Workshop

Social movements and the state in the context of the “left turn” in Latin America

Department of Politics, Languages and International Studies
University of Bath
December 7, 2015
Room: 4 West 1.2

9:30-10:00 Registration/Refreshments
10:00-10.15 Welcome
Professor Colin B. Grant, Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Internationalisation)

10:15-12:15 Panel 1: Evaluations of the left turn in Latin America
Chair: Luciana Ferreira Tatagiba
-Juan Pablo Ferrero, University of Bath: “Post-neoliberal protest in Latin America as struggle over the name of ‘the people’”
- Manuel Anselmi, University of Perugia and the International Centre of Democracy and Democratization at Luiss University: “After Chávez: what is the evaluation of the “left turn” in Venezuela?”
- Geoff Goodwin, London School of Economics and Political Science: “Social Movements and State-Directed Development: The Antinomies of Ecuador’s ‘Left Turn’ under Rafael Correa”
- Franka Winter, Maynooth University: “Middle-Class Activists in the Time of Aborted Post-Neoliberalism”

12:15-14:00 Lunch break

13.45 Refreshments

14:00-16:00 Panel 2: Left turn in Brazil: contradictory trends and uprisings
Chair: Juan Pablo Ferrero
- Aico Nogueira, Universidade Estadual de Campinas: “Lulism and the Institutionalization of Social Movements in Brazil: Strengthening Democratic Inclusion and perpetuating hegemony”
- Bryan C. Clift, University of Bath: “Left in Lula’s passion: Mega-events, social movements, and the state in Brazil”
- Erick Omena de Melo, Oxford Brookes University: “Urban governance and the “demonstrations cup”: a genealogy of the recent Brazilian uprisings”

16:00-17:00 Break / Refreshments
17:00–18:30 Panel 3: Contentious relations between movements and governments in Latin America
Chair: Bryan C. Clift
- Francesca Zunino, University of Bath: “A social-environmental movement of indigenous women for change: The Frente de Mujeres Mazahua en Defensa del Agua, Mexico”
- Francisca Castro, Institute of Public Policy, Universidad Diego Portales: “Chilean Student Movement: Impacts and Consequences”

18:30–19:30 Wine reception
Closing remarks by Professor Bill Durodie, Head of Department and Chair of International Relations

The event is free but registration is required. To book a place contact Dr Juan Pablo Ferrero: J.P.Ferrero@bath.ac.uk

Sponsors
International Research Initiator Scheme, Internationalisation Office (University of Bath)
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Populismus: http://www.populismus.gr/
10:15-12:15 Panel 1: Evaluations of the left turn in Latin America

-Juan Pablo Ferrero, University of Bath: “Post-neoliberal protest in Latin America as struggle over the name of ‘the people’”

Abstract
If the “move to the left” in the 2000s in Argentina and Brazil was the result of a longer process of contentious mobilisation from below enacted primarily during the latter part of the previous decade, what sort of social imaginaries have been enacted in the newest wave of discontent and what is its likely effect on the Post-neoliberal form of governance? The argument put forward here is that the newest wave of social protest elicits the re-enactment of the liberal imaginary indirectly expressed under the notion of the republic. This operation tends to undermine the bases of post-neoliberalism, i.e. “the popular”, “the national-popular” and “anti-neoliberalism”, the imaginaries that defined the move to the left in the region. There is a new activated public, associated to middle class sectors, that raises new demands and do not identify with the “anti-neoliberal” camp. In as much as this activation means a dispute over the name of the people, it signals a slowdown in the efficacy of existing populist formation to deepen the movement towards more radical reforms.

Keywords: Latin America, social protest, Post-neoliberalism, populism, Argentina, Brazil

Juan Pablo is Lecturer in Latin American Politics at the University of Bath. His latest book is called “Democracy Against Neoliberalism in Argentina and Brazil: A Move to the Left” Basingstoke, U. K.: Palgrave Macmillan. His research interests include social movements, democracy, discourse theory and populism. http://www.bath.ac.uk/polis/staff/juan-pablo-ferrero/

- Manuel Anselmi, University of Perugia and the International Centre of Democracy and Democratization at Luiss University: “After Chávez: what is the evaluation of the “left turn” in Venezuela?”

Abstract
The current situation of crisis in Venezuela after the death of Chávez is the most difficult and least successful case of the entire Latin American “Left turn” experiment. My contribution to the workshop will illustrate the main elements of analysis of the present Bolivarian system: leaderless populism, political polarization without political mediation,
symbolic ideological transfer from Bolivar to Chávez, the transformation into a Hybrid regime.

Manuel Anselmi is a professor of Political Sociology at the University of Perugia and a coordinator of the International Centre of Democracy and Democratization at Luiss University (Italy). He collaborates with the Observatorio de Venezuela of the Universidad De Rosario. He is the author of the book: Chavez ‘s children: ideology, education and society in Latin America. Lexington (2013).

-Geoff Goodwin, London School of Economics and Political Science: “Social Movements and State-Directed Development: The Antinomies of Ecuador’s ‘Left Turn’ under Rafael Correa”

Abstract
Ecuador witnessed one of the most widespread and sustained cycles of popular protest in Latin America during the opening waves of neoliberalism. Two distinct but interrelated forces characterised this struggle – i) defensive protests orientated towards protecting gains won during earlier phases of capitalism (e.g. minimum wage) and ii) offensive mobilisations aimed at establishing laws, policies and institutions that had never been introduced (e.g. environmental protection). These two forces fused to create the opportunity for radical change in the opening decades of the new millennium. Rafael Correa harnessed the anger, frustration and hope at the centre of these struggles to win the presidential elections in 2006 and rewrite the constitution in 2008. The political and economic programme his governments have followed since the approval of the constitution has responded to some of the defensive demands social movements made during the opening phases of neoliberalism but has failed to address offensive demands for radical change. Relations between the state and social movements have become increasingly antagonistic as the government has failed to take decisive steps towards equality and democracy and has attempted to weaken and contain social movements which have challenged its particular brand of state-directed capitalist development. Drawing on research undertaken in Ecuador discontinuously between 2009 and 2015, this paper will explore these issues through the analysis of natural resource conflicts, particularly over land and water. The analysis will seek to improve our empirical and theoretical understanding of the relationship between states and social movements in Latin America. It will also highlight the persistence of neoliberalism in the region, calling into question claims some Latin American countries have entered a post-neoliberal phase of development.

Geoff Goodwin is a Fellow in International Development at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He holds a PhD in Political Economy from University College London. His thesis explores land struggles in Ecuador through the lens of Karl Polanyi’s concept of the ‘double movement’. His post-doctoral research has focused on the political economy of water in Latin America, concentrating on the case of Ecuador.
His research interests include natural resources, state-society relations, social movements and social, political and economic theory. He is a founding member of the Radical Americas Network.

-Franka Winter, Maynooth University: “Middle-Class Activists in the Time of Aborted Post-Neoliberalism”

Abstract
Peru has by now a substantial tradition of neoliberal governance, which began in the 1990s with Alberto Fujimori and continues into the present. This tradition appeared to be interrupted when Ollanta Humala won the 2011 presidential elections on a left-wing platform in a context of high conflictivity (in particular over mining and extractive industries) and authoritarian responses by the García government. Humala was initially perceived as part of the pink tide. Following his election, his first visits were to other left-wing presidents in the region. He also attended Nicolás Maduro’s inauguration ceremony, for which he was strongly criticized by the opposition. However, it soon became clear that his economic policies would not deviate significantly from the existing neoliberal, export-led model of growth. Instead, he opted for “an ‘inclusive neoliberal’ agenda based on an orthodox approach to the economy, that leaves the power of [economic elites] fundamentally unchallenged” (Burron 2012: 133). His ministerial appointments mirrored the imbalance between the twin goals of growth and inclusion in his subsequent government. Disgusted by Humala’s right-turn and increasingly authoritarian response to social conflicts, many of his left-wing allies soon abandoned the government. I draw on interviews from two research projects conducted in 2010 and 2015 in Lima to examine how young left-wing middle-class activists’ experience of the evolution of the Humala government shaped their own relationship with government, the State, and political institutions, as well as their involvement with and participation in politics.

Bibliography

Biography: I am a political sociologist and Government of Ireland Postdoctoral Fellow at Maynooth University. My current research, which is funded by the Irish Research Council, examines political and civic discourses and practices among young middle-class people in contemporary Lima. Prior to this, I conducted PhD research at Trinity College Dublin’s Irish School of Ecumenics in Belfast, focusing on political blogging in post-transitional Peru.
Aico Nogueira, Universidade Estadual de Campinas: “Lulism and the Institutionalization of Social Movements in Brazil: Strengthening Democratic Inclusion and perpetuating hegemony”

Abstract
The paper assesses the democratizing potential of social movements by analyzing the role of social movements in Brazil under the Lula Government, in order to show how this effects political hegemony and inclusion when these movements become institutionalized, establishing close links with the state apparatus. We focus on rural movements and the Sustainable Development Program of Rural Territories (PRONAT), and show that the institutionalization of a significant part of the rural movement was part of the phenomenon known as Lulism, an alliance between social classes in which social movements had a prominent role. We argue that while social movements have achieved success in terms of converting demands into public policies and straightening out the process of political participation, this association with the state has also contributed to a project of hegemony legitimation and perpetuation of power. The paper is divided into 3 sections. It first reviews the concept of institutionalization of social movements, the role of social classes, and the nature and origins of Lulism. It then reviews the role of social movements in Brazil and their relationships with the Worker’s Party (PT). It then describes the nature of the PRONAT program and examines its achievements and challenges. It concludes by evaluating attempts to institutionalize radical social movements as a reformist political and ideological project rather than one that challenges the foundations of the existing social system. It also questions the legacy and future of Lulism in a society characterized by a recrudescence of class conflict and the collapse of agreements that enabled it to maintain a viable class compromise.

Dr Aico Nogueira holds a BA degree in Social Sciences from the University of São Paulo, a MA in Sociology from the University of São Paulo, a PhD in sociology from the University of São Paulo. He was a Postdoctoral Fellow in Environment and Society in the Environmental Studies and Research Centre at the University of Campinas, NEPAM-UNICAMP (2013), a Visiting Research Fellow in the Department of International Development at the London School of Economics, LSE, UK (2013-2014) and a Visiting Research Student in Development Studies Institute at the London School of Economics, LSE, UK (1998-1999). Currently he is an Associate Researcher in the Environmental Studies and Research Centre at the University of Campinas, Brazil, and has been working as a Lecture in Universities in Brazil and as a consultant for institutions like the World Bank, the Brazilian Government, FAO-UN and the National Confederation of Rural Workers, CONTAG. This article was originally written as part of the research carried out as a Visiting Research Fellow in the Department of International Development at the London School of Economics, as part of my Post-doctoral Fellowship at the University of...
Abstract
The Worker’s Party (PT) represents one of the largest leftist movements in Latin America, coming together in the early 1980s and growing through the late 1990s. In Brasil, the PT ascended to the highest level of office, first with the tenure of former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in 2003 and then succeeded by President Dilma Rousseff in 2011. Amidst the swell of Lula’s Presidency, and then incurred by Dilma, the Pan-American Games, 2014 FIFA World Cup, and 2016 Olympic Games served as platforms for recasting images and discourses of Brasil to global audiences and local constituents. Yet, such mega-events, renowned for their economic opportunities and motivations of and for politicians and business leaders, have inspired fierce social mobilization that, like the events themselves, reached and are reaching global audiences. Within this workshop, I would pursue further the relationships amongst political governance, social movements, and mega-events in Brasil. Questions of interest include, but are not limited to:
• As the PT has entered into the state, what has become of the PT?
• How will Lula’s leftist legacy fair once encountering the machinations of political power?
• Can large-scale events be cast as “post-neoliberal”; or, do they necessarily intertwine with neoliberal agendas, as they must engage with global capitalist logics?
• What social movements emerged around and with the mega-events? In what ways did the activities surrounding the events mobilize some agendas and obscure others?
• What is the meaning and legacy of the events within leftist movements and the PT party?

Short bio: I am a new Lecturer to the Physical Cultural Studies research group in the Department for Health at University of Bath. My broad research interests focus on sport and physical activity within the urban environment. In my approach I borrow judiciously across theoretical orientations and methodological techniques in order to critically contextualize subjectivities and power relations. In Brasil, my interests lie in the relationships amongst political economy, urban reformation, globalization, and sporting mega-events. Previously, I have written one book chapter on the subject, given one public lecture at the University of Sao Paolo in early 2015 as part of a Sport and Social Transformation workshop, and contributed several conference presentations.

- Erick Omena de Melo, Oxford Brookes University: “Urban governance and the “demonstrations cup”: a genealogy of the recent Brazilian uprisings”
This article aims to contribute to the reflections on the roots of the June 2013 protests that happened in Brazil during the FIFA Confederations Cup, when hundreds of thousands took to the streets of more than 350 cities to show their disappointments with the socio-political scenario in the country. The specific goal is to answer the following questions: after the redemocratization, what were the main factors involved in the relationship between Government and civil society agents that contributed to the so-called “Demonstrations Cup”? And what was the role played by new movements that begin to target mega sporting events and their impacts more recently? Focusing on the trajectory of the most prominent counter-hegemonic and non-hegemonic movements, these questions will be answered by exploring secondary sources and institutional documents related to those movements. This will shed some light on the dissemination of new associative forms within Brazilian civil society over the last decades, which played a key role in generating critical subjectivities against the urban problems and sporting events, fundamental for the context that gave rise to the protests of 2013.

Erick Omena de Melo is a PhD candidate in Urban Planning at Oxford Brookes University. His research interests focus on the interface of social movements, urban governance and mega-events. He has a Masters in Urban and Regional Planning from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, where he also worked as a member of the coordination team of the project “Metropolization and Mega-events”. Erick has also collaborated with social movements such as the People’s Committee for the World Cup and the Olympics in Brazil and the National Football Fans Association.


In 2014 and 2015, academics and politicians were shocked by huge demonstrations against the Roussef’s government and the Workers’ Party. It was the first time, since the beginning of military coup in 1964, that right-wing organizations succeeded in holding massive demonstrations over the country. The goal of this paper is to develop an exploratory analysis of the right-wing protest events in Brazil examining their main characteristics (brief chronology, organizers’ political projects, protestors’ profiles and framing) placing them in their broader political context. The research consisted of qualitative analysis of protest events, using national newspapers and secondary data on protestors’ profiles. The article maintains that the central objective of the protest is to take down Workers’ Party from the power, without a clear alternative to replace them. Protesters kept a negative agenda. They voiced against: against Workers’ Party, against Lula (former Brazil’ president) and against Dilma Roussef. Corruption was the point of convergence of the protesters and a word through which they expressed, often in an angrily and personalized terms, their indignation. Protesters claimed Brazil has been taken over by a gang, a “Workers’ Party gang”. As a result, they define themselves as the true Brazilian people reacting against a misappropriation of the nation. In spite of the
fact that they voted massively in PSDB (Brazilian Social Democracy Party) in presidential elections, surveying data show protesters have neither a clear political project nor strong party preferences. In the elections, they gave their support to the candidate who had more chances to defeat the Workers’ Party. Say in other words, although the leaders of protests are clearly right oriented, as far as protesters’ opinions is concerned the picture is more nuanced. Protestors surveyed localize themselves on the centre-right. So, as expected, they are critical of conditional cash transfer programs oriented for facing poverty, such as Bolsa Família, as well as racial quotas policies. But, at the same time, they agree with a major presence of the state in universal policies, such as health care, education and public transport and affirm these services must be universal and free. In addition, regarding morals and customs, surveys show that protestors have a more liberal view than the average of the Brazilian population, regarding themes as abortion and same sex marriage, for example. Also, the vast majority of the protestors agreed that democracy is always the best regime, despite of the presence of radicalized groups defending the return of military rule. Although results are still inconclusive and further investigations are needed to grasp accurately protesters’ profile, it is quite clear that the dichotomy right versus left only partially describe either protesters’ motivations or ongoing political disputes in Brazil. It is needed to put protests into a broader perspective to apprehend their nature and reading their contradictory signals. First of all, since 2013 there has been a revival of contentious collective actions in Brazil and the right-wing protests must be analysed as part of that open-ended mobilization cycle. On the whole, people seem more inclined to join the demonstrations to voiced their dissatisfactions and defend their proposals. This disposition to join demonstrations, in its turn, may be related to the high levels of mistrust in political institutions in place today. Specifically about right-wing protests, there is a noticeable trait of a counter-movement. Protests has been holding in reaction to Workers’ Party policies, namely, social policies oriented to increasing social equality and to empower subaltern groups. The left turn has slightly challenged age-old distinctions and hierarchies which have historically prevented poor people and subaltern groups to have a voice in the public sphere. Thus, protest events are, in a certain extent, a counter-movement of the upper class, middle classes and conservative groups, against these achievements which threaten to destabilize power relations not only in institutional life but, mainly, in everyday life. However, the strong and widespread feelings against the Workers’ Party and its leaders are also closely related to what the left turn did not manage to do. Accordingly, two points seem to be directly related to the protests: the neglect of the middle class and the loss of communication battle. By and large, Lula and Dilma Roussef neglected the middle class not only in terms of an improvement of living conditions but also in terms of political communication. Sensitive issues for working class and middle class, such as health care, education, security and public transport are still bellow acceptable standards. In 2015, the context of the economic recession only aggravated the situation, since many families can no longer pay for these services in the market. Moreover, since the nineties, media reform is a central point of trade unions and social movement agenda but, unlike other
left 'governments in Latin America, Workers’ Party has not faced media power, quite the opposite, and has to pay a heavy price for that.

Luciana Tatagiba is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Campinas, S. Paulo, Brazil. She has several articles published on democracy, social movements and participation in Brazil.

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17:00–18:30 Panel 3: Contentious relations between movements and governments in Latin America

- Francesca Zunino, University of Bath: “A social-environmental movement of indigenous women for change: The Frente de Mujeres Mazahua en Defensa del Agua, Mexico”

Abstract
Under the interdisciplinary framework of nature-culture studies, this research presents some preliminary outcomes of a case study that bridges across political socio-ecology, feminism, and social movements studies. It focuses on a rural-urban indigenous women-driven social-environmental movement that links both traditional and challenging female identities and their representations (as farmers, mothers, feminists, and organized Zapatistas). The Frente de Mujeres Mazahua en Defensa del Agua has strategically manipulated actions, ethnicity, gender, and political discourses to challenge both the power of the state and of patriarchal structures within its own community. In 2003, severe floods caused by the Cutzamala Water System’s overflowing in the State of Mexico resulted in a total crop loss for the local Mazahua indigenous community. The FMMDA was created as a support struggle in appearance to assist men’s fight for justice. Nevertheless, this radical, transformative ‘hope movement’ rapidly lead to the encompassing of wider social, environmental and human rights' requests for the pursuit of awareness, participation, organization, equality and policy change. Moreover, the most recent developments within the Mazahua movements - including a joint legal action against the National Water Commission for ‘ecocide’ -, and the very adverse 2015 new federal law on water, provide further aspects for reflection on complex social strategies and struggles for both the prefiguration and the realization of autonomous practices, well-being and justice.

Francesca Zunino has been living between Italy, Mexico and the UK all her life. After a BA in joint Spanish and English Languages, Linguistics and Literatures (University of Turin), an MSc in Environmental Issues in Latin America (University of London), and an experimental PhD in Human Sciences, Latin American Studies and Ecolinguistics (University of Modena), she has lectured, researched and given seminars in Latin
American Studies, ecolinguistics and ecocriticism at several Universities in Italy, Mexico, Chile and Britain. After one year at King’s College London, she is currently Visiting Scholar at the Centre for Development Studies, University of Bath. She is about to start writing a book on the history of women and nature between Europe and Latin America.


In the first years of the twenty-first century, the governments that took office in the South American countries of Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia and Ecuador developed programs that opposed neoliberal policies. Especially Néstor Kirchner, who took office in Argentina in 2003, inaugurating a cycle of political stability after the crisis of 2001. Thereon, it is suitable to differentiate the governmental administration from 2003 to 2015 from the kirchnerist political movement, which united social organizations, unions and a peripheral political elite. In this new context, what aspects of the dynamics of the social mobilization were transformed? What strategies did the organizations adopt in this new context? Did they assimilate, join or try to create new action guidelines and the institutionalization of their actions and proposals? What debates did they stimulate and what challenges do they face before the announced end of cycle, when Cristina Fernández de Kirchner concludes his second term on December 10? Some investigations explained these changes in terms of the cooption of the organizations on the part of the government. On the other hand, others demonstrated that the organizations were taken those decisions for their grammars of political action this is, of its forms of construction and traditions and of its conceptions of the State and social change. The aim of this paper is to reconstruct this process between 2003 and 2015 considering the dynamics of social organizations in relation to kirchnerism as a political movement.

Ana Natalucci has earned a B.A. degree in Social Communication (UNC), an M.A. in Social Science Research (UBA), and a Ph.D. in Social Sciences (UBA). She has specialized in Political Sociology of social movements and collective action. She is a Research Assistant of the Department of Sociology and Demography at the National Scientific and Technological Research Council (CONICET). She is also a University Professor at the Department of Political Science (UBA) and a Postgraduate Professor at FLACSO and UBA.

- Francisca Castro, Institute of Public Policy, Universidad Diego Portales: “Chilean Student Movement: Impacts and Consequences”

Abstract
Social movements’ impacts are hard to determine, and however they are a key element in the study of social movements in general. My aim in this investigation is to elucidate the impacts of the students’ movement that has shaken Chile since 2011 with the
biggest street protests and manifestation since the late eighties, and to determine to what extent their demands have been fulfilled, and whether it has had a significant impact in the sociopolitical arena, like the common knowledge usually affirms. The main argument is that the student movement has had a significant impact in public policy and governmental initiatives, and its biggest accomplishment has been that the students were capable of change the governmental and legislative agenda, which had to adapt to the demands of the society, modifying the content of the parliamentary discussion and the governmental proposals on education: the student movement meant a break in the path of how educational policy was being developed.

Francisca Castro is Political Scientist and Sociologist from the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. She currently works as a researcher at Institute of Public Policy, Universidad Diego Portales.