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COMPARISONS ACROSS LATIN AMERICA AND INDIA*

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Rights, Representation and the Poor: Comparisons across Latin America and India

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What is the impact of economic liberalisation and globalisation [henceforward just 'globalisation'] on the capacities of different poor social groups to organise, obtain political representation, and solve collective social problems? It is widely believed that an historic shift is taking place in forms of political representation available to the poor, from the classic 20th century patterns based on social relations forged in workplaces, organised in trades unions and programmatic political parties, and concerned with the achievement of social and economic rights, to new patterns based on other sorts of social networks and goals, and involving, for example, social movements rather than unions, 'voluntary associations' rather than political parties, local rather than national concerns. It seems possible, as Castells suggests in his three-volume study of 'the Information Age (1996-98), that as a result of this shift it is becoming increasingly difficult for many segments of the poor to build organisations and participate in effective channels of popular representation capable of exerting political pressure.² State responsiveness to social claims, and the ability of existing structures of representation to provide poorer social groups influence over policy, historically limited in many low and middle income countries, may well be on the decline despite the recent wave of democratisation. It is ironic that, alongside this wave, there should be evidence of a crisis of popular representation in many of the low and middle income countries, and that poorer social groups appear to have limited capacity to present a reform agenda that addresses issues of basic rights and ensures livelihoods.

Somewhat oddly, pessimism about the prospects for progressive programmatic politics in the party and union arenas stands alongside optimism amongst some researchers and development policy actors for the success of direct 'popular participation.'³ There are indeed numerous analysts who point to a flowering of new forms of community-based associations and see these as not only as replacing parties and unions in representing popular interests, but also as more responsive to their constituencies and autonomous from external influence and control (Singer and Brant 1980; Evers 1983; Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Scherer-Warren and Krischke 1987; Sader 1988; Diomo 1995; Oxhorn 1995; Avritzer 1997; Costa 1999).

Part of the explanation for these contrasting views lies in the tendency of many authors to 'spotlight' particular cases and then construct their arguments on relatively narrow empirical foundations – in Castell's work the Zapatista Movement in Mexico, environmental movements (taken by a good many authors as paradigmatic) and a few others from developed and poor countries. Generally, though much has been written on contemporary trends in popular politics, it has been based on little empirical evidence. In addition to broad general studies like those of Castells (see also Scholte 2000; or Cohen and Kennedy 2000, for a new textbook account, and

¹ A group of UC Berkeley doctoral students have been central to the development of this project and serve as its Country Coordinators in several Latin American countries. The students are Chris Cardona; Diana Kapiszewski; Sebastian Mazzuca; Sally Roever; and Jason Seawright.

² For Castells (Vol II, 1997: 61) "the failure of proactive movements and politics (for example, the labor movement, political parties) to counter economic exploitation, cultural domination, and political oppression, had left people [by the 1980s] with no other choice than either to surrender or to react on the basis of the most immediate source of self-recognition and autonomous organization: their locality." But while "urban movements do address the real issues of our time," they do so on neither "the scale nor on the terms that are adequate to the task." See also Roberts (1998).

³ See Houtzager (forthcoming).

myriad single country, sector-specific studies, such those Sachs1999; Raichelis 1998; Sposito 1992; Abong 1998) there are a couple of major cross-national research programmes under way on civil society, 'the third sector' or the non-profit sector. The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project seeks to document and explain variation in structure and economic impact of the 'non-profit sector' across about 40 countries, relying primarily on data drawn from national accounts (Saloman et al 1999). At IDS the Civil Society and Governance Programme supported by the Ford Foundation looks at 22 countries in six world regions, and consists of series of interpretative case studies that, while non-parallel and lacking a common conceptual framework, are revealing in their own right (Civil Society and Governance Programme 2000).

The study discussed in this article differs substantially from these efforts, both substantively and methodologically, having a wider analytical concern with emerging patterns of political representation and not presuming the centrality of NGOs, and employing new research instruments that will make possible more rigorous and systematic analysis. Above all, we are undertaking substantial field investigations amongst poor people. The study is the first systematic, cross-national examination of local popular organisations and political participation, in cities, or parts of cities, which have been differently affected by liberalisation and globalisation. Our central concern is with how changes in the state and in the world of work, provoked by globalisation, are altering whether people (i) organise to make demands on the state to solve collective problems, or engage in self-provisioning/ regulation (i.e. have changed perceptions of what are 'public' and 'private' problems); (ii) make claims on the state at the national or local level; and (iii) use as the principal arena of representation the party system, the labour-relations system, or civil society. The cities are in three large developing democracies – São Paulo-Brazil, Ciudad de México-Mexico, and Chennai, Coimbatore, Indore, and Pune-India – and in four smaller Latin American democracies – Lima-Peru, Buenos Aires-Argentina, Santiago-Chile, Caracas-Venezuela.

The project-aims are two fold: (1) create a rich comparative data-set of the forms of association, claim-making, and representation; and (2) use this data, along with case study work, to develop more firmly grounded analyses of the forms of political participation and representation that are emerging today. The data-set will constitute a public good – policy makers and researchers will have ready access.

This is a collaborative piece of research that includes scholars from the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at Sussex, the University of California at Berkeley, the London School of Economics (LSE), the Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP) in São Paulo, the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales at UNAM, the Developing Countries Research Centre at Delhi University and the Madras Institute of Development Studies in Tamilnadu. Support for the project has come from a variety of sources, prominent among which the IDS-based Development Research Centres on The Future State and on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability, and several research institutes at the University of California, Berkeley.⁴

Preliminary Findings

Research will begin in March 2002 but preliminary fieldwork in 2001 revealed both a number of complex conceptual and research challenges, and highly variable picture of associational life and forms of representation across cities. Team members spent time in four Latin American cities to pre-test two new survey instruments, identify what types of data were available at the national,

⁴ These are Center for Latin American Studies; International and Areas Studies; Committee on Research; and Institute of Industrial Relations. As well as the Institute of Labor and Employment, University of California (system-wide).

city, and district-levels, and to introduce the project to various interested parties. What we found was tremendous variation in the form and strength of popular-sector associational life across *issues areas, neighbourhoods, and countries*. In Santiago, Chile, civil society seems far less vibrant and effectively representative than elsewhere, though this appears to vary by class: middle-class advocacy groups are increasing in number and influence, but the popular sectors are experiencing escalating levels of atomisation and political alienation. In Buenos Aires, Argentina, new experiments in community organisation and a revival of old traditions of cooperativism in some neighbourhoods contrast with spreading clientelistic linkages between parties and constituencies in others. In Lima, Peru, the extent of organisation among street vendors and micro-entrepreneurs in some districts is impressive, despite the difficulty of informal sector groups in organising around work-related issues. In Caracas, Venezuela, President Hugo Chávez has sought to dismantle pre-existing organisations and is sponsoring the creation of a new set of state-led associations. In Mexico City, classic forms of corporatist control over workplace-based organisations co-exist with both a long tradition of neighborhood associations and efforts by the city's first elected governments to stimulate citizenship participation through new channels of representation (see also Gurza Lavalle 2000).

In São Paulo, Brazil, local-level associational activities are proliferating, especially around issues of housing and health. Although many neighbourhood and other forms of local-level associations, broader membership organisations, and non-membership NGOs of various stripes have informal relations to political parties, the institutional separation between these appears to be real and an important political fact. This raises one of the central questions of the study: If political parties don't aggregate and coordinate local associational activity, who or what does, and with what consequences for the ability to influence public policy. In the case of São Paulo, some of this associational activity is coordinated and aggregated by novel structures at the municipal and national levels, including a variety of networks, social movements, and NGO-led coalitions.⁵ The brief list of the more institutionalised forms of coordination that follows gives a sense of the diversity, and often issue-specific nature, that these can take. It also appears to confirm Brazil's fame as one having one of the most developed and coordinated civil societies in Latin America (Garrison 2000). Many of these networks, however, appear to be organised and populated primarily by relatively professionalised NGOs, and not by membership organisations. Well-supported NGOs like Ação Educativa have achieved an important degree of policy influence by leading city-wide and national education reform campaigns,⁶ by producing materials for the national school curricula, as well as by working with associations of education professionals.⁷ What the consequences of such work are for *political representation* are unclear.

Table 1 Some Networks and Organisational Forms that Aggregate Associational Activity in São Paulo, Brazil

SÃO PAULO	
Fórum Lixo e Cidadania da Cidade de São Paulo	Forum for Garbage and Citizenship in the City of SP
Fórum Intermunicipal de Cultura	Intermunicipal Forum of Culture
Fórum dos Direitos da Criança e do Adolescente do Estado de São Paulo	Forum for the Rights of Children and Adolescents of the State of SP
Fórum de Economia Solidária	Forum of the Solidarity Economy
Fórum Paulista de Participação Popular	Paulista Forum for Popular Participation
NATIONAL	
Rede de Apoio à Ação Alfabetizadora do Brasil	Support Network for Alphabetising Action in Brazil
Rede Brasileira de Educação em Direitos Humanos	Brazilian Network of Education and Human Rights

⁵ See also Garrison 2000; Landim 1997.

⁶ For example, Ação Educativa is at the forefront of the Campanha Nacional pelo Direito à Educação, which seeks influence the National Education Plan up for vote in Congress in 2002.

⁷ See for example Ghanem 1998.

Rede Mulher de Educação (São Paulo/SP)	Network of Women in Education
Fórum Nacional de Participação Popular	National Forum of Popular Participation
Rede Nacional de Pessoas Vivendo com HIV/AIDS	National Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS
Fórum Nacional Permanente de Entidades Não-Governamentais de Defesa dos Direitos da Criança e do Adolescente	Permanent National Forum for Non-Governmental Organisations that Defend the Rights of Children and Adolescents
Fórum Nacional pela Reforma Agrária e pela Justiça no Campo	National Forum for Agrarian Reform and Justice in the Countryside
Fórum Brasileiro de ONGs e Movimentos Sociais para o Meio Ambiente	Brazilian Forum of NGOs and Social Movements for the Environment
Fórum Empresa-Comunidade	Forum for Community-Enterprise
Fórum Nacional de Reforma Urbana	National Forum of Urban Reform
Confederação das Cooperativas de Assentados do Brasil	Confederation of Agrarian Reform Cooperatives of Brazil
Conselho Nacional dos Direitos da Criança e do Adolescente	National Council of the Rights of Children and Adolescents
Conselho Nacional de Seringueiros	National Council of Rubber Tappers
Conselho Nacional de Assistência Social	National Council of Social Welfare
Central dos Movimentos Populares	Central of Popular Movements
Associação Brasileira de ONGs	Association of Brazilian NGOs

The preliminary fieldwork in 2001 also revealed a number of substantial challenges that lie ahead. One is conceptual – to accurately identify/define the competing notions of representation that different types of popular organisations, NGOs and networks deploy in their contests with state actors and other civil society groups. A second conceptual challenge is to create analytic dimensions along which to array the bewildering universe of popular organisational forms and types of networking through which the poor attempt to solve collective problems and obtain representation. Finally, the project is centrally concerned with identifying the political efficacy of these different forms of organisation and networking and some set of cross-national standards (and country specific measures of these) will have to be developed to assess the importance and efficacy of these different forms.

Framing the Project

The questions of political representation and changing organisational structures that aggregate interests beyond the locality arise at an historical juncture of discontinuity in the economic and political structures that had been in place for several decades during the 20th century. Popular-sector structures of representation that characterised much of the 20th century, which have roots in the early stages of industrialisation when a new proletarian class was formed, indeed “made,” socially, ideologically, and organisationally (Thompson 1963, Bartolini and Mair 1990), appear to be in crisis, or at least seriously eroding.⁸ These forms of representation (and exclusion, since many social groups did not obtain representation) were compatible with an economic model open to demand-side logic guaranteed by significant state intervention at the national level. Since the 1980s, however, economic liberalisation and globalisation have challenged the structure

⁸ In Latin America, popular representation took place primarily through two channels: (1) unions, which operated within an industrial relations system that allowed for certain kinds of labour market “rigidities” benefiting union members, and (2) political parties—either populist or leftist—with important labour constituencies and affiliated union movements (Collier and Collier 1991; Collier 2000; Anguiano 1990; Santos 1979). These structures both controlled labour constituencies and provided some degree of representation (with important variations across time and countries). Some of the gains won by the union movement were universalistic (such as subsidies on basic goods and a minimum wage), but in the state’s privileging of unionised labour, many social groups were largely left out, including peasants and workers in the informal sector.

of popular political representation, and particularly the privileged position of organised labour. The new economic model, emphasising markets and competitiveness, is not compatible with the earlier class compromise overseen by the state at the national level. The retreat of the state from many policy areas (by formal privatisation, deregulation, or simple neglect) has turned many previously “public” issues into “private” ones, thereby removing them from democratic negotiation. At the same time, decentralisation has moved the incentives for organising from the national to the local level. It is likely that these changes are modifying the kinds of demands or claims people make, the forms of organisation they adopt, and the levels of the state they target, to the extent they remain oriented towards the state at all.

In addition, many changes in the nature of work have challenged the older pattern of workplace-based representation. These include the move to labour market flexibility, the accelerating growth of the informal sector, the stagnation or even decline of the formal working class, and the greater diversity of “modern” labour strategies of internationally competitive firms - involving export-zone taylorism, Japanese style organisation and managerial practices, and new patterns of sub-contracting not only to small firms but also to informal and home workers. Unions have generally been unable to maintain earlier membership levels and have seen their previous gains challenged or reversed in the context of employer pressures to flexibilise labour laws and keep wages low. The new worlds of work have made solidarity and collective action around work-related identities and issues difficult to achieve. In addition, labour-based parties, in their classic form, have been changing or declining, as political leaders increasingly privilege the unorganised as convenient support bases. Unlike unionised workers, who are seen as obstacles, informal workers are understood to be compatible with neoliberal reform and more readily available for support mobilisation. Parties that are either plebiscitary, catch all, or clientelist have made appeals to atomised individuals on the basis of alternative, nonmaterially-based identities by mass-marketing candidates through the use of images, celebrity, and personality. In Latin America new form of populism, with direct, organisationally-unmediated relations between leader and follower have emerged. In India, where the effects of liberalisation and globalisation on the world of work have been less intense, Hindu nationalism has nonetheless become a significant political phenomenon.

A range of analysts is nevertheless optimistic about recent changes in structures of representation. They point to the growing number of local associations, issue-specific urban movements, and NGOs as structures through which the poor now pursue their interests. Others note that new ‘institutional openings’ for popular participation have emerged in recent years, such as local councils that encourage participation in resolving health, education and other issues and forms of participatory budgeting. Research on these new participatory spaces, and the ability of social groups to use them to aggregate interests and make claims on the state, is incipient however. Local organisations often remain fragmented and their ability to coordinate action with similar groups, to aggregate up and to effectively articulate demands to local or national government appears to vary substantially across issue area, geographic space, and time (Houtzager forthcoming.b). While NGOs and their issue- networks often appear to have ties to local-level associations and groupings, defining the nature of the representation they provide remains an important theoretical and empirical (research) problematic. In general, the political efficacy, and extent to which local associations and NGO-based and other networks function collectively as a *system* that can represent the interest of the poor is also an important questions that still requires empirical research and substantial theorising. These are some of the tasks the present study will undertake.

An Approach and Some Research Hypotheses

We decided to tackle these issues by looking from below – that is, through the *actions* of individuals and associations. All people engage in collective problem-solving, either by making demands on the state (directly or through representatives) or by engaging in some form of collective self-provisioning and/or self-regulation. These options are exercised by organising in work-related and/or other types of social networks. *Mobilisation* to claim rights and solve collective problems can occur in three ‘arenas’: in the group or associational sphere, the party system, and the union structure or labour movement. People use all three arenas to engage in forms of collective demand making on the state and of self-provision/regulation. Globalisation is producing alterations in key factors that social science research indicates affect whether people engage in collective problem-solving, through what arenas, and around what issues. These include the nature of social networks and collective identities, the nature of the state structures and array of constituted actors who may either facilitate or inhibit collective action.⁹

The hypotheses the study explores are numerous, are both descriptive and causal, and operate at various levels of analysis and aggregation (individual, district, city etc.). Following is a somewhat representative sample of the hypotheses that are most relevant to the concerns of the DRC on Citizenship, Participation, and Accountability and relevant to this *IDS Bulletin*. A full list, along with other materials related to the project, is available at the project website <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~seawright/cirela/>.

The *descriptive* hypotheses include:

- (i) There has been a shift popular sector collective action from single, integrated and formal actors (such as labour movements and labour-based parties) to diverse, fragmented and more informal ones (such as associational networks);
- (ii) ‘Lifespace’ social networks (neighbourhood-based, religious etc.) are now producing the most politically efficacious collective actors;
- (iii) Loose networks of NGOs and local associations have become representatives of popular social groups that are politically effective;
- (iv) The emergence of associational networks and other new forms of aggregating local formal and informal groups;
- (v) There is an increased reliance on clientelistic relations by both individuals and collective actors;
- (vi) There is an overall decline in collective action by popular social groups to solve problems and participate in political life.

Causal hypotheses include:

- (vii) Economic liberalisation and globalisation are producing a series of changes in the structure and distribution of authority in the state and in organisation of the world of work that are, in turn, altering who among the poor organise, around what kinds of issues, and in what organisational forms.

⁹ There is a substantial literature on collective action, revolution, and social movements that addresses these key factors. Some of the most relevant works include Tilly 1978 and 1984, Evans 1996; Skocpol and Fiorina 1999; Skocpol 1992; Tarrow 1998; McAdam 1999; Houtzager 2001; Gould 1995; Gurza Lavalle 2001.

- (viii) collective claim-making is more common in those issue areas where the state is active and seen to have the capacity to act/deliver; and conversely less common in areas subject to privatisation and deregulation.
- (ix) decentralisation of state authority produces collective action that is more localised and fragmented, and makes the construction of national representation more difficult;
- (x) changes in the world of work have eroded workplace based networks and solidarities, making it more difficult for collective action and representation around the workplace, and work-related issues;
- (xi) the presence of a competitive party system, populated by ideological/programmatic parties (of left, right, or nationalist) increase the chances of collective demand-making, and around a broader array of issues

Innovating Methods and Data Collection Instruments

The research is organised to produce a set of cross-national and sub-national comparisons. The cross-national comparisons aim to represent diverse political systems (particularly party systems and state structures) and societies, and to obtain variation in the extent and form of liberalising reforms. The Latin American countries are six of the seven largest in the region – they account for about 75% of population and roughly 85% of economic activity. Thus, this set of countries' capture a substantial piece of Latin American politics. They also vary on the macro-level variables of central concern in the study, such as the timing and form/extent of liberalising reforms and the nature of the party system and system of labor relations. Chile was the first country to systematically adopt neoliberal reform in Latin America (in the 1970s), Mexico began in the early 1980s, and several countries in the 1990s. Two of the countries (Mexico and Peru) have just emerged from authoritarian rule, while one (Venezuela) has one of the oldest democratic regimes in Latin America. These countries also represent substantial diversity in terms of party systems and prior systems of representation (see Collier and Collier 1991).

In India comparison focuses on four cities that represent contrasting sub-national political regimes and different responses to the increased global integration of the Indian economy following the 'economic reforms' (broadly in line with structural adjustment elsewhere in the world) of the 1990s. Chennai (the capital of the state, formerly known as Madras) and Coimbatore (the other major industrial city) are both in the southern state of Tamil Nadu in which lower classes have been more strongly mobilised politically, and have participated in government to a greater extent than in much of the rest of the country (see Harriss 1999). Coimbatore, an old textile centre, has experienced recession as its old industries have succumbed to competition in a more open economy, while Chennai has experienced growth with, for example, the location of big new automotive plants nearby and the rapid development of the software industry. Pune in the state of Maharashtra has apparently also done well in the context of globalisation, while Indore, in Madhya Pradesh, has not. Maharashtra is a state which has been dominated politically by a numerous caste group – the Marathas – who are of middling-upper social rank, excluding lower castes/classes; whilst Madhya Pradesh is a state in which the dominance of upper castes/classes has not seriously been challenged (Harriss 1999). Thus the three states involved in the comparison represent differing political regimes, while the cities represent contrasting experiences in the context of globalisation.

The sub-national comparisons – between eight districts within each of the Latin American cities and between four Indian cities – make possible identification of differences in patterns of collective claim-making and representation across areas that have been affected in different ways

by globalisation, while holding constant factors such as system of labour relations, party systems etc. The cities and districts represent areas where globalisation has been associated with growth, especially of new economic activity, and those where it has been associated with recession in old industries.

The *first phase* of research will construct the basic local-level data that is currently lacking, using citizen and association surveys as research instruments. The *second phase* will consist of case studies in four neighbourhoods in each city, selected to develop causal explanations for the findings in the first phase. Questionnaires for the two surveys have been developed and pre-tested.

1) Citizen Survey. Administered to 1,480 individuals in each city – 800 selected from a representative random sample and the remainder administered to an over-sample of individuals from each of eight districts. The districts will vary according to three factors we believe may affect levels and forms of collective action: level of development (or government presence), support for left-wing parties, and occupational mix. This mixed sampling strategy will allow generalisation at the level of the city; cross-occupation and income-level comparisons; and the importation of district traits into the records of individuals in the eight districts. It asks batteries of questions under the following headings: *Problem salience and problem-solving strategies, Political participation, Forms of representation, World of work, Demographic/household, and Social networks.*

2) Survey of associations: Administered to representatives of associations, selected using snowball samples, in four of eight districts. The survey will generate a textured view of the patterns of organisation, alliance, and claim-making activity among the poor. It is especially concerned with associational linkages ‘down’ to the members/constituents, ‘across’ to other associations (networks), and ‘up’ to peak organisations (federations, etc.), political parties and the state. In each district we will select a couple of neighbourhood associations and one alternative form of CSO (possibly an internationally connected NGO or church-based group) as points of entry. Each snowball will run to ten associations, totalling 30 per district (120 per city). Questions fall under in the following areas: *Type of goals, Types of activities, Vertical and horizontal linkages, Formalisation, and Relationship to members/constituents.*

3) Case Studies: These will be structured in Phase II to identify key causal relations that produced the patterns observed in Phase I. They will consist of longitudinal analyses, over the 1980-2000 period, which will allow us to track change over the period when globalisation spread to the developing world.

4) View from Above: The challenge of developing a reasonable set of cross-national standards (and country specific measures of these) to assess the political efficacy of different forms of organisation and networking has led the project team to add a component to the research design – a series of interviews with policy makers (at different levels of the state) in the issue areas that are the project’s focuses. The interviews will be used in part to obtain a sense of how state agents perceive different civil society actors and networks – that is, their influence in policy making, capacity to intervene in policy debates, etc. This will provide a partial but important ‘view from above’ of civil society actors that will complement the ‘view from below’ provided by the Individual Survey Questionnaire.

5) Data at the local and national level: We will collect city-wide and district-level data on the type and scope of state and market reforms undertaken (including existing cross-national indices of such ‘neoliberal’ reforms), the level of socioeconomic development, occupational structures, government presence (measured through budgets and scope of urban services and social programs), and voting patterns. Interviews with elected representatives and public will help

gauge the relationship between government and different types of organisations that represent the poor.

The rich, multi-level data the study will produce invites exploration at different levels of analysis. At the level of the individual, descriptive statistics and standard statistical methods, including tests based on covariance structure models (LISREL analysis), can help answer questions about how organisational membership, political participation, and problem-solving strategies, vary by income group, occupational history and job stability, gender, race etc. The Citizen questionnaire has multiple measures of most of the study's central variables and permits the construction of scales for these, including *collective versus individual problem solving*, *political claim-making versus self-provisioning/ self-help*, and *claim-making at local versus national levels of government*. At the level of associations, the project can combine statistical and qualitative analyses to explore claims that CSOs are most likely to orient themselves around existing state programs, have few or weak linkages to political parties, focus on local versus national-level government, and may take over previous state responsibilities as a part of the privatisation process. District-level data will permit exploration of demographic, work-related, political, and organisational characteristics that may account for variations in local-level patterns of association and political mobilisation.

Conclusion: Research for Whom?

The project's core task is to increase understanding of the forms of political representation and collective action amongst poorer people that are emerging in the global order. The project's considerable data set, which will be made readily accessibly through the Survey Research Centre at UC Berkeley and the Essex Data Archive, its descriptive findings, and its country-specific and general conclusions will be of considerable value to both researchers and policy actors in state and society. The study will, for example, identify what sectors of the poor, in different national contexts and subject to different patterns of globalisation, are more likely than others to participate and obtain representation (and hence those which are under-represented) and which associational channels are most frequently utilised. It will also shed light on what forms of participation and representation appear to be most effective in particular policy arenas, and under what conditions. Conversely, it will also shed light on what factors may increase the responsiveness of governments to the needs of the poor. An important determinant of this responsiveness is the extent and nature of the domestic political pressures on Southern governments. By building a substantial cross-national data-set that will permit systematic comparison, and by answering the question of how changing patterns of public action and the organisation of the world of work affect the pressures on governments in Latin America and India to adopt pro-poor policies, we will elucidate their implications for local and international policy actors who seek to support such policies and to form appropriate political coalitions. The project's audiences, therefore, include researchers and policy makers in national governments, and in bi- and multi-lateral institutions who are responsible for governance and economic policy.

NOTE: *Research methods, instruments and research papers discussing initial findings will be posted on the project website. Regular research updates and the research papers will be posted on the two DRC websites <http://www.ids.ac.uk/IDS/drc-state/index.html> ; <http://www.ids.ac.uk/drc-citizen/index.html>.*

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