

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE
ON URBAN MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA¹

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The idea of compiling this bibliography arose in the course of our discussions on urban movements in Latin America. A majority of recent studies focus on one particular movement and, at best, provide an overview of the literature concerning one particular country. Although the wish and the need to compare these findings with experiences in other Latin American countries is expressed, many attempts to find comparable studies from other countries come to grief upon the wide scattering of uncatalogued articles, papers and so-called *mimeos*. This bibliography is meant as a time-saving device for students of urban movements as well as an encouragement to comparative studies of the phenomenon.

To begin with, over five hundred titles are listed in alphabetical order of author's names. Then an index is provided according to country as well as to the six main themes figuring in recent debates, discussed below. Furthermore, a list of journals with special issues on the theme was drawn up as well as an inventory of periodicals in which articles have appeared, with references to the research centers behind these publications. Although the bibliographical register is certainly not exhaustive and new titles will have appeared by the time of publication, we are confident that it covers most - and at least the most important - publications that have appeared until the beginning of 1989.

From the outset it should be clear that only 'theoretical-empirical', including case-studies, have been included. Purely theoretical works were left out. Such studies are amply discussed in the two preceding chapters and references can be found in the respective bibliographies. The listing includes studies of urban movements in the broad sense of the term. As argued elsewhere in this volume, we find it useful to distinguish 'social movements' within the broadly defined field of collective action because it enables us to retain a critical dimension in studying such collective action. However, this criterium has not been applied in the organization of this bibliography which covers a broad spectrum of types of movements as well as of theoretical approaches.

Listing the types of movements that have been excluded probably provides the clearest insight into what can be found in the bibliography. Studies of what are manifestly labour movements, peasant movements, guerrilla movements, ethnic

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movements, ecological movements or national liberation struggles have not been included. Of course there are overlaps and clear-cut distinctions are sometimes hard to make. For instance, studies of the *comedores populares* (communal kitchens) have been included in our listing, although quite often they link up explicitly with studies of women's movements. On the other hand, many anthropological studies which focus on issues like kinship relations and *com-padrazgo* in popular neighborhoods are not mentioned although they are of obvious relevance to the understanding of 'local level politics'.

Moreover, it should be noted that in the early 1970s the term 'urban social movements' was not yet in vogue but that many studies of popular neighborhood organizations appeared which shared the concerns of what are nowadays called 'urban social movement' studies. Specific interest in 'urban social movements' is a relatively recent phenomenon. One of the reasons for the emergence of the subject is certainly the rapid spread of this type of movement in Latin America over the past two decades (cf. Friedmann 1989c, Schuurman 1989). On the other hand, it has also been argued that in the 1960s no specific attention was devoted to 'urban social movements', not because they did not exist, but rather because they were deemed less important by prevailing social theories (cf. Alvarado 1982, Machado & Ziccardi 1982). On the one hand, functionalist inspired studies took the problem of social integration in 'modernizing societies' as a starting point. This gave rise to the early theories of 'marginality'. It was argued, for example, that out of the then reigning 'chaos', "Latin American man emerges dis-integrated, as an irresponsible being, as a purely passive subject of the action of authority and 'higher powers'" (Vekemans & Giusti 1969-70). Oscar Lewis, at the time, developed the idea of a 'culture of poverty'. These views of the 'marginals' as disorganized, isolated, parochial, parasitic, either apathetic or prone to political extremism have effectively been dealt with in Perlman's (1976) critique of the *Myth of Marginality*. Marxists, on the other hand, would rather focus on movements that are clearly class based, including the prominently present peasant movements, which were categorized according to their 'political' or 'pre-political' character (e.g. Quijano 1979). Eventually, marxist inspired versions of 'marginality theory' were also developed (e.g. Nun 1969, Sunkel 1970, Quijano 1974). The events in Chile and the subsequent work of Castells may be said to mark the beginning of the era of the 'urban social movements'.

Reviewing the literature, we found that six themes seem to be prominent in the current debates and, as already mentioned, the works listed in the bibliography have been indexed accordingly. In the following, we will briefly outline the issues covered in the thematic indexation. The themes are:

1. The relations between urban movements and class struggle.
2. The issue of urban movements and the state.
3. The diversity and pluriformity of the movements with regard to their aims, means, organizational development, etcetera.
4. Urban movements and socio-political change.
5. The socio-cultural impact.
6. Views on the role of 'external agents', such as political parties, the church, NGOs and other 'organizations of civil society'.

1. Urban movements and class struggle

One of the starting points for many of the analyses of urban movements in Latin America in the 1970s was the notion of 'urban contradictions'. The aim was to determine the way in which such contradictions would give rise to urban movements and how these movements could actually have an impact on systemic features which, in the last analysis, give rise to the urban contradictions. The notion of urban contradiction was generally operationalized in terms of collective consumption, for which Castells's (1977) example was followed. It was argued that, on the one hand, the development of capitalism and the concomitant spatial agglomeration of the labour force requires an extended provision of urban services. As such services - indispensable for the reproduction of the labour force - tend to be unprofitable for private capital, the state, attending to the long term interests of capital, would become responsible for these items of collective consumption. Ultimately, however, the 'indirect wage' provided through the state is dependent on taxation of private enterprise and thus eats into the profit rate. Hence the contradiction facing the capitalist state in simultaneously attending to the requirements of accumulation and preserving its legitimacy which give rise to phenomena like the 'fiscal crisis of the state'. Such problems, it was argued, provide the context for the emergence of urban movements. In the Latin American context they have special prominence due to the relatively late, peripheral, process of industrialization: accumulation on a 'poor base' (Moisés 1982) and the particularly 'predatory' and 'savage' form of capitalism (e.g. Kowarick 1980).

Although the operationalization of the notion of urban contradictions in terms of 'collective consumption' has given rise to various comments which we will touch upon later, Jacobi (1987) has argued that one "cannot bypass the fact that the majority of the urban movements in Latin America, and specifically in Brazil, reveal a struggle for the redistribution of the means of collective consumption". The real problem with the concept of urban contradictions, he argues, is not that it has been a-critically transposed to Latin American reality, along with the concept of State Monopoly Capitalism. It is the economism of these notions, that is the presuppositions from which they spring, which poses the real problem.

It is out of the dissatisfaction with economism in its various forms, such as 'epiphenomenalism' and 'class reductionism' (cf. Pansters 1986, Slater & Pansters 1986), and the allegedly mechanistic view on the relations between 'objective conditions' and consciousness (Mainwaring 1987: 140-144) that the search for more 'actor-oriented' approaches began. Slater and Pansters (1986) draw much of their inspiration from the work of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and their post-structuralist theory of the 'discursive conditions' for collective action. Others have turned to the 'moral economy' approach (e.g. Nunes 1989), to the 'methodological individualism' of resource mobilization theories or to new versions of alienation theories (e.g. Evers 1985, Kärner 1983), including Touraine's (1977, 1981) sophisticated view that alienation derives from the appropriation of a society's 'cultural model' by one class and that the oppositional role of social

movements arises from the desire of the dominated sectors to make their self-image coincide with their social image. Castells himself would, in the course of time, turn away from the approach in which "collective action is usually seen as a reflection of a crisis created by an economically determined structural logic", arguing that as a result, "we are left with urban systems separated from personal experience; with structures without actors, and actors without structures" (Castells 1983: xvi, cf. Lowe 1986). Castells's rejection of his earlier views is related to his rejection of the role of 'the party' which he had seen earlier as the mediating factor between structure and actor. As Assies points out in his contribution, this shows that even in the earlier marxist studies, the relation between structure and 'superstructures' was not taken to be simply one of mechanical reflection. Therefore even if one rejects the idea that 'the party' provides the 'correct line' it cannot be assumed that every 'self-conscious' movement makes 'good sense'.² The structure/actor problem, on which further comments can also be found in Salman's contribution, cannot be solved that easily.

The issue is related to the question of the 'subject for anti-capitalist struggle'. The Salvadorian sociologist Mario Lungo (1987: 73) has criticized the tendency to bid farewell to the working class as it has emerged in some of the recent 'new social movements' studies. "By no means", he states, "do I wish to state that the movements of women, blacks, pacifists, ecologists, homosexuals and others are not important, or cannot have any effect, or that they have to deny part of their identity. By no means. It is simply that the principal (though not the only) grave-digger of capitalism is and remains the organized working class". With reference to urban movements, this view of the matter was reflected in Castells's earlier emphasis on the need for urban movements to articulate themselves with the struggles of the working class in order to become *social* movements effectively addressing the 'primary' contradiction between private appropriation of surplus and the socialization of the production process which gives rise to 'secondary' urban contradictions. On the other hand, Pansters (1986: 21) has argued that "in classical Marxist discourse all forms of struggle that do not take place in the primary movement of capitalism, i.e. the relations of production, are seen as secondary. The historical specificity of Latin American cities however makes it impossible to accept such a view". The distinctive feature of the Latin American situation is characterized by Pansters as one of 'incomplete proletarianization'. Thus the *pobladores* do not derive their identity from their insertion in the relations of production: "Their communality is expressed in the sphere of income, that is the level of the household which constitutes the major entity for the reproduction of labour power". This links up with the arguments presented by Evers, Müller-Plantenberg and Spessart

² These are the problems which give rise to the 'paradox of emancipation'. If, on the one hand, it is held that collective self-emancipation is desirable but, on the other, that the consciousness of those who are expected to emancipate themselves is systematically distorted and manipulated as a result of domination which impedes them from recognizing their 'real interests', either emancipation is out of the question if the 'autonomy' of subordinate groups is to be respected, or it cannot be 'pure' self-emancipation.

(1979) and Moisés (1982) about the class heterogeneity of popular neighborhoods and the probability of the development of an anti-capitalist consciousness. To put it crudely, the argument is that in view of the historical specificity of Latin America, social protest cannot but be 'pluriclassist' - that is involving the 'popular classes' -, in contrast to the countries with a clearly defined class structure. Class is thus turned into a 'secondary issue' whereas the issue of collective consumption and the ensuing antagonism of 'the people' to the peripheral capitalist state is turned into the 'primary' one (see also Assies's contribution).

Before turning to the issue of the relation with the state, we should observe that the central role which the notion of 'collective consumption' has come to play in the analyses has been subject to various comments. Lojkin (1981) has already argued for a broader definition of 'urban contradictions' that would not focus exclusively on collective consumption. However his approach, inspired by the theory of State Monopoly Capitalism, hardly differentiates between the state and capital and thus automatically, the central role of the state as the target of mobilization is retained. Borja (1975) has pointed out much more clearly that urban contradictions also include issues such as ground rent which involves private capitals rather than being directly related to the state. Of course the issue is a complex one. Squatters may occupy 'private' terrains and then either face the violence of the owner or that of the state, or both, or may strike a bargain with one of them against the other (e.g. Vellinga 1986). Once the issue is settled, it is followed by the collective problems of drainage of the terrain and the 'individual' problem of constructing a house, for which materials, again, may be acquired collectively by pressuring the state into setting up a 'self-help' housing program. Others have pointed to the use of mobilization concerning issues of 'individual consumer goods', such as the *Movimento do Custo da Vida* in Brazil (Evers 1981) and communal kitchens that have recently emerged in Peru and Chile (e.g. Wesemael-Smit 1988).

2. Urban movements and the state

As has become clear from the previous discussion, it was largely as a result of the historical specificity and the heterogeneous class structure of the Latin American countries that such a central role was attributed to the relation with the state. It was argued that the heterogeneous popular classes derived their popular identity from their opposition to the state (Moisés 1982). Evers, Müller-Plantenberg and Spessart (1979) wrote that "given that, for most of the population in Latin American countries demands for adequate living conditions are incompatible with the existing form of capitalist development on the continent, such demands are, in the final analysis, directed against capitalism as a social relation of domination. Even so, the main target for these demands in the sphere of reproduction is the state". In these analyses it often was too easily assumed that the relation to the state would always be one of pure antagonism.

However, the state not only relies on repression in perpetuating its domination, but also attempts to cope with urban movements in different ways. Burgess (1982, 1986) has argued that in dealing with this problem, pluralist theory is rather inadequate because of its exclusive focus on integration and on institutionalized forms of articulating demands, even at a time when political life on the continent was increasingly characterized by repressive regimes. Marxist theory, by contrast, has focussed too much on state-repression and non-institutionalized forms of articulating demands. What is needed, he argues, is a theoretical framework which encompasses the domination-integration and domination-repression functions of the state (Burgess 1986: 29). Since the state determines access to public resources, it can use this power as a control mechanism and maintain political and economic domination over the urban masses. Burgess distinguishes three types of domination-integration. First, he mentions state support for self-help housing and points to the individualistic ideology behind this approach which tries to isolate the people, promotes a petty-bourgeois mentality, channels their discontent and attempts to neutralize it by offering sporadic help to alleviate the worst conditions. The second form of domination-integration is the attempt to control popular organizations by integrating them into a vertical and hierarchical state structure. Vertical integration, rather than horizontal articulation, has of course a divide and rule effect. The third form is the use of state resources for partisan political purposes through a complex interaction of patron-client relationships. One form of clientelism is *ventajismo*, that is the use of state power and resources to advance the cause of the governing party among low income groups at the expense of the opposition. It often goes together with *paralelismo*, the setting up of parallel institutions to compete with popular organizations in which the opposition is firmly entrenched.

If Burgess has made clear that the state does not only rely on repression in coping with the urban poor, Banck (1986: 536) has criticized his conception of clientelism for turning it into a "self-propelled system of status quo maintenance (that) holds society and popular neighborhoods in its grip" and makes it analytically difficult to account for change. While not denying the strong status quo tendencies of clientelism, he claims that it is neither timeless nor static. Focussing on the Brazilian case, Mainwaring (1987: 152) has argued that "paradoxically, the very success of the movements in challenging traditional political practices eventually led them to become more exposed to these traditional practices". He goes on to argue that initially the movements were met with repression, but that subsequently the state was forced to develop a strategy to respond to them and that at that point, clientelistic practices became more widespread. Therefore, he asserts, cooptation of an established movement implies some exchange between the state and the movement. Others (e.g. Leeds & Leeds 1978) have stressed that the relationship is a two-way process involving interests that are not always conflicting and where both parties have to 'give and take' according to circumstances. Such a view of mutual dependence, however, carries the danger of seeing the relationship as an egalitarian one.

It is in this context that one must understand the discussion of 'citizenship' on the one hand, and of the autonomy of urban movements, if they are to be

social movements, on the other. In his synthesis of the work of Castells and Weffort (1978) on the theory of populism, Moisés (1982) has argued that the *Sociedades de Amigos de Bairro* which arose in the 1945-64 period in São Paulo came to consider the populist hand-outs as rights and were thus demanding citizenship of the participants. This also points to the ambiguous role which the state can play in legitimizing demands, on the one hand, and confining them through the verticalist, individualizing, policies of clientelism and populism, on the other. It was when these mechanisms of cooptation entered into crisis that the *Sociedades* came to play a more autonomous role in pressing for citizenship. The 'crisis of populism', of which the more autonomous role of the *Sociedades* was one aspect, and the subsequent military intervention remind us that the capacities for 'integration' and 'responsiveness' of the state are not unlimited.

It is as a result of the efforts to contrast the movements that emerged in the 1970s to those of the populist period and their subjection through mechanisms of verticalist domination-integration that the notions of autonomy and non-institutionalization took on such importance. In the eyes of students of the movements as much as in their own self-understanding, this came to be understood as the distinctive feature which made these post-populist movements into *new* social movements. So much so that any type of 'participation' or 'institutionalization' was equated with 'integration' and rejected out of hand with the argument that any reform only serves to strengthen the system (Borja 1975: 51, Castells 1977). This view not only contributed to obscuring the actual relations between the movements and the state (Cardoso 1983, 1986, Kowarick 1986, Mainwaring 1987) but also became rather questionable in the context of the democratization processes in various countries (cf. Espinoza 1984). Moreover, as Salman puts it, urban movements simply cannot afford to be as autonomous and 'outside' the existing order as sometimes has been suggested. Borja (1975:121) once observed that "integration does not derive from the concrete character of demands, nor from their negotiation, but from the demobilization of those interested, from their disorganization" and that is what verticalist strategies are aimed at.

If, on the one hand, more attention is being paid to the relative flexibility in the state's responses to urban movements, on the other hand the image of the state as a monolithic block in confrontation with an equally monolithic 'movements-block' has been questioned. In an early study, Borja (1975: 36) argued that in response to the needs of monopoly capital, the state and the local administrations must increasingly become strong and autonomous organs with respect to the population but that through this centralizing tendency, the local administrations even lose their efficacy as ideological apparatuses since they become incapable of even simulating 'citizen participation'. Recently various authors have paid attention to countervailing tendencies towards local autonomy and have argued that such resistance is less irrelevant than had been suggested in the structuralist-marxist studies and their fetishization of the moment of 'seizing power'. Thus, Pedro Santana discusses the issue of the local state and urban struggles in Colombia in the new *FORO*-journal, which will continue to highlight the issue. As to the Peruvian case, the articles of Lima's ex vice-mayor, Henry Pease,

deserve attention. In his study of local government in Colombia, Collins (1988) points to the danger of stereotyping local governments in Latin America as traditional outposts of corruption and political clientelism that are neither responsive to, nor representative of broad community interests. In his research, he found that during the 1970s and 1980s, local governments, rather than being the targets, were often participants in, and intended beneficiaries of the *movimientos cívicos*. A considerable number of the local administrations have supported, organized and/or decreed so-called civic strikes, either through the municipal council or through the mayor or some other local government official who would subsequently quite often be the target of retaliation by the central state.

Such events point to the frictions and cleavages within the state which may also exist between or inside the various state apparatuses and which increasingly have drawn attention in research reports. Similarly, more attention is being paid to the 'relative autonomy' of state employees who may not only play a role in legitimizing the demands of urban movements but may also 'leak' relevant information or act as counselors (cf. Downs & Solimano 1988).

3. The plurality of urban movements

'Urban movements' is what one might call a 'catch-all concept' referring to different types and forms of organization with a variety of aims, means of action. The boundaries of 'urban movements' are not easily specified. They address a wide range of issues, not only concerning housing problems or local infrastructure, but also health-care and the preservation of popular medicine, public transport, education and nutrition. The means of action vary according to the issues as well as to 'the situation'. The illegal tapping of electricity, for instance, is a form of 'self-help' which may originally be an individual affair but may also give rise to collective action when the electricity company decides to intervene. Riots over public transport problems or the occasional looting of supermarkets are borderline cases since it is difficult to decide to what degree they constitute a movement.

Movements may be more or less long-lived. They may be very informal, without a clear structure or a very specific program or list of demands. In some cases they disappear once a specific demand has been satisfied, but there are many examples of more sustained activity and organizational development than 'life cycle'-theories sometimes suggest. After obtaining legal title to a squatted terrain, other issues requiring a collective solution may be addressed. Moreover, the organizations may develop into centers of community life as they begin to organize popular cultural events, broadcast local radio programmes or experiment with self-management. The thesis that neighborhood associations are always short-lived affairs, in contrast to workers' struggles which necessarily repeat themselves every year at the time of renewing contracts, thus does not hold in the way it has sometimes been suggested.

Nor does the idea that the struggles of neighborhood associations are entirely characterized by stubborn localism apply in any simple way. Although day-to-day struggles play an important role and are often scattered as a result of the many different problems to be solved and state apparatuses to be addressed neighborhood associations are part of a broadly defined 'popular movement' which manifests itself in specific conjunctures. Examples are the Brazilian *Movimento do Custo da Vida* of the late 1970s (Evers 1981), the Brazilian campaign for direct elections in 1984, the various mobilizations for democratization in Chile or the national and civic strike movements in Peru and Colombia.

This brings us to the issue of 'class alliances'. It should be born in mind that the notion of pluri-classism takes on a very different connotation in Latin America. In that context it refers to the heterogeneous class structure of the 'popular classes' (see 1.) rather than to alliances between the proletariat and the middle classes, as Castells (1977) has suggested. Mainwaring (1987) has pointed out that 'urban contradictions' have not usually contributed to bridging the gap between the middle classes and the 'popular classes' in Latin America while Boschi (1987) has recently paid specific attention to the newly emerging middle class associations in Brazil. Nevertheless, at specific moments, there may be a convergence towards common goals. However, using notions like 'popular classes' should not blind us to the divergences that exist among 'the people'. The same applies to the notions of 'community' and 'communitarian movements'. Such terms are 'constructs' that do not eliminate the actual heterogeneity in terms of status, class, political preferences or ethical choices and which influence the functioning of the movements (Cardoso 1983, Durham 1984, Unda 1986, Lesser 1987).

4. Urban movements and socio-political change

Most studies attempt to assess, in one way or another, the potential for socio-political change of urban movements. This remains an important issue, although the overdrawn expectations of some of the early studies have been toned down (Cardoso 1983 Mainwaring & Viola 1984, Mainwaring 1987). Some have even argued for removing the issue of 'change' from the definition of *social* movements altogether, to make the term apply to virtually any type of collective action aimed at 'solving felt problems' (Schuurman 1989). As has been argued elsewhere (cf. Burgwal & Salman 1990), we do not share this view.

However, if the initial studies asked what the contribution might be to a directly democratic alternative, the limitations of such a way of posing the problem became apparent soon. In many countries the question is not of direct relevance and the imagery of rapid societal transformation after the model of political revolutions, inherited from 1789 and 1917, has been extensively discussed. Over the years, and in relation to the problems presented by 'democratic transitions' after periods of military rule, attention has shifted to the question of possible contributions to the democratization of society and its relation to socialism on the one hand, and to what might limit the contribution of urban

movements to such a project, on the other. Ruth Cardoso (1983) has argued that the urban movements in Brazil certainly play a role in marking the presence of the oppressed, but that control over the aims of the state apparatus and its operation are outside their scope. It is at this point that the controversial questions of the links between the movements and a broader political project, to the 'political system' in general, and the problem of 'institutionalization', crop up. Mainwaring (1987: 154), among many, has argued that "the construction of effective linkages to political institutions, especially parties", is of crucial importance if the movements are to become a more salient political factor (cf. Mainwaring & Viola 1984).

This is a thorny issue. Not only as a result of the movements' experiences with the domineering practices of many left-wing parties, but also because it relates to the problem of populism and clientelism. Castells (1983: 211) evokes the image of squatters as "guest citizens of the Latin American metropolises, as foreign immigrants are guest workers of capitalist economies". This situation makes Latin American movements vulnerable in relation to the political system, he argues. It is in this context that the issues of autonomy and cooptation have received such overwhelming attention and that the proudly proclaimed 'autonomy' of the movements that arose in the 1970s led to actual relations with the state and their development being overlooked.

Thus the assessment of immediate institutional effects which the movements may attain by themselves have been toned down. Nevertheless, Mainwaring and Viola (1984) point to the influence of the movements on party programs and on the political agenda, and to their ways of entering into local politics. Moreover, they have drawn attention to the long term effects of the movements on 'political culture'. They also focus on the development of 'citizenship', that is 'a set of rights that belong to an individual simply by virtue of being an adult member of a nation', and the erosion of the tradition of political elitism.

5. The socio-cultural meaning of urban movements

This last point refers to another dimension of change that has been most vividly debated recently, namely the socio-cultural meaning of the urban movements. One of the most clearest statements of the emphasis on this aspect is Evers's (1985) assertion that "weak and fragmented as they are, the new social movements thus hold a key position for any emancipatory project in Latin America. They are it....". And he goes on claiming that "their potential is mainly not one of power but of renewing social-cultural and socio-psychic patterns of everyday social relations penetrating the micro-structure of society" (Evers 1985: 44, cf. Kärner, 1983). Friedmann and Salguero (1988) have emphasized similar points in their sketch of an eventual, complete transformation of political processes commenting that "empowerment is one aspect of larger social processes in which the future is foreshadowed; more precisely, with their emphasis on reciprocity, mutual aid, solidarity, social learning, participation and egalitarianism, they are counter-hegemonic processes in the specific Gramscian sense". Rather than focussing on

the political and institutional effects of the movements, these authors point to the attention to the 'subjective' effects of *empowerment* resulting from the experience of participation in the movements (cf. Friedmann 1989). The emphasis given to this aspect reflects the influence of the debates on the 'new social movements' and the attention to the 'politization of the personal'. At times, the focus on the 'internal processes' of the movements and the emphasis on counter-cultural aspects has led to losing sight of their 'external' aims and the way these may be attained. The problem is obvious in Evers's assertion "the more power, the less identity, the more alienation".

In this respect Mainwaring's (1987) account, which takes into consideration the dialectic of 'internal' and 'external' aspects, seems to be more balanced. In a more down to earth fashion he discusses the possible long term effects of the movements on the authoritarian and elitist political culture in Latin America and argues that "the most significant political impact of the urban popular movements is influence on the reworking of the symbolic side of political life, the new understandings of authority and legitimacy". These changes, he goes on, are related to the development of a sense of identity and citizenship that, in the longer run, may contribute to significant changes in the institutional political order.

6. External agents

The last theme of indexation is one which, after the initial tendency to emphasize 'spontaneity' and 'autonomy', has gradually received more systematic attention. 'External agents' have often been found to play a crucial role in stimulating the organization of neighborhood associations and they remain important supports in subsequent development. The role of these agents, in particular the clergy and the NGOs, is one of giving advice on organizational, technical and legal matters, introducing themes for discussion and reflection on the modes of internal functioning of the organizations as well as on the effects of their activities within the broader political arena. The NGOs - particularly prominent in Chile and Peru - and the Church also quite often provide some of the basic infrastructure and both play a role in establishing contacts with other organizations and in the formation of broader federations. Although influential, these 'external agents' attempt to remain in the background and usually do not attempt to 'instrumentalize' or 'hegemonize' the movements in the way political parties have so often attempted to do. They understand their contribution as a 'pedagogical' and facilitating one.

The proliferation of the ecclesiastical base communities (CEBs) can serve as an illustration. They seem to have originated in Brazil in the early 1960s. According to Mainwaring (1986: 126) they now number some eighty thousand communities in which about two million people participate. Not surprisingly then, most studies of the CEBs have originated in Brazil, but they also seem to play a rather important role in Chile and Central America. As Levine and Mainwaring (1989) have pointed to, the prominence of these communities in the popular

struggles depends much on the character of the local church organization. Thus, the rather conservative clergy of Colombia has not allowed the CEBs to play the role that they have played in other countries. Nevertheless, they observe that even in Colombia, participation in the CEBs has contributed to an increase in the self-esteem of the participants. Levine and Mainwaring emphasize that the CEBs have not arisen spontaneously, as has sometimes been suggested. They were intended as a means of strengthening the church and have almost always started as a result of sponsorship by the official church. Therefore, they warn, "to see them primarily as tools for political change (as the left has often done with praise, and the right with condemnation) is to overstate their political involvement and to misread their religious nature" (Levine & Mainwaring 1989: 209).

Not only the NGOs and the clergy but also other types of 'professionals' like teachers, social workers, doctors, nurses and lawyers contribute to the emergence and activities of the movements. Quite often, and to different degrees, such contributions are coordinated through their professional associations and are obviously not totally separate from their 'official career'. This is an interesting point in relation to the role of the executive techno-bureaucracy whose numbers have grown rapidly with the increase of state-interventionism in contemporary capitalism. In many cases their role is much more ambiguous than that of the simple executors of policies which have been developed at higher levels of the hierarchy. Their ideology of the 'rationality and neutrality' of urban planners may run up against the actual impossibility of real urban planning under capitalist conditions and this may produce a radicalization of these professionals. Eventually they may come to contribute to the legitimation and broadening of the actions of urban movements. Downs and Solimano (1987) have discussed what they call 'the relative autonomy' of public sector employees and point out that even under authoritarian regimes these people often play an important role in attenuating the adverse effects of official policies since they feel it their duty to serve the population.

A final aspect of this 'external agents-debate' is the *nature* of the relation between the movements and these external agents. This relation, as the literature suggests, may vary from instrumentalism (the movements as 'object of manipulation', backing up specific political or other commitments of the external agents) to one of expressing solidarity and providing assistance in various forms. The issue of 'instrumentalization' has been most hotly debated with regard to political parties. Some have argued that 'party politics' should be avoided to maintain autonomy and 'authenticity' (e.g. Castells 1983) but it is also felt that some form of 'political action' is indispensable to go beyond 'localism' and increase effectiveness (Coraggio 1985, Gohn 1982, Kowarick 1983, Singer 1980).

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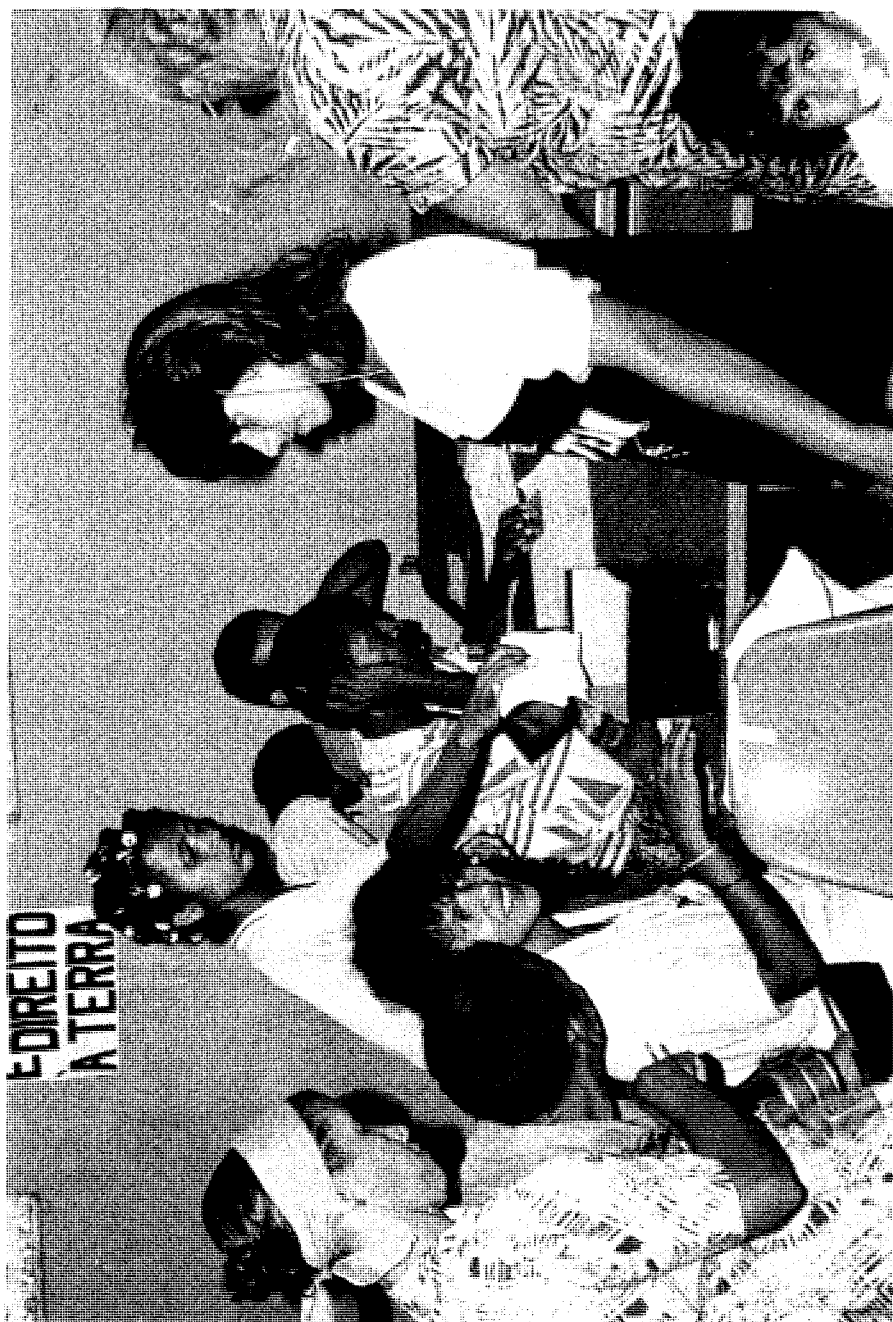
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