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A Map of Social Movements in Peru Today

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Social Movements and Poverty Project

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September, 2008



I. Introduction



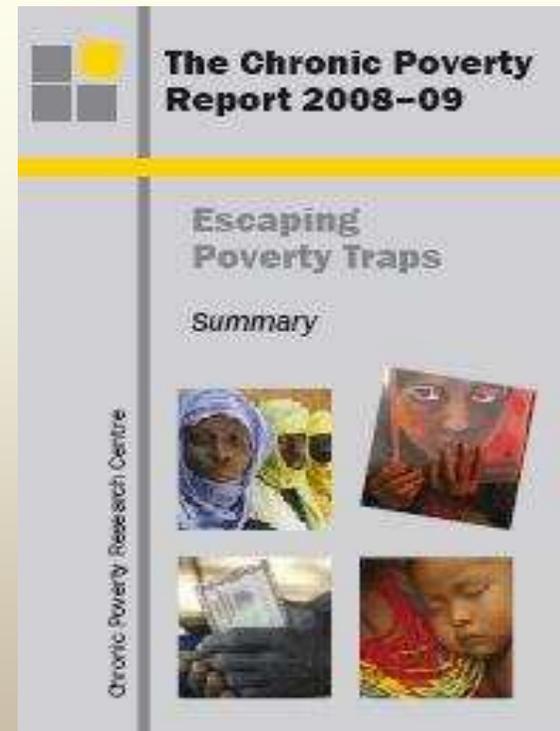
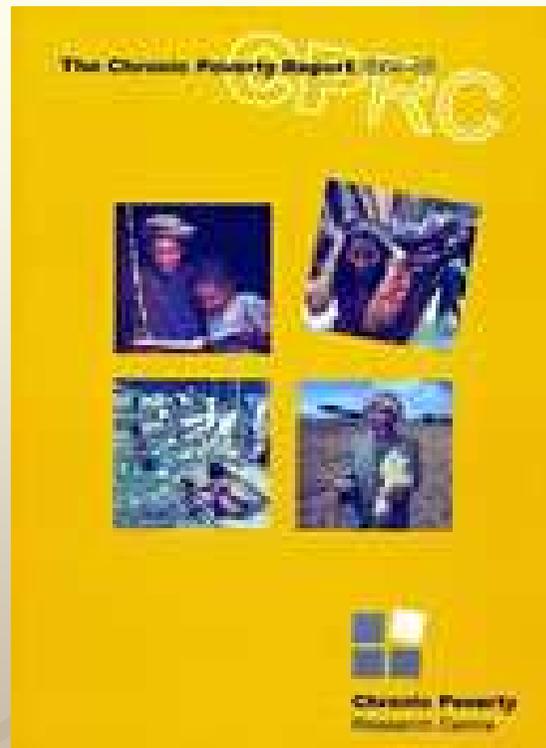
I. Introduction

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- The Chronic Poverty Research Centre (www.chronicpoverty.org)
 - Phase 1: conceptualization, indicators, distribution, dynamics, measurement
 - Absence of social movements as a theme
 - Phase 2: policies, processes, “what to do”
 - ...
 - Social and political processes

Chronic Poverty Reports: 2004, 2008

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CEPES - The University of
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- 2007: DfID-ESRC Poverty Programme (Economic and Social Research Council)
- Proposal: Social Movements and Poverty: Peru, South Africa
- University of Manchester, CEPES (Peruvian Social Studies Centre), Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), University of the Western Cape
- <http://www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/research/socialmovements/es/>

• Objectives

- “Map” the importance and relevance of social movements for poverty reduction
- Document and analyze the strategies employed by social movements
- Identify those strategies that have lead to a greater degree of inclusion and recognition, and a greater redistribution, generation or transfer of material benefits.
- Analyze the influence of the political regime on the selection of the strategies employed and their level of success
- Consider to what degree and how the strategies and actions of the social movements incorporate the social strata with fewer resources

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- The three research questions:

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1. How important are social movements in poverty reduction?
2. What dimensions of movement type and political context affect movement choice of strategy?
3. What dimensions of movement type and political context determine the effects of these strategies?

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- Project began in October, 2007. Comprises two stages
 - Year 1: Mapping of Social Movements
 - Year 2: Three case studies
- Definition of **social movement**: a process of politicised collective action (a process of mobilization) aimed at fighting against forms of accumulation and colonization that reproduce injustice and that involves an alternative vision for the society and the development process. Social movements are spatially diffuse processes, but sustained over time.
- As an essential element or unintended consequence of the achievement of their objectives social movements can contribute to the fight against poverty.

Presentation of the Research Results

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- Between December 2007 and June 2008 56 interviews of leaders, observers, experts and social movement activists were carried out.
- On the basis of these interviews, we identified ten social movements that are active in Peru at the moment:
 1. Agrarian
 2. Coca
 3. Environmental
 4. Extractive Industries
 5. Feminists
 6. Human Rights
 7. Indigenous
 8. Workers
 9. Regional
 10. Poor Women

II. Contextualising the Social Movements



The 1970s

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- **POLITICS**
- Military Government (Velasco) and transition government (Morales Bermúdez)
- SINAMOS
- National strikes, firings
- Constituent Assembly
- SMs with relations with left-wing parties
- Generation of expectations in the population, later defrauded

- **ECONOMY**
- Agrarian Reform
- Orthodox proposals

- **POVERTY**
- Concern for the evolution of the levels of inequality
- Debate centred on equity and inequality
- Beginning of popular soup kitchens

- SMs: Agrarian, workersl, feminists, poor women, Human Rights



The 1980s

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- **POLITICS**
 - Democracy: opening of spaces for mobilisation
 - The rise and fall of the United Left
 - Shining Path: political violence
- **ECONOMY**
 - Crisis of the external debt
 - Inflation
 - Economic shock
- **POVERTY**
 - Beginning of Glass of Milk Programme
 - Assistentialism, clientelistic relations
 - Debate on the relation between income distribution and poverty
 - Emphasis on proposals to achieve macroeconomic stability
- SMs: Human Rights, feminists, poor women, workers, agrarian

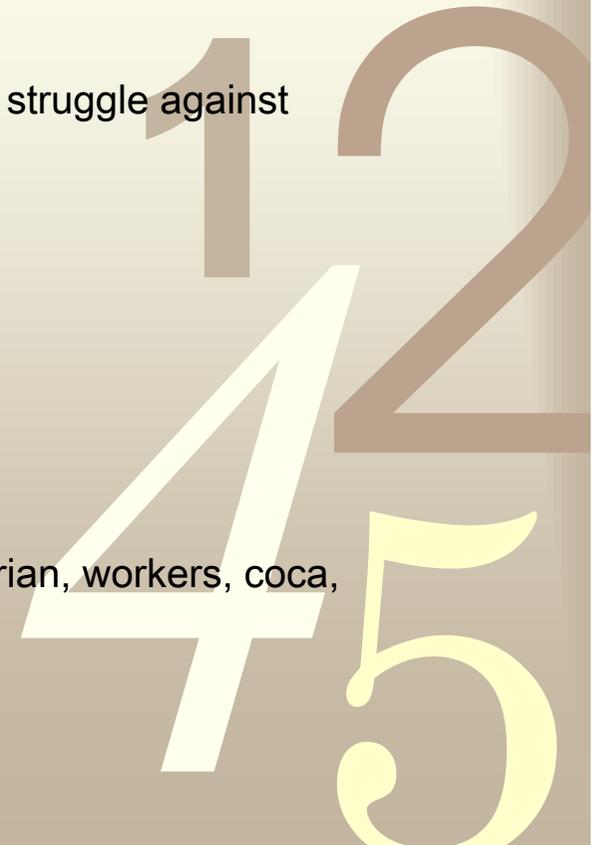


The 1990s

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- **POLITICS**
- Crisis of the political parties
- Self coup: authoritarianism, populism, assistentialism
- Defeat of Shining Path, violations of human rights
- Corruption
- Disarticulation of SMs, that manage to re-articulate during the struggle against Fujimori
- Public policies favourable to women
- **ECONOMY**
- Neoliberalism: Washington Consensus
- Expansion of mining
- **POVERTY**
- Discourse about poverty becomes part of the national debate
- Programmes to combat poverty, support from foreign donors

- SMs: Human Rights, poor women, feminists, regionalist, agrarian, workers, coca, environmentalists



First Decade 21st Century

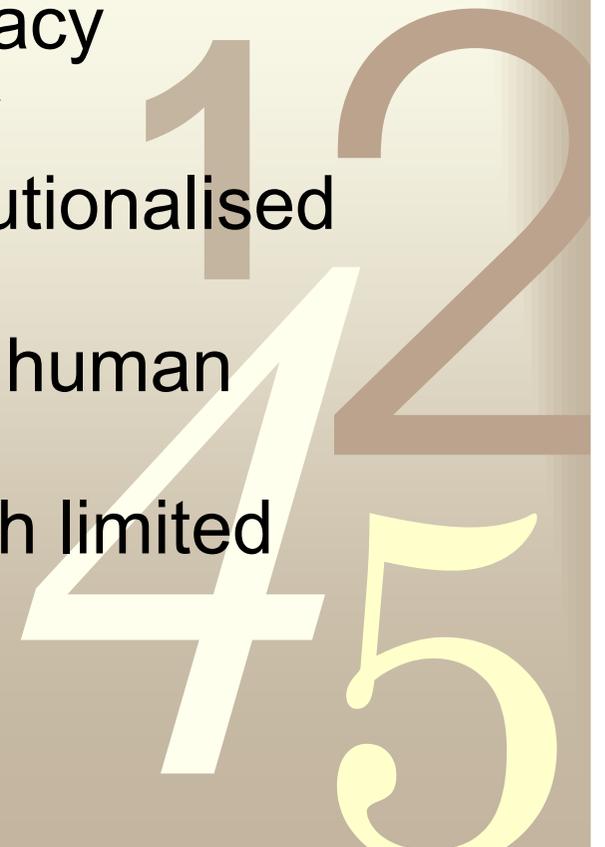
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- **POLITICS**
 - Return of democracy
 - Citizen participation and decentralization (Toledo)
 - Truth and Reconciliation Commission
 - Creation of CONAPA and later INDEPA
 - Debility of the Congress and political parties
 - García: Increasingly authoritarian government
 - **ECONOMY**
 - Signing of Free Trade Agreement with the US
 - Extractives boom
 - Macroeconomic growth
 - **POVERTY**
 - Attempts to achieve a “social contract”
 - Social programmes criticised because of stagnation in poverty and inequality
 - INEI: poverty diminished from 44.5% to 39.3%
- SMS: agrarian, environmental, coca, Human Rights, indigenous, extractive industries, regional, workers, poor women, feminists (latent)

Political Tendencies

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- Authoritarian-military government but with revolutionary rhetoric
- Return to a conservative democracy
- Irresponsible populist democracy
- Authoritarian populism with institutionalised corruption
- Political violence and violation of human rights
- Restoration of democracy but with limited participation



Economic Tendencies

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- Structural reforms
- Subordination to the IMF and WB
- Orthodox economic policies
- Moratorium on foreign debt, uncontrolled inflation
- Economic shock policies and their sequel
- Neoliberal policies, reforms of Boloña
- Economic growth, open economy

Tendencies in Poverty

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- Emphasis on equality and redistribution
- Reactions of the Church, NGOs to the economic crisis
- State Programmes (Glass of Milk, PAD)
- Political clientelism and assistentionalism
- Mechanism of political control
- Technification: Coverage, focalisation, efficiency

III. The Social Movement Map



III. 1 Social Geography

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- Components
- Members
- Beneficiaries
- Decision Making Processes



Components

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- Popular representative organizations :
 - One dominant organization: extractives
 - Various competing: agrarian, workers, poor women, indigenous, coca
 - Absent: feminists, environmental, regional, human rights
- NGOs/Networks:
 - Local
 - National
 - International
 - Churches
- Advisors, activists, sympathizers



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Social Movement	Popular Organizations	NGOs	Sympathizers	“Egoist” / “Altruist”
Agrarian	Inside	Inside	Inside	Egoist
Coca	Inside	Outside	Outside	Egoist
Environmental	Outside	Inside	Inside	Altruist
Extractives	Inside	Outside	Outside	Egoist
Feminists	Outside	Inside	Inside	Altruist
Human Rights	Inside	Inside	Inside	Altruist
Indigenous	Inside	Outside	Outside	Egoist
Workers	Inside	Outside	Outside	Egoist
Regional	Inside	Inside	Inside	Egoist
Poor Women	Inside	Outside	Outside	Egoist

Members

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- Belong to more than one movement:
 - CONACAMI: indigenous, extractives
 - CNA, CCP: agrarian, indigenous
- Who belongs and who does not belong to each movement (example: indigenous versus NGOs)

Beneficiaries

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- “Altruistic” Movements (human rights, environmental) versus “egoistic” (agrarian, workers, indigenous, coca)
- “Inclusive” Movements (agrarian, human rights) versus “restrictive” Movements (indigenous, environmental)

Decision Making Processes

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- “Relatively consolidated” movements : agrarian, human rights
- Movements “on the road towards consolidation”: poor women, extractives, workers
- Movements “with the possibility of consolidation”: environmental, indigenous, regional
- “Incipient” Movements : coca, feminists

III. 2 Historical Evolution

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- 1970s: SMs linked to the Left
- 1980s: some SMs decline due to political violence in the country.
- 1990s: generalised crisis amongst SMs due to measures of Fujimori government. Concentrate their efforts on survival.
- End of the 1990s: Resurgence of SMs in the struggle against Fujimorismo.
- Current decade (2000 onwards): Process of strengthening, reconstruction and recomposition.

III. 2 Historical Evolution

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- Older SMs: workers (beginning of XX century) and agrarian (foundation of CCP or Agrarian Reform)
- Younger SMs: environmental (beginning of the 1990s) and indigenous (current decade)
- All SMs have passed through periods of strength and weakness, including periods of crisis
- Currently latent SMs: feminists y coca

III. 3 Social Movement Domains

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- Current Objectives
- Differences between the original and current objectives
- Strategies
- Achievements
- Degree of ideologisation



Current Objectives

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- The defence of human rights as an element common to all SMs
- Combining political and civil rights with economic, social and cultural rights
- Consolidation of the movement and its components
- Changes in public policies rather than the regime or system

Original Objectives vs Current Objectives

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- The defence of rights and democracy
- Greater participation in decision making (FPIC)
- From survival to development and consolidation
- New issues: the environment, culture and identity
- From protest to proposal

Strategies

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- “Confrontational”
- “Persuasive”
- “Mixed”
- “Democracy with violence” (Payne)



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Social Movement	Strategies most commonly employed	Confrontational	Persuasive
Agrarian	Proposals, negotiations, advocacy, work stoppages		X
Coca	Sacrificial marches, work stoppages, negotiations, advocacy	X	
Environmental	Advocacy, media		X
Extractives	Marches, stoppages, advocacy	X	
Feminists	Advocacy, media, marches		X
Human Rights	Marches, media, advocacy		X
Indigenous	Marches, stoppages, advocacy, media, negotiations	X	
Workers	Marches, strikes, stoppages, negotiations, media	X	X
Regional	Stoppages, take overs, marches, negotiations	X	
Poor Women	Marches, negotiations, advocacy, proposals	X	X

Achievements

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- Survival and even consolidation
- Changes in relevant legislation
- Presence, visibility
- International alliances and actions



Degree of Ideologisation

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- Ideologised leaders and pragmatic bases
- Absence of political parties and their influences
- Radical but not anti-systemic



III. 4 SM Relations

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- Targets of their advocacy work
- Relations with the State
- Relations with other organizations



Targets

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- The principal target is the Executive Branch, which is known to exercise the most decision making power in:
 - Prime Minister's Office
 - Presidency
 - Diverse ministries
- In second place is the Legislature
- Only a few SMs mention public opinion or the media as targets of their efforts

Relations with the State

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- Few relations with the Executive Branch. More relations with the Legislative Branch, although it is recognised to be weak and with limited influence.
- Central Government agencies with which there are better relations:
 - Prime Minister's Office (contact, never alliances)
- Ombudsman's Office: including some informal alliances
- The SMs have very fluid relations and even alliances with Regional and Local Governments

Relations with other organizations

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- National NGOs : principal allies of the SMs, although there are conflicts and tensions around the issue of representation.
- International NGOs
- SMs from other countries (example: the indigenous SM with the equivalent SMs in Ecuador and Bolivia)
- Other Peruvian SMs: Relations and alliances with other SMs are beginning to occur (example: agrarian, extractives, indigenous; between these and the workers' movement, etc).

III. 5 Poverty

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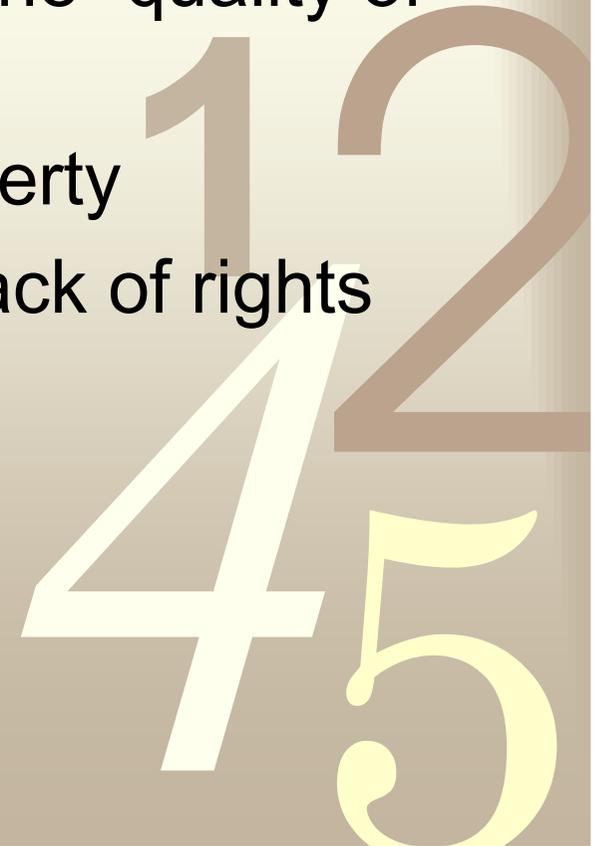
- Definitions of poverty
- Causes of poverty
- Proposed solutions



Definitions of Poverty

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- That they are not poor
- The “economicist” vision versus the “quality of life”
- Urban versus rural visions of poverty
- The lack of services versus the lack of rights and opportunities (employment)
- Unsatisfied basic needs
- Marginalisation and isolation



The Causes of Poverty

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- Neoliberalism and the dominant economic model
- Government policies
 - Corruption
 - The poor design of programmes and services
 - Inefficiency in their implementation
- Human rights violations (discrimination)
- The destruction of the environment and the dispossession of natural resources by extractives companies
- Political violence
- Low productivity and lack of competitiveness in agriculture
- Population growth

Proposed Solutions

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- Change the political system and economic model
- That the State provide social services and generate employment and income opportunities.
- Control corruption by means of citizen monitoring
- Respect for human rights
- Reparations
- Control large and extractives companies and defend the environment and natural resources.

Proposed Solutions

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- Take advantage of the wealth generated by extractives activities (canon, royalties, corporate social responsibility).
- Improve the productivity and competitiveness of rural producers.
- Capacity building of the poor
- Reenforce traditional culture and institutions.

III. 6 SMs and the media

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- Two types of media:
 - a) Massive, capital city-based. Do not provide much coverage of SMs.
 - b) Small, more pluralist. Do cover the SMs.
- The former (a) tend to disqualify the SMs, characterising them as “dogs in the manger” (according to a series of articles published by President García), giving little heed to them
- The latter (b) are linked to:
 - NGOs (Ideeleradio, Radio Tierra Fecunda, the National Coordinator of Radios)
 - The SMs themselves (Servindi)

III.6 SMs and the Media

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- Need to differentiate between:
 - a) Those that appear in the media owing to their capacity to mobilise large numbers of people (agrarian, indigenous, poor women, extractives, workers, regional)
 - b) Those that appear because they have a high level of organization and the resources needed to influence the agenda of the media (the human rights movement and, to a lesser degree, the environmentalists)

IV. Conclusions: Issues for Discussion



Issues for Discussion

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1. The types of movements
2. The frontiers of the movements
3. The roles played by members and components
4. The relations with political parties
5. The role of the mass media



Issues for Discussion

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6. Poor versus victim
7. Areas of social movements' absence or dormancy
8. The selection of the case studies and the units of analysis
9. The questions, issues, focuses of the case studies

END

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