

**SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND
POVERTY REDUCTION IN
LATIN AMERICAN AND
THE CARIBBEAN**

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Editors

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POVERTY REDUCTION IN
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THE CARIBBEAN



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Social Exclusion and Poverty Reduction in
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Manufactured in Costa Rica
First printing, August 2001

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Cover design by Valeria Varas

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THE SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

CARLOS SOJO

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the issue of social exclusion as a social, political and cultural phenomenon related to citizenship rights. Reflecting on social exclusion involves both quantitative and qualitative issues because it refers to processes that produce inequalities (regarding material needs) that are clearly subject to numerical examination, as well as to institutional processes that result on power differences among social groups.

The social exclusion approach emphasizes the need to consider multiple dimensions, not just what is commonly considered "material satisfaction" (basic needs indicators and income), but institutional, cultural and political factors both at the public and private levels, that constraint the opportunities excluded social groups have for advancement. In this regard, following Sen (1995), it calls for a broader definition of the "evaluation space", to move towards a multi-dimensional approach.

The first section of this chapter discusses conceptual issues in order to relate social exclusion and poverty to a set of political, social and cultural factors. The objective is to illustrate the importance of using a multi-dimensional perspective for the analysis of social inequality. It also provides the background for linking the issue of citizenship to socio-political and cultural exclusion. The second section analyzes the political and socio-cultural dimensions of exclusion and proposes an analytical model to link the different variables in the system. The third section concludes with recommendations regarding the need for a multi-dimensional and participatory focus for the development of public social policy.

CONCEPTUAL COORDINATES

Social exclusion and poverty

Social exclusion means that while certain social groups have or enjoy full entitlements (as defined for that particular society), others do not. Included and excluded from what? Social groups coexist under diverse codes that shape their communities. Even for excluded groups there are norms and institutions that contribute to keep their members within certain norms of inclusion and to maintain the boundaries with other social groups. The diverse levels of integration to that social group initially indicate that social exclusion is a relative category: it is never absolute, a-historical, or detached from specific social conditions.¹

If all societies have certain levels of integration, then social exclusion refers to the quality and intensity of that level of integration. Social exclusion indicates the existence of a poor link (or a partial link) between a social group and the larger society, its values, institutions and resources that would provide for an adequate quality of life for all its members. This includes economic, political, gender, ethnic, and environmental aspects, to mention the most common dimensions of contemporary social thought. Social exclusion refers to the existence of institutional barriers that impede the possibility of full participation in society (citizenship with its related entitlements) for some social groups. Therefore, the social exclusion approach is concerned with the institutional factors (opportunities) that allow a group to become a full member of the system, and not just the exclusion experienced by particular individuals.

In Latin America, the social exclusion approach started to be used as an analytical tool in the early 1990's. The focus of the regional debate was on the issues of social cohesion and the development of the institutional mechanisms for the democratization of the region (Figueroa, Altamirano, Sulmont 1996; ILO-ILS 1995). Basic to the establishment of democratic institutional arrangements was the notion of social cohesion and equal opportunities for all individuals and groups at the social, cultural, economic and political levels. In other words to the establishment of a community in

1. The European Community Committee has an appropriate definition. It defined social exclusion as a process and concrete result. It pointed out that the "mechanisms by which persons or groups are rejected are the participation of exchanges and social rights practices that constitute the social integration elements, and therefore, constitute identity also. (FLACSO *et al.*) Also see Minujín, 1998.

which all social groups would have equal opportunities for participation at the material and symbolic levels.

Social exclusion – and its conceptual opposite, social integration – was first used in some European countries, specially those with important political traditions in social welfare, in which relative improvements in poverty levels and other dimensions of exclusion and social inequality are a priority. The main trust of the idea was that social integration and exclusion made reference to a series of processes whereby social groups and individuals could be marginalized from the rights and entitlements that those societies had established (FLACSO, 1995).

Income deprivation is one component of social exclusion, but as far as it related to income and consumption at the individual level, it does not account for other dimensions that explain the underprivileged position in society of particular groups. Furthermore, an individual with an income below the poverty line could be in a situation of inclusion because of existing social networks, such as the family, that may provide for meeting the material needs. In contrast, a person with a higher income coming from informal activities could be excluded from the labor market because of individual characteristics, and thus, does not enjoy any of the collateral benefits associated with formal wage work.²

The idea of social exclusion involves moving along a historically defined continuum of exclusion and inclusion. In between these two polar situations there is an interregnum of vulnerability in which social groups face the risk of becoming more or less excluded/include. Thus, the concept of social exclusion is related to the interaction of historically and socially conditioned factors. Therefore, the classification of a situation as social inclusion or exclusion is based on the specific conditions of a concrete society, with its corresponding institutions. This led us to the issue of citizenship. Social exclusion then would be the indicator of the degree to which a society has effectively established citizens' rights for everyone to enjoy. Rights create community, and the community produces integration and social cohesion. There is a close relationship between the social condition of exclusion (or integration) and the concept of the definition of citizenship.

Social exclusion is a useful resource for analyzing problems of social integration in complex societies. It involves a multidimensional approach, encompassing both material and symbolic factors; it is sensitive to historical peculiarities; and it allows for a non-dual understanding of the social dynamic.

2. This aspect has been developed by Minujin and Bustelo (1997) and Minujin (1998).

Cartalla, Magallanes, and Domínguez (1997) point out that the term exclusion is "evocative but imprecise." Following Silver,³ they indicate that the concept evokes different approaches to the notion of citizenship. Three paradigms are identified: (i) the French tradition based on the idea of a "community of values" in which the concept of exclusion is related to issue of weakened social ties; (ii) the Anglo-Saxon tradition of citizenship, which concentrates on individual rights and duties to which individuals can voluntarily separate themselves or are excluded due to market distortions, discrimination, or lack of rights; (iii) finally, the "monopolizing" approach in which social groups are seen as closed environments competing among each other and defending themselves by "building obstacles and restricting access to work and occupation, cultural resources, goods and services." (Cartalla, Magallanes and Domínguez, 1997:5).

In this chapter the notion of citizenship integrates the three paradigms presented above. The model of citizenship used here recognizes the each of the three paradigms contribute to the notion of citizenship, as this is defined by the existence of values that are translated into rights in specific historical conditions in which different social groups have conflictive interests.

The question of citizenship as a paradigm for social exclusion

The idea of the citizenship has evolved over time. However, it was not until the middle of the twentieth century that the definition proposed by T.H. Marshall provided a satisfactory framework for understanding the process of development of citizen's rights. T.H. Marshall revised the ideas of the economist Alfred Marshall regarding the equalizing potential of citizenship rights and the "architecture of legitimate social inequality" (1992:7). Based on the above, T.H. Marshall showed how the relationship between "status and contracts," or social inequality and citizenship affects and is affected by the development of rights. He concluded arguing that a strengthened citizenship status prevents further development of economic inequalities.

Marshall proposed a distinction amongst three levels of citizen rights: (i) civil; (ii) political and; (iii) social. While rejecting any historical determinism, he established a logical sequence in the development of citizen rights during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Civil rights (freedom of speech, assembly, worship, right of ownership, entering into contracts and the administration of justice), were basic freedoms for the development and

3. Refer to Haan and Maxwell (1998).

consolidation of capitalism. Political rights, related to political representation, came after as a basis for the establishment of democratic government systems. Finally, social rights – including the right to a minimum economic well being came later on as civil and political rights were consolidated.

In that context, the development of citizenship is understood to be an integral part of the advancement of western democracies. The development of civil rights contributed to the development of political rights, which progressed from being restricted to a minority of white males, to include women, and then other social groups. Once societies had advanced in expanding the scope of their civil and political rights, social rights became an issue.

Two caveats to Marshall's approach need to be highlighted. First, the process is neither liner nor cumulative. Second, the process is not isolated from the social context in which it takes place. The process of establishing citizenship rights is based on what it could be called rights achievement deficit. These deficits reflect situations in which certain social groups either because of their gender, ethnicity (or any other socio-cultural characteristic), or due to structural conditions is precluded from exercising their rights. Therefore, there are cases in which there have been significant achievements regarding the establishment of legal rights, but in which deficits exist. Such is the case for example of societies that have asserted the right to employment but that have high unemployment rates, or the case of societies in which social rights were more or less protected but civil and political rights were curtailed.

Defining what a society understands by rights has always been conflictive as it is the outcome of a social struggle. Rights are defined on the basis of social antagonism. That explains why the establishment of civil rights evolved out of the clash between the feudal system and the capitalist socio-economic order, which resulted in a new model of secularized politics and freedoms at that time. This broadened the arena in which democracy could develop and more groups progressively exercised their rights. Similarly, the social and political struggles of the early 20th century opened up the space for socialist/social-democrat regimes that expanded the notion of social rights. At the same time it is important to keep in mind that crosscutting issues such as gender-based antagonisms contributed to the expansion of civil and political rights.

While the notion of citizenship proposed by Marshall contributes to a better understanding of the development of citizenship, it needs to be expanded in light of the changes that have taken place in western democracies in recent years. Bottomore (1992) suggests distinguishing between formal

citizenship – defined as membership in a nation state and substantial citizenship, which refers to the disposition of rights and the capacity of citizens to exercise them in the public and private spheres. Formal citizenship is neither a prerequisite nor a condition for having substantial citizenship. Women and ethnic minorities are well aware of this, as they can have formal citizenship and at the same time be excluded from enjoying rights all members of society have. At the same time substantial citizenship can be enjoyed without having formal citizenship, as some migrants and refugees groups testify.

This is an important distinction because moves the debate of citizenship from a pure formal-legalistic approach to a more substantive level, defined by the social conditions that impede or propel the exercise of citizenship. According to Bottomore (1992), the formal dimension of citizenship is under increasing scrutiny due to three interrelated processes. First, the growing population mobility and immigration represent increasing demands on the states that they cannot simply ignore, even if those who demand the rights are not formal citizens. Associated to the above, the globalization of labor markets has forced upon the nation-states new transnational rules to facilitate the movement of workers. Finally, the increased population mobility, thus the dislocation of place of residence and work place has put in question the definition of the nation-state as the basis for granting rights.

The distinction between formal and substantive citizenship allows considering the rights' issue in an integral way that assumes equal conditions (civil, political and social) for all individuals, even if they do not have the formal condition of nationality or citizenship. This topic is particularly relevant for societies experiencing significant and constant immigration flows, which in the past were related to social and political instability and repression and, currently to the globalization of the economy and sociocultural patterns.

The empirical and methodological implications of the migrants issue are quite relevant. A recent comparative study between Costa Rica and Holland revealed a strong link between being immigrant and poverty in San José, Costa Rica, but not in Rotterdam, because migrants have more rights and access to state programs in Holland than in Costa Rica (Cardona, *et. al.* 1999). On other context, Rolph (1999) has observed that in the Caribbean region, where 12% of the population is immigrant, migrants are not among the poorest but, instead, face socio-cultural barriers. Immigrants are not homogeneous in their capacities or in their ability to enter the labor market. Nevertheless, immigrants tend to enter at the bottom of the ladder, while the local labor force occupies social positions and jobs of higher prestige and income (Held *et. al.* 1999). Apart from the significance that having an

immigrant *status* can have in relation to income, there are cultural issues that cannot be analyzed in terms of income. While the population can share certain conditions of substantial citizenship at the same time, some groups may experience discrimination due to the lack of formal citizenship. Or, contrarily, have formal citizenship but face discrimination base on social or ethnic conditions that represent a severe limitation to the full exercise of social rights. In his analysis of exclusion and race in Brazil, Nelson do Valle Silva finds statistical evidence of the existence of racial discrimination which is manifested throughout subtle mechanisms. He asserts that, in Brazil, racial discrimination (which is formally and institutionally denied) is disguised as class discrimination. In the Chilean case, Carolina Tohá shows that social exclusion among poor young people is reflected in high drop out rates, high unemployment rates and identity crisis. Tohá also indicates how the system clearly discriminates against young women entering the labor market because of the possibility of early pregnancies.

A final conceptual consideration to be made is that the substantial-formal citizenship distinction should be complemented by the notion of cultural citizenship. Turner (1994) considers citizenship in cultural terms as the capacity a society has of socially integrating citizens through communication and knowledge. Individual and group access to information is a function of the level of human capital and, second, of the social position of the individual and the group. This explains that small powerful groups have access and control over vast amounts of information and knowledge through relatively cheap electronic means, while at the same time the majority of the population do not have access or participation whatsoever in the generation of knowledge and they ignore the most general events within the larger national and transnational communities.

SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Most studies on social inequality in Latin America concentrate on access to economic opportunities.⁴ This paper examines inequality from a social exclusion perspective, focusing on civil rights. The objective is to analyze the social and political implications the exercise of these rights has on (public and private) institutions and their capacity to decrease social exclusion.⁵ Social rights refer here to the achievement of social well being.

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4. Refer to the last IDB report (1998) on the issue of social inequality according to distribution of income terms.
 5. This is an important aspect because it is one of the strong points in the analysis of the social

Civil rights are essential for the development of economic activities, such as: establishing contracts, trading and commerce, working and accessing the judicial system. Civil rights create the conditions for future social integration, while the lack of these rights indicates social exclusion. In Western societies, the State through the constitution and subordinate legal regulations seeks to define basic rights that would ensure the proper functioning of institutions, including markets. However, these institutional arrangements do not necessarily guarantee an equal access of all citizens to these rights. For example property rights are highly concentrated, or access to adequate housing is not even a guaranteed right for a large part of the population. The right to work is not secure for a vast segment of the poor, who can only resort to self-employment or under-employment. Similarly, different surveys in Latin America suggest that citizens perceive there is a direct relationship between poverty and receiving fair treatment in the judicial system.

Political rights guarantee the exercise of active representation in politics and the possibility of electing government representatives and being elected. In Latin America, after the traumatic experience of authoritarian military regimes, democratic governments have developed once again. The democratization process opened up political participation for social groups that had been marginalized and created the opportunity to use political participation and good governance as mechanisms for social integration. Most recently, "third way" Latin American democracies have attempted to strengthen the exercise of political rights, however they have faced new challenges.

Political Exclusion

Political exclusion refers to the restrictions imposed to the basic right to elect and be elected.⁶ The absence of that possibility is what characterizes

exclusion Cleret (1997) pointed out that the exclusion concept generates interest for the capacity of understanding the social "disadvantage" as an of multiple processes included the socio-cultural and political aspects. But it should be noted that the multi dimensional condition could also be found in other concepts such as lacking material goods and vulnerability or groups, the concept of exclusion is useful complement as it emphases the studies of "the processes, the environment, the practices of exclusion."

6. In a more general aspect, political exclusion refers to "the exclusion of citizenship" (Figueroa, Altamirano and Sulmont 1996), which alludes to the absence of guarantee in the individual rights by a legitimate authority. This meaning requires of a specification, in our opinion referred to the citizen right of decision making, and the political citizenship rights in the marshalian sense

social exclusion in the political dimension. As electoral campaigns become more dependent on the media and marketing strategies, the high costs of these campaigns leave out individuals and social groups that do not have the capacity to raise the required resources to run a successful campaign. Lack of economic resources to sustain a campaign is the first line of exclusion a social group faces in the exercise of political rights. This socio-economic inequality leads to socio-political exclusion⁷ and the barring from the political arena of certain political actors (ideas) that may not have the resources or the connections to raise the required financial contributions to support a political campaign.

At the same time, the growing social inequalities and stagnant socio-economic conditions for poor and vulnerable groups undermine citizens' confidence in the capacity of democratic governments to tackle social exclusion, which may eventually lead to the acceptance of authoritarian alternatives (as the cases of Venezuela and Perú illustrate). Even under democratic conditions recognizing the existence of exclusion conditions is problematic since it represents a severe questioning of the foundations of the political regime. A recent Inter American Development Bank (IDB) report on inequality indicates that, "income inequality may weaken the acceptance of institutions and democratic principles." In turn, this situation could lead to other phenomena such as lack of consensus building and increasing pressure from interests groups, corruption, and inefficiency. (1998: 26).⁸

There is a primary level of exclusion that derives from the inability to exercise political rights and direct democratic practices at the local, provincial or national levels. Not everybody can have access to elected positions, but more importantly, as indicated before, not everyone can be elected because they do not have the means to compete.

This type of political exclusion is legitimated by the discourse of representative democracy, where the individuals delegate (not relinquish) their power of decision in public affairs to elected representatives. The jusnaturalist state of the social contract recognizes the possibility of the individual to be represented by others in the exercise of political power. As

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7. Notice here that we made reference to a causal relationship. The idea of social exclusion certainly assumes a circular causality (Rolph 1999), where the relationship between and inside the variables that originate the analysis is multiple and multidirectional. Clert (1997) states that this is not related to an exhaustive classification of the exclusion ways or manners, but to an analysis of their interrelation and how this interrelation leads to a disadvantage.
 8. Based on the information of the Latinbarometer, the report indicates that "Where the concentration of income is to a greater extent fair, as in Uruguay or Costa Rica, a high percent of the population considers that *democracy is for us better than any other type of government*. In other countries there is a broader tendency to accept authoritative governments, and many think that *a democratic government is the same as a non-democratic one*" (IDB, 1998:26).

such is a social integration principle. No one is excluded from political power, and nobody exercises total political power, but the "people" –often referred to as the "nation". In this way, the voluntary exclusion from the direct exercise of power resides in the foundations of the social integration strategy of the modern republic, which is contemporaneous in its evolution with the market society. In liberal democracies, as in the case of most Latin America countries, this form of representation acquires its ultimate degree of institutionalization through the development of competitive party systems, which exert in a regular and orderly fashion the ritual of daily competition through the delegation of sovereign popular power.

While voluntary exclusion appears to be a precondition for citizenship, several distortions of this formulation result in different levels of social exclusion. Some of these directly allude to decision-making procedures and mechanisms and others to socio-cultural dynamics. In Latin America there is a growing trend of electoral absenteeism, which means that potential voters exclude themselves voluntarily, leaving the power of decision making to those who exert their right to vote. It could be stated that this type of exclusion is self-inflicted, and thus, the State cannot be held responsible. However, even in this case when citizens choose not to vote they are sending a message regarding their perception of the quality of government they have and the futility of participating in a system that does not respond to their needs. Political abstinence can be an indicator of citizen disapproval of the options offered, or even the effectiveness of the electoral process as a mechanism for accomplishing a real improvement in their living conditions.⁹

The issue of political options depends on the existence of real alternatives, which is the possibility of power alternation between different political groups. However, the recent period of democratization in Latin America coincided with the adoption of sweeping economic reforms that transcended the different administrations which could not or did not want to detach themselves from the ideological contents of the dominant economic program. Even the "third way" democracies from the region, which accuse the "neoliberal" orientation of the economic policies, have not moved away from the main tenets of this program. After all this years, most people acknowledge the lack of political options, and some groups react either favoring

9. Nohlen (1994) considers that citizen participation in the election processes in Latin America is very low. Besides, it is really uneven. In the eighties, Uruguay, Argentina and Costa Rica had the highest levels according to the percentage of voters with respect to the general population: 70%, 53% and 47%, respectively. The lowest levels were registered in Colombia (25%), Guatemala (25%) and Ecuador (22%). Another indicator of political exclusion related to the access to the election process is the population of legal age not registered to vote (Quinti, 1999). This problem can be easily noticed in societies which are experiencing recent democratization processes, such as Central America (Sojo 1999).

opposition movements with little option to gain power or withdrawing from the electoral process.

The Opacity of the Decision-Making Process

Partly as a result of the absence of real political options, and in part as an expression of the persistence of political manipulations and "clientelism", or simply by an excess of bureaucratic zeal, the political decision-making process appears opaque. This problem is essential because social integration is not only based on the full exercise of political rights, but on the establishment of transparent decision-making processes and good governance.

Political Elitism: From Oligarchy to Technocracy

In most countries in the region, public management and policy making are controlled by minority interest groups, regardless of the nature of the political regime. In the past, the oligarchy and/or military groups had control over the political arena. Today, an essential part of the decision-making process for public matters lies on the technical competence of experts responsible for formulating macroeconomic and social policies.

In his analysis of the Argentine experience, Camou (1998) proposes that this "new union between technical and political knowledge" is manifested in the Latin-American scenario in three dimensions: a) mediation in the process of channeling interests and defining political "circuits of expertise" with relative autonomy in respect to the State and civil society; b) the fact that the entities which comprise the circuit perform their tasks in a "semi-public or semi-private" arena; and c) the fact that "direct action in economic policies" has been given to technical experts which do not necessarily respond to the voters. This approach to policy making implies not only restricting the options, but also choosing a specific course of action between the available options. The whole process of policy formulation and implementation, takes place within a specific doctrine and technocratic discourse that citizens can hardly understand, particularly in terms of implications and consequences of the policy options taken. Politics thus becomes "an expert thing" and a political option is disguised as a technical decision.

This process confronts the common citizens with decisions taken out of their scrutiny and without their participation and, it is in the center of a growing confrontation between the legislative and executive powers.¹⁰ Increasingly legislative powers have less control over policy decision-making and become fora where policy decisions taken by technical bodies are discussed and legitimized. Extreme examples of this process were the cases of Fujimori in Peru and Guatemala with Serrano Elías. In other cases, the strengthening of a technocracy "without a party" has contributed to the consolidation of clearly partisan policies.

Silva (1999) claims that the consolidation of a technocratic elite in Latin America is the expression of a negative vision of the past, the role of populist governments,¹¹ and the progressive fading of left wing alternatives. To Silva this process has resulted in the definition of a new political culture in the region, and finally the consolidation of the technocratic model, which embraces neoliberal economic reforms since the 1980s.¹² All these elements restrict citizen participation in the political arena and turn policy decision-making processes unclear.

Confronting this new political culture, which threatens the stability of democratic processes, requires active citizen participation in the identification of problems and policy options. The challenge of good governance is to advance in the modernization and professionalization of political practices through decentralization (local action) and real citizen participation.

Ripping Public Goods: Political Patrimony and Corruption

When just a few handle public matters without clear procedures or no accountability, there is an elevated risk of corruption. Citizens' perceptions of generalized corruption in the political arena discredit political action and contribute to the divorce between citizen participation and political action. Corruption refers to the misuse of resources or appropriation of public goods for interests or objectives others than those legally sanctioned.¹³ A subtle

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10. The dispute has reactivated the discussion on the advantages of a parliament system over the presidential regimes in many countries of the region. Serrafero 1998. As an example to the Ecuadorian case, refer to Pachano 1998; for Mexico, Béjar 1998, and Lanzaro (1998) for Uruguay.
 11. For an analysis of the relationships between populism, neopopulism, bribery and economic reformation in Latin America, refer to the volume edited by Burbano de Lara (1998).
 12. Silva reminds us and partially analyzes the typology of political leadership in Latin America which was proposed by Kalman Silvert (1977): political bosses, oligarchs, middle class professional, military fan *ad hoc*, conservative populist, left and right wing totalitarian.

and formally legal (although ethically debatable), dimension of this phenomenon is referred to as *patrimonial practices*. While these behaviors can take place in the private and public arenas, here they are analyzed in virtue of the implications they represent for socio-political exclusion.

The most common form of political patrimonial practices expresses itself in public action via kinship. Nepotism, lineage, and its derivations are the most common features of the patrimonial practices. There are several studies that show family dynasties have reign in the Latin American political scenario, especially at the parliamentary level but also in the executive power. These family networks are linked to economic interest groups creating close cliques between public and private capitals (Zeitlin 1984, 1989; Zeitlin and Ratcliff 1988). A recent study in Venezuela indicates that 57% of the parliament (Ramos 1997) have or have had a relative dedicated to politics.¹⁴

Other forms of patrimonial practices and corruption in public administration reflect the introduction of individual profit seeking behavior in political action. This phenomenon is the basis for the expansion of corruption in the public administration and threatens the stability of the institutional system, eroding the trust in public administration. Corruption delegitimizes political action and promotes social-political exclusion. A survey to Latin American elected representatives (Mateos and Rivas 1998) shows that increasing personal profits is a central motivation for pursuing a political career. A significant number (46%) of the congressmen and women interviewed indicated that a political career is a way to maximize personal profits.¹⁵

Rose Ackerman (1998:36-42) has summarized the economic rationality of corruption in market economies. Bribes fulfill a series of functions that include providing cash "incentives" to public officials to expedite certain transactions, ensure the achievement of expected outcomes and reducing transaction costs among others. However, beyond its economic rationale, corruption is essentially a political phenomenon. As Johnson (1998:72) suggests, entrenched institutionalized corruption appears when: a) the institutional arrangements to prevent and fight corruption are cumbersome and weak; b) when there is an organized network that assures the individual

13. Johnston (1993) points out the danger of the rigid definition of corruption (in legal terms, for example) due to the existence of cultural norms which vary from country to country.

14. There is a great deal of information about familiar networks and political and economical power in Latin America. Among others, Casaus 1992; Stone 1974 and 1990; Vilas 1998 and Sojo 1995.

15. The investigation conducted by Manuel Alcántara from the University of Salamanca interviewed more than thousand parliament representatives in 18 countries in the region.

benefits of corruption are shared and; c) when there is no effective social-political opposition to the power elite. The author differentiates "political corruption" related to the existence of blackmail, electoral fraud, political patronage and browbeating and "bureaucratic corruption", which refers to the twisting of administrative procedures and function through bribes or other pressure mechanisms.

In summary citizenship rights are essential to explain and to control corruption. Credible economic guarantees such as property rights, clear regulatory frameworks for establishing contracts are essential. Basic civil liberties (freedom of speech and association and free press), political rights and a strong civil society as well as a functioning and accountable judiciary constitute the foundations for the development of any anti-corruption program.

The Limits of Active Citizenship: Deficit Control

While exclusionary practices at the political level are widely generalized in the region, it would be a mistake to underestimate the progress and benefits created by the democratization process that has taken place over the past two decades. There is no doubt that citizenship rights have been strengthened in spite of significant institutional crisis such as in the cases of Collor de Melo in Brazil and Carlos Andrés Pérez in Venezuela, or the return to an institutional order in Peru and Guatemala.¹⁶

However, as societies affirm citizen rights, the threshold of citizenship rises, mainly because rights are social constructions that respond to historical processes, social antagonisms, and the capacities of social actors to demand from the state progressive levels of citizenship. The accomplishment of some rights creates new necessities and presents new horizons. Therefore, the idea of active citizenship does not invoke an ideal stage in which rights are fully realized. Rather, active citizenship refer to the citizens' capacity to access the resources needed to confront and resolve the social, economic, cultural and political inequities of that particular society.

Social integration does not imply the full (and final) attainment of all citizenship rights, or the end of social conflict. In a positive way, increasing social integration requires the progressive elimination of deficits through the development of institutional arrangements that would ensure citizens the

16. For information about the ups and downs of the process of the consolidation of demand in Latin America, refer to Peeler (1998).

capacity to voice their demands, exert their rights and access the resources needed to tackle inequities in that particular society.

The table below summarizes based on the multidimensional proposal by Minujín and Bustelo (1997) the dynamics of social-political exclusion/inclusion. The first column depicts the inclusion/exclusion continuum. The second column indicates the main variables/indicators for that particular stage. Finally, the third column represents the policy orientations and institutional arrangements that allow the movement along the continuum.

Socio-Political Dynamic Model

Inclusion/exclusion Continuum	Variable/Indicator	Institutional arrangements
Inclusion	Active citizenship	Deficit Reduction
Vulnerability	Absenteeism (anomy) Elitism/technocracy Party rule	Participatory Democracy Expansion of citizenship
Exclusion	Corruption Patrimonialism Inequity Right violations	Civil, economic, social, cultural and political rights Transparency Accountability

Inclusiveness is a characteristic of stable societies with a high level of institutionalization and consolidated political systems. The condition of vulnerability can be interpreted either as the expression of social disintegration or as progression towards more inclusive institutional arrangements. At the other end, exclusion is associated with the lack of basic citizenship rights and political regimes entrenched in patrimonial networks and corrupt circles that lack legitimacy.

Active citizenship is an indicator of social-political integration. This presupposes an institutional framework that guarantees the attainment of established citizenship rights and the development of new rights. Vulnerability is expressed by the lack of civil engagement and participation. The other side of this situation is indicated by the emergence of political elitism and technocracy. These elements reflect social anomie and constraints to the attainment of formal citizenship. Finally, social-political exclusion is manifested by the lack of substantial citizenship, and this is indicated by lack or

violation of rights, inequitable social and economic structures, patrimonial practices and corruption.

The third column reflects on the general policy orientations that would allow the movement along the different scenarios. For example, to impede the deterioration of the level of social integration, the maintenance of active citizenship requires the development of policies and programs aimed at diminishing observed deficits and strengthening civil engagement in policy making. The paradigmatic case is affirmative action and other policy instruments, which guarantee rights (substantial citizenship) to minorities. In the case of vulnerability, the privileged policy formula has to do with the strengthening of democratic institutions and civil society participation. Finally, to avoid or decrease social and political exclusion, a clear regulatory framework defining citizenship rights and the mechanisms for monitoring them is required.

Cultural Exclusion

Cultural exclusion is related to the differential access of social and groups to resources/assets based on the unequal valuation of non-structural characteristics and symbolic goods.¹⁷ In this context, culture involves socially constructed institutions and goods as well as socially developed manifestations of the senses (Held *et al.* 1999). The predominance of certain cultural patterns assumes the displacement of other symbolic and material goods, which in turn may generate social stratification patterns, hierarchies and inequalities among different social groups.

Cultural integration is problematic due to the existence of multiethnic societies, strong social class divisions, and structural inequality. In such circumstances, the cultural uniformity, which tends to emerge in the process of nation building, results in the imposition and some cultural pattern that blurs or attempts to suppress the cultural particularities of the non-hegemonic groups. This problem becomes even more acute by the process of globalization that makes difficult the ascription of specific characteristics to a particular community.

17. In a similar way, Figueroa, Altamirano and Sulmont (1996:4) give two meanings to cultural exclusion: "... the marginalization of certain social sectors that do not participate in the basic codes to communicate and interact with the mainstream community (language, alphabetization and school education, adherence to ethnic and religious values; and second, the discrimination against certain people considered to be in an inferior category and, as a result, subject to differentiated and humiliating treatment in social relations."

The acceptance of different cultural patterns is at the core of cultural citizenship. The issue at stake is precisely the acknowledgment of diversity.¹⁸ While globalization has facilitated the consolidation of cultural patterns shared across different societies by dominant groups, at the same time it has facilitated the development and resurgence of local group identities. Steenbergen (1994) indicates that there is tension between the globalization of cultural patterns and the recognition of citizenship rights, including cultural rights. Just as globalization creates the conditions for the development of a "universal culture", at the same time provides legitimacy to the development and strengthening of social subjects at the local level (Robinson 1997).

Cultural exclusion could be based on the specific characteristics of the subjects (social group) and/or on the differential access or control of symbolic goods by social groups. Regarding group/subject characteristics, the most obvious are based on gender differences, ethnic origin, age differences, and attribute/preference-based minority groups (such as religious groups, homosexuals, victims of AIDS). All these characteristics are not defined by the group economic conditions, however they may have an impact on the group's social and economic *status*.

In the case of gender, women are penalized based on the unequal distribution of productive and reproductive tasks within the family and society. However, gender discrimination is experienced differently across socio-economic groups and cultures. For example, Barriga (1998) points out that low-income women have even less options regarding the type and level of insertion in the labor market than high income women. In this context, understanding and stating those differences is essential for the definition of targeted policy instruments (Guzmán 1998). At the same time, analyzing women's discrimination in Venezuela, Friedman (1998) has pointed out the existence of specific problems related to democratization processes. While women played a key role in the restoration of democratic institutions, their participation afterwards has been limited and, thus has been excluded from the institutional policy decision-making process. However, this situation has created the conditions for the development of a multi-class women's movement that is addressing gender-based discrimination.

In multiethnic societies, exclusion based on ethnicity could take place either when a minority powerful group is capable of imposing a (dominant) cultural pattern to a vast majority, or when an homogeneous large group

18. One of the central components of the strategy of incorporation of the social analysis and the participation in the Bank's operation labors (social assessment) is precisely the acknowledgment and the inclusion of the diversity of social conditions (Social Development Department 1998).

(independent from the degree of half-bred population), ignores the specific conditions of ethnic minorities, excluding them from all political, economic or social policy decision making. In Latin America both cases are found. Bolivia or Guatemala, are clear examples of the first type, while Chile or Argentina illustrate the latter.¹⁹ Increasingly, indigenous groups are reasserting their identity, claiming full recognition of their social and cultural specificity and political and economic rights (Cárdenas 1998).

Age-based exclusion cannot be ignored. Until recently, citizenship was associated with adulthood. Childhood and adolescence have normally been conceived as developmental stages that would prepare individual for the future exercise of citizen rights. Children and adolescents live in a type of pre-citizen condition that, by definition is insufficient. However, children are exposed to multiple forms of discrimination and social risks that represent violations of basic human rights (such as infant labor) as indicated by UNICEF annual reports.²⁰ Similarly, the youth experiences multiple forms of social and political exclusion.²¹ At the same time, the elderly (particularly the poor) while having formal citizenship status cannot exert substantial citizenship as they no longer participate in the labor market²² and are marginal to policy decision making. This exclusion has become more evident with the state withdrawal from key regulatory activities and social services, such as the pension systems.

The last form of cultural exclusion based on the subjects' characteristics relates to cases where social groups are victims of social segregation based group preferences or attributes such as religious beliefs, physical limitations or socially penalized diseases (as AIDS) or by particular preferences (as in the case of the homosexual population), or by immigration. The case of immigrants is particularly relevant because of the increasing mobility of the labor force. Along with the growing number of legal immigrants that move to regional attraction poles,²³ there are scores of illegal immigrants that have

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19. There are between 33 and 40 million indigenous people in Latin America, who are distributed in 400 towns with language and cultural identity. 70% of these tribes are composed of less than 5000 people. Most of them (90%) are located in Central America and the Andes; 6% in the Amazon region and 4% in the Caribbean and the Southern cone. In Guatemala and Bolivia, they comprise 60% of the population, and in Peru and Ecuador, 40%. (Cárdenas 1998).
 20. For an analysis about the relation between infancy, poverty and delinquency in Mexico, refer to Azaola (1994). Also refer to Minujín, 1998.
 21. About the possibilities for cultural integration of the youth in Chile, Tohá has observed in this volume that "there is a lack of referents and spaces that represent and comprise an ample youth identity and, also, a strong transversal influence of mass media and consumption."
 22. Refer to Minujín, 1992 for Argentina; Renzi and Krujitz (1997) for Nicaragua; Del Cid and Krujitz (1997) for Honduras, and Sojo (1997) for Costa Rica.

no access to formal citizenship benefits. There are institutional barriers that impede illegal immigrants to claim basic rights. However, at the same time, there are cultural barriers that prevent both legal and illegal immigrants from exerting their rights.

Unequal access to or control of symbolic goods represents another type of cultural exclusion. Symbolic goods encompass the dominant discourse, information and knowledge, as well as the infrastructure required for their production, dissemination, and adoption. At the national level, differential access to the educational system is a key mechanism of social and cultural exclusion as high-income groups have access to better quality private education and consolidate a knowledge base. Similarly, control over the mass media allows the dissemination of certain type of information, shapes public discourse and generates cultural stereotypes that impede equal participation of all social groups. For example, gender biases in the educational system in the past contributed to keep women performing only certain functions as well as legitimized that labor division by generating a public discourse (and knowledge) that supported such differences.

At the same time, the globalization process, associated with the expansion of global communications (based on information technology and telecommunications), has allowed the incorporation of Latin American societies to the "modern world". No doubt the information era has created a virtual reality that integrates minority groups in every country. Television, for instance, has propitiated the circulation of local news from every country in the region. In the same way, access to Internet offers unlimited possibilities to access goods, services and information. However, while this process has increased access to information, most of the population has no control over the type of information they receive, the public discourse that is disseminated or the knowledge that is generated. The universe of the global information and knowledge is a prerogative of those that possess the know how, control the hardware, and manage the communication codes.

23. Refer to Castillas (1992) for information about the situation of Central American immigrants in Mexico. For information about the situation of Nicaraguan immigrants to Costa Rica, refer to Morales and Castro (1999). Morales and Cranshaw (1998) present an interesting study about the problematic situation of adolescent immigrant women from Nicaragua to Costa Rica (which includes three aspects of inequality).

CULTURAL INTEGRATION MATRIX

	Access to Symbolic Goods	
	Communication	Education
Subjects/Group characteristics		
Gender		
Ethnicity		
Age		
Specific attributes (p.e. sexual preference, handicapped)		
	Degrees of social integration Inclusion-Vulnerability-Exclusion	

EXCLUSION AND PUBLIC POLICIES

Tackling exclusion requires public policy and civil society engagement. The recognition and protection of citizenship rights appear as the starting point for the achievement of progressive social integration levels. That function is primarily a state responsibility. However, the development of social inclusive policies requires civil society participation to identify deficits and to monitor the attainment of rights.

Before discussing the state capacity and the role of civil society in developing socially inclusive policies, it is necessary to briefly address the question of the defense of citizenship rights, which is a rather old concern in the region due to the long history of political instability and arbitrariness. Initially, the only mechanisms were at the Interamerican (multilateral) level (Ayala Lasso 1998 and Ayala Corao 1998).²⁴ More recently, national government that have adopted specific citizens' defense mechanisms such as the Ombudsman. García Laguardia (1998:92) considers that in Latin America the figure of the Ombudsman has some singular characteristics compared with the European model. In addition to the traditional duty of

24. José Ayala Lasso (1998:16). Chancellor for Ecuador, has noted that the evolution of declarations oriented towards the protection of rights in Latin America started from the granting of guarantees to foreigners and then it continued with "matters of nationality, asylum, peace, and women rights."

lawful control of the State's administrative action, the Ombudsman in Latin America also has an explicit and priority role in the defense of human rights and competence to carry cases to the judiciary. These characteristics are essential for the establishment of a transparent self-regulated mechanism.

The relationship between public policy, state capacity and civil society participation refers to good governance. Good governance is the result of a permanent negotiation between the state and civil society in order to ensure proper representation of all social actors in policy making and transparency in the administration of the programs the state implement to attend the demands of the people. This implies a continuous process of administering demands and conflict of interests between various social groups, ensuring that citizenship rights are observed. Contrarily, bad governance occurs when there is a systematic failure to engage civil society and to take into consideration citizenship rights. To sum-up, governance involves a permanent process of redefinition of the threshold of citizenship rights and the role of government and civil society in attaining and guaranteeing those rights in changing social, economic and political contexts.

Regarding the state role, as Grindell (1996) correctly observed, the focus must be on its changing capacities. A "competent" State can establish and perform economic, technical, administrative, and political functions. Institutional capacity involves the ability to regulate political and economic societal exchanges based on a series of rules, which are known and understood. Technical capacity refers to the ability to define and execute appropriate sector policies. Administrative capacity is the efficient administration of social and economic services and infrastructure required to provide state services. Political capacity refers to the management of social participation and representation, social demands, conflict resolution and public accountability. In synthesis, good governance.²⁵

The economic reforms that have taken place over the last decade have introduced distortions in the state capacity to perform all previously discussed function. However, more important than the state's withdrawal from certain functions performed in the past has been the lost of legitimacy and capacity to guarantee citizenship rights. This situation has favored the emergence of growing conflicts regarding the definition of institutional and political rules and the necessary integration of the various realms of state action. As indicated before, the technical competency of the state has been yielded to technocrats with little accountability to elected representatives and civil society in general. At the same time, the "privatization" of state functions is presented as the strengthening of civil society while in fact

25. For information about the relationship between development and Good Government, refer to World Bank, 1992.

represents the deregulation of the state responsibility of guaranteeing citizenship rights.

With respect to civil society, its main function consists in expanding the threshold of citizenship and representing before the state the growing demands of social groups that do not have access to the established political channels (Touraine 1996). For Marshall, the political element of citizenship refers to the right to participate either as an elected representative or as a member of the electorate in the exercise of state power. However, in the current situation, the citizens' capacity to exercise this power is limited because of the decreasing power that the legislative powers have in settling technical sector and macroeconomic policies vis-à-vis the dominant role that technocrats and economic interests (national and transnational) have in policy making.

Related to the above, the fiscal crisis faced by most Latin American countries has forced austerity policies that, in turn, have led to the transfer of former state responsibilities to the private sector. This has contributed to decrease delivery costs and to increase the net transfer to the targeted population. However, at the same time, it has forced to focus social services primarily on the extreme poor, overlooking other vulnerable groups that have been placed at greater risk of social exclusion.

Nevertheless, the increasing participation of the private sector (and civil society organizations) in the implementation of social policies provides opportunities for the development of new policy instruments to curve social exclusion. For example, Paz and Muguértegui (1998) point out that development and implementation of gender-inclusive social policies in Bolivia came about as the result of the collaboration between women NGO and state agencies, which culminated in the definition of an institutional framework for addressing gender issues in state policy and the establishment of a Subsecretariat of Gender Affairs.

For this collaboration between state and civil society to be effective, the definition and implementation of socially inclusive public policies requires a clear understanding of the processes that generate social exclusion and inclusion. To this end, in the first place is essential to have good indicators of the phenomena and a measurement system that would allow monitoring the impact of diverse policy instruments, the evolution of the indicators and the perception regarding the effectiveness of the measures by the people. For example, that women only represent about 12% percent of all elected representatives in Latin America indicates a clear deficit in the inclusion of women, particularly regarding their political rights. Similarly, the high ratio of presidential decrees in relation to bills approved by congress indicates there are important transparency and political participation issues that need

to be addressed for the establishment of accountable policy making procedures. Finally, the development of socially inclusive public policy requires clear participatory mechanisms. Social exclusion is not a uniform phenomenon. Effective targeting of social policy requires extensive consultation and participation of the affected social groups to avoid misrepresentation of specific dimensions of social exclusion.

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