderated as movements become stronger and more sophisticated and as forms of recourse and protest become more institutionalized within democratic structures.
- High levels of psychological stress and physical exhaustion due to the workload, the threat of violence, and cultural dislocation and dissonance. Leaders frequently develop health problems, some of them mysterious to doctors, though frequently not to traditional curers.

[17] Donna Lee Van Cott, personal communication, December 2006.

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- Physical retribution, including injury and death, and explicit threats to life and limb. For example, the Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (CRIC)—perhaps the strongest member of the Colombian national confederation, the Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia (ONIC)—has lost hundreds of leaders and cadres to paid assassins known euphemistically as *pájaros* (birds). In 1988, in a meeting with a CRIC leader who cannot be named, we discussed the energy-sapping and morbid task of replacing what was at that time more than 125 assassinated leaders. Surprisingly, this leader was not demoralized or intimidated; his resolve had grown stronger in the face of these repeated atrocities. There are similar costs of participating in institutionalized democracy, of course, such as in Peru where elected officials were systematically assassinated by the Shining Path and voting stations and municipal offices were attacked.
- Alienation of leaders from the base, particularly when leadership duties require residence in distant cities that are culturally different and result in new lifestyles, sometimes at higher rungs on the socioeconomic ladder. This dilemma often translates into alienation from family when family members stay behind in their communities or, even more disconcerting, when families accompany leaders and the children grow up monolingual and significantly different from their parents in cultural values and behavior, due to the urban and professional-class setting.
- The governance and leadership roller coaster, as good leaders retire, burn out, enter politics, are called to serve in leadership posts at higher levels in the movement, or occasionally become corrupted by the many temptations, offers, and overtures that surround them.
- The challenge of leaders (and followers) making a smooth transition from movement participant to elected or appointed official posts. The experiences of Auki Tituaña being pressured by his old companions in Cotacachi and Mariano Curicama facing mestizo opposition to taking possession of the municipal offices in Guamote are examples of how to handle this. In other cases, however, people who have spent a lifetime in opposition, standing outside the system, have trouble integrating themselves into an entity of that system and quickly adapting to being a participant in good governance rather than a protester of bad governance, learning to shift gears from the ideology of defining problems to the pragmatism of solving them (for example, inadequate budgets for health and education).
- Occasional concentration of political and managerial power in the hands of what some critics view as an indigenous elite. This can be due to the paucity of other persons ready to assume leadership roles, but also to the autocratic tendencies that are still quite prevalent in the Andean context, where a tradition of local caciques has generally been quite strong.

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- Cases in which some indigenous leaders and elected officials mix personal interests (economic, familial, etc.) with the collective interests of the movement. Other cases of leaders who are top-down and authoritarian (in one case, threatening communities with cutting off their potable water services if they failed to show up for a protest). When such problems arise, in the words of one young indigenous woman: "It is necessary to carry out a general evaluation of the pros and cons of the movement in the past decade, and to return to the grassroots where the real power of the movement lies."
- The complicated challenges presented by ethnic differences: those that exist between indigenous movements/organizations and dominant societies, as well as other popular organizations and movements that are not indigenous (such as urban labor unions), but also the ethnic differences that exist *within* the indigenous world.
- The paradox of social transformation and economic stagnation, as major advances in human and cultural rights and political participation are *not* matched by widespread changes in human welfare. For many insiders and observers of indigenous movements, this is the greatest quandary of all.

Regarding this final dilemma, Shelton Davis of Georgetown University, in Washington, D.C., states the following:

> It is noteworthy that in the case of Ecuador as well as Bolivia and other Andean countries, some of the initial reasons for establishing the indigenous movements had to do with the threats posed to indigenous lands and resources and the failure of some of the agrarian reform policies and other national development programs to take into account indigenous ethnic identities, cultural heritage, and rights to political autonomy. It is also noteworthy that there has been a persistent criticism by many of these indigenous movements of the neoliberal economic reforms introduced by their governments, the opening up of numerous indigenous areas and communities to mining and petroleum development, and global trade agreements in which indigenous peoples were seldom consulted and in which their access to markets and employment were seldom taken into account.
>
> This is important to underline because it is becoming increasingly clear that indigenous peoples in almost all Latin American countries have remained extremely poor despite the formation of the new indigenous movements, the increasing empowerment of indigenous people as local mayors, congressional and other national political authorities emerge, and the constitutional reforms which have recognized indigenous rights and called for the establishment of multicultural democracies. Similarly, the past decades have also seen a very intense migration

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of indigenous persons (and especially indigenous youth) from both their rural communities to urban areas, as well as to foreign countries such as Spain, Canada, the United States, and Argentina. Hence, one of the major challenges is not only to increase the empowerment of indigenous peoples and advancing democracy, but also to establish possibilities for improving the economic conditions of indigenous peoples, especially in an era of global marketing and trade.[18]

Conclusions

In summary, social movements such as the indigenous ones of Latin America are integral to democracy, be they spontaneous or long-planned, temporary or virtually permanent. It is important to keep in mind that these movements, when comprised of disadvantaged persons and groups at the margins of society or the bottom of a stratified system, are first and foremost about empowerment. Hence, it is critical to note that empowerment strategies and efforts are necessary though not sufficient conditions for democratization. Empowerment is exactly where indigenous peoples and their allies know they need to focus their efforts in their challenging struggle to improve human rights, participation in decision making, access to resources, and equitable socioeconomic development, and do so in ways that are broad-based, far-reaching, and self-perpetuating.

There are those who would say that the indigenous movements have had little significant and lasting impact at the national level, that their achievements have been largely symbolic in nature. This is a premature judgment. Even in the most stable of democracies, liberation movements can take many generations to unfold and reach fruition. Regarding the U.S. civil rights movement, for example, the efforts to free the slaves and achieve social and economic justice for African-descendant peoples began in the early 1800s. Nearly two centuries later, there is just one African-American in the U.S. Senate and one who is a state governor, and the struggle is still being waged to achieve full voting rights in practice, as well as economic fairness for U.S. citizens of color in general.

The fact that ethnicity and racial categories make up the main axis of difference and conflict in Latin America—and especially in the Andes—is significant, as Bebbington argues, for the endpoint of the analysis in this chapter. What it signifies is that the main roadblock on most of Latin America's road to democracy is that of race and ethnicity. Indigenous movements have made this clear, and they have been so successful precisely because this is the main issue. If this issue is not dealt with head-on and resolved, democratization (and justice) will continue to be negatively affected.

The indigenous movements in the Andes are painstakingly laying the foundations for constructing more equitable future societies, in economic as well as social terms, in the most

[18] Shelton Davis, personal communication, October 2006.

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unequal region in the world. Cultural revitalization and identity building have been crucial bricks in that foundation. Generations of repression of cultural expression and erosion of esteem and identity took their toll and much reconstruction has been necessary. Nevertheless, it is perplexing and frustrating to note the persistent lack of economic advances in nearly all indigenous communities and areas. This is a delayed harvest that threatens the movements themselves, as well as the democracies within which those movements have struggled so long and hard to become fully integrated (with varying degrees of success).

The history of indigenous communities in the Andes is a history of one violent rebellion after another. Again and again, unjust conditions were left basically unchanged, and pressures built over time culminating in the next social action or widespread rebellion. This cycle of appeasement, uprising, and brutal repression has repeated itself for centuries—under both colonial and republican rule, and under dictatorship and democracy alike. Many agree it is time to break the cycle.

The outstanding and critical tactical achievement of the contemporary Andean indigenous movements has been the successful introduction of nonviolence into the mix. This is not to suggest that the indigenous peoples of the 20th century were smarter than those of the 19th century or earlier. It is likely that nonviolence would not have achieved enduring change in such earlier times, when there were virtually no mass media, fewer progressive statutory instruments, and a human rights tradition that was so much in its infancy that it still had no name. Had the 1,100 indigenous families of Llinllín put down their tools and refused to work 200 years before they did, it is possible they would have been slaughtered like lambs in their fields and left to fertilize new pastures. Yet in the 1980s, their strike was not violently put down, and in the end they finally prevailed. This was not only due to the indigenous tactical decision to opt for nonviolence, but to the evenhandedness of the Ecuadorian police, military, and civil authorities—acting in full view of the nation and the world. And yet it was the indigenous decision that framed the conflict from its onset and made its constructive resolution possible.

In broad historical terms, then, indigenous movements in the Andes and beyond are still in their formative years, with immense amounts of planning and work yet to be accomplished. They are well timed and designed, coming in the wake of the return to democracy that began to emerge in the late 1970s. The current stage of democratization in the Andes has gone hand in hand with the rise of these indigenous movements. This interlocked and mutually reinforcing process still offers promise for those who were marginalized for so long due to their ethnicity and class. If ultimately successful, the beneficiaries will be non-indigenous as well as indigenous, government as well as civil society.

Clearly, the processes set in motion by the Andean indigenous movements have the potential to transform existing definitions and practices of citizenship towards greater pluralism and political participation, and therefore strengthened democracy. These movements also have the potential to increase social tensions, conflict, and political instability. Some

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view them as threats to the goal of national integration; others as key forces in a process of decentralization that is essential for the consolidation and legitimization of local institutions and broad-based power sharing. This is a story that is still unfolding. An entire hemisphere waits watchfully, in anticipation of how the narrative will turn out.

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Chapter 8

The "Y Ikatu Xingu" Campaign in Mato Grosso State (Brazil)

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Between the states of Mato Grosso and Pará in the Brazilian Amazon, lies the vast Xingu River Basin. Located at its center, the Xingu National Park constitutes the most important continuous indigenous area, sheltering 5,000 indigenous people of 14 different ethnicities.

The expansion of settlement into this, the central-eastern region of the country, began in the 1960s with the construction of federal roads that linked the capital of Mato Grosso to the northern part of the country. The roads spurred forestry exploitation, the clearing of land for extensive cattle raising, and, to a lesser degree, for land dedicated to small-scale agriculture. Parallel to this rural development, urban nuclei multiplied.

Over the past 15 years, with the expansion of soybean cultivation, settlement reached the perimeter of the Xingu National Park and encircled it. The use of inappropriate technologies in the exploitation of natural resources has resulted in massive degradation of the natural environment in this transition area between the ecosystems of the savanna and the Amazon. The aggressive nature of this process aggravated both social and environmental problems.

In the early 2000s, these problems began to directly affect the living conditions of indigenous communities inhabiting the park's interior, and became the object of vehement denunciations by the communities' leaders. At that time, the Environmental and Social Institute (ISA), a civil society organization (CSO) that focuses on indigenous issues, had been working in the park since the organization's creation in 1994. ISA not only endorsed but amplified concerns of the indigenous peoples, and began to mobilize segments of the population in the municipalities of the Xingu River Basin, representatives of local, state and federal government, civil society, the university and the private groups linked to agro-industry. Their efforts resulted in the first meeting of Canarana, during which the participants jointly decided to launch the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign. They signed the following pledge:

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Considering:

That the Xingu is one of the largest rivers in the country, and a powerful symbol of our biological and cultural diversity;

That the region of its basin is inhabited by diverse indigenous communities and native populations of different Brazilian regions;

That the historic process of settlement of this region has shown it to be an important place for agricultural development;

That this process has resulted in the deforestation of extensive areas, affecting the riparian forest, which is of fundamental importance to the protection of the rivers' sources;

Social groups—Indians, small and large producers, environmentalists, researchers and municipal leaders—gathered at the Meeting of the Headwaters of Xingu (…) have decided to unite in active collaboration, to forge a campaign for the protection and recovery of the riparian forest and of the hydroelectric resources of the Xingu basin.

These individuals, representatives of the signatory institutions, solicit the support of all Brazilian people and the combined action at all levels of government to promote policies to provide the technical and financial resources that permit the protection of rights of indigenous lands, economic viability of the settlements, the reduction of costs of recuperation of the riparian vegetation on rural lands, and the provision of basic sanitation services in the cities of this region, in this way guaranteeing the preservation of the Xingu with immeasurable symbolic value for future generations.

Letter of Canarana, 27 October, 2005[1]

This study indicates that the pledge taken by the signatories of the Letter of Canarana is being met, and that, to different degrees, all elements of the population are involved in the Campaign.

The experience of Y Ikatu Xingu demonstrates how a civil society organization was able to raise consciousness regarding the socio-environmental problems brought on by the irresponsible way that the basin was settled, and to allow different facets of the population to organize to minimize the most deleterious effects, and to devise and establish consistent corrective projects. Moreover, by assuming these responsibilities, local citizens became increasingly committed to sustainable development of the Xingu Basin.

[1] The Letter of Canarana, signed by the participants of the 1st Meeting of the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign. The signatory institutions are shown in Table 8.1.

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Although ISA took the lead on the Campaign, other entities and actors emerged throughout its implementation, demonstrating their capacity to assume, individually and collectively, the pledges of the Campaign not only in the present time, but indefinitely into the future.

The Context of the Study

Humans integrate into the "natural environment" when they utilize natural resources for survival or transform them into new means of production. In doing so, independently of their environmental awareness, they become responsible, individually and collectively, for the changes that the environment suffers due to the nature and extent of human action.

In choosing to study the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign, we are attempting to demonstrate the role that civil society took in a particularly critical socioeconomic and environmental context—the expansion of the agrarian frontier in the Amazon region. Civil society groups were able to organize and mobilize other actors, and to actively participate themselves by assuming joint responsibility for reversing, or at least minimizing, the environmental harm caused in the Xingu River Basin from the previous aggressive settling and exploitation of its natural resources.

Environmental reasons initially led to this case: we saw the aggressive way the basin had been developed, particularly the rapid expansion of agricultural production and large-scale cultivation of soybeans. This expansion caused considerable damage to a fragile ecosystem in transition, whose characteristics didn't lend themselves to such exploitation. At the same time, reasons of a social nature were also important, since they are inseparable from the environmental. The severity of environmental problems has direct repercussions on the socioeconomic and cultural conditions facing all segments of the population in the basin. When the participants of the "Y Ikatu Xingu" were recruited by CSOs, they pledged to jointly preserve, protect, and recover the resources of the Xingu River Basin, arresting the devastation of the tropical savannas and lush groves. They joined because the socio-environmental situation had become unsustainable. In joining, they became part of a pioneering experience in citizen commitment to socio-environmental and cultural action, to "…a range of alliances never before seen in Brazil, uniting sectors that were historically on opposing sides in previous campaigns."[2]

Fundamentally, the Campaign proposed the creation of techniques for organizing civil society and implementing projects that could prevent the irreversible corruption of the rivers' headwaters, to generate better alternatives for medium- and long-term development, and to guarantee the environmental and socioeconomic sustainability of the Xingu Basin.

[2] First Meeting of Canarana.

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To understand the nature of the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign,[3] it is useful to briefly note its ecological context. The Xingu River is born in the crystal clear soil of the planes of central Brazil, covered by the vegetation of the tropical savanna. It flows from south to north, crossing a large part of the states of Mato Grosso and Pará, before emptying into the Amazon River, helping to form the archipelago of its delta.[4] The Xingu River Basin, one of the most important of the Brazilian Amazon, occupies a total area of 51.1 million hectares in the states of Mato Grosso and Pará.

The area covered by this study includes the third of the basin located in the northwest of the state of Mato Grosso. On the western edge of the Xingu Basin lies the major highway, BR-163. This route directly impacts the entire region, and sped the settlement of the region over the last decade, including causing a rapid increase in deforestation, contributing significantly to the formation of the "arc of deforestation." The second highway, BR-158, lies on the eastern edge of the basin, where a more consolidated development process is under way.

At the heart of the basin lies the Xingu National Park, located entirely in the state of Mato Grosso. It constitutes a contiguous area of 2.8 million hectares. It does not include the headwaters of the rivers that form the Xingu Basin. The park was created at the end of the 1960s at the time that the federal highways were constructed on either side of the park. Over the last forty years, the park's physical environment has been increasingly dominated by new cities and numerous settlements—promoted by both the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) and by the Mato Grosso Institute of Land (INTERMAT)—and by lumberjacks and loggers who cleared the virgin land for large-scale cattle raising.

The Xingu Basin has an estimated population of 270,000, with close to 70 percent concentrated in larger urban areas and the remaining population scattered in rural areas, including some 5,000 indigenous people, as well as the agrarian reform settlers.

Although the park itself has generally been preserved in good condition, in the last few years it has also begun to suffer adverse effects from the deforestation in its environs and the degradation of water resources. These impacts reflect the environmental damage that has been accumulating in the Xingu Basin, including the reduction of water flow at the headwaters, continued deforestation of the riparian forest, contamination of riverbeds and pollution of the water sources—problems that resulted from the combination of deforestation,[5] erosion of riverbeds and the use of toxic products by agriculturalists (e.g., weed killers, fertilizers, etc.).

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[3] The name chosen, "Y Ikatu Xingu", means "Save the good and clean water of the Xingu" in the indigenous Kamaiurá language.

[4] This is a literal translation of the introduction to the document produced at the first meeting of the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign.

[5] With the exception of indigenous lands, reserves and natural parks, deforestation has already eliminated 33 percent of the natural vegetation in the state of Mato Grosso. In the words of an interviewee, referring ironically to governmental policies applied in the region: "If there hadn't been a diversion of investment into SUDAM, there

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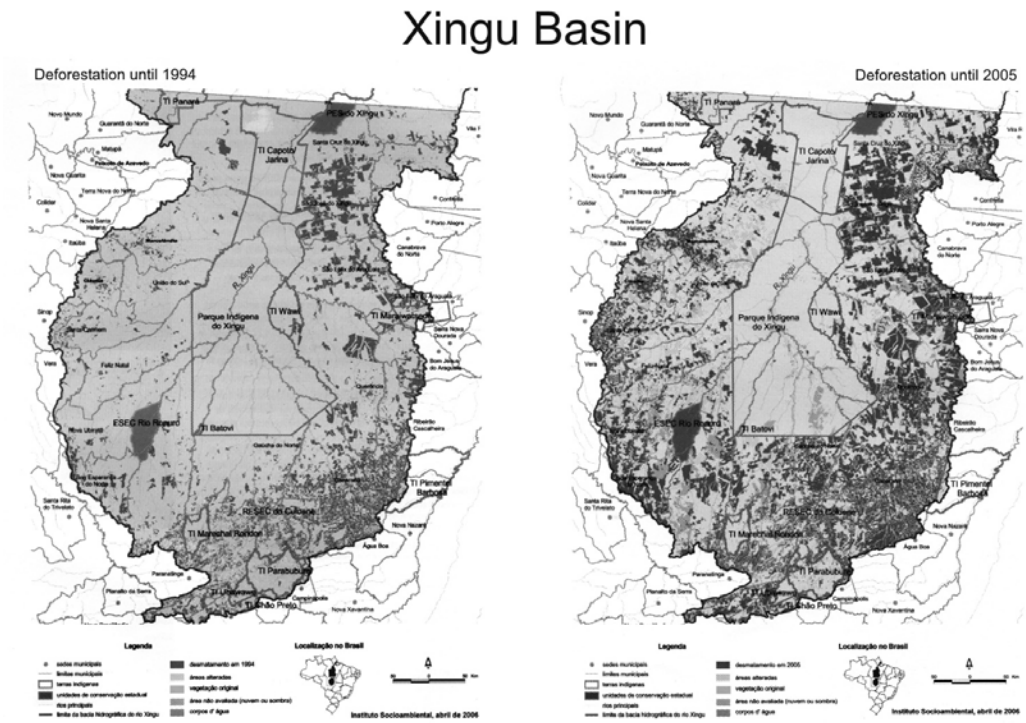

The Xingu Basin, with its numerous tributaries, is situated in the northeastern part of the state. In the middle of the basin lies the Xingu National Park, where remains the largest green area among the agro-ecological state zones. The existing legally protected areas, Conservation Units and indigenous lands are under the responsibility of the federation, state or municipalities. During the last years, some areas have been proposed as new Conservation Units, including one next to the southern limit of the Xingu National Park. However, in spite of the significant number of legally protected areas, and their expansion in recent years, the effective level of enforced protection is modest if not nonexistent. Many "legally protected areas" suffer constant pressures even when they may not be the specific object of exploitation. In this context, the Xingu National Park itself has enjoyed exceptional protection.

The map[6] above helps explain the context. It shows the dramatic way that development has evolved in the Xingu Basin between 1994 and 2005. The "arc of deforestation" is clearly seen circling the park (in dark gray), putting pressure on its resources. The maps also reveal the reasons that led the indigenous groups to denounce the damage caused both

would be no more trees here" (SUDAM was the Superintendence of the Amazon, which provided fiscal incentives for the environmentally predatory development of the northern part of the country in past decades).

[6] www.yikatuxingu.org.br.

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outside and inside the park, and spurred the Environmental and Social Institute (ISA) to initiate its mobilization of the various actors in the basin.

Interests and Conflicts in the Occupation of the Xingu

What was the situation of the Xingu Basin in the years before the Campaign that makes the proposals innovative? In fact, since the end of the 1980s, technicians from various agencies and organizations, including the federal and state governments and representatives of environmental groups, tried to alert the authorities to the risks of the accelerated process of settlement of Mato Grosso. These warnings had little impact. Like the rest of the state, the Xingu Basin became a "vast land of opportunity" that drew people with a range of attitudes and interests. Some, a minority, initially acted in good faith, unaware of the medium- and long-term adverse effects of the poorly planned techniques for exploiting natural resources and of the laws to regulate them. Others sought to reap maximum benefits at the least cost from extracting resources (for example, logging, extensive cattle breeding, mineral extraction), and without concern for their replacement, much less for their eventual scarcity. Finally, the large-scale soybean producers aggravated the socio-environmental equilibrium in the basin. The massive exploitation of resources by these migrants succeeded in creating numerous small and medium-sized cities that gave little attention to minimum requirements of urbanization, creating even more socio-environmental problems.

Before trying to understand how matters could have reached the present situation—and before commenting on how the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign seeks to reverse it—we need to recount the conflicts that began emerging during the settlement of the basin, as new actors entered the scene, initiated new economic activities, and created conflicts over the possession and exploitation of natural resources.

Some conflicts are more visible; others originate from contradictions and discontinuities in the design and implementation of policies in the region. The most visible conflict occurs between the various indigenous groups residing inside and outside the park, and the non-native population. The "outsiders" arrived in the region in successive waves, from various parts of the country and from diverse socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds.[7] The way in which these groups exploited the region's resources generated antagonism with the native population,[8] increased pressure on indigenous lands, which aside from their

[7] "Legitimate pioneers and bandits": poor farmers in search of land, land speculators or squatters from many different places, exploiters of diverse products, urban laborers looking for new employment alternatives, etc.

[8] Until the 1960s, the indigenous peoples were practically the only inhabitants of the Xingu Basin, residing there since time immemorial. They basically traveled in groups, living off natural resources necessary for their survival. They strictly limited deforestation to the opening of spaces for their ambulatory villages and for the small-scale cultivation of yucca.

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function of sheltering and protecting the remaining indigenous population constituted (and still constitute) the concerns with environmental protection in the region.[9]

Among the principal causes of the conflicts between "whites and indigenous people" figure the timber industry, loggers of high-valued wood working closely with sawmills. Besides clearing forest for roads and construction of public works, the mills work with small-, medium-, and large-scale agriculturalists who want to rapidly open new lands for cultivation.[10] The loggers select trees with the greatest commercial value, destroying other low-valued vegetation. Often the loggers invade indigenous lands and protected areas. Although less common, local conflicts also occur between indigenous groups and miners, hunters, or illegal developers of indigenous lands engaging in predatory exploitation.

Major conflicts also resulted from the investment policies of successive governments and businesses. With respect to public sector investments, the "*national integration*" *policy* is perhaps the most important. This policy promotes the building of federal highways (that is, BR-163 and BR-158) as well as other state and local highways, leading to rapid mass deforestation, and economic development of the basin. The Ministry of Agricultural Development (MDA) and entities linked to the *agrarian reform policy* created 46 agrarian reform settlements of small-scale, family farms in the basin from 1995 to 2003. Despite good intentions, this policy has been inconsistent, promoting settlements in remote areas inappropriate for family agriculture, and without providing the settlers the requisite minimum support. This disconnect among settlements led to high rates of abandonment in the reform settlements, and brought on a re-concentration of landholdings. It also led to an increase in the number of landless farmers, creating new rural conflicts that contradicted the explicit intentions of the government policies.

Another source of conflict is *environmental policy* as defined and applied by the MMA and related municipal and state entities. In the rural sector, conflicts occur among small-, medium-, and large-scale producers seeking authorization to clear forests, the transport of forest products, meeting obligations to replant the forest, the definition and implementation of legal reserve areas, the use of agricultural chemicals, and the application and payment of fees and fines. In the urban sector, conflicts occur with industries regarding runoffs and poisonous by-products, and with municipalities concerning the collection and treatment of waste. Conflicts arise from, among other things, the costs of complying with environmental legislation, dealing with the bureaucracy, the absence of clear information, the lack of technical assistance, and problems related to auditing.

[9] Presently there are a little over 300,000 indigenous people, down from an estimated native population of 4 to 6 million at the time of the discovery. The population of the country today is around 180 million.

[10] Later used by large and medium-sized producers as pastures for cattle raising, and more recently, for the commercial production of grains, such as soy and rice.

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In the business sector, *energy policy* has led to localized conflicts between private- and public-sector groups and consortia. The business groups are seeking to exploit the hydroelectric potential of the basin, and installing hydroelectric plants (UHE). An example is the UHE of Paranatinga which was recently invaded by indigenous groups who stopped works in progress.[11] Among the principal reasons for the mobilization of the indigenous peoples was the lack of information on situating the UHE. The decision on these plants was made solely on technical and economic grounds, without debate or consideration of environmental, socio-cultural, and economic criteria of the affected populations, nor of the "inalienable" rights of indigenous peoples to their lands.

Finally, the *agricultural policies* and practices of the large agribusiness corporations affect the family farm agriculture, adversely affecting the ability of the latter to compete with agri-business. Their policies are also being fought by environmental groups.

Historic Context of Civil Society Intervention

The scene is set and its principal actors have been introduced. The conflicts of interests and rights have been identified. Ways allowing coexistence and relations among groups have evolved through time as each group has fought for its interests, most of the time searching for an immediate material return.

In this context, why does an NGO assume the role of mobilizing and uniting all these actors toward a "common and sustainable future"? Previously, in developing regions, this role was filled almost exclusively by the public sector. In consolidated democracies, state instruments allowed for dialogue and mediation among different groups of citizens. These state actors gradually began to define themselves as the keepers of social coexistence. In the Xingu Basin, however, there is limited presence of the state and its corresponding means for establishing dialogue. All in all, if we examine the history of various other countries, and in particular of the Amazon Basin, the situation in the Xingu Basin is really not exceptional. In regions of agricultural frontier expansion, society establishes its own way of organizing—"before the state intervenes."[12] Initially, these are organizations created to support society's own interests, against corporate interests. Because of contradictory pressures within these groups, as well as asymmetries of power, hegemonic groups tend to co-opt the "other" expressions of citizenship, "neutralizing" if not destroying them. In Brazil, this phenomenon has repeated itself throughout history. Authoritarianism and centralized power have characterized Brazilian life in the past, contributing to the low levels of cooperation and dialogue among groups.

[11] Other examples include the proposed mega UHE in Belo Monte, in the Xingu Basin in the state of Pará, near the city of Altamira and next to the Trans-Amazon Highway; and the proposed UHE in Aripuanã, the northwestern region of the state of Mato Grosso.

[12] This same movement was observed in the settling of the North American West.

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In frontier areas, arbitration and moderation among different interests and political groups were assured, in many cases, by religion and by ecclesiastical hierarchies of various congregations. In the Brazilian case, the role played by the Catholic Church has always been recognized. Initially, it was exercised through its priests; later, lay organizations dedicated to social projects, and even later, the church began to intervene in public policy, and even in party politics. In the case of the Y Ikatu Xingu, the role of religion is quite limited or nonexistent. This can be explained by the fact that the ISA is a CSO of a secular mold, whose principles, mission, vision and objectives originate in humanist paradigms taking into consideration the crucial question of human rights (e.g., direct action working with indigenous groups) and, more recently, the Brundtland Report, UNCED 92, Agenda XXI, and corresponding United Nations conventions. Other reasons could be associated with the expansion of evangelical churches or sects, coinciding with a decline in organizations associated with the Catholic Church and "liberation theology."[13]

But there is also a third factor. The ISA is different from other NGOs in that it is not corporative. It defends and organizes around "collective and diffuse interests." Being a CSO (and thus private), it operates in the *res publica* or in the public interest and not the private interest. It forms a part of what has cautiously begun to be recognized and to proclaim itself as the "non-state public sector." Note that the ISA assumes, in the context of the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign, roles and mandates traditionally described (or understood) as being "of the state" or "the government."

It could be argued that it represents a "diversion of function," or that in such a situation, the "legitimate role" of civil society should be to mobilize the community, denounce the "absence of the state/government" and lobby for it to assume its constitutional roles. Without denying this view, we need to put it in the Brazilian context. Brazil has a long tradition of the authoritarian and centralized state; there have been only a few democratic interludes in its more than 500 years of history. It is now the first time in history that the country has had two uninterrupted decades of democratic experience. Throughout the centuries, Brazilians have witnessed the absolute power of the state over society.

The battle waged by society for the "re-democratization of the country" against the military regime (1964–1986) was, in fact, the fight for the construction of a previously unprecedented "rule of law." In this situation, citizens and civil society figure as protagonists and not as mere extras in formal democratic processes controlled by instruments of the state.

The process in Xingu, which depended upon intense engagement of civil society entities and social movements of all types, was built into the Federal Constitution of 1988. This establishes, for the first time, the idea of "participative democracy," associated with the traditional "representative democracy." Although cautiously at first, in this new approach,

[13] Represented by Gustavo Gutiérrez in Peru, Leonardo Boff in Brazil, and others.

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"public affairs" ceases to be a state-controlled monopoly, opening up space for citizen organizations to assume roles previously considered the exclusive domain of the state.

In summary, the experience of Y Ikatu Xingu was made possible by the convergence of several factors, among the most important being the existence and adoption of paradigms of sustainable development; the emergence of non-corporate, civil society NGOs and a process for the creation and strengthening of Brazilian democracy.

Actors in the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign

Who are the stakeholders of the Y Ikatu Xingu campaign and how do they define themselves? They represent the socio-cultural diversity, richness and complexity of the mix of the centuries-old populations of ethnic indigenous groups, and immigrants from the south and northeast of Brazil. They include CSOs and sectors that are the foundation of the regional economy and their respective associations. They also include committees representing the executive, legislative, and to a lesser degree, judicial branches of government at the local, state and federal levels. Members of the academic world are also represented: universities and other educational and research institutions. In sum, the list in Table 8.1 demonstrates the involvement in the Campaign of representatives of almost[14] every segment of the resident population of the region, with their different levels of organization. The following characterizations of the principal entities involved include self-definitions and opinions of some of the actors interviewed in regard to the function they play in the Campaign.

Among the CSOs, the ISA is dominant: it coordinates, proposes, and develops projects, provides details and negotiates at all levels. It acts as a co-participant in the carrying out of various projects. Other actors define it as "the soul and the lead wagon of the Campaign."

The ISA is an institution with an outstanding performance record on indigenous issues in different areas of the country. Created in April of 1994 as an NGO, it achieved the status of CSO of the Public Interest (OSCIP) in 2001. Its creation grew out of the great moment of burgeoning social movements (described in the previous section) at the end of the 1980s, and out of the implementation of different campaigns significant in terms of civil society participation. Among the most important of the latter are *The Promulgation of Collective Social Rights and the Environment*, the *Allied Campaign of Indigenous Peoples,* the formation of the *Brazilian Forum of NGOs*, the preparation and participation of the *Conference of the United Nations Eco 1992* in Rio de Janeiro. The 28 founders of the ISA took an active part in these events; together they constitute a multidisciplinary group made up

[14] Most notable is the absence of representatives of the timber industry, whose activities continue with intensity along the length of the BR-163 Highway. Participation was almost nonexistent of churches of various congregations, which historically have tended to be very active during development of the agricultural frontiers in Brazil.

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Table 8–1. Participants in the Meeting of Canarana

At the regional level:
Professors from the State University of Mato Grosso – UNEMAT **(Nova Xavantina)**; NGO Ongara and Syndicate of Rural Workers **(Agua Boa)**; Secretary of Agriculture and the Environment; Municipal Chamber and Intendency **(Canarana)**; Mayors' Association of the Pingo d'Água Settlement; Syndicate of Rural Workers **(Querencia)**; **(São José do Xingu)**; Prelate of the Catholic Church **(São Felix de Araguaia)**; Association of Indigenous Lands of the Xingu – ATIX and members of diverse indigenous groups **(Xingu Park)**; **Socio-Environmental Institute (Instituto Socio Ambiental – ISA)** diverse technicians and representatives of other institutions working in the settlements and ranches of the park's environs.
At the state level:
Mato Grossan Forum of Environment and Development (Forum Matogrosense del Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo – FORMAD); State Foundation of the Environment (Fundación Estatal del Medio Ambiente – FEMA); Federation of Agriculture of Mato Grosso (Federación de Agricultura de Mato Grosso – FAMATO); Attorney General (Fiscalía Pública Federal de Mato Grosso known as Ministerio Público in Brazil – MPF-MT);
At the federal level (Brasilia):
Ministry of the Environment (Ministerio del Médio Ambiente – MMA); Ministry of Agrarian Development (Ministerio del Desarrollo Agrario – MDA); National Water Agency (Agencia Nacional de Água – ANA); National Confederation of Agriculture (Confederación Nacional de Agricultura – can); National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Instituto Nacional de Colonización y Reforma Agraria – INCRA); Association of Ranchers of Xingu and Araguaia (Asociación de los Hacendados del Xingu e Araguaia – ASFAX); National Foundation of the Indian (Fundación Nacional del Indio – FUNAI); Amazon Working Group (Grupo de Trabajo Amazónico – GTA); World Wildlife Federation – WWF; Brazilian Enterprise of Agricultural and Livestock Research (Empresa Brasileña de Pesquisa Agropecuaria – EMBRAPA); Confederation of Agricultural Workers (Confederación de la Trabajadores de la Agricultura – CONTAG); and Operational Center of the System of Protection of the Amazon (Centro Gestor e Operacional del Sistema de Protección del Amazonia – CENSIPAM); World Bank – IBRD (Banco Mundial – BIRD).

of anthropologists, lawyers, environmentalists, biologists, forestry engineers, geographers, political scientists, philosophers, systems analysts, journalists, etc.

ISA's mission consists of proposing integrated solutions to social and environmental problems; its principal objective is the defense of collective and diffused interests related to the environment, cultural heritage, human and community rights.

The ISA has been active in the Xingu Basin since 1994, initially to deal with indigenous issues. It completed the diagnosis of the Xingu Park and assured the constant monitoring of the environment, lending support to indigenous groups in the surveillance and maintenance of the borders of their territory. Later, the denunciations by indigenous groups and the constant worsening of the environmental situation led the ISA to align itself with entities in the municipalities of the region, along the length of the BR-158 Highway and to the southwest. Later, the ISA expanded relationships with other state and federal entities active

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in the basin, seeking to involve them in the Campaign. Various other smaller participating NGOs have a more localized work or specific area in which they act. Representatives of these NGOs and other entities (listed in Table 8.1) became principal actors in the Campaign.

The fourteen indigenous ethnicities of the park participate through the Association of Xingu Indigenous Land (ATIX), which assures the mobilization of indigenous leaders and acts in the inspection of the borders of the park. Their president believes that "the most important is the possibility that the indigenous people participate and follow what is being done," and affirms that the Campaign made it possible for the indigenous people to open dialogue with the whites.

The academic community and research institutions are represented by the State University of Mato Grosso (UNEMAT), the Brazilian Society of Agricultural Research (EMPBRAPA) and the Institute of Amazon Research (IPAM). UNEMAT, an important educational resource in the community, acts in the most direct manner. Because of its proximity, it is accessible to young people of several groups and cities of the basin. For the Campaign, it has developed alternative low-cost technologies, co-participates in the execution of projects in the field, conducts research on etiology and water quality, and subsidizes the other actors, in this manner integrating the university in the regional reality.

In the productive agricultural sector, three associations stand out, demonstrating the diversity that exists among rural producers. The Union of Rural Laborers (STRs) represent the small-scale producers of family agriculture, with properties of up to 100 hectares. The STRs act almost exclusively in the design of agrarian reform, "establishing the initial foothold to obtain resources, organize educational courses, and other activities that allow small-scale producers to improve their production and labor methods."[15]

The Union of Rural Producers represents medium-scale farmers with an average of 500 hectares who, generally, have livestock raising as their principal activity, although some are now substituting pasture for crop cultivation. Finally, large-scale producers, holders of properties of thousands of hectares (some from 80,000 to 200,000) dedicated to the cultivation of rice or soybeans, participate through Business Groups. It is necessary to differentiate the interests of medium- and large-scale producers who dedicate themselves to extensive livestock raising, from those who engage in commercial agriculture. Each has different mind-sets and business practices, and they exploit natural resources in a dissimilar manner. It is essential to understand that the interests of these three different segments of the agricultural sector are unique and rarely coincide.

The privileged position of the agribusiness sector is owed to a succession of incidents that transformed the state of Mato Grosso into a land of opportunity for large investors, and thus, was attractive to agro-industry. Here was the chance for territorial expansion with an abundance of unexploited lands that were public (thus, low-cost), at a central location,

[15] Interview with the president of one of the region's STRs.

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with geophysical characteristics of the savanna and of the area in transition, favorable in terms of the extensive cattle raising, as well as the cultivation of large continuous areas. And, principally, there was government support[16] in technical, political and even financial terms. As a result of this combination of factors, the state acquired an economic vigor that turned it into the state with the most cattle production and soybean cultivation in the country, as well as greatly modifying the economy of the Xingu Basin.

Representatives of the local political power define themselves as promoters of dialogue between representatives of civil society, in particular between environmental NGOs and agricultural producers, helping both parties to overcome mutual preconceptions based on opposing points of view. Finally, state and federal entities that act in the basin participate through their representatives in local offices. However, state entities played a relatively unimportant role in the Campaign.

The Campaign, Socio-Environmental Problems and the Search for Solutions

In the first Meeting of Canarana, the participants, distributed in Working Groups (GT), succeeded in diagnosing the socioeconomic and environmental situation in the basin.[17] Although expressed through the specific lens of their sector, the results of these GTs showed substantial agreement on the principal problems identified. Among the most important were, globally, erosion of tributaries, causing the appearance of sandbars and islands, reduction in the volume of fish and water, contamination of headwaters and groundwater by runoff from sawmills, agro-poisons, the cleaning of agricultural machines, and alteration and reduction in rainfall regimens affecting the climate, the increase of health problems (particularly respiratory) from burning of vegetation.

Actors attribute the aforementioned problems, on the one hand, to the inappropriate exploitation of natural resources: deforestation[18] that impacts the riparian vegetation, erosion of riverbeds, extraction of sand, and lack of attention to the pathways for the roads, causing inadequate drainage. On the other hand, problems arise from misinformation about the importance of headwaters and the environmental laws that regulate their use, inadequate municipal policies for environmental education and monitoring, and lack of urban planning for the municipalities of the region.

Aside from the causes of these general problems, others affect specific groups. There are several problems peculiar to small-scale producers, such as the inadequate policies for

[16] The state's present governor is the owner of one of the major agribusiness companies.

[17] More complete information about the Campaign is available on the Web site www.yikatuxingu.org.br.

[18] Practices of deforestation and slash and burn have deep roots in the agricultural tradition of the region; reversing them requires a major amount of information and a conscious effort to educate about the impacts of these practices in the savanna and provide technical assistance to help change them.

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family agriculture and the establishment of small-farmer projects in poor and remote areas. There is generally inadequate basic infrastructure in the region (roads, energy, potable water, etc.), and environmental licenses are not provided in the majority of settlements, which makes the regulation of land tenure for settlers impossible. The weakness of the organizations of small-scale farmers to design and conduct more balanced programs for development is another issue.

Large-scale producers have their own set of problems. First, the inadequacy of environmental legislation which imposes high costs, and creates difficulties in the observation of the Forestry Code, and the lack of information about new proposed legislation.

The Indigenous Working Group has different sets of problems, such as the sporadic intrusions onto their lands by fishermen, hunters, loggers and miners,[19] the killing of forest animals by river contamination, the lack of information about water quality of the rivers, the increase in forest burning, the construction of bridges, roads, and dams that increase population and/or density of vehicular traffic, and thus increase pressure on the park, and finally, the lack of dialogue between the indigenous people and the rest of the population.

A combination of action programs was proposed to minimize these problems. With respect to the *recuperation of riparian vegetation*, several techniques are applicable, such as the enrichment through introduction of new species with economic value, and the reservation and isolation of permanently preserved areas in rural areas, and more access to governmental resources. With regard to the *contamination of rivers*, the suggestions included collection and incineration of agricultural toxins, the planning of property to impede the access of cattle to the headwaters, the selective collection of recyclable materials and depositing of trash following technical norms, and installation of systems for treatment of sewage in municipalities.

For the *protection of indigenous lands*, several major lines of action were proposed: the creation of a 50 km strip of protected indigenous lands around the park, free of agricultural toxins; the prohibition of new agrarian reform settlements in this strip; the prohibition of depositing waste from city sewers, ranches or hotels into the rivers; rigorous monitoring of the degradation of riparian vegetation and contamination of rivers, the training of indigenous agents to prevent intrusions into indigenous lands, prior consultation with involved communities before building bridges, roads, dams, with clear strategies to recover environmental damage; carrying out studies of socio-environmental, cultural, economic and political impacts for any project (large, medium, and small) that will have repercussions in indigenous areas,[20] and the promotion of joint activities with neighbors.

Additional action of an institutional character was proposed. These involved creation of Secretariats (municipalities) of Environment, establishing Environmental Consultations, and the development, publication, and implementation of the Master Plan for the munici-

[19] This type of problem tends to happen more in indigenous lands outside of the park.

[20] As in the recent case of the Hydroelectric Plant (UHE) of Paratininga.

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palities of the basin. There was also a call for establishing the Terms of Agreement in each municipality, with all the actors endorsing the protection and recuperation of the riparian vegetation, the linking of the municipalities of the Xingu Basin to establish an intermunicipal accord, and the creation of a Committee of the Xingu Basin and Basin Subcommittees.

Parallel to this, there are proposals to give incentives for environmental education: sensitizing the population to the subject of the Campaign, the design of educational materials, the revitalization of environmental education working groups in the municipalities, and the development of practical activities in schools dealing with the topic of environmental conservation.

Regarding the large properties, proposals include changes in the forestry legislation to guarantee that areas of permanent preservation that are degraded and in the process of recuperation not be penalized by environmental monitoring services; instead, they would be tracked to meet deadlines set for their regeneration. Other proposals include economic and financial support for the maintenance, conservation, recuperation, and isolation of the Permanently Preserved Areas.[21] Also proposed was the establishment of partnerships with large corporations (Bunge, Amaggi, Coimbra, and Cargill) to create breeding areas for native shrubbery in schools and rural settlements for the recuperation and enrichment of riparian vegetation.

In the first Meeting of Canarana, four priority lines of action, out of the multiple problems and respective causes, were agreed on to correct or at least minimize the problems:

- Protection of indigenous lands and rights;
- Economic viability of the settlements;
- Reduction of costs of recuperation on private property; and
- Basic hygiene in municipal areas.

For each one of these lines of action, links with competent governmental entities were supposed, as were mobilizations that would generate a greater degree of awareness on the part of the interested sector, to be reinforced with new strategies toward environmental education. In this context, the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign has been developing a considerable volume of activities, meeting with its objectives and the lines for priority action.

With regard to the first priority of *protection of indigenous lands and rights,* as of May 2006, no projects with direct involvement of indigenous groups were among the initiatives of the Campaign. This does not imply the absence of action by the indigenous people. Its leaders list four factors that generate positive results and are considered important to the sustainability of indigenous lands: (i) the creation of effective channels of communication

[21] It is estimated that amount was spent to deforest; therefore, costs of reforestation should be covered from the public coffers.

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between Indians and whites, making possible, for the first time, a constructive dialogue between the two sides; (ii) the constitution of the Association of Indigenous Lands of the Xingu—ATIX, as a representative political entity of the 14 indigenous groups of the park; (iii) the continuation of monitoring activities of the frontiers and borders of the park and the education of indigenous people to carry out this activity; (iv) the production of seedlings from native trees inside the park, to be marketed for reforestation of logged-over areas.

In spite of the success of these activities and the value of the Campaign in "*having awakened the conscience of whites with respect to the necessity of preservation,*" Indians note problems related to the process: there is a delay in generating results despite promising local initiatives. The limited participation of ATIX in the coordination is another problem. There are also inadequate resources to guarantee the training of Indians, which is a fundamental requirement for self-management by the diverse indigenous groups. The large property-holders have not adopted a coherent stance; in the meetings, they agreed with proposed preservation measures, but have not supplied the resources to put them in practice. Finally, there is not a way for the indigenous people to evaluate the Campaign. Despite all these negatives, the indigenous representatives interviewed believe that on balance, the Campaign is positive. In the view of a white interviewee who actively participated in the Campaign: "The matter of the Indigenous Lands requires a decisive effort to sustain the Campaign, due to the importance given by the Indians to the protection of the environment and the defense of their territories."

With respect to the second priority line of action—*economic viability of the settlements*—an exhaustive study of the situation of the agrarian reform settlements of the Xingu Basin was carried out at the end of 2005. This study sought to characterize the economic, social and environmental profile of the settlements located in the basin, that grew out of programs of the MDA, INCRA, and civil society entities, and to define guidelines, policies, strategies and financing that will better define the criteria of the settlements and to assure their future viability. Up to the time of the study, 472 settlements of agrarian reform had been registered in Mato Grosso, with 5.5 million hectares and an estimated population of 234,000 people (78,000 families). The study focused on twenty settlements in the Xingu Basin, distributed in 12 of the 14 municipalities included in the Campaign and administered by INCRA. The settlements that were subjects of the study cover a total area of 358,341 hectares, divided in 5,407 parcels, of which 4,418 (81.7 percent) are occupied in some manner although not regularly.[22] The study showed that these settlements, all created after 1995, resulted from inconsistent agrarian and environmental policies, and that even when these settlements were created, environmental damage was already quite evident in the basin.

[22] Irregularities were found in the possession of land parcels due to their sale, division, concentration, or occupation by individuals who are not legal beneficiaries of agrarian reform.

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Although official INCRA data count 5,375 beneficiary families, the number of settlers found in the parcels by researchers was fewer: 2,449 families (45 percent of the official estimate). The parcels had an average of 81.1 hectares/family with a maximum of 100 ha and a minimum of 30 ha—a size that in this region characterizes a family farm unit. The INCRA units represent 29.6 percent of the rural holdings in the state, but occupy only 1.2 percent of agricultural land.[23] Some 16,328 persons live on these farms, of whom 10,515 live on the parcels and 5,515 in agro-villas (small centers created in the settlements but with limited infrastructure and equipment—if any). They constitute 2.5 percent of the population of the state and 6 percent of the rural population.

The majority of the reform settlements are organized into producer associations. The effectiveness of these associations varies from very high in four settlements to nil in another seven and good in another four. Among the most important reasons for the low performance are the following: inadequate mobilization of the settlement beneficiaries, the limited capacity of their leaders to represent and defend them, inadequate communication of the objectives of the associations, and the difficulty of traveling to meetings and other events. Although the Union of Rural Laborers operates in 13 settlements, the study reveals their activity is limited.[24]

The INCRA is physically present very little, generally limited to an annual visit[25] of a fundamentally bureaucratic nature. The study confirms the state of abandonment of the agrarian reform settlements. In spite of this sober diagnosis of the situation of the settlements, the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign has fostered significant initiatives of the small-scale settlers, showing the potential for expansion and replication in the Xingu Basin, the recuperation of degraded areas in different municipalities, building on the initiative of the settlers, particularly the breeding and production of seedlings and reforestation, introduction of alternative technologies for protection, and the introduction of permanent cultivations. Projects in various settlements and municipalities are cited, involving STR, NGOs, ISA, UNEMAT, EMBRAPA, etc.

The priority activity seeking the *reduction of costs of recuperation on private property* parallels activities for the reforestation of riparian vegetation, which the Campaign also promotes. Universities and the state research institutions (EMBRAPA, IPAM) are carrying out related studies on these issues. The studies identify and test alternatives for reforestation and for the protection of headwaters. In addition, these studies seek to reduce costs, thus making these activities technically and economically feasible for farm producers. Ongoing studies focus on diagnosis and planning of land use, analysis of water quality of principal rivers and tributaries, the transfer of available technology in recuperation of protected areas,

[23] The majority (86.6 percent) of rural properties of the state have fewer than 500 ha and occupy 18 percent of the total arable land.

[24] This was corroborated in field interviews during this study.

[25] Fifty-one percent of the settlements went for four years without any type of follow-up on the part of INCRA.

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identification of new technologies for conditions in the Xingu Basin, and the introduction of improved agro-ecological practices in rural settlements.

Along with research activities and the recovery of ciliate vegetation in the agrarian reform settlements, other projects with the same end goal are being carried out together with municipalities. Of particular note is the socio-environmental training project financed by the National Environmental Fund (FNMA), which has had promising results. This project involves 50 native people from six municipalities of the park's environs, with different profiles and previous training, and from different sectors (e.g., small producers, biologists and rural teachers.) The work of these agents is being recognized locally, turning them into reference points on the subject of the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign.

The fourth priority of the Campaign is *basic sanitation in municipal sites*. At the request of the ISA, the national Urban Ministry diagnosed the sanitation situation in the 14 municipalities located in the Xingu Basin and in the city of Sinop, next to the BR-163 Highway, where more than half of the population of the basin lives.

The study indicates sizeable differences in the sanitation condition and services in the cities located to the west and east of Xingu National Park, particularly with respect to water distribution. This shows a development gap among the areas of the basin. The seven cities of the west, with greater population density, have significantly better distribution conditions and water quality compared to cities to the east, which suffer from periodic water shortages and poor water quality.

Despite these differences, some environmental and sanitation conditions are common to all the cities. These are typically cities with few hills, located at remote distances from water sources, thus reducing waste deposits in riverbeds or streams. All have subterranean water reserves at their disposal, and soil with good permeability and deep phreatic layers. For these reasons, individual water and sewage systems consist of rudimentary wells and pits.

Currently, urban sanitation conditions are considered critical in all the major municipalities because of the inadequacy of solid waste treatment and continuing environmental degradation, especially of the groundwater. In this light, the study suggests immediate development of projects to guide decisions regarding the improvement and extension of existing solid waste systems and water treatment.

Organization and Financing of the Campaign

But what was the social organization that led the actors to the observed commitment and to achieving all these activities? Since its beginnings, the Campaign counted on the mobilization, organization, and participation of diverse actors both local and outside. This organization, originating at the level of indigenous groups of the Xingu Park, was gradually expanded to include other actors, and was reinforced significantly with the support of the ISA at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s.

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When the environmental problems outside the park began to affect the socio-environmental conditions of indigenous groups, the ISA acted. It sought to identify all the entities in the park's environs that had a direct or indirect relationship with the degradation of the Xingu Basin's headwaters. Out of the process of identifying and mobilizing these entities was born the first Meeting of Canarana, the starting point of the Campaign. The methodology adopted in the first meeting (as in the subsequent phases) facilitated the sectoral and integral diagnosis of the basin. This built the awareness of participants of the environmental problems affecting everyone. This exercise also increased recognition of the cultural diversity and the different interpretations that the actors hold. It was this diversity and because of the divergences, that led to the decision to unite and organize to advance common interests. As well described by an interviewee, "The spark that ignited the Campaign was finding an objective common to everyone."

The Letter of Canarana defined and sealed the commitment of all the participants in the Campaign to preserve and restore the water sources and the headwaters.

But how did coordination and actors develop to meet the collective commitment adopted in the Letter of Canarana? For logistic reasons, after the initial Meeting of Canarana, the Campaign coordination opted to work on the sector-specific priorities, that is, on the issues of greatest interest to the interests of the actors.[26] The process of coordination was reinforced at the sectoral level. The ISA started and continued with the coordination role, both within groups and between groups. The ISA has an office in Canarana responsible for implementing sector-specific or other projects, and for coordinating field activities of the Campaign.

Overall coordination of the Campaign is carried out from ISA's headquarters in Brasilia. This office promotes coordination with other centers of power at different levels, including the international, and supports interaction with public and private entities. It identifies sponsors and seeks funding sources, develops, directs, and negotiates projects, and publicizes the Campaign's advances and results. This decentralized system of organization and coordination of the management and executive has proven efficient. It allows the actors at various levels, situations and influence to develop their own initiatives at the same time as those local and central hubs interact, ensuring a common line of activities for the Campaign and the overall control of its effort. This system of organization, although it has worked so far, is still a cause for concern for the future. In the mid-term, the Campaign has not yet been defined and institutionalized to assure collegial coordination for the Campaign, with ISA still in a privileged situation—but progressively delegating responsibilities to other directly affected actors to assure that there is continuity and sustainability.

Informed interviewees suggested the following:

[26] A second meeting in Agua Boa at the end of 2005 reunited the coordinators of the sectoral groups.

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- Politically, it is possible that the ISA may withdraw in the short term, leading to the rise of a local group, committee or other form of coordination.
- Financially, it can't depend indefinitely on projects; it is necessary to identify and put in place other forms of financing.
- If the ISA were to leave, the intensity of action could diminish, but the process will not stop.

Given the impact that the Campaign has had, including at the international level, the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign may be able to count on outside financial support for its projects.[27] As of July 2006, the projects of the Campaign have had a total value of US$1,793,394.[28] Although there are diverse sources of support disclosed by the Campaign, 83.4 percent are public funds from ministries of the federal government.[29] The other sources, mixed (public and private) or exclusively private (HSBC Bank, DOEN Foundation) contribute significantly less.

Potential Opportunities and Limitations of the Campaign

The key elements of the "Y Ikatu Xingu" Campaign can be summarized in the following terms:

- That it originates with a civil society entity;
- The ISA's level of penetration in the Xingu Basin, based on knowledge and ten years of recognized work in the region prior to the launching of the campaign;
- The fundamental role played by ISA was identifying key environmental issues, the mobilization of groups concerned with the environment[30] and its capacity to "put the issue, in a decisive manner, into the public sphere";
- The mobilization of sectors with different, if not competing interests, including the private sector—although in a limited manner;[31]
- Growing cohesion of most of the participants, especially the universities and research centers;
- The celebration of an agreement among all actors, both local and regional, in support of the Campaign;

[27] The most recent publication of the Campaign includes a photograph and declaration of support of Brazil's most famous fashion model, Gisele Bündchen, facilitated by a large Brazilian corporation.

[28] Although there is a significant cost for campaigns of this nature, it is only US$6.64 per inhabitant of the basin.

[29] The funds of the MMA, FNMA Demonstrative Projects—PDA/PADEQ add up to 64.9 percent of total resources of the Campaign until now; Ministry of the Cities, MDA and the INCRA, contribute 5.7 percent of the total, and the MCT, 12.8 percent.

[30] Actors that can be either causes of environmental problems, or suffer the negative impacts.

[31] This is not meant to devalue the participation of the private sector but rather to show its poor relative contribution.

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- The involvement in the Campaign of more than half of the local authorities in the Xingu Basin;
- A clear improvement of relations between the indigenous and nonindigenous people generating the start of a dialogue and a greater respect between the two groups;
- The capacity to obtain the support of diverse federal government ministries and of other entities; and
- The extensive publicity on the subject nationwide, reaching both public and private sectors.

Among limitations of the Campaign to date, the following should be noted:

- An almost excessive sector-specific perspective, making it more difficult to gain full participation of different entities and risking "darkening" the principles and objectives of the Campaign;
- The lack of a systematic and continuous evaluation of the Campaign, which could compromise its successes (e.g., the improvement of dialogue between contending actors; the gradual overcoming of conflicts);
- Excessive dependence of some sectors on the ISA and its coordination role in the Campaign.[32]

There are also some limitations related to the Campaign's decisions on priority for action. Principal among these, the *protection of indigenous lands and rights* is concentrated inside the park without addressing groups that live outside it. With respect to the *viability of settlements*, the major barriers to participation are not due to flaws in the Campaign itself but rather to an erroneous concept of agrarian reform policy in basins like the Xingu, the lack of organizational capacity in the settlements themselves—which is attributable to isolation and physical distance between the settlements, their historical context, the inadequate size of lots and the absence of basic infrastructure required, and to the lack of communication between settlements and outside agents. Given its structural characteristics (except the final one) none of these flaws can be corrected by the Campaign.

With reference to reducing costs of restoration on private properties, there is an insufficient contribution to the Campaign from the large-scale producers, despite the participation of some of these and of a representative of the largest agribusiness firms. Although there has been some progress in this regard, there is still no formal established relations between the coordination of the Campaign and the CAN, nor with the FAMATO. Their resistance and

[32] Within the settlements of Agrarian Reform, the indigenous groups of the park, and on a minor scale, the environmental agents.

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inadequate investments in the core objectives of the Campaign is a major limitation. This is worrisome given the undeniable influence of the large producers and exporter firms on the environment in the Xingu Basin, and the fact that cultivated areas continue to expand.[33] Not even the fact that the sector, after several years of boom, is going through an economic crisis brought on by international commodity prices, can justify such a low participation and investment in the Campaign. From a strictly economic point of view, the sector should be interested in guaranteeing its productivity and profit over the medium and long run as justifications for a more rational and balanced use of natural resources.

With regard to *sanitation in municipal headquarters*, although local public power has grown, the municipalities' commitment to the Campaign remains timid considering the extent of existing problems. There is no mention of the participation of the Municipal Secretaries of Education or Health in the Campaign, which is a contradiction given their importance and direct links to the subject of the Campaign. The fragility of the local public institutions and their difficulty in committing to the Campaign could compromise its results.

There are some additional limitations to the Campaign. One is the almost complete absence of participation of groups associated with local churches which traditionally play an important role in promoting measures to improve living conditions of the people. Evidently, the churches have not yet proselytized in frontier regions. The associations of major commercial businesses are also absent, in spite of the surge in economic activities in surrounding rural areas (sawmills, livestock raising, extensive agriculture, machinery and different agricultural inputs, grain processing industries, etc.). These last groups exercise prominent roles in the local economy, alongside local authorities. No representative from either church or commercial entities were among participants in the first meeting, nor do they appear subsequently as co-authors or sponsors of the Campaign.

Empowerment and Citizen Commitment

The above limitations have not blocked empowerment or citizen commitment by the majority of the participants in the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign. As is evident from our study, citizen commitment is seen in the adoption and signing of the Letter of Canarana, and the fact that the majority of the actors have remained active in the Campaign. Obviously, not all the participants are equally "empowered," assuming ownership of the commitment to the Campaign as individuals, as members of their respective groups, whatever their influence or power may be. Nonetheless, both the documents and interviewees make it evident that for most people involved,[34] the Campaign was an unequaled opportunity to expose the crucial

[33] Despite their greater economic weight, landholdings and responsibility are a large part of the environmental problems that compromise the river headwaters.

[34] Environmental, indigenous, and research entities were already sensitized to the topic, although each within their own sphere of influence, which the Campaign broadened.

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environmental problems of the Xingu Basin, to analyze them from an intersectoral and global perspective, to better understand their causes and impacts. Based on this enhanced awareness, the Campaign is able to transform this new understanding in multiple concrete ways, and to seek alternative solutions to these environmental problems.

Over time, many actors changed their attitudes regarding the situation in the basin. Several of these changes were recorded and figure in the body of this study. The adoption of these new attitudes in itself proves a greater citizen commitment and individual and collective empowerment.

Citizen commitment is not limited to carrying out projects related to the Campaign nor addressing exclusively environmental problems; it is also learning to recognize "the other"—that is, those different in racial and socioeconomic terms, origin, accumulated experiences (productive, political), cultural values—and gradually to accept the consequences, even when there are conflicts of interests among groups. It would be too much to say that the Campaign was able to break down the barriers generated by the differences among diverse actors. However, without a doubt, the Campaign contributed significantly to reducing these barriers, and in some cases, to breaking them.

Sustainability of the Process Initiated with the Campaign

Will the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign be sustainable in the medium and long run? The term "sustainability" is used in many contexts, so it has become a buzzword, and almost lost meaning.[35] Etymologically, sustainability is defined as the "action of supporting, maintaining balance, conserving." Sustainability, thus defined, implies a re-equilibration, environmentally and economically, of the Xingu Basin. Obviously, a task of such nature and scope requires more than the Campaign.

The present authors understand that sustainability should not be analyzed in relation to the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign, which has a beginning, a life and an end. Instead, sustainability should be seen in terms of its implicit and long-term objectives, that go beyond the immediate horizon of the Campaign. Returning the socioeconomic and environmental equilibrium to the basin is a long-term task which will involve the efforts of more than one generation. The Campaign has the distinction of having initiated this task and generating ways that it may continue as long as the local entities/actors and their counterparts assume the responsibility for reversing the environmental damages caused in the basin, in particular, in the rivers' sources and headwaters. Future sustainability also implies that, increasingly, actors take on these responsibilities voluntarily and through their own initia-

[35] In many projects, sustainability tends to be related merely to initial availability of resources, and capacity of self-finance. At other times, the term applies to any project, idealizing the term without actually specifying what it means in the relevant context.

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tive, without depending on or being limited to the Campaign that mobilized and spurred them to action.[36] Dependency and lack of future vision are attitudes that do not mesh with the purposes of the Campaign.

The continuity of execution of some of the projects of the Campaign should consolidate the consciousness of the actors, so they progress in defining, testing and adopting technologies of effective, sustainable natural resource exploitation. These new methods—added to research on recuperating riparian vegetation, the regeneration of degraded soil, and plantings as an efficient method of soil protection, to the enrichment of grasses—could make accessible new ways to achieve an "environmental and economically sustainable development of the basin."[37] The statement by the Secretary of Agriculture and Environment of Canarana is pertinent to and reinforces the understanding of the authors:

> The Campaign is sustainable; it moves slowly but certainly. The proposals are being transformed into continuing action. Responsibility is being transferred to the citizens.

Our analysis of the Campaign confirms that its specific objectives are being reached for the most part, which demonstrates that they were defined in a coherent manner. Besides proving its "temporal sustainability" this analysis provides evidence that the Campaign is creating the foundations of a process of a more long-term sustainable development as long as the local actors of the Campaign, some of them only modestly involved in the process, are willing to take it to its final consequences. This option requires not only investing their own strength on the recovery of the potential of the Xingu Basin, but also demonstrating their capacity to develop this process along with other power holders, without expecting these others will assume responsibility for decisions that can or should be taken at individual, local, and regional levels.

Significance of the Process: Lessons Learned

Some important lessons emerge from the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign, as highlighted by three interviewees:

> It is about an environmental initiative that put aside a defensive attitude and launched a proactive attack. It went beyond denunciation and monitoring; they

[36] Like waiting for the government to assume the costs of recovery or alter environmental legislation to fit the interests of the agribusiness sector.

[37] For example, the introduction of more profitable and environmentally appropriate crops for family farming; expansion of direct planting on large landholdings, rotation of pastures/crops, regeneration of vegetation, etc.

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> demanded critical actions that involve society … and try to stop the ruthlessness and eventually, to be able to recover what was lost.

Or another:

> A fundamental lesson was to connect results from studies and research to the necessities of society.

And finally, the most important:

> The public sector only advances and commits if it interacts with society; any action, at the same time, presupposes participation.

Other important lessons can be listed, given by interviewees or identified by the co-authors as the following:

- *Broadening of the subject:* the capacity to move initially from an exclusively indigenous and socio-environmental focus, beginning dialogue with large ranchers, breaking down prejudices among "the greens" (environmentalists), medium- and large-scale producers, indigenous people, different segments of the population, or as an interviewee describes: "the initial focus on water sources and riparian vegetation was what made possible the creation of the Y Ikatu Campaign."
- *The role exercised by indigenous populations*: the importance of the participation of the indigenous groups of the Xingu National Park, due to their renowned environmental concern and their capacity to defend their territories.[38]
- *Consensus among actors with respect to the subject matter:* having chosen a key matter of interest to all segments of the population.
- *The interdisciplinary nature of the actors:* this generated an ability to analyze existing problems from different points of view and make it so that the proposed activities are achievable and acceptable by the different groups involved.
- *Development of mechanisms for participation*: ISA was able to promote the mobilization of diverse sectors and to continue sustaining, supporting, and creating conditions for their mobilization, self-organization, and development beyond the Campaign.
- *The vital role played by the academic sector in the development of alternatives applicable in the context of the basin:* significant contribution of universities and research institutions, generating a greater level of awareness of the environmental situation

[38] A lesson enhanced by the inability of the three other indigenous groups located outside the park to proceed in the same manner.

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and limitations of the Xingu Basin, and the reduction of resistance to the changes required to recover or conserve water sources.

- *Environmental agents as key links of communication in the Campaign*: the involvement of environmental agents in the promotion of changes and attitudes in all segments of the population of the Xingu Basin, as well as in the search for alternative solutions to specific environmental problems of the basin, and a constant effort to produce technical solutions to the identified sectoral problems, and a clear perception that greater use of technology improves the vision of the basin.
- *Valuing of the Xingu Basin as an independent resource,* and not just linking it to the Aranguaia Basin.
- *Implementation of pilot projects* to demonstrate the economic income-yield capacity of recovery of riparian vegetation. This helps small-scale producers to change their method of extracting natural resources and to introduce new cultivations on their properties fitted to the environmental conditions and restrictions of the basin.[39]

Replicability of the Campaign

Is the experience of Y Ikatu Xingu replicable? In the view of Márcio Santilli, General Coordinator of the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign: "It isn't possible to talk about the replicability of the experience of the Campaign, but rather about its adaptability to other regions or basins." This comment is cogent: two identical project experiences do not exist. At best, experiences can be identified that present similarity in objectives, design, methods of implementation, and involved actors. But, even then, if observed carefully, each one will prove to be unique.

From the point of view of future demands there are, in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, numerous river basins being intensely developed that present similar socio-environmental problems to those of the Xingu. They could use campaigns to mobilize the players to build solutions to their problems with their own characteristics. As a model of intervention in basins, the experience of the Y Ikatu Xingu showed that it is possible to successfully develop workable plans and projects, and that the model can be adapted to other basins—just as this Campaign adopted elements from other projects. The most important element was the capacity of the ISA to take into account the environmental, socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of the basin, translating them to fit the situation of each group of participants, so they can then mobilize, organize and work together with actors of the other sectors.

[39] The logic of the large proprietors shows the relationship between the application of environmental legislation and the behavior of the grain market. As an interviewee commented: "If I can't open new agricultural lands because of legislation, I will surrender them to squatters so they can deforest them."

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To better explain the adaptability of the Campaign, we attempted to identify what occurred in the PGAI, a project carried out in the same state under the initiative of the State Secretariat of the Environment.[40] Even though civil society was significantly involved at a later time, it was never able to play such a decisive role as the ISA because the "luck" of the project depended on the highs and lows of state- and local-level public administration. Even so, it is worthwhile to ferret out lessons from this project since both experiences share some common characteristics. PGAI set out to identify, test, and apply mechanisms of recovery, preservation, and conservation of natural resources in the region of the Aripuanã, on the basis of proposals from interinstitutional actions, to the organization and training for participation of diverse segments of civil society, the economic sectors present (small-, medium- and large-scale producers) and levels of government. Beside the above-mentioned participants of the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign, the PGAI also had a strong presence of loggers, miners on a lesser scale, seven indigenous groups with very different characteristics and states of acculturation; representatives of legislative power of all the municipalities also participated actively, as one of the goals of the project consisted in developing, approving and regulating Municipal Codes of the Environment due to political decentralization.

The history of the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign shows that its initial methodology was adapted from the experience of the PGAI in the identification of the public-private actors invited to participate, inclusion of various economic sectors, methodology adopted for the diagnosis, incorporation of demonstration projects by economic sectors, development of a plan of formation of key participants, etc. In the PGAI, the best experiences developed by civil society were included in the project. Among the replicable conditions of this nature, the following are highlighted:

- That the actors convince themselves that it is never too late to start, no matter how grave the environmental and socioeconomic damage;
- Respect for local reality, and the ability and patience to build the project campaign according to this experience;
- Availability of outside resources to at least initiate activities;
- The need for developing feasible initiatives;
- Involvement of entities/peoples achieved through an objective and palpable integration of environmental and economic problems;
- Existence of social capital (human resources) with technical training and sensibility to involve local actors and invest in their capacity building;

[40] Project of Integrated Environmental (Proyecto de Gestión Ambiental Integrada or PGAI), initiated in six municipalities of the northeast of the state of Mato Grosso in 1997, in the region of Aripuanã, in the context of the Protection of Tropical Forests Program—PPG. The substantive difference between the PGAI of Aripuanã and the Ikatu Xingu is that the first grew out of the initiative by the Secretary of the Environment of the state and the MMA and not from civil society.

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- Ability to go beyond the talking stage, and develop practices that adapt to the profile of each participating segment of the population;
- Necessity that these practices originate from the bottom and not from the top because "nothing happens by imposition" and "adhesion is always a conquest."

In summary, the evidence shows that the experience of the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign could be adapted to other basins insofar as it is based on consistent identification of environmental problems, has a clear purpose and a coordination scheme able to promote linkages among diverse sectors of society and to generate their coming together. This study also clearly confirms that organized civil society plays a fundamental role in campaigns or projects of this nature, but cannot itself provoke the deep changes required.

A limiting factor to the adaptability of the Campaign in other contexts is the inability of civil society to act on its own resources. This also illuminates another important lesson in this study: none of the actors, whether from civil society, the university, government or the private sector, could reverse or mitigate environmental damage in the Xingu Basin on its own. Recognizing and elevating the fundamental role played by civil society in the entire process of the Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the perspective of sustainable development of the Xingu Basin is only possible by the group effort of all actors.

The Y Ikatu Xingu Campaign also demonstrates that civil society cannot cross its arms when faced with a lack of commitment or inertia of the government. It also cannot expect that solutions to problems come from external actors and resources. One of civil society's fundamental tasks is mobilizing and organizing the population, convincing people about present and future socio-environmental problems, and helping citizens assume political responsibilities. Only with persistence can organized civil society convince affected populations to make the necessary decisions. In assuming their commitment, the actors of the Campaign not only contribute to a more sustainable development of the region; they point to new paths for strengthening democracy—which greatly exceed the limits of the Xingu Basin.

We leave the last word to the interviewees:

> The great challenge of the Campaign consists of finding middle ground equilibrium between production and conservation, which can only be found by different points of view, knowledge and specializations. The Campaign is the first opportunity for dialogue between different conceptions; it is reaching its objectives, as before, the possibility of dialogue did not exist between environmentalists, producers, and indigenous peoples.

> The Campaign is an opportunity to demystify the divergences among the defenders of the environment and producers:

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Table 8-2. Interviewed Persons*

Name	Entity	Function
Rosely Alvim Sánchez	ISA – Nova Xavantina	Local Program Advisor
Amintas Rossete	UNEMAT/Nova Xavantina	Local Program Advisor
Alupá Kayabi	Association Indigenous Land Xingu –ATIX	Director ATIX
Makupá Kayabi	ATIX	President ATIX
Célio Renato Freitas		Rural Proprietor in Canarana
Eliane Felten	Secretariat of Agriculture and M.A. Canarana	Secretary
Gilmar Celestino dos Santos	Synd. of Rural Workers - Agua Boa	President
Jorge Rakowski and Ivan Loch	Prefecture of Canarana	Technicians, Gurupá Project
Luciana Akemi	ISA – Canarana	Administrative Coordinator
Maristela Furlan B. Rosa	Project Environmental Agents	Environmental Agent
Eduardo Malta Campos Fo.	ISA – Nova Xavantina	Local Coordinator
Fernando Gorgen	Prefecture of Querencia	Prefect and Producer (soybean)
Marcos da Rosa	APROSOJA–Rural Employers' Syndicate Canarana	President and Rural Producer
Márcio Santilli	Socio-Environmental Institute –ISA	General Coordinator

* Other actors were contacted by e-mail or telephone but were not available for the interview.

> ...it can lead to a breaking of paradigm, to changes of concept and changes in the former culture of exploitation of natural resources, turning into a leading reference point and example...
>
> ...to be not only a conservation campaign, but also change in methods of production; not exactly to change, but to create methods that can be viable on small properties...
>
> ...and to provoke a cultural change of the people who only know work, without perceiving more general issues, and people who work in an isolated environment without understanding the reality of the field. (The Campaign) reached a level that can't be lowered because its objectives are already being incorporated by the population; producers begin to assume the role of agents of change just as the environmentalists.

The fundamental character of the Meeting of Canarana and the Campaign consists of opening paths of dialogue among diverse groups, making possible the reduction of existing resistance, attributed to fear, preconceptions, financial loss, the tendency of each sector to become complacent in its own vision of reality, etc.

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Chapter 9

The Emperor's New Clothes: Social Housing Financing Policies in Santiago, Chile

Alfredo Rodríguez and Ana Sugranyes

In the middle of July 2006, the Chilean government announced important changes to its housing policies for 2007 through 2010. These changes referred not only to social housing to be built, but very specifically to the quality of current dwellings. The government expressed a concern with the physical and architectural characteristics of its new housing, its location within urban areas, the integration of its residents with the city, and improvements needed to the existing housing stock.

The most significant point of these announcements is that, for the first time, the Chilean government explicitly recognized the poor quality of existing social housing and proposed measures to resolve the problems. Poor quality refers not only to the physical characteristics of the housing units, but also recognizes that the living conditions of the inhabitants, the relation between them and their neighborhood, and their integration into the urban zones, are all poor—in fact, very poor.

These conditions were acknowledged explicitly: "We do not want coming governments to have to undo our housing mistakes in the same way we are now renovating neighborhoods because they were not previously well-thought out."[1] The government literally began undoing previous mistakes: two large housing developments were demolished, one contained 900 units and the other 1,400.

The Fable

Until 2006, whenever housing administrators were asked about the deficiencies of social housing, their usual answers tended to minimize its limitations, arguing that critics failed to take into account the "thousands of units constructed" and to acknowledge that "our housing policies are an example to Latin America."

[1] Interview with the Minister of Housing and Urbanism, *El Mercurio*, 2006.

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In one sense, the administrators were correct. During the last sixteen years, great numbers of dwellings have been built in the country: almost 2 million units, of which more than 500,000 have been social housing.[2] This massive production has reduced the accumulated housing deficit, with social housing publicly financed through a program which subsidizes demand and thus guarantees a "housing subsidy."

This model of financing has spread to other countries in Latin America. Salas (2002:66) notes the Chilean model "has dazzled more than one country on the American continent. Ecuador pushed a short-lived program using the 'A+B+C Method'…Guatemala, Colombia, Honduras, Venezuela publicize evidentiary and conclusive actions for housing financing, mimicking the virtuous alliance of savings, subsidies and credit [of Chile]." Numerous specialists have written about Chile's subsidy program for international organizations—ECLAC (Held 2000), the Inter-American Development Bank (Mayo 1999; Rojas 1999; Gilbert 2001), UNDP (Acevedo and Pleitez 2003)—explaining its genesis and comparing it to similar initiatives in other countries.

The authorities were incorrect, however, about what these and other reports by experts contained. According to an ex-Under Secretary for Housing in Ecuador, "the experts cite numbers and statistics, and included some marginal references to the collateral effects, but never showed the physical results: the low quality housing units, the degraded neighborhoods."[3]

It was considered reasonable to argue that the new housing stock was part of a solution since the policies were designed and justified to reduce the housing deficit, and to improve the quality of life for poor families by moving them from precarious settlements to new housing. However, studies undertaken since the mid-1990s reveal just the opposite result: the new social housing was not part of the solution, but rather created a new problem.[4] As we assert elsewhere, "if the families 'without a roof' were the great social housing problem in Santiago in the seventies and eighties, in this decade, it is the families 'with a roof' —*los con techo* —that are the problem." (Rodríguez and Sugranyes 2005:16).

Now, nearly twelve years after the publication of the first article critical of Chile's housing program (Ducci 1994), a government has acknowledged that the social housing policies in Chile were not "a housing policy," but were policies to finance construction of cheap housing. These policies were very successful in the eyes of the construction companies, which had been permitted to build a large number of housing units, but they have created a new urban housing problem: urban ghettos.

---

[2] Results from the Population and Housing Census (INE 2002) identify 4.5 million total housing units in the country. According to Chile's Central Bank (Banco Central de Chile 2002), during the last 20 years (from 1980 to 2000), 1,912,521 units have been constructed, which represents 43 percent of the total.

[3] Interview with A. Andino, Quito, October 2006.

[4] Beginning in the second half of the 1990s, numerous voices have emerged, for example: Ducci (1997), Corporación Habitacional (1997), SUR Profesionales Consultores (2000), Crespo et al. (2000), Rodríguez (2001), SUR (2002a), Rodríguez and Sugranyes (2002).

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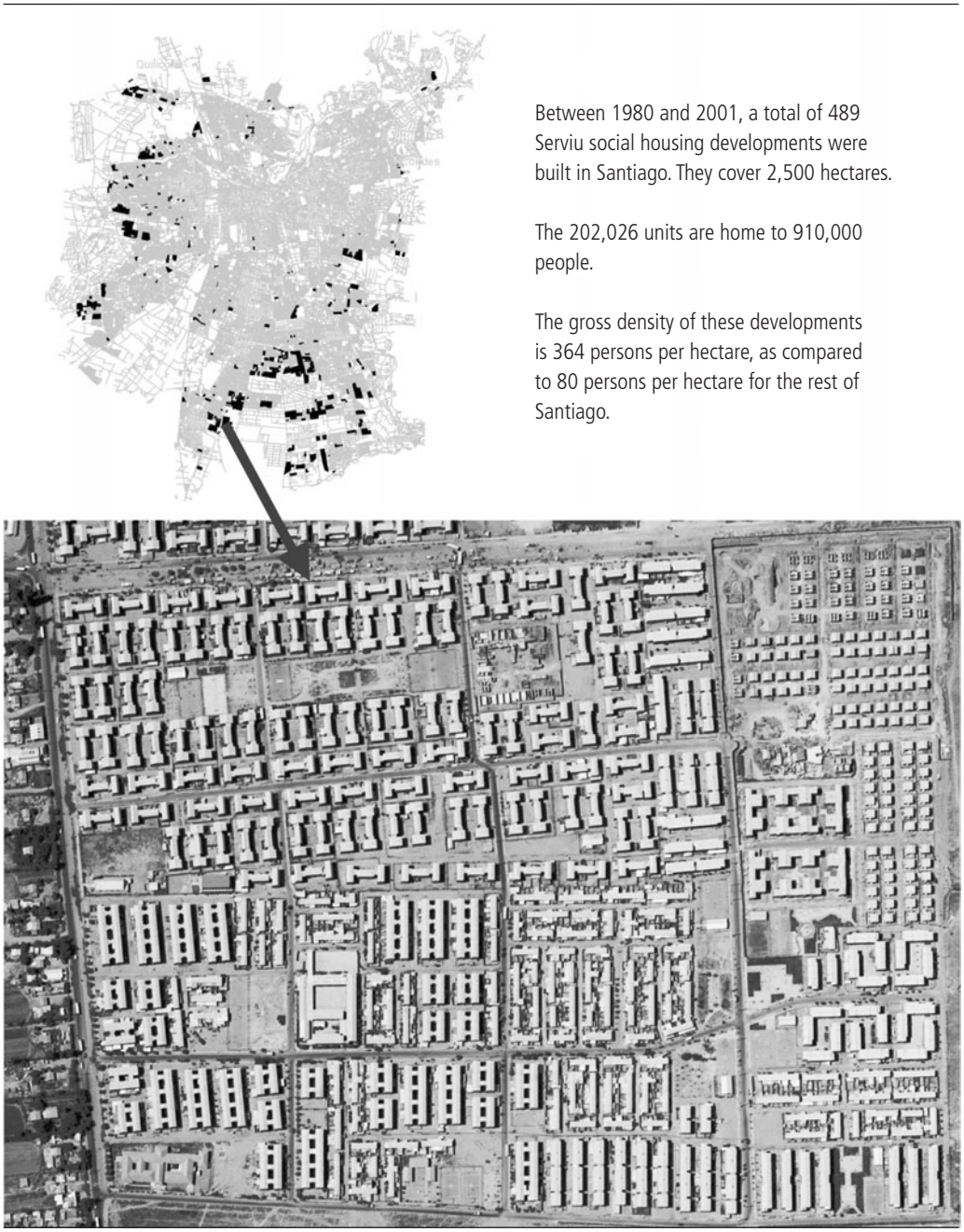
All of this causes us to recall Hans Christian Andersen's fable "The Emperor's New Clothes." Is the emperor naked?

Illustration 9.1. Santiago: Location of Social Housing Developments Built from 1980 to 2001



Source: SUR (2002a)

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How a Successful Housing Policy Became a Failure: Some History

The story of those with a roof (*los con techo)* has been evolving since the end of the 1970s. During the military dictatorship and under the auspices of a group of young economists trained in American neo-liberal theory—known in Chile as the "Chicago Boys"—the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (Minvu) created an interconnected system of subsidy-savings-credit, that ensured the participation of construction companies. This system is exceptional, with nothing comparable in Latin America; it combines a long tradition of state intervention in social issues, while protecting the housing market.

The business response to this state initiative was rapid: during the worst of the economic crises in the early 1980s, developers bought large tracts of land on what was then the periphery of Santiago. These land reserves guaranteed a functioning social housing system, and are now a sign of the exhaustion of the system of massive production of social housing. With this land, the developers defined where the social housing would be located. Today, this land, covered with social housing, is not on the city's periphery; it is part of the city. Increases in urban land value, especially during the 1990s, stymied the original plans. The developers decided to use such land for other types of investments rather than social housing, so new building is occurring outside of greater Santiago.

Since 1985, the Chilean government has focused its housing financing policies on reducing the accumulated deficit, and this goal has been accomplished.[5] The reduction of the housing deficit occurred with rates of home building similar to those in post-World War II Europe, with annual construction of ten housing units for every thousand inhabitants. But after more than twenty years of this policy, the reduction of the housing deficit is no longer an adequate policy justification. In social housing projects financed by the government, the greater deficit is in the quality of life. This has been a problem in many countries, especially in Europe, and those countries have overcome it.

One of the major obstacles impeding innovation and realistic policy alternatives is that the model of production of social housing in Chile is trapped in a captive market with satisfied actors. The understanding between the state and the few companies that produce housing is excellent: Minvu provides subsidies and assigns houses to applicants; developers construct the units without any of the risks usually associated with residential construction, and, at the end of the year, the state returns 65 percent of the added taxes levied on the construction. The state not only protects the market for the companies, but also the financial markets agree to offer credit to the subsidy recipients. For banks that offer credit to buyers, Minvu finances the operating costs of each loan, the insurance for the

[5] Almost all of the poor in the country own a dwelling, usually of low quality and in an urban area. Left out of the model were residents of informal settlements that represent only 4 percent of the total population after Pinochet's radical elimination plans. The "Chile Barrio" Program's mission is to stop these settlements or remove the inhabitants. We will then have even more poor "with a roof."

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loans, and assumes responsibility for the auction of the real estate where a debtor defaults on the home loan.

For developers, there is no risk. There is also no competition; there are very few companies specializing in this work that are also capable of achieving the annual quotas of construction of social housing in the region. Innovation is also lacking: the technology of social housing in Chile is the same as it was twenty and more years ago. In this captive market, the construction companies that build these substandard housing units do not need to consider ideas that NGOs, universities and professionals have developed. Neither the ministry nor the businesses participate in any debate on the social and urban costs of this massive production of housing—which include the costs of locating services and equipment on the city periphery (an issue not considered in the social housing projects) versus the advantages provided by consolidated areas of the city.

An architectural critique of these projects is also lacking.[6] The design of the developments is not evaluated nor are those of the houses or buildings themselves. There is no innovation in their design or proposals for progressive improvements of the house and its surroundings. The social housing agenda had not contemplated improving or renovating constructed units.

Why should there be change, then, if the massive, continuing production of hundreds of thousands of housing units in all regions of the country is positively evaluated by the political forces? Since the democratic transition in 1990, both the government administrations and their opposition supported the Ministry of Housing's ongoing efforts. The policies also generated votes for the government. However, in 1997, the first signs of weakness of the model appeared and some in the legislature expressed doubt about the allocation of state resources and the protection afforded to banks compared to a lack of protection for the beneficiaries.

Meanwhile, citizens continue to wait their turn to receive "the house that's theirs" even though they are absent from all decisions concerning housing solutions for them and their families.

The Unforeseen Result: Those with a Roof

Given that a large number of social housing units have been built to resolve the housing deficit, it is reasonable to assume that the stock now built is part of the solution to the problem. But the unforeseen result of the Chilean model is that this has not occurred and a large portion of the families that obtained new houses—the poor "with a roof"—continue to experience serious housing problems. These problems are related as much to the quality

[6] The "Elemental" Program at the Catholic University of Chile has been the only exception; it built 100 progressive housing units in the Quinta Monroy Project in Iquique. See Aravena et al. (2004).

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of construction materials as to the quality of life in the new social housing developments. The solution applied to the problem of those "without a roof" —the massive production of social housing—has created an unsatisfactory situation for the beneficiaries in terms of the appearance and design of the units and their environment, and particularly with respect to the family and social conditions in the developments and their isolation from the city. The housing stock today is not only a housing problem, but a social one as well.

Physical Results

A part of the problem of *los con techo*—those with a roof—emerges from the nature of the product that has been given to them as "housing." Some characteristics of the housing and the environment, as garnered from our study in Santiago, are listed below.[7]

Types of housing. In Santiago during the past twenty years, the housing subsidy has permitted the construction of more than 200,000 substandard social housing units with a design that never contemplated additions or improvements. The situation becomes all the more urgent in light of the numbers that live in such units: almost a fifth of the population of the city. The transition from residents "without a roof" to the poor "with a roof" is illustrated by the following:

- Half of the social housing units have been constructed on individual lots and are one, two and up to three stories tall. Rightly or wrongly, these lots facilitate appropriation and occupation of all available space. The size of the lots has varied over the years: in the early 1980s, the military eradicated "settlements" and moved residents to basic houses on lots of between 100 and 120 square meters; during the 1990s, the pressure for massive production led to reduced size of individual lots to less than 60 square meters.
- The other half of these units is apartment buildings of three or four stories. It is a system of condominium or horizontal properties. The residents have not understood the system, since no one ever explained it to them. The relationships among residents of these units and buildings are generally poor, with common areas better described as the spaces left between buildings and not as places for gatherings or recreation.

[7] Between 1980 and 2001, 489 social housing developments were built in Santiago. There were 202,026 units financed by Minvu. Our research consisted of: (a) a geographic cadastre of those developments, using information from Minvu's annual reports, land title registrations and the corresponding Municipal Works offices; (b) an analysis of the types of developments, according to construction type, time periods and location; and (c) a survey of 1,300 housing units (SUR 2002a).

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Despite the initial design and regulatory restrictions on the properties, many owners built informal additions on their units. The majority of beneficiaries "with a roof" have constructed an additional structure, many almost as large as the original unit. The risks of earthquakes, fires and fines have not overcome the urgent need for more space. These additions are effectively new "shanties" that occupy porches, hallways and common areas, or semiattached structures on facades supported by weak posts.

The projects funded by Minvu and built on the contractor's land, in some cases, include more than two thousand housing units, with a density in excess of 600 inhabitants per hectare. The design criteria for the developments are subject to the construction companies' interests, with the result being a monotonous repetition of houses, rows of houses and leftover spaces between. The distribution of the buildings is like that of a "no man's land," as if a paintbrush repeatedly marked a canvas, and the buildings are like cakes that are indiscriminately cut at the street, without any façades. Minvu, the architect, the company or the constructor have not stopped to think about the impact of such overcrowded conditions on people or the city, and least of all about the social cost.

The land reserves of some construction companies led to a configuration of large urban tracts covered by housing units isolated from one another. Minvu's urban planning division has never participated in these developments nor used its land use regulatory power to produce a master plan. In some tracts, municipalities and private companies built rudimentary social infrastructure which includes schools, health centers and private-public transportation. But they are often poorly conceived and of poor quality.

Many things have changed in Chile over the last fifteen years; some positive changes and others negative. Per capita income has doubled, but inequalities are more profound and social networks have disappeared. Meanwhile, the model and type of social housing have stayed the same, with more bad than good.

Housing Additions

Forty percent of social housing residents have made additions to their homes that are on average 16.5 square meters, or almost half again the average size of the original housing units. There are more additions to housing on individual lots than horizontal properties: 59 percent of the residents on individual lots built additions averaging 21 square meters, while 23 percent of the owners of horizontal properties made additions averaging 14 square meters.

These additions are an important indicator of the capacity of individuals—not of the community—to improve the housing quality. Additions invade common areas and as such residents occupy public and common space. The individual efforts to improve their own units to the detriment of the common good is obvious evidence that the social housing product was not meant to allow families to adapt it to their needs. The original design and regulatory restrictions do not allow for family needs, yet the families' need for space grows.

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The risk of fire, earthquakes or fines does not stop the urgent need for more space.

The additions are individual initiatives, but there are also cases of cooperative arrangements. Neighbors agree to undertake coordinated construction on several levels of the building or on a series of detached houses. Some organized neighbors try to formalize their intervention, but the law does not provide for the possibility of legalizing the changes. The current condominium law in Chile requires neighbors of a development to assume individual responsibility for the elaboration and approval of regulations for shared property. This includes the specifications of possible additions, which was never contemplated in the design of the units and the developments. The determination of these neighbors is notable: some notarized documents exist that formalize their coordinated investment, with the intention to avoid claims against each other.

Illustration 9-2. Santiago: Location of Large Groups of Social Housing Built from 1980 to 2001

Source: SUR (2002a).

In Santiago, in the last twenty years, there is only one example of institutional support for additions to social housing units. This occurred in sector B of the Los Quillayes development in the La Florida community. There, a combination of an NGO, the municipality, an architecture school, a housing organizing group, and a construction company succeeded in enlarging fifteen apartments, utilizing a considerable state subsidy (not from Minvu).[8] This initiative was intended as a precedent for the design of a program to

[8] The following groups participated in the project: the NGO Cordillera has been promoting community organizing since the end of the 1980s; the Housing Institute of the School of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of Chile designed the project with input from the beneficiaries; the municipality of La Florida made exterior improvements, but for political reasons did not intervene in the additions; the Housing Corporation of the Chilean Construction Chamber of Commerce carried out legal and financial research and elected and supervised the construction company; and the Under-Secretary for Regional and Administrative Development of the Ministry of the Interior financed the project.

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improve the conditions of social housing condominiums.[9] However, it was an expensive and difficult to replicate precedent, where institutional intervention dominated community initiative.

Self-Assessments

Our survey called for owners to value the attributes of their houses. The average self-assessment of social housing units is 382.5 Unidades de Fomento (UF, an inflation-linked currency unit used in Chile for housing valuation). A minority of those surveyed (13 percent) estimated the value of their units to be less than 185.1 UF; half of those surveyed (51 percent) evaluated them to be between 185.1 and 370.1 UF; and a third over 400.1 UF. The different self-assessments are due in large part to differing perceptions about the quality of the urban environment and land prices.

As is evident, most of these values are less than the maximum level for a social housing unit (400 UF). The self-assessments of the poorest families are the highest values—493 UF. This overvaluation on the part of the poorest families is symptomatic of housing units' importance for those families as sources of social capital, which, nonetheless, does not have an equivalent market value. This finding deserves emphasis because, although over the last ten years properties in the rest of the city have quintupled in price, the value of social housing units has stayed the same (Sabatini 2005). Even the "improvements" and additions made by the owners do not increase the value of the unit at the time of sale. Their efforts and savings are wasted because the works are done informally—not considered in the original project and do not have municipal permits—or because they are poorly constructed or physical and social deterioration of the neighborhood affects the price of the land.

Specialists and advisors from Minvu (Almarza 2000; Ciedess 1995; Profiv 2000, 2002) have regularly suggested that due to its use, and above all because of the hidden subsidies that state intervention implies, a social housing unit should automatically double its market value. If residents' self-assessments normally undervalue their units, it can be gathered that the social housing market logic is more complex than a simple sum of hidden subsidies, granted subsidies and land prices. In this sense, the residents surveyed have a very realistic perception of the value of their houses when they point out that neighborhood image (35 percent), delinquency and insecurity (33 percent), size of the unit (12 percent) and construction quality (12 percent) all detract from the value of their houses.

Those surveyed were correct; later studies by Trivelli (2006), Sabatini (2005) and Brain and Sabatini (2006) indicate the average price of land in Santiago has increased by more than 14 times during the period from 1990 to 2004, while the price of social housing units

[9] A program to improve the physical condition of housing units began at the end of 2004 and consisted of a subsidy for residents to use to pay a company to make the repairs.

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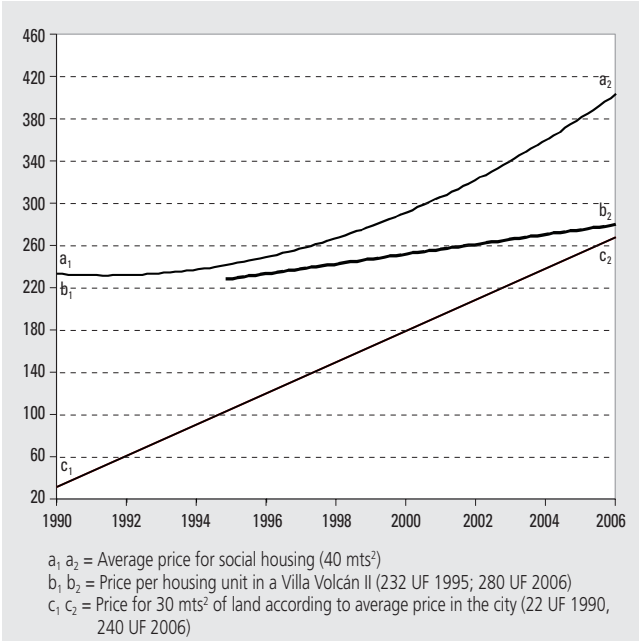
has remained stable. This means those houses for the poor are not, as they are usually described, a nest egg. Any money spent to improve them or increase their size, at the end of the day only represents an expense, not a savings, and even less an investment.

Figure 9-1. Evolution of Average Prices of Land and Social Housing in Santiago, 1990–2004



Source: Sur (2002b).

Social Results

The results of a poll of all residents of social housing provide us with a profile of the residents.

Nuclear Family Size. On average, there are 1.9 nuclear families living in each unit. This concentration of nuclear families is related to the issue of *allegados* (a term used to describe homeless individuals forced to share a home with other families, usually relatives) and the lack of housing that cannot be analyzed here. It is important to point out, however, that *allegados* are usually considered in the demand for new housing. We believe the idea of *allegados* living in social housing requires additional research that thoroughly analyzes at what level the presence of more than one nuclear family in a unit is an issue of housing demand, or, better yet, of the need for improved housing that can adapt to the requirements and resources of each family through its phases of development. The most recent studies on *allegados* (Arriagada et al. 1999) signal that the *allegados* often have greater resources than the initial owner of the property. And when an *allegado* obtains a new residence through a subsidy, the number of families with housing problems doubles: in many cases, the application for a housing subsidy represents two poor families, instead of only one family group. This multiplies housing problems by separating nuclear families and moving them to new houses even further on the periphery, thus breaking up social networks.

Income Levels of Residents. Analyzing the actual income levels (at the time of the survey) of residents of social housing, the distribution shows 15 percent are indigent, 30 percent are poor and 55 percent are not poor. From a perspective of efficiency in the application

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Table 9-1. Proportion of Indigent, Poor and Not Poor Living in Social Housing in Santiago, by Time Periods and Type of Housing

Type		1980–1985	1986–1990	1991–1997	1998–2000	1980–2000
Individual lots	Indigent	14.6	15.3	17.0	17.6	15.7
	Poor	23.0	30.1	35.8	30.9	29.0
	Not poor	62.4	54.6	47.2	51.5	55.3
Condominiums	Indigent	8.6	13.7	17.1	9.5	13.0
	Poor	23.9	20.0	35.7	40.0	30.8
	Not poor	67.5	66.3	47.2	50.5	56.2
Entire sample	Indigent	11.7	14.7	17.0	12.9	14.3
	Poor	23.5	26.7	35.8	36.2	29.9
	Not poor	64.8	58.6	47.2	50.9	55.8

Source: SUR (2002a).

of state resources for social policy, this dispersion of income levels in social housing could be worrisome, given that a large portion of the resources have gone to families that are not poor, which would indicate an erroneous focus. However, we can recognize that the poor from twenty, fifteen or ten years ago are not necessarily poor today, and the proportion of indigent and poor among these residents has decreased.

On the other hand, it would be alarming if all the indigent and poor of Greater Santiago were concentrated on four percent of the city's territory, that is, on 2,500 hectares of the more than 60,000 hectares of the entire city. The concentration of the poor in homogeneous areas of a single type of neighborhood is the epitome of socio-territorial segregation. Independent of the concerns about Minvu's distribution of resources, the city should approve of this form of social integration, or "mixing," that other countries such as France yearn to achieve (Baudouï 2000, Ingallina 2001).

Mortgage and Rental Values. Comparing the different values related to housing maintenance becomes very important: credit amortization, rent, the maximum amount families would be willing to pay for another housing option and self-assessment of housing. The residents of social housing express their willingness to pay double what they currently pay for another option. The average monthly amount of credit amortization is 1.0 UF and the average maximum amount residents would be willing to pay for other housing is 2.4 UF.

The survey found 11 percent of the units were rentals, which, contrary to what studies by the Chilean Construction Chamber of Commerce have argued (Ciedess 1995; Profiv 2000, 2002), indicates there is not a strong rental market. The rental prices surprisingly average almost three times the monthly mortgage payment.

The data also make clear that units built in the early 1980s constitute a better rental market. The fact that 97 percent of the rentals are in units built between 1980 and 1997 sup-

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ports the finding that there was greater resident satisfaction with the earlier than with the more recent units, so fewer units are rented out in more recent developments. In the most recently constructed units, the relation between mortgage payment and rent is 1:2, while in those constructed earlier (between 1980 and 1985) the relationship is 1:7. This advantage can be explained by the less isolated location of these developments, and by the fact that they are groups of single family housing units (duplexes or attached).

Residents' Valuation of Social Housing: One decisive fact emerges from the social housing resident survey: 64.5 percent of residents want to "leave the housing." The motives behind this intention are social in nature: 52.6 percent of residents cited difficulties of coexistence with neighbors, perceptions of security, delinquency and drugs as reasons they want to leave. The image the resident has about his or her own housing development or its population is the reason 21.6 percent of residents want to leave. Physical aspects such as the closeness of the housing (13.4 percent), isolation from the urban region and the lack of services and parks (12.4 percent) are not as important as those related to living with neighbors.

Cross-referencing the survey data concerning residents' desire to leave and their satisfaction with their social housing development shows that among the residents who want to leave, 90 percent feel afraid and ashamed of their neighborhood, while those who are satisfied are fond of it. These appraisals are a reflection of the close relationship between problems of coexistence and those of physical space. Applying residents' appraisals to the type of dwellings shows that among residents of shared properties there is a greater desire to leave the development than for those living in individual lots (70 percent and 55 percent, respectively). This tendency is greater for the indigent than for residents who are not poor (55 percent compared to 65 percent). Of residents who moved into their units between 1986 and 1990, 70 percent want to leave, in comparison with more recent residents (from 1998 through 2000), where 50 percent want to leave. Various studies on the satisfaction level of residents in social housing have insisted opinions change over the years: the disenchantment of owners who dreamed of their own houses appears within six months to two years of moving to the development (Arriagada and Sepúlveda 2001, 2002; Instituto de la Vivienda 2002). The intention to leave or not and the perception of affection or disaffection with the development demonstrates the importance of people's sentiments towards urban places and environments.

Compared with other cities in Latin America, Santiago does not have a very serious crime problem, but the perception of violence is proportionally very high. As Tudela (2003) explains, in terms of citizen safety, there is no direct relationship between real violence and its perception. However, for harmonious coexistence in the city, the fact that people perceive insecurity is just as serious as the crimes themselves. Speaking with residents in a majority of social housing developments, especially those situated in large homogeneous developments, the first issue of everyday concern is violence: "Living here is like living in

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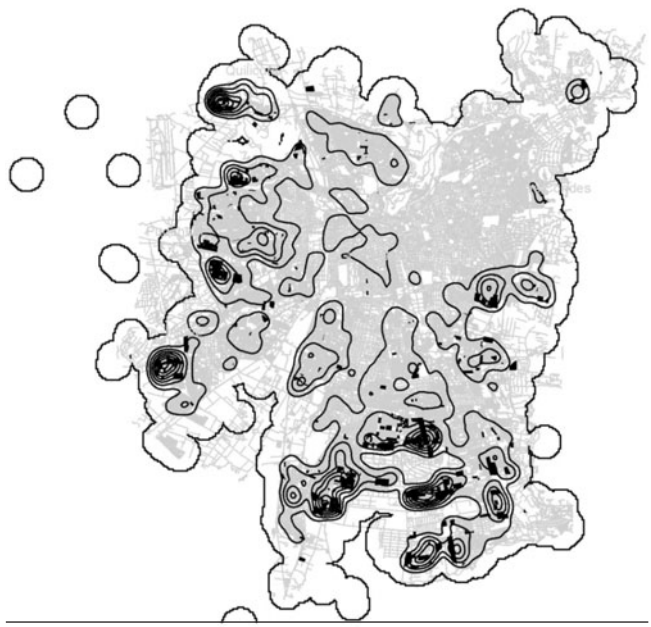
jail." "We have the children locked up in the house." "We are humble here, but good; the bad people are those from over there," pointing to any other development. Another worrisome indicator is that the majority of violent acts covered on television occur in social housing developments.

To verify these perceptions, investigators cross-referenced the geospatial locations of social housing developments with the locations of accusations of violence in the city (Tudela 2003). The comparison shows that the areas with more accusations of domestic violence in Santiago coincide exactly with the social housing stock, while the accusations of violent robberies and assaults show lower coincidence. This confirms that the principal problem in social housing developments is an issue of coexistence among neighbors. As Jara (2002) explains, living in social housing developments, especially in multifamily units, means daily exposure to violence, exclusion and insecurity. Following Wacquant (2004), the stigma, restriction, spatial confinement and institutional pigeonholing causes social housing developments to appear to be ghettos, with the greatest impact on women. In this way, social policy seems to have created new social and urban problems.

What Housing Policy Has Neglected and People Value

If we follow the process from settlements to social housing units, the positive aspects and limitations of the models of organization derived from popular practice and those that are the product of housing policies contradict one another. This analysis contrasts: the spatial complexity of settlements with the uniformity of social housing developments; organization with fragmentation; taking land as an act of integration with the city with the perception of expulsion felt by residents. This is not to romanticize settlements, but to highlight organizational aspects the current policies

Illustration 9-3. Santiago: Areas of High Density of Accusations of Domestic Violence, 2004, and Location of Social Housing Developments



Sources: Black= Locales of social housing developments: SUR (2002a). Enclosed areas= Locations with major accusations of domestic violence.

Source: *Dirección de Seguridad Ciudadana, Ministerio del Interior, Chile* (2004).

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do not recognize and that could possibly improve them. It is indisputable there have been improvements in housing conditions, particularly regarding sanitation and the legal regulation of the properties; however, the grave social problems associated with poverty and exclusion persist, and social networks have lost their richness (Skewes 2005).

Housing policy alone does not improve social conditions. In a diagnosis of residents "with a roof," "housing improves the quality of life of people, [but] the desire to overcome poverty runs into a reality that, contrary to the expectations of the people, does not sponsor social mobility. Incomes continue to be the same, debt and expenses increase, the neighborhood continues the same or worse, space for the family has become more restricted; the urgency of surviving continues to be as important or more than before in the life of the families."

Housing Policy as Social Policy

One of the questions posed by the aforementioned exclusive reality refers to the possibility of integrating residents into their new neighborhoods, and integrating them with the state, in their capacity as citizens—in terms of the right to belong to a territorial, cultural and economic unit. This can be explored by asking two specific questions not contemplated in housing policy: What happens in the life of the poorest when they obtain their own house? What transformations occur in family and neighborhood relations and with the state and the environment in general? The responses to these questions lead us to value the organization of the residents and their participation in the processes of housing access. Furthermore, they reveal that "within its modus operandi, the state does not have an appropriate method of relating with them in their new condition, that of poor with a roof. On the contrary, the state relates to them the same way they treat the middle class or the extremely poor: it places them in one of these two categories. In their new condition, they do not exist for the state."

Housing's Symbolic Dimension. Given this situation of exclusion and the possibilities for integration, we need to distinguish between functional integration and symbolic integration: "functional integration assumes social interdependence; symbolic integration, on the other hand, assumes the involvement of the subjects in as much as citizens in a system of rights, norms and values." From this perspective, we can assert that social housing improves "the functional integration of families in the short term—in other words, it resolves the problem of those without a roof"—but it has not contemplated "the construction of a social and feeling community that can sustain citizen and subject construction processes." In this field, we reclaim Bourdieu's assertion, according to which treating a house as a simple capital good and its purchase as an economic strategy (in the restrictive sense of the word), making the inhabitants' journey an abstraction, simply strips it of all its historic and symbolic properties (Bourdieu 2001).

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Social Life in the Developments. The question that logically follows the preceding discussion is how to recover social life in the housing developments. This question leads to many others that can be summarized as: how can the state continue with massive housing programs that resolve the housing stock problems and, at the same time, deal with the social and cultural needs that arise in those urban settlements.

The Challenges

Returning to our earlier analysis, the recent announcements of the present government respecting housing policy are not only ambitious, they also imply a profound change in the way Minvu operates. In various statements and interviews, the Housing Minister has expressed, with uncommon frankness, the desire to do just that.

The challenge for Minvu is to change, and accept that there were errors in the past (errors that, in large measure, are due to not having made necessary adjustments to the policies). The government should accept these errors—not simply to take responsibility for past errors, but to take responsibility for a solution. This is a difficult option, but we believe it is the only legitimate one. At one time, it may have been easier to maintain the triumphant story of Chile's housing policy as an "example in Latin America," emphasizing the "thousands of constructed units." However, that would be a political error: just as we have seen in recent debate, that response is quickly refuted, and has few supporters.

To resolve, or try to resolve, the housing problem of the poor is without a doubt a social and political issue, but above all it is an issue of ethics: it simply cannot be that the government's only formal, legal alternative for the poor is to offer them the kind of social housing now in place.

However, if there is agreement with the ethical imperative to resolve the housing problem of the poor, we must recognize that the proposed changes will provide less than stellar initial results. Progress is slow when going against the current. To establish a new way of doing things, it will be essential to overcome a great deal of inertia. Specifically, the housing financing model has created very strong institutional and economic actors over the past thirty years. The actors include a state bureaucracy accustomed to the standard financial mechanisms, the construction companies involved in a market with no risk, the financial institutions whose incomes are guaranteed by the state, groups organizing housing demand that participate in the process, and, finally—as the word aptly describes—the beneficiaries who must organize if the other entities are to allow them to access a product in which they had no input.

There is the inertia of those that continue operating as before, in the belief that financing the construction of cheap and of poor quality housing constitutes a housing policy, without understanding the enormous difference between the "dream of one's own house" which mobilizes the efforts of the poor, and the "housing commodity" that mobilizes the

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efforts of businesses. This gap in official understanding overlooks the intangible resources which poor families bring to the situation: organization, self-help and self-construction. These three terms continue to be absent from official discourse in Chile even though they are very present in other countries in Latin America.

There is also the inertia of state institutions and their operating methods. A good example of this is official newspaper advertisements—consistently one month late—requesting bids for Regional Housing and Urbanism Services' (Serviu) urban land around the country. Minvu, on the other hand, develops modifications and draft bills so it may obtain land for social housing based on the recently announced policy changes. In other words, within the same government institution different tendencies operate: some seeking change and wanting to overcome inertia, others resisting change.

There is equal inertia with regard to the buildings that the construction companies offer. One example is the Elemental project in Quinta Monroy, Iquique, which is the only case of innovation in social organization, construction, design and location.[10] This constituted solely one hundred housing units among the thousands constructed—shall we say, to be generous—since 2000. It is much easier to continue producing repetitive groupings of housing using models that degrade the families that live in them.

Chilean housing policy for the past thirty years has been defined and established from above, by the state and by the producers, only incidentally including the beneficiaries. Beneficiaries do indeed participate in the Chilean system: they organize themselves, save for years, fill out innumerable forms and in some cases, live in extremely precarious conditions for decades. Such "participation" is needed in order to be accepted as "beneficiaries" or "debtors" by public entities and private banks through programs that exclude them from participating in decisions regarding what they need.

[10] The previously mentioned Elemental Quinta Monroy Project, which won the Biennial Architecture Prize in October 2006, is an example of how to combine large-scale production of an initial structure with a process during which the units are later enlarged and finished by the users.

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Chapter 10

Latin American Women in Movement: Changing Politics, Changing Minds

Joan M. Caivano and Thayer Hardwick

Women in Latin America have organized to push for social and political change since the suffrage movements of the 1920s through the 1950s. Women have been active in guerrilla movements, left-wing political parties, and unions. Women's mobilizations also played a role in bringing down progressive presidents like Salvador Allende in Chile and João Goulart in Brazil. This chapter will examine women's social movements that emerged in the 1970s—during the dictatorships and economic crises in South America and guerrilla movements opposed to authoritarian regimes in Central America. This period also coincides with the emergence of the second wave of feminism. We will review the evolution of women's organizations and mobilizations, their nature, structures, goals and strategies, to discern patterns from the past and lessons for the future.

Historical Context

Women's activism for political rights dates back to the first successful struggle of middle- and upper-class women for suffrage in 1929 in Ecuador. Unexpectedly, the right to vote took longer to achieve in higher-income countries like Argentina and Chile, where women had to wait for the vote until after World War II. In Peru and Mexico, women did not win the right to vote until the mid-1950s and in Colombia not until 1957. Because women were perceived as conservative and likely to be influenced by the Catholic Church, suffrage was not championed by leftist or progressive parties (Calderón et al. 1992:3).

At times women did mobilize for conservative causes. In Brazil, religious, conservative women demonstrated against the progressive government of João Goulart in "Marches with God for Fatherland and Family" while praying the rosary. Goulart's government was replaced by a repressive military regime in 1964. Women also played a role in toppling the socialist government of Salvador Allende in Chile. Upon his electoral victory in 1970, middle- and upper-class women gathered in public mourning for the loss of democracy. Later, in a foreshadowing of their role against the dictatorship that followed, women organized in marches, banging empty pots and pans in protest against consumer shortages brought

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on by the truckers' strikes under Allende (Sternbach et al. 1992:218–229, and Soares et al. 1995:306).

The nature of women's movements changed under the military dictatorships and economic crises that ensued in the 1970s in South America. We will see that in the context of political repression, women were driven by their private sphere concerns to organize both in protest against dictatorships and to fulfill their families' basic consumption needs. In the context of recession, debt crisis and economic stabilization policies of the 1980s, women's groups continued to provide goods and services no longer delivered by the state. Although women's activism was not initially driven by political ambitions, in the process of their activism, women forged a collective identity. In time, women began to struggle for their own political and social rights, as women (Molyneux 1998:221).

Transitions from Authoritarian Rule

On September 11, 1973, the Chilean armed forces, under the direction of General Augusto Pinochet, violently wrested power from Chile's democratically elected socialist president, Salvador Allende. The military coup broke sharply with Chile's established tradition of legitimate constitutional democracy, and of respect for political institutions as a means for resolving conflict. The economic policies and political methodology implemented by the military junta reversed Chile's decades-long history of distributive justice implemented by an activist state (Remmer 1980:282).

Pinochet resorted to extreme repressive measures in part to dismantle resistance to his radical free market economic program. His economic policies generated high levels of unemployment and eroded gains in the areas of health care, education, and housing. Pinochet targeted with the most severe repression those groups most likely to resist his policies—labor unions, political parties, university professors, students, and the urban poor—thereby disarticulating the population.

Despite the near complete closure of political space and demobilization of traditional political actors, sectors of Chilean society responded with a redefinition of *hacer el político,* doing politics. Most notably, women emerged to fill the vacuum left by the repression of union and political party leaders. Touched by the economic and political crises in their private-sphere roles as mother and provider for the family, women mobilized for political action.

The first groups to organize demonstrations in the face of the economic and political crises were women's. Women acted in part because men, as the main victims of the repression, could not. Either they were absent—arrested or disappeared—or it was too dangerous for them to do so. Hence women's marginal roles, if any, in the targeted political parties and unions afforded them an initial invisibility which allowed them to act politically (Chuchryk 1989:131). The character of women's mobilization reflected the two-pronged nature of regime repression: political and economic.

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Brazil experienced a military coup in 1964 that lasted until 1985, with varying degrees of brutality and openness. During the early stages of the regime, repression was high and political protest limited. Political activity began to resurface by the mid-1970s, with popular sector and feminist activism (Soares et al. 1995:306). Much like in Chile, women in Brazil were able to organize because they were essentially invisible to the regime, which did not see them as political or as a threat, as it did the unions and political parties. In the mid-1970s, coinciding with the opening allowed by the military regime, the Feminine Amnesty Movement was able to organize, while such a group made up of men would not have been permitted (Alvarez 1989:26).

Throughout the region, women formed two types of groups—human rights and subsistence. In the process of organizing to protect their families from torture and imprisonment and to provide their basic needs, women from all social classes began to make the link between the institutionalized violence of state repression, on the one hand, and the patriarchal underpinnings of the oppression they experienced in their unequal gender relations at home (Jaquette 1989:210). We will see how a third type of movement emerged from women's experience with political and social activism outside the home—a self-conscious, at times avowedly feminist, women's movement. Feminist groups and a feminist consciousness developed out of the struggle for democracy, often in collaboration with activists from leftist political parties.

Human Rights Groups

The best known example of women's activism in defense of human rights under the South American dictatorships is the case of the *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* in Argentina. This group of mothers and grandmothers acted exclusively from a private-sphere concern for their "disappeared" children and spouses. They did not see themselves as "doing politics" when they marched silently in front of the presidential palace to protest the human rights abuses of the military dictatorship. Indeed, part of their ability to act without triggering a repressive response from the government was due to their seemingly apolitical nature. Political party activity had been banned by the Argentine dictatorship. Nor did the Madres even want to enter the political realm. Their demands grew out of their family concerns, and they aimed only to reestablish the integrity of their families (Jaquette 1989:189). Of course, the repercussions of their actions were indeed political, and they inspired women beyond Argentina to take political action.

In Chile, also in reaction to the disappearance, imprisonment, exile or torture of family members, women formed associations as wives and mothers of the victims of repression agitating for the return of political prisoners and for an end to the torture. These wives and mothers principally sought a reply from the government: either the release of their relative, or the truth about what happened to them. One such group was the *Agrupación de los*

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Familiares de los Detenidos y los Desaparecidos, formed in 1974. As with the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, the same women routinely ran into each other at government offices, hospitals and prisons in search of information on missing family members. Initially the women sought each other's emotional support to cope with their trauma as helpless victims, because they did not immediately perceive their situation as "political." The church, which also petitioned the government on behalf of the detained and disappeared, helped these wives and mothers form an organization to coordinate their struggle into a collective force (Chuchryk 1989a:134).

The *Agrupación* directed its first efforts at the criminal justice system, seeking writs of habeas corpus. However, the military often claimed no record of a detention, thereby rendering useless any legal recourse. So the relatives resorted to extralegal methods such as hunger strikes, chaining themselves to government palace gates, and street protests. The government arrested many women at one such protest in 1975. The group's character became decidedly more politicized after 1976 when members of the fallen Communist Party joined the *Agrupación*. This caused the membership to clearly define as political the issue of the detained and disappeared. Their efforts broadened to encompass support of the general fight for a return to democracy, as well as support for workers' rights and the return of the exiles (Chuchryk 1989b:158).

In addition to expanding their goals, the *Agrupación* also implemented a wide range of strategies, both internally and externally oriented. The Folkloric Group, formed in 1978, embodied both. It comprised small groups that gathered to make handcrafts, which afforded a therapeutic outlet for the women, while simultaneously providing a vehicle for articulating protest against the regime. The *Agrupación* also held workshops for the development of its own membership in the areas of political education, public relations and leadership training. Externally oriented strategies included public educational efforts aimed at raising the general population's consciousness that the crisis was political (as many Chileans did not view the Pinochet regime as a crisis) and an information campaign to mobilize international solidarity in opposition to the regime (Chuchryk 1989a:135–136).

Other human rights-oriented groups included the Families of Executed Political Prisoners, the Women's Committee of the Chilean Human Rights Commission, and the People's Rights Defense Committee (CODEPU) (Ríos 1986).

The Women's Committee, established in 1979 by professionals, housewives and union leaders, began publishing a newsletter *Hojita* in 1982. They focused their attention on solidarity with women who had been imprisoned and tortured. This focus on women extended to their educational outreach programs, which sought to foster an awareness of women's rights issues and to document women's legal situation in Chile (Chuchryk 1989a:137). CODEPU, in contrast, was not an exclusively women's organization; it provided legal defense for political prisoners, even those accused of acts of armed resistance.

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Subsistence Groups

The second type of group to emerge in response to the economic repression of the military regimes was dedicated to fulfilling subsistence needs. In addition to imposing a laissez faire economic model that had devastating consequences for unemployment levels, the military government in Chile cut back many social services such as the free milk program and neighborhood health clinics, and it closed local self-help groups. Pinochet's policies increased hunger and malnutrition, especially for the urban working class. Women agitated for drinking water in the *poblaciones*, and, pooling their resources such as pots, pans and labor, set up communal soup kitchens (*ollas communes*) to help feed the children of the unemployed. Although opposed to such collective action, the junta did not close down the *ollas communes* for fear of exacerbating malnutrition. But they did closely monitor them for indications of political activity (Andreas 1977:121–125).

A similar phenomenon was taking place in Peru, which also experienced an economic crisis toward the end of the 1970s. A range of grassroots women's organizations emerged in response, supported by foreign aid agencies and governments, and created and staffed by professional and political women, often feminists. As in other countries, these groups were formed to meet subsistence needs for nutrition, health care, legal aid and employment training. Some, like the communal kitchens, were supported by the Catholic Church, others, like the "Glass of Milk" programs, were supported by the leftist municipal government of Lima, and the groups that provided health and legal aid services were often feminist NGOs (Blondet 1995:255–256). Historian Cecilia Blondet points out that each of these sponsoring entities used the distribution of food and services, and later technical assistance, to broaden their base of support. For women's groups, these collaborative activities served to strengthen their ties with women in poor urban sectors (1995:259–261).

Role of the Catholic Church

The Catholic Church began to play an increasing role under the dictatorships in South America. After the Second Vatican Council (1962 to 1965) and the Latin American Bishop's Council in Medellín (1968), the Church turned away from its exclusive alliance with powerful social and political oligarchies and focused on protecting and including the poor and marginalized sectors of society. Liberation theology, introduced at the Medellín conference, called for "a preferential option for the poor," and sought to address the social ills and injustices of the region. These new postures often put the Catholic Church in conflict with the military dictatorships in Chile and Brazil (although not in Argentina) over the abuse of human rights and the increase in inequality resulting from their free market economic policies (Htun 2003:79).

In Chile, the Catholic Church's *Vicaría de Solidaridad* played an important role by providing a space, resources, and accessories necessary for women's groups to address

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subsistence needs. The *Vicaría* served as a protective umbrella to groups that otherwise would have been unable to function under the dictatorship. It also played a vital role in defending the human rights of political prisoners and their families (Delsing et al. 1983: 24; Chuchryk 1989a:149; Chuchryk 1989b:154).

Similarly, the Catholic Church in Brazil, conservative on issues of sexuality and gender relations, was appalled by the abuses of the military regime in the 1960s and 1970s, and began to protect those who opposed it. Working-class and poor women first reacted against the regime's social and economic policies by participating in "women's auxiliaries" to Christian Base Communities, organized around survival mechanisms. This novel experience of involvement in social activism outside the home politicized many women. Their experience led them to question not only the regime's social and economic policies, but also their own subordinate relations to men in the context of the family and community. Sonia Alvarez attributes this participation in Church-sponsored activities—and the participation of women in leftist groups and student movements opposed to the dictatorship—with broadening the base of women poised to embrace feminism (Alvarez 1989:21–22).

The Catholic Church also played a role in the development of the women's movement in Peru. Women achieved suffrage under General Manuel Odría in 1955. The first generation of women who exercised the vote in Peru was born in the 1930s. For this group, their formative years in Catholic schools instilled a deeply held sense of social responsibility and social justice. In fact, Odría granted women the vote precisely because he assumed that the influence of the Church would lead women to vote for his conservative party. But by the early 1960s, the post-Medellín Catholic Church, influenced by liberation theology, had turned its focus to the plight of the poor. The early feminists were first exposed to political activism through Church-related reform groups committed to creating a more just society, where they engaged with women from poorer social classes. Elite women from this generation developed and deepened their commitment to social change by volunteering with Church-sponsored groups like the Institute for Rural Education and Toward a Church of Solidarity, which promoted exchanges across classes (Bourque 1985:35–40).

Although in time the church hierarchy retreated from its progressive stance on certain issues, like family planning, women maintained their relationships with the nuns and priests with whom they worked on the ground for social change. The younger generation of Peruvian feminists who came to political activism in the 1980s was not formed by exposure to liberation theology, but drew its inspiration from leftist political parties, and tended instead to criticize the church for its position on reproductive rights and abortion (Bourque 1985:42–43).

Effect on Participants

The repression cut across class lines, so the organizations of relatives and the church groups served to bring together women of different socioeconomic classes. The *pobladora* housewife,

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by assuming new responsibilities in organizations, developed contacts with professionals involved in the struggle for human rights, such as doctors, lawyers, professors, and social workers. Women discovered that, once allowed the opportunity to do a job, they could accomplish the task as well as men (Ríos 1986; Rozas 1986:247–249). This experience imbued women, who previously had been marginalized from political activity, with a new sense of empowerment.

This newfound confidence combined with a raised political consciousness—from contact with various socioeconomic classes—led women to think in terms of their shared subordination. In their work among the popular sectors, middle-class women affiliated with church groups often mixed with women from political parties of the left. When women of the popular classes brought up issues like contraception and unequal power arrangements with the men in other political groups to which they belonged, some women came to realize they were not necessarily united with these men against a common oppressor, but that as women they were uniquely oppressed both at home and in the world. This new consciousness operated in the formation of a women's movement that came to identify itself as feminist. But not all women followed this path (Alvarez 1989:31–32).

To some extent, the nature of this activism conforms to Elsa Chaney's image of women's style of political participation, which she characterized as the *Supermadre.* Although her research looks at women in formal positions of political power, her empirical observations are also applicable to grassroots activism. Chaney found that a woman enters politics as "an extension of [her] family role" and she acts in that realm as if "tending to the needs of her big family"(Chaney 1974:273). Chaney's study of women public figures, however, led her to conclude that this propensity constrained women from competing for leadership roles, thus inhibiting them from pushing for significant social reform. This was not the case for the women who organized to protest or protect their families under the military dictatorships of South America.

Because the military governments considerably narrowed the space for political activity, new flexible forms of political action and social protest emerged. The resulting groups incorporated previously marginalized actors—*pobladores* and women—who probably would have remained excluded from politics under democratic conditions. Furthermore, the struggle and agitation for various demands gave rise to the convergence of two social sectors. Professional women from the upper-middle class contributed material resources to the subsistence efforts of the *poblaciones, favelas,* and *pueblos jóvenes* (peripheral urban slums in Chile, Brazil, and Peru), and they also performed tasks of reflection and research that helped to raise the consciousness of those mobilizing against the dictatorships (Serrano 1986:74).

The nature and structure of the organizations—the fact that they were independent of political party affiliation and often included women of various socioeconomic classes—allowed them to stress unity in their mobilization and strategy, define an agenda in the absence of political parties, which were repressed, thus allowing the space for new movements to emerge and perhaps to succeed in a way that partisan politics might have failed (Garretón 1989:272–273).

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Writing in a pamphlet at the time, one woman summarizes these implications for and about women vis-à-vis the Chilean junta (Alamoneda 1985:6):

> Curious paradox, but the dictatorship has created favorable conditions for raising women's consciousness … Women nowadays have had to go outside of their homes and organize among themselves because generalized firings forced them to … The struggle for survival breaks with all myths, especially with the one that says that the man is the one who should work and maintain the family, and the woman should stay at home and care for the children … Women discover … that it is more possible to achieve something together than separately.

Participation had a groundbreaking ripple effect throughout the political spectrum. In leaving the private sphere, women began to value organization and the process of working together collectively. Once outside the home, they discovered their potential, which led them to question the confinement of their traditional role in the family. Furthermore, participating in the community put women in touch with other women with whom they shared common problems as women in relation to men in a patriarchal setting (Delsing 1983:39). This process of solidarity enhanced women's sense of self-worth, and led to a heightened feminist consciousness (Ibid.: 24).

Central America: Civil War, Peace Processes, and the Ongoing Debate

Women's movements in Central America are inextricably linked to the region's history of revolution. Unlike the Southern Cone, most women's organizations in Central America grew out of guerrilla movements that formed in the 1970s and 1980s. In Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala, women joined clandestine movements to overthrow repressive governments. Yet these women rarely integrated into the revolution with feminist goals in mind. For most women, it was their experience as guerrillas and organizing as part of the revolution that led them later to shape a feminist agenda. Women's groups first formed under the auspices of the revolutionary leadership, with the intent of addressing the needs of women. The reality, however, was that these groups served primarily as a mechanism to recruit new women to the movement and provide general support to the revolution. Later, some of these same organizations reevaluated their goals and sought autonomy from the revolutionary parties in order to pursue an explicitly feminist agenda.

Historical Context

Revolutionary movements in Latin America famously began with the overthrow of Fulgencio Batista's government in Cuba in 1959. Cuban women, however, were allowed only a limited

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role in the guerrilla struggle, and those women who did join the revolution largely served in support roles. Most historians place the number of female combatants in the Cuban struggle at roughly 5 percent (Kampwirth 2002:118). In comparison, women's participation in guerrilla movements swelled in the 1960s and 1970s in Central America. Studies indicate that in Nicaragua as many as 30 percent of FSLN (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional) participants were women. Similarly, in El Salvador, United Nations demobilization records show that nearly 40 percent of FMLN (Frente Farabundo Marí para la Liberación Nacional) members were women (Molyneux, 1986).[1]

Scholars attribute the larger numbers of women in Central American revolutions to two factors. First, the Cuban guerrillas used the foco strategy to overthrow the dictatorship. This tactic relied on a small, committed number of armed combatants to defeat a dictator, rather than the sheer force of the masses. According to Karen Kampwirth, Cuban revolutionary leaders viewed women as part of "the category of people who were not worth mobilizing" (Kampwirth 2002:127). Women did serve in support roles, such as cooks, but—for the most part—did not serve in combatant positions (Ibid.:127). Furthermore, few women were included in leadership positions in the Cuban revolutionary government that came to power in the following years.

In contrast, the mass mobilization tactic that was eventually adopted by FSLN leaders in Nicaragua and the FMLN in El Salvador required the participation of as many citizens as possible to overthrow the dictatorships—a strategy that necessitated the inclusion of women. Women in the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions fought as combatants and served as support workers, a number of whom reached leadership roles. Dora María Tellez served as head of the forces of the FSLN Western Front, and Mónica Baltodano led the FSLN troops in the surrender of Granada.

The second factor that changed the face of Latin American politics between the Cuban and Central American revolutions was the emergence of liberation theology in the Catholic Church. As in South America, the turn to liberation theology often placed religious leaders in opposition to dictatorships. Although the Catholic Church in Central America was notoriously conservative, liberation theology eventually found its place in the region. A number of revolutionary leaders were also clerics, such as Father Ernesto Cardenal and his brother Father Fernando Cardenal in Nicaragua, as well as Archbishop Oscar Romero in El Salvador. Romero proved to be one of the most important leaders in the Salvadoran struggle against the military regime, due to his public condemnation of the state's human rights abuses. He announced cases of torture and disappearances during his weekly mass, which was broadcast

[1] Cited in Kampwirth (2002:2). It should be noted, however, that there is some controversy regarding the numbers of women participants in the FSLN, which largely revolves around the definition of the word "combatant" and the dates from which that data were collected. Estimates placing women's involvement as 30 percent of FSLN members were generally taken from the final years before the insurrection. For a detailed analysis of this debate, see Luciak (2001:16–23).

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nationally to radio stations. In 1980, he was publicly assassinated in the middle of a service. One woman, who was just 11 when Romero was killed, recalled the influence of his murder: "Just as in all of El Salvador, it had quite an impact" (Kampwirth 2002:69).

One important method used by the Church to combat inequality was the creation of Christian Base Communities (CEBs), which sought to educate peasants in both religious doctrine and social justice. CEBs worked to mobilize peasants—and importantly, women—through grassroots organizing, hoping to overcome their historic marginalization (Walker 2003:41). In fact, many women were first "politicized" in Christian Base Communities or through other church activities. Religious leaders, such as Sister Maura Clarke, a Maryknoll nun in Ciudad Sandino, Nicaragua, helped women fight for basic utility services. Collective action at home was often the first step towards integrating into guerrilla movements later. Joining religious groups or student groups increased the chance of eventual recruitment by the guerrillas (Ibid.: 12, 31). Both Dorotea Wilson and Aminta Granera, two notable FSLN leaders, joined the Sandinistas through religious activity.

Revolutionary Women's Groups

Nicaraguan women organized for both feminist and nonfeminist causes as early as 1837. The first wave of women fought for voting rights and access to education. By the 1920s, a small group of educated, bourgeois women referred to themselves as "feminists," and a later movement of women supported the Somoza party in the 1950s. The contemporary women's movement in Nicaragua, however, sees little connection to their predecessors. Most Nicaraguan feminists today link their activism to their participation in the Sandinista revolution.[2]

The reality, however, was that most women did not join the FSLN with feminist goals in mind. Although a few women joined with an explicitly feminist perspective,[3] the majority of women collaborated for similar reasons as the men: they wanted to defeat the Somoza dictatorship. Within the FSLN, however, women began to coordinate. In September of 1977, several Sandinista women founded the Association of Women Confronting National Issues (AMPRONAC), which sought to defend both the rights of women and human rights. In 1979, following the triumph of the revolution, AMPRONAC was renamed AMNLAE (Asociación de Mujeres Nicaragüenses "Luisa Amanda Espinosa") and became the official women's organization of the FSLN (Fernández Poncela 1997:38). The group's early projects focused on literacy, health, housing and other issues that affected the lives of women. However, the priority of AMNLAE always remained the revolution, and in 1982,

[2] More information on the Nicaraguan women's movement pre-FSLN is provided in González (2001:41–78).

[3] Sofía Montenegro was one leader of the women's movement who joined the Sandinistas in large part due to her feminist beliefs. See Randall (1994:286–311).

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AMNLAE focused its resources on recruiting women into the military to fight the counter-revolutionaries, known as the "Contras."

Throughout the 1980s, AMNLAE remained loyal to the FSLN, frustrating women who saw clearly the machismo that existed even within the revolutionary context. The very experience of participating in the guerrilla struggle made the prevailing sexism more obvious to Sandinista women. Women—who had trained and fought in combat in the mountains alongside men—returned to the workforce only to encounter gender discrimination from the very same men. Despite the leadership women demonstrated during the insurrection, including heading battalions and squadrons of soldiers, the nine-member FSLN national directorate had no female representatives.[4] By 1989, women held only three ministerial posts in the FSLN government. Female representation in the Nicaraguan National Assembly was similarly low. In 1984, women comprised 13 percent of the elected delegates, and by 1990 that number had only increased to 16 percent. In other professions, men also outnumbered women (Ibid.: 41–43). The statistics demonstrate a continuation of institutionalized sexism, despite the supposed feminist goals of the FSLN.

Daisy Zamora, a Sandinista guerrilla who later served as the vice-minister of culture in the FSLN government, explained the contrast between the ideals of the revolution and women's reality in Nicaragua:

> It's absolutely true that the revolution opened up a new space for women here. We fought alongside our male comrades and that produced an explosion of new possibilities. By the end of the war the old order had been completely disrupted, and all the women who had taken part had the opportunity to help construct a more just society. I think the problem was that this new space wasn't accompanied by a new mentality on the part of most of the male-dominated leadership. What this meant was that there was a gap between what the revolution offered its women and what we women found in our day to day relationship with 'Comandante X,' a man still very much formed in the old ideas.[5]

Facing gender discrimination, Nicaraguan women disagreed over the most effective strategy to fight sexism. Some women believed that the best route was to continue to support the FSLN. Others saw the need to break away from the party. AMNLAE refused to address many issues central to the feminist cause, such as abortion and other topics related to sexuality, in order to preserve the FSLN's relationship with the Catholic Church.[6] In

[4] Dora María Tellez ran for a seat in the National Directorate in 1991, but failed to be elected by Congress.

[5] Interview with Daisy Zamora in Margaret Randall (1994:111).

[6] Though the Catholic Church supported the organization of women and peasants to address the problem of poverty, Church hierarchy remained conservative on issues of sexuality.

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the mid-1980s, a smaller group of women, who already identified themselves as feminists, formed PIE (Partido de la Izquierda Erótica) to address women's issues that were excluded from AMNLAE's agenda. These topics included violence against women, voluntary maternity and abortion, sexuality, freedom of sexual choice, and the right to political participation (Stephen 1997:60). Other women lobbied for greater autonomy of AMNLAE from the party leadership, particularly for the right to elect the general secretary of AMNLAE. In 1989, however, the FSLN announced that it would name Doris Tijerino as the general secretary of AMNLAE, ignoring the women's demands for democratization within the movement. The appointment of Tijerino—who at the time was national police chief and a staunch party loyalist—was a setback to the women who hoped to democratize AMNLAE.

The situation that women's groups in El Salvador confronted was similar. The civil war in El Salvador lasted from 1979 through January 1992, and it has been estimated that during that time, one out of every hundred Salvadorans was killed. There, as in Nicaragua, women's groups created under the patronage of the FMLN struggled to maintain their role as supporters of the revolution while also advocating for the rights of women. Unlike the FSLN, the FMLN in El Salvador was divided into five branches, and each division formed its own women's organization during the revolutionary struggle. Consequently, in El Salvador, there were a number of women's groups organized under the revolutionary party structure.[7]

In 1977, a group of Salvadoran women, with the support of the Catholic Church, founded the Co-Madres, an organization committed to protesting the disappearances of their relatives and the violence of the dictatorship. The group originally formed with only nine members, but in a few years its membership had risen to thirty. By the 1980s, they had been joined by solidarity delegations in the United States (Stephen 1997:30–31). The work of the Co-Madres focused on ending human rights abuses—advocacy work that caused many Co-Madres to be kidnapped and tortured by the dictatorship. In conversations about state violence, the Co-Madres learned that nearly every detained woman in El Salvador had also been raped. Moreover, husbands often disapproved of their wives' involvement in the Co-Madres. Women were expected to be at home, instead of out in the street protesting. As a result of these exchanges about gender, the Co-Madres began to work not only on human rights but also on women's rights, and in 1991, the group hosted a series of discussions to examine these issues in El Salvador. The transition to a more feminist agenda was difficult for some of the older and more conservative members, but the majority of Co-Madres saw the change as a necessary improvement.

Another influential women's group in El Salvador was Las Dignas (Mujeres por la Dignidad y la Vida). Las Dignas was created in July of 1990 as a subgroup of the Resistencia

[7] See Kampwirth (2004:77–80) for a complete list of women's organizations in El Salvador and their political and religious affiliations.

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Nacional (RN), one of the five arms of the FMLN, to address the concerns of women in the party. Soon after its formation, however, Las Dignas moved towards an autonomous agenda. By 1991, Las Dignas knew the FMLN was likely to become a legal political party. Rather than remain affiliated with the RN, the women decided to seek autonomy. Contact with other Latin American feminists strengthened these convictions. One member of Las Dignas traveled to Argentina for the Fifth Latin American and Caribbean Feminist *Encuentro* in 1990, an experience that prompted further determination to focus on women's rights rather than the political goals of the RN. The group began working with Nicaraguan feminists to hold workshops on sexuality, domestic work, violence against women, and power. They also began mobilizing for a Central American feminist meeting in Nicaragua in 1992.[8]

Las Dignas split from the RN in 1992, issuing a statement of autonomy that positioned the group as an independent feminist organization, inclusive of women from all political parties. Like AMNLAE in Nicaragua, Las Dignas struggled with its early ties to the revolution. But while AMNLAE continued to serve as a bastion of FSLN support through the decade of Sandinista government, Las Dignas quickly established its independence from the RN and the FMLN. Although the Co-Madres was not formed as part of a revolutionary group, its ideological trajectory closely mirrors groups with revolutionary origins like Las Dignas. Few women's groups in revolutionary Central America were originally structured with a feminist agenda. The Co-Madres initially focused solely on human rights abuses linked to the dictatorship. As their activism continued, they began a dialogue about gender that eventually caused them to reevaluate their organizational mission and add a focus on women's rights. It is important to note that this shift to a feminist agenda did not come without conflict—both among the women themselves and between the women's groups and the mostly male revolutionary leadership. As in Nicaragua, women in El Salvador disagreed over the strategies to fight gender inequality. Was it best to support the revolution, which promised a new type of society? Or was it necessary, in a context of male domination of the left, to work for feminist causes as an autonomous organization?

Maxine Molyneux addresses the question of autonomy for women's movements in her essay, "Analysing Women's Movements." Molyneux identifies the matter of authority as central to the decisions that women had to make regarding autonomy, specifically the question "from where does the authority to define women's goals, priorities and actions come?" (Molyneux 1998:226). As in South America, these questions also framed the debate in Central America, where women's organizations were founded under the hierarchical structure of guerrilla organizations. On reflection, Molyneux's thoughtful query invites critical thinking and open debate. During the 1980s, however, the question of autonomy was often reduced to the phrase *doble militancia* (literally, double militancy). In other words, could a woman be both a feminist and support a political party? (Alvarez et al. 2002:543).

[8] For a complete discussion of the history of Las Dignas, see Stephen (1997:56–107).

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This debate continued in Nicaragua and El Salvador for over a decade, reaching only the eventual conclusion that both independent feminist groups and political parties were necessary (Luciak 1998). In Guatemala, however, the issue of *doble militancia* never reached the same sense of urgency, as the Guatemalan women's movement lacked an official connection to the revolutionary party until recently. Though Guatemalan women organized to fight for the right to vote during the Arbenz government in the 1950s, the issue of gender was noticeably absent from the official mission statement of any of the revolutionary groups. Four revolutionary factions formed in the 1960s in opposition to the military regime, all of which later joined together to form the URNG (Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca). Throughout the thirty-six years of civil conflict, none of these organizations prioritized the issue of gender equality. Comandante Lola, who later headed the URNG's Women's Secretariat, remarked: "It wasn't that we didn't consider gender issues important, but that our life was very hard, full of activity directly related to combat, to the recruitment of military units." The Women's Secretariat of the URNG was not formed until 1997, after the peace accords had been signed (Luciak 2001:181–189).

Lacking a women's arm of the revolutionary party, Guatemalan women organized independently to fight the massive human rights abuses and the disappearances of their relatives. Although these groups were organized against the military regime, they were not officially linked to the URNG. The Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo (GAM) was founded by four women on June 4, 1984 to pressure the government to locate disappeared husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons. Similarly, the Coordinadora Nacional de Viudas de Guatemala (CONAVIGUA) was formed in 1988 by Rosalina Tuyuc to find lost family members. These groups and other women's groups in Guatemala relied heavily on international funding, since they received essentially no support from the Guatemalan government. Though international funds provided a sustained source of money, these grants often restricted organizations to the expectations of the donors. Grantors preferred short-term projects with visible results. With the emergence of many new NGOs in Central America in the 1990s, the work of the women's movement was often dictated by these preferences (Berger 2006:32).

Autonomous Women's Movements and the Role of NGOs

With the FSLN electoral loss in 1990 in Nicaragua, the subsequent demobilization of the Contras, and the signing of the peace accords in El Salvador in 1992 and in Guatemala in 1996, women's organizations in Central American began to break from the revolutionary movements. Of the three nations, only the Guatemalan peace accords included a clause on gender equality and the role of women. Some analysts attribute this to the fact that the planning for the Guatemalan peace accords began after the 1995 UN World Conference on Women in Beijing, which called for an increased participation of women in global conflict resolution. As a result, Guatemalan women's groups made up a large part of the Assembly

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of Civil Service (ASC), the civil society constituency at the peace accords (Nakaya 2003: 463). Unfortunately, many of the reforms included in the accords were never implemented. This is due to a combination of factors, among them the lengthy amount of time it took to pass constitutional reforms, the failure to elect a new Congress, and the strength of the Guatemalan military compared to the URNG (Ibid.: 464–465).

Unlike Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador did not mention gender in their disarmament agreements. The end of the civil wars, however, opened up new spaces for women to organize. In Nicaragua, the 1990 election of Violeta Chamorro—and the end of the FSLN government—brought many changes to the women's movement. First, without the FSLN in power, AMNLAE no longer served as an official arm of the state. Second, Chamorro quickly cut government funds for social programs in her support of neoliberal economic policy, and organizations linked to the FSLN (including AMNLAE) lost funding. Moreover, user fees were introduced in the health and education sectors. These costs made basic health care and education unavailable to the poorest segments of the population. In response, the Nicaraguan civil sector organized to fill the gaps. The autonomous feminist movement began to include not only networks of activists but also non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

In Nicaragua, the first of these feminist-based NGOs emerged before the end of FSLN government. In 1988, a group of women from the FSLN professional workers' association founded the Colectiva Masaya. Their goal was to provide services for women's health care as well as a physical place for women to congregate and share ideas. After 1990, more NGOs surfaced, many of which focused on health care for women. Although the Sandinistas had made large gains in health, particularly through mass vaccination campaigns, Nicaraguan women still faced grave health risks, including maternal morbidity, maternal mortality, and cervical cancer (Ewig 1999:85). NGOs provided much-needed services to poor women, while at the same time creating jobs for educated, middle-class women who previously had worked for the state. As in Guatemala, most Nicaraguan NGOs were financed through international donations and grants. Servicios Integrales de la Mujer (S.I. Mujer) and the Centro de la Mujer IXCHEN—two large and influential women's NGOs—were founded at this time (Ibid.).[9]

In El Salvador, many women broke from the FMLN after the peace accords ignored the contributions of women during the war, and moved to work in NGOs to address the failures of the state. One of the most successful NGOs in El Salvador is Las Madres Demandantes (LMD), an off-shoot organization of Las Dignas that works to ensure compliance with court-ordered child support payments, an issue that affects women of all social classes. Though LMD largely aids poor women, wealthy and middle-class women also support the organization's work. Furthermore, LMD has succeeded in drawing national attention to

[9] Interestingly, the founder of the IXCHEN centers, María Lourdes Bolaños, was involved in the feminist group PIE in the 1980s. See Randall (1994:307–308), for a discussion of the accomplishments of PIE members.

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the issue as well as passing a number of measures that guarantee greater funds to children. By addressing an issue that affects women nationally, LMD has been able to achieve substantial changes. Similarly, women members of the Salvadoran Congress formed a caucus to fight violence against women, also a cross class issue. They were able to pass a series of laws condemning intra-familial and domestic violence (Blumberg 2001).

The success of Nicaraguan and Salvadoran NGOs is largely due to two factors. First, these organizations relied on the skills gained by women within the revolutionary movements. Though most feminist groups chose officially to separate from political parties, the women's experience as guerrillas honed their expertise as leaders and organizers. Women were linked nationally as a result of networks created during the revolution. The second reason that NGOs thrived in Central America was the extent of state failure to provide basic services to the population—and particularly, to the poor. The lack of state social services created a huge need, which NGOs willingly filled, financed heavily by international aid groups.

In addition to the growth of the NGO sector in the social services, Nicaraguan and Salvadoran feminists coordinated nationally to address the needs of women and increase female representation in politics. By this time, the international feminist movement had begun to influence Central American women. Forty-four Nicaraguan women, including members of PIE[10] and a delegation from AMNLAE, attended the Fourth Latin American Feminist *Encuentro* in Taxco, Mexico in 1987 (Randall 1994:304). Unfortunately, many long-time feminists from South America found the presence of the Central American newcomers—consumed by the issue of *doble militancia*—a burden (Alvarez 2002:546). Yet Central American women, and Nicaraguan feminists in particular, cite this *encuentro* as an important moment for the feminist movement in their countries. The affirmation of their feminist beliefs—compared to the narrow focus on the revolution at home—was a rejuvenating experience. Two women's groups in Guatemala, Tierra Viva and the Grupo Guatemalteco de Mujeres (GGM), formed directly following the Taxco *encuentro*. Nicaraguan feminist Sofía Montenegro left Taxco feeling similarly inspired. She explained to Margaret Randall that the "experience in Mexico was like a catharsis for us. We came back to Nicaragua feeling much stronger"(Randall 1994:307).

In the years following the end of the revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador, there were a number of regional gatherings of women. In March 1991, Nicaraguan feminists held the "Festival of the 52 percent"—named for the percentage of women in Nicaragua—to celebrate International Women's Day and offer an alternative to AMNLAE's national congress. Salvadoran women held the First National Women's Meeting in late 1991, and on January 8, 1992, eight hundred women convened for the first Nicaraguan Women's *Encuentro*. The theme for the Nicaraguan *encuentro* was "Unity in Diversity," recognizing

[10] Members included Sofía Montenegro, Gioconda Belli, María Lourdes Bolaños, Milú Vargas, Yvonne Siu, Malena de Montis, Ileana Rodríguez, Olguita Espinoza, Ana Criquillón, and Vilma Castillo.

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the various factions of the Nicaraguan women's movement. For three days, women from various sectors gathered to discuss the future of the Nicaraguan women's movement. The result was a series of networks to address women's needs (Babb 2002:39–40). Nicaraguan women also remained connected to other feminists in Latin America. In March 1992, Nicaraguan and Salvadoran feminists met in Montelimar, a resort on the Pacific coast, to prepare for the sixth Latin American Feminist *Encuentro* to be held in El Salvador in November of 1993 (Ibid.; Stephen 1997:70–71).

Nicaraguan and Salvadoran women also organized campaigns to support female candidates and policies that benefited women. In El Salvador, a coalition of women's groups organized *Mujeres '94*, a campaign to create a national platform on women's issues that would be adopted by all political parties. A similar platform was created for the 1997 elections. Hampered by internal disagreements, the Salvadoran women's movement was unable to obtain strong consensus among the organizations in time to effectively lobby the political parties. In Nicaragua, women were better able to forge a pluralistic alliance for the 1996 elections, and presented an agenda six months before the elections. Women in both countries also pushed for quota laws, encouraged by success in other Latin American countries. Though the FMLN did not adopt a quota law in El Salvador in 1994, by the 1997 elections the party had reached an effective quota of 35 percent (Luciak 1998:41). In Nicaragua, a 30 percent quota was applied to the FSLN for the first time in 1996. The number of elected women was greater than in previous years, but a lack of support from men and an unwillingness of many women to run at the local level continued to hinder women's participation (Ibid.).

In Guatemala, women initially appeared to gain significant political power following the civil war. In the 1995 elections, three of six FDNG (a party formed as an offshoot of the URNG) representatives in Congress were women—Nineth Montenegro, Manuela Alvarado, and Rosalina Tuyuc. However, the election of these women reportedly had little to do with the gender movement, and more to do with their unique leadership abilities. Nineth Montenegro had founded GAM, and both Alvarado and Tuyuc had been instrumental in the fight for indigenous rights (Luciak 1998:182). Indeed, women later proved to be underrepresented in all Guatemalan political parties. By the 1999 elections, only eight women were elected to Congress. In addition to the previously discussed challenges that Nicaragua and El Salvador faced, Guatemala's indigenous population and low levels of literacy added to the difficulty of including the majority of women in politics. Furthermore, there were a total of 16 indigenous languages within the URNG, and many indigenous women did not speak Spanish. In areas of largely URNG support, over 80 percent of residents lived in poverty. Only 66 percent of the general population was literate. These social conditions made it difficult to unite women to push for greater representation in politics (Ibid.:58).

Without strong representation in Congress or at the executive level in any of these countries, the feminist movement and feminist NGOs in Central America continually

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battled the governments on issues related to women. A number of structural changes—as well as the political agenda of elected leaders—threatened to hinder the effectiveness of women's groups. In Nicaragua, the election of Arnoldo Alemán as president in 1996 was a low point for the feminist movement. Alemán attempted to reduce the role of the Nicaraguan Women's Institute (INIM) from a state agency to a less powerful office within the newly created Ministry of the Family. The new ministry would promote a traditional family structure, in direct opposition to much of the work of the women's movement. At the same time, Alemán proposed a revision of Article 147 of the civil code. This revision would increase government control of NGOs, enabling the government to have power over NGOs' ability to raise and request funds. Fortunately, neither of the proposed changes was passed in its original form, And various revisions weakened their mandates. However, NGO leaders and feminists were left gravely aware of the potential of the executive to undermine their movements (Kampwirth 2003:139).

NGOs have made significant progress in providing services to women, but the feminist movement continues to confront a number of challenges. None of the Central American countries mentioned in this chapter have decriminalized abortion. In El Salvador, a 1998 constitutional amendment declared abortion illegal in all circumstances, increasing punishment to up to 50 years in prison. Article 1 of the Salvadoran Constitution now states that the government must protect life from the "very moment of conception."(Hitt 2006). The language of the revision is rooted in the strong influence of the Catholic Church in El Salvador. In Nicaragua, the situation is similarly grim for women's rights activists. Church hierarchy practically wrote the new law that was passed in November of 2006, outlawing even therapeutic abortion in cases of rape or where the mother's life is in danger. Both the Sandinistas and Liberal Alliance, which account for 91 out of 92 seats in the Nicaraguan legislature, approved the law's passage. Although Daniel Ortega, the recently elected FSLN president, professed liberal views on reproductive rights during the revolution, his recent return to Catholicism leaves no hope for an overturn of the law during his tenure (Tobar 2006). Abortion is also illegal in Guatemala. In addition, Guatemala faces increased violent crime against women. Since 2001, more than 700 women have been murdered in Guatemala. Observers have begun to call these crimes "femicides" (NACLA 2004:46).

The situation for women is compounded by recent undemocratic action by government leaders. In Nicaragua, the agenda of the women's movement now focuses increasingly on the state's lack of democracy, in addition to the traditional themes of women's rights. In 2004, a number of long-time feminists joined together to form the Movimiento Autónomo de Mujeres de Nicaragua (MAM) to address the lack of democracy in their country. The organization's slogan—"For democracy, autonomy, and liberty: Stop the Pact!"—presents a political rather than feminist agenda. The pact, an agreement between Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega and Liberal Alliance leader Arnoldo Alemán to consolidate their power, is an example of the recent deterioration of Nicaraguan democracy. In fact, leaders of the

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women's rights movement in Nicaragua currently state that the largest problem for women in their country is the lack of a democratic government.[11]

National women's networks and feminist NGOs have been crucial to promoting the rights of women in Central America, and these organizations continue to play a large role in distributing the international aid that reaches the region. Since the end of the wars, women have achieved progress in many areas—by implementing quota laws, increasing dialogue among sectors, and providing social services to women. However, violence against women and a lack of individual freedoms continue to motivate women's groups to organize and advocate for change in these countries. Additional gains could be made with the election of more women to power, on both regional and national levels. But to be effective, elected women and men would have to work with feminist groups to ensure that the voice of women's organizations reaches national legislatures. Women's groups have, at times, felt isolated from female government officials, who may have other priorities. Alliances between elected women and feminist leaders could help to ensure the rights of women in Central America.

Autonomy and External Influences

Women's Movements vis-à-vis Political Parties

In the 1930s and 1940s, women's movements fought for the vote independent of political parties—mainly because the parties, wary of women's conservatism and allegiance to the Catholic Church, were not natural allies in the struggle. Once the vote was won—in 1932 in Brazil, 1946 in Guatemala, 1949 in Chile, 1955 in Peru and Nicaragua, and 1961 in El Salvador[12]—women entered the parties, because that was the field in which the game of politics they had fought to enter was played. As Patricia Chuchryk notes, the goal of the women's suffrage movement was political participation, not regime change. By the 1980s, as Brazil and Chile were poised to begin their transitions to democracy, women were hyper-aware of the need to maintain autonomy or have their issues co-opted and diluted by the return of political parties. The parties, much like the democratic governments that followed, did incorporate women's committees or agencies, but women's concerns were just one among a long list of competing priorities (Chuchryk 189a:173–174). Such is the nature of democracy. And in a democracy, parties are needed to channel demands from civil society into the policy making process, which is comprised of a series of negotiations.

[11] Azahálea Solís Román, head of the Law and Equality program at the Center for Constitutional Rights in Managua, and Sofía Montenegro, of the Center for Communication Research in Managua, both listed the national threat to democracy as the largest problem facing women in Nicaragua today (Managua 2007).

[12] Although Salvadoran women won the right to vote in 1939, they were not allowed to stand for election until 1961.

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Across the region, women's movements either remained separate from parties, or struggled to strike a balance between their work within parties and their efforts to promote the feminist goals of the movement. In the context of politics emerging under an authoritarian regime, activists were faced with either maintaining the unity of the opposition in its struggle to defeat the regime and restore democracy on the one hand, or fragmenting among parties that represented the interests of different sectors, on the other. For women, the choice was between either pursuing broad-based women's movement politics or joining forces with single-issue interest groups so as not to conflict with party loyalties. It turned out that these latter groups, organized around issues like domestic violence or equal pay for equal work, survived while the broader "movement-oriented" feminist groups were weakened by the return of political parties (Alvarez 1989:45–48).

The Brazilian case offers an example of the tension that began to develop between women who wanted to focus their struggle on gender equity and women's rights issues within the women's movement, and those who felt the larger goals of recovering democracy and seeking broader social justice should be pursued first. At the Second Women's Congress in Brazil in 1980, women from political parties of the Left tried to take back the agenda from feminist women, and return the orientation of the women's movement to a broader concern for the economic problems of popular sector women. The feminists held their ground against the sometimes-violent pressures and manipulation of the partisan Left, and stuck to their mission of unifying women around gender-specific demands (Ibid.: 42–43).

The following year Brazil held its first elections since the military coup, resulting in the reemergence of political parties and the deepening of partisan rifts among women in the movement. An inevitable struggle ensued among the various opposition parties for the loyalty and votes of participants in women's movement organizations. Political parties came to view the support of feminists as important to burnishing their progressive credentials and their reputation as committed democrats (Ibid.: 41).

In Ecuador, as elsewhere, women organized in opposition to the dictatorship in the 1970s, but their numbers were small, and they participated as part of women's fronts established in trade unions, peasant federations, neighborhood organizations, and political parties. Although women participated in the protests against the dictatorship, in the period of redemocratization, women's concerns were rarely discussed. As elsewhere, these were thought to be subordinate to the struggle to reestablish human rights. It was not until the economic crisis of the 1980s that women began to organize in force. Inspired by the UN Decade for the Advancement of Women, and frustrated by neglect of their issues by the parties, Ecuadoran women began organizing their own groups to pressure from outside traditional power structures. Bending to the pressure from these women's groups, and from the international arena, the state began to focus on women's issues (Lind 1989:135–139).

In Peru, the relationship between social movements and the military government took a different route. The military coup led by General Velasco in 1968 actually represented a

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reaction against the dominant political class and not against the people. In fact, it initially opened new opportunities for political participation and representation for groups that were previously excluded. By the late 1970s, however, the military government replaced the progressive reforms of the Velasco period with social adjustment policies that hurt the poor, who then mobilized against the government. Their demands, taken up by the parties of the left, were more economic than political. Women of all classes were affected by the economic crisis and joined the protests against the government (Barrig 1989:115–117).

At the same time, women's groups began forming, with support from international aid agencies and private foundations, guided by a commitment both to community development and to women's rights. In Peru, as elsewhere, women became politically active out of a commitment to helping the poor. They worked for improving the literacy rates, nutrition, health, legal rights, and job prospects of the poor. These women struggled to bring about social and economic change through their membership in Church-sponsored reform groups, independent groups, and political parties of the left (Bourque 1985:40–42).

At first, some Peruvian women exercised *doble militancia*, working both within the parties for political change and outside the parties for feminist causes and in opposition to male domination (Jaquette 1986:190). Those working for reform from within the political parties encountered party leaders who either ignored their feminist concerns or isolated them from influencing party platforms. These women considered themselves feminists, but chose not to label themselves as such in order to avoid being accused of "undermining the revolutionary potential of the poor by pitting them against men" (Bourque 1985:41).

Although the younger generation of feminists in Peru came to their political activism through involvement in parties of the left, they felt excluded and ignored by those parties. This led them to create independent feminists groups, like Action for the Liberation of Peruvian Women (ALIMUPER), the Flora Tristán Center for the Peruvian Woman, Manuela Ramos Movement, Women in Struggle, Perú Mujer, and the Women's Socialist Front, among others. These groups embraced a range of feminist issues, including the legalization of abortion, and organized in solidarity with the FSLN in Nicaragua. They eventually formed an umbrella organization, the Women's Organizations' Coordinating Committee, to combine their efforts in support of progressive social reform (Ibid.; Blondet 1985:258).

These women's groups shared a commitment to fighting for the rights of the poor, but in the context of fighting all oppression. Yet they were also disillusioned with the sexism and rigid hierarchies of the parties of the left. Like the Sandinista women's frustration with their male counterparts in Nicaragua, women in Peru encountered gender inequity even in progressive parties. In 1981, Peru's women's groups organized a Metropolitan Encounter in Lima where they joined their critique of socioeconomic inequalities with a denunciation of the patriarchal power relations between men and women. They began to argue openly for the autonomy of feminist groups from political parties (Barrig 1989:125–126). As Virginia

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Vargas said, feminism is an expression of women who are "united in their sexual oppression to all other forms of oppression" (Jaquette 1989:190).

This isolation from the parties came with a political price, however. Peruvian women fled the leftist parties because they felt marginalized and their issues ignored, and in turn isolated themselves in autonomous feminist groups. When competitive democracy reemerged, some of these women's groups pooled their resources and formed an autonomous leftist coalition to run in the elections. They were defeated (Ibid.). Autonomy is not only a failed electoral strategy; it also diminishes the arenas in which the movement's issues can be promoted. Women effectively marginalized themselves and their issues from political power. This led many women's groups to become dependent on support from abroad—from international foundations and foreign governments' development agencies—and thus, ironically, they put their autonomy at risk, once again (Barrig 1989:125–127).

International Influences

Throughout this period, women began to share experiences across countries and continents. During the military dictatorships, many women from the Southern Cone countries emigrated to Europe. Some exiles returned to Brazil during the opening of the mid-1970s, bringing with them influences from reproductive rights movements in Italy and France, and ideas about the need for women's groups to secure and maintain their autonomy from male-dominated institutions like the Church, political parties, and unions (Alvarez 1989:40).

The emerging women's movement in Latin America was reinforced by international pressure and solidarity that coalesced in the launching of the United Nations Decade for the Advancement of Women in 1975. The worldwide meeting that convened in Mexico City that year issued declarations that called on governments to improve the health, employment opportunities and educational levels of women. Such proclamations resonated at the national level throughout the region.

In 1975 in Brazil, influenced by the UN conference in Mexico City, and given space to dialogue with civil society by the military's *abertura* (opening), women organized an International Women's Day celebration—the first mass mobilization since 1967 (Ibid.: 26). As in other countries, middle-class Brazilian women—some linked to church groups, others linked to political parties—interacted with women of the popular sectors in their work in the *favelas* addressing the social service deficit under the military regime. The educated, middle-class women brought a feminist consciousness that began to permeate the agendas of the popular women's groups. By 1978, International Women's Day celebrations reflected more gender-specific calls for social justice. For example, rather than focusing on running water, women demanded equal pay for equal work, day-care centers for the children of working-class mothers, social services for female heads of household, and reform of family and reproductive health laws (Ibid.: 26–35).

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By 1979 in Brazil, a full-fledged women's movement was forming, evidenced by the formation of up to 100 women's groups, comprised of women from across social classes, spanning the political spectrum. The groups' focus reflected feminist concerns, such as domestic labor, day care centers, equal pay for equal work, women's political participation, and, for the first time, female sexuality. However, in the 1979 Congress of São Paulo, women who organized the platform, cautious not to lose the support of the allies they had worked side by side with in the Church and in leftist political parties, carefully selected themes that would not offend. Thus, the platform hewed to safe issues like the provision of day-care centers by the state and private enterprises and equal pay for equal work (Ibid.: 36–38).

The UN Decade for the Advancement of Women was also influential in Ecuador, where women's organizations received support from women's groups throughout Latin America, and financial support—and ideological influence—from international development agencies globally (Lind 1992:143).

In Peru, the Velasco government, although progressive in many arenas, did not say much on women's issues. However, General Velasco's activism in the non-aligned movement led him to support international movements of other sorts, including the first UN conference on women in 1975. Peru's participation in the preparatory conferences breathed new life into the National Council of Peruvian Women. Peru sent large delegations of women to the Mexico City meeting, hence inserting itself firmly into the international women's movement. Peruvian women lawyers and professionals criticized laws that discriminated against women and worked to reform the legal code. In 1979, the Constitutional Assembly, formed by the military government, included guarantees of equal rights for women in the new constitution, and Congress rewrote the civil code to remove discriminatory laws (Bourque 1985:41).

Intra-Regional Influences—The Encuentros

Beginning in 1981, Latin American feminists gathered from countries across the continent to share their experiences in social movements working to restore democracy and human rights, and for some, struggling as women to promote a feminist agenda. The first *Encuentro* (Encounter) was held in Bogotá, Colombia in 1981 and attracted some 200 women from throughout the region. Disagreements surfaced from the start over the question of autonomy, pitting women who believed their organizations ought to maintain ideological and organizational independence from political parties against those who practiced *doble militancia*—the simultaneous involvement in political parties of the Left dedicated to the class struggle, and participation in feminist groups working to end gender-based oppression. Despite this dissension over tactics, participants agreed that women suffer a particular oppression both at home and in society at large. Their shared agenda included

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the struggle to end the double burden, to guarantee equal pay for equal work, and to demand the right to reproductive choice. Most of the women came from the political left, and remained committed to their party's goals. But others, frustrated with male-controlled parties, believed that socialism could not overcome women's oppression—that women instead needed to establish a footing independent of political parties. Thus was planted the seed of discord between those who became known as the *institucionalistas*—feminists willing to work with other institutions like parties, the state or non-governmental organizations (NGOs)—and the *autónomas*, who argued for independence (Sternbach et al. 1992:217).

The second *Encuentro* took place in Lima in 1983—600 women from throughout Latin America attended. The overarching theme of this meeting was patriarchy and gender power relations. The tension at this encounter was between the interests of popular sector women and feminists. The third *Encuentro* in 1985 was hosted in Bertioga, Brazil, where 900 women converged. Conflict between the parties of the left and the feminists played out dramatically at this meeting. A busload of women from the *favelas* arrived at the site of the encounter, demanding to be admitted without paying the fee. This incident inserted race and class issues—and political party manipulations—front and center into the regional women's movement. Conference organizers had already arranged for the participation of a number of local low-income women without charge. Local feminists blamed the Labor Party (PT) for orchestrating the intrusion as a way to discredit feminists as bourgeois and unconcerned with the problems of poor and marginalized women. This clash over the competing priorities of class, race, and gender continues to simmer.

The fourth *Encuentro* in 1987 took place in Taxco, Mexico, where 1,500 women assembled, including, for the first time, a sizeable number of Central American women. This encounter brought together a combination of feminist activists promoting attention to women's health, domestic violence, contraception, abortion, and sexuality, with women who struggled for survival issues. The fifth *Encuentro* was held in San Bernardo, Argentina in 1990 and attracted some 3,000 women, this time including legislators—feminism had arrived (Ibid.: 217–230). Thanks in part to the UN World Conference on Women in 1975, feminism was beginning to achieve public acceptance. The sixth *Encuentro* took place in Costa del Sol, El Salvador in 1993.

These early *Encuentros* provided a place for women's movement activists to meet across countries and share theories and strategies as individuals, and not as representatives of groups or tied to official international institutions—like the series of UN conferences. As we have seen, many women became active in women's movement groups that emerged in response to survival needs. Through this work, their concerns gradually evolved to include feminist issues that were ignored by the parties of the left and by the state, like reproductive choice, female health concerns, domestic violence, and state-provided child care. Coming together with women from other countries struggling for the same set of demands and fac-

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ing similar obstacles nurtured a feminist consciousness in many women and strengthened their movements (Ibid.: 226).

The *Encuentros* also fostered the development of regional solidarity networks of women working on common goals, like the Latin American and Caribbean Black Women's Network founded at San Bernardo, the lesbian feminist network formed at a regional preparatory meeting preceding Taxco, and the Latin American and Caribbean Women's Health and Reproductive Rights Network (Alvarez et al. 2002:546).

On the other hand, the *Encuentros* also highlighted divisions among the women who attended, based on class, ideology, and their relationship to established institutions. A rift developed between the *autónomas* who insisted on maintaining independence from any institutions—be they political parties, the state, or NGOs—that placed women's rights in a subsidiary position to other goals, and the *políticas* or *institucionalistas* who exercised a strategy of *doble militancia*, working both within the political parties and women's movements groups (Ibid.: 543).

These tensions exploded in the seventh *Encuentro* held in Cartagena, Chile in 1996. The *autónomas*, who considered themselves the true feminists, accused the *institucionalistas* of selling out to the established order. But a third stream emerged, those who referred to themselves as *ni las unas, ni las otras* (neither the one nor the other). They tried to reclaim and broaden the concept of autonomy, so that it did not exclusively refer to sources of money or degree of institutionalization, but rather to a commitment to a transformative agenda for the betterment of women's lives and society (Ibid.: 557). The fact is that most women lived the ideals of both the *institucionalistas* and the *autónomas*—maintaining an involvement in the movement and a commitment to its vision, while working in institutional settings (Ibid.: 560).

A generational divide within the women's movement emerged at the eighth *Encuentro* in Juan Dolio, the Dominican Republic in 1999, and suggests that the issue focus of the movement may yet change, as well as its methodology. Young feminists raised questions about how older women maintained control and power in the movement. Other traditionally excluded groups like Afro-descendent feminists, poor women, and lesbian feminists brought to the fore how race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality offer different lenses through which gender oppression can be experienced. Despite the fact that these issues have been present at the *Encuentros* from the beginning, and diversity has always been touted as an ideal of the women's movement, issues of race and sexual orientation have not explicitly been placed on the agenda (Ibid.: 563–566).

Women's Agencies in Government

A heightened consciousness of gender issues not only affected women, but governments and society at large. The UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 was

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particularly instrumental in strengthening women's organizations and pressuring governments to respond to their demands. In the context of a raised awareness in civil society of gender equity issues, many governments—and by now, most—formed agencies and departments, and in some cases ministries, devoted to promoting women's rights and improving the status of women (Franceschet 2007:1).

After the transitions to democracy, tension among participants in women's organizations swirled around their relationship to these newly created women's agencies. Some women advocated for remaining autonomous from government agencies in order to maintain control of the women's movement agenda and to avoid co-optation. Other women supported the new agencies, went to work for them, or worked in NGOs that took on contracts from the agencies to carry out their work. This division among the feminist movements persists today (Ibid.: 5).

In Brazil the first democratic government created the National Council on Women's Rights (CNDM) in 1985, which actually proved to be quite effective, despite having only an advisory capacity, limited budgetary authority, and no power to implement or execute policies. The council was comprised of representatives from women's organizations who were open to input from their former colleagues. In fact, rather than co-opting the agenda-setting power of social movements as many analysts feared, in this case, having fellow travelers inside the government advocating for shared priorities, actually strengthened the women's movement and provided conduits for groups on the ground to channel their priorities through the council to government authorities (Alvarez 1989:52–57).

This belies the notion that feminists must choose either autonomy or integration. In Brazil, feminists were able simultaneously to maintain their integrity and independence working in special interest groups pressuring the government to adopt the movement's priorities, while their counterparts, who had opted to take positions within the government women's agency, were able to promote their issues from within. In fact, the success of this strategy is evidenced by the gains the Brazilian women's movement has achieved: women's police stations, robust domestic violence legislation, progressive day-care policies, antisexist education reform, family planning and reproductive health policies, and women's access to government-controlled media (Ibid.).

Long before the transition to democracy, in 1970 the Ecuadoran government had created an agency within the Ministry of Labor, the National Department of Women, in response to pressure from the Organization of American States' Inter-American Commission on Women. This evolved in the 1980s into the National Office of Women (OFNAMU). Unlike in Chile and Brazil, Ecuador's government agency became the source of a heightened feminist consciousness for the women who worked there. In turn, as some women left their government jobs in inevitable frustration with the slow pace of change, lack of independence, and meager budgets, they went to work in autonomous research

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centers and in activist groups. This influx of women from the government agency served to strengthen an independent women's movement, which continued to pressure and influence government policy. In the case of Ecuador, the state both contributed to and was affected by the development of women's mobilization into movements (Chuchryk 1989a:140–141).

The first democratic government to take office in Chile in 1990, headed by President Patricio Aylwin of the *Concertación,* inaugurated a women's agency with ministerial rank, the *Servicio Nacional de la Mujer* (Sernam). The right-wing parties were opposed to Sernam and wanted to limit its role to coordination, to isolate it from direct contact with feminists. Sernam also met resistance from the coalition's own center-right party, the Christian Democrats, who were put off by its feminist cast. In the end, Sernam maintained ties with women's organizations and professional NGOs as technical consultants, but not as representatives of civil society. According to Marcela Ríos Tobar, Sonia Alvarez, and other critics, this arrangement further undermined the strength of women's movements in Chile (Tabar 2003:262–263).

This pessimistic view, however, does not take into account Sernam's influence on the policy agenda embraced by women's groups. According to research and analysis by Susan Franceschet, Sernam has developed considerable capacity to collect, analyze, and disseminate data about women's economic, political and social status in Chile. Gender disaggregated data collection is no small feat, and something that women's groups have been demanding of governments and international institutions for years—in order to make possible the setting of benchmarks and monitoring of government compliance with commitments. In fact, Sernam successfully promoted aggressive reform of Chile's domestic violence legislation by educating the public and lawmakers about the extent and seriousness of domestic violence in the country. Sernam also pressured the National Statistics Institute to produce data disaggregated by sex, and designed an interagency program that requires all public services to incorporate gender goals into their programs. Failure to comply results in financial penalties for bureaucrats. The resulting data has provided both Sernam and women's advocates in civil society with useful tools to promote legislation and formulate policies to advance gender equity (Franceschet 2007).

Across countries, the work of women's agencies has been most effective when agency staff work in concert with women's legislative caucuses (*bancadas*) and women's movement advocates in civil society. Susan Franceschet documents the effectiveness of these cross-sectoral alliances that were responsible for passing far-reaching reform to domestic violence laws in Chile and Brazil, in 2005 and 2006, respectively (10, 4 and 8). Other factors that determine the effectiveness of women's agencies include their placement within the power hierarchy of the state—only eight have ministerial rank—the size of their budgets and staff, and whether they have enforcement authority over other government agencies, or their "power" is limited to persuasion (Ibid.: 5–7).

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Globalization

The series of UN-sponsored international conferences[13] and international norm-setting exercises (like the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, CEDAW) enhanced the globalization of the women's movement and the worldwide promotion of women's agenda issues (Jaquette 2003:334). The 1995 UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing was particularly influential. It turned on the spigot of international funding in support of a proliferation of regional and national preparatory conferences. Although welcome, this raised renewed concerns about the threat that foreign funding poses to the independence of local women's organizations, and how it weakens their capacity to control their own agenda. Most women's groups, however, viewed Beijing as a boon to the women's movement, invigorating their organizations and bringing renewed attention to the issues of gender equity (Alvarez et al. 2002:552–553).

On balance, globalization has been good for the promotion of women's issues and the development of women's organizations throughout Latin America. The series of international conferences sponsored by the UN has served to set norms adopted by governments, and has spawned a tidal wave of NGOs devoted to helping governments craft and carry out policies designed to advance gender equity. This growth is witnessed by the increase in numbers of NGOs who participated in the First World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975 (5,000) to the number at the Beijing conference in 1995 (25,000).

The Return of Politics

With the transition to democracy in the Southern Cone and Brazil, the autonomy debate faded, as women entered political parties, state agencies, and NGOs, and brought their feminist ideals, issues, and goals with them. But in the 1990s a new rift emerged between those women who went on to pursue policy advocacy modus operandi, working to advance an agenda of gender rights through governments, NGOs, and international forums, and those who preferred to avoid formal institutions and to center their focus on identity and solidarity issues within women's movements at the community level (Alvarez et al. 2002:548).

Several forces were at play to encourage the dominance of feminists working to advance policy goals via formal institutions. With the return of democratic politics, women not only entered political parties, but they began to compete for seats in legislatures, for appointed positions in government, for positions in the newly installed women's agencies,

[13] The 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro; the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna; the 1994 UN Conference on Population and Development in Cairo; the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing; the 1995 World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen; and the 1996 Second UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in Istanbul (12,548).

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and, with support from international foundations and foreign governments, many went on to found and staff professional, issue-oriented non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Some analysts like Sonia Alvarez, Marcela Ríos Tobar, and others (Alvarez 1999:181–209; Franceschet 2007; Alvarez et al. 2002, Ríos Tobar 2007, 2003) point out that government agencies increasingly began to depend on these professional NGOs as surrogates for civil society, treating them as intermediaries for larger constituencies. Alvarez and others point out that the problem with this scenario is that the NGOs, while staffed by professional women who share a feminist agenda, have lost their links to women's groups on the ground. NGOs with the highest level of technical capacity tend to attract international foundation funding and government contracts, thus strengthening their capacity to evaluate policies and carry out programs. Analysts agree that while technically competent, these organizations are not necessarily representative of anyone, but yet are setting the gender policy agenda. Not surprisingly, women's movement groups who are critical of the government tend not to be consulted as interlocutors or selected as partners to carry out programs (Alvarez 1999:181–194).

The independent voice of these expert NGOs is further undermined by their dependence on the state for financing. International donors have reduced their foreign aid to countries in South America at the same time that the state is shrinking its social service activities, and increasingly relying on professional NGOs to carry out training and other programs. According to research by Maruja Barrig in 1997, many Chilean feminist NGOs depended on state funds for 10 to 25 percent of their budgets, and Colombian NGOs for 40 to 50 percent of their budgets (Ibid.: 196). So results-oriented technical NGOs focused on policy impact are more likely to attract funding and have an influence than the traditional women's movement groups, which are more geared to feminist consciousness-raising and anti-establishment mobilizations (Ibid.: 197). While there is nothing wrong with increasingly professional women's issue NGOs, what may be lost in this process is the creative give and take of agenda setting that has the potential to transform the cultural landscape. Professional NGOs may be reluctant to bite the hand that feeds them, thus movement-oriented feminist groups may be in danger of disappearing.

Some Concluding Thoughts on a Future Trajectory

Women's social movements of the 1970s and 1980s were formed to challenge the government, its economic policies and political practices, and to change social attitudes. Predictably, the transitions from military dictatorships to civilian rule brought political parties back to center stage. There has been much hand-wringing among feminists over whether this would spell the demise of women's social movements. But they ought not to lose sight of the limitations of movements. With the dawn of competitive democratic politics, autonomy from institutions may serve to marginalize women and diminish their influence

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on the political policy process. Many women have realized that if they are to be effective in getting their issues onto the public policy agenda, they must play the game of politics. At times, this may mean participating in male-dominated institutions like political parties, and even in the government itself, in order to promote gender equality.

By the 1990s, many of the groups that made up the movement began to evolve in order to survive and continue pursuing their goals in the new political context. There has been a clear shift among the majority of women's groups toward what Hugo Heclo termed "issue networks." According to Mala Htun's analysis, issue networks have a connection to social movements, and often emerge from them, as is the case with many women's NGOs. Unlike social movements, though, issue networks focus on specific policy issues, and are not comprised exclusively of civil society actors. In the case of the NGOs that emerged from the feminist movement of the 1970s and 1980s, they are fighting for specific goals like the legalization of divorce, equal treatment under the law, reproductive choice, and abortion. But the goals of a movement, per se, would be broader, and would include transforming social attitudes, behavior, and even cultural institutions (Htun 2003:15).

The emergence of these single-issue NGOs brought to the fore the fear of many social movement activists that they would lose their agenda-setting edge by cooperating with the state (Jaquette 2003:342). Others lament that the dominance of NGOs has crowded out traditional forms of feminist mobilization, like marches in the streets or consciousness-raising groups (Ríos Tobar 2003:365–366). But weren't these very NGOs born of the failure of political parties and governments to address women's concerns—such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, and abortion? Weren't they an expression of women's groups setting the agenda? The very existence of these NGOs is a testimony to the evolution of the women's movement from a practical response to survival issues to an innovative focus on the very feminist concerns that now absorb single-issue NGOs. It would seem to count as a success to have governments interested in what they have to offer.

Another perceived threat to the "movement" nature of women's NGOs is their increasing professionalization and symbiotic relationship to funding from the state and international donor agencies. This phenomenon is analyzed by Sonia Alvarez in her 1999 article on the Latin American feminist NGO boom (Alvarez 1999:342). She raises concerns about the "NGO-ization," or increasing professionalization of women's movement politics, which undermines the capacity of women's NGOs effectively to monitor and critique government policy. She acknowledges the important role that NGOs played in the 1980s and 1990s, and attributes their success to their ability to maintain a "hybrid nature." That is, they were able to advance a progressive feminist policy agenda, while simultaneously sustaining their relationship with their base—the broader women's movement and poor women's community organizations on the ground. She goes on to argue, though, that NGOs have now lost this "hybrid nature" due to the influence of financial support and contracts from governments and international aid agencies that increasingly depend on women's NGOs as technical gen-

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der experts. These donors and state agencies have come to consider NGOs as "surrogates" for civil society in the formation of gender policy (Ibid.: 183).

As such, the state and donors consult the NGOs as interlocutors for larger social constituencies. But in reality, many of these groups have actually lost their connections to women on the ground. Those groups that do maintain linkages to larger constituencies—poor women's organizations or avowedly feminist groups that may be critical of the state's agenda—are not consulted because they lack the technical capacity of the more professional NGOs. Thus, the groups who truly represent the grass roots are cut out of the process of formulating gender policy altogether. This has implications for the value of the policies and programs enacted by governments. But for the purposes of this study, it is interesting to note the effect that this dynamic may have on the groups themselves (Ibid.).

Ironically, the increasing adoption of gender policy concerns on the part of the state, and increased support from the state and international donor agencies, while strengthening a broad range of NGOs working on women's issues, may simultaneously threaten to debilitate their capacity to advocate for more overarching feminist critiques of state policy (Ibid.). This situation underlines the long-standing debate in feminist circles about whether it is dangerous for women's groups to get too close to the state and risk losing their autonomy and credibility. But as Jane Jaquette reminds us, the state is, after all, "the only social institution with the legitimacy, scope and credibility to deliver any of the goods feminists seek, from reproductive rights to affirmative action …" (Jaquette 2003:342). So it is incumbent on NGOs to not just provide technical advice and project implementation, but to hone their capacity to monitor and hold governments accountable.

Rather than let the perfect be the enemy of the good, women's movement activists would be well advised to appreciate the potential of women's groups and NGOs to hold onto their dual nature identified by Alvarez. Women, who are famously adept at multitasking, are surely capable of carrying out specific technical projects, while maintaining their capacity to objectively critique—and attempt to shape—the agenda being promoted by the state. As Alvarez suggests, it is imperative that women's NGOs sustain their ties to civil society by regularly convening open forums with groups representative of the diversity of feminist thought and grassroots activism.

Unlike political parties and single-issue NGOs, which are rooted in self-interest politics, women's social movements under the dictatorships were characterized by solidarity and collaboration (Ibid.: 340). Women's groups now have changed their rhetoric from the purely moral, universalist language of the human rights arena, to adapt to the rough and tumble of politics, which is characterized by negotiation and compromise (Jaquette 1989: 196–206). According to Judith Adler Hellman (1992), this ought not to be considered a dilemma. Social movements need not disappear just because political parties have returned. Nor is their existence threatened by allying with political parties.

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> …this position overlooks the possibility that movements can influence parties or contribute to the rise of new political formation, radicalizing and transforming political programs and dictating an agenda of new issues … The capacity of new social movements to mobilize dynamic and growing sectors of the population that had either been ignored by political parties or proved resistant to the parties' traditional modes of organization has contributed to the crisis of party politics … And it is precisely this crisis that has forced parties to open up to new movements in the hope of reaching those sectors of the population … whose political relevance can no longer be ignored. (Hellman 1992:60)

The breach between political party activists and independent feminists overlooks the positive potential of joining the two projects. Feminism adds a crucial perspective to class analysis, and in turn, understanding class relations deepens feminist analysis. The two strains are actually complementary (Chinchilla 1992:49).

Maxine Molyneux's conceptual distinction between practical and strategic interests is useful in considering whether a women's movement still exists—and whether it matters. To the extent that the demands of women's groups go beyond the practical—the satisfaction of immediate needs—to the strategic—making claims that have the capacity to radically transform gender relations and societal structures that subordinate women—then they could be said to be part of a "movement," operating outside the traditional political channels (Molyneux 1998:232). The question remains whether individual actors—be they in NGOs, political parties, government agencies, national legislatures, radical lesbian feminist theater groups, or some combination of the above—can form a movement. Must the capacity to upset the status quo and propose a transformative agenda be checked at the security desk upon entering political institutions? We think not.

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Chapter 11

CSO Roles in Incorporating the Poor and Indigent in the Benefits of Development

Roberto Sansón Mizrahi

Poverty elimination is the basis of any just and vigorous development process. To accomplish this, it is essential to achieve a paradigm shift that aligns macroeconomic policies with the interests of the poor; promotes effective mesoeconomic initiatives that involve all levels of production, especially businesses that head productive networks and value chains; and implements policies that directly support micro- and small-scale producers. These strategies should be complemented with newly coined social policies that both attack immediate social crises, and stimulate a culture of work and entrepreneurship.

Partial solutions may resolve certain problems, but eradicating poverty requires a comprehensive strategy. One of the principal elements of such a strategy is the productive mobilization of the poor. To achieve this, it is necessary to ensure a just distribution of benefits. There will not be development when only a select few profit. If these are the key elements of a strategic focus to deepen democracy in Latin America, a number of roles for civil society organizations (CSOs) are possible and needed:

- *Expand the fields of action of CSOs*. CSOs generally tend to concentrate their participation at the microeconomic level. Rarely do they work at the macroeconomic level and almost never at the mesoeconomic level. It is necessary to enhance CSO efforts. There are large gaps that CSOs could fill by supporting lower income sectors and monitoring government budgeting and spending processes from a nonpartisan perspective. Without the capacity to combine activities at all levels, CSOs' programs face tough challenges and will gain only modest results. CSOs should strengthen themselves to complete their specific missions, but also promote comprehensive development strategies that can provide them with the policy context in which they can perform effectively.
- *Expand collaborative agreements between CSOs and the public sector*. Good public-private partnerships allow for the implementation of larger projects that can be adapted to meet local needs. There are many opportunities for public agencies and CSOs to collaborate, with each entity doing what it knows best: agencies can

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promote, finance and regulate CSOs, while CSOs propose options and innovations, as well as run specific programs. This would increase political and public support for a comprehensive poverty eradication campaign, with special focus on the productive mobilization of sectors that have been left behind.

Tax Policy and Fiscal Administration

All tax and public spending has serious economic, social and political implications. In order to achieve a new strategic direction as described above, it will be necessary to modify tax policy and fiscal administration.

- *Align public spending policies with the interests of micro and small producers.* Specialized CSOs can provide information needed to improve budget allocations at both national and local levels.[1]
- *Improve the productivity of expenditures.* Tax resources should be used effectively and efficiently. CSOs can monitor budgets and disbursements, in addition to evaluating the funding's impact, that is, comparing results and objectives, rather than simply approving spending proposals. This is an appropriate role for civil society groups to play.
- *Promote progressive tax policies*. The influence of low-income sectors on tax decisions has been limited. These sectors typically lack information about the multiple implications of taxes and fiscal burdens. CSOs with knowledge of tax systems can contribute significantly to reduce or eliminate regressive taxes.
- *Improve tax administration*. A lack of political support and insufficiently funded tax agencies make this a difficult task. Here again is an opportunity for specialized CSOs to contribute their expertise.
- *Simplify tax regulations and operation permits.* This is a field where CSOs can conduct research and make proposals to improve regulations and mechanisms for implementation.

Monetary Policy and Institutions

- *Promote monetary stability.* Monetary policy and institutions both directly impact poverty elimination efforts and the process of deepening democracy. Since the poor cannot adjust incomes to adapt to inflation, those with fewest resources are defenseless against the harmful effects of instability. Inflationary processes almost inevitably cause large transfers of income from those on fixed salaries—and with

[1] See Chapter 5 dealing with participatory budgeting for details on this type of initiative.

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less negotiating power—to the most powerful. CSOs can monitor the monetary policies and intervene to support lower-income sectors.

- *Influence the behavior of the central bank.* The central bank plays a decisive role in monetary policy and should be part of the fight against poverty. The central bank should have members on its board who combine financial and monetary knowledge with the determination to foster just and vigorous development. Few CSOs have experience in this arena, but they should learn, and make a valuable contribution.
- *Increase access to institutional credit for small producers.* This will often require revision of credit regulations which limit or block micro and small producers from access to credit. Much larger resources could be assigned to fund microcredit programs, as well as credit programs for small enterprises.
- *Assist with capital formation for low-income sectors.* The forced austerity of these families can be improved through capital formation. For this to happen, the poor should count on appropriate mechanisms to secure and mobilize their small savings. CSOs can assist financial intermediaries to design such mechanisms and put them into practice.
- *Monitor the destination of savings of low-income groups.* CSOs can analyze how savings of lower-income groups flow and ensure that they are invested in the same communities in which they were generated.
- *Promote creating a microcredit banking system as well as other public and private microcredit.* CSOs can advocate more effective management of microcredit programs and promote scaling up and involvement of financial intermediaries to massively increase their coverage.
- *Expand the use of guarantee systems.* CSOs can push for micro and small producers to have access to institutional credit through the use of appropriate guarantees. In many cases, credit is a necessity for a productive operation's viability and without guarantees, access is limited.
- *Capitalization of specialized financial intermediaries.* Monetary policy should include mechanisms that facilitate the capitalization of financial intermediaries dedicated to microcredit. These intermediaries would complement the investments of their stockholders by inspiring the participation of CSOs and other sources of funding like public agencies, multilateral organizations and private funders.
- *Seek to include representatives of small producers and CSOs on the board of directors of financial institutions.* This would ensure the perspectives of small producers are heard and it would also familiarize CSOs with the dynamics and challenges these organizations face.
- *Facilitate the capitalization of financial entities,* particularly those serving the low- and middle-income sectors, such as credit unions, cooperatives, savings and loan associations, among others.

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- *Strengthen the fiduciary responsibility of financial and loan intermediaries*. This would entail the adoption of generally accepted accounting principles that satisfy both monetary and tax authorities, with professional management, adequate supervision and auditing.

Innovative Mesoeconomic Roles for CSOs

At the mesoeconomic level, CSOs can play catalytic roles. CSOs can help develop the mesoeconomic responsibility of the leading businesses of value chains and productive networks, can promote the use of modern business engineering to unite small producers, and work with those small producers who are part of productive networks to introduce ways to increase capital formation at the base of the production pyramid.

Microeconomic Action Plan

- *CSO intervention to develop support systems for micro and small producers.* Provide effective technical, commercial and management assistance, as well as local or community business developers, create networks of socially responsible angel investors, local funds to support productive investment (venture capital), specialized investment funds for small and medium businesses, and other support mechanisms that allow these businesses to access the capital market. These initiatives will build knowledge and access to innovative productive opportunities. A key factor is the use of modern business engineering to educate small producers on technological, organizational, financial, commercial and networking themes. CSOs can assist in this by adapting business theories to the reality of small producers, allowing producers to link with larger productive chains and integrate into dynamic economic networks.
- *Identification of the assets of micro and small producers.* Small producers understand existing informal networks that play an important role in local governance and the mobility of ideas, goods and services. They also recognize the values, aspirations and communication peculiarities of their communities. While these are not normally recognized as assets, they can be very useful to those who wish to enter new communities to market products, employ labor, or provide social and cultural activities. Small producers are also capable of saving and manual labor, both of which are important elements of capital formation.
- *Modernize registry systems for small and micro producers' assets.* CSOs can collaborate with national and regional property registration agencies to ensure the poorest sectors are attended to adequately.

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- *Mobilize scientific and technological communities to generate knowledge and assistance for small producers.* CSOs can encourage universities and technology and research centers to conduct research, consult with or provide assistance to micro and small producers.

Support Productive Programs that Mobilize the Indigent

CSOs, with public and private funding, have a critical role to play in ensuring that the poorest are not left behind. Specialized programs for the indigent require sustainable solutions combined with initial subsidies to create opportunities for the poor to change their situation.

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore how civil society organizations (CSOs) can contribute to the effective economic incorporation of poor and indigent populations as a way to facilitate better access to the benefits of development while deepening democracy in Latin America. This population is concentrated mainly in the micro and small production sector or is unemployed.

The analysis begins by recognizing the need to move towards a paradigm that considers the poor as part of the solution, rather than the problem. In the author's opinion, such a paradigm can confront poverty head on and promote a comprehensive strategy for sustainable development, rather than simplistic solutions. This is followed by an analysis of actions to be taken at the micro-, meso- and macroeconomic levels. The next section considers the gap between intentions and tools and suggests a new generation of mechanisms such as local or community business developers, local productive investment support funds and socially responsible angel investor networks. Next, the work addresses the challenge of mobilizing and coordinating diverse actors in this process. The end of the chapter focuses on the important role that CSOs play and how they can work to deepen democracy. The analysis concludes with an extensive list of suggestions for action for CSOs in this field.

A Necessary Paradigm Shift

When dealing with long simmering problems and recurring crises, it is imperative not to make the same mistakes and rely on solutions that have already proven ineffective. In complex situations, many issues must be addressed and it is not possible to concentrate on only a few without risking committing the same mistakes that have led to limited growth. This version of development does little to redistribute income or opportunities, making it

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unsustainable. Simple, inadequate measures leave the majority of the population in situations of underemployment or unemployment.

Today, the exponential growth of poverty indices reflects the life of extreme pain and frustration that is a reality for many in the region. In Latin America, more than 43 percent of the population—some 224 million people—lived in poverty in 2005. And of that number, almost 100 million lived in extreme poverty or indigence. Considering poverty primarily affects women, youth and children, the urgency to act is even more apparent.

Changes in the way in which the problems and solutions are conceived are mandatory. This starts with a paradigm shift that recognizes the underutilized productive potential of the poor. We need to design solutions that activate these tremendous resources. Instead of repressing, controlling or offering aid to the poor, policies and strategies should be enacted that mobilize the will, initiative, talent and capacity of this segment of the population. This will require creative solutions and effective ways of mobilizing resources. Fortunately, valuable ideas, proposals and experiences already exist, many of them coming from the action and reflection of CSOs.

The overriding opinion in Latin America holds that if the dynamics of the free market have excluded segments of the population, that course must be adjusted. Almost all the countries in the region are plagued by underemployment and unemployment and to make the situation worse, social differences have widened, turning into time bombs. We do not know if they will explode, but the risk is real and their destructive power could be traumatic. Societies urgently need corrective actions and proposals for a different form of development.

It is important to recognize the productive, yet borderline brutal, energy of the market; there are millions and millions of participants that coexist in the market, competing and collaborating. This energy and capacity cannot and should not be ignored. *What is missing is a new orientation and direction that allow and encourage the productive mobilization of those that are not fully included in the system.* This implies catalytic actions that will improve the design of markets and their distribution of benefits. There are a variety of possible tools to bring about this change. In this chapter a small number of them will be discussed (mostly those proposed by CSOs), but many more exist. The important issue is to find innovative and prudent solutions to correct the current situation. The best service we can offer to conquer poverty is to face it head on with viable and sustainable solutions.

Emerging from a complicated decade, the countries of Latin America now have the opportunity to transform themselves and devise more solid and sustainable development. To achieve this and not get lost among the multiple areas of concentration, demands, proposals, obstacles and struggles, certain essential criteria are necessary to direct our action. These are the values that give reason, direction and consistency to development efforts. *Our countries seek a just, supportive and lasting development, based on education and knowledge that rewards effort and punishes corruptions.*

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In order to overcome poverty, it is necessary to understand how it is generated and reproduces, and to identify strategic points for intervention—in particular those appropriate for CSOs. What it does not mean, however, is to impose voluntarism. Rather, it entails the transformation and reorientation of the socioeconomic system so it functions better. It requires an integrated strategy and a decentralized but concentrated mobilization of available resources.

Strategic Focus

As described previously, poverty and indigence have increased over the last half century in almost all countries in Latin America. While these indicators may decrease at certain times, they never fall low enough to indicate a substantive change in tendency. Poverty and indigence constitute a structural characteristic of the region's economies: it rises and falls, but never drops below a certain level that seems to be impenetrable.

Comprehensive Action

A structural problem of this breadth cannot be tackled with simplistic measures that attack the effects, but not the causes. For example, what the poor lack cannot be fixed by providing subsidies, even if certain emergencies may require their use. This problem requires flexibility, compassion and solidarity and these values will help formulate the strategic focus to ensure that poverty is not reproduced indefinitely.

Poverty elimination is considered to be the base of any just and vigorous development process. *To accomplish this, it is essential to align large, macroeconomic policies with the interests of the poor; promote effective mesoeconomic initiatives that involve all levels of production, especially businesses that head productive networks and value chains; and implement microeconomic policies that directly support micro and small producers. These strategies should be complemented with newly coined social policies that first solve the immediate social crisis and then stimulate a culture of work and entrepreneurial spirit.* Partial solutions may solve certain problems, but eradicating poverty requires a comprehensive strategy.

One of the principal pieces of this strategy is the productive mobilization of the poor. To achieve this, it is necessary to ensure a just distribution of benefits because there will not be development when only a few profit. Trickle-down theories have led to failure. New solutions should not be based on unrealistic theories and they should recognize the creation and distribution of wealth as part of the same struggle.

A country cannot develop in a sustainable fashion if it suffers from gross social imbalances that undermine its functioning. Economic processes unleash certain growth and accumulation dynamics that, if not well structured, can tend to deepen instead of reducing differences. It is necessary to launch development efforts from a new basis in order to

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achieve inclusive societies with the capacity to sustain increasingly improved economic and education initiatives. The new guidelines should be based on knowledge, creativity and a solid body of values of solidarity and efficiency.

CSOs are important actors in the process of deepening democracy in Latin America. Their contribution is conditioned by a number of factors and circumstances and also by how the organization decides to address poverty. If they adopt a simplistic focus—one that assumes that microcredit and technical assistance alone will solve the problem—they ignore other variables and significant new fields of action, such as macroeconomic policies and mesoeconomic work with productive networks. By widening their scope of work, many options for CSOs to fight poverty emerge.

Combination of Macro-, Meso- and Microeconomic Action

It is clear then that in order to confront poverty, promote sustainable development and deepen democracy, CSOs must work in various complementary areas: at the macroeconomic level by aligning tax, government spending and monetary policies with the productive mobilization of the national economic potential and with the interests of the poor; in mesoeconomic terms this means working with value chains, promoting locomotive projects led by medium and large-size companies that will, in turn, benefit thousands of producers; and at the microeconomic level by assisting with credit access and technical assistance in management and marketing.

These three areas of action reinforce each other. Working at the meso- and microeconomic levels without the backing of sound macroeconomic policies makes the task difficult and frustrating. And while sensible spending, tax and monetary policies will create favorable conditions for reducing poverty they will not be sufficient in and of themselves. Therefore, even though macroeconomic action is a necessary condition in the fight against poverty, it is not sufficient by itself.

Tackling only macro- and microeconomic issues without considering the mesoeconomic level neglects one of the principal dimensions of the mobilization and transformation of small producers: mesoeconomic factors such as their integration into value chains and their connections to "locomotive" projects. The connections small producers make with other actors determine their ability to obtain compensatory results. The protagonists of productive networks are medium and large businesses because of their role in opening markets, technological development, business engineering, leadership development, strategic visioning, etc. It is through these productive networks that knowledge, information about new opportunities and economic resources flow. But, even so, without a favorable macroeconomic context and direct support to small producers, mesoeconomic action will not meet its full potential. It is another necessary, yet insufficient, condition for eliminating poverty and promoting sustainable development.

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Strengthening the productive power of small producers through access to credit and first-rate technical assistance is critical so they may become effective economic actors and move out of poverty. For this support to be successful, it must be combined with improved macro- and mesoeconomic contexts. Therefore, microeconomic action like direct support to small producers is another necessary, yet insufficient, condition in the fight against poverty.

Therefore, complementary actions at all levels—macro, micro and meso—make the solution comprehensive. However, to be rigorous, we must acknowledge that this solution only refers to the economic plan and does not address the many other factors that affect social processes.

This does not discount the worthy efforts already underway, but rather to articulate the need to formulate a comprehensive poverty elimination strategy. Simple and partial solutions contribute to the overall struggle, but in the end will not eliminate or even significantly diminish poverty.

Complementary Action of CSOs and Government Agencies

In general, CSOs tend to concentrate their work at the microeconomic level, with little attention given to the macroeconomic context and almost none to the mesoeconomic. The majority of CSOs work in the field of sustainable development and with small and micro producers.

CSOs that provide microcredit and technical assistance are the most common. Many CSOs begin with serious organizational and financial restrictions, with a strong social commitment, but little managerial capacity or knowledge of the business world. These CSOs are funded both privately and publicly through a number of different programs and institutional formats. For example, in the case of Argentina there are government programs such as FONCAP, the Manos a la Obra Plan (Labor Hands Plan), INTI, the Secretaría PYME (Coalition of Small and Medium Businesses), specialized in small and micro businesses, and the Banco Nación (Nations Bank), among many others, that channel financial and technical resources through CSOs. Similar programs exist in almost every country in the region. Some countries like Colombia, Chile, Brazil and Bolivia have years of experience funding well-structured CSOs.

There are only a few CSOs that work at the macroeconomic level mainly because the public sector has filled this role. That does not mean that interest groups do not express their opinions about macroeconomic policies, but without a doubt it is the public sector that controls these interests and molds them into specific proposals. Groups with access to privileged information have the best possibility of influencing the direction and composition of policies. The majority of the population does not have access to this information and is not able to make its voice and interests heard. Since political parties must cater to multiple interest groups, there is a large gap where CSOs can play a complementary role.

Some CSOs are already dedicated to monitoring the way in which public policies are defined and executed. There are not many though, and they have modest technical resources.

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Their desire is to increase the efficiency of public policies and of the agencies responsible for their implementation. This is not a small task especially if CSOs are expected to act independently of political parties and interest groups.

In Argentina, the following groups work in this area: CIPPEC is interested in improving fiscal solvency and ensuring an equitable allocation of public funds; Grupo Sophia promotes improvements in the quality of public policies and the effectiveness of implementation agencies; the Foro Sector Social; FIEL; Avina Argentina; Fundapaz; IARSE; IDEMI; Endeavor Argentina; think tanks like the Centro de Análisis Social y Económico, Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad, CEUR, Fundación Mediterránea; and universities and economic advisors that are dedicated to analyzing economic development and the impact of major macroeconomic policies.

On the other hand, there is very little participation of CSOs at the mesoeconomic level. This is a new, promising field. In Argentina, there is a small CSO (Sur Norte Inversión y Desarrollo) that created the first Local Business Developer, called PROCENTRO, and a pioneering network of angel investors.

The work of development organizations is generally difficult because, in addition to having limited resources, they face complex problems using tools of limited effect. Without the capacity to undertake actions at all three levels, CSOs face an uphill battle. While their programs can have certain meritorious results, they cannot significantly impact poverty or deepen young democracies. On the other hand, if CSOs focus on comprehensive development solutions their impact will increase. *Therefore, today, CSOs struggle to improve their ability to complete their specific mandate as well as promoting the implementation of these comprehensive strategies that will provide the necessary context for CSOs to effectively participate in the development process.*

For their part, government agencies find it difficult to adequately respond to the diverse situations poverty presents. The universe of poverty is far from being homogeneous; it encompasses a variety of cases and challenges for aid groups to contemplate. However, the organizational structure and institutional logic of government agencies tend towards enacting standardized programs based on singular solutions. Differing solutions require creativity to adapt to the distinct situations small producers face. This confounds a bureaucracy that feels more comfortable administering uniform solutions that are easy to reproduce, install and monitor, but that in the end are ineffective.

Some government agencies act in this manner in order to reduce the risk of corruption or favoritism. Individualized solutions make bending the rules easier by eliminating uniform benchmarks. Obviously, this could be avoided or minimized with effective supervisory and monitoring systems.

Even if bureaucratic organizations (government, private or civil society) tend towards homogeneous solutions, it is not inevitable. Good public-private partnerships would bring about large-scale programs that can be tailored to different situations. There are many

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opportunities for public agencies and CSOs to collaborate, with each entity doing what it knows best: agencies promoting, financing and regulating CSOs, and CSOs proposing options and innovations and managing specific programs.

Macroeconomic Action: Public Spending, Fiscal and Monetary Policies

Since macroeconomic action affects all dimensions of the economic system, macroeconomic policies should meet a large number of objectives. Multiple objectives should promote the scaling up of development projects and employ all the available macroeconomic policy tools as a way to bring about the productive mobilization of the poor. Indeed, this action is full of complex and risky challenges. It is not simple to redirect resources since it is difficult to change perspectives, clarify misconceptions and mobilize willpower so as to offer new opportunities to the impoverished sectors. It will be necessary to identify new paths to development.

Large macroeconomic variables resist change because the beneficiaries historically gained power by imposing their points of view and interests on society. There is more room for maneuvering when the adjustment of macroeconomic variables is accompanied by a process of growth since this context permits formulating less conflictive solutions. It is also true that certain macroeconomic structures could be impeding sustainable growth processes and as such change will be a necessary condition to remove limits on growth.

Some believe that macroeconomics is not a way to attack poverty, but a forum for resolving issues of national interest. They are mistaken. *To eliminate poverty and deepen democracy, it is essential to align macroeconomic policies with the interests of micro and small producers.* Here is another critical space for the constructive participation of CSOs.

The context of macroeconomic policy is wide indeed, but within it the issues of government spending, tax policy and monetary policy are the most pressing. It is important to consider how public funds are spent, how the tax burden is distributed and how monetary policy functions. The struggle to end poverty should not be seen as detached from these policies. Instead, it should be approached this way: macroeconomic policies that incorporate strategies to combat poverty and support small producers will increase the possibility of overcoming poverty; if they do not and the macroeconomic situation worsens, then the struggle will only become more difficult and the possibilities to combat poverty will be enormously restricted.

Government Spending as a Tool to Help Reduce Poverty

Public spending on basic services (education, health care, social security), infrastructure (roads, communication systems, irrigation) and on many other budget items (including

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subsidies to generate employment and move the poor from subsistence) is critical to combat poverty and support micro and small producers. *The allocation of public funds and the chosen form of financing this spending is one of the principal decisions that society should make and constantly revisit.* There it is decided how much we contribute in taxes, prices and debt and whom we will sustain or promote with this spending.

Formulating a national budget is not only the work of politicians and government employees, but should interest all social sectors. Every line item approved and every financing method established has serious economic, social and political implications. Theoretically, there are many budget allocations that can support small producers, but powerful interests usually use those resources. In reality, budgets usually reflect the hidden privileges certain individuals and groups have over the budget allocation processes in the executive and legislative branches. This makes it difficult to modify the budget outline and therefore reinforces a certain inertia that is difficult to overcome. CSOs specialized in public spending can provide valuable information to improve budget composition.

When dedicating funds for budget line items, the productivity of that spending is not always considered. CSOs can monitor budgets and disbursements, in addition to evaluating the funding's impact. Therefore, results and objectives will have to be compared rather than simply proving spending the funds. This is an appropriate role for civil society groups to play.

Regressive Tax Structure

Tax policy determines how the burden of financing public spending will be distributed. *The majority of countries in Latin America have a surprisingly regressive tax system*: paradoxically, those that have the least income carry the heaviest tax burden. The base of the social pyramid suffers most from consumer taxes. It is imperative to reform tax policies so they encourage production instead of punishing consumption. This will directly impact income distribution and the possibility of deepening democracy.

The current regressive tax structure can be explained by the different powers that social sectors wield in influencing public policies and in particular, tax policy. The influence of low-income sectors on tax decisions has been limited. There are strong differences in terms of information and knowledge about the multiple implications of different taxes and fiscal burdens. CSOs with knowledge of tax systems can contribute by pushing for the reduction or elimination of regressive taxes. No one dares to claim that the poor are in fact punished with a disproportionate tax burden; however, *economic mechanisms silently do this work because they can hide distributive injustices that no one would openly encourage.*

There are other factors that influence the regressive tax system. For example, some taxes are easier to collect than others and, thus, are chosen more frequently, independently of their fairness. The most difficult taxes to evade are those levied on consumption and salaries. Without the will or capacity to fight tax evasion, governments impose taxes that

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are unjust, but easy to collect instead of taxing on the basis of income, profit and net worth of taxpayers.

Therefore, tax evasion is encouraged due to the unjust distribution of the tax burden which creates disadvantages for those who pay taxes vis-à-vis those who do not pay. The tendency to evade is frequent because high taxes can affect the viability of a small producer and because authorities are not deemed capable or willing to collect them. Tax administration is usually deficient due to a lack of political support and because tax agencies are insufficiently funded. Here also is an area for CSOs with a specialty in tax administration to make a difference.

Monetary Stability and Credit Management

Monetary stability and credit management directly affect the struggle against poverty and deepening democracy. It is one of the pillars upon which the national economy rests. While it is not that complex, some try to distance monetary policy from poverty elimination efforts. However, a monetary policy that actively accompanies this struggle is a critical element in assuring its success.

To effectively support small businesses with microcredit and microfinancing, monetary stability is fundamental. Stable prices are just as important to the poor as they are to other productive actors. It is those with few resources who are most defenseless to the harmful effects of instability since they do not have the ability to adjust their income based on inflation. Inflationary processes usually bring about a large transfer of income from those on fixed salaries and less negotiating power to other more powerful actors. For those who depend on small sales or fixed salaries, inflation is a devastating yet subtle mechanism of income transfer. Highly unstable prices generate conditions favorable to financial speculation that capitalizes on the situation to make extraordinary profits; those profits can be used later to consolidate their economic preeminence. This is aggravated as the financial system tends to channel larger lending resources to sectors with more collateral. On the other hand, monetary stability permits the adjustment of relative prices to reward productive work. *No irresponsible monetary policy ends up having a positive effect on reducing social disparities.* CSOs play a critical role, though rarely exercised, to assure monetary stability and a more just distribution of institutional credit.

While it is crucial not to affect delicate macroeconomic balances, diverse options and methods that respect those balances can be explored. In particular, the rules that regulate credit should be reviewed since some of them limit or block micro and small producers from access to credit. If this could be overcome, more funds could be designated for massive microcredit programs as well as other loan programs for small businesses. Given their experience in this field, CSOs can provide significant support to improve credit regulations.

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Guarantee systems are also important so that micro and small producers can access institutional credit. In many cases, credit is a necessity (but not the only condition) for a productive operation's viability and without real guarantees, access is limited. CSOs have experience with this guarantee system but there is a much larger effort that needs to be done to extend its coverage.

Monetary policy should also contemplate mechanisms that facilitate the capitalization of financial intermediaries that specialize in microcredit. These intermediaries would complement the investments of their stockholders by inspiring the participation of CSOs and other sources of funding like public agencies, multilateral organizations and private funders. Some CSOs (both development organizations and foundations) can join this push for capitalization and, from there monitor the actions of microcredit providers and other financiers.

The purpose is to develop a financial system open to the poor that supports businesses development in outlying regions and in the suburbs of large urban centers. This will require a number of financial entities with experience dealing with small producers that can adapt and adjust to their particular circumstances and characteristics, but in essence remain profitable and sustainable. The experience to date of microfinance institutions can serve as a guide to adopt regulations that facilitate development and protect popular savings.

In all of this the central bank plays a decisive role and, therefore, should not sit on the sidelines in the fight against poverty. It is imperative that its policies and regulations aid and strengthen this battle against poverty. *The central bank should have members on its board who can combine financial and monetary knowledge with the determination to create just and vigorous development.* In this arena, CSOs have little experience; however, they can make a valuable contribution.

Mesoeconomic Action: Productive Networks, Value Chains and the Mesoeconomic Responsibility of Leading Corporations

We also need to consider the mesoeconomic circumstances that prevail in the region, remembering that mesoeconomics refers to economic networks or chains that involve diverse actors.

Performance of Productive Networks and Value Chains

In general, *the links between small businesses and other larger economic actors do not help them reach their productive potential*. This limits their capacity to grow and overcome poverty.

These relationships are established within the productive networks in which small producers participate. Productive networks are more or less formal and constitute the economic space where the productive process of goods and services takes place. There are multiple dimensions to the productive process: technological, financial, information and

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contact management, marketing, distribution of results. The large numbers of variables that interact in the process are not immutable, but change over time given the dynamics of the production-distribution process.

Inside these networks, actors of varying size and influence participate: leading corporations, small and medium businesses and producers at the bottom of the productive pyramid that do not have enough power to negotiate a fair compensation for their participation. Actually, to be precise, it is important to mention that micro producers are actually the lowest class in these productive networks.

Within a productive network, usually there is not a formal plan for distributing profits. Instead, there is the market and a method for pricing that values contributions as a function of multiple decisions of the participants. Therefore, the power to express preferences and the capacity to assign value is unevenly distributed among many. It is well known that markets are imperfect (both by economic theory and common sense). Significant differences in influence are based on the actor's size, its access to privileged information, contacts and knowledge. Experience, business ability, determination and negotiation skills also shape an actor's influence.

Thus, the economic dynamics of growth are extremely complex. Actors with differing capacities to influence events relate to others as they all operate under a set of ever-changing rules based on market, government and business forces.

What is dramatic here is that a large segment of the population (in many countries the majority of their populations) is left underemployed or unemployed as a result of the performance of productive networks in underdeveloped economies. Thus, poverty and indigence have become a structural characteristic of the region. If this poverty did not exist (or at least not at the current levels), then perhaps we could do without a deliberate action to change the situation. Now, however, it is irresponsible not to strive to change the present dynamics.

The challenge is to change the situation while protecting the positive elements of our societies and productive systems. Destructive changes carry with them high social costs and traumatic effects difficult from which to recover. Even the poor, in their desperation, have positive and negative elements. They are immersed in traumatic situations and sometimes believe they have nothing to lose in processes of draconian changes. Assaulted by the fact they live in democracies that fail to provide opportunities, the poor may turn to radical answers and are capable of compromising the democratic process.

Why do we include these issues usually reserved for sociology or political science in a mesoeconomic analysis? *Because it is participating in productive networks that give many people the possibility of earning wages that permit them to leave poverty and desperation behind.*

Some of the micro and small producers in productive networks have the potential to grow, while others exist on the margins of the economic system and are far away from the most promising value chains. In one way or another, micro, small, medium and large producers relate to one another in increasingly complex productive networks that make up value

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chains within local and national economies. In these economic spaces there are leaders; in other words, businesses whose decisions decisively influence the evolution of the productive process and, therefore, the value chain and the local economy of which they are a part.

If these leading companies, their businessmen, stockholders and managers ignore the secondary effects their decisions have on the productive network and indirectly on value chains and the local economy, and only worry about the primary effects (those that impact their own company), then they would be acting dimly, indifferent to the consequences of their actions.

On the other hand, if leading companies were to take into account the secondary implications, then the productive process would accede to a higher level of rationality. This rationality is directly connected to taking responsibility for one's actions. This is referred to as the *mesoeconomic responsibility of businesses*.

How to Practice Mesoeconomic Responsibility

Every time a business decision is made, it is necessary to analyze more than one option. If the only criterion guiding the company is maximizing financial benefits in the short term without considering secondary effects on other actors, then the selection of options would be resolved in a lineal way, establishing a hierarchy of results and adopting the option that will assure the best short-term financial benefit.

But life is usually not that simple, not even for businesses. Business decisions have medium- and long-term effects and so companies are interested in the immediate results, but also those that will come one, three, ten years down the line. Some companies have that long-term vision, but others are concerned only with the results of their current project. There will be arguments justifying the immediate approach, some of which merit attention and others that will not withstand serious evaluation. If businesses focused on maximizing medium-term results, they would begin to consider such issues as market position, corporate image, development of loyalties and strategic alliances, investment for training and equipment to increase their productivity and that of the networks.

If, while considering temporal horizons, a company would remove its blinders and include in its agenda the strengthening of the rest of the actors that make up its productive network or value chain, then new considerations for strategic decisions would emerge. This would extend even further if the company considered the impact of its actions on the community where it is located.

For example, consider a situation where a company has two options for a new technology and both would bring similar financial results. One option would require more intensive capital and as such would create fewer jobs than the other. Therefore, the impact of choosing one of the two options may be neutral in terms of financial results, but not in terms of the productive use of labor.

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This is not to oversimplify decisions that are much more complex than the example above because, in reality, there are many other variables that should be considered. It may well be that a capital-intensive technology may increase the company's ability to compete globally. In which case, if the company chose to conquer new markets, rather than creating fewer jobs, it would still be creating more employment.

In any case and moving beyond examples and counterexamples, what is important is that a company exercises its mesoeconomic responsibility by considering not only the primary effects of its strategic decisions, but the secondary ones as well. By doing that, companies will create solid viability in the medium term, a worthy objective in a strategic vision within which interactions with the social and political realm are accentuated more and more.

In summary, the way in which small producers reach other actors in productive networks is critical. Value creation and the capacity to retain this value feed the process of capital formation in the bottom of the productive pyramid. The attitude of large and medium "locomotive" companies is a determining factor, since as they grow they can carry along tens or hundreds of small producers. This attitude is associated to the level at which these locomotive companies practice mesoeconomic responsibility. In other words, do they consider the primary and secondary effects of their economic decisions? This is an attempt to maximize the performance of the entire productive network, from the leading companies to the small producers. Modern business engineering offers an enormous opportunity for building relationships between medium-sized businesses and a good number of smaller enterprises. Once more the strategic importance of having business knowledge and excellent technology, rather than the leftovers passed on to small producers, becomes evident. Rarely have CSOs considered this theme of mesoeconomics, but through their action they could greatly influence the mesoeconomic responsibility of medium and large companies.

Mesoeconomic Approach to Poverty

Given this context, specific solutions to poverty should identify those economic networks in which small and micro producers can be inserted into economic systems. To do this, the effectiveness of the network should be examined vis-à-vis other competing or partner networks and determine which actors lead the networks and how economic benefits are distributed. Solutions should also accurately characterize the conditions of small producers, explaining their deficiencies and the assets they can contribute to the development of productive networks.

In this approach to poverty, one can diagnose difficulties, problems and rigors that limit economic development of a productive network; identify the challenges and options it faces; and establish which additional resources to mobilize. Solutions should emphasize adjusting the nature and dynamic of the network to ensure efficient relationships with other complementary and competing networks at the same time as promoting a more equitable distribution

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of results among the participants in the value chain. *The purpose will be to achieve improved results that are shared more equally.*

The aim is to consolidate competitive production networks within promising value chains that are inclusive of micro and small producers. This implies supporting those locomotive companies with growth potential and a favorable attitude towards the medium-term development of small producers, distributors or clients in their economic network. In addition, it involves adopting new institutional mechanisms to make modern business engineering (exemptions, consortiums, service centers) available to entrepreneurs with the capacity to bring together scattered small producers to form more effective medium-sized organizations.

Businesses that serve small producers can be developed by taking advantage of business engineering already employed in other latitudes, but not locally due to lack of knowledge or means. The lack of productive networks able to unify disparate small producers makes surmounting the oppressive situations of structural poverty difficult. It will require production organizers with the ability and knowledge to better structure the relationships between small enterprises in potentially profitable production networks.

At the mesoeconomic level, CSOs can play catalytic roles. CSOs can help develop mesoeconomic responsibility of the corporate leaders of value chains and productive networks, promote the use of modern business engineering to unite small producers into medium-size organizations, and work with those small producers inside their productive networks to introduce mechanisms that increase capital formation at the base of the productive pyramid.

Microeconomic Action: Deficiencies, Assets and Support Programs

In general, the region views the problems of poverty and small producers as separate. Their difficulties and restrictions are not seen as emerging from the economic system (heavily influenced by macroeconomic policies and mesoeconomic actions), but as unfortunate disruptions in some specific areas. For this reason, solutions to these problems tend to be at the microeconomic level: microcredit programs and technical assistance of varying levels of quality.

For example, many CSOs work intensely on microcredit programs. They invest much energy, but the results are varied because microcredit is only one part of the solution. Other critical aspects, such as marketing, pricing, taxes and public spending and the dynamics of productive networks, are usually ignored and condition the effectiveness of microcredit. These issues can hobble small production and then minimize the eventual positive effects of microcredit. Similar outcomes can be expected when a CSO tries to implement other methods to combat an issue as complicated as poverty reduction.

In reality, the mass of factors that explain the economic relegation of immense majorities in Latin America covers a wide spectrum. As explained, macroeconomic factors, other

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mesoeconomic issues and microeconomic ones all influence poverty. It is not one or two factors, but a great number of them. While this chapter analyzed these factors in certain detail, it is worth mentioning that they can be influenced by a firm and sustained political decision to integrate the poor into the economy. This work is not impossible, nor does it seek an unattainable utopia. *It is about winning over political will and public opinion to implement a comprehensive poverty eradication strategy with a central idea being the productive mobilization of the poor.*

Deficiencies of Micro and Small Producers

In general, small production operates in a context of *multiple deficiencies*. Perhaps the most dramatic of these is the *lack of knowledge about and access to better productive options*. Frequently, solutions with low productivity are repeated, such as the case of a small, neighborhood business that sells homemade food or handmade clothing. This tends to oversaturate the market with micro producers who compete for an extremely small portion of local income. Very few of these producers have access to information about *distant markets* and when they occasionally come in contact with these markets, they are not able to capitalize on the opportunity (due to a lack of resources, contacts and/or knowledge). Their situation precludes them from reaching the scale necessary to access opportunities only available at larger and more sophisticated thresholds.

It is true that, despite these difficult conditions, there are individuals who succeed in overcoming poverty and are able to accumulate wealth. This is praiseworthy and serves as a reference for others who want to follow in their footsteps, but this is not a solution able to eliminate poverty in a community.

One way for small producers to access better opportunities is by joining dynamic economic networks. This requires strong business leadership and modern business engineering to bring together dispersed small production. The problem lies in that small producers do not know modern business engineering and depend on others to set up and run these networks. This is part of the knowledge gap that affects our societies in areas such as technological, organizational, financial, marketing and networking knowledge. CSOs can help generate and adapt this knowledge to the reality of small producers.

Assets of Micro and Small Producers

Together with all kinds of deficiencies, small producers, informal wage earners and even the unemployed have certain strategic assets that, well utilized, can serve to improve their lives. In the first place, the poor have the *talent and capacity to work*. Talent includes individual skills and knowledge of their local context. This allows small producers to navigate situations unfamiliar to outsiders and adapt them to the circumstances of their community.

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Small producers understand existing informal networks that play an important role in local governance and the mobility of ideas, goods and services; they also recognize the values, aspirations and communication peculiarities of their communities. While these are not normally recognized as assets, they can be very useful to those who wish to enter new communities to market products, employ labor, supply certain goods and services or provide social and cultural activities. Small producers are also capable of saving money and manual labor, both of which are important elements of capital formation. CSOs can help communities identify and begin to value these assets.

A second strategic asset of the poor is their *capacity for capital formation once they achieve economic mobilization*. This may seem paradoxical since they live in situations of extreme scarcity and typically spend more on consumer goods. A percentage of any increase in income will need to address their pent-up desire to spend. However, this same condition of forced austerity can be managed in the opposite direction as well by offering producers appropriate mechanisms for the capture and mobilization of small resources: the generation of a mass of small savings could help sustain local productive investment processes. Since financial intermediaries specializing in micro and small production should offer these services, CSOs could participate in the design and monitoring of such programs to ensure that the funds end up invested in the same communities where they were generated and not transferred to other locations.

Another strategic asset micro and small producers in Latin America have is associated with their numbers and *significance as one of the frontiers for expansion of economic systems*. It is the sectors with the least resources that have the most potential for growth of economic and social demands and, therefore, of internal and regional markets. The objectives of social-productive inclusion are sustained on the basis of ethics, solidarity and the dignity of all persons, but also for economic motivations that see the poor as a large potential market. Both arguments converge to provoke this required transformation of values and policies.

Comparison of the Latin American Context with Small Producers in Developed Economies

In developed economies there are a number of supports for small producers. As in Latin America, they rely importantly on help from family and friends, but those in developed countries have greater capacity to help than those in emerging economies.

Small producers in the North have access to effective public services or private technical and commercial assistance that are seldom available in the South. Furthermore, there are more so-called angel investors in the North and very few in our region. Other important resources available in the North and almost nonexistent in the South are venture capital funds. There are also investment funds and the possibility for a small or medium business to be bought out by a similar or larger business. Finally, a medium-sized business can access the capital market through a public stock offering. In the region these latter options are very

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limited. CSOs should explore how they can strengthen these support systems by, among other options, promoting angel investor networks (such as the one begun by Sur Norte in Rosario, Argentina), helping to establish local funds to support productive investment support funds (like those pioneered by the MIF) and creating new community business developers in the style of PROCENTRO.

Tax regulations and operating permits tend to be onerous and heavy with bureaucratic processes that often impel small producers towards the informal sector to survive in such an adverse regulatory environment. Frequently, the public sector focuses on taxes and restrictions, rather than on how to advance, strengthen and support small producers. Here is another large opening for CSOs, where they can push for the simplification of rules and for supporting the interests and operating logic of micro and small producers.

Microeconomic Programs

We see that in the countries of Latin America, it is not only the adverse regulatory environment and the small producers' lack of resources, but moreover, there exist almost no appropriate support services or institutional mechanisms that provide capital, information, knowledge and contacts so small producers can identify and take advantage of better opportunities. The microeconomic context is definitely not favorable to small producers, blocking economic inclusion of the poor majority—and making the deepening of democracy increasingly difficult.

The focus of microeconomic action should be on overcoming the deficiencies faced by micro and small producers. It is especially important to narrow the knowledge gap and increase access to improved production methods. This includes exploring possibilities of relationships with distant markets. The productive mobilization of the poor is one of the principal axes of a comprehensive strategy to combat poverty. It will have a direct impact on growth, income distribution and the expansion of internal markets. In all of these areas CSOs can make important contributions.

To capitalize on mobilizing the productive capabilities of the poor, a series of support systems need to be developed, similar to those in consolidated economies. This catalogue includes a range of programs and complementary actions:

- Mobilization of the scientific and technological communities to generate knowledge and assistance: technical assistance and consulting programs on micro and small production.
- Access to credit through specialized banks and other public and private microcredit providers: better microcredit management and scaling up to massively increase their coverage.
- Access to capitalization sources for promising businesses, such as angel investor networks and local funds to support productive investment.

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- Support for local or community business developers to identify and take advantage of business opportunities.
- Simplification of tax and municipal regulations.
- Modernization of registry systems for micro and small producers' assets.
- Critical programs for the mobilization of the indigent, to not leave behind the poorest of the poor.

Closing the Gap between Intentions and Tools

For development to occur, it is necessary to bring together energies that give direction and organization to the process. However, *there is a gap between intentions and available tools*. Institutional tools can and should be improved, adjusting to the context and taking advantage of the richness of knowledge available. A new generation of development tools will be needed that will add direction and rationality to the tremendous socioeconomic energy of the contemporary world. These include: local and community business developers, local funds to support productive investments, networks of socially responsible angel investors and social innovation funds. These new instruments look to associate efficiency and dynamism with justice and equity, and they form an important part of the necessary scaffolding that will support just and vigorous development.

These tools, and many others not mentioned here, can function in existing markets but do require an initial push to establish them. This effort has an economic component, but, even more important, promotional and organizational ones where CSOs can lend their expertise. These instruments facilitate the productive mobilization of the poor and they encourage a better social and geographic distribution of income. The business opportunities they hope to take advantage of contemplate access to local and international markets as well as the maximum possible use of local productive factors.

None of these tools is designed to be financed by the public sector (although government support would strengthen them), so their appearance in local or national budgets will be limited. Governments should recognize, however, that new productive enterprises would expand the tax base from which government draws a large part of public income.

Coordinating Responsibilities among Multiple Actors

There are many actors that participate in a strategy of economic inclusion to deepen democracy: national government, provincial governments, municipalities, companies of all sizes, leading businesses of value chains, small entrepreneurs, social and professional organizations, CSOs, members of scientific and technological communities, civic and religious organizations, educators, mass media, among others.

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Although it is essential to develop ways to organize these multiple contributions, it is not advisable to force uniform solutions since there are no recipes, nor manuals for harnessing the energy of each actor. We should be open to a diversity of formulas based on creativity, innovation and the exploration of solutions adjusted to the specific and ever-changing national and local contexts. CSOs can explore the advantages and disadvantages of organizing innovations and propose new ways of working together. The twenty-first century will be increasingly knowledge based. The scientific and technology communities will be called up to play a strategic role. Universities, technological institutions, research and development centers are the backbone of innovation, but have yet to be seriously considered in the region. There is much to do and much to decide in terms of the creation and application of knowledge.

Leadership should be shared, with each group finding the role that best uses its nature and capacity. No one would dispute the role of the state in promoting and regulating development and it could go further to harmonize and align interests to increase cooperation and synergy between actors. The government directs the principal policies, allocations for and administration of incentives, in addition to protecting and supporting the most vulnerable sectors of society. The current phase of development in Latin America requires the adoption of sustainable strategies to complete the transition from simply dealing with emergencies. The multiple sources of government funding should converge to support the productive mobilization of the poor by capitalizing and implementing initiatives that bring real benefits to the bottom of the social pyramid. Eradicating corruption and favoritism are two critical elements that accompany these efforts at deepening democracy.

It is also fundamental to change attitudes toward entrepreneurship. Of major importance are the initiation and strengthening of productive endeavors that favor the poor and indigent. These initiatives need to employ modern and effective management practices based on excellence. To encourage all of this, it is essential to promote and practice an honest work ethic, aspects of which could be expanded by those actors with a greater responsibility for value formation. Those that shape values do not control management, they only guide development, but serve as the moral compass for everyone. Their orienting role in terms of direction and significance of development efforts is decisive when it is time to define ways to deepen democracy in the region. Civic and religious leaders, intellectuals, writers, artists, publicists, mass media, even sports institutions have their portion of responsibility.

As previously mentioned, leaders of productive networks have to face the challenge now by considering not only the primary effects of business decisions on their company, but also the secondary effects on the other participants of the network and the communities involved. The role of the private sector should align with the vanguard in the struggle against poverty and the generation of jobs and income that combat it.

In all of this, CSOs have a central role: supporting and monitoring the orientation of the development process and alerting others to unintended, negative consequences.

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The next section describes in detail ways CSOs can participate in the creation of just and vigorous development. In general, in the microeconomic arena, CSOs should improve and expand their microcredit and business management programs. To influence mesoeconomic issues, CSOs can promote mesoeconomic responsibility and help develop a new generation of economic institutions and tools (such as community business developers, socially responsible angel investor networks, local funds to support productive investment). At the macroeconomic level, specialized CSOs can monitor and improve the budgeting process and the development and application of tax and monetary policies.

Assembling all of these pieces will not be a centralized or automatic process. But it is essential to begin coordinating, unifying and developing networks and structures capable of harnessing these efforts through synergies and cooperation. The call is wide, the knowledge incipient and the need immense. There is no other way but to work step by step, day after day, year after year and during that progression accumulate experience, increase knowledge and tirelessly renew sources of inspiration.

Suggestions for CSOs to Support Deepening Democracy

This section is a compilation of the suggestions for CSOs as presented throughout this chapter. This is not an exhaustive list, but it gives an idea of the challenges CSOs are already tackling or should begin to.

Paradigm shift: CSOs can help create a new paradigm that recognizes the enormous, underutilized potential of the poor. From there, solutions that allow the activation of those tremendous resources can be formulated.

Construction of values: There are values that give reason, direction and consistency to the efforts to combat poverty. CSOs have outstanding experience in this field, but it is worth continuing the development and explanation of the values that guide us with the contribution of those most involved with the construction of these values.

New strategic focus: Poverty elimination is considered to be the base of any just and vigorous development process. To accomplish this, it is essential to: align large, macroeconomic policies with the interests of the poor; promote effective mesoeconomic initiatives that involve all levels of production, especially businesses that head productive networks and value chains; and implement microeconomic policies that directly support micro and small producers. These strategies should be complemented with newly coined social policies that stimulate a culture of work and entrepreneurial spirit while solving the immediate social crisis. Partial solutions may solve certain problems, but eradicating poverty requires a comprehensive strategy. One of the principal pieces of this strategy is the productive mobilization of the poor. To be able to

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achieve this, it is necessary to ensure a just distribution of benefits. There will not be development when only a few grow. If these then are the important elements of a strategic focus to deepen democracy in Latin America, then a number of roles for CSOs can be derived.

Expand the usual fields of action of CSOs: In general, CSOs tend to concentrate their participation at the microeconomic level. Rarely do they work at the macroeconomic level and almost never at the mesoeconomic level. It is necessary to balance the work of the CSOs so they may also take part in meso- and macroeconomic activities. At those levels there are large gaps that CSOs could fill by supporting popular sectors and monitoring the government budgeting and spending process from a nonpartisan perspective. Without the capacity to carry out activities at all levels, CSOs face tough challenges and will see only modest results. CSOs should focus on strengthening themselves to complete their specific mission, as well as promoting comprehensive development strategies that can assure the needed environment to perform their duties with effectiveness.

Expand the collaborative agreements between CSOs and the public sector: Good public-private partnerships allow for the implementation of large-scale projects that can be modified to meet local needs. In this field, there are many opportunities for public agencies and CSOs to collaborate, with each entity doing what it knows best: agencies promoting, financing and regulating CSOs and CSOs then proposing options and innovations and running specific programs. This would increase political and public support for a comprehensive poverty eradication campaign focused on the productive mobilization of the poor.

Align public spending policies with the interests of micro and small producers: Specialized CSOs can provide important information to improve the allocations in both national and local budgets since all approved spending has serious economic, social and political implications.

Improve the productivity of expenditures: Tax resources should be used effectively and efficiently. Budgets and disbursements should be monitored, in addition to the funding's impact. Therefore, results and objectives will have to be compared rather than simply proving to have spent the funds. This is an appropriate role for civil society groups to play.

Promote progressive tax policies: The influence of low-income sectors on tax decisions has been limited. There are strong differences in terms of information and knowledge about the multiple implications of taxes and fiscal burdens. CSOs with knowledge of tax systems can contribute by pushing for the reduction or elimination of regressive taxes.

Improve tax administration: A lack of political support and insufficiently funded tax agencies make this a difficult task. Here again is an opportunity for CSOs to contribute.

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Promote monetary stability: Stable prices are just as important to the poor as they are to other productive actors. It is those with few resources who are the most defenseless against the harmful effects of instability since they do not have the ability to adjust their income based on inflation. Inflationary processes usually bring about a large transfer of income from those on fixed salaries and less negotiating power to the most powerful. CSOs specialized in monetary policy can monitor the evolution of monetary policies and intervene when these policies affect the popular sectors.

Increase access to institutional credit for small producers: This will require the revision of credit regulations, some of which limit or block micro and small producers from access to credit. If this could be achieved, more funds could be assigned for microcredit and credit programs for small businesses. Given their experience in this field, CSOs can provide significant support.

Expand the use of guarantees: CSOs can push for micro and small producers to have access to institutional credit by using different guarantee systems. In many cases, credit is a needed condition (but not a sufficient one) for a productive operation's viability and without real guarantees, access is limited.

Capitalization of specialized financial intermediaries: Monetary policy should include mechanisms that facilitate the capitalization of financial intermediaries dedicated to microcredit. These intermediaries would complement the investments of their stockholders by inspiring the participation of CSOs and other sources of funding, such as public agencies, multilateral organizations and private funders.

Influence the behavior of the central bank: In all of this the central bank plays a decisive role and, therefore, should not stay on the sidelines in the fight against poverty. It is imperative that its policies and regulations facilitate and strengthen this battle against poverty. The central bank should have members on its board who can combine financial and monetary knowledge with the determination to create just and vigorous development. In this arena, CSOs have little experience; however, they can make a valuable contribution.

Innovative mesoeconomic roles for CSOs: At the mesoeconomic level, CSOs can play catalytic roles. CSOs can help develop mesoeconomic responsibility of the corporate leaders of value chains and productive networks, promote the use of modern business engineering to unite small producers and work with those small producers that are part of productive networks to introduce mechanisms that increase capital formation at the base of the productive pyramid.

Development of support systems for micro and small producers: Provide effective technical, commercial and management assistance, develop local entrepreneurship, community

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businesses, networks of socially responsible angel investors, local funds to support productive investments (venture capital), specialized investment funds for small and medium businesses and other support mechanisms that allow these businesses to access the capital market. These ventures will help create knowledge and access to better productive opportunities so as not to repeat solutions of very low productivity. A key factor is the use of modern business engineering to educate small producers on technological, organizational, financial, commercial and networking themes. CSOs can assist in this process by adapting this business knowledge to the reality of small producers. This will allow producers to scale up their activities and join larger productive chains and become integrated into dynamic economic networks.

Assisting in the identification of the assets of micro and small producers: Small producers understand existing informal networks that play an important role in local governance and the mobility of ideas, goods and services; they also recognize the values, aspirations and communication peculiarities of their communities. While these are not normally recognized as assets, they can be very useful to those who wish to enter new communities to market products, employ labor, supply certain goods and services or provide social and cultural activities. Small producers are also capable of saving and manual labor, both of which are important elements of capital formation. CSOs can help communities identify and begin to value these assets.

Assist with capital formation for poor sectors: The poor's condition of forced austerity can be changed through capital formation. For this to happen, it is necessary to have appropriate mechanisms to mobilize small savings. CSOs can assist financial intermediaries to design and put them into practice.

Monitor the destination of popular savings: CSOs can analyze how popular savings flow and ensure that they are invested in the same communities in which they were generated and not transferred to other markets.

Simplify tax regulations and operation permits: This is a field where CSOs can conduct research and make proposals to improve regulations and implementation.

Mobilize the scientific and technological communities to generate knowledge and assistance: CSOs can encourage universities and technology and research centers to conduct research, consult with, or provide assistance to micro and small producers.

Promote the creation of a microcredit bank and other public and private microcredit institutions: CSOs can seek more effective management of microcredit programs and promote the scaling up and involvement of financial intermediaries to massively increase their coverage.

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Work to modernize registry systems for small and micro producers' assets: CSOs can collaborate with national and regional property registration agencies to ensure the poorest sectors are attended to adequately.

Push for productive programs that mobilize the indigent: CSOs, with public and private funding, have a critical role to play in ensuring that the poorest are not left behind. Specialized programs for the indigent require sustainable solutions combined with initial subsidies to create opportunities for the poor to change their situation.

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Chapter 12

Promoting Citizen Participation and Support for CSOs in the Transnational Economy

Nelson Stratta

The purpose of this work is to analyze the paths that civil society organizations (CSOs) in our region should follow if they want to increase transnational citizen participation and participate in the emerging, globalized donation market. The CSOs under discussion are those organizations that work directly and at all levels to combat poverty and inequity and achieve sustainable development.

The first section analyzes the challenges for these CSOs after two decades of insufficient, inequitable and unsustainable growth in our region. The evidence shows that the conditions for their participation with the state in antipoverty and antiexclusion policies have not yet been created. This is regardless of the political orientation of the governments. The situation for our CSOs is difficult: there is much work to be done and very few options to finance it. Entry into the transnational economy could be one alternative to meeting the need to diversify their financing sources.

The second section examines three manifestations of globalization that are creating a framework favorable to attracting support from abroad for our social causes: i) the formation of a new civic consciousness in the world; ii) the crisis of the model of citizen participation in developed countries; and iii) the creation of an Internet-based global donation market that, in principle, places our social causes on the same plane as all the others. This favorable framework is not free of obstacles and challenges for our CSOs; these are also analyzed within this context.

The third section presents the opportunities that would emerge if our emigrant populations were actively reincorporated into the social capital of our countries. Some interesting examples are presented to show the possibilities that can be generated when this happens. Examples closely related to traditional philanthropy are analyzed, such as home town associations and also some more innovative approaches, like the one in "Conexión Colombia," a leading initiative in the development of new trends in transnational participation.

In the final section, ideas for promoting transnational participation are presented and some critical factors for success are explained in detail. These critical factors arise from the analysis carried out for this study about successful experiences and some known

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failures. These include the dilemma of legitimacy and credibility for CSOs, the new role of mass media, the presence and presentation of CSOs on the Internet and the importance of forging alliances. The two case studies presented ("Tsunami" and "Conexión Colombia") analyze in detail the reality associated with the principal concepts developed earlier in sections 2 and 3.

Challenges to Civil Society Organizations: Two Decades of Insufficient, Inequitable and Unsustainable Growth

In Latin America, the return to democracy did not meet the many expectations of citizens convinced that the transition would bring about fundamental changes that would generate prosperity and compensate for the inequities that had deepened during the military dictatorships.

The new democratically elected governments seemed to be less preoccupied with problems of equity and exclusion than with macroeconomic adjustments, fiscal order, controlling inflation, paying external debt and designing reforms to decrease the size of the state. These strategies grew out of the hypothesis that these adjustments were prerequisites to achieving economic growth and then, prosperity would trickle down equitably to all social sectors.

This vision, strongly endorsed by a general consensus by the multilateral credit institutions, never really worked. There are those who argue that this was because the reforms were only partially or poorly implemented in the majority of countries (Rodrik 2006). Others assert that the vision could never have been achieved even if the reforms were well implemented. What was effectively demonstrated was that even where the macroeconomic objectives were attained, the economies continued fragile, volatile and socially unsustainable.

The region entered a dynamic downward spiral. The periods of economic prosperity were few, brief and when they arrived, benefited only a few. The bonanzas were followed by intense economic crises that, unlike the brief prosperities, adversely affected the whole population. Our societies had to get used to surviving in an environment of "every man for himself," with neglectful governments that in addition to generating economic instability, encouraged individualism and promoted social disintegration.

In this way the preexisting economic concentration was accelerated, pushing it to levels never seen before in our countries. In two decades we were converted into champions of inequity and exclusion, so that today the Latin American region has greater inequalities of wealth and income than any other region (ECLAC 2004).

In this first decade of the millennium, citizens bet on the parties of the Left and afforded them the possibility to govern. When in the opposition, these parties placed poverty and equity on the top of their political agendas and promised to offer alternatives to the so-called neo-liberalism of previous governments. It is important to remark that this was done

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within the framework of democracy, including those cases where citizens had to take to the streets to depose governments seen to be corrupt, liars or inefficient. In this new political context, we began navigating territories of economic and political exploration.

In the struggle against poverty and inequity, the new left-wing policies being applied are varied. Some countries are using populist formulas that basically aim to redistribute economic surpluses to mitigate the expressions of poverty and inequity, without necessarily attacking their causes. In those cases, public funds are allocated for welfare programs emerging from a paternalistic vision of the state, where the long-term sustainability of the policies does not appear to matter much. There are also governments that maintained the same rigor and responsibility for economic management as the previous ones, but simultaneously sought to implement medium- and long-term policies to attack the causes of poverty assuring equal opportunities and equitable growth.

Before continuing, it is important to emphasize one point: the subject of this study is civil society organizations that are leading community action in our region. In what follows, the term "CSO" refers to the civil society organizations that are working directly, and at all levels, to combat poverty and inequity and achieve sustainable development.[1]

Contrary to the expected outcomes, the ideological changes in the governments did not open new spaces for CSOs to work with the state to design and implement solutions, and collaborate so that public social investment could be done in a transparent, efficient and effective manner. One indicator of this lack of interest is that barely half a dozen countries in Latin America and the Caribbean signed the Paris Declaration of March 2005 on Aid Effectiveness.[2]

The Paris Declaration is one milestone in a five-year-old quest that is perhaps the most important venture ever attempted between rich countries, multilateral donors and poor countries. The subscribing countries share the vision that participation improves the impact of policies and participation becomes a fundamental pillar in the search for effectiveness of poverty reduction strategies. Governments are expected to lead in the process of generating ownership for the design, implementation and evaluation of their poverty reduction policies. Ownership is achieved by opening broad participation for civil society and other stakeholders in this process. In many cases, this manifests itself as a redefinition for civil society participation, even including new legal frameworks.[3]

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[1] In Chapter 1, a distinction is made among "community-based," "social movement" and "non-governmental" organizations—all of which qualify as civil society organizations (CSOs). However, not all CSOs are necessarily seeking the cited equity and development objectives.

[2] Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic participated.

[3] Such as in the case of Bolivia, Honduras and Nicaragua where citizen participation processes were enacted into laws. The Paris Declaration is available at http://www.oecd.org/document/36/0,2340,en_2649_3236398_34689188_1_1_1_1,00.html.

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The fact that a large majority of countries in Latin America did not participate in this initiative is a clear indicator of the lack of harmony of our governments with this approach. There are observers who affirm the Left's ascension to power can be considered a step backwards, not forward, in the relationship between CSOs and the state (Piñeiro 2006).

Under these circumstances, the short- and medium-term outlook for CSOs is uncertain and complex. They will face a situation where there is much work still to be done and few options for obtaining financing. Everything indicates that CSOs will have to invent new forms of financing to be able to survive and maintain their capacity to continue.

Although it is true that there is still much ground to be covered respecting philanthropy in our countries, this will not be an easy task. The market for individual donations is limited, especially because the middle classes have limited capacity to contribute: they have been the ones suffering most of the adverse impacts of the economic crises. On the other hand, even when some businesses have begun to assume corporate social responsibility practices, in the majority of countries their capacity for support is limited. The full incorporation of these practices is proving to be a slow process that is also affected by the ups and downs of the economies (Sandborn 2002).

This chapter aims to highlight some alternatives in the search for this essential financing by taking advantage of the still little understood phenomenon of globalization. We suggest that globalization offers opportunities that our CSOs could take better advantage of, and that these are alternative and complementary paths that would be worth exploring. In addition to the opportunities, we examine some of the principal challenges that the CSOs of our region confront as they try to enter the transnational economy.

Globalization and New Tendencies in Citizen Participation

Our purpose here is to explore in more detail the possible consequences of globalization on citizen participation and the opportunities created for our region's CSOs. To this end, we first analyze in detail three manifestations of globalization that are leading to fundamental changes in the form of citizen participation in the developed world and creating a framework favorable to attracting support from abroad for our social causes.

The Creation of a New Global Civic Consciousness

In general, the arguments about globalization tend to be extreme; it is presented as something that is "all good" and full of promises for a better future—or as something irreparably flawed, diabolical and the cause of almost all bad things (Clark 2003). The process of globalization is too complex and multifaceted to be characterized in such simplified ways. It is useful to separate the occurrence of two simultaneous processes (Falk 2000) with quite different effects.

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"*Globalization from above*" is a useful term to reflect the action between leading agents of capital formation, symbolized by the organizations created at Bretton Woods (the World Trade Organization, World Bank and International Monetary Fund). This process of globalization is also led by large transnational companies, new forms of communication and the Internet. Antiglobalization protests are usually directed against this form of globalization, in response to the perception that important decisions affecting people's lives and well-being are being made in nontransparent ways, by institutions and supranational companies that are not accountable to citizens. These decisions shape business rules, intellectual property, macroeconomic restructuring policies, privatization of vital public services and debt forgiveness, and are made behind closed doors, in ways that are clearly not democratic.

"*Globalization from below*" is a term that was coined after the unexpected protest against global capitalism in Seattle in 2001. It affirms that there also exists a globalization that is developed principally by organizations that do not have strong relationships with governments or large corporations, as a result of the creation of non-geographically-bound spaces for meeting and citizen participation facilitated by communications technology and especially by the Internet. In such spaces, persons of different religions, nations, classes, genders, races and sexualities can interact to produce complex and changing identities and affiliations (Brecher and Smith 2000). Organizations such as Amnesty International and Greenpeace are examples of globalized civil society groups. But this globalization extends to much more and includes aid agencies, professional and religious associations, diaspora groups and other diverse social movements.

In the following section, this second process will be analyzed further. Even though there are too few deep studies on "globalization from below" and hardly any empirical evidence on their work, everything seems to indicate that a new trend of transnational citizenship is emerging, as an expression of the formation of a new *global civic consciousness*.

Throughout the world there are more and more people, especially from the rich countries, who call for the democratization of institutions (global and local), the reduction in the disparities of world wealth, the safeguarding of environmental sustainability and human rights and support for the pursuit to find new ways to create prosperity that respects human and environmental necessities. This new *global civic consciousness* arises as a strong social counterweight that manifests itself to try and correct the excesses of governments and businesses. Even though these people live in different countries, they have very similar concerns with the inequities in the world. This is a recent process, but indications are that it is not a passing trend and is here to stay.

This new global civic consciousness is an underlying societal force that does not have a specific political expression that unites it. Every time a concrete opportunity arises, they demonstrate in the open and when this occurs, its reach and magnitude are usually surprising. The following two examples may better illustrate this assertion.

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With the slogan "Make Poverty History," the organizers of Live 8 concerts demanded that world leaders of G8 countries forgive the debt of the poorest nations on the planet, increase and improve international aid and negotiate more just trade rules that would also benefit the poorest countries. They asked those that supported the effort: "we don't want your money, we want your voice." Bob Geldof, the principal promoter of this event had already attempted a similar initiative twenty years earlier, when he organized the benefit concert "Live Aid" to collect funds to combat hunger in Ethiopia.

In both cases, the citizens' response to the call was phenomenal. The differences between Live Aid and Live 8 describe the evolution and the lessons learned over those two decades. The Live 8 concert series did not pretend to raise money and had a clear objective of globalized political activism: citizens around the world in unison pressured the governments of the richest countries. The answers were also very different; the money raised for Ethiopia did not resolve the hunger problem, while the accumulated citizen pressure of Live 8 effectively forced the G8 governments to offer an answer.

A few days after the event, the G8 leaders announced a series of measures, including increasing the levels of aid to Africa from $25 to $50 billion for the year 2010, debt cancellation for 38 countries and more definitive action to combat AIDS, malaria and polio. These promises have been followed closely by Live 8, with the slogan "Make Promises Happen"[4] keeping the entire community that supported the initiative informed about what these governments do or neglect to do.

Another example worth analyzing is the wave of demonstrations that occurred all over the globe before the invasion of Iraq. Citizen demonstrations had an epicenter on February 15, 2003, when millions of people protested in some 800 cities in the world. This event was catalogued as "the largest protest in human history."[5] In London, two million demonstrators came together in Hyde Park and in Rome nearly three million took to the streets. Astonished by the force of this global civic expression, *New York Times* writer Patrick Tyler wrote, "today there are two super powers on the planet, the United States and public opinion."

While the demonstrations did not achieve their objective in the short term, rulers (except in the case of the United States) who decided to ignore these large demonstrations were harshly punished by voters and had to withdraw from their positions with shame and without glory.

Generally, every time that an open manifestation of this new global civic consciousness occurs, various factors come together: i) a specific situation that moves the world; ii) a

[4] See: http://www.live8live.com/makepromiseshappen.

[5] According to the *Guinness Book of World Records*, protests occurred in Germany, Australia, Canada, South Korea, the United States, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, Russia, South Africa, Switzerland, Syria and even at the McMurdo Outpost on Antarctica.

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catalyzing element like the convocation of a group of people or a global tragedy; iii) wide media coverage that adequately communicates the situation; and iv) a relatively easy way to participate.

How the processes of leadership operate for those who share this new global civic consciousness has not yet been studied. It is clearly an apolitical manifestation; with few rare exceptions (Nelson Mandela, Bill Clinton), political leaders do not mobilize these people. Something similar occurs with religious leaders. The global organizations like Amnesty International or Greenpeace interact with these communities, but only partially. There are very few cases of personal leadership that effectively mobilizes this large global community.

Perhaps the most emblematic example of natural leadership in this process is the Irish singer Bono, who has taken advantage of his global stature to promote these causes and add to them his personal power of convocation.

A large portion of the results of the G8 declaration with respect to Africa is due to his earlier initiative of inviting then-U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Paul O'Neill to accompany him to Africa to have direct contact with poverty, AIDS and the dramatic reality of the continent, and to thereby begin the worldwide debate about these subjects. The impact of Bono today is so strong that when searching for a replacement of president of the World Bank, it was speculated that the Irishman could be one of the United States' nominations as Wolfensohn's successor. The *Los Angeles Times* defended his candidacy until the last moment and the Secretary of the Treasury, John Snow, declared that he "is someone I admire … most people know him as a rock star. He's in a way a rock star of the development world too … he's a very pragmatic, effective and idealistic person that could do a lot of good in the world of economic development."[6]

Even if Bono is a natural leader for an important group of people who have this new global civic consciousness, the generation of confidence in his figure was a complex phenomenon and it was not automatically produced by the fact of his being an internationally famous musician. One could even think that it is an important contradiction that a rich and famous musician is the flag bearer of a cause that seeks to "Make Poverty History." Creating this confidence was a long process during which the protagonist assumed political risks and took on ground-breaking challenges, which later had to be consistent with his entire career.

The creation of this new global civic consciousness may open new opportunities to achieve support for our social causes. If our CSOs could take advantage of it, if they could connect to this large number of persons all over the world interested in our social causes, and could mobilize them to participate and help, much could be achieved.

This all presents a great challenge to our CSOs. However, as we will see below, connecting with these people and mobilizing them to help are not easy tasks. They do not

[6] The statements can be read at: http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/7109561.

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manifest or participate in response to the traditional patterns or familiar models, and the process of forming opinion and building confidence for these groups is complex and has not yet been studied in detail.

The Crisis of the Traditional Participation Model

In modern society, the challenge of mobilizing people, at least in the traditional sense, presents new difficulties. Globalization from above has indirectly produced important changes in the daily habits of citizens that tend to reduce human contact and the propensity to participate in social causes.

In *"Bowling Alone,"* Robert Putnam (2000) warns that the stock of social capital in the United States is in free fall and asserts this will cause a large part of the social fabric that unites society to collapse, impoverishing people's lives and their communities. A study carried out in the United States based on 500,000 interviews shows that people belong to fewer organizations with periodic meetings, know fewer neighbors, get together less with their friends, and even socialize less with their own families. Direct human contact is increasingly low in the most developed societies.

According to Putnam, the principal factors contributing to this decline come from changes in employment, family structure, suburban life, the influence of television, computers and new roles for women. The time pressure on people, especially on families with two wage earners, is one of the principal reasons. But Putnam also insists that the conventional methods to promote civic involvement are not designed to attract the increasing numbers of single people with children. The development of suburban life, which has fractured the spatial integrity of the lives of people, is another important element. Of course, the arrival of electronic entertainment, especially television, has profoundly "privatized" use of free time.

Putnam also warns that we cannot yet judge the role the Internet will have on this process: it can be positive and reinforce current social networks in the same way that the telephone did, or it can be negative and transform into a virtual substitute for social networks. Despite this, the author is optimistic and argues that a century ago something similar occurred in the United States and at that time civil society had to reinvent itself over several decades of fervent social innovation. This was the Progressive Era when institutions that continue as pillars of civil society were created.[7]

Two conclusions drawn from this work are relevant to our analysis:

[7] This was the period that saw establishment of the Red Cross, Boy Scouts, PTA, League of Women Voters, NAACP, Urban League, Boys and Girls Clubs, Hadassah, Knights of Columbus, Rotary International, a majority of unions, YMCA, and the Sierra Club, among others.

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- Today those who participate in the traditional way are from the older generations. It is noted that recent growth of volunteerism is due to the retirement of those people still related to the Progressive Era.
- Younger generations are less engaged in most forms of community life and traditional participation, and none of those channels which connect to communities fit the manner in which those people have decided to live their lives.

It is reasonable to suppose that something similar is occurring in all countries, including to a lesser degree in our region, since the same factors Putnam analyzes are present in almost all modern societies and are a consequence of what is usually referred to as "modernity." Although there is no empirical evidence of this assertion, it is reasonable to suppose it may be true.

If we accept this as new reality, the model and standards of traditional citizen participation in CSOs are in crisis, and need to be reinvented. This will surely have impacts on organizations that want to encourage participation and receive support from citizens or organizations of these countries. Some elements of this new paradigm of participation are useful to those seeking to attract transnational philanthropy and are analyzed below.

Towards a Globalized Donation Market Without Direct Participation

There is little available research that has profoundly analyzed these new forms of participation. However, experiences of recent years show some clear tendencies:

- *Increase in Internet donations*. Internet donations are no longer a rarity, and, in fact have become the most widely used form of making donations in the developed world. In the United States alone, Internet donations grew by 71 percent in 2004, totaling some $2 billion (Verisign 2005).
- *A more impersonal donor-cause relationship.* The act of donating over the Internet allowed for the elimination of a personal link between CSO and donor. The Internet, while facilitating access for people with no direct contact with the organizations or causes they promote, has also permitted that the interaction is done without generating personal links that must be maintained later.
- *Changing interests to choose causes to support*. With all the media bombardment, the interest of citizens closely follows what is reported; this creates a propensity on the part of the donor to change the guidelines for channeling their aid. This new form of participation is more volatile and does not have the same attachment to cause or organization common to the traditional methods.

Recent empirical evidence supports the idea that an increasing number of people donate money as their only form of participation, donating to different causes that they

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choose year after year without involving themselves much with those that promote them (Alliance Roundtable 2004).

According to these new participation parameters, a "market" of donations started to function with rules similar to those of other consumer markets. This means that the donations act like one more "product" that citizens "buy" year after year and that, as such, will need to satisfy certain personal necessities. The arrival of the Internet has much more to do with these paradigm changes and support something more: narrowing the gap between citizens of different cultures and countries by globalizing supply and demand.

It is for this reason that we can now speak of a "global market for donations," where those who solicit along with those who donate can find each other and conduct their transactions on the Internet.

If these are in fact the characteristics of the new participation paradigm, new opportunities are open to our CSOs. In this virtual market, potential donors around the world are only a click away from all the CSOs with Internet presence. This is creating a market without economic barriers, open so that our CSOs can benefit and participate. Another positive aspect is that Internet donations equalize the opportunities for large and small CSOs, making them equally accessible through fundraising campaigns (Boyce 2005). However, to be successful in this global market, it is necessary to overcome some important obstacles and consider new challenges analyzed in detail below. The following case study illustrates some of these opportunities and challenges with more clarity.

Case Study: Lessons Learned from the Tsunami on Opportunities and Challenges in the Global Donation Market

The tsunami that inundated the coasts of the Indian Ocean on December 26, 2004, is a recent example that measures the capacity of a global population to show solidarity and respond to tragedy. It was a disaster that received wide media coverage and highly emotional publicity, and which generated responses from individual donors never seen before. However, not all the lessons learned from this case are positive.

Lesson 1: The potential of individual donors is very important. In the thirty days following the disaster, a true tsunami of individual donations was generated in the developed world. The United Kingdom's Disaster Emergency Committee[8] (DEC) entered the *Guinness Book of World Records* because in the first 24 hours following the disaster, it received the largest amount of donations ever recorded in such a short time: 166,936 donations totaling £10,676,836 (some $20.3 million). The DEC continued breaking records and would ultimately collect more than £250 million by the end of January 2005.

[8] An alliance of leading CSOs, mass media outlets and the public sector.

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In the United States, a similar outpouring occurred and a large number of individual donations were generated that by the end of January 2005 reached about $540,000,000.

This deluge of donations was so quick and heavy that it shamed the same governments that had originally offered considerably lower amounts of aid that seemed ridiculous compared to the amount of individual donations. Governments had no choice but to increase their pledges and better accompany the will expressed by their own citizens.

This misfortune opened the eyes of many people to the enormous latent capacity of citizens in rich countries and how many people would be really inclined to donate money when the cause is just, regardless of how geographically distant it may be.

Lesson 2: Donations via the Internet are a key vehicle, but to take full advantage of them, it is important to be prepared. Until the tsunami occurred, little was said about the ability to collect donations through the Internet. In the United States, it is estimated that 65 percent of the donations were via the Internet, reaching some $350,000,000 by the end of January. In the UK, they were the second channel for donations. The DEC asked people to make donations on the Internet since they were much easier to process and allowed the money to arrive much faster to the institutions.

Internet donations had more to do with the incredible speed of people's response that lessened the pressure on traditional mechanisms (telephone donations, etc.) which had become quickly saturated. In the first days after the tsunami, various organizations reported receiving Internet donations that ranged from $2 to $10 million a day.

To compensate for the lack of preparation by the principal international aid organizations to receive Internet donations, they formed spontaneous alliances with emblematic Internet companies. The Internet companies provided the credibility that users had in the seriousness of their procedures to deliver online transactions and the installed capacity to manage a large volume of transactions. In this way, the alliance between the Red Cross of the United States and Amazon.com channeled more than $15 million in less than a month and equally surprising amounts were mobilized via alliances between UNICEF and PayPal, and Oxfam-U.S.A. and eBay.

Internet donations also added a great number of new donors who until then were not on the mailing lists of the receiving institutions. This flow of new donors almost doubled the existing lists. However, in the majority of cases, the new "virtual" donors preferred to opt out—requesting they not be contacted to receive information about other causes in the future.

Lesson 3: Credibility of the recipient is the key factor in donations made on the Internet. This enormous volume of individual donations via the Internet was channeled towards the most well-known and respected institutions by citizens in those countries—even though it was not clear that the institutions were able to operate in the countries where the disaster

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occurred. In many cases, users followed the recommendations or selections made by Internet companies[9] to select the CSOs to receive their donations. The International Red Cross was perhaps the group that received the most funds and as expected UNICEF, Save the Children, CARE, Oxfam, Doctors without Borders, Action Aid and Christian Aid were among those that received substantial donations.

Of the funds received through the Internet from the developed world, almost none were directed to organizations in the affected countries. Among the factors that surely influenced this result are: i) lack of knowledge about their existence (for this international community, CSOs that are not on the Internet "do not exist"); ii) lack of references about their work by international media (although some had a presence on the Internet, no one promoted their existence); and iii) lack of confidence in their capacity and honesty (even if individuals found their sites, users had no guarantees they were credible institutions).

Lesson 4: The globalization of aid still faces great challenges. The negative side of this great experience is that despite the fact that the funds raised were more than sufficient to seriously mitigate the problems, most of the money ended up in banks and was not always spent using good judgment or in a responsible way.

A recent BBC investigation[10] found that two years after the tragedy, more than half of the $6.7 billion received for international aid still has yet to be spent and remains in banks while a large part of the affected population continues living in tents. The data were obtained and are available through the UN Development Programme.[11] This report shows that the International Red Cross, which received close to $2.2 billion, still has not spent $1.3 billion and that of the 50,000 promised houses, they only finished 8,000 in two years.

The question that many ask after this episode is: to whom are CSOs accountable when they do not fulfill their promises? Accountability is of fundamental importance and will be revisited below.

Those who defend the results argue that the slow responses stemmed from precautions they took to guarantee responsible use of the resources. However, this did not always occur. A survey done by Oxfam six months after the tsunami denounced the fact that aid funds were given first to the richest and to companies, leaving out the poorest and accentuating the division between rich and poor in those countries. The great majority of those who still live in tents are the poorest people, a situation that surely would not be tolerated in the developed world.

In the case of the tsunami, the trickle down that had to occur for donations to reach the poorest proved to be inefficient. Gareth Thomas, Minister of the Department

[9] Especially Amazon, PayPal and eBay.

[10] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/newsnight/6193737.stm

[11] http://tsunamitracking.org/undprcb

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for International Development in the UK, pointed out that in later disasters, such as the earthquake in Pakistan, better results were obtained by working with governments and local CSOs.

The governments of developed countries did not play a better role. According to the same UN data, Spain had promised to contribute $60 million and only delivered $1 million; France promised $79 million and delivered a little over $1 million; China promised much more ($301 million), but also delivered around $1 million; and the United States pledged more than $400 million and delivered less than $70 million.

These disgraceful results resulted principally from the lack of confidence that individual donors and the governments in rich countries had in the CSOs and national and local governments of the poor countries.

In this section, we have illustrated three manifestations of globalization that define what is needed to achieve a favorable framework that strengthens the participation and support of citizens around the world towards our CSOs:

- A new civic consciousness is forming in the world that calls for a reduction in the disparities in global wealth, the protection of environmental sustainability and human rights;
- The old paradigm of citizen participation in developed countries is in crisis and is being replaced by more impersonal forms that eliminate the necessity for human contact; and
- Finally, it is creating a global market for donations that utilizes the Internet as a vehicle, and that, in principle, places our CSOs on the same level of accessibility as all the others.

The tsunami is a concrete example of an assertion made previously: given a concrete situation, a catalyzing element, wide media coverage and an easy method of participation, this new civic consciousness can materialize to mobilize a great volume of resources. It also showed that the numbers of citizens who do not participate in traditional donor systems equals the number of traditional donors on organizations' mailing lists. Their participation was a distinct act: almost all the new donors asked to not be contacted in the future.

The case study also demonstrates important weaknesses in the current system that need to be taken into account. The lack of confidence generated serious problems in carrying out the aid operation, and the participation of CSOs in the affected countries was scarce. Time will be needed to be able to evaluate the negative effects that this episode had on the confidence of the citizens who participated and donated funds. But the subject of accountability and the lack of confidence in our organizations and institutions is something very important and will be carefully studied further on.

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Emigrants: A Part of Our Social Capital in the Transnational Economy

The process of "globalization from below" can be seen from a different perspective. Since the phenomenon of transnational migrations has increased exponentially, an interesting approach is to analyze globalization in the context of diasporas (Radcliffe 2002).

An enormous interest recently emerged in the study of transnational remittances; in particular those sent by citizens of our region that live all over the world. The Inter-American Development Bank's Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF) has led the preparation of studies and documentation of this reality that is usually described as a process of "discovering remittances." With flows that exceeded $45 billion in transfers to Latin America from emigrant workers in 2006, it is not strange that this phenomenon has provoked attention.

Behind the impressive mounts of remittances there is an important social phenomenon: the labor market is also rapidly globalizing. The money that travels towards the South comes from workers that travel to the North in ever-increasing numbers.

One of the most important aspects that remittances confirm is that those who emigrate to the North maintain relationships with their families and countries of origin, at least for a time. Despite their separation, they act as if they were "virtual relatives" and "virtual citizens" of their own countries. These migratory processes are different from other historic ones and can generate interesting opportunities to accelerate the economic and social development of our countries.

As our societies "virtualize," it is necessary to think about a paradigm shift for citizen participation in our CSOs by adding the transnational dimension. We need to explore the variables that govern this new reality and search for answers to the following questions:

How can societies that have large numbers of citizens living permanently or temporarily in other countries promote citizen participation?

Is it possible to take advantage of this important component of the countries' social capital to foster social development, equity and the capacity of CSOs in Latin America?

These topics should be the subject of research that has yet to be carried out and is beyond the capacity of this study. In the following section, some experiences are cited that might orient the search for answers.

Social Capital in the Transnational Economy and Diaspora Philanthropy

Our societies still do not think about their emigrants as part of their social capital; nevertheless, they constitute a great asset that has been very seldom utilized. Multiple definitions of the concept of social capital have been proposed (Putnam 2000) and for the argument

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posed here, it is important to rescue the following nuances related to the best known definitions:[12]

- It is the degree of collaboration and cooperation that a community or society achieves (through mechanisms such as networks, shared trust, norms and values) to obtain mutual benefits.
- It is the value of social networks that people can build to resolve common problems. The benefits of social capital flow from the trust, reciprocity, information and cooperation associated with social networks.
- It is the attitude, spirit and will of the people to commit themselves to collective and civic activities. Social capital, or what would be called social infrastructure, is constructed over time and is a key element for social growth.
- It represents the degree of social cohesion that exists in communities. It refers to the processes among people that establish networks, norms and social credibility and facilitate cooperation and coordination for mutual benefit.

In our "virtual" societies where large communities of emigrants start living abroad, they make up a strategic portion of our countries' social capital. Some examples show what can happen when this social capital is activated and begins to work for the country.

A common error of our societies is to completely ignore what the community of emigrants might be interested in supporting. In the best of cases, societies value emigrants as possible markets to which they can sell products or from which they can solicit philanthropic donations.

In reality, we can do much more than simply ask them for money. Our emigrants can shed light on the values of our social causes with citizens of the countries where they reside, and generate the confidence, cooperative will and solidarity that are required to attain their support. Our emigrants can mobilize themselves and work in various areas: in their communities, companies, including at the political level, and raise the awareness of other people that would mobilize the resources that are always needed.

More than donors, they could be better seen as potential ambassadors, promoters or activists of our social causes in the developed world. The greatest impact on our societies would be obtained by "reincorporating them" into the national social capital and transforming them, despite the distance, into active participants in their communities.

In general, a large number of our emigrants respond positively when they are appropriately called to participate. This participation provides them the opportunity to feel useful, recognized and close to their countries and communities of origin. These assertions

[12] For more information, see the compilation by Bala Pillai APIC Mind Colonies/Halls Without Walls Sydney, Australia at www.linkedin.com/in/balapillai. Also see Putnam (2000).

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are based on the experience of the author who spent five years as the director of one of the principal Internet media companies in Uruguay, where he had the chance to work with a community of about 100,000 Uruguayans residing in 75 countries.

In the case of Uruguayan emigrants, the few times they were called on to help, they responded beyond expectations and demonstrated that a principal reason there is not more participation is that it has not been called for, and that there are not adequate channels to funnel it. In the analysis of other experiences revealed by this study and summarized later,[13] the comportment and motivations of these emigrants were very similar and permit the justification of these general observations.

The social and cultural value that would be added by working in this way is formidable[14] since activating this share of social capital would create a social infrastructure with virtual components. It would also create direct contact between the national and international realities.

Interaction with citizens who live abroad can add much value by providing ideas, concepts, practices and principles to modernize the modes of thought and of work of those remaining in the countries of origin. In their destination countries, the emigrants are exposed to campaigns, communication styles and other successful practices that "developed" CSOs use to pursue similar ends.

The knowledge of that "know how" is very valuable and would permit that our CSOs adjusted their strategies according to the most recognized practices in the destination countries, saving much time and effort. On the other hand, that knowledge is also of great utility to modernize the practices that CSOs use in their own countries and bring them up to date with ideas for innovative ways to work.

Following are some examples that will allow us to better envision the range of these assertions and will provide some interesting ideas.

A Traditional Example: Home Town Associations in the United States

Emigrant clubs and home town associations (HTAs) are organizations formed by emigrants seeking to support their countries of origin, maintain relationships with their local communities and retain a sense of community upon emigrating (Orozco 2003).

This is a phenomenon that has been studied frequently in the United States and that seems to be very closely linked to the migratory behavior of populations from rural and poor origins. In Mexico for example, the movement began in communities like Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán and Oaxaca, some of the poorest in the country with a pronounced rural population (World Bank 2002).

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[13] Home town associations, Conexión Colombia, Brazil Foundation.

[14] See Kliksberg (2005).

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The case of HTAs is an example of how poor populations can also develop a strong transnational philanthropic culture, behavior that is usually associated only with populations with many resources. The commitment to their country and communities of origin is more widespread with them than among emigrants integrated into the middle and high classes. HTAs show that, when well coordinated, this social capital can be converted into an important source of development for the countries of origin.

Various studies document the work of HTAs of Salvadorans, Dominicans and Mexicans in the United States, Haitians in Montreal and Ecuadorians in Spain.[15]

In general, HTAs focus initially on financing projects of infrastructure development, generally related to education and health (construction or renovation of schools and hospitals), road infrastructure, electricity and other investments typically covered by the public sector.

The changes emigrants produce in their cities of origin are so clearly visible that it is argued that differences between the well-being of families that receive remittances and those that do not are notable (Portes 1997). A similar situation occurs in municipalities that receive collective remittances from HTAs and those that do not. The municipalities with HTAs that support them usually have electricity, good roads, and relatively well maintained schools and health clinics. Even their soccer teams are well equipped and the fields where they play are well cared for and maintained.

Apart from strengthening the investment in infrastructure, more recently HTAs have begun acting as agents of economic development. There are interesting cases of economic development promotion launched by HTAs.

As examples, one can cite the "My Community" program in Guanajuato, Mexico where HTA savings are used to give incentive for development of small and medium business. In the case of emigrants from Otavalo, Ecuador, they developed a channel for sales and distribution of indigenous products in Europe that are manufactured in the country. In the Dominican Republic, seed capital from HTAs finances the development of small and medium-sized businesses that are simultaneously assisted by commercial support for their exports in the United States (Portes 1997).

We cannot offer here a detailed analysis of all those activities, but these examples show that when communities of emigrants organize themselves in a traditional way and remain attached to their countries, interesting things can happen (García Zamora 2000). It is also worth emphasizing that in the great majority of these cases the processes happen spontaneously and are not induced by government action.

The state has followed behind these processes and it has become fashionable to invent incentives to obtain the support of "distant brothers"—as emigrants are called in

[15] See, for example: Alarcón (2000) and Goldring (2003).

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El Salvador. There, the state is experimenting with various schemes to promote public-private co-investment, so far with mixed results.

An example is the 3-for-1 system that originated in the state of Zacatecas, Mexico, where federal and local authorities provide three dollars for every dollar donated from abroad. The IDB, through the MIF, is driving development of incentives that channel the savings capacity of emigrants and promote productive investment, construction of housing, microcredit and other purposes.

Case Study: "Conexión Colombia" a Nontraditional Model of Transnational Philanthropy

Conexión Colombia was launched in December 2003 as an initiative of the magazine *Semana* (the most widely read magazine in Colombia), Caracol Television, Caracol Radio, DHL, Visa, Leo Burnett, the World Trade Organization and Compartamos Colombia. The initiative was conceived as a business alliance with the support of the public sector and has two main objectives:

- To be an efficient and transparent channel to receive money, time and in-kind donations for nonprofit entities that help thousands of Colombians in need of scarce resources.
- To provide emotive, useful and current information so that Colombians abroad stay in contact with the country.

This is a pioneering organization in this field and since its creation has channeled approximately $3 million to the country, not solely from those born in Colombia. The Connection aid has never focused solely on assistance, and has provided support for health centers, schools, assistance for foster children, food, health care, employment for displaced populations and labor projects. Donors from 50 countries have participated.

From this initiative, the following strengths should be highlighted:

Strength 1: Strong association with media assures a connection with emigrants. Conexión Colombia truly began as a segment in *Semana* that generated much interest on the part of Colombians living abroad, a population estimated at around 4 million. To Claudia Garcia, the person responsible for the segment and later founder of *Conexión Colombia*, this "connection" with Colombians living abroad seemed able to mobilize resources for social causes in the country.

Business support for this initiative is impressive. Today the *Conexión* brings together some of the most prestigious media outlets of the country— *Semana*, Caracol Television, Caracol Radio, W Radio and El Tiempo Editorial House. Other key businesses also partici-

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pate in publicizing the initiative, such as the Leo Burnett publicity agency, VISA and DHL. This kind of alliance automatically provides an exceptional platform that has gained the attention of the emigrant population, and moreover, given their activities a foundation of trust, which is very important when working with these communities.

Strength 2: The concern for transparency and the selection of causes to support. One of the key characteristics of this initiative is that it channels resources and connects individuals to social causes. Initially, it focuses on localities affected by natural disasters, where the gravity of the occurrences in part compensated for any credibility problems of the CSOs that handle the resources. When it decided to work with other at-risk populations, the group had to develop ways of generating trust in the CSOs selected to run the projects.

The answer of *Conexión* to this problem is unique, and one of the best that has been put into practice so far. It created a parallel initiative called *Compartamos Colombia* (Let's Share Colombia), another nonprofit organization, to strengthen and follow up with the organizations supported by *Conexión Colombia* so the groups will have good management practices and high impact. This organization adopts the CSOs supported by *Conexión Colombia* and gives them advice as part of a capacity building process that lasts several years.

Compartamos Colombia was created with the support and backing of national and international firms like Citibank, Deloitte & Touche, JP Morgan Chase, IBM, Parra, Rodríguez & Cavelier, Corporate Strategies and McKinsey & Co. Its principal objectives are to: i) offer institutional support to a specific group of nonprofit organizations; ii) increase the flow of private donations from abroad to Colombia; iii) serve as an example so that businessmen and young executives acquire a larger social commitment to Colombia; and iv) to give advice on the design and implementation of corporate social responsibility and family philanthropic strategies.

In this manner, the confidence problems were transformed into a strength of the initiative and another positive result of its actions. Today, "*Compartamos*" has 21 CSOs in its institutional strengthening program, all with a high social impact in the country, that have dedicated themselves to working in the areas of children, education, health, nutrition, in addition to subjects related to the armed conflict of which the country is a continuing victim.

To make the donation process even more transparent, *Conexión* assures donors that the foundations receiving support will complete a financial report detailing all donations received. Price Waterhouse Coopers, an internationally recognized auditing firm, carries out an annual review of each of the CSOs. *Conexión* periodically publishes updates about the projects, since those who donate not only are able to select the CSO, but the project as well.

Despite all this, the process of creating trust was not automatic. According to the people that work at *Conexión*, the first three years of the institution were invested almost exclusively to consolidate trust and position the institution in the community of emigrants.

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Strength 3: The organization of emigrants abroad. Apart from accepting financial donations and in-kind gifts, *Conexión* offers various schemes so that people who want to participate and work from abroad have formats that fit their interests. One of these is the "Time Bank," a program whose mission is to create consciousness and generate a space for citizen participation and social responsibility, through the contribution of time to help others and search for solutions for the country.

The Time Bank defines possible activities for those that can contribute and facilitates the meeting of those who have time to donate to the community and the CSOs that work on a daily basis with vulnerable populations, advancing projects and obtaining resources. On *Conexión's* Web site, one can consult the list of people who offer their time, the majority of whom are Colombians living abroad.[16]

The results are quite impressive: today they have more than 7,500 volunteers; 703 entities that need volunteers have taken advantage of an average of 25,200 hours monthly, which covers close to 50% of the demand and has benefited more than 300,000 people with the support of time volunteered.

Giving Circles are groups of Colombians that from their new homes pledge to work as volunteers for Conexión and organize themselves to promote projects and initiatives. The Giving Circles have created initiatives such as: *Manhattan Commitment, Madrid Commitment and Mexico Commitment.*

Manhattan Commitment, created in 2005, started with a group of Colombians residing in New York City that donated $100 every month for a year to finance the construction and equipping of a playground in the historic municipality of Bello and to start the functioning of a medical center in Cartagena. Since then, those that work in this city have developed more elaborate mechanisms to mobilize resources, promoting matching funds and specific pledges from businesses. One of them is Citibank, which donates $1 for every $1 that its employees donate to the Manhattan Commitment fundraising campaigns.

In all the cases, it is worth noting that the distinct Giving Circles define tangible and realistic goals that can be verified and are attainable for the campaigns they mount. This serves to motivate those who donate and those who work to raise funds, but it is also important when it comes time to show the results of their work. Mexican Commitment created a program to adopt children of the Bare Feet Foundation, which has provided 120 children in Quibidó, Chocó access to education and proper nutrition. The first project of Madrid Commitment will train and find work for 180 displaced youth of the Don Bosco Foundation in Cali.

Strength 4: The flexibility to mobilize resources. Another one of the strengths that is worth highlighting is the capacity they developed to facilitate the donation of resources, especially in-kind donations.

[16] http://www.conexion-colombia.com/donaciones/tiempo/listaproyectos2.jsp

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Through its program *Colombia Unites Us*, they have established a strategic alliance with the Presidential Agency for Social Action and International Aid, Social Action and the Ministry of External Relations to facilitate the process of in-kind donations in Colombia and from abroad. This is also backed by an agreement with DHL through which the company donates the cost of all of Conexión's shipments.

The development of in-kind donations proved to be an important source of resources; in three years, Conexión has garnered more than $1,500,000 in donations of this kind. This includes products such as: food; shoes and clothing; medicines; sheets, blankets and other household instruments; temporary shelters and mattresses; school supplies; books; cleaning supplies; fabric and tailoring supplies; furniture and belongings; small electronics; computers and audiovisual equipment.

It is important that this process that could be very complex is very well organized. To order and facilitate the transaction process for these types of donations, a Guide for In-Kind Donations was elaborated,[17] which details the procedures so that donations arrive at their final destination.

The case of *Conexión Colombia* is not a panacea, nor is it the only one of its kind that exists. For those interested in these types of actions, it is recommended they also review the work of the Brazil Foundation.[18] With headquarters in New York and Rio de Janeiro, this group performs the dual tasks of fundraising and project evaluation. It organizes benefit events and fundraising actions of all types; in its five years of existence it has transferred more than $2.4 million. The model of this foundation is somewhat different from the previous one and it works in five select areas: education, health, human rights, citizenship and culture.

There are examples of similar initiatives being implemented that could be analyzed (Ecuador and Mexico); especially interesting are those that have failed or that have not reached their expectations (Argentina). There are also examples of excellence from other regions, such as GiveIndia.com.

From all these experiences of trial and error that are occurring in the world, there are some important lessons that can and will be analyzed in the following section.

Some Ideas to Promote Transnational Participation

Next we examine some critical factors for success and other ideas that can help with the analysis of the routes worth trying to promote transnational participation in the CSOs of our region. These critical factors of success arise from an analysis of the successful and failed experiences and also from other initiatives that are being set in motion.

[17] http://www.conexion-colombia.com/donaciones/especie/index.jsp

[18] http://www.brazilfoundation.org/en/html/chronology.html

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CSO Legitimacy and the Credibility Dilemma

CSOs of our region must confront their credibility challenge to be able to participate in the globalized donation market.

CSOs need to be able to successfully communicate aspects of their operations, confirming their transparency, representation and accountability. This is not only for our CSOs, but rather it is part of a more general problem internationally. It is necessary to return to the same question discussed in the example of the tsunami: who holds international organizations accountable when they fail to deliver on a promise?

There are those who assert[19] that the whole of civil society as a force for good in the world has reached a point where its noble ambitions will depend on its capacity to improve its accountability practices. Questions about the legitimacy of CSOs are no longer commonplace. Such criticisms are usually only heard from political leaders and occasionally from prominent voices in global institutions. For many, CSOs reflect foreign interests or simply the interests of a few agitators.

It is usually asserted that, in the best of cases, these organizations—in contrast with governments that have to respond to the electorate and businesses that have to respond to their shareholders—are self-appointed "do gooders" that are not accountable to anyone other than themselves and when they are held accountable, it is always "from the top" (by those that provide financing) and not "from below" (by those who they supposedly serve).

Those who promote this type of criticism have now minted a large family of pejorative acronyms for NGOs, such as: BONGOs (business-organized NGOs), PONGOs (politically organized NGOs), BRINGOs (Briefcase NGOs), DONGOs (donor-organized NGOs), GONGOs (government-organized NGOs), MONGOs (My own NGO) and RONGOs (royally organized NGOs).[20]

At the World Economic Forum in 2002, the then-Director General of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Mike Moore, declared that the WTO was interested in explaining to civil society groups that the WTO operates in a transparent manner, is held accountable and that members were elected by a defined constituency. A short time later, while speaking at the World Bank, the president of CIVICUS Kumi Naidoo used this reference, and noted that if the WTO applied those same criteria to its member countries, the membership of the organization would be considerably smaller.

It is not an easy problem to solve. In reality, CSOs have to respond to a wide range of stakeholders that include program beneficiaries, donors and social investors, their boards

[19] See Keystone: "Accountabilty for Social Change" at www.accountability.org.uk.

[20] For further information about this argument, I recommend reading the excellent "Presidential Lecture" by the CEO of CIVICUS, Kumi Naidoo, given at the World Bank, February 2003.

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of directors and staff, governments, international agencies, companies and society as a whole. Despite being organizations created to do good (at least those that do try to do that), to do things well, they have to be more transparent and credible than governments and businesses.

Returning to the initial question, our CSOs are not divorced from this seemingly imminent debate. What is more, they have additional difficulties to overcome. In addition to those already mentioned, our CSOs must deal with a lack of confidence generated by the simple fact that they come from a less developed country where such practices are not recognized. This obliges them to carry an additional stigma derived from their origin and not their action.

Many of these problems would be eased if civil society defined and created systems and international standards for results reporting and accountability. Around the world, a number of initiatives[21] to do just that are in progress. Since the "Keystone Initiative," it is affirmed that despite the great diversity of organizations that make up the civil society universe, it is possible to advance the development of internationally comparable standards and norms for communicating the results and consequences of the work of CSOs. Those that promote this idea believe that by creating a virtuous circle where citizen organizations improve their performance, and effectively communicate their work, they therefore increase the quantity and quality of investment received.[22]

The organizations promoting this idea declare that an international reporting standard for CSOs will permit the comparison of the performance of social investment and will finally allow for the development of a global donation market (Litovsky 2005). This initiative comes from a number of very important CSOs that range from capital investors for social projects, donation portals, banks, donor assistants, philanthropic researchers, standards certification and others.

This will not be a simple problem to solve and perhaps there is no solution available in the short term. In the meantime, some success will be possible by generating "confidence chains" such as the ones mentioned in the previous and following examples. Donation portals like Global Giving or Network for Good exist because they have that added value.

The generation of trust should be a strategic objective of organizations. It is a job that consumes resources and that should be done with a strategic vision for the medium and long term since its results can be modest in the beginning.

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[21] The following resources are recommended for those with interest in this subject: "Keystone" available at www.accountability.org.uk; Social Enterprise Ethics Initiative (NESsT); CIVICUS-Hauser Center on Nonprofits (Harvard) joint project – "Civil Society Legitimacy, Transparency, and Accountability"; Global Equity Initiative, Harvard University; and "The 21st Century NGO: In the Market for Change," UN Global Compact, Sustainability Study.

[22] See Keystone, "The Bosberaad Report," available at www.accountability.org.uk.

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The Role of the Media

Another critical factor is the new role the media plays in the process of globalization, especially those outlets with Internet presence, and their possible support of social causes.

The arrival of the Internet has allowed the globalization of media coverage, regardless of how local it is. An emigrant from the city of Paysandú, Uruguay (population of 100,000), can read the *El Telégrafo* newspaper from his birthplace free on the Internet wherever he is living. In this way, he can stay as informed about local crime, social and political news as are those who live in the city. This site also connects him to local radio and television channels and gives him access to all types of social linkages, such as, for example, the emigrant association of Lombardía in Paysandú.

Living in any part of the world with an Internet connection, one can always be up to date on almost everything that takes place in one's birthplace, no matter how small it may be. However, it is interesting to analyze this phenomenon from the opposite point of view: in the Internet age, the media act like a magnet for the communities that live elsewhere in the world. Internet media outlets act like the spokes of a bike, attracting citizens from all over the world to converge on a single point.

One media outlet, even though it may be local like *El Telégrafo*, acts as a magnet for the community of citizens interested in Paysandú who live in the most remote places on the planet. The citizens from all over the world who come to its site all have something in common: in this case, a city of origin. If one wanted to communicate with the 30,000 citizens of Paysandú who live in more than 50 countries, all one needs to do is post a message on one of the local Web sites.

The advances in the Internet also widen the traditional concept of "media." The Web site of a soccer team like *Flamengo* or that of a Samba school such as *Mangueira* can be more direct and efficient vehicles for reaching emigrants and lovers of the city of Rio de Janeiro around the world than a traditional and generic outlet such as the Rede Globo.

Nowadays, all organizations with a presence on the Internet that brings together communities of people with common interests are effectively acting as media. Taking this into account, the value added that media can have in connecting social causes with emigrant communities is evident. We are in an era of rethinking communication for development and those in this area are speaking of "global change," where the local and global dimensions meet.[23] *Conexión Colombia* is a good example of this.

It is also interesting to note that this new form of communication to connect with emigrant communities is accessible to our CSOs since it takes the same form and costs as much as local communication. An announcement in the digital version of *El Telégrafo* should cost about the same as one that is published in the local paper version. In this same way, for

[23] For those with interest in this subject, we recommend Hemer and Tufte (2005).

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a CSO in Paysandú, asking for donated space in that newspaper to communicate their cause is natural and accessible. However, this form of communication will allow its campaign to reach a population that would otherwise be inaccessible and a population more sensitive to the CSO's message than an emigrant from a different country.

This is a necessary but not sufficient condition. Communicating the cause does not necessarily guarantee participation.

Media sponsorship of a social cause adds value because it transfers the emigrant's confidence in the media to the cause. This is an important concept to bear in mind: when they choose a news source, people place their confidence in that media outlet. People first have to believe the messenger to be able to accept the message they are saying. When one chooses a media outlet to inform them, it is an implicit act of confidence: they trust the information because of the outlet.

A communication medium adds credibility to whichever social cause is being promoted. This can partially resolve some of the problems of confidence previously mentioned to mobilize communities around our social causes.

The Presence and Presentation of CSOs on the Internet

"*You never get a second chance to make a first impression.*" If this is true in the real world it is especially true on the Web. Virtual visitors on the Internet rarely give sites or communications campaigns a second chance if they do not look good the first time.

In the world today, a company or organization's Web site is its most important visible face and is almost always the first impression. When one hears about a company or organization we do not know, most people immediately search for it on the Internet to see what its site says. It is from this virtual contact that we usually base our first impression of the company or organization. Imagine how important this is when dealing with information that has to cross borders. In such cases, having a Web site and the quality of information published there are of utmost importance.

The poor quality of the majority of CSOs' Web sites in our region leaves them few chances to make a good first impression and be able to connect with transnational communities.

It is understandable that a Web site is only the packaging of a social cause the organization promotes and its quality cannot substitute for the nobility of the aim of the CSO. It is also understandable that a well-designed Web site is not necessarily synonymous with a serious organization. However, the opposite is true: today a poorly designed Web site is generally perceived as an indicator of a poorly managed organization.

When someone navigates a Web site that does not transparently present information "about us" or about the origin of the CSO, it can be interpreted that there is something to hide. If the CSO's systems for collecting donations or coordinating volunteers are bizarre

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or impractical, the visitor can assume the CSO's work methods and solutions also are. When the information presented on the Web site is old and obsolete, one can imagine that the organization also is. If the Web site does not offer the visitor the possibility of reading the main content in English, it may mean that someone in the organization has their back turned to the world.

In the end, the list of negative impressions that one can make through a poorly designed Web site is long. In the great majority of cases, these negative impressions do not reflect reality. They occur because the CSO has not attached enough importance to its Internet image, often because its leaders do not value this vehicle or do not use it themselves. Sometimes the Web sites are constructed by individuals who have had a little experience in Web site publication and, donated their time, and the content has not been updated. The utility of a Web site may not be perceived by the CSO, and therefore no time or money is invested in developing it.

For good or ill, the Web site of a company or CSO is a very potent communication weapon. As a communication tool, a Web site can offer something that no other traditional method can: the possibility of having two-way communication with those who approach it. A Web site allows one to connect with people interested in the promoted cause, who can stay in contact through e-mail no matter where they are, and develop an infinite number of relationships that can be positive for the organization. It is a tool that cannot be substituted to generate communities, connect with diasporas and, moreover, to try to participate in the global donation market.

In defense of our CSOs, the tsunami case study showed how even some of the most important CSOs of the world were surprised and had let their guard down. However, this is no more than an excuse. With the popularization of the technology necessary for Internet publishing and the low costs of Web hosting, any CSO can have a quality Web site at an accessible cost. The part-time volunteer services of a pair of Internet savvy adolescents (of the many there are throughout the world), would be more than sufficient for a CSO to make use of technology, design and put on the air a quality publication.

The obligation of a CSO to create or improve its Web site can be an interesting opportunity for the group to reengineer its communication strategy, and refine and modernize how it presents itself to the rest of society in its country and the world.

Alliances to Generate the Interest of Prospective Donors on a Web Site

Alliances constitute an important tool that CSOs can use to make their way on the Internet, to be recognized in the global donations market and many times to gain the confidence of their own diasporas. Alliances that a CSO has with similar organizations in its country, region or the world add value since they are known vehicles that drive the causes it promotes and are therefore automatic generators of trust.

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When a CSO has the demonstrated capacity to work with other CSOs (national or international), governments (national or local) and companies, this is perceived as an indicator of the quality of management of the organization, of its flexibility to articulate and convince other local forces and those in control that it is trying to fulfill its goals in the best way possible.

In cases where they do exist, these links should be explicitly visible on the CSO's Web site. If it were necessary to preserve its independence, it should publish a statement that clearly explains what its policy is in relation to its alliances with businesses and governments, and how this does not affect the integrity of its actions.

On the Internet, alliances have positive secondary effects and generate other types of benefits. It is a key factor in attracting visitors and generating traffic.

Once developed and published, a Web site needs to have people visit it, lest it remain lost like a drop in the middle of the ocean. The logic of e-business is, in reality, rather simple: the most important factor is the published content, which has to be capable of attracting people, and generating visitor traffic to the site and then once that is achieved, the art of business is to try and transform that traffic into commercial relations with those who visit it.

To make sure the Web site does not stay lost in the ocean of the Internet, the first thing to do is to assure that when someone searches for one of the subjects or key concepts related to the organization, search engines such as Google, Ask or Yahoo always find it and rank it correctly in its results list. For this localization to occur, those who program the Web site must adequately reference the site, saving a series of key words that allow search engines to associate that Web page with those search subjects. A poorly referenced site will not be easily found by the searchers. This is quite a common problem for our CSOs.

Alliances can radically improve the amount of traffic a Web site receives. It is very important that the CSO publishes on some part of its Web site, Internet "links" that help lead the visitor from its site to those of other CSOs, businesses or media partners with which it has developed alliances. It is also important that the CSO requests those partners to do the same: that they publish on some part of their Web sites Internet "links" to their Web site so that visitors to their Web sites can find and visit the CSO when they wish. These links can be text links, logos or banners.

Links generate a very important type of direct traffic. People who arrive from a link from other Web sites do so because they have some type of interest and a minimum of confidence or curiosity in the CSO: they have seen a link to the CSO on a site they know and they decided to visit it. These people have more chances to be interested and may have a greater propensity to support the CSO than other occasional visitors. If only from this point of view, alliances would already justify their relevance.

But there is also another important effect: being more interlinked with other Web sites with more traffic, Web sites become more important for search engines. In other words,

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every time that someone searches for key words, the search engine includes that site in its list of results. But in which place? Being ranked in 1000th place of the results is not the same as being in one of the first places. The higher a Web site is on that list the better, because people tend to only consult a few results of every search.

For that, alliances (at least on the Internet) are also fairly important. The search engines assume that the relevance of a Web site is related to the amount of traffic it generates, among other things. When a site has links with or is linked to from other Web sites that have important traffic, then the search engine assumes this site is also more important and it assigns the site a higher level of importance than it would based solely on the amount of traffic it generates on its own. Therefore, the same site with the same published information will be ranked higher in the search results if it is better linked than if not.

This type of traffic generated by search engines is the best way to attract those unaware of an organization. To achieve that there is nothing the organization needs to do since it depends solely on the interest people have in what the CSO publishes. Search engine traffic also gives the site a sense of relative importance. When one asks for information about a subject and the search engine ranks one site above all the others, people assume that Web site is the best or the most important reference for that particular consultation.

As an example, the reader might try this exercise: search Google for the key words "help for street kids" (in Spanish) and "Mexico." The first site that appears is *"Canica de Oaxaca AC,"* a well-designed site. If one visits the links section of that Web site, there is a list of "Friends of Canica" including links to UNICEF, the Network for Children's Rights, the Quiera Foundation, the Global Fund for Children, Rudolf Steiner, Children for a Better World, Children of Mexico and CEMEFI, all institutions that are highly ranked by search engines.

For a visitor that does not know anything about the organization, visiting the Canica Web site is a satisfactory experience. If my objective had been to find a CSO in Mexico that works with street children with the objective of donating money, the Web site information would have been sufficient to convince me. On the Internet you don't need much more than that and this is an example of how something that is not expensive or extremely sophisticated can perfectly fulfill a CSO's needs. As the reality of the Internet is so changeable, by the time the reader sees this example, the facts may not be the same, but the experiment can be done with any other subject and will probably bring out similar results.

The traditional forms of generating traffic take place outside of the Internet and are complementary and very important to those already analyzed. Web site traffic tends to increase by linkages among the users who visit it and recommend it to others. That can be encouraged, for example, by giving visitors the opportunity to send an article they consider relevant to a friend. That friend is now another person that will get to know the site and today or tomorrow may do the same with another friend and so on.

The speed of diffusion in Internet communities depends on various factors not explored in the current case, but can become amazing. Best of all, this momentum is spontaneously

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generated without anyone looking for it. Once the momentum is generated, traffic increases without the Web site having to do anything different from what it had been doing.

Conclusions

This work does not intend to do more than show the several ways to orient necessary future research to identify best practices, so that the CSOs of our region can encourage transnational citizen participation and participate in the possible global market of donations.

It is recommended that the suggestions here be taken with caution since reality is dynamic and the trends in this field are generated and change at a quick pace. The conclusions that are summarized below have as a purpose to inspire a deeper analysis of a reality that can be very valuable for our region.

From the discussion above, the following can be highlighted, to orient the design of a strategy for promoting participation in the transnational economy:

- The consolidation of a new "global civic consciousness" is a social phenomenon that has not been studied sufficiently. For our region it is important to understand and incorporate it to achieve a positive and fundamental change in this new millennium.
- The traditional paradigm of participation in modern societies is being redefined and is governed by different standards and, as a consequence, the strategies to encourage it are being redefined. This generates important challenges for our CSOs, as well as opportunities to lead the way in this paradigm-changing process.
- These changes could materialize through creation of a globalized market of individual donations accessible through the Internet, especially those from people who live in more developed economies. Those resources could be channeled towards our countries as people have already demonstrated when our causes interest them. In effect, we are only a click away from securing their support.
- Our emigrants constitute a substantial asset of our social capital that has not yet been mobilized and that would allow us to have a non-virtual way to promote our social causes in more developed countries. Their reconnection with and participation in our CSOs would generate all manner of positive effects. To achieve this, our CSOs need to create new bridges and strategies.
- The lack of knowledge and confidence are large barriers that our CSOs must confront to be able to gain recognition outside of their borders. This holds true not only for prospective donors from other countries, but also for our own diasporas who know much less than we may think about what CSOs do in our countries.
- In the globalized economy, the role of the media is key to mobilizing virtual communities and is much more important than it was historically. The possibility of

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connecting with diasporas around the world depends in large part on the quality of this communication and its effectiveness.

Taking all of these elements into account, the future for our CSOs seems rather optimistic. This is an alternative route and not a substitute for the work already underway that generally produces results in two or three years. The refrain of "do not leave for tomorrow what you can do today" could not be more appropriate for those who have an interest in exploring this route.

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Chapter 13

Citizen Engagement and Democracy in the Age of Social Movements

Arthur Domike

The central challenge of this study has been to describe "the direction which future efforts should take to strengthen people's trust in their government systems and foster the broader engagement of civil society … (and to) provide concrete guidelines for government, civil society and multilateral institutions in fostering and maintaining effective citizen participation in economic and social development projects."[1] We began by asking such questions as, "Why do large numbers of Latin Americans dislike and distrust their governments and their traditional political parties?" and "Are the actions by its organized citizenry helping countries achieve sustainable improvements in citizen engagement and in democratic institutions?" In looking for answers, we asked whether—and how—a citizenry actively organized in local organizations and social movements helped improve the nation's democratic institutions and economic and social development initiatives.

Social and political analysts, including those represented in this volume, may be forgiven if they cannot see over the horizon or around corners. Everyone tends to follow inherited ideas of how political or social organizations work and what causes them to move in this or that direction. Institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank have devoted major efforts to better understand, and come to an appropriate accommodation with, civil society in its various forms.[2] Nevertheless, what has emerged from the present study is not what the inherited ideas might have led us to expect. We found what may be a better way of answering the questions, based on the ways that social movements, NGOs and community-based citizen groups, such as those investigated here, have shown themselves to be critical to the political processes in the region.

A pundit once remarked that "opinion polls measure what people think before they've had a chance to think about it." Clearly, the social movements and citizen groups

[1] Grant document of the Inter-American Development Bank to the Fundação Grupo Esquel Brasil, October 2005.

[2] See, for examples, the IDB Web site http://www.iadb.org/sds/SCS/site_1461_e.htm and http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTPCENG0,,contentMDK:20507670~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:410306,00.html for the IBRD.

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studied here reflect considerable thought by the participating citizens about their interests and about their governments. However, the CSO phenomenon has been "flying below the radar,"[3] lacking the same close study and news coverage that politicians and opinion surveys receive. In our view, fuller knowledge of the citizen movements will lead to a better understanding of how democracy in the region is evolving and also provide useful answers to our key questions.

Emergence of Latin American Civil Society Organizations

Tilly (2002:140) found that "democratization in itself promotes social movements," so that "by the turn of the twenty-first century, people all over the world recognized the term 'social movement' as a trumpet call, as a counterweight to oppressive power, as a summons to popular action against a wide range of scourges." Nonetheless, their relatively recent emergence as an important force in the region requires further explanation. The surge of such movements and the decline in support for most traditional political parties has elicited the following rationales:[4]

- *Disillusionment* of both the political Left and Right, with "statism"—that is, loss of belief that government should or could be the main instrument for designing and implementing solutions to profound economic and social problems.
- *Political-psychological trauma* of citizenry and their leaders, induced by long periods of authoritarian governments which failed to respond to citizen demands, and suppressed collective citizen activities.
- *Failure of traditional political parties* to give adequate attention to the adverse impacts of changes in government policies that abandoned "safety nets" protecting lower income groups against unemployment, hunger and lack of basic health care.
- *Demonstration effect*—and logistical support—from successful social movements in the United States and Europe advocating improvements in human rights, women's causes, and the environment.
- *Media, Internet, and instant communications* helped citizens to develop common bonds, organize and become important in political debates and decision making.

It is likely that all the reasons listed carry some validity. Latin America has known mass movements before, mostly organized by students, peasant and urbanized labor groups.[5] But

[3] As noted in Chapter 1, support for "civil society" as an important political and social force comes from both the political Left (the World Social Forum) and Right (the Cato Institute).

[4] See the essays on the region's postdictatorship political transitions in Garretón and Newman (2001), Eckstein (2001), and Escobar and Alvarez (1992).

[5] See Eckstein, "Power and Popular Protest in Latin America," in Eckstein (2001).

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the defeat of the dictators and the liberation from political repression gave birth to most of today's most important civil society organizations. There was broad rejection of the dictators' restraints on democratic practices, and this contributed to an increase in already nascent distrust of governments. In most countries of the region, civil society and its movements were the dominant protagonists in the battle against the dictators, and many of these same protesters continue to be politically active, in and out of government. The studies reported in this volume confirm their contributions to re-creating democracies.

The need to improve understanding of civil society and social movements was on the agenda of the 2001 Latin American Presidential Summit meetings in Quebec, Canada. On that occasion, the IDB (2001:19) offered the following appraisal of the situation:

> The modernization of the state and the consolidation of democratic governance require a complementary and reciprocal process of strengthening civil society. An efficient democratic State cannot exist where civil society is weak. The Bank promotes a vision of civil society that encompasses both the citizen organizations based on common interests, as well as the dimension of citizenry that ensures that all citizens enjoy dignified socio-economic opportunities as well as the effective exercise of their political rights.

Our views respecting the increasing relevance of social movements in the region are also echoed in the IDB's *Economic and Social Progress* report (2006:112):

> The past decade has witnessed a dramatic increase in the power of social movements in Latin America, significant not only in terms of their number but also in terms of its political impact. Democracy has made possible a broad exercise of rights and freedoms of expression, assembly, and demonstration. Drawing on these rights and freedoms, social protest has turned into a powerful political instrument, which in some cases has reached a sufficient scale and intensity to lead to the forced resignations or removal of presidents … Given the generally peaceful and self-managed nature of these movements and the support they receive from the media, which help to publicize, legitimate, and amplify them, social movements have become complex and influential political actors. Social demonstrations may on occasion become an instrument for effective action by political actors who are well established within the traditional political system.

Broad social movements such as *Diretas Já* in Brazil, the *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* in Argentina, Chile's "Command Que No," and the U.S. civil rights movement, each significantly increased the political engagement of their country's citizenry and strengthened democratic institutions. Can a similar answer be given regarding the other proliferating social

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movements and citizens' organizations in Latin America? And if so, are there offsetting or adverse effects on citizen engagement and democratic institutions of social movements?

A separate but closely related question deals with whether the rise of civil society organizations and movements over the last 30 to 40 years has been effective in "fostering and maintaining effective citizen participation in economic and social development projects."[6]

In the following pages, an effort is made, first, to clarify key definitions, then to examine evidence concerning the democratizing impacts of CSOs, and to look at ways that relationships can be improved between governments and CSOs—particularly the more contentious movements. Attention is given to improving citizen engagement in development projects by promoting conflict resolution techniques that bring together official agencies and CSOs. Finally, reasons are offered to expect greater influence of the CSO community on democratic institutions, and suggestions offered for new lines of action by CSOs.

Social Movements and Interest Groups

Citizens in a democracy have two ways to gain the attention of government to their concerns and to influence public decision making, that is, to be effectively engaged with their government:

- they can join and cast their votes for political parties and their candidates that support their views, and
- they can form or join organizations of like-minded citizens (CSOs) to represent them in the political forum and in public debate on issues they consider important.

Our guiding hypothesis is that democracy is "deepened" through both means, and where citizen engagement is more transparent and participatory in both politics and with CSOs, the more likely that democracy will flourish. It is also likely that efforts to achieve economic and social development will be more effective in such an environment.

Before exploring the impacts of CSOs on democracy, it is useful to restate the important ways that our target civil society organizations differ from conventional "interest groups." The historically important interest groups—business, church, labor, agriculture—use their power to protect and expand their economic and social positions.[7] Most such groups routinely oppose the policies and programs of the new social movements, viewing them as

[6] As seen in Domike (1993) and Domike (1997), there is a long history of civil society organizations working closely with governments and international finance institutions to foster development projects.

[7] In this context, it is clearly relevant that the economic systems in most of Latin America are characterized as "oligarchic" rather than "entrepreneurial" capitalism. See Baumol et al. (2007).

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usurpation of their power. Most members of "political society"[8] are also reluctant to support CSOs and social movements, viewing them as less legitimate competitors for the loyalty of the citizenry: "Who voted for you?" As a result, citizen activists and social movements are often "contentious" with respect to traditional interest groups and political society.[9]

As noted in Chapter 1, we distinguish three categories of civil society organizations that support our target constituencies:[10]

- *Community-based organizations* pursuing specific, locally important economic, political or social objectives (e.g., schools, roads, crime prevention).
- *Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)* which provide research, advocacy and service assistance to the target constituencies, including community groups or social movements concerned with issues such as the environment or women's rights.[11]
- *Social movements*, both regional and national, with social, economic and/or political objectives, often working with the other two types of CSOs, and often using contentious and confrontational tactics.[12] (Most of the present analysis focuses on this type of CSO.)

People form and join social movements, NGOs and community-based organizations seeking to overcome what they perceive to be political, social or economic "wrongs"—for example, to combat dictatorships and deprivation of human rights, power abuse by large landholders, the subordination and maltreatment of the indigenous and of women, wanton waste and pollution of natural resources. Much of the growth in CSOs may be traced to dissatisfaction with the seriousness and effectiveness of the traditional political parties in resolving these "wrongs." Citizen engagement in political activities is intimately linked to the belief both that there is a problem and that working together with others will help find ways to alleviate the problem. The independent citizen organizations are important instruments to oblige governments and others with power to respond effectively to such problems. In sum, the CSOs emerged to gain political leverage with politicians and power elites to overcome perceived wrongs.[13]

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[8] "Political society" encompasses the political parties and their adherents, and the politicians and administrators in power.

[9] See McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001).

[10] The target constituencies are the unrepresented or underrepresented—the rural and urban poor, women, indigenous communities, and minorities with limited effective access to power. For useful descriptions of these groups, see IDB (2005:112–122).

[11] The interest of IDB in utilizing service NGOs to work with Bank-funded projects has a long history. See Domike (1997).

[12] See Tilly (2004).

[13] CSO efforts to right wrongs were evident, for example, at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). One of the preparatory conferences—the International Conference on Impacts of

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Two Approaches to Improving Citizen Engagement

There are two distinct but complementary approaches to improving the ability and willingness of citizens to become more engaged with their governments:

1. Educate the citizens on the way government works (or should work), and/or
2. Make the political system more responsive to citizens' needs.

Respecting the first alternative, CSOs and interest groups of all political persuasions routinely encourage their adherents to better understand the political environment in order to more effectively engage in political campaigns, be active advocates and take leadership roles in their communities.[14] CSOs also help foster democratic values by educating both adherents and government functionaries in civic values, providing information about issues and political figures, and building understanding of government mechanisms and the importance of citizen participation. Formal civics training in high school is also encouraged to the same ends (Torney-Purta and Amadeo 2004). The intention of all these efforts is to help create a more informed citizenry, able and willing to participate productively in public affairs in or out of government.

Ruth Cardoso (1992:291) correctly calls this type of civics education of the citizenry a "conservative" approach to promoting democratic values. This characterization is most appropriate where the teaching of civics fails to place sufficient emphasis on the need for citizens to be continually engaged in the democratic process, to give attention to what can go wrong, to look for ways to continuously improve the process. Civics classes often fail to inculcate students with the view that political figures are public "servants," accountable to the citizens, rather than remote "leaders." Civics lessons need to recognize that simply changing procedures or rules does not resolve problems with a political system that may run deeper. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" is more than an empty slogan. A corollary might be Murphy's Law: "That which can go wrong, will go wrong."[15]

Civic education for government officials is also clearly needed, particularly in this age of social movements.[16] One obvious step would be the creation and teaching of action

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Climatic Variations and Sustainable Development in the Semi-arid Regions (ICID)—chaired by Ambassador Juan Felipe Yriart, President of Esquel Group Foundation—concluded that "efforts to redress the present impoverished situation must be based on rigorous research and study …[but] *these efforts will not reach their objectives if civil society and 'grass roots' movements are not involved in the national and regional decision making process [italics added]*" (Ribot, Magalhães and Panagides 1996).

[14] See, particularly, Aguayo on Mexico's Political Action movement (Chapter 4), Kleymeyer on the Andean Indigenous (Chapter 7), Durston on Rural Poverty (Chapter 6) and Reames on Participatory Budgeting (Chapter 5).

[15] For example, widely heralded improvements in the election rules of Mexico were insufficient to avoid conflict in that country's 2006 elections, as detailed in Chapter 4.

[16] An example of such efforts cited earlier is the joint exercise of the World Bank and World Bank Institute, FLACSO and ASEAN to "retrain" government officials to better work with civil society organizations that seek to alleviate poverty (World Bank 2004).

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guidelines vis-à-vis citizens' organizations by those in government and multilateral institutions. In our view, such training and guidelines—particularly in the procedures for conflict resolution—need to be premised on a sympathetic acceptance of social movements as responsible and legitimate expressions of citizen concerns, and not simply as inconveniences that politicians and civil servants must endure. Civil society organizations would better be treated as partners in development and in building sustainable democracy.

In this context, IDB (2005:3) provides another recommendation that complements those emerging from the present study. Their report argues for a profound change in the relationship of political society with the citizenry. Their study of policymaking shows that technocratic "solutions" to social and economic issues typically favored by politicians are simply not working, and there is a great need for negotiation with the stakeholders, and, above all, for *listening* (p.3). The social movements studied here, as well as the historically important labor, student and peasant movements, should be recognized as representing major stakeholders deserving a place at the policy tables where their views may be heard.

Impact of Social Movements on Democratic Institutions

The new social movements described in this volume have already changed citizen-government relations—and they will continue to grow in importance. That view appears validated by recent elections in the region in which politicians favoring increased social programs have gained power at both the national and local levels. The durability of the social movements also seems assured by the growing sophistication and representation of, for example, women, indigenous leaders and advocates for the urban and rural poor. Successful capacity-building efforts by these and similar movements hold the promise of better informed, more effective members and leaders.[17] Wide and easy access to the Internet and to instant communications (particularly the use of cell phones) creates new dimensions of movement effectiveness, both in gaining information for policy formulation and advocacy, and in the ability to mobilize adherents. In addition, the popular media often give favorable attention to situations that social movements are seeking to avoid or correct, such as pollution of water sources or mass firings of workers trying to organize.

The erosion of citizen belief in the traditional political parties and their governments has many implications. The most important may be that most people now reject the idea that the political society has responsibility to define and solve persistent social and economic problems. The challenge to democracy, for both the governed and the governors, is to develop strategies for those who are working with citizens organized to advance social justice, individual liberty and citizen control over collective decisions, community and solidarity, and the ability of individuals to realize their potentials.

[17] See, for example, Thomas Carroll (2001).

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Not all CSOs are equally worthy. Clark (1991:60) describes some NGOs as "pillars of weakness," with deficiencies such as excessive dependence on charismatic leaders and local elites, technically inadequate staff, failure to reach the "seriously deprived," lack of innovative approaches, poor communications, inattention to making projects sustainable, and unwillingness to work with state agencies. It would also be absurdly naïve to overlook the proliferation of phony, self-serving NGOs and self-styled spokespersons for the poor and underrepresented.[18]

Few social movements are born with the sole aim of improving democratic institutions. However, several of the movements studied—specifically Guatemala's human rights movements, Mexico's Civic Alliance, and Participatory Budgeting—are clear examples of non-governmental efforts to redesign democratic institutions, utilizing the energy and dedication of people outside the power elite or political party structures. Other movements studied here focus less directly on reform of democratic institutions, but they certainly seek to gain the attention of economic elites and political decision makers concerning "wrongs to be righted"—rural poverty, subordination of the indigenous and of women, inadequate housing, environmental degradation, widespread poverty and lack of community development. (See Box: Case Studies of Civil Society Organizations.)

The in-depth case studies of CSOs provide ample evidence of their role in building more inclusive Latin American democracies. Even movements contentiously at odds with government policy—as discussed more fully below—have contributed positively to a deepening of democracy. Their contributions are seen both in citizen education in public affairs, and in improvements in the political systems. We cannot do full justice to the scope of these findings in the following brief paragraphs, but we can call attention to the more detailed evidence given in the preceding chapters.

Respecting specific contributions of CSOs to improved **civic education**, virtually all the groups studied have been active:

- In Mexico, the *Acción Cívica* movement was a leader in educating all social classes in the need for creating a more open political system, for reducing overt corruption in elections and government, and for helping eliminate single-party control that had endured for 70 years.
- In Brazil beginning in the 1980s, and throughout the region subsequently, the Participatory Budget movement increased perceptions of the citizenry of their rights to oversee public officials and the expenditures they authorized and allocated, of

[18] As discussed in Chapter 12, the varieties of pseudo-NGOs include BONGOs (business-organized NGOs), PONGOs (politically organized NGOs), BRINGOs (briefcase NGOS), DONGOs (donor-organized NGOs), GONGOs (government-organized NGOs), MONGOs (my own NGO), and RONGOs (royally organized NGOs).

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Case Studies of Civil Society Organizations

Human Rights movements (Chapter 3) were a response to the repression that unelected leaders wreaked on their people. Rosa María Cruz López examines the difficulties in building and maintaining an effective movement under serious threats and active repression in today's Guatemala.

Mexico's **Acción Cívica** movement (Chapter 4) mobilized partisans from both the political Left and Right to transform that country's inbred and dysfunctional, one-party dominated government structure. Sergio Aguayo details the movement's precarious but real achievements.

Participatory Budgeting (Chapter 5), as analyzed by Benjamin Reames, gave an opening to citizens seeking greater local government transparency, open bidding, and accountability, even if it is not a universal solution to achieving greater citizen engagement with their governments.

The recent history and contributions to deepening of democracy of the **Rural Poor Movements** (Chapter 6) —one of the most intractable social and economic problems in the region—is examined by John Durston for Guatemala, Chile and Brazil.

The **Andean Indigenous** movements (Chapter 7) are a "success story" in achieving recognition and status for their adherents in Ecuador and in Bolivia, while adhering to nonviolent tactics, as reported by Charles Kleymeyer.

A successful environmental initiative by civil society in the face of official inaction—the **Y Ikatu Xingu** campaign in the upper Amazon (Chapter 8)—is recounted by Lincoln Avelino de Barros and Marie-Madeleine Sant'Ana.

Chile's **Social Housing initiative** (Chapter 9), analyzed here by Alfredo Rodríguez and Ana Sugranyes, has created virtually insurmountable social and economic problems largely because bureaucrats and land developers made all relevant decisions, consulting neither beneficiaries nor their advocates.

Women's rights movements (Chapter 10) have been important in Latin America for over a half century. Their achievements and the sources opposition to their reaching legal, social and political equality are examined by Joan Caivano and Thayer Hardwick.

Roberto Mizrahi offers concrete proposals for **economic mobilization** by CSOs (Chapter 11) to meet problems of poverty and massive under-used human productive potential that plague all countries of the region.

Globalized giving through the Internet and migrants' investments in their countries of origin (Chapter 12) create opportunities and challenges for Latin American nonprofits. The potentials of this forward-looking initiative are explored by Nelson Stratta.

the need to insist upon transparency in governance, and of means available to reduce corruption, clientelism and cronyism.

- Indigenous movements in Ecuador and Bolivia have built group solidarity, greater civic awareness and political engagement not only among their adherents, but increasingly among a wider public.
- Movements advocating the rights of the rural poor in Chile, Guatemala and Brazil all developed explicit programs to educate their members of their rights as citizens, and the need for active civic engagement—including in political party activities.

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- The *Y Ikatu Xingu* campaign helped reconcile diverse interests in the environmentally fragile Amazon frontier when it undertook effective civic education, led by an environmental CSO. It reached widely divergent groups in the community, in the face of laxity and indifference on the part of both national and local government offices.
- The rural and indigenous movements in Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Ecuador and Bolivia are actively increasing the capacity of their adherents for negotiation with official bodies, alliance building and proposal formulation. Their success has a further demonstration effect on other CSOs seeking recognition.
- Women's movements, such as the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, in both South and Central America have become the most prolific and effective sources of educational materials and training for their adherents in the working of the political systems.

The contributions of CSOs and social movements to **deepening democratic institutions and improving development projects** are even more extensive. These achievements signal that many CSOs have been taking on roles historically played by political parties, and/or are effective in pressuring political leaders to support the deepening of democracy:

- Peasant movements in Chile have been able to effectively rescue the government from poorly designed investments and programs by providing testing grounds for alternatives.
- The failure to incorporate beneficiaries or their advocates in any phase of the design or execution of worker housing programs in Chile, has led to near-catastrophic social losses and serious misapplication of public funds and is a brutal example of how social programs should not be done, and which the current administration is seeking to remedy.
- By the example of their success, the rural poverty movements are expanding for others the political, economic and social rights they seek—including the right to vote, freely associate and participate in public decisions. Success of the rural poor helps broaden the rights of the "doubly discriminated against" indigenous communities, women and youth.
- Participatory budgeting supporters directly involved in monitoring local budget decisions and project execution, are maintaining political pressure on governments to implement essential legislation, and to act against corrupt public officials.
- The Andean indigenous peoples have called upon their cultural heritage and social structures to build infrastructure to benefit the wider community. Examples are provided by the time-honored and dynamic indigenous traditions, such as the Andean *minga*.

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- Diaspora communities from Mexico and other countries of the region are helping to support infrastructure creation in their communities of origin with financial contributions, directly without expensive intermediaries.
- Social movements are facilitating access for the indigenous and rural poor to critical information and training in skills necessary to function in a modern world, as well as knowledge of their "right to have rights." These programs are producing potential leaders, generational changeover, learning by experience in new environments and ways to combat the "iron law of organizational oligarchy."[19] Their members also gain access to current technology, including Web sites concerned with political and economic programs.
- The *Acción Cívica* in Mexico took years to forge alliances and battle legal obstacles imposed by the political "old guard" before securing even modest success. Mexico's success is relevant to other countries where citizens seek to fully democratize a political structure, where traditional political parties fight ruthlessly against their loss of power.
- Rural and indigenous movements have created capabilities among their membership for initiating, negotiating, and managing financial partnerships with local, regional, national, and international NGOs and other allies.
- The indigenous movements have been important forces in Bolivia and Ecuador to make the electoral and legislative systems more democratic, through participation in campaigns and negotiations. This participation has been most successful at the local and municipal levels, helping to provide a bottom-up deepening of national democracy.
- Rural social movements broadened access to public decision making, gaining voice and vote in rural areas of Brazil where the social movements have been most active. The quality of life in the MST settlements is measurably better, there is more political participation and the local economy is more dynamic.
- Effective pressures are being brought on governments and political parties by the movements to achieve more equitable distribution of public resources, and to direct goods and services towards the formerly excluded sectors. State institutions have found that they can acquire greater legitimacy and improve their performance by forging working relationships with CSOs which can draw on the social capital they had built in local communities.

[19] Durston (Chapter 6) reminds us that Michels formulated the "iron law of organizational oligarchy," which contends that leadership of political, grassroots organizations "inevitably" develop into oligarchies once they distance themselves from local groups. "…The leaders of large, membership organizations necessarily develop their own interests, and this increases their autonomy from the grassroots. This tendency sometimes suffocates internal democracy."

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- Chile's Mapuche communities, working with IDB-supported projects, have helped to formulate superior alternatives for social projects. These movements have gained maturity yet remained independent from co-option and favoritism. Such independence also is critical if the movements are to be the "conscience" of political parties with progressive intentions.

Contentious Movements vis-à-vis Governments

The present studies provide ample evidence that civil society and social movements have helped achieve, consolidate and deepen democracy in the region, and indeed gained public attention to the needs of the formerly "voiceless." In seeking to advance their causes, many movement activists and leaders have deliberately provoked contentious demonstrations and physical confrontations. Their tactics range from well tolerated public statements, press conferences and banners on buildings to protest marches, road blockages, land occupations and physical attacks (see Table 13-1).

The "acceptable" tactical range of CSOs is unevenly matched against the tactics that political society can exercise—and often has exercised—in its dealings with social movements (see Table 13-2). Cooperation and collaboration between the parties is clearly one option, as is discussed at length in the next section. This is the path that leads to resolving conflicts. But, since governments hold the monopoly on violence and power over the purse, the tactics of political elites opposed to civil society demands have frequently escalated their tactics to include co-option, censorship, tight official regulation, use of surrogate gangs to attack protesters and even military takeovers.

Table 13-1. Examples of Legal and Illegal Direct Action Tactics of CSOs and Social Movements

More tolerated →					Less tolerated
Marches and demonstrations with permission of authorities Press conferences Mobilization of voters Petitions and referenda	Civil disobedience Marches and demonstrations without permission Hunger strikes Occupation of public buildings	Street barricades Occupation of private buildings	Violence against private property Street battles with police and military	Violence against persons	Terrorism with intent to murder officials and the public

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Table 13-2. Examples of Democratic and Nondemocratic Interaction of Political Society With CSOs and Social Movements

More democratic →					Less democratic
Regular official consultations with social movement leaders Action against official corruption/favoritism Political party engagement with CSOs Joint support of petitions and referenda	Incorporation of CSO leaders into political parties Official recognition of NGO research and advocacy proposals	Co-option of CSO leaders Creation of "false front" social movements Bureaucratic delays	Onerous regulation of social movements Inequitable taxation of social movements and NGOs Government censorship of media and CSOs Surrogate gangs to attack protesters	Extra-legal arrests and jailing of social movement leaders Bans on international support and travel for social movements and leaders Official tolerance of private violence against CSOs	Democratic CSO leaders replaced by military dictators Military controls imposed

Not all contentious activities and groups have equal call on public or official tolerance. A distinction must clearly be made between tactics that cause disruptions of normal life or economic stoppages—but are within established law or custom—and deliberate acts of violence against individuals or groups. From the range of tactics that social movements might undertake in pursuit of their goals, armed attacks on opponents or on government officials are not compatible with democratic values. But the building of democratic institutions requires reciprocal rules of engagement for both the state and its citizens. "Violence-oriented" groups operating to overthrow legitimate governments—the guerrillas and paramilitary in Colombia, *Sendero Luminoso* in Peru, the Al Qaeda, the KKK and U.S. Minutemen—should not be considered part of "civil society" since they do not accept fundamental premises of democratic governance.

Nonetheless, the borderline is not always clear where legitimate movements confront a government that is using violent repressive measures against protest. Those living under repressive governments have often reacted with violence to defend themselves or in reprisal. The continuing violence facing human rights organizations and other CSOs in Guatemala, for example, precludes easy solutions unless power structures and policies change. In these circumstances, those practicing civil disobedience and passive resistance instead of confrontation, are sometimes massacred. Passive accommodation by civil society to government action is not a serious option where police powers are ruthlessly used against lawful citizen groups.

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Where governments continue to ignore or give low priority to the maldistribution of economic opportunities in both urban and rural areas, local conflicts escalate. CSOs will continue to be contentious, using tactics ranging from hunger strikes and street protests to land invasions and confrontations with police, and even escalating into warfare. Durston (Chapter 6) argues that the aggressive, but basically lawful, rural social movements provide a buffer against even more disruptive action by these CSOs, in light of the widely felt outrage of the rural poor at official inaction. These precedents can destroy an evolving but still unstable democracy. When contentious social movements face intransigent defenders of the status quo, bloody confrontation can be anticipated.

The Need for a Deliberative Political Culture

The search is not ended for answers to one of the central questions asked in this study: "How can those in government and CSOs—as well as other participants such as international agencies, foundations, etc.—improve their working relationships and effectiveness?" Relevant answers, we have suggested, lie in the concepts and practice of deliberative democracy and the active pursuit of conflict resolution. Not all social conflicts are amenable to formulaic solutions, but the process followed to arrive at viable accommodations within democratic frameworks is a necessary basis for our search for "improved working relationships and effectiveness."

The findings in this volume suggest that it is well past time for governments and the leadership of CSOs to actively seek accommodation and compromise. Such collaboration can grow out of crisis or opportunity. There has certainly been time enough for both activist citizens and those in power to catch up with the social and political realities. The preponderance of effective power will always lie with governments: first with their police and military, then with their judicial systems. However, government power is becoming more restrained, not only by a public with access to the diverse media, but by the ease with which all forms of information are gathered and transmitted—the Internet, cell phones, international travel—as well as by citizens seeking attention to their concerns through their CSOs. If we recognize that government power can also be used to resolve conflicts, CSOs can hold considerable influence. In sum, the interests of both those represented by their CSOs and the political classes seeking to retain power are served by building mechanisms to resolve outstanding conflicts.

In Chapter 1, we noted that most Latin American governments have limited experience with "ordinary" citizens becoming fully engaged in public decision making (Lijphart 1984). The citizens who have been most disadvantaged by the present political-economic-social systems have become the most active. This means that long-buried conflicts have strong spokesmen. As Kleymeyer (Chapter 7) notes: "… ethnicity and racial categories make up the main axis of difference and conflict in Latin America … What it signifies is that the main

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roadblock on most of Latin America's road to democracy is that of race and ethnicity ... If this issue is not dealt with head on and resolved, democratization (and justice) will continue to be negatively affected." The continuing struggle for voice in the United States by Blacks, Native Americans and immigrants offers a basis for estimating the time and struggles needed for countries of the region to reach appropriate terms with their similar power conflicts.

The dominant governing model in the region has been of a "top-down" adversarial system, where stakeholders assume that all political situations are "zero-sum," with little but rhetorical concern for building consensus. This no-compromise, bunker mentality characterizes not only reactionary *status quo* governments, but also some governments of the political Left. Such a political atmosphere leaves little room for inputs from social movements whose representatives are not selected or controlled by the dominant political leaders.

In participatory democracies, individuals and groups must present and defend their proposals *within* the political realm. Preferences must be defended in terms of their contribution to the general welfare—what the IDB calls "public regardedness" (2006:136). Participatory democracy does not do away with real policy differences, of course, but creates a system where priorities and policies are negotiable, not irreducible. Policy decisions are collectively negotiated, not unilaterally imposed. Conflicts don't disappear, but shared interests are discovered midst the disagreements, allowing compromise solutions to emerge and be enacted. "Political processes in a democracy must incorporate the dual requirements of representativity and effectiveness." (IDB 2005:256)

While deliberative practices for collective decision making are common in traditional societies in the Americas and elsewhere (some of which Kleymeyer catalogues in Chapter 7), modernization, even among marginal communities, may reinforce a zero-sum view of public life: "us" versus "them." Tension and conflict are normal adjuncts of human societies. Differing circumstances among individuals even within relatively homogeneous communities lead to differing preferences for both the major and the mundane. Unattended, tensions can mount into conflict. Managing both requires not just specific skills for deliberation and conflict management—easily enough learned—but a different view of public life in which the *public interest* is not finite and therefore zero sum, but a collective good that increases as a community learns to create it. Effective deliberation creates a public knowledge that is inaccessible to individuals acting alone, no matter how powerful or dedicated to the public good. Only people deliberating together can create the public interest.

The simplistic view of "democracy" as an electoral contest between political parties reinforces the attitude that politics is a zero-sum game. In that game, perforce, the winner takes all and the loser loses. The change needed in public attitudes is not merely cosmetic. It mandates replacing the electoral contest as the ultimate stage or test of democratic process, with many forums where deliberating citizens construct a public agenda that encompasses all voices, and accepts a consensual core of fundamental values shared by all the citizens. The inevitable differences, recognizing the legitimate competing interests of citizens under

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different circumstances, are then offered to competing political groups in an electoral contest. While the elections remain zero-sum events (*somebody* must win the right to manage the public business), the fundamental democratic act, the construction of the public agenda, has become "democratically" inclusive (Mathews 2003).

In order to promote citizen engagement and deepening of democracy, it is therefore essential for all parties to agree upon and follow enforceable rules for such deliberation and for collective decision making. These guidelines must include reciprocal limits on contentious behavior by CSOs, whose legitimate interests may conflict with each other, and on the use of repressive powers by governments. Both civil society and political society must internalize respect for divergent legitimate interests and work to assure the rule of law.

Contentious movements that enter into participatory arrangements can also become engaged in the electoral process, thus making political parties, congress and governments more responsive to the needs of these formerly excluded sectors at the base of the social pyramid—and in this way, deepen democracy.

The Place for Contentious Movements: Avoidable Conflicts and Effective Conflict Resolution

Open confrontations between citizens and their governments result from disenchantment and discontent, but seldom strengthen the power of either party. Government officials in implacable opposition to legitimate demands of civil society movements need to be replaced. Leaders of social movements must not only be concerned with street tactics, but must absorb the lessons of history, educating adherents on how to get government officials to better listen and act. Missteps by governments may exacerbate social tensions, but also may create opportunities for civil society action which, if handled cleverly, can bring about positive social, political and economic changes, as some cases in this volume demonstrate.

Illustrations of avoidable conflicts—or, alternatively, of room for effective conflict resolution—are found in several recent electoral controversies where challenges to democratic procedures have come from politicians of the political Left. These are contemporary demonstrations that the heritage of "adversarial democracy" is not confined to politicians of the political Right.

An example of the failure of all sides to accept the rules of participatory democracy occurred recently in Bolivia. An independent assessment in late 2006 of that country's elected government found that "unless menacing rhetoric ends and dialogue, mediation and compromise begins immediately, widespread violence may result in 2007" (International Crisis Group 2007:3). Bolivia's "populist" political party, drawing its major support from highland indigenous groups, is confronted by an opposition based largely on business groups in the eastern departments, the site of the prosperous energy and agricultural industries. The assessment found that none of the contending parties appeared to be seeking areas of

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compromise, but were playing a game of all or nothing, not seeking to discover or build consensus on any of the outstanding issues such as land reform, calling a Constituent Assembly to alter the constitution, or expanded regional autonomy. The predictions of violence are not being taken lightly, but without the belief in compromise by the government and its main opposition, the ongoing stalemate could fall into chaos and bloodshed.

This is not the place to consider all possible modalities for conflict resolution among such parties, but we may draw upon history and our case studies to point to a direction for achieving more viable, mutual accommodation. The core requirements for successful conflict resolution processes include:

- All the principal stakeholders must see the need for resolving outstanding conflicts, recognizing that each can expect to benefit—that is, that the game is not "zero sum."
- Violence and official repression are "off the table" for all parties.
- Effective organizations reliably speak for each of the affected clienteles, for example, the indigenous, rural poor, urban homeless, etc., as well for their antagonists, such as government agencies, developers, landowners, etc.
- The parties initially enter informal, then, increasingly, formal bargaining discussions to frame the problem(s) and specify possible outcomes.
- Serious bargaining and durable compromises virtually require a "third party" mediator.
- Agreements, once reached, must be acted on, monitored and enforced.

From this brief sketch of requirements for successful conflict resolution, several elements merit special mention. Until stakeholders all recognize that continuance of the status quo is unacceptable, and that violence committed by either side is counterproductive, the opportunity for conflict resolution is limited or nil.

Reliable and effective organizations with "authority" to bargain for the stakeholders are an essential element. Community-based civil society organizations have proven their importance in this regard, often supported technically and financially by sympathetic NGOs and interested social movements.

Another key element is the "disinterested" third party, trusted by all sides and able to help devise acceptable alternative courses of action—a role historically played in Latin America by the church, or international donors or financial agencies. It is difficult for members of government agencies, or even the courts, to act in this role since they often are identified with one or another contending party, and are also likely to be involved in the eventual monitoring and enforcement of resulting agreements.

The enforcement of agreements almost always requires that the country's legal system serve as "enforcer" of the obligations. This can be a complicating concern where the weaker

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stakeholders—for example, landless workers—distrust the system that has often been used against them. Clearly, any viable resolution of serious conflicts requires respect for the rule of law by all parties. In most of the region, however, the role of the traditional political parties vis-à-vis the new social movements and organizations has a mixed history. The early movements—particularly those fighting for human rights, the indigenous or environmental protection—faced fierce opposition from the dominant elites and their political allies, and some of the rancor and distrust from those periods remain.

The international assistance agencies, and many of the bilateral aid agencies and foundations, have made efforts to improve working relations between those in government and civil society and its organizations. These agencies are able to use their outsider status when dealing with CSOs, even contentious ones, while governments typically face strong political opposition if they attempt similar initiatives. Our case studies cite a number of explicit examples of multinational and other outside agencies complementing CSO efforts, both with resources and by serving as an intermediary with government bureaucracies. Although designing and implementing participatory programs require more resources than "standard" grants or loans to a government agency, the effectiveness of bringing beneficiaries into the design and implementation work is now well established. Examples include:

- The Guatemalan and other human rights organizations have had the overt support of many external donors and agencies, without which their work would be much less effective.
- Mexico's efforts to gain fair elections by the Alianza Cívica were financially supported by U.S. foundations, the UN and European governments.
- IDB has served as an intermediary between target beneficiaries and government agencies. In Chile, IDB worked to develop solutions to demands by Mapuche indigenous to recover ancestral lands.
- World Bank programs are working closely with indigenous groups in Ecuador and with beneficiary groups generally as part of the bank's overall strategy.[20]

Community-based CSOs, especially if supported by third parties, have been able to get government bureaucrats to listen, to enter into negotiations, and to play by a "game of rules." Such grassroots feedback not only can introduce improvements in project design, but also creates a sense of project ownership among the targeted beneficiary groups. Some international donors and financial institutions have begun to include clauses in

[20] For references to the World Bank's strategy respecting beneficiary participation see http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTPCENG0,,menuPK:410312~pagePK:149018~piPK:149093~theSitePK:410306,00.html.

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their grants and loans requiring popular participation in the programs they sponsor.[21] In order to make such systems more effective, provisions for permanent monitoring are needed in close coordination with their beneficiary government counterparts. Such support to civil society shown by aid agencies, Northern governments and foundations should be expanded and further institutionalized by governments seeking to deepen and consolidate democracy.

In this context, the provocative critique of international aid programs by William Easterly (2006) deserves comment. His central question, and the subtitle of the book, is "Why the West's efforts to aid the rest have done so much ill and so little good." Easterly contrasts the top-down approach favored by the "planners" who staff international funding agencies, with the "searchers" who find ways to build incentives and make things work at the local level. Unfortunately for his argument, and for that of this study, Easterly does not look for, nor find, specific roles for citizen organizations in his search for a better approach to achieving development goals, that is, for overcoming poverty and powerlessness.

Future Directions for CSOs in Latin America

Countries with dominant middle classes and long traditions of democratic rule also have strong civil societies and proliferating community-based citizen organizations. The democratic institutions and decision-making processes of European and North American countries have unquestionably benefited from the existence of CSOs at all levels. Since countries of Latin America share the goal—if often only implicitly—to become broadly middle class, and democratically elected governments are now the norm, we can anticipate continued growth of CSOs in numbers and political influence. This is a more optimistic assessment than that offered by most observers a decade ago (Chalmers et al. 1997), though the prospects must still be qualified. It is also more optimistic than that of philosophers such as Reinhold Niebuhr (1932) when he decried inaction by his religious colleagues in response to the poverty and unemployment of the United States in the 1930s: "Moralists do not recognize that when collective power ... exploits weakness, it can never be dislodged unless power is raised against it."

A challenging question is the direction and impetus for improvement. In countries where power holders continue to practice social and economic repression, citizens will continue to support contentious and confrontational social movements and their spokespersons. It is not absurd to contemplate a resurgence of violent confrontations between the movements and government agencies in the more extreme cases.

[21] The Millennium Challenge Corporation of the United States, for instance, requires that civil society participate in the governing boards of the country programs that it supports, and be closely involved in the design and implementation of the development projects themselves.

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But the strongest political trend of most recently elected nontraditional political parties is toward accommodation to the demands for social change led by social movements. Indeed, most of the region's population—including virtually all of South America—now live under political regimes that are at least tolerant of civil society and of aggressive social movements—even if the relationships with the regimes are not always enthusiastic and unchallenging.[22]

In both numbers and diversity, CSOs can be expected to grow, and there should be a commensurate expansion in their influence with political society and in achieving their social and economic goals. As pointed out by Kleymeyer and IDB (2007), social and economic conflicts based on race and ethnicity will not disappear soon—as they have not in the United States. However, the increasing strength of the indigenous and poverty movements will almost certainly assure them places at the policy table that they never had before.

For the immediate future, two of our studies—one concerned with mobilization of the diaspora communities in support of community-based CSOs (Chapter 12), and the other with the need to expand civil society's role in helping overcome underemployment (Chapter 11)—point to new paths for joint action by civil society and governments that can help mitigate persistent social-economic problems.

In Chapter 12, Stratta makes a convincing case that the traditional model and standards of citizen participation in CSOs should be reinvented to encourage greater citizen engagement. There is "a new social phenomenon—a global civic consciousness," that Stratta believes can strongly support the region's civil society—particularly community-based groups with local development agendas.

Globalization is enhancing the potential participation of citizens around the world with the region's CSOs for several reasons:

- a new civic consciousness is forming that calls for a reduction in the disparities in global wealth, the protection of environmental sustainability and enhanced human rights;
- a global market for donations now exists on the Internet that, in principle, makes the region's CSOs as accessible as all the others.

The globalized market of individual donations is accessible through the Internet, as seen in the outpouring of both sympathy and resources in response to the Indonesian tsunami and to Hurricanes Katrina in the United States and Mitch in Central America. In a parallel way "our emigrants constitute a substantial asset that has not yet been mobilized and that would

[22] For example, the Workers' Party-dominated Brazilian government faces demonstrations and demands for deep agrarian reforms by the Landless Workers' Movement. In Chile, soon after the Socialist Party's candidate was elected the new president in 2006, massive student movement marches erupted. Similarly, Uruguay with the *Frente Amplio,* a nontraditional political party in control, still faces opposition from some social movements.

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allow us to … promote our social causes in more developed countries." The reconnection of diaspora Latin Americans with local CSOs can reinvigorate their efforts. But "our CSOs need to create new bridges and strategies to overcome … the lack of knowledge and confidence" in CSOs by both donors from other countries, and even our own diasporas. The media can help mobilize virtual communities that support CSOs. However, connecting with outside donors and diasporas depends greatly on the quality of communication by CSOs.

Emigrant clubs and home town associations (HTAs; organizations formed by emigrants that seek to support their countries of origin) are maintaining connections and a sense of community. In Mexico, the movement began in the states of Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán and Oaxaca, some of the poorest rural areas of the country. The Colombian Connection was launched by the magazine *Semana*, with the support of both business and the public sector, as an efficient and transparent channel to receive donations of money, time and in-kind offerings for CSOs to help Colombians in need and to provide information allowing Colombians abroad to stay in contact. In another example, the Brazil Foundation does fund raising and project evaluation, as well as organizing benefit events. The foundation works in five areas: education, health, human rights, citizenship and culture. Similar initiatives are being implemented in Ecuador and Mexico. Among nonregional examples of excellence is GiveIndia.com.

In Chapter 11, Mizrahi provides a detailed set of prescriptions for civil society organizations to achieve breakthroughs on the still immense problems of un- and underemployment endemic to the region. He argues for a new paradigm that mobilizes the enormous, underutilized potential of the poor. Poverty elimination is at the base of any just and vigorous development process. But it is essential to change macroeconomic policies if they are to meet the interests of the poor. This means promoting initiatives that involve businesses that head productive networks and value chains. CSOs should support policies that directly target micro and small producers. These should be complemented with social policies that stimulate a culture of work and entrepreneurial spirit.

CSOs tend to concentrate their assistance and participation at the microeconomic level, assisting small producers to gain access to markets by combining buying and selling power. Although these are worthwhile, CSOs should also work to expand opportunities by identifying gaps that CSOs could fill. One example would be by monitoring government budgeting and spending process from a nonpartisan perspective. The simplification of tax regulations and operation permits for doing business is another area where CSOs should make proposals to improve regulations and implementation. CSOs can also encourage universities and technology and research institutions to mobilize the scientific and technological communities to assist the small and micro producers.

Collaborative agreements can be expanded between CSOs and the public sector with public-private partnerships. These would, for example, modify large-scale projects to meet local needs and employ local labor and resources. This approach would enhance local own-

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ership and increase political and public support for a comprehensive poverty eradication campaign focused on the productive mobilization of the poor.

CSOs are already playing a large role in assisting the poor to gain access to credit and enable their capital formation, efforts that should be expanded. Some of the region's CSOs are promoting microcredit banks and other public and private microcredit institutions. In addition, a major effort is needed to increase access to institutional credit by small producers, including revision of credit regulations that limit or block their access to credit. CSOs can also help them gain access to institutional credit by guarantee systems. CSOs can initiate programs that mobilize the indigent, with public and private funding. Specialized programs for the indigent require sustainable solutions combined with initial subsidies to create economic opportunities for the poor to change their situation.

Capital formation can also be fostered for the poor by appropriate mechanisms to mobilize small savings. CSOs can analyze how local savings flow to ensure that they are invested in the same communities where generated. CSOs can assist financial intermediaries to design and put such mechanisms into practice. CSOs can lobby for changes in monetary policy to facilitate the capitalization of financial intermediaries dedicated to microcredit. These intermediaries complement the investments of their stockholders by inspiring the participation of CSOs and other sources of funding like public agencies, multilateral organizations and private funders.

CSOs can promote modern business engineering to unite small producers and work with small producers that are part of productive networks to introduce ways to increase capital formation at the base of the productive pyramid.

Support systems for micro and small producers can be developed by CSOs to provide technical, commercial and management assistance, develop local entrepreneurship, community businesses, networks of socially responsible angel investors, local funds to support productive investments (venture capital), specialized investment funds for small and medium businesses and other support mechanisms for these businesses.

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This is an essential book, both for its theme and for its approach: the study of recent experiences of civil society organizations in Latin America and the lessons they provide for democratic systems. The style of government in our region tends to be top-down, limiting the participation of social movements. But in democracies, it is fundamental that their demands be heard, and that their conflicts be channeled in conciliatory processes; to deny this typically results in the escalation of local conflicts. Today the consolidation of democracy and good management of public policy require the strengthening of civil society. In the same vein, an efficient democratic state requires a strong civil society.

Carolina Tohá
Member, Chilean House of Deputies

…

"There is a tendency—visible among both Latin American governors and multilateral institutions—to view conflict as a problem, to condemn social mobilization as illegitimate and politically manipulated, and to denigrate those who protest as ill-informed. Yet such views are historically and theoretically ill-informed, for, without wishing to transpose a European model onto Latin American societies, it is the case that many of the inclusion-enhancing and redistributive institutions of social democracy have been won through mobilization and conflict rather than built through elite philanthropy or technocratic engineering. This important collection argues persuasively why mobilization and movements can and should be seen as important processes in the consolidation and deepening of Latin American democracies. The region's elites and international institutions ignore the book's important messages not so much at their own peril, but rather to the detriment of the quality of institution building and democratization in the region. One can only hope that they read these pages carefully and in detail. Required reading for all who profess commitment to a socially inclusive Latin America."

Anthony Bebbington
Professor of Nature, Society and Development, University of Manchester, UK

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