

The Latin America Programme has the goal of contributing to strengthen the capabilities of Catalonia and Spain to make contributions to the processes of social and economic development and the process of democratic consolidation in Latin America. Its objectives are to generate and stimulate research through the production, dissemination and publication of it, and to consolidate stable areas of research and exchange networks among experts and specialised institutions. The general area of work adopted for the Programme's set of activities in the 2005-2007 period is Models of State, Actors and Globalisation. Within this general framework, the activities carried out in 2006 have a special influence on different aspects related with state reform, decentralisation and governability, as well as with political and social actors in general and, especially, on the political participation of indigenous movements. In the area of security, the legacy of coup d'état-ism and relations between armed forces and civilian institutions are analysed. Cuba, Brazil and Mexico are the objects of specific analyses, along with the relations between the EU and MERCOSUR.

### AREAS OF WORK

- Construction of the regulatory state • Territorial decentralisation of the state • Human resource management policies in the public sector • Territorial control and security policies
- The state in a global environment • Democracy, governability and social participation: consolidation of the rule of law, conflict prevention and resolution and social control of public policies and institutions.

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**Programme Director**

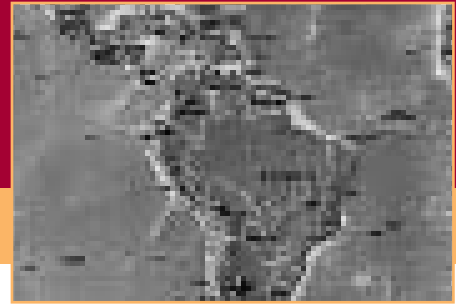
**Carles Ramió**, Universitat Pompeu Fabra

**Co-ordinator**

**Anna Ayuso**

With the collaboration of:





## RESEARCH CARRIED OUT

### • GLOBALISATION, EDUCATION AND POVERTY IN LATIN AMERICA

**Xavier Bonal**, Autonomous University of Barcelona.

At the beginning of the 21st century, Latin America continues to present high figures on poverty. Recent projections by ECLAC situate the number of poor persons at 213 million, of whom 88 million are destitute or live in extreme poverty. The debate on education and poverty is not new. However, we are faced with economic, social and educational policy scenarios that currently seem to question a good part of the certainties produced by an academic and political discourse that continues to be based primarily on the virtues of education as a mechanism for overcoming poverty, even in spite of the most recent evidence. This research project stems from the international seminar organised in October 2005 by the CIDOB Foundation in collaboration with the research team of the Social Policy Analysis Seminar (SAPS) at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and co-ordinated by Xavier Bonal, with the collaboration of international experts from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, the United States, Peru and Uruguay.

### • INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA

**Salvador Martí**, University of Salamanca.

This research project makes an assessment of the current situation of the indigenous peoples in Latin America. With this objective, the phenomenon is dealt with in a dual dimension. On the one hand, a thematic and transversal analytical and theoretical approach is taken, and, on the other hand, through the study of national realities, analysis is made of the nature that the contemporary indigenous movements have acquired with regard to the generating of discourse and identity, the repertoire of group action and their organisational networks, and their projection as political groups. A study is

also made of their opportunities for participation and representation, as well as the space of self-government that the national states have created with regard to indigenous peoples. And, finally, it deals with the conflict that has emerged over the ownership and exploitation of the resources present in the areas where the indigenous peoples live, with a special emphasis on the issues of energy, forest and biodiversity resources. The project is complemented with national case studies in different regions of Latin America.

### • ANDEAN PEACE ZONE

**Susana Beltran**, Autonomous University of Barcelona and **Anna Ayuso**, CIDOB Foundation.

The process of Andean regional integration begun 30 years ago is hampered by grave internal political, economic and social crises. Nevertheless, in the June 2002 Lima Commitment, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela showed their desire to establish an Andean Peace Zone, and in July 2004 they approved the general lines of the Andean Common External Security Policy. But, in the past few years, in addition to the classical interstate tensions, there have appeared new tensions motivated by energy resources, the threat of terrorism, illegal arms trafficking, trans-national organised crime and drug trafficking. The objective of this research is to analyse whether or not the existing tools for preventing and resolving conflicts, both those of the Andean institutions and those of other regional and international organisms and forums, are sufficient or adequate for facing the old controversies and the new complexities that have emerged from the international context and that affect the Andean countries. Finally, it deals with discovering how contributions can be made from Europe to the construction of this Andean Peace Zone, considered by the European Union to be one of its prime challenges in the region. This research is carried out by a group of five researchers in the Department of International Public Law at the Autonomous University of Barcelona.

### • THE PROFESSIONALISATION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

**Francisco Longo**, ESADE and **Carles Ramió**, Pompeu Fabra University and Director of the Latin America Programme, CIDOB Foundation.

Latin America has been trying to implement civil service models for two decades as a strategy for strengthening its institutions and improving their performance. This goal has not yet been attained, and strategies for professionalising public employment continue to be generated. The objective of this research project is to analyse the recent attempts to professionalise public employment in Latin America from a number of perspectives. For this, it combines a general overview of the situation of the region and the analysis of national or concrete models of public employment professionalisation (Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru and Central American and Caribbean countries). Another dimension of analysis is the study of concrete areas of professionalisation, for example the designing of an executive management model in Chile, the designing of different personnel hiring models, and initiatives for professionalising concrete public institutions (the professionalisation of regulatory agencies in different countries in the region).

### • ELECTION REFORM PROCESSES IN CENTRAL AMERICA

**Fátima García**, University of Salamanca.

Within the framework of a debate favoured by the processes of democratisation that have occurred in Latin America and Eastern Europe over the past ten years, this research project adds to the proliferation of studies on the determining factors of institutions and their reform processes. From this perspective, the author provides an alternative set of arguments to that which is offered by the political science literature on the contemporary Latin American election reform processes, based on middle- and long-term time elements. In this sense, and based on a comparative analysis of cases such

as El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Panama, this expert asserts the need to open new areas of study and theoretically and empirically develop the conditioning factors of the institutional preferences of the Latin American political actors from a multi-level perspective.

### • THE POLITICAL AND PARTISAN SUSTAINABILITY OF PATRONAGE: THEORY AND ANALYSIS

**Jorge Gordín**, IBEI.

Despite the purported negative effect that it has on the quality of political systems in developing countries, patronage is not a phenomenon that is foreign to the political process in developed countries. Understood as a topic susceptible to empirical corroboration, in this study patronage is analysed from the point of view of political patronage, which is its most obvious systemic manifestation and which is most subject to comparative analysis. With this aim, the author introduces an indicator of patronage that is fundamentally associated with distribution and variation in the levels of occupation in the public ministerial sector. By way of illustration, he offers an application of the resulting analytical framework in Latin America.

### • STRATEGIC ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE EU AND MERCOSUR

**Manuel Cienfuegos**, Pompeu Fabra University.

Within the framework of the integrationist phenomenon, this study analyses the relationship between two representative cases of current regionalism: MERCOSUR and the European Union. Ten years after an interregional agreement on co-operation, it argues how different political and economic factors have made its implementation impossible. It highlights: the limited capacity of Latin American producers to penetrate international markets, aggravated by the protectionist policies of the EU; the state of

institutional relations in the two regions, strongly influenced by difficulties in finding an interlocutor that is valid for all or a large number of countries in the Latin American region; and the complexity in finding elements of common interest and, therefore, defining objectives and global means of action that are really possible to execute.

- **IDEOLOGY AND ECONOMIC PREFERENCES IN LATIN AMERICAN MINISTERS OF PARLIAMENT**

**Iván Llamazares** and **Wladimir Gramacho**,  
University of Salamanca.

From a comparative point of view, this work examines how self-placement in the left-right super-dimension conditions the preferences of Latin American ministers of parliament with regard to the state's role in the economy. This analysis aims to establish whether or not there are national differences in associations between ideological self-placement and economic preferences and to examine what the main conditioning factors are for the above-mentioned national differences. It analyses, in particular, the degree to which levels of economic development and stability of democratic institutions have contributed to defining the patterns of relationship among the variables that are considered here. With these goals and through multi-level techniques, it analyses the databases that the University of Salamanca has on the parliamentary ministers of sixteen Latin American countries in the year 2000.

- **COUP D'ÉTAT-ISM IN LATIN AMERICA: LEGACIES AND RISKS**

**Jesús de Andrés**, National Distance Education University.

The transformations in the international context that arose after the disappearance of the Soviet Union especially affect Latin America. The relaxation of the mechanisms of international control that the superpowers practised during the Cold War, in the

external order, and the growing civilian control of national armed forces, in the internal order, have caused changes, both in the strategic alignment of the countries and in the relationships between civilians and military officials. The recourse to coups on the part of the elites, a widespread phenomenon in Latin America for decades, far from disappearing, is changing some of its classical characteristics. This text analyses the different moments of Latin American coup d'état-ism, the academic interpretations that are made of them and the current situation of a mechanism linked to the use of institutional violence as also a breaking of the political order. It stresses the characteristics of the new internal and external scenarios, the analysis of some concrete cases, new uses of coup d'état-ism and its links with other traditions of caudillism and populism.

- **THE POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND CUBA (1976-2006)**

**Francesc Bayo**, CIDOB Foundation.

This work presents a historical assessment of the political relations between Spain and Cuba over the past three decades, since the beginning of the Spanish democratic transition. The choice of the period corresponds to the interest awakened by a stage in Spanish history in which, for the first time, the possibility is manifested to design and put into practice a more active foreign policy, with a greater margin of autonomy and from the perspective of a democratic country. The idea is to make a time analysis in order to establish differentiated periods in a political relationship that has some very marked characteristics for the two countries, both due to their historical precedents and to their evolution in their political situations in recent decades. By way of conclusion, it points out that, despite certain moments of détente, the structural differences between the two governments, principally in the political and economic model, hinder a mature relationship with greater projection toward the future.

- **MEXICO: FROM THE PRE-CAMPAIGN TO THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT CALDERÓN (2005-2006)**

**Cesáreo Rodríguez Aguilera de Prat** and **Josep Maria Reniu**, University of Barcelona.

The first part of this study analyses the election platforms of the Mexican presidential candidates and their selection process, with notable differences depending on the party. In the second part, it presents an analysis of the precedents, the results and the effects of the election process, the role of the polls during the pre-campaign and the campaign, and the issues regarding participation and the election results, to focus on the post-electoral polemic and its political effects in terms of forming the Government. Finally, it studies the strategies of the Mexican parties in a bipolarised context. The strategy of delegitimising the election on the part of the coalition led by the PRD subjects the Mexican political system to a serious challenge that does not meet with a symmetrical response on the part of the other parties, a situation which goes in favour of stability, despite some uncertainties on the consolidation of democracy.

- **MILITARY AUTONOMY VERSUS CIVILIAN SUPREMACY IN LATIN AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM**

**Lorenzo Cotino**, University of Valencia.

It is possible and necessary to observe what the constitutional and legal model of the armed forces is in every Latin American country under study and to gain a general overview of how these institutions have been recognised and shaped by the rules and principles contained in their countries' legislations. Precisely, the elements that turn out to be fundamental from the point of view of effectiveness (Moskos' sociological models) and bring the law closer in line with reality (legal institution) constitute the front sight for operating a legal-constitutional examination which otherwise could end up being superficial and formalist. On the basis of this, the

study makes law-focused analyses of a series of parameters: legal categories and legal-constitutional constructions; the nature and political position of the military institution in the political system and the possible political participation of its members; legal demands with respect to its social composition; and conditions of the military profession.

- **LOCAL INNOVATIONS IN THE FACE OF GLOBAL INSECURITIES: THE CASES OF BRAZIL AND SPAIN**

**Joan Subirats**, Autonomous University of Barcelona, and **Sonia Fleury**, Getulio Vargas Foundation.

Over the past few years, multi-dimensional changes have been taking place, which affect the economy, the labour market, family structures and relations between people, demographic and social structures, among other areas. They are changes that generate opportunities but also risks, risks of social exclusion linked to the jobs becoming precarious, lack of protection and the non-recognition of citizenship rights. It is a challenge that the public powers at different levels have to face up to, also on the local level. In Brazil as well as in Spain, empirical evidence can be found that illustrates these types of local innovation processes, oriented toward social inclusion and the promotion of active citizenship. This research project arises from the collaboration between the Institute of Government and Public Policies (Spain) and the Getulio Vargas Foundation in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), which began with an exchange of researchers between the two institutions to carry out field studies in order to promote comparative research, which will culminate in an international seminar on Brazilian-Catalan local development innovations in March 2007.

## SEMINARS

### • INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA

The seminar analysed the political expression of indigenism and its impact on the governability of the countries of the region in the latter half of the first decade of the 21st century. First of all, it analysed the situation of the indigenism at the end of a cycle; then, it dealt with the evolution of the Latin American indigenous movements and their relationships with other political actors. A third panel focused on politics from ethnicity and on the lessons learnt. Finally, the transversal approaches dealt with the struggle for natural resources and the conflicts generated, using cases analyses to demonstrate the complex and heterogeneous social, economic and political reality of the indigenous peoples of Bolivia, Mexico, Ecuador, Colombia, Nicaragua and, as a contrasting case, Canada.

#### Co-ordinator

**Salvador Martí**, University of Salamanca - CIDOB Foundation.

#### Participants

**Xavier Albó**, CIPCA Bolivia; **Manuel Alcántara**, University of Salamanca; **Marc Aparicio**, University

of Girona; **Willem Assies**, Leiden University; **Juan Manuel Bautista**, University of Salamanca; **Mikel Berraondo**, Instituto de Promoción de Estudios Sociales de Pamplona; **Alison Brisk**, University of California; **Miguel Ángel Cabodevilla**, CIAME; **Sergio Carmona**, International Consultant, Colombia; **Pilar Domingo**, University of Salamanca; **Flavia Freidenberg**, University of Salamanca; **Rosa de la Fuente**, Universidad Complutense de Madrid; **Fátima García**, University of Salamanca; **Marga Gómez-Reino**, University of Santiago de Compostela; **Miguel González**, URACCAN and Cork University; **Galio C. Gurdian**, Central American Research Council; **Pablo Gutiérrez**, University of Seville; **Isabel Kempf**, United Nations working group on indigenous peoples; **Ramón Máiz**, University of Santiago de Compostela; **Asier Martínez de Bringas**, Institute of Human Rights, University of Deusto; **Mariana Mora**, University of Texas at Austin; **Sara Radcliffe**, Cambridge University; **Luís Rodríguez-Piñero**, United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples; **Francisco Sánchez**, University of Salamanca; **Narcís Serra**, President, CIDOB Foundation; **Donna Lee Van Cott**, Tulane University; **Jan de Vos**, CIESAS-Southeast.

**October 10 and 11. CIDOB Foundation**



Indigenous Peoples and Politics in Latin America

Isabel Kempf, Salvador Martí, Narcís Serra, Rosa de la Fuente and Willem Assies

### • DEMOCRACY AND DECENTRALISATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Debate conferences on the occasion of the presentation of the book of the same name published by the Getulio Vargas Foundation Brazilian School of Public and Business Administration (EBAPE) in collaboration with the CIDOB Foundation. The objective of the seminar was to disseminate recent processes of decentralisation in each of these countries, relating them with processes of democratic consolidation based on three common thematic axes: institutional, economic and social policy.

#### **Participants**

**Fernando Abrucio**, EBAPE-FGV; **Sergio de Azevedo**, Universidade Estadual do Norte Fluminense Darcy Ribeiro (UENF); **Tania Bacelar de Araujo**, Department of Geographic Sciences, UPFE; **Bianor Cavalcanti**, EBAPE-FGV; **Sônia Fleury**, EBAPE-FGV; **Jacint Jordana**, Pompeu Fabra University, and Director of the IBEI; **Fabricio August de Oliveira**, EBAPE-FGV; **José Antonio Puppim de Oliveira**, Centre for Situational Studies, Department of Economics, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo; **Carles Ramió**, Pompeu Fabra University, Director of the Latin America Programme, CIDOB Foundation; **Ferran Requejo**, Pompeu Fabra University; **Marco Aurelio Ruediger**, EBAPE-FGV; **Joan Subirats**, Autonomous University of Barcelona; **Fernando Guillermo Tenorio**, EBAPE-FGV.

*December 23 and 24. Getulio Vargas Foundation, Rio de Janeiro*

### LECTURES AND DEBATES

### • THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC POLICIES IN LATIN AMERICA

Presentation of and colloquium on the Inter-American Development Bank 2006 Economic and Social Progress Report, "The Politics of Public Policies". The report questioned the traditional practice in Latin America of searching for paradigms of economic and social development and advocated for focusing more attention on the political processes upon which the reforms were supported. This report presented a conceptual framework of the process of drawing up policies that helps to understand the complex interaction that come into play when political measures are debated, approved and executed.

#### **Participants**

**Narcís Serra**, President of the CIDOB Foundation; **Ernesto Stein**, Chief Economist, IDB, Research Department; **Koldo Echebarria**, IDB Representative in Chile; **Carlos Losada**, Director of ESADE; **Jacint Jordana**, Director of the IBEI; **Joan Prats**, Director of IIGOV.

*February 7. CIDOB Foundation*



**The Politics of Public Policies in Latin America**

Narcís Serra, Carlos Losada, Ernesto Stein, Koldo Echebarria, Jacint Jordana and Joan Prats

• **THE EUROPEAN UNION AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES**

Presentation of and debate on the relations between the European Union and Latin America from the perspective of regional integration, on the occasion of the presentation of the books, *The European Union and Regional Integration: A Comparative Perspective and Lessons for the Americas* (Joaquín Roy and Roberto Domínguez, eds. 2005), and *La Unión Europea y la integración regional: perspectivas comparadas y lecciones para las Américas* (Joaquín Roy, Félix Peña and José María Lladós, eds.). Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero / Consejo Argentino de Relaciones Internacionales, 2005.

**Participants**

**Joaquim Roy**, “Jean Monnet” Professor and Director of the European Union Centre at the University of Miami; **Manuel Cienfuegos**, Pompeu Fabra University; **Ramon Torrent**, University of Barcelona and Co-ordinator of OBREAL; **Manel Camós**, European Commission Delegate to Barcelona; **Anna Ayuso**, CIDOB Foundation.

**May 3. CIDOB Foundation**

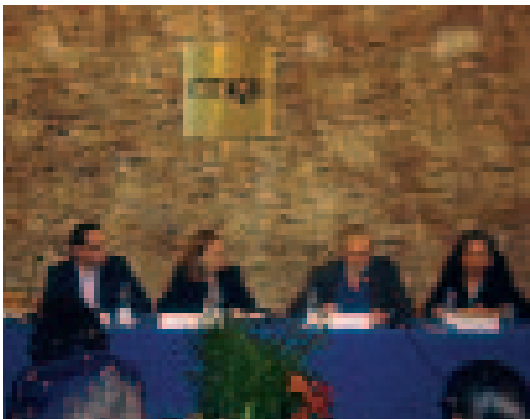
• **THE ELECTIONS IN PERU, BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND ROUND**

Analysis of the results after the first round of presidential elections in Peru and of the scenario that has been opened up by the fight between the former President, Alan García, of ARPA, and the candidate, Ollanta Humala, with an indigenist discourse. First, there was a presentation of the most important events in Peruvian electoral history since 1930, and two constant factors were highlighted: the gravitation of the army and the exclusion of the citizenry. Then, the role of the elites, the consequences of decentralisation and the situation of human rights were described, and, finally, the construction of the images of the presidential candidates was analysed.

**Participants**

**Anna Parés**, Dean of the Official Association of Holders of Bachelor's and Doctoral Degrees in Political Science and Sociology of Catalonia; **Magdalena Chocano**, Peruvian historian and poet, UAB; **Rafael Drinot**, Peruvian sociologist and journalist; **Pedro Patrón**, Peruvian communicator.

**May 16. CIDOB Foundation**



The Elections in Peru, Between The First and Second Round  
Pedro Patrón, Anna Parés, Rafael Drinot and Magdalena Chocano

• **THE FAILURE OF BRAZILIAN POLICY FOR THE INTEGRATION OF SOUTH AMERICA**

The speaker gave an assessment of the evolution of the integration process of MERCOSUR and of the crisis in which it seems to find itself, placing emphasis on the relations between its members and, especially, on the role of Brazil. Afterwards, he analysed the possible consequences of the recent incorporation of Venezuela and the creation of the South American Community of Nations, and he concluded with a critical analysis of Brazilian foreign policy since the arrival of President Luis Ignacio Lula da Silva's in power, in which he questioned his capacity for leadership in the region.

**Participants**

**Eduardo Viola**, Lecturer at the University of Brasilia.

**June 26. CIDOB Foundation**



Democracy and Decentralisation in Latin America

## EXERNAL PARTICIPATION

- **LASA XXVI INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS**

Presentation of the lecture, “Potentialities and Limitations of the Relations between Spain and Cuba. A Spanish Perspective” and participation in the working meeting of the Europe and Latin America section.

*March 15-18. San Juan, Puerto Rico*

- **PRESENTATION** of the “Analysis of the Viability of the European Union – Latin America Biregional Solidarity Funds Proposed by the European Parliament”. EP/ExPo/B/2005/18 of 27 March 2006 by the European Parliament’s Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union.

*March 27. Brussels*

- **12th Meeting of Latin Americanists CEEIB 2006** (Consejo Español de Estudios Iberoamericanos). Presentation of the lectures: “Current Spanish Foreign Policy and the New Challenges in Latin America” and “Comparative Study of the Principal Common Funds of Donors to Latin America: Critical Assessment and Good Practices”.

*September 21-31. Santander*

## NETWORKS TO WHICH THE PROGRAMME BELONGS

- **Latin American Studies Association (LASA)**  
<http://lasa.international.pitt.edu>
- **Centro Latinoamericano de Administración para el Desarrollo (CLAD)**  
<http://www.clad.org.ve>
- **Spanish Council for Ibero-American Studies (CEEIB)**  
<http://www.americanismo.es/>
- **European Network for Information and Documentation on Latin America (REDIAL)**  
<http://www.red-redial.net>
- **European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI)**  
<http://www.eadi.org>
- **European Union - Latin America Relations Observatory (OBREAL/EULARO)**  
<http://www.obreal.unibo.it>