

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America

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Neoliberalism changed the face of Latin America and left average citizens struggling to cope with changes. The popular sectors, broadly defined, were especially hard-hit as wages declined and unemployment and precarious employment expanded.¹ Protracted backlash to neoliberalism in the form of popular sector protest and electoral mobilization opened space for left governments throughout Latin America (Silva 2009). Where do the popular sectors that struggled so long to create the conditions for the left turn stand today?

Neoliberal reforms unquestionably caused profound transformations in the relationship of the popular sectors to the political arena. Collier and Collier (1991) argued that the national populist period (1930s to 1970s) selectively incorporated popular sector actors (mainly unions) into the political sphere. Later, neoliberal policies sought to exclude them, especially from socio-economic policy-making arenas. Because the neoliberal period marginalized urban and rural popular sectors, the turn to left governments raised expectations for a second wave of incorporation (Rossi 2015a, 2017). And yet, although a growing literature has analyzed many aspects of left governments (Burdick, Oxhorn, and Roberts 2009; Cameron and Hershberg 2010; Weyland, Madrid, and Hunter 2010; Levitsky and Roberts 2011), we lack a systematic, comprehensive, comparative study of how the redefinition of the organized popular sectors, their political allies, and their struggles have reshaped the political arena to include their interests.

Our volume analyzes this problem in five paradigmatic cases: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela, following Rossi's (2015a, 2017) thesis of the second wave of incorporation in Latin America. The subject is critical for understanding the extent of change in the distribution of political power

in relation to the popular sectors and their interests. This is a key issue in the study of post-neoliberalism because the emerging new developmental path in Latin America includes an expansion of the political arena.

Case selection centered on the most paradigmatic instances of incorporation in countries that include varying levels of socioeconomic and political development in high-to-medium to low-middle-income countries. These were cases that experienced significant anti-neoliberal mobilization precisely because of the economic, social, and political exclusionary nature of that project where popular sectors were concerned—a contemporary version of Polanyi's double movement against the imposition of contemporary forms of market society (Polanyi 1944; Silva 2009; Roberts 2014). Because the expressed interests of aggrieved popular sectors were plainly revealed in protests and electoral mobilization, one can measure the extent to which those interests were incorporated. We also have variation on institutional constraints and how they affected the incorporation process. These were greater in Brazil and Argentina, where incorporation was more bounded in existing institutional frameworks, and weaker in the Andean cases, where experimentation was consequently greater.

We ask three central questions. How did neoliberal adjustment and its second-generation reforms affect the transformation of key popular sector social and political actors, their interests, demands, and actions? How have reconstituted organized popular sectors been (re)incorporated into politics by center-left or left governments and what is their role in the social coalitions that support them? What are the consequences of the mode of incorporation for policy and politics?

The book addresses these questions in three sections focused on transformations affecting social movements, trade unions, and political parties. The section on social movements analyzes the emergence of new movements and the transformation of more established ones in terms of their demands, repertoire of strategies, and their relationship to political parties, the state, and the policy-making process in general. The section on unions concentrates on transformations in the structure of representation and redefinition of demands, repertoire of action, and strategies, as well as changes in their connection to the state, political parties, and the policy-making process in general. The section on political parties and party systems analyzes transformations in party systems, such as the emergence of new labor parties, populist parties, and transformation in existing ones. It also examines the social coalition they appeal to and their connections to the social groups that compose them. Each section also explores cooperation and tension among the principal actors on key policy issues, such as reforms to free-market economics and democracy.

We use a historical analytic framework to address these questions. The book analyzes how the transformations produced by neoliberal economic and political reforms affected patterns of popular sector incorporation in the political arena from the 1980s to the present. The country chapters begin with a brief overview of the previous conditions that set a benchmark by which to assess each process of relative disincorporation under free-market economic restructuring and the politics that supported it.

The chapters then trace key processes through two distinct periods. The first of these is the neoliberal period. The chapters begin with a quick review of how neoliberal economic and political reforms (1980s to early 2000s) attempted to dismantle the arrangements of the national populist period by decollectivizing popular sector organizations, especially unions. However, we do not ignore how neoliberal projects also reordered politics in ways that opened spaces for new popular sector actors at the local level and/or in other spaces disconnected from economic policy making. We then turn to an examination of the reactive phase to neoliberal reforms (1990s to 2000s). During this phase, popular sectors and their allies mobilized in the streets and electorally. How labor unions, left political parties, and social movements reconstituted themselves to challenge neoliberal economic, political, and social reforms profoundly affected the second incorporation in each case.

The second period, of course, is that of the second incorporation and re-shaping of the political arena under left governments claiming to advance post-neoliberal projects (1999 to the present). This is the heart of the case studies. Here we examine the rearticulation of unions and social movements to political parties and the state. We also analyze the role of the politically significant popular organizations in the policy process and in social coalitions that support left projects. We pay careful attention to patterns of cooperation and conflict between popular organizations, parties, and the state, as well as to cooperation and conflict *among* popular organizations: who is in, who is out, and why.

The substance of the book spans a period from the late 1990s to the mid-2010s, which is when the second incorporation took shape in Latin America. To be sure, the end of the commodity boom and shifting winds to the right raise questions about the legacies of this new incorporation. However, incorporation projects began before the commodity boom during the reactive phase to neoliberalism and thus they cannot be attributed to windfall increases in the price of raw material exports.² Because these shifting economic and political winds are new, their impact cannot yet be fully gauged, only guessed at. We cannot yet discern what was fleeting and what sank deeper roots. Therefore, we end our study just before these very recent events. We

are confident that this volume will set a benchmark for measuring what was lasting from this push for popular sector incorporation and what was more fleeting, which will most certainly be a matter of degrees in many instances rather than wholesale rollback.

Here in one collection, then, we have detailed studies of the three key actors—social movements, trade unions, and political parties—in a process of transformation that has profoundly affected politics in Latin America. Most studies only analyze one of the actors, and frequently only in single cases. Understanding the broader, cumulative effects and meanings of those discrete processes eludes us. We offer this volume as a corrective and hope that it will open a lively conversation.

CENTRAL CONCEPTS

Neoliberalism

This book focuses on the consequences of neoliberalism for the second incorporation of popular sectors in the political arena in the left governments that followed. Thus, it behooves us to clarify what we mean by the concept. In so doing, we also lay a narrative foundation for the country cases that reduces repetition of its core elements.

We use the concept of neoliberalism to refer to a specific form of capitalism and a series of reforms to reorganize economic relations along neoclassical economic principles beginning in Chile in 1975. The neoliberal project also had a political and social dimension once redemocratization got under way in the 1980s. This development model stressed the price system as the sole allocator of capital, labor, and land. Politics, meaning the state and representative institutions of democracy, as well as social policy, should be restructured so as to minimally interfere with the market (Silva 2009).

The timing, sequencing, and intensity of policies designed to accomplish neoliberal restructuring varied significantly across cases (Weyland 2002). However, all followed a similar pattern. So-called first stage stabilization policies addressed deep fiscal crises, balance of payments crises, and hyperinflation of the national populist period. Policy prescriptions emphasized balanced budgets, stable unitary exchange rates, and restrictive monetary and fiscal policies, primarily high interest rates and slashing government expenditures by firing state employees and cutting programs (Birdsall, de la Torre, and Valencia Caicedo 2011).

Structural adjustment reforms followed initial stabilization policies (Edwards 1995). First stage structural adjustment focused on the liberalization of trade, finance, investment, and agricultural sectors. They encouraged dereg-

ulation, privatization of public enterprise, and foreign investment. The idea was to free the price system to allocate resources more efficiently. Second stage structural adjustment restructured social institutions along market principles in health care, education, pensions, and social assistance programs. Policy encouraged privatization of services, decentralization, and means-tested coverage. These policies shifted risk onto individuals and downsized public services, narrowly targeted basic services, and social safety nets to the poor.

Neoliberal economic reforms had a political corollary: the consolidation of liberal, representative democracy and state reform (Silva 2009). Liberal democracy was understood as small government structured to support the neoliberal economic and social project. Thus, redistributive issues and a larger role for the state in economy and society were off the table. State reform meant strengthening central banks and finance ministries and circumscribing the reach of most other ministries. Having abdicated an active role of the state in economic and social development, liberal democracy emphasized procedural processes and rights for fair and free elections. Individual rights against discrimination by creed, race, religion, and gender were also advocated. Who was elected to office, however, should not affect neoliberal economic and social policy.

Electoral reforms and advances, however, could have unintended consequences. They opened spaces for popular and subaltern groups to organize against the neoliberal project. This was sometimes the case with decentralization, electoral engineering, and cultural inclusion for indigenous peoples (Falletti 2010; Lucero 2008; Willis, da C. B. Garman, and Haggard 1999; Weyland 2002; Yashar 2005). They opened the door for the development of left parties at the local level who then learned to compete on a national basis, as in the case of Brazil. They could also strengthen the organization of indigenous social movements that later pressed their territorial and material claims, as occurred in Bolivia and Ecuador.

Popular Sector Incorporation

The concept of popular sector incorporation is multidimensional because it refers to the recognition of the claims of politically active popular sectors, the creation or adaptation of formal and informal rules that regulate their participation in politics, and their links to the policy process (Collier and Collier 1991; Rossi 2015a, 2017). Thus, one may conceptualize the principal relationship of popular sectors to the state on three dimensions: individual rights (particularly the universal right to vote); collective rights (the right to form associations and to participate in the polity); and substantive citizenship rights (the capacity to influence public policy to ensure that governments respond to core social and economic claims).

However, popular sector incorporation is a historical process and its specific forms vary over time. Collier and Collier (1991) analyzed the processes that culminated in the initial incorporation of the mid-twentieth century. Following Rossi (2015a, 2017), the neoliberal period and the ensuing reaction to them that culminated in left governments can be understood as periods of relative *disincorporation* and *reincorporation*. This volume examines these processes in depth.

The *first incorporation* in the mid-twentieth century focused on the formal recognition, legalization, and regulation of labor unions; it codified the relationship of unions to the state, business, and policy making. Corporatism emerged as the dominant (but not only) form of popular interest intermediation, in which party-affiliated unions were the politically dominant representatives of popular sectors. The state chartered and licensed privileged union confederations to represent the interests of workers in the political arena and vis-à-vis business (Collier and Collier 1991; Collier in this volume).

The neoliberal period was one of relative *disincorporation* as a result of the application of economic and political reforms that reduced the power of the organized popular sectors vis-à-vis other segments of society (Rossi 2015a, 2017). It involved efforts by the political and economic elites to weaken and exclude collective popular actors and their organizations from the political arena. It was never absolute, as in returning to the conditions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Popular sector organizations, especially unions, were still recognized legally and regulated. However, the point was to decollectivize and depoliticize them as much as possible. This entailed measures to weaken popular organizational capacity, to tightly circumscribe their sphere of legitimate action, and to remove them from influencing socioeconomic policy making (Cook 2006). The goal was to atomize and fragment them and limit their action to the private sphere; that is, a firm-level union can only bargain with the firm's management under conditions that greatly tilt power in favor of the firm. Labor code changes that emphasized labor flexibilization, along with high unemployment and underemployment due to the shedding of formal sector jobs created by privatization, the decline of domestic industry with trade liberalization, subcontracting, and state downsizing, all took their toll. Of course the extent to which this occurred varied significantly across the cases, as we shall see. Furthermore, because state corporatism was the principal type of interest intermediation that emerged from the national populist period, neoliberal economic social reforms sought to supplant it with neopluralist forms (Oxhorn 1998).

By contrast, the period after neoliberalism is one of *partial reincorporation* for the popular sectors (Rossi 2015a, 2017). Because reincorporation takes

place after redemocratization, basic individual rights (such as voting) already existed, as did the collective rights to organize. The emphasis, therefore, is on the third dimension: the expansion of substantive rights in ways that the expressed interests of major, politically significant new and old popular sector organizations find, at minimum, programmatic expression in left governments. Reincorporation also involves the concrete institutional mechanisms that link popular sector organizations to the political arena and policy making. These are the mechanisms by which popular sector organizations connect to new, transformed, or established political parties and the state in order to have their expressed interests recognized and acted upon in the policy process (Rossi 2015a, 2017).

The best way to understand the second incorporation is to contrast it to the first because it is fundamentally different (this comparison is developed by Rossi in the next chapter). Disincorporation under neoliberalism left traditional labor unions weakened. They could not lead challenges to neoliberalism from below nor subsequent reincorporation efforts. Instead, neoliberalism and the reactive phase to it gave rise to a fragmented, heterogeneous popular sector landscape. New, often territorially based popular actors rose to the fore, such as indigenous peoples' movements, unemployed workers, neighborhood organizations, shantytown dwellers, and landless peasants, among others (Rossi 2015a, 2017). In this context, the labor movement was one more participant among many in anti-neoliberal protests, and its relationship to territorially based movements varied greatly from case to case (Silva 2009).

This context was not propitious for the re-creation of state corporatism as the modal form of popular interest intermediation. Instead, as Rossi points out in the next chapter and as Silva argues in the conclusion, when governments developed reincorporation strategies they acted selectively and with differentiated mechanisms, depending on the type of popular social subject and their needs. Under these circumstances, the fate of organized labor differed greatly. In some cases, unions were not subjects of reincorporation strategies; instead, they were largely marginalized. In other cases, they fared somewhat better.

Because of the heterogeneity and fragmentation of the popular sectors in the context of democratization in highly unequal societies, the second incorporation is less structured, less institutionalized, and exhibits a greater variety of mechanisms of incorporation for a much more varied sociopolitical base than the first incorporation. The new incorporation is primarily *not* about state corporatism; it is about social citizenship (as Roberts and Rossi each stress in this volume), mechanisms of direct participatory democracy, and social inclusion. The inclusion of territorially based rather than functionally differentiated groups is part of what makes the second incorporation both

potentially more democratic but also potentially fraught (as Rossi argues in this volume and elsewhere). Fragmented and territorially based groups can win collective and individual rights but can also be co-opted and managed by technocrats and clientelistic brokers.³

In sum, as Rossi (2015a, 2) has persuasively argued, the new incorporation amounts to “. . . the second major redefinition of the sociopolitical arena . . . caused by the broad and selective inclusion of the popular sectors in the polity after being excluded or disincorporated by military authoritarian regimes and democratic neoliberal reforms.” The second incorporation is about the recognition and inclusion of popular and poor subaltern social groups’ interests in the political arena, which comprises political parties, elections, executive and legislative institutions, and policy making. However, the mechanisms that articulate the popular sectors are more varied, often ad hoc, and less institutionalized with the presence of more informal arrangements (Rossi 2017).

Significantly, inclusion in reincorporation processes frequently but not necessarily concerns popular sector organizations. At the very least, however, they entail policies that attend to their expressed or revealed interests, especially those raised during the cycles of anti-neoliberal contention that preceded left turns (Roberts 2014; Silva 2009). Therefore, social policy may be considered reincorporation when programs found a new explicit or implicit social contract that extends or universalizes basic social rights to groups that had been disincorporated or marginalized by neoliberalism (Rossi 2015a). This is especially true when the implementation of social policy entails new ministries with staff and budgets. In that respect, their heading and staffing with persons representative of the popular sectors becomes a characteristic of incorporation (Rossi 2017).

The fragmentation and heterogeneity of politically significant popular sectors in the context of highly unequal democracies also shaped popular interest intermediation, another crucial dimension of incorporation. As the union hub weakened, a new form of interest representation and intermediation emerged, the associational network (Collier and Handlin 2009; Chalmers et al. 1997). As an ideal type, the A-net comprises networks of heterogeneous, small, local organizations whose actions are generally circumscribed to local-level action. National-level interest intermediation was rare and generally dependent on linkage with national unions (Collier and Handlin 2009). This interpretation, however, limits intermediation to two forms: corporatist or neocorporatist and pluralist forms.

In the concluding chapter, Silva posits the emergence of what he calls segmented popular interest intermediation regimes. This involves differential responses by governments to the diverse segments of the popular sector writ

large, which includes a variety of other poor and marginalized subaltern social groups (Luna 2014; Roberts 1998). In the second incorporation, governments establish a mix of different forms of intermediation to cover the needs of specific segments of the popular sectors. This means that corporatism may persist in diminished or modified form. In some cases, it may involve labor unions. In others, reincorporation strategies may focus on socio-territorially organized segments.

In this formulation, modified corporatism may exist alongside traditional forms of interest intermediation, such as clientelism, as well as newer forms that are emerging, which Silva calls “state managerialism” and “informal contestatory types.” State managerialism refers to recognition of popular sector demands and the technocratic formulation and delivery of public policies to address them, but the state does not involve the popular sector organizations that raised them in the policy process. Informal contestatory types involve routinized exchanges: governments propose policy, vigorous protest by affected popular sector organizations erupts, negotiation ensues, following which governments adhere to negotiated agreements. Because the pattern repeats, it constitutes an informal institutional mechanism of interest intermediation.

PRINCIPAL OUTCOMES OF THE SECOND INCORPORATION

In synthesis, what makes the second incorporation period unique is that, generally speaking, it is about the extension of initial incorporation centered on unions to other popular sector groups who had never organized successfully, been important demand makers, or gotten significant social programs (Collier in this volume; Rossi 2015a, 2017). The relatively privileged position of unions of the original incorporation period has given way to indigenous and landless peasant organizations, urban popular organizations of people employed in the informal economy or the unemployed, senior citizens demanding pensions, women, and environmentalists, to mention some of the most prominent actors. As effective enfranchisement expanded, these new groups became crucial electoral support bases for left governments in our cases.

That said, we find significant diversity in the degree to which the privileged position of unions has given way to the interests of other popular actors and their organizations. The trend is stronger in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador than in Argentina and Brazil. In the first group, left governments, at one point or another, saw unions more or less as obstacles to their projects for change. This has been constant in Ecuador under Rafael Correa and the case throughout most of the Bolivarian Revolution under Hugo Chávez. Meanwhile, in Bolivia under Evo Morales, unions have established an uneasy arms-length

relationship with the government. Given this more or less conflictive relationship with labor unions, the social policies and politics of these governments have generally favored other popular sector groups more.

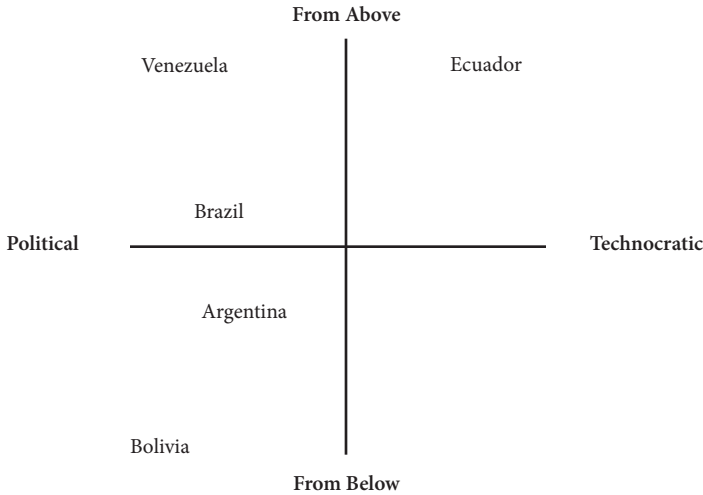
The situation was qualitatively different in Argentina and Brazil. Unions fared better than in the other cases even as other popular sectors were incorporated. However, unions lost their privileged representation of the popular sectors, competing for the same constituency with a wide array of movements. In the governments of Néstor Kirchner and Luiz Lula da Silva, trade unions, unemployed workers' movements, landless peasants' movements, and other grassroots organizations competed for political space inside the governing coalition and for the access to resources coming from public policies.

The cases also suggest that political parties play a less central role in the second incorporation period than in the first (Roberts in this volume). Parties in general are weaker in relation to the executive branch and stand in a different relationship to the mass base. Again, there are differences across cases. Parties are weakest in Ecuador and Venezuela, where they do not effectively serve as transmission belts for societal interests, much less those of the popular sectors. The initiative rests with the state. But even in the case of Bolivia, with a new mass mobilization party, left parties are not particularly strong. In Argentina and Brazil, the Peronist Justicialist Party and the Workers' Party turned into catchall electoral machines (Levitsky 2003; Hunter 2010). Because their policy agenda-setting roles have declined, they mainly function to recruit people for executive and legislative office. By the same token, their electoral campaigns are much more media-centric, with individualized and professionally run campaigns.

As a result of this development, public policy has been an important mechanism for connecting the state to popular sectors in the second incorporation. These involve targeted education, health, and pension cash transfers. Subsidies to consumption are also used, such as for food, transportation, housing, and energy. These policies point to a new social contract with poor, subaltern, and underprivileged social groups, and many will be difficult to reverse.

In addition to these findings, the mode of incorporation—whether from above or below, and by political or technocratic means—also shows similarities and contrasts to the national populist period (Collier and Collier 1991). The mode of incorporation encompasses the relationship among the principal actors, mainly popular sector organizations, political parties, and the state. However, an important difference with first incorporation is that the cases of second incorporation in this volume take place in at least nominally democratic regimes and, thus, political parties play a role in all. But parties in general are weaker and less centrally involved; consequently, the state in many

Figure 1.1. Typology of modes of incorporation



of the cases plays a deciding role. It therefore seems reasonable to distinguish between incorporations in which the state without significant party input orchestrates incorporation and where parties play a significant role.

Figure 1.1 offers a typology of reincorporation modes. Political incorporation from above occurs when state actors primarily orchestrate the process. This fits Venezuela's second incorporation, although, in a significant original contribution to the literature, we find that there has also been a substantial push from below within the United Socialist Party. By contrast, Bolivia is mainly a case of political incorporation from below, which occurs when political parties organically created by social movement organizations are the principal vehicles of incorporation. Technocratic incorporation from above happens when the party that gains power mainly mobilizes popular sectors for electoral purposes. There are no formal connections between popular sector organizations and the policy process or mobilization of popular sector organizations in the streets in support of contested policy initiatives. The link is through the implementation of social and economic policies that respond to the expressed demands of popular sector organizations. This fits Ecuador.

Argentina and Brazil suggest a mixed mode of political incorporation. Incorporation from above is probably more relevant in Brazil than in Argentina, but both cases share strong elements of incorporation from below. In the 1940s, Peronism was in charge of incorporating the popular sectors, but largely into an existing state corporatist system. However, in the 2000s reincor-

poration was preceded by a deep crisis of the political regime and by intense mobilizations by non-Peronist movements and unions. In Brazil, a new union movement born during the transition to democracy created the party that expanded incorporation for labor and other popular sector groups when it won the presidency with Luiz Lula da Silva in the early 2000s. But they were being incorporated into a weakened top-down corporatist interest intermediation regime dating to the authoritarian *Estado Novo* of the 1930s.

Overall, the second incorporation period was very complex because it involved extending incorporation to new popular actors as well as established ones. Given the number of politically relevant popular actors and their heterogeneity, we observe significant tension between new social movements that emerged in the resistance to neoliberalism and more established popular actors. In Bolivia, there was conflict between lowland indigenous peoples and highland indigenous-peasants and between the latter and labor unions. In Argentina, there was conflict between the unemployed workers' movement and new unions and the established unions. In Brazil, landless peasants' movements and peasant unions competed for resources and political power. Meanwhile, Venezuela's established labor confederation clashed with a rapidly expanding new union movement. In Ecuador, state-sponsored movements tangled with autonomous movement organizations in a ritualized game of demonstration and counterdemonstration.

EXPLAINING SECOND INCORPORATION MODES

What explains these outcomes? The evidence from this volume suggests that the main explanation lies in a combination of popular sector struggles against the exclusionary consequences of neoliberalism and deep changes in Latin American political economy. By the 2000s, the shift away from industrialization during the neoliberal period toward reliance on comparative advantages in an open trading system partially led to a neodevelopmental "new extractive" model (Bresser-Pereira 2011; Gudynas 2012) in the context of a world commodity boom. This model emphasizes renewed state involvement in the economy and social policy along with rapid expansion of trade in mineral and agricultural commodities as the engine for economic growth and state revenue.

It has been amply documented that the neoclassical economics-inspired market-oriented reforms of the neoliberal period had the general effect of expanding the informal and service sectors of national economies to the detriment of formal employment (Egaña and Micco 2012). Privatizations, the reduction of the state bureaucracy, and the liberalization of commerce led to

deindustrialization and further land concentration, with the effect of increasing informality and exclusion. Hence, the decline of urban labor unions as the key politically significant popular organizations and the increase in the relative political importance of other popular subjects was a consequence of economic and political changes (Rossi 2013, 2015a, 2017; Silva 2009, 2012).

A vigorous debate exists over what might constitute post-neoliberalism. Rather than assume a dogmatic ideological posture, we take the position that post-neoliberalism is a mixture of continuity with neoliberal policy lines and reforms to them that emphasize a sustained programmatic commitment to governing on the left (Burdick, Oxhorn, and Roberts 2009; Levitsky and Roberts 2011). That means greater state direction of the economy and social policy that, in addition to targeting to the poor, expands services and income support to broader sectors of society in an effort to approximate universality. Individual cases vary greatly in the mix. If neoliberalism was a form of capitalism, post-neoliberalism is primarily another form. It does not necessarily entail a transformation to some other economic and social formation, whether based on indigenous concepts of good living or ecological imperatives or some other formulation.

From this perspective, the left governments that ruled the cases in this collection, to a greater or lesser extent, contributed to the construction of a post-neoliberal order. Four of them remain staunchly capitalist. Venezuela thinks of itself as moving toward state socialism but still has to negotiate with its private sector. In all cases, the fiscal resources from the world commodity boom that began in the early 2000s provided left governments with the wherewithal for an increased role of the state in economic development. It also permitted governments to promote an innovative welfare model centered on targeted cash transfers that included benefits for informal sector workers (López-Calva and Lustig 2010).⁴ However, governments have also steadily expanded transfers and social services to ever-broader segments of society. Poverty figures have declined markedly and inequality measures have improved (Gasparini and Lustig 2011; Huber and Stephens 2012).

The mobilized popular sectors played an important part in creating the political conditions for these left governments to come to power (Rossi in this volume; Silva 2009). However, the cases in this volume exhibit a great deal of diversity in the degree to which social movements displaced unions as the main contentious actors since second incorporation. That trend was decidedly more marked in the Andean cases than in Brazil and Argentina. A key difference marks the diverse outcomes: whether trade unions were strong and part of a corporatist system that could effectively represent a relatively significant proportion of the popular sectors.

In the Andean cases, party systems crumbled, and new left political movements and their parties appealed massively to nonunion popular voters (Roberts 2014). Constituent assemblies crafted constitutions that laid the legal foundations for a new political order. Unions were viewed with suspicion because they were, more often than not, associated with the established political system and parties that were being swept away. Brazil and Argentina, by contrast, exhibit greater institutional continuity with the past.⁵ New political parties and political movements adapted to the established party system in Brazil, while in Argentina the Peronists dominant position was reinforced. In office, left governments did not think of themselves as recasting the nation. Incremental change was the order of the day. Unions were valued political allies, along with new social movements that had also become politically relevant.

Whether the extension of incorporation in the 2000s was—from above or from below, political or technocratic—depended on the relationship of the left party to the popular sectors in the context of relative institutional continuity or discontinuity. In Venezuela, a case of political incorporation from above, the leadership of the Bolivarian political movement, did not have deep organic links to organized popular sectors. Thus, it used public policy to organize nonunion popular sectors from the state. In Bolivia, political incorporation largely occurred from below because the left party in power was a mass mobilization party created by social movements. In Ecuador, the new ruling-left political movement lacked ties to popular organizations. Indeed, it competed with the major ones. Hence, it relied on public policies to technocratically incorporate from above citizens individually as voters.

The situation was different in the cases of institutional continuity, where a mixed political incorporation was the model followed. The Peronists had long dominated politics since they first incorporated labor from above in a corporatist system. Notwithstanding the collapse of the party system during the 2001–2003 crisis, part of the Peronist Justicialist Party continued that pattern in noncorporatist terms when the left faction of the party gained power in the early 2000s, extending incorporation to new unions, the unemployed workers' movement, and popular sectors in general with favorable public policies. The Brazilian case was another case of mixed political incorporation because the Workers' Party was a new mass mobilization party with strong links to a burgeoning new labor movement and urban and rural movements (Rossi 2015a, 2017).

Last but not least, there is the question of protest and sociopolitical conflict after neoliberalism. Much, but not all of it, is linked to the economic development model, which has been characterized as neodevelopmental based on intensification of natural resource extraction—hence the “new extractivism”

moniker. Neodevelopmentalism refers to a return to thinking that the state has a vital role to play in directing, fomenting, and shaping economic development paths. The difference today is that the range and sophistication of policy instruments in the context of globalization has expanded from those of the mid-twentieth century (Flores-Macías 2012; Gallagher 2008). To varying degrees among our cases, economic nationalism, indicative planning, nationalization and renationalization of firms in strategic sectors of the economy (generally in the natural resources areas because they produce most state revenue), infrastructure expansion, reregulation of utilities, and industrial policy are all in vogue. Less applied are customs tariffs, discrimination against international enterprise, direct subsidies to firms, and aggressive expansion of public enterprise outside of the public utilities sector.⁶

How to finance the expansion of state economic activity and its increased social welfare effort? The international commodity boom, fueled to a large extent by the rapid economic growth of emerging market economies, especially China, offered a solution: aggressive expansion of natural resource agromineral extraction to supply increased global demand at skyrocketing prices. This of course was nothing new in Latin America; it was an old familiar pattern. What was new was the mix of commodities and the consuming nations in the context of economic globalization. The model required rapid improvements in transportation infrastructure and expansion of energy production, as well as expansion of agribusiness and large-scale mining.

This neodevelopmental extractive model was a source of tension and conflict with social movements that emerged or grew to resist its ecological impacts and—in some cases—fight for a post-neoliberal order that would embrace environmental imperatives. In the Andean region, it also included the claim for a plurinational state that fully implements indigenous rights and territorial autonomy. But the neodevelopmental extractive model ran roughshod over these concerns. Roads needed building, mega-dams constructing, water rights diverted to agribusiness and mining, land appropriated, and populations displaced regardless of environmental concerns or the newly acquired and constitutionally sanctioned indigenous rights. The chapters on Bolivia and Ecuador, especially, detail rising resistance to the model. The comparative chapter on social movements in Brazil shows that peasants and agricultural workers (landless or not) are also affected and struggle against it.

OVERVIEW OF THE VOLUME

The book is divided into three parts: social movements, trade unions, and political parties. Each part has four chapters: a general thematic, comparative introduction, two chapters with paired comparisons, and a case study chapter.

Each chapter follows a common structure. The paired comparisons are Bolivia-Ecuador and Argentina-Brazil, with Venezuela as the country chapter. Bolivia and Ecuador both have large influential indigenous peoples' movements and sharp political-institutional breaks with the neoliberal era. Venezuela also experienced profound institutional breaks. However, oil income, differences in popular sector forces, and more radical departure from Washington Consensus policies place it in a category of its own.

Argentina and Brazil, by contrast, share a greater degree of institutional continuity and, therefore, constraints than the other cases. Thus reincorporation processes exhibited less radical departures. The five cases offer good representation of left governments on a spectrum of moderate to radical. A concluding chapter reflects on the contributions of the second incorporation for the construction of a post-neoliberal order.

Federico M. Rossi opens part 1 with a conceptualization of the two waves of incorporation, their differences, and an analysis of the role of popular movements in them. He argues that the disruption produced by social movements was important for both incorporation processes. They pushed elites to define a new "social question," innovating in both social and repressive policies to deal with the popular claims for sociopolitical inclusion. However, there are profound differences between the two waves of incorporation. In the first incorporation, labor and/or peasant movements were the main organizers of the popular sectors in their claim for well-being. The second incorporation saw the emergence of what Rossi defines as "reincorporation movements"—a type of movement that built upon, but simultaneously decentered, labor-based actors. In addition, he argues that second incorporation processes were not conducted through the old corporatist institutions but through new or reformulated institutions conceived in response to the territorialized nature of the claims that emerged with reincorporation movements.

Eduardo Silva opens the case studies with a comparison of social movements in Bolivia and Ecuador. He argues that although the heterogeneous anti-neoliberal coalition was similar in both cases, their reincorporation processes differed sharply. In Bolivia, the process occurred from below via a new mass mobilization party of indigenous, peasant, and colonist (frontier settler) social movements. In Ecuador, a state-led process of reincorporation keeps national social movements at arm's-length. The chapter also analyzes conflict between Bolivia and Ecuador's left governments and erstwhile supporting social movements.

The situation was radically different in Venezuela, where María Pilar García-Guadilla shows that the Bolivarian government actively promoted the creation of popular organizations to give material substance to the constitu-

tionally enshrined concept of the sovereign people. She traces the history of popular urban struggles in Venezuela and argues that the government discursively legitimizes the language of these movements. However, at the same time it “criminalizes” their protests and stimulates neo-clientelistic practices that facilitate political co-optation, restrain the emergence of a genuine independent popular movement, and result in a pattern of “excluding inclusion.”

The book then turns to an examination of social movements and the second incorporation in Argentina and Brazil. Federico M. Rossi analyzes the struggles for incorporation of the Argentine *piquetero* (picketeer) movement and the Brazilian landless workers’ movement. He traces their trajectory from their origins as anti-austerity movements to the development—partially as a result of these movements—of policies for the second incorporation in Argentina and Brazil.

Part 2 opens with an introduction by Ruth Berins Collier that frames the transformation of the trade union systems in terms of a historical comparison between the first and second incorporations. She addresses three questions to understand the distinctive features of the contemporary process. First, what key features such as union density, labor law regulations, and unification or fragmentation of the organized labor movement changed? Second, how have party-labor relations changed? Third, what is the relationship between unions and the newly incorporated groups? Notably, Collier underscores the point that unions were not necessarily the central actors of reincorporation.

Jorge León Trujillo and Susan Spronk open the chapters on trade unions with a comparison of Bolivia and Ecuador. The title “Socialism without Workers? Trade Unions and the New Left in Bolivia and Ecuador” refers to the conflicted relationship of organized labor with the governments of Evo Morales and Rafael Correa. The situation is considerably worse in Ecuador, where the government has gone to greater lengths to fragment and weaken labor unions than in Bolivia.

Steve Ellner’s chapter on Venezuelan union-state relations reveals notable similarities and differences with the preceding two cases. At first the Bolivarian Revolution attacked unions because they were aligned with opposition political parties. Afterwards, however, it reorganized the union movement and, ultimately, created a sector that supports the Bolivarian Socialist process of transformation.

Argentina and Brazil offer a sharp contrast. Julián Gindin and Adalberto Cardoso show that unions have fared relatively well under left governments since 2000 and that their intervention capacity has increased. However, they also note that in both cases, politics rather than collective bargaining now play the major role in labor/capital disputes.

Part 3 on political parties begins with an overview by Kenneth M. Roberts that frames key dynamics. He notes that Latin America's second wave of incorporation, like the first, was heavily conditioned by party politics. Party organizations, however, were not always the chosen vehicle for popular sectors seeking a stronger voice and enhanced participation in the democratic process at the beginning of the twenty-first century. In some cases, reincorporation was channeled through established left political parties; in others, however, it occurred outside of established party systems, effectively displacing traditional parties from their dominant roles in the electoral arena and governing institutions.

In "From Movements to Governments: Comparing Bolivia's MAS and Ecuador's PAIS," Catherine Conaghan shows how the established party systems collapsed, giving rise to New Left political movements and parties, albeit with radically different trajectories. Bolivia's MAS retains organic linkages to social movements that originated it. In contrast, PAIS emerged primarily as an electoral vehicle and never developed strong ties to groups in civil society. Distinguished by their different modes of linking to society, both parties have achieved hegemonic status and laid the foundations for controversial, transformative presidencies.

Daniel Hellinger follows up with an analysis of the Venezuelan party system through the lens of petro-politics. He shows how the late Chávez years and early post-Chávez years have produced an electoral system composed of two electoral blocks that is held together more by the polarized nature of competition than institutionalized electoral processes.

Pierre Ostiguy and Aaron Schneider close the country studies with an analysis of changing party popular sector dynamics in Argentina and Brazil. While reincorporation has occurred within the established but evolving party system, the process has differed sharply in each case. Argentina has moved closer to a de-institutionalized party system and a personalistic, "transformative" form of political leadership, as in Venezuela. Brazilian parties have increasingly institutionalized both the party system and a coalitional mode of governance across a broad ideological spectrum.

Eduardo Silva's concluding chapter reflects on the type of interest intermediation between state and society that emerged in the consolidation of second incorporation. He argues that in the cases covered by this book, we find "segmented popular interest intermediation regimes." These are mixtures of new forms of popular interest intermediation alongside reorganized corporatist regimes and clientelism. The conclusion, thus, reflects on the contributions of the second incorporation for the construction of a post-neoliberal order and raises questions for future research.