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Author: Jara Ibarra, C.

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Summary

A process of politicisation began in Chile in 2011, which was marked by an increase in public debate and conflict and greater citizen involvement. Perhaps the most obvious sign of this was an increase in the number of social protests or demonstrations. Even though there were demonstrations during the Concertación governments (1990-2010), these were far from having the same scale and impact as the ones in 2011. In fact, the Concertación period was characterised by a decrease in the number of demonstrations and hardly any civilian participation in public debate. This was in stark contrast to the constant protests and demonstrations of the 1980s, as well as the later wave of demonstrations in 2011.

Moreover, according to different diagnoses, the advent of democracy in Chile was characterised by a fragmentation of and crisis within social movements, due to the lack of demonstrations by civilian society and even due to an absence of civilians. Different definitions have been used to describe the gradual withdrawal of citizens from public after the end of authoritarianism, as well as their lack of presence in decision-making and in the definition of the national political agenda in the post-dictatorial phase. The former goes against both the social effervescence in the rest of Latin America during this period as well as the supposition that democratic reconstruction would occur with citizens adopting certain positions and civilian society being revitalised.

Once the lack of demonstrations in Chilean civilian society has been identified, an analysis of the variables that shaped this transformation, from the demonstrations of previous decades to deactivation, is carried out. This exercise is part of the extensive literature on Chilean 'transitology' which, tackling the phenomenon from the perspective of micro, meso or macrosocial processes, allows for the identification of multiple factors that reveal the complexity of the demobilisation problem during re-democratisation. The aim of this study is to examine and open up debate on activation processes and the deactivation of Chilean civil society in particular, paying special attention to the period of democratic reconstruction during the four Concertación governments as a time of social demobilisation.

In the same way as this study observes post-dictatorial demobilisation, attempting to shed light on the cultural and social processes of the period, its main aim is to go into more depth and broaden academic discussion on the factors that influenced this deactivation. As set out throughout the book, social demobilisation, as well as the interest in it and ways in which civil society connected with it from 1990 to 2010, were heavily influenced by traumatic post-dictatorial memories, by civil society's

relationship with the state and the paradigm of governability and, finally, by the market and logic of neoliberal modernity. These variables - and the way in which they influenced the dynamics of civil society to a greater or lesser extent depending on the specific moment being analysed within the timeframe – arise as the main hypotheses and aims of this work.

It is also proposed that the emergence of social movements and protests is a cyclical phenomenon that is either more or less likely depending on political changes and opportunities that do not rely on the movement itself. Social movements thus only become visible in limited, temporary areas or spaces and, on doing so, reveal networks that are submerged or hidden within routine social relations. Mobilisation only becomes visible again when a determined conflict or certain specific circumstances allow it, otherwise remaining in a state of latency or potential mobilisation. This does not imply inactivity, but rather the construction and reconstruction of forms of action that are fed by the constant production of alternative frameworks of meaning.

Thus observed and tackled, the analysis of the post-dictatorial period is based not only on the causes of demobilisation but also on an examination of the reconstruction of identity that created the basis needed for the mobilisation phase that began in 2011. In this way, the premise of a weakening or absence of citizens between 1990-2010 is once again posed and considered as one of the stages of the reconstruction of civil society, in which new identities and collective values are generated and ‘incubated’. Periods of apparent social deactivation thus form part of a wider circle of collective action, characterised by underground and invisible movements that restructure and reconstruct identity and which serve to supply upcoming demonstrations.

The group of ideas that underpin this work are developed in the first chapter, where the theories on the activation and deactivation of the civil society phenomenon are presented in detail. The main characteristics and elements that make up social action are described and the set of analytical tools used to study social demobilisation in post-dictatorial Chile developed. In the same way, the main trajectories of the (de)mobilisation of civil society in Latin America are presented, thus framing the Chilean example in a wider context. Specifically, their influence on the work of Latin American civil society is summarised, as a result of the three variables that are suggested as being great agents of demobilisation in Chilean society during re-democratisation. In the same way, the problem of social demobilisation following the return to democracy in Chile is extensively examined to present the factors that have been used to explain social deactivation in the period in a general way.

Of an essentially descriptive nature, the second chapter involves historical contextualisation and presents the main trajectories of mobilisation and demobilisation in Chilean civil society during the twentieth century. From the 1920-1938 historical period, the State of Compromise and the Popular Unity government, the characteristics of a political cycle marked by attempts to democratise power and a correlation between participation and increasing social mobilisation are presented. Next, the specific phases of demobilisation and mobilisation during the dictatorship, defined by repression and authoritarianism, are analysed. As a result of what is related in this chapter, it can be seen that periods of social (de)activation are influenced by internal factors within social movements, such as the actions of leaders or mobilising agents or an identity and collective memory. In the same way, cycles are identified by external variables, such as the challenges and political needs of the state or market or economic fluctuations, with demonstrations or the withdrawal of civilian society from public being the response.

In the book's main chapters, the topic of demobilisation is examined in depth, based on the three main hypotheses, empiric work and the quantitative and qualitative data gathered. The link between post-traumatic memory and social demobilisation is the topic of the third chapter. It is suggested that direct or indirect exposure for decades to different violent situations, conflict and methods of social domination provoked a collective trauma in Chile. As a result of different events and acting at diverse levels, it is shown that the impact of this trauma was multidimensional and resulted in the regime ending in a climate of silence, oblivion, denial, social dismantling and citizen retraction. All these were ingredients for the demobilisation phase of the post-dictatorial society. First, the socio-political process in Chile in the last few decades is presented, with a description of the main elements that made up such a traumatic experience. The way in which said elements generated a climate of citizen silence and withdrawal into privacy is described, thus revealing the first clues to understanding demobilisation in the period between 1990 and 2010. In the same way, what occurred in civil society and its social movements from 1990 onwards is also analysed as a result of collective post-trauma. Specifically, details are given of the way in which social deactivation is a result of the impact of trauma on Chilean society, both through survival mechanisms and the reaction to collective trauma, as a result of distrust and the de-legitimisation of social organisations as well as social transmission or how the trauma was chronicled.

In the fourth chapter, the influence of the state's and political parties' actions on said demobilisation is examined, with the political variable and external factors beyond social movements themselves becoming more important as deactivation elements.

Several theoretical specifications, as well as the origin and characteristics of the paradigm of Chilean governability and its implications on the relationship between the state and its political parties and civil society, are presented. This chapter develops the main political lessons the elite can learn about the definition and practice of democracy, presenting specific lessons and conclusions about civil society and social movements. It is suggested that this exercise in reflection translated into the state and its political parties breaking away and distancing themselves from civil society. In the same way, the influence of the governability strategies on demobilisation put into practice by the Concertación governments in the observed period is analysed. Specifically, it is proposed that social deactivation was a result of the transition's characteristics and the prevailing role of the elite, due to the control exercised by both the government and political parties on organisations and social movements, as well as by the group of public policies centred in the third sector.

The third hypothesis is extensively developed in the fifth chapter. In 1973, an ambitious project began to restructure and redefine Chilean society through mechanisms that made society less political. These mechanisms included the strengthening of the regulatory role of the market, a reduction in state intervention and the promotion of technocrats. In the same way, this project sought to reinforce individualism and eradicate the institutional fundamentals that made the formation of collectives easier. Given this scenario, this chapter describes the consequences of the so-called capitalist revolution and its implications on an ideological and cultural plane, making the demobilisation of Chilean society using different means easier. First, there was a deconstruction of identity and of the traditional regulatory frameworks, accompanied by a new and accelerated process of stratification and energetic, upward social mobility. In the same way, vigorous economic growth and access to credit and consumption fostered a fascination with the market and a certain euphoria, while traditional opportunities for debate and political deliberation became less relevant and interesting for citizens. Finally, the speed of economic progress and a general improvement in material living conditions allowed for the emergence of new world views such as meritocracy and new business ventures, both formulated around individuality.

However, as the transition advanced, said factors and their influence on civil society started to develop and give origin to new discourses and collective identities, with implications for the work of social movements. In 2011, a new political cycle emerged, with mobilisations on a greater scale and with a greater impact than those observed in the last few decades. In the sixth and final chapter, the way in which the factors that produced demobilisation at the beginning of the 1990s began to develop

and transform themselves is analysed, as well as their influence and how they allowed for a slow (re)generation of identities and the strengthening of ideas for collective action in the 2011 round of protests. Following the format of this research, this chapter describes the way in which collective memory both develops and gives origin to new interpretations of the past and how the end of so-called transitional amnesia is produced, with its implications for the actions of social movements. In the same way, the relationship between governability strategies and the (de)mobilisation of civil society are examined. The repercussions of the development of the definition of governability and the consequences of changes in the socio-political context on social movements in Chile are also analysed. Finally, the chapter focuses on the neoliberal economic model, the problem of inequality and the concentration of power. Together with social expectations and higher standards, this is analysed as one of the driving forces for the emergence of a new group of social values, with which came new demands for social mobilisation.

In the Concertación governments' demobilisation phase, there was a transition and overlap between old and new society. With this, a slow loss of values and of the rules of traditional conduct was observed, as well as their subsequent replacement by new regulatory components. The dictatorial regime was a project that once again suggested that old and new forms of social order could be mixed together very quickly. Society and the identities that once generated a feeling of belonging, as well as social cohesion, became fragile and common and collective aims dissolved. Individuals became more distanced from groups in a context where regulations, rules of behaviour and values became foreign or unknown. In other words, after the end of authoritarian rule in Chile, a cultural transition and mutation took place, with a disintegration that forced individuals to resort to privacy as a way of protecting their identities. In this context, the private domain became more relevant and a certain apathy and individual lack of interest about the path followed by society was noted. These processes were essential to preserve collective memory and give rise to the innovations that have always preceded cultural 'rebirths'.

In the same way, the theory of the change in regime and the defeat of a common enemy, as well as the arrival of democracy and the carrying out of the aims of the demonstrations in the 1980s, are the most obvious and widely-used factors that help understand demobilisation from 1990 onwards. These variable certainties, however, only superficially explain one aspect of what happened in terms of civil society from the nineties onwards. In the same way, they have made it easier for a more detailed analysis that considers such complexity to be put off or omitted. Through this study, the complexity and depth of the socio-political processes of the last few decades can

be seen, since, beyond the move from a dictatorship to a democratic regime, civil society received the impact of an array of psychological, political and economic factors that, to a great extent, made social mobilisation difficult.

The mobilisation and demobilisation of civil society are observed as two faces of the same phenomenon. It can be stated that in each new wave of activation – and, specifically, during the period of transitional deactivation – political practices, culture and regulatory and value frameworks tend to be redefined. The constant and repetitive flows of Chilean civil society have, in this same way, been correlated as far as the carrying out and broadening of civil rights are concerned. It can thus be said that the political process contained in the trajectories of (de)mobilisation in Chile correlates to the widening of social rights. With this, (de)mobilisations and the expansion of rights are conditioned and are constituent elements which mutually strengthen each other. In other words, through social mobilisation, certain rights are obtained and expanded and this allows for the modification of the regulatory horizon, as well as the valuation of and request for new demands. In the case of Chile in the last few years, the return to democracy that was driven by the demonstrations in the 1980s allowed for the development and consolidation of democracy. At the same time, democratic development caused a transformation of values and the emergence of a new culture, with post-materialistic characteristics as well as new frameworks of social meaning and demands.

As a result of examining the history of mobilisations and, in particular, by focusing on the demobilisation of civil society in the return to democracy, an analysis is carried out on the socio-political process and the huge social transformations in Chilean society in the last few decades. The erosion and decline of the traditional socio-political mould that defined the relationship between the State, market forces and civil society for the majority of the twentieth century can be seen, as well as the ongoing formation of a new social and political structure, linked to new collective identities and means, as well as opportunities for action and social mobilisation. The influence of political, psychological and economic factors as important inhibitors of eventual mobilising actions in the transition become, at the same time, components of this new socio-political mould. With this, new identities became possible and were also brought to light during the 2011 cycle of demonstrations.