

Negotiating new political spaces: claims for redistribution and recognition in Chile and Bolivia

1. Relevance

Across Latin America, the period from the early 1990s to date has been one of extraordinary mobilization of indigenous peoples, and an overall decline of labor movements (Hale 2002; Oxhorn 1998). The past two decades have seen the emergence and consolidation of several concomitant and contradictory processes, including neoliberal restructuring and economic liberalization, an institutionalization of indigenous rights, institutional democratization and, more recently, presidents elected on renewed leftist platforms. These processes have changed the “structural context” for collective action and civil society politics, and contributed to the emergence of new types of social movements making claims for citizenship, representation and more equitable distribution of resources. NGOs seem to be thriving in the region, and have been given new responsibilities and funding opportunities in bilateral and multilateral assistance programs. The effectiveness of labor unions, on the other hand, appears to have declined significantly in the context of state restructuring, economic liberalization and privatization. How effective these different actors will be in making claims towards issues of redistribution and recognition is currently unclear.

Negotiating new political spaces: claims for redistribution and recognition in Chile and Bolivia will advance social-scientific theory on the interrelations between structural context, political practice and the ability of different actors to press their claims effectively, and give deeper insight into the implications of these interrelations for empirical and theoretical questions of redistribution and recognition. The project will contribute towards central social scientific goals. First, it will strengthen the relation between basic and applied research. It will do this by developing and applying a *political space* approach to unpack the spatial and scalar dynamics of the practices of unions, NGOs and other actors in four specific industries in Latin America that are of commercial interest to Norway. This conceptual approach will be relevant for comparative research outside of this region as well. Second, attention will be paid to the ways in which these dynamics influence theoretical and empirical issues of redistribution and recognition and it will thus meet policy demands for knowledge on socially sustainable development. Third, the project develops new expertise in the field in Norway (one post-doc) and international cooperation with leading researchers enabling extensive researcher training (two PhDs, including one in Chile).

2. Objectives, research questions and hypotheses

The primary objective of this project is to develop and apply a *political space* approach to unpack the spatial and scalar dynamics of political practices for unions, NGOs and other actors, and through this to establish an understanding of the implications of such dynamics for empirical and theoretical questions of redistribution and recognition. This will be achieved through the following secondary objectives:

- Develop “political space” as a theoretical and analytical framework for understanding the spatial and scalar characteristics of political practice for actors, focusing on labor unions and NGOs in particular
- Use this framework to map the interrelations between structural context, political practice and the ability of different actors to effectively press their claims
- Discuss implications of these findings upon empirical and theoretical questions of redistribution and recognition
- Suggest future directions for how policy may be most effective in addressing enduring arrangements of redistributive injustice and lack of recognition

We will operationalize this framework in case studies in Bolivia and Chile. In Chile, the focus will be on the market-driven forestry and aquaculture sectors. In Bolivia, the focus will be the renationalized gas and mining sectors. In both cases we will discuss the following questions:

- What characterizes the structural context of labor unions, NGOs and other actors in and around their sectors?
- In what political spaces do they participate and how does this influence on their negotiating practices?
- How does the structural context and political space systems of the actors influence on their ability to press claims?
- How can this inform theoretical discussions on structural context, effectiveness of different claims, and issues of redistribution and recognition?

The empirical research will be based in a qualitative approach and, as such, does not allow for testing of hypotheses as for example in quantitative-based surveys. Still, the project allows for theory development and challenging existing knowledge. Our point of departure is that political and economic changes under way regionally and nationally shape a structural context which enables particular actors, practices and claims, while it constrains others. In Bolivia, the work-place based politics of unions has lost effectiveness, and popular mobilization has in some cases found new expression in claims for indigenous rights. In Chile, both environmental and labor rights claims have been promoted by NGOs and unions respectively. In both cases it is unclear how effective the *political spaces* of these actors are for negotiating issues of redistribution and recognition. New forms of citizenship granted to indigenous groups in Bolivia during the neoliberal era seem to have strengthened cultural rights rather than economic rights (Kohl 2003), while in Chile, both unionism and indigeneity appear to struggle to negotiate effectively in a liberal economy. It can tentatively be assumed that those claims and practices that can be articulated and organized within political spaces of various scales are empowered at the expense of those that are more spatially constrained. The empirical analysis will be guided by theoretical discussions around 1) structural context, 2) effectiveness of different claims, and 3) redistribution and/or recognition.

3. Theoretical background and status of knowledge

3.1 Structural context

The point of departure in this project is that political and economic changes under way in Latin America shape a structural context which enables particular actors, practices and claims, while it constrains others. A structural context must be understood as a broad set of economic, political and social opportunities and constraints confronting actors (Cerny 1995). The importance of this perspective is that all forms of political action are embedded in social, political and economic frameworks and discourses which influence the articulation and effectiveness of their claims. This has been asserted at a philosophical level by a range of authors, but has to a lesser degree, been successfully integrated in empirical research.

Marxism has long been one central theoretical framework for analyzing the structures in which political action takes place. More recently, the philosophers Laclau and Mouffe (2001) have analyzed the shifting conditions for political articulation that have opened for the emergence of new social movements. They place the emergence of politics of gender, sexuality, ethnicity and others in the context of a broader discursive framework embedded in social, economic and political change (see also Haarstad 2007, *Contemporary Politics*). These changes, they argue, opened up a new hegemony which displaced the centrality of labor relations in political discourses and facilitated political practices that are questioning a range of other forms of subordination. Along similar lines, Harvey (1989, 2000), Amin (2002) and others take the perspective that political articulation and practices are related to forms of capital accumulation and political-economic organization.

Less empirical research has tried to establish the relations between changing structural contexts and the political practices of specific groups in Latin America or elsewhere. There are, however, a range of contributions that have analyzed the structural changes currently taking place. There is an emerging literature on how globalization opens new opportunities for political action (for example Routledge 2000). Garretón's (2002) article on "the transformation of collective action in Latin America" argues that structural and cultural changes outside and inside the region have led social actors to be more concerned with socio-cultural than politico-economic issues. Oxhorn (1998) shows that changing imperatives of capital accumulation have created new forms of interest representation in the region. While organized labor became a relatively privileged group within popular sectors under corporatism, neoliberalism has spurred "neopluralist" forms of interest representation. This change, he argues, is linked to neoliberal forms of capital accumulation making use of informal employment and precarious labor. Finally, Yashar (1999) explains the increasing mobilization of indigenous identities in Latin America through unintended consequences of changing state-society relations. Third wave democracies in the region have failed to consolidate institutions across the board, and therefore spurred ethnic movements, in particular, to contest these institutions (see also Regalsky 2008).

These contributions have in part explained why and how recent structural changes have helped particular actors to become increasingly mobilized. While we seek to draw on this literature, our theoretical ambition is a bit different. We seek to develop a more systematic and spatial theoretical approach to understanding how structural contexts create opportunities and constraints for different actors, which can help explain why and how some actors can mobilize and negotiate more successfully than other actors within a structural context.

3.2 Effectiveness of different claims

How can a particular structural context be said to influence the effectiveness of different political claims? Again, there are contributions in the literature that can be drawn on in answering this question. There has in particular been a focus on how globalization and increased opportunities for communication across space and scale have empowered the political claims of actors that are able to create and participate in networks (for an in-depth review and case study, see our publication Haarstad and Fløysand 2007¹).

In his seminal trilogy on "the information age", Castells (2000, 2004) argues that networks are now the primary form of social organization. This has strengthened political claims for the assertion of various types of identity. An important part of his argument is that globalization has weakened the role of the state as the locus of struggles over resource distribution, and therefore opened for new types of identity constructions that take place in networks of various scales. As examples of empowered actors and claims he points to religious fundamentalism and ethnically based social movements. Along a similar vein, Keck and Sikkink (1998) show that the activities of NGOs and their "transnational advocacy networks", promoting human rights, women's rights and environmental protection, have proliferated over the past two decades (see also Riles 2001). They trace this to a "new kind of global shift", aided by new electronic communication technologies and cheaper air travel, facilitating network building. These transnational advocacy networks are particularly apt in promoting political claims that are struggles over meaning, where information aids the cause, and where national states and international institutions can be pressured to intervene (Keck and Sikkink 1998). "New labor studies" in geography have also illustrated that unions make use of new opportunities to form transnational linkages (Herod 2001; Waterman 2001).

¹ For references to the publications of Haarstad, Fløysand, Barton and Laurie, see attached CVs.

With regard to Latin America, the literature in the 1990s focused particularly on the effects of neoliberal policy on oppositional politics. Vilas (1995) argued that neoliberal structural adjustment led to social fragmentation and a loss of collective alliances, and reduced the participation in negotiations over labor relations. There has in turn been a retreat to “primordial attachments” such as kinship or ethnic groups. “The Left” struggled to find a coherent alternative or political project that could effectively articulate opposition to neoliberal restructuring (Brown 1996). In the present decade, there has emerged a literature on how indigenous movements mobilize within and outside of neoliberal multicultural and citizenship reforms. “Indigeneity” became a powerful trope in institutional development discourses (Laurie, Andolina and Radcliffe, 2005; Postero 2007). Neoliberal multicultural reforms generally recognized cultural rights for ethnic groups, but often did so at the expense of economic rights (Hale 2002; Kohl 2003). At the same time, indigenous groups were able to take advantage of networks at various scales and mobilize in “accepted” ways in the face of neoliberalism and multiculturalism (Andolina, Radcliffe and Laurie, 2005). In other words, neoliberal reforms on multiculturalism opened opportunities for indigenous movements to create a transnational movement, to press their claims, and to assert some of their rights within institutionalized development discourses.

However, indigenous movements also seem to be the most effective force in opposition to these neoliberal policy reforms. Writing on Bolivia, Postero (2007) argues that indigenous citizens, acting partly through institutions established by neoliberal reforms, mobilized in ways that posed important challenges to the neoliberal economic model. The country recently elected its first indigenous President, who has overturned many of the privatizations of the past decade. Organized labor continues to form part of the political landscape in the country, and indigenous movements can not be seen in isolation from the traditions and organizations of the labor movement (Lazar 2008). But as we show in a recent publication (Haarstad 2009, *Geoforum*), changes in policy have largely affected negatively upon the ability of labor unions to press work related claims. In Chile, unions have been involved in a process of renewal in order to deal effectively with economic restructuring (Campero 2001).

Together, these accounts outline a situation where certain claims and practices can be pressed more effectively than others. It can tentatively be assumed that those claims and practices that can be articulated and organized within networks of various scales are, in contemporary structural contexts, empowered at the expense of those that are more spatially constrained. Yet there is a lack of more systematic analyses of the relations between structural context and the ability of different actors to effectively press their claims. For example, there is a need to investigate further how different political claims are enabled and constrained in particular context, and how abilities to network and organize across scale influence on claim effectiveness. This should involve not just looking at one group or type of political actors and how they negotiate in relation to institutions, as most of the existing literature does, but questioning what interests are served when some claims are pressed more effectively than others, how actors adjust their strategies and claims to new contexts, and how scalar arrangements are enabling and constraining political practices. Finally, it should ask, what are the consequences of these dynamics on issues of redistribution and recognition?

3.3 Redistribution and/or recognition

In order to understand the consequences of differential effectiveness of political claims, we will apply a pair of concepts that has become prominent in recent philosophical debates, namely redistribution and/or recognition. “Politics of redistribution” is mainly associated with the philosophers John Rawls and Ronald Dworkin. This concept is descriptive of political practices and claims positing that oppression and injustice are primarily rooted in economic

structures in society and aiming to transform social oppression by changing these economic structures and systems of unequal distribution of resources. “Politics of recognition” is mainly associated with Charles Taylor’s and Will Kymlicka’s writings on multiculturalism. This concept is descriptive of political practices and claims that focus on the cultural and symbolic nature of oppression and injustice, and aim to transform structures that prejudice on the basis of ethnicity, gender, sexuality and so on. The conceptual pair is often used in relation to the argument that “redistribution” was previously a core of political claims making, but has, for various reasons over recent decades, been replaced by the increasing salience of claims for “recognition” (Fraser and Honneth 2003).

Much political action and many claims involve both of these distinct projects to some degree, and in practice these forms of oppression are intricately interlinked (Young 1997). Nevertheless, in research, the concepts of redistribution and recognition can be useful: first, in analyzing different types of claims and; second, in analyzing the consequences of differential effectiveness of these claims. It can be asked whether the claims that are effective or “permitted” within a particular structural context are based in the premises of one or the other. Žizek (1997) argued, for example, that the project of multicultural recognition is in line with multinational capitalism, which is why it has become so effective. It is therefore less effective in confronting unequal structures of distribution. In Latin America, it has been argued that the claims that were “permitted” and acknowledged within the neoliberal multicultural citizenship reforms in Latin America in the 1990s were simply those of recognition of cultural rights, and that the reforms failed to achieve much in terms of redistribution (Hale 2002; Kohl 2003; Postero 2007).

Our ambition is not to resolve the philosophical debate on redistribution versus recognition, but to use these concepts to analyze what types of claims that are made efficiently within a particular structural context. This will open for a more empirically grounded insight into these theoretical issues, and a better understanding of the emerging political landscape of Latin America and elsewhere. It will allow us to ask, for example, what political strategies and claims are most efficient in achieving redistribution and recognition within the contemporary structural context. It will also point to policy directions for addressing enduring arrangements of redistributive injustice and lack of recognition.

4. Towards a political space approach

In section 3 we focused on the theoretical background and ambitions for the project. We will now turn to the methodological-analytical approach we aim to develop to realize the stated objectives. As mentioned in the introduction, the development of a political space approach will aid us in understanding the relations between structural contexts, political practices and the effectiveness of different claims. A main premise in this effort is that the conceptual framework has to be *spatial*, in other words, it has to be able to account for how spatial and scalar dynamics play into these relations. While other studies (some of them cited above) have focused on particular types of groups and the way local, national or transnational processes have impacted upon their claims making, our approach seeks to fill the need for a coherent spatial framework for understanding the multiscale dynamics in which different groups negotiate. While spatial scale will not be the only determinant, it can be hypothesized that the ability of actors to network, access resources and engage discourses across scale are important factors behind the efficiency of their political claims. Spatial and scalar arrangements within a structural context will in turn significantly influence what political claims are enabled and constrained.

For our purposes, a political space refers to the possibilities and resources available for practices in relation to a particular network, discourse or capital formation. The political practices of a particular actor or group of actors are enabled and constrained in a range of

political spaces. An environmental NGO, for example, may negotiate within the following spaces; 1) a network that includes government ministries and provides a channel to policy makers, 2) in relation to an international discourse stressing the importance of environmental sustainability, providing legitimacy to its causes, and 3) in relation to the capital accumulation strategies of transnational firms having an impact on the environment in an area it is campaigning to protect. In general, the political space system of an actor will be comprised of multiple discourses, networks and capital formations at multiple scales. These and other spaces make strategies more or less efficient, opening or closing channels of influence, or providing resources for organization.

In a given structural context, some spaces will open or become more effective than others. This effectiveness can be assumed to be related to (though not determined by) the extension of political spaces across scale. In a previous publication we have showed the empowerment involved in the ability of actors to articulate their claims in relation to discourses at national and international scales (Haarstad and Fløysand, 2007). A particular structural context may enable some actors to access resources, engage in networks and articulate claims in relation to discourses, while constraining the ability of other actors to do the same. By researching different types of actors and their negotiation within political spaces, one can get an understanding of the interrelations between structural contexts, political practices, and how and why some political claims can be more effectively pressed than others.

Developing and refining this conceptual framework will be the first task of this project. In this effort we will draw upon a broad variety of literatures, including discourse theory, political and economic geography, anthropology, and development studies. A significant source of inspiration is the work of Engberg-Pedersen and Webster (2002) on political spaces for poverty reduction. Their point of departure is the actions and practices of the poor in trying to change their situations. We, however, want to add a stronger sensibility in the framework of how structures influence the effectiveness of these practices, and also of the ways in which spatiality plays into the enabling and constraining of practices.

In our thinking about political spaces we are particularly concerned with discourses, networks and capital formations. There are separate literatures around each of these topics, but it is beyond our scope here to go much into detail. We will simply note some of these influences here. Discourse theory is most often associated with the work of Michel Foucault. For our purposes, however, the work of Laclau and Mouffe (2001) will be more relevant since it draws on the concepts of hegemony and articulation. They use these concepts to understand abstractly how shifting hegemonies shape different conditions for the articulation of collective subjectivities. But discourse theory has been criticized for leaving out practice and spatiality (Müller 2008). The political space approach will draw on discourse theory, while at the same time trying to better accommodate practice and spatiality. A complementary approach focusing more on actors and their relations across scale is Grønhaug's (1974) social field theory. In this theory, social persons or groups of social persons are embedded in a wide range of social fields, and a social field represents a particularly dense pattern of social relations that constrain and enable the agency of actors. In previous publications we have showed how social fields are interrelated with capital flows and constructions of meaning (Fløysand and Jacobsen, 2002, 2007, Fløysand and Sjøholt 2007). Cultural and institutional approaches within economic geography have held that economic actions are grounded in a context of social relations and institutions (Wills and Lee 1997; Thrift 2000; Granovetter 1985). These literatures and others will form a background for the development of the methodological-analytical approach.

5. Research design

The data collection for this project will mostly be conducted by one post-doc fellow and two PhD-students, through intensive case studies of selected actors and organizations and their negotiating strategies in the given industrial sector. These actors and organizations are based in core natural resource sectors in their respective countries. In Bolivia, the focus will be the mining and gas sectors. In Chile, the focus will be on the market-driven forestry and aquaculture sectors. In all cases we look at the negotiating strategies of labor unions, NGOs and other actors in and around one specific sector.

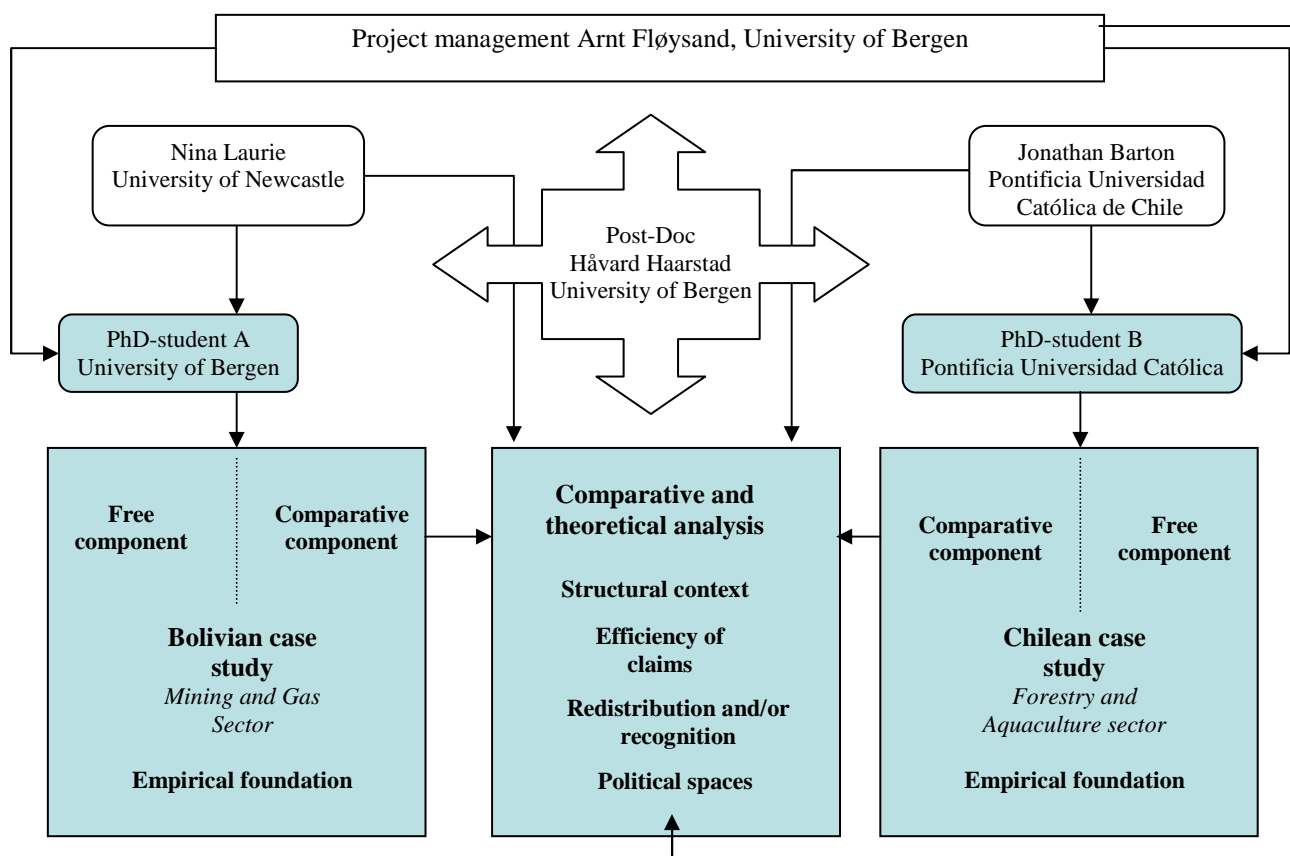
The empirical projects will be organized around four research questions (see section 2). The data collection phase will start with a mapping of the relevant structural context, operationalized as the (1) legal and policy framework regulating the sectors, (2) geographical capital formations at multiple scales, and (3) the discourses linked to these. This research will proceed as an explorative process revolving around the selected actors. An overview of the legal and policy framework will be obtained from official policy documents and regulating authorities. Geographical capital formations will be researched by looking at investment statistics, production reports, etc. Discourses will be analyzed through interviews with union and NGO leaders, firm managers, local authorities, etc., and through qualitative assessments of strategy documents of relevant development institutions, regulatory authorities, unions, and NGOs. This will be aided by the researchers' established contacts and fieldwork experience in the respective contexts. The interviews will aim to map the political strategies of actors, how they articulate their claims, what resources their strategies depend on, what networks they engage in, and what factors constrain the actors when pursuing their goals, therefore the interview questions will be focused on these issues. An important task here will be to expose the "biography" of the organization and its leaders, giving insights into its history and established practices. Then we will enquire into the extension of these networks across scale, in other words, the political spaces in which the actors negotiate. The relations between structural context, political practice and the ability of actors to press claims will be captured through the operationalization of the concept of political space. This phase of data collection will be focused on political practices and claims making. Following this, we will look at the claims pressed by the organization in question, and evaluate the effectiveness of these claims in these contexts (see table below).

CASES	Locations	1) Legal/Policy Framework	2) Capital Formations	3) Discourses
Aquaculture, Chile	Santiago de Chile Región de los Lagos	-Official documents -Regulatory instruments -Judicial instruments and sanctions - Actor hierarchies - Resources employed - Evaluation and monitoring - Planning and strategic considerations	-Analysis of scale-based formations -Configuration of components and linkages (intra- and inter-scale) - Resources employed, spatial and social distribution - Capital flows, FDI - Networks and alliances	-Interviews with key actors (~50 in each case), including Firms; NGO leaders; Union leaders; Local and National authorities - Representations of others; symbolism; constructions; strategies; linguistic devices - Goal-setting and claims formulation
Forestry, Chile	Santiago de Chile Región de Bío-Bío Región de Araucanía			
Gas, Bolivia	La Paz Santa Cruz			
Mining, Bolivia	La Paz Oruro, Potosi			

This brings us to discussing the implications of our findings on the varying effectiveness of negotiating with different political spaces. In this phase we draw on the data in analyzing theoretical and policy implications with regard to questions of redistribution and recognition. The findings can be used to assess the consequences of the effectiveness of certain political claims over others, or in other words, to assess how the existing political space system affects the possibilities for different groups to successfully press claims for redistribution and recognition.

6. Research organization and dissemination

The core research team will consist of four researchers: Professor Arnt Fløysand and researcher Håvard Haarstad at the University of Bergen, Professor Nina Laurie at Newcastle University and Associate Professor Jonathan Barton at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago de Chile. **Arnt Fløysand** will be the project manager. He has developed a space-analytical approach to understand social and economic relations in his studies of regional restructuring in South America and other contexts. Currently he is leading the NRC-funded project “The Spatial Embeddedness of Foreign Direct Investment” (see our website <http://fdi.uib.no>). This research focuses particularly on the aquaculture industry in southern Chile and relations between FDI policy and civil society politics in Bolivia, and has generated relevant publications. This contextual knowledge, completed publications and ongoing research will be drawn on in the present project. **Håvard Haarstad** is the candidate for the post-doc fellowship. Haarstad has had a key role in the above mentioned project and is planned to have a key role in this project. He submitted this doctoral thesis on FDI policy and civil society politics in Bolivia in April 2009, on the basis of Haarstad and Fløysand (2007), Haarstad (2007, 2009, 2009, and two in review). **Jonathan Barton** is currently Associate Professor in the Institute of Urban and Regional Studies at PUC, also Senior Research Fellow at the University of East Anglia, Norwich UK, and VILLA International Associate at the University of Wellington, New Zealand. His work has concentrated on sustainable development linked with urban and regional development, in Chile in particular. In terms of regional development, he has worked recently on Chile’s aquaculture sector, also the copper sector and its growth in relation to Chinese demand. **Nina Laurie** is the Director of Developing Areas Research Network, and has published extensively on indigenous movements and development in the Andes region. Her work analyzes the relationship between social movements and essentializing discourses of identity and culture, arguing that identity and development policy needs to be conceptualized in the context of transnational donor and social movement processes.



This international research team will be responsible for developing the theoretical framework, but the bulk of the theoretical analysis will be conducted by the post-doc fellow. The field work and data collection for case studies will be carried out by the two PhD students together with the Post-doc fellow. PhD student A will be recruited at the University of Bergen and PhD student B at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (see diagram above). The project has an overall timeframe of three (3) years. The major activities will be (1) development of the theoretical framework, (2) fieldwork for case studies and data analysis, and (3) publication and dissemination. We are planning three workshops during the project phase, involving the research team, PhD students and invited guests. The first will take place in 2010 in Bergen, the second in Chile (2011) and the final one in Newcastle (November 2012). We will interact with national researchers through the NorLARNet network, for example by including associated researchers in our workshops. Funding for one PhD scholarship will be sought from the host institution or other sources, and is therefore not included in the budget.

Regarding publication and dissemination, 6-8 scientific papers are planned in international peer-reviewed journals. Among the planned journals for publication are Political Geography, Bulletin of Latin American Research, Development and Change, and Latin American Politics and Society. All partners in the research team have previously published in one or more of these journals. Two papers will be authored by the post-doc fellow, two papers will be co-authored by the post-doc fellow and other members of the research team, while 2-4 articles will be published by the PhD-students (each PhD dissertation will be composed of 3-4 articles whereof 1-2 are planned to be in international peer-reviewed journals). In terms of dissemination beyond academic journals, we will report findings to regulating authorities, labor organizations and NGOs. We have good experience in using websites for dissemination. The plan is to continue posting results on a project website, and linking this website to other relevant web channels.

7. Environmental, ethical and gender perspectives

In the cases that constitute the sectors of interest to this project, there is a strong relation to renewable and non-renewable resource use. Both Bolivia and Chile remain closely tied to their resource bases within their export profiles. It is for this reason that there have been rising socio-ecological and socio-political conflicts relating to ownership, extraction rates, sustainability, and redistribution of benefits. The actors involved in this project return to narratives relating to these issues, therefore the environmental dimension forms part of the discursive armory and will be central to the empirical work. Claim and counter-claims in terms of environmental transformations and who benefits from these transformations are particularly important in terms of the scalar dynamics of the political space approach. The research group will be bound by the ethical guidelines developed by The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities. The project recognises that *Negotiating new political spaces: claims for redistribution and recognition* may be supported by the participation of women and men in different ways, and exploration of this will form a key part of the empirical work in this project. The design of the question guides used for the interviews will be gender sensitive to enhance our understanding of gender issues in the negotiation of new political spaces. The qualitative fieldwork will explore variations in the types of claims by men and women; variations in the networking behaviour and negotiating strategies of male and female actors; and how the factors of redistribution and recognition may differ between male and female actors. In line with the NRC policy of mainstreaming gender issues the project seeks to strengthen the role of women in research. The research team will be a mix of gender, male and female researchers. Care will be taken when recruiting PhD students to the project to ensure a balance of genders across the research team.

References

- Amin, A. 2002. "Spatialities of Globalisation." *Environment and Planning A* 34(3):385-399.
- Brown, E. 1996. "Articulating opposition in Latin America: the consolidation of neoliberalism and the search for radical alternatives." *Political Geography* 15(2):169-192.
- Campero, G. 2001. "Trade union responses to globalization: Chile." *IILS Discussion Papers* 126.
- Castells, M. 2000. *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Castells, M. 2004. *The Power of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cerny, P. 1995. "Globalization and the changing logic of collective action." *International Organization* 49(4):595-625.
- Engberg-Pedersen, L. and N. Webster. 2002. "Introduction to Political Space." In *In the Name of the Poor: Contesting Political Space for Poverty Reduction*, eds. Neil Webster and Lars Engberg-Pedersen. London: Zed Books, 1-29.
- Fraser, N. and A. Honneth. 2003. *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-philosophical Exchange*. London: Verso.
- Garretón, M. A. 2002. "The transformation of collective action in Latin America." *Cepal Review* 76(April):7-24.
- Granovetter, M. 1985. "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness." *The American Journal of Sociology* 91(3):481-510.
- Grønhaug, R. 1974. *Micro Macro Relations*: Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen.
- Hale, C. R. 2002. "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34(3):485-524.
- Harvey, D. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. 2000. *Spaces of Hope*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Herod, A. 2001. "Labour Internationalism and the Contradictions of Globalization: Or, Why the Local is Sometimes Still Important in a Global Economy." *Antipode* 33(3):407-426.
- Keck, M. E. and K. Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond borders: advocacy networks in international politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Kohl, B. 2003. "Restructuring Citizenship in Bolivia: El Plan de Todos." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(2):337-351.
- Laclau, E. and C. Mouffe. 2001. *Hegemony and socialist strategy: towards a radical democratic politics*. 2nd edition. London: Verso.
- Lazar, S. 2008. *El Alto, Rebel City: Self and Citizenship in Andean Bolivia*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Müller, M. 2008. "Reconsidering the concept of discourse for the field of critical geopolitics: Towards discourse as language and practice." *Political Geography* 27(3):322-338.
- Oxhorn, P. 1998. "Is the Century of Corporatism Over? Neoliberalism and the Rise of Neopopulism." In *What Kind of Democracy? What Kind of Market? Latin America in the Age of Neoliberalism*, eds. Philip Oxhorn and Graciela Ducatenzeiler. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 195-217.
- Postero, N. G. 2007. *Now We Are Citizens: Indigenous Politics in Postmulticultural Bolivia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Regalsky, P. 2008. "Fluid modern ethnic spaces: contesting the spatial ordering of the State in Bolivia." *Area* 40(1):34-44.
- Riles, A. 2001. *The Network Inside Out*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Routledge, P. 2000. "'Our resistance will be as transnational as capital': Convergence space and strategy in globalising resistance." *GeoJournal* 52(1):25-33.
- Thrift, N. 2000. "Performing cultures in the new economy." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90(4):674-692.
- Vilas, C. M. 1995. "Economic Restructuring, Neoliberal Reforms, and the Working Class in Latin America." In *Capital, Power, and Inequality in Latin America*, eds. Sandor Halebsky and Richard L. Harris. Boulder: Westview Press, 137-163.
- Waterman, P. 2001. "Trade Union Internationalism in the Age of Seattle." *Antipode* 33(3):312-336.
- Wills, J. and R. Lee. 1997. "Introduction." In *Geographies of Economies*, eds. Roger Lee and Jane Wills. London: Arnold, xv-xviii.
- Yashar, D. J. 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America." *World Politics* 52(1):76-104.
- Young, I. M. 1997. "Unruly Categories: A Critique of Nancy Fraser's Dual Systems Theory." *New Left Review* 1/222(March-April):147-160.
- Zizek, S. 1997. "Multiculturalism, Or, the Cultural Logic of Multinational Capitalism." *New Left Review* 225:28-51.