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The past 25 years in Latin America have witnessed a renewed upswing in popular mobilization. The ending of the violent conflicts and military governments in the 1980s gave way to new struggles and a relatively more democratic climate. From northern Mexico to southern Argentina, social movements in the 1990s, and especially in the 2000s, have reached new heights of popular participation. These claims are confirmed by the multitudinous street marches in Costa Rica against the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) in 2007, the white marches in El Salvador against health care privatization, and the black marches in Panama against pension system reform, along with the massive indigenous mobilizations in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. In addition, the southern cone countries of Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay experienced widespread mobilization against economic liberalization policies throughout the early 2000s. New social actors and social organizations have entered the political scene such as social movements with environmental, feminist, gay/lesbian, and consumer identities (Alvarez et al. 1998). In addition, “traditional” social movements such as labor unions continue to play a major role in the social movement sector in campaigns against

austerity, adjustment, privatization, and free trade (Almeida 2007). The rural sectors also persist by launching struggles over working conditions or past exploitation (Enríquez 2010; Cordero 2009). Indigenous communities continue to be key players as well in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, and Peru. The mass mobilizations are also directly linked to the rise of several left-leaning governments in the region by converting street politics into successful electoral outcomes (Roberts 2014; Stahler-Sholk et al. 2014).

The Threats of Globalization

Economic globalization processes driven by neoliberal measures create new threats that mobilize massive numbers of people (Almeida 2014). Two major threats connected to globalization include environmental threats and economic threats. Environmental threats are driven by mobilization in response to declining ecological conditions (Arce 2014; Johnson and Frickel 2011). Chapters 17 and 18 in this volume show such environmental threats motivating mass mobilization from mining to deforestation in Costa Rica and El Salvador, respectively. Economic threats relate to the loss of social safety nets and subsidies put into place during the period of state led development (Simmons 2014). Between the 1950s and 1970s, even military regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama provided basic price controls and implemented social se-

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curity systems. Since the 1980s, this social safety net has come under attack with the debt crisis (Walton and Seddon 1994). In the late 1990s and early 2000s, these threats reached a threshold whereby they began to spark major campaigns of resistance throughout the Americas. Perhaps, the opening bell was the 1994 Chiapas uprising that occurred symbolically the day the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect. The Chiapas rebellion proved to be a hybrid of the region's past with its future (see Chap. 11 in this volume). The Chiapas rebels began their struggle as a classic Latin American Guerrilla movement, as a rag tag army poorly armed facing the Goliath of the Mexican military and local landlords. Quickly, however, the struggle changed to a strategy of largely nonviolence and a strong critique of neoliberalism mixed with indigenous rights. These kinds of claims would become common throughout Latin America in the proceeding decades.

Other subsequent campaigns in the region largely maintained a nonviolent path against perceived threatening neoliberal economic policies. Major struggles were launched against privatization in each country of the region and closely related austerity measures. As the Sandinistas lost power in early 1990, its base of supporters launched several campaigns against austerity, massive layoffs, and privatization (see Chap. 21 in this volume). One of the larger campaigns in Nicaragua in the 1990s was against budget cuts to higher education following pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank debt reduction decrees. In Honduras, public school teachers, university students, and public sector workers fought several campaigns against economic austerity and privatization and united these efforts in the multisectoral organization, the Bloque Popular. These organizations would move on to constitute the resistance to the 2009 military coup—the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Popular (FNRP) (see Chap. 22 in this volume). Costa Rica has fought several anti-neoliberal campaigns since 1995, which often peaked with street marches of 100,000–200,000 people—the largest marches in Costa Rican history. El Salvador also held its largest mobiliza-

tions since 1980 when the government moved to try and privatize the Salvadoran Social Security Institute. Panama also witnessed major campaign between 1995 and 2014 against labor flexibility laws, telecommunications privatization, the restructuring of the pension and social security system, and mining (see Chap. 12 in this volume). These struggles are all unified by the threat that the economic policies will make groups worse off if implemented (Goldstone and Tilly 2001).

Opportunities of Globalization

The economic side of globalization may create new threats to induce mobilization, but the political and organizational dynamics of globalization also drive new opportunities and spaces for mobilization (Meyer 2004). In several countries, demonstrators worry less about state violence than in the past. While fear and intimidation are still part of the state's repertoire of tactics they pale in comparison to the extreme forms of state violence employed in the 1970s and 1980s (see Chap. 4 in this volume; Viterna 2013). A veritable wave of democracy engulfed the developing world in the 1980s, which also included several Latin American states (Markoff 1996). The emergence of democracy in the region since the 1980s emboldens more groups to seek redress for grievances (Arce and Bellinger 2007).

This democratic transition has shifted the strategies of the social movement sector in Latin America. Campaigns of opposition no longer search to remove authoritarian regimes (with the exception of the anti-coup resistance in Honduras); rather they focus on specific policies of the state. The struggles are largely nonviolent at times blending forms of disruptive protests such as roadblockades (Silva 2009). Many of the tactics also demonstrate novelty and creativity such as the use of the heart in the NO campaign against CAFTA in Costa Rica (Raventos 2013). In short, the new democratic terrain has shifted the strategies of social movements as state institutions are relatively more open to popular demands and the government must tolerate certain levels of dissent to retain political legitimacy and

maintain electoral competitiveness in future electoral rounds.

An additional opportunity brought about by globalization is the transnationalization of the social movement sector (McCarthy 1997; Smith 2008). Movements are beginning to coordinate activities across borders through international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) and international conferences (Von Bulow 2011). International labor organizations such as the Service Employees International Union provide workshops to dozens of public sector labor associations about the potential negative consequences of privatization in Latin America. Several US-based labor solidarity associations have assisted maquiladora workers throughout the region in campaigns for union rights and collective contracts (Armbruster-Sandoval 2005).

For example, SAPRI and Jubilee 2000 are very active in Latin America providing training and information about structural adjustment policies and demanding they become more transparent to the public. In El Salvador, INGOs help sponsor the *Campaña Democracia Azul* against water privatization. Perhaps the transnational force with the greatest influence involves environmental organizations. These international groups have played a major role in several campaigns since the 1980s, and ever more frequently, in struggles over hydro-electric dams, strip mining, deforestation, and species conservation (see Chaps. 17 and 18 in this volume). At the same time, NGOs should not be classified as a homogeneous group sponsoring mass mobilization (Spronk and Terhorst 2012). Often NGOs serve to demobilize communities acting as agents of domestic and international elite interests.

Beyond the growing influence of transnational advocacy organization, we find increasing communication across countries via Latin American associations of universities, labor associations, and a variety of civil society organizations. One important forum is the annual Foro Mesoamericano, where NGOs and social movements from throughout Central America congregate for a week and exchange past struggles while strategizing future ones. The Foro has met seven times in each country in the region. After the July 2002

Foro held in Managua, activists planned and coordinated a day of Central American wide protests from Chiapas to Panama against free trade and the Plan Pueblo a Panama (PPP). Simultaneous protests and roadblocks were carried out on October 12, 2002 (Día de la Raza) throughout the isthmus. It marks the largest coordinated action in the region and demonstrates the growing possibilities of transnational collective action with the advance of globalization. An even larger coordinating body across Latin America is the World Social Forum (WSF), first founded in Brazil in 2001 (see Chap. 7). Since this time, the WSF has held several multinational forums across Latin America including in Argentina, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Venezuela, linking activists, NGOs, and labor unions across the hemisphere. Nonetheless, most anti-neoliberal mobilizations maintain a national focus through the second decade of the twenty-first century.

Movements in Opposition to Neoliberal Forms of Globalization

A variety of groups now engage in the campaigns against globalization in the region. These groups can be partitioned into three categories: (1) labor movements, students, and the informal sector; (2) new social movements; and (3) rural and indigenous groups. These three groupings form the basis to resistance to globalization throughout the region. In this section, we link the grievances and the capacity to mobilize of each of these social sectors to the broader processes of globalization.

Labor, Students, and the Informal Sector Labor is threatened by economic crisis, privatization, and labor flexibility. Public sector labor unions have been the most influential because of maquilization of the region, with the exception of CONUSI in Panama and relatively strong labor confederations in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay (Anner 2011). Workers show up in protest more than any other social group in Central America (Mora 2004), as well Latin American wide studies (Almeida 2007).

In general, students and the university community have been at the core of the largest struggles in Latin America over the past 20 years. The public universities, in particular, have played a critical role. The student federations in El Salvador (AGEUS) and more radical organizations such as Frente Roque Dalton, Bloque Popular Juvenil (BPJ), and UERS-30, participate in anti-austerity struggles. The Panamanian university system participated in the struggles against pension system reform, water privatization, and labor flexibility laws. The Guatemalan student federations were key actors against the signing of the CAFTA between February and March of 2005. In Costa Rica, the university community (students and staff) was integral in the struggle against telecommunications and electricity privatization in 2000 as well as forming a university front against CAFTA between 2004 and 2007. The largest social movement in Chile, since the restoration of democracy in 1989, has been the mass organization of high school and university students over the privatization of public education (see Chap. 13 in this volume).

The informal sector, despite a difficult uphill struggle, has also participated in several campaigns against the social and economic consequences of globalization. In El Salvador, street vendors of pirated DVDs formed a national coordinating organization to fight the implementation of CAFTA and police raids on their kiosks. Other informal sector workers addressing grievances related to the globalization of sex tourism have also demanded more protection from the state. In Uruguay, the urban squatter movement has contributed to the electoral success of the left-leaning Frente Amplio party in the 1990s and 2000s (see Chap. 15).

New Social Movements Newer less traditional social movements have emerged on the political scene throughout Latin America. They include feminist groups, ecologically based civic organizations, gay and lesbian collectivities, and consumer advocacy groups. The key defining component of social movements is that they cannot be reduced to only social class cleavages. They represent other social conflicts over lifestyles,

identities, and solidarity for other causes (Laraña et al. 1994). Many of these new social movements have played a major part or in coalition against the process of neoliberal globalization. In El Salvador, the environmental group Unidad Ecológica Salvadoreña (UNES), has used its limited resources to participate in several anti-neoliberal campaigns, including anti-health care privatization, CAFTA, mining, and geothermal energy exploration. In Costa Rica, the Federación Ecologista Nacional (FECON) groups dozens of local and national environmental groups to battle energy privatization, CAFTA, and several local battles over a variety of environmental threats by transnational mining, energy, and tourist companies. In some cases, environmental groups have created broad alliances with civil society sustaining campaigns over a long period of time (see Chap. 18 in this volume).

The women's movement and feminist groups have also participated in organizing tasks within civil society against globalization (see Chap. 6 in this volume). Mujeres contra el TLC held several major events in 2006 and 2007 against CAFTA in Costa Rica. In El Salvador, women's organizations such as las DIGNAS and MAM were on the frontlines against health care privatization. Female leaders from key NGOs such as CRIPDES and the Alianza Ciudadana contra la Privatización, also have served in key leadership positions in anti-neoliberal campaigns (Almeida and Delgado 2008).

Rural/Indigenous Groups Indigenous and rural groups also join in opposition to the latest round of Latin America's integration into the capitalist world economy (Robinson 2008). In Guatemala, Mayan peasant associations were integral in the opposition to the TLC between 2004 and 2006 (see Chap. 23 in this volume). They also participated in major campaigns against an IMF-imposed sales tax hike in 2001 and 2004, as well as electricity price hikes in the 2010s. In Panama, the Kuna and Ngobe people have fought several battles against transnational tourism companies to protect their native lands (Maney 2001; Horton 2007) as well as major campaigns against mining and mega projects such as dams. Throughout Central America, banana plantation workers have

launched campaigns against the transnational chemical corporations that dispensed Nemagon and poisoned thousands of workers (Cordero 2009). Rural peasant associations in Honduras have also fought CAFTA and other privatization measures.

Organization of the Volume

The following chapters capture many of the major movements, groups, and issues mobilizing Latin America over the past two decades. We have drawn from a community of Latin American social science experts, many of whom were born or currently reside in the region. The volume provides a platform and resource for a new generation of scholars to analyze the complexity and consequences of this unprecedented wave of mobilization across the hemisphere.

Based on the earlier discussion, we organize the handbook along the following structure: (1) Conceptual and Theoretical Advances in Latin American Social Movements; (2) Critical Themes in Contemporary Popular Mobilization; (3) Indigenous-Based Struggles across the Continent; (4) Urban-Based Movements in South America; (5) Environmental Conflicts; and (6) Country Case Studies. Our conceptual chapters organize the broad parameters of competing schools of thought on the core causal conditions driving social movement participation and movement emergence in Latin America. These theoretical approaches include Chase-Dunn et al.'s macro-level chapter that argues for a world system perspective in order to contextualize national level collective resistance in Latin America. Another structural approach is presented by Wickham-Crowley and Eckstein which prioritizes political and economic conditions in order to comprehend the shape of popular contention in the Americas that is largely rooted in working class and excluded communities. A more specific theoretical contribution comes from Chap. 4 on the ways various forms of state repression either escalate or defuse social movement activity in a variety of countries and historical contexts. A refreshing counter balance to the structural per-

spectives is offered by Chap. 5 with a detailed focus on how cultural interpretations are fundamental in fomenting and sustaining collective action campaigns in contemporary Mexico. The cultural and political practices of social movements are critical in understanding how collective identities develop and convert into episodes of popular contention (Escobar 2008). A purely structural approach cannot account for the cognitive processes of grievance formation and interpretation of events as they unfold in particular cultural milieus.

Part II is structured around Critical Themes in Contemporary Popular Mobilization. This section incorporates essays and original research on major issues cutting across the region in relation to social movements, including women's movements, the WSF, Liberation Theology, and clientelism. Horton's contribution examines key forces mobilizing women and feminist organizations throughout the Americas. As noted earlier and in several chapters in this volume, women's associations in gender-specific struggles and in coalitions with larger multisectoral movements have acted in pivotal roles in nearly every major social movement campaign over the past 30 years. The chapter on the WSF highlights its evolution over the past 12 years of its existence, from Porto Alegre, Brazil, to the various regional WSF summits in other parts of Latin America. The WSF is arguably the most consequential transnational social movement left in the world today, and its origins reside in South American social movements (Smith et al. 2014). Mackin's comprehensive review of the rise and fall of liberation theology brings readers up to date on current scholarship on a religious movement that engulfed much of the continent by the late 1960s. He walks us through several regions and explains how changes in Catholic Church social doctrine became a rich resource for social justice movements in country after country. Of special importance is how liberation theology, once implanted, had such differing outcomes in local contexts with varying regime types. In some cases, liberation theology supported nonviolent movements for human rights (such as in Chile and Argentina), in other national contexts the new social doc-

trine for the poor reached revolutionary levels of mobilization, such as multiple Central American countries in the 1980s. Finally, Chap. 9 on clientelism within the unemployed workers' movement in Argentina, reminds us of the complexities of patron–client relationships in terms of social movement mobilization. It offers a corrective to social movement studies of the “North” that often assume an overly horizontal or autonomous relationship between social movements and their allies and benefactors.

In Part III, we turn to indigenous-based mobilization in Latin America. Native peoples (or *pueblos originarios*) have led some of the largest protest campaigns in the Americas over the past 20 years. This is especially true in the Andean countries of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, southern Mexico, Guatemala, and Panama. Chapter 10 highlights the roles of indigenous mobilization in Bolivia and Ecuador over the past two decades. Eduardo Silva addresses the understudied tensions of these movements once socialist governments take power in the late 2000s, the establishment of new constitutions, and the ability to press for change through institutional channels. Incán's chapter focuses on the indigenous Zapatista movement of Chiapas, Mexico. In the most systematic quantitative analysis of the movement, she shows variation in mobilization across the localities of Chiapas over a period of 10 years and how the local political context of opportunities and threats conditioned the largely non-violent (but often disruptive) mobilizations. In a case from Panama, where contentious indigenous mobilization is on the rise in the 2010s, Beluche analyzes the indigenous Ngobe-Bugle workers' strike and nonviolent uprising in 2010 on the banana plantations and packaging plants in Bocas del Toro Province. It offers a unique situation of solidarity across the country with the indigenous people in a relatively remote district.

Part IV introduces readers to urban and informal sector mobilization in Latin America. As the urbanization process continues at a rapid rate in the twenty-first century in the developing world, the locus of the majority of struggles has moved forcefully to the cities. This proposition finds special relevance here as Latin American

is one of the most urbanized world regions. The first chapter in this section centers on original research on the student movement to re-nationalize public education in Chile. As high school and university enrollments continue to expand throughout the cities of the global South (Schofer and Meyer 2005), the educational sector becomes one of the only segments in civil society capable of mobilizing large numbers of people in collective action campaigns (Almeida 2014). This was certainly the case for Chile, as Von Bulow and Bidegain Ponte argue; the student movement in Chile was the largest in the past 20 years of any social mobilization. Chapter 14 captures the everyday routines of urban community activists during the years of Bolivarian Revolution under President Hugo Chávez with crucial comparisons to urban mobilization in the pre-Chávez era. Álvarez-Rivadulla presents original quantitative research on the urban squatter movement for land and housing in Uruguay with special attention on the relationship of political parties with the movement.

Environmental struggles in Latin America are introduced in Part V. The chapter on Mexican environmentalism provides a concise 30-year history of the transformation of conflicts from conservation to new types of social struggles over new development projects. Cordero's essay on Costa Rica combines dominant modes of environmental thought driving action over two centuries with more contemporary struggles over water, forests, and mining. Drawing on another case from Central America, Cartagena Cruz creates an exhaustive listing of major environmental conflicts in the post civil war era in El Salvador. He demonstrates convincingly that the majority of social conflicts reside at the community level, often over contamination and pollution issues. These chapters combined show growing evidence that battles over economic development projects and resource extraction are likely to continue to serve as the focal points for the largest social-movement type mobilizations in the twenty-first century.

In Part VI, the collection moves into more global case studies of social movement activity in individual countries. In the cases of Nicaragua, Honduras, and Brazil, we are provided with gen-

eral social movement histories over the past two decades in each country, highlighting key social sectors and grievances generating the mobilizations. In the chapters on Argentina, Colombia, Guatemala, and Peru, the authors present original quantitative counts of protest events and other movement-related activities. These chapters provide systematic empirical data on the core trends of protest activity over several years demonstrating fluctuations in mobilization related to changing political and economic conditions.

By structuring the Handbook along the lines of theories, topical themes, specific movements, and in depth case studies we are able to obtain a comprehensive approach to Latin American social movements from a variety of lenses. The objective of this organizational style is for this collection to ultimately serve as an important resource for scholars and students of social movements in the social sciences.

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