THE TRANSITION TO RADICAL DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA?: INSIGHTS FROM THE CASES OF BOLIVIA, COLOMBIA AND CHILE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

OSMAN EREN AYKAÇ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF LATIN AND NORTH AMERICAN STUDIES

DECEMBER 2022

Approval of the thesis:

THE TRANSITION TO RADICAL DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA?: INSIGHTS FROM THE CASES OF BOLIVIA, COLOMBIA AND CHILE

submitted by **OSMAN EREN AYKAÇ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in Latin and North American Studies, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin TOPAL
Head of Department
Department of Latin and North American Studies _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin TOPAL
Supervisor
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bahar GÜRSEL (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of History _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin TOPAL (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Gözde SOMEL
Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University
Department of History _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Osman Eren Aykaç

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE TRANSITION TO RADICAL DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA?: INSIGHTS FROM THE CASES OF BOLIVIA, COLOMBIA AND CHILE

AYKAÇ, Osman Eren

M.S., The Department of Latin and North American Studies

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin TOPAL

December 2022, 117 Pages

The aim of the thesis is to re-examine the democracy in Bolivia, Colombia and Chile from the radical democratic perspective surrounded by the newly emerging political pendulum as the resurgence of the Left in Latin America. The argument that Latin American democracy is in transition process to radical democracy has been advocated within the framework of the developments in the region. Since the 1980s, defined as the democratization process in Latin America, social movements and struggles continue within the framework of inclusive citizenship, greater freedom and the expansion of political participation. Democracy and democratization are phenomenas that have always been up-to-date in the context of Latin America. Moreover, Latin American democracy has its own characteristics, which differ from the experience of countries that can be described as the West or the Global North. Therefore, analyzing Latin American democracy only in terms of liberal democratic conceptualization may lead to a deficit conclusion. In order to understand the democracy comprehensively in the region, it is necessary to examine concepts related to democracy such as demos, populism, citizenship, and political participation. By doing this, it should be taken into

account regional dynamics, historical institutional legacies, and especially to reconceptualize and understand them in line with the tenets of the theory of radical democracy. Radical democratic transition is also evaluated as the possibility of 'the New Pink Tide' flourished by 'A Left Turn' in Latin America.

Keywords: Latin America, Radical Democracy, Democratic Transition, Populism, Resurgence of the Left

ÖZ

LATİN AMERİKA'DA RADİKAL DEMOKRASİYE GEÇİŞ Mİ?: BOLİVYA, KOLOMBİYA VE ŞİLİ ÖRNEKLERİNE BAKIŞ

AYKAÇ, Osman Eren
Yüksek Lisans, Latin ve Kuzey Amerika Çalışmaları Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Aylin TOPAL

Aralık 2022, 117 Sayfa

Bu tezin amacı, Bolivya, Kolombiya ve Şili demokrasisini solun yeniden dirilişi olarak ortaya çıkan siyasi sarkaç etrafında radikal demokrasi bakışıyla tekrar incelemektir. Latin Amerika demokrasisinin radikal demokrasiye geçiş sürecinde olduğu argümanı bölgede yaşanan gelişmeler çerçevesinde savunulmaktadır. Latin Amerika'da demokratikleşme süreci olarak tanımlanan 1980'li yıllardan günümüze; kapsayıcı vatandaşlık, daha fazla özgürlük ve siyasal katılımın genişlemesi çerçevesinde toplumsal hareketler ve mücadeleler devam etmektedir. Demokrasi ve demokratikleşme Latin Amerika bağlamında güncelliğini sürekli korumuş bir olgu olmuştur. Dahası, Latin Amerika demokrasisi Batı veya Küresel Kuzey diye tanımlanabilecek ülkelerin deneyimlerinden farklılıklar gösteren kendine özgü karakteristik bağlama sahiptir. Bu nedenle Latin Amerika demokrasisini yalnızca liberal demokrasi kavramları ile analiz etmek eksik bir sonuca yol açabilir. Bölgedeki demokrasi anlayışını kapsamlı bir şekilde anlamak için demos, popülizm, kapsayıcı vatandaşlık ve siyasi katılım gibi demokrasi ile ilgili kavramları bölgesel dinamikler, tarihsel kurumsal mirasları da dikkate alarak incelemek ve özellikle radikal demokrasi teorisinin ilkeleri doğrultusunda yeniden kavramsallaştırmak ve anlamak

gerekmektedir. Radikal demokratik geçiş aynı zamanda ‘Sol’a Dönüş’ ile gelişen ‘Yeni Pembe Dalga’ olasılığı olarak da değerlendirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Latin Amerika, Radikal Demokrasi, Demokratik Geçiş, Popülizm, Solun Dirilişi

To Latin American Nations Who Never Desist from
Democracy & Better Future

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis has undergone many different incidents during its writing process. It has witnessed a pandemic, my two times resignations from my jobs, my moving in a new apartment for the first time in my life just by myself, my start to a new job, and many more. Thus, it would not have been possible to write the thesis without the support and encouragement of many people around me.

First and foremost, I always feel privileged to be one of the thesis students of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin Topal. This feeling does not belong to only my master's degree period, it is a strong continuation that has been transferred from being an undergraduate student who took a couple of courses from her during my undergraduate period. Without her support, experience, and impressive knowledge of Latin America, this thesis would not have been completed. I am deeply grateful to my supervisor.

I also would like to express my appreciation to my thesis advisory committee members Assoc. Prof. Bahar Gürsel and Assist. Prof. Gözde Somel for their guidance, constructive feedback and understanding.

There are, luckily, special people who are all with me at different times and in different conditions. My friend Pınar Çakıcı always patiently shared my anxieties, my fears, and my hopes almost every day. Her friendship is so valuable for me! Pınar is a great academic companion. I would like to thank my friends Cemre Aydoğdu, Murat Tekbaş for their kind advices, comments and feedback.

I would like to thank Gülşah Kösa, Gökhan Yağmurlu, Büşra Çınar, Ceren Yörük, Ayşenur Koyuncu. Their friendship and supports mean a lot to me especially in the thesis writing process and the whole master's degree period. I would like to thank my former colleague Sebanur Dündar. I will never forget her support during our overtime work so that we could continue our master's degrees along with professional life. I

also would like to thank İrem Aynagöz for sharing similar enthusiasm and interest in Latin America with me during our master's degree.

My former manager, my colleague, my sister Özge Doğan is a supportive invisible hand in my life that I always feel on my shoulders. Her never-ending support from the beginning until the end is priceless.

Even though my current colleagues Rumeysa Terzioğlu, Açelya Duman Soysal, Gökhan Karabulut, Selin Çetindağ, Demet Akcan, Pınar Uluer and my dearest manager Hande Kara have grabbed the last time of my writing process of this thesis, they always facilitated this process by providing time and place for me. Without their last back-ups, I could not finish this thesis.

Finally, I want to express my deepest gratitude to the members of Aykaçs; My father Sezanur Aykaç, my mother Kadriye Aykaç and my sister Hatice Merve Aykaç. Their patience, unconditional supports, and love are the sources of my academic achievements. My sister Hatice's successful academic background always guides me to make all structural revisions in my thesis. And a special thanks to my aunt Rukiye Aykaç as the living elder of the Aykaçs.

It is obvious that I have worked hard for myself so that I can be my better version. This came true thankfully you all were with me all the time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM iii

ABSTRACT iv

ÖZ vi

DEDICATION viii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ix

TABLE OF CONTENTS xi

LIST OF TABLES xiii

LIST OF FIGURES xiv

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xv

CHAPTERS

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. DEMOS & DEMOCRACY THEORIES 11

2.1. Demos 11

2.2. Democracy 15

2.3. Theories of Democracy 17

2.4. Liberal Democracy 18

2.5. Radical Democracy 21

2.6. Institutionalization of Democracy 25

3. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF LATIN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY 27

3.1. Populism in Latin America 28

3.2. Democratization in Latin America 33

3.3. Neoliberalism in Latin America 34

4. RETHINKING OF LATIN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY 38

4.1. Political Participation in Latin America 40

4.2. Inclusive Citizenship in Latin America 43

5. ANALYSIS OF CASE COUNTRIES 47

5.1. The Plurinational State of Bolivia 49

5.1.1. The Indigenous Movement in Bolivia 51

5.1.2. Constitutional Changes in Bolivia 52

5.2. The Republic of Colombia 55

5.2.1. The Formation of Patriotic Union and The Peace Treaty 57

5.2.2. The Victory of Gustavo Petro and Historic Pact for Colombia 58

5.3. The Republic of Chile 61

5.3.1. Social Movements in Chile 63

5.3.2. Constitutional Reform and New Constitutional Negotiation Process 66

5.3.3. The Victory of Gabriel Boris and The Social Convergence Party 73

CONCLUSION 80

REFERENCES 85

APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET 100

B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU 117

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Results of 2020 National Political Constitution Plebiscite in Chile 69

Table 2 Results of the type of 2020 Constituent Convention Plebiscite in Chile 70

Table 3 Results of 2022 Constitutional Plebiscite in Chile 76

Table 4 Turnout of 2022 Constitutional Plebiscite in Chile 77

Table 5 Turnout Comparison between Plebiscites and Elections in 2020, 2021 and 2022 in Chile 78

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Distribution of seats in the Constituent Convention in Chile 71

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CC	Constituent Convention
CEPAL	Comisión para América Latina (Economic Commission for Latin America)
CISAC	Center for International Security and Cooperation
ELLA	Evidence and Lessons from Latin America
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)
FECh	Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad Chile (University of Chile Student Federation)
HSS	Hegemony and Socialist Strategy
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LGBTIQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer
L-Democracy	Liberal Democracy
MAS	Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement for Socialism)
M-19	19th of April Movement
MNR	Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (Nationalist Revolutionary Movement)
PHxC	Pacto Histórico por Colombia
R-Democracy	Radical Democracy
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

UP	Unión Patriótica (Patriatic Union)
US	United States
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization
WW	World War

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Latin America is part of the world which was for many years
condemned to the system of power
where intimidation had more strength than the vote."

Attributed to Eduardo Galeano

Political changes and social unrest across Latin America since 2018 have started to challenge the existing assumptions regarding liberal democracy. In other words, the mainstream global understanding of liberal democracy had been started to be questioned under the favour of the rising leftist political pendulum in the region. In the literature, the mainstream research analyzed the democracy traditions of countries with reference to the main principles and concepts of liberal democracy. However, scholars of theories of democracy have noted that there needs to be a multiplicity of the understanding of democracy. Motivated by this inspiration, this study aims to argue that Radical Democracy would be considered as a suitable and applicable body of literature that could be employed to comprehend the recent political environment in Latin America. From this point of view, the cases of Bolivia, Colombia and Chile are selected as to be explored from this alternative conceptual framework of Radical Democracy with the aim of suggesting this conceptualization to better come to terms with social and political transformation in these countries.

This thesis aims to argue that Bolivia, Colombia and Chile represent ideal cases to show that the principles and institutions of liberal democracy have faced serious bottlenecks due to the historical particularities of the region which could be traced back to its colonial heritage. The state formation and government institutions in Latin America have been shaped in rather top-down fashion to restore order and stability at

the expense of the representativeness of the system as a whole. The institutions of liberal democracy were formed rather instrumentally by the political elite in the aftermath of the independence without a bottom-up channel of participation. Therefore, the bottlenecks of the representation and participation channels of liberal democracy have led to periodical turmoil and political instabilities through the 20th century. Especially after the transition to neoliberalism when the assumed bridges between liberal democracy and representation have irreparably worn out, the political systems began to crumble. While liberal democratic institutions were suffering from a perpetual legitimacy crisis, social movements were in seek of new democratic ideals. Bolivia, Colombia and Chile are the depicting the features and symptoms of the trial and error processes of exploring new democratic openings. This thesis aims to argue that the notion of radical democracy appears to provide a suitable conceptual and theoretical framework for the new search in Latin America.

Latin American socio-political history has fueled the theoretical discussion around different conceptions of democracy. From the early decades of the 20th century through the 1960s, several countries in the region triggered the debate around the concept of "populism." Several Latin American countries have experienced military regimes and dictatorships in different episodes throughout the 20th century. Furthermore, Latin America has also hosted conflictive social movements and political upheavals that shaped its democratic history. Subsequently, existing, newly emerging left-leaning governments and returning swing of the political pendulum towards the left has been commonly referred to as *'A Left Turn'*. For this paralleled political shift towards left-leaning leaders and administrations have also led to the common use of *'Pink Tide'*.

In line with the victories of the newly elected left-wing presidents since 2018, *'A Left Turn'* is associated with the resurgence of the left. The rising left again can also be accepted as the possibility of a *'New Pink Tide'* in the region. Electoral victories of the region's left-leaning parties, coalitions and leaders suggest a collective revival of the populist and inclusive discourse. Therefore, it is expected that the theories of democracy would have to come to terms with the current left-wing movements.

In the face of new dynamics, it would be expected that new discussions would emerge in the literature regarding democracy in Latin America. A new conceptualization of democracy with regions' own dynamics along with a new political chapter had already emerged towards the late 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s inspired by the Pink Tide governments. Specifically with the new resurgence of the left with after the year 2018, the debate in the democratic theory would be further motivated. According to Cernadas and de los Santos (2022), the election of López Obrador as the president of Mexico in 2018 can be accepted as the second wave of popular governance called *'A Left Turn'* building in Latin America. Moreover, leaders gave devoted themselves to authentic democracy and encouragement of political participation in the region as successors of the Pink Tide. The new political pendulum called 'A Left Turn' after 'Pink Tide' in the late 1990s and early 2000s shows that there can be a breakdown from the liberal understanding of democracy. This rift from past experiences should be analyzed because new actors in the region have a full motivation to consolidate the values of radical democracy with well-organized populist discourse and political campaigns to encourage political participation and pluralism under radical democratic understanding. In this respect, political actors show a tendency to integrate more dimensions to strengthen radical democracy in the region in useful ways which are accepting the core values of liberal democracies and contributing more to that. These ways are not articulated only as being supported by society but also created a new possible vision in the eyes of people with regards to having a huge possibility of substantive democracy designed by diversity and own dynamics of Latin America. The lessons from the 'the Pink Tide' period after the late 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s are also indicative guides of the new leaders in terms of taking lessons from the failures. From this point of view, it is advocated in this research, radical democracy could be a new chapter in Latin America. In the same direction, the evaluation of Latin American democracy as an anomaly to liberal democracy in the region had paved the way for becoming Latin America a showcase of radical democracy.

This thesis would like to emphasize the existence of political renewal flourished by the resurgence of the left and re-analysis of democracy in line with the tenets of radical democracy in the region. As a political renewal, Latin America's political left is

experiencing a resurgence. Since 2018, electoral victories of left-leaning parties with high visibility of the populist leaders and other developments such as national plebiscites related to constitutional reforms towards more democratic implementations and the enactment of new laws favoring equality than ever before can be the justifications of this resurgence of the left in the region. Blanco and Grier (2013) also argued that past political discrimination and government crises are positively and significantly associated with a move to a more left-wing political pendulum. In this regard, left-wing political parties have won the elections over their right-wing rivals or appear as the continuation of the existing leftist pendulum or a completely new left turn in different countries in the region. The series of victories of left-wing victories have been summarized by Montero (2021) a center-left candidate Carlos Alvarado won the presidential election of Costa Rica in May 2018. Center leftist and populist Manuel Antonia Lopez Obrador came to power in Mexico in July 2018. In 2019, the center-left won the presidency of Panama with Laurentino Cortizo. Alberto Fernandez, a center-left Peronist won the presidential election of Argentina in 2019. Elections in Colombia, Chile and Bolivia which are the selected case countries in this research, also ended up with the victory of leftist populist leaders with significant support of public. There was a stunning political victory of Luis Arce in Bolivia in 2020 with the majority (%55) of votes. Malinowski and Fuentes (2021) expressed that Gabriel Boric's victory in Chile as a former student protest leader won %56 of the vote by a larger than-expected margin. Ferretti (2022) also pointed out that Boric's victory in the Latin American political scene has an immense possibility to help strengthen the Left's commitment to democracy, freedom and human rights. Briscoe (2022) expressed that Gustavo Petro's big win in 2022 as Colombia's first leftist president is a continuation of leftist leaders' victory series in Latin America.

In similar direction, the Brazilian presidential elections were concluded with the victory of Lula da Silva in late October 2022. The resurgence of the left diffused almost all Latin American countries. The left governments have significant influence on each other due to undeniable commonalities, hence the demonstration effect. It is quite clear that the popularity of the left has pretty expanded in the region. Therefore, these results show that Latin America in general started to be governed by leftist-populist leaders

in the near future thanks to victories that took place in the most populous countries of the region.

This thesis draws attention to the impossibility of democracy's true or ultimate form. Democracy as a concept has the impossibility of specifying the one and only form of explanation. Democracy's self-grounding, self-legitimation, and self-constitution as a whole package is an open discussion started by theorists of Radical Democracy. What Radical Democracy theorists suggested is employed to analyze democracy in Latin America in the research. It can be stated that democracy in Latin America should be handled as idiosyncratic.

Two broadly used and hence vague concepts are central in this thesis, democracy and populism. There has been an immense discussion around their definitions and interpretations in the literature focusing on Latin American democracies. However, utilizations of these concepts in analyses are not simply ad-hoc. Despite the challenges, there should be a motivation for a concrete understanding, clear description. Hence, the existence of the multiplicity of theories that utilize these concepts should not come to mean that political scientists and philosophers abstain from using them anymore. On the contrary, it is necessary to develop these concepts in line with selected theories that are compatible with selected cases, countries or regions. As a selected region of Latin America, studies of democracy attract attention with its history of democracy, the immense insights for populism, and the recent past developments in the region. Thus, scholars who try to understand Latin American democracy have discussed appropriately populism which remains to be a relevant conceptualization in the region.

Democracy in Latin America is more fluxional as well. It is visible to see the rise and fall periods of democracy in the history of Latin America. This turbulence makes democracy an open concept-ended for perpetual explication and reinvention. Therefore, democracy due to its characteristic is a fascinating object of study in Latin American studies albeit a challenging one. With the difficulties to understand due to its blurred content, the concepts of democracy and populism engender further analyses and research without making these more concrete concepts from the regional

perspective. The ambiguity of the phenomenon may prevent making a concrete assumption regarding their relationship and influence on each other. However, it is highly worth debating if we do not want to throw out the baby with the bath water. As it is noted above, democracy has never been a stable phenomenon elsewhere, the trajectories of democracies in the region is still under investigation by a variety of scholars.

The literature on globalization with its strong ambitions for universalization and generalization of concepts should be brought to the fore in this research. It is completely significant to discuss the literature in terms of the inherent value-laden aspects and limitations of these wrong assumptions towards a globalized world. This literature is closely connected with Francis Fukuyama's the end of history argument in the aftermath of the dissolutions of Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia. The assumption of universalization also suggests the hailing of globalization of the liberal democracy with all its principles and institutions without putting any doubt on the participation and representation promises of these ideals (Fukuyama, 1992).

The first chapter of this thesis, which is quite related to the ambiguity of the phenomenon, different conceptualizations of democracy and populism are discussed. The point missed out in the previous literature is that countries or regions have their own dynamics and historical inheritances that should be considered for evaluating any concepts in proper context. A large-scale generalization and universalization regarding the acceptance of the one fits all definitions or consideration of such conceptualization are abstained in this thesis. Mouffe (2008) states in her article 'Which world order: cosmopolitan or multipolar?' that the universality of democracy is all too often taken for granted. Western politicians and political thinkers alike see it as an all-or-nothing matter. However, Mouffe argued that they fail to imagine that other societies might develop different forms and versions of it. That is, Mouffe's criticism is quite compatible with the hesitation of the liberal universalism or western tendencies to see the world as universal.

It is evaluated that Latin America as a region is more open to be influenced by its own regional dynamics and historical inheritances. Problems and hesitations are almost identical in the region. It means that any emergency or development in one country in the region is more possible influence another country in the region as a whole. In other words, the regional phenomenon may affect largely national political processes more than global phenomenon would. It is necessary to distinct phenomenon that would be meaningful for the region itself. Concepts of democracy and populism are the main constituents of this basket. The relations between democracy and populism have been reviewed in this research accordingly.

Democracy is not an accomplished and finished process. It rather unfolds itself continuously. Levine and Molina (2007) argued the idea that democracy is a continuum together with a range of related dimensions. Latin America is region where it is necessary to create new conceptualization of democracy with regards to regions own political and social dynamics in the lights of a new political pendulum starting from the pink tide and continuation of the resurgence of the left in the region. In terms of populism, it is already existing in the region and will exist regardless of the divergence definition of democracy. Therefore, Latin America has its own democratic character that can differ from the widely accepted idea of liberal democracy in the Western World. In other words, it is not wrong to say that democracy in Latin America is inclining its own way to Radical Democracy by the influence of populism that should be examined with not only tenets of liberal democracy but also tenets of radical democratic theory harmonizing the own dynamics of the region.

All in all, democracy is in the struggle starting from the democratization period to today in Latin America. It makes that the meaning attributed to concepts can differentiate. These concepts which are employed in the democracy analysis of Latin America should be re-conceptualized. It is also valid for the notion of demos. Re-conceptualization of the notion of demos including its composition is necessary to evaluate the level of democracies. “Who will consist of demos?” and “what will be its scope?” are the questions waiting to be answered in the region. In another saying, Latin America is a very specific region where these concepts should be reviewed and double-

checked. It is not rejected that democracy has universal and global values such as equality and freedom. Likewise, populism is a widely accepted concept of attracting and convincing societies in line with meeting their demands. Bennett and Barton (2017) defend the possibility of making a rigorous methodology based on cross-referencing and rigorous examination of evidence and generalizations. The rigorous method is decided in this research as envisioning concepts can be differentiated by regional dynamics and inherited history. It is thought that it will function as a useable analysis to be tested and applied in other research focusing on democracy in Latin America for further research. It is also assumed that generalization or making an effort to have a universal examination of concepts would cause misunderstanding in the evaluation of democracy in Latin America. These concepts can differentiate and there is not a single dimension of them. Each concept that is based on human may differentiate and which is so natural in the field of humanities.

In light of the overall discussion, this thesis tries to understand the notion of democracy in Latin America. While conducting this research, first and foremost, a theoretical framework was constituted regarding the concept of democracy together with efforts on eliminating conceptual ambiguities. In the axis of the theoretical framework which is employed for democracy in Latin America, populism and consolidation of radical democracy are discussed hand in hand. It is also accepted that the existence of different theories and conceptualizations of democracy can naturally be applied in the region to some extent. It would be proper to say that the democratization process, idea of democracy, and quality of democracy are not identical for all Latin American countries. On the contrary, each county has its own history and own socio-economic dimensions regarding democracy and political culture.

It is important to address a question: “How can we make sense of the existing democratic traditions and the attempts at changing the democratic ideals in the context of the resurgence of the left in Latin America?”. To find an answer to this research question in light of the Radical Democracy discussions, the thesis is divided into five chapters. The second chapter includes theoretical perspectives and new conceptualization along with ideas of democracy and demos. The third chapter is

designed as a general chapter of democracy history in Latin America composed of populism in the region, democratization, neo-liberal policy implementations, and regional analysis of the political pendulum together with the emergence of Pink Tide. The fourth chapter discusses all theoretical perspectives are employed in the second chapter and the historical analysis of democracy and the political pendulum in Latin America in the third chapter, by the argument of 'the resurgence of the left may lead to radical democratic transition. Chapter 5 tracks late developments in Bolivia, Colombia and Chile demonstrate developments in the political environment related to radical democracy in action: the results of new elections, amplified diversification of representation, the election campaigns of the parties highly supported by society, the rising populist discourse favoring equality, human & gender rights, social & environmental welfare, and the success of social movement consolidating the idea of democracy. It is right to say that democratic politics is a politics of contestation and agreement in terms of what society demands and expects from political power. In this regard, recent developments in three selected Latin American countries show this contestation and afterward incidents that support radical democratic consolidation. The double examination would provide a clear understanding in that the deepening of democracy reclined radical democratic theory in these countries. Moreover, it is advocated that developments in both countries, which are compatible with radical democratic theory, have immense power to influence other countries in the region for their political environment questioning their idea of democracy. It can be acutely observable that the new vision of democracy in Latin America is more interactive, more participatory, open for everyone, more dynamic and pluralistic, and face-on to get results in practice from the Radical Democratic perspective.

The contribution of this thesis, in doing so, is not only to open democracy in Latin America into discussion and try to comprehend phenomenon utterly related to democracy but also gives a ground to test assumptions in the upcoming future of the history of democracy in the lights of the current political pendulum as the resurgence of the left in the region as the year of 2022. To conclude, Latin American democracy is not demystified; still transforming and evolving in the sense of the radical democratic point of view. What's more, Latin American democracy cannot be

confined or locked up only by the liberal democratic perspective while investigating democracy in its own region.

CHAPTER 2

DEMOS & DEMOCRACY THEORIES

Democracy is an attractive concept to philosophers and political scientists. It obviously differs in interpretation and analysis with its high attraction. Etymologically, it is a Greek Word and a composite of *demos* and *kratos*. Demos means 'the people' and kratos means 'the power' in translation (Dahl, 1998). In a word, linguistics says Democracy is 'the power of the people'. It is 'ruled by the people' from the point of common understanding in the literature. However, the concept of democracy is more than a linguistic meaning since the starting from the history of humanity.

2.1. Demos

Beyond epistemologically, the notion of demos is important within the frame of political participation, legitimacy of political power, and democratic regimes ultimately. It is clear that democracy is substantially ruled by the demos but how to define demos is quite questionable. 'Who are the people?' or 'Who constitutes demos?' are the main questions that should be explained first and foremost. Ideally, collective decision-making ought to be democratically, and who together forms the relevant demos ought to be answered as well. Goodin (2007) expressed the difficulty of answering these questions is 'the problem of constituting demos'. In this regard, the democratic theory is insufficient and unclear to specify demos. Therefore, Godin suggests that all individuals affected by a certain collective decision can constitute demos and should have an equal say in the making of that decision, which is internal to the concept of democracy.

Demos has its own collective ontological existence. According to List and Koenig-Archibugi (2010), it is more than a composition of individuals who are composed of

the same political community. Defining demos as a collection of individuals is inadequate because this definition is just a normative analysis. It should not be underestimated the normativity of demos: composition. However, a composition ought to be an agent who functions democratically. From this point of view, their contribution to the definition of demos is performativity. Demos is a composite agent performing democratically.

Another demos definition of Leijssenaar (2017) is that demos as *'the political community of self-governing collectives through law'*. This definition is more understandable and meaningful. Nevertheless, we need to clarify which individual in the society belongs to the demos as considering the democratic principle of legitimacy and who should be in democratic decision-making processes. Leijssenaar (2017) also advocate what Gilbert (1992) previously argue: 'demos as a pluralist subject theory of social groups' which is composed of collective commitments. Gilbert's offer is a nuanced understanding of how democratic collective agency is constituted and can be maintained in large-scale collectives. Leijssenaar's supportive argument comes from the critics of previous efforts to normatively justify criteria for the composition of demos in the literature. However, understanding demos is more extensive than a composition of individuals. Leijssenaar analyzed the notion of demos with the notion of agency. This way is more concrete to evaluate demos composition in relation to agency. In his understanding, the agency is defined as *'its capacity to function as an actor.*

Demos is not simply a description of a collective agency, it is also a transformative agency action towards an intended aim. Scherz (2013) also accepted demos as the normative concept of democracy. His effort to structure demos by three strains which can be the summary of the demos discussion of the examination of demos. These three strains are 'normative membership principles', 'democratic functionality and necessity of cohesion' and 'procedural understanding of the demos'. As a cumulative understanding, demos is the political subject of a polity composed of individuals who have rights to political participation. It is not necessary to rely on a homogenous and identical subject. Yet it is necessary to function democratically as an agent as (List and

Koenig-Archibugi, 2010) argue. Cohesion highlights interaction with political structure and inter-demos. It is an acceptance of shared citizenship under the constitution even if an individual feel belongs to different demos. Right at this point, it should be discussed 'Expanding the demos' and 'Diversifying the demos' in Latin America due to its heterogeneity but at the same time possibility of cohesion inter-demos.

However, the trajectory of the transformation and the principles of change that the demos is aiming for needs to defined contextually accordinging to the ideas of the demos. Miller (2009) states that demos will have its own conception of democracy, especially in terms of where it places itself. Citizens from different political cultures may interpret differently to question the scale of democracy and the quality of democracy. It is not wrong to state that demos should define itself depending on where demos exist in. Political pendulum, which is a part of political culture in a way, influences the demos as an agent to perform democratically and specifically in its region.

Latin America with its richness of ethnicity, language, nationality, religion, gender identity, and political concerns highly necessitates the idea of new demos that should be more diverse and functional than ever before in the region. 'How it can be possible?' is a difficult question because there is no algorithm for deciding new diversified and expanded demos, and the understanding idea of democracy from the eyes of the new demos in the region. It is easily stated that the crisis of liberal democracy has made it clear that demos in Latin America was not a concept that pervaded society at large. This brought to light the problem of exclusive and restrictive citizenship and lack of representation. Strengthening student movements and indigenous movements in the radical democratic transition period showed that the concept of demos in Latin America should expand and give priority to more inclusive and active participation in decision-making processes

Discussion regarding the expanding and diversifying demos in Latin America has conducted a necessity to develop an inter-demos perspective on democracy. Sørensen

(2011) states that the necessity to consider how inter-demos participation and deliberation can be institutionalized became apparent. This necessity was advocated by the consciousness of students, women, the indigenous population, and the LGBTIQ community who all shaped the demos in Latin America and especially selected case countries in this thesis. The composition of demos diversified because of the legitimate demands of all who are part of society.

In Latin America, the resurgence of the left recently has clearly influenced the composition of demos and its performative function in the political and social arena. Cohesion in inter-demos was also affected in a positive way by this resurgence called as 'A Left Turn'. It cannot be denied that the influence of populist leaders transformed the composition of demos in the region and strengthened cohesion between inter-demos.

Understanding demos includes three dimensions. One is the composition of demos, the other is the representatives of demos, yet another is the inter-demos participation. All dimensions should be associated with the heterogeneity of identities, social fractions and political polarization. Latin America is not a homogenous region. There are multiple identities, social fractions, the rise of polarization and exclusion. Since the exclusion of the people during neoliberal policy implementation has boomed, it is very visible to see diversified demos in the region. Additionally, since the political participation of everyone is restricted, political inequalities shaped diversified demos. Being excluded in the political and social arena led to also the marginalization of the demos. Therefore, the notion of demos is highly related to representation and political participation. Diversified nature demos and representation of diversity in Latin America needs to be handled by taking into account the historical analysis. This historicized concepts then needs to reconsidered in light of recent developments.

2.2. Democracy

Once it is called democracy, obviously, it is a mistake to accept one single approach to explain the meaning of this concept. Fundamentally, the idea of democracy is based on the rule by the people. However, scholars from different perspectives investigated this concept from many aspects. In order not to expand the whole understanding of democracy, it has been tried to be understood by its procedural and substantive definitions. This way of understanding of democracy would be the optimal way by the scope of Latin American democracy.

Democracy has more than one dimension. Song (2012) argues that democracy has two dimensions: procedural and substantive. It is not a concept to be investigated only a procedural point of view or only a substantive point of view. In other words, it is a set of procedures that also includes a set of substantive values underlying those procedures. Multifaceted and complex concepts of democracy, beyond the etymological meaning of it, can be understood, first and foremost, two distinctive but supplementary conceptualizations of democracy. Literature of democracy studies made a clear distinctive conception of democracy: substantial conception of democracy and procedural conception of democracy. It is shown that there is not a single conception of democracy. Crush (2014) argues that accepting the existence of different forms of conceptualization of democracy has significant advantages in avoiding the generalization of the concept and capturing distinction.

The procedural conception of democracy puts electoral processes at the center of democratic legitimacy. This conceptualization gives high importance to equal participation of all members of the society in political progress. This conceptual analysis evaluated democracies with regularly held free elections, whether having an autonomous elections commission or not and guarantying rules and regulations regarding the elections by Constitution. As a prominent scholar of democracy studies, Dahl (1971) identified a set of criteria of democracy defining the procedural conception of democracy: the right to vote; the right to be elected; the right of political

leaders to compete for support and votes; elections that are free and fair; freedom of association; freedom of expression; alternative sources of information; and institutions that depend on votes and other expressions of preference.

The substantial conception of democracy is another main conceptualization of democracy. This conceptualization mainly argues that democracy needs to be understood by the substantive elements of democracy. This conception is more about the values of democracy, social rights, and the expected outcomes of procedural implications of democracy. (Dalton et al., 2007) focused on substantial conceptualization of democracy as implicit outcomes of democracy such as political liberties together with having equal ground to participate in politics then representation, equality in justice before the law, equality in social rights, equality in gender, race, and ethnicity, social inclusion and inclusive citizenship for all. From this point of view, substantial conceptualization cares a lot about the actual contents of the rights and the results of practical implementations. According to Mancheno (2012) substantial conceptualization of democracy is a denial of any form of absolutism and the preeminence of the fundamental rights, dignity and autonomy of people above any kind of political, social, cultural or economic power. Sen (1999) also expressed that democracy is a universal human value, not limited to affluent advanced industrial societies. Therefore, democracy could find ground where the people are regardless of their industrial development. It is an endogenous phenomenon of the people. Spicker (2008) argued, in the same manner, democracy cannot be understood in a holistic way only by handling procedural conceptualization, moreover, substantive conceptualization are in the main understanding of democratic theories. It is argued that both models should be merged in terms of their democratic outcomes. Once both conceptualizations are applied as subsidiaries of each other in the political environment, outcomes would be more democratic. In other words, procedural outcomes would conform with the substantive values of the democratic system. In this distinctive conceptual regard, it is clearly stated that democracy is more than elections. Elections are evaluated as the more procedural conception of democracy. However, Dworkin (2006) stated that democracy is substantive, not merely procedural. He thinks

that evaluating democracy completely procedural leads to insufficient consideration of the nature and value of democracy.

2.3. Theories of Democracy

The word democracy has been frequently circulating in social science disciplines. Since the demands and expectations of societies have been changed in line with the necessities of the time, new approaches to democracies have been diversified as a result of this circulation and recent developments.

Democracy is a regime that is quite open to questioning and criticism by its nature. For this reason, variety of approaches and theories are uneccentric unless they go beyond or above the commonly shared values in the democratic system: equality and freedom. It is evaluated that different theories of democracy have discussed the shared common values in the system by highlighting different concepts and ways of institutionalization.

Many nations in the world have experienced a liberal democratic political system since the 1960s. Therefore, research and studies on liberal democracy are more prevalent in contemporary democracy research. Güzel (2018) argued that since liberalism provided the limitation of the state by the power of the institutions which are developed by liberalism itself, moreover, it was supported by political participation and political equality, liberal democracy became the first theory that comes to mind when democracy is mentioned. Bollen (1993), therefore, stated that there is a multiplicity of hypotheses on the causes and consequences of liberal democracy because of its prevalence. However, this dominance in the literature led to bypassing scholars to investigate different conceptualizations of democracy. As a result, the 'true form' of democracy as liberal democracy became visible in the examination of democracies in the literature but not the sufficient examination. For example, Fukuyama (1992) mentions in his book named 'The End of History and the Last Man', liberal democracy

has become the final form of human government. This ‘end of history’ theory claims that liberal democracy is either the best democracy or the most feasible democracy. However, by the questioning of liberal democracy as an accepted and dominant way of governing, liberal democracy has been criticized in democracy studies. Upon this criticism, new democracy conceptualizations and democracy approaches have emerged in the literature. Theorists who criticized liberal democracy and offer different conceptualizations of democracies are in a minority in the democracy literature. Although there is a dominance of liberal western democracy understanding among theorists, the discussion by the hands of a minority of theorists is crucial for democracy studies. It can be easily said that all other conceptualizations besides liberal democracy are evaluated as the versions of liberal democracy, deepening of liberal democracy or realization of liberal democracy. It is understandable but it should be taken into account that the contributions and differences of other democracy theories are similar to what liberal democracy theory argues. In this respect, it is evaluated that Radical Democracy, among different theories of democracy, as the alternative to liberal democracy is a famous discussion in the literature after the 1980s. Once liberal democracies produced a crisis, new alternative formulas and concepts have been started to be discussed for an alternative understanding of liberal democracies. Dahlberg (2013) clearly expressed that ‘radical’ term as a supplement to democracy to open up debate on this whole package on current problematic understanding and practices of liberal democracy. It is argued that liberal democracy does not encompass intrinsic equality and sovereignty comprehensively. It shows that democracy is a concept that is always incomplete and thus always revisable.

2.4. Liberal Democracy

Liberalism is based on an argument that would ensure the right of an individual person to life, liberty, and property. In this respect, the well-being of the individual is accepted as principal. This structure has been consolidated by the spread of capitalism and free trade by the international organizations lean liberal normative. Meiser (2018) stated

that the world's international system was structured by these liberal values after the 2nd World War (WW). Most of the states, international institutions and organizations are structured with liberal norms. For example, World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) are the main bodies got strong incentives to shape liberal world order. Since liberalism is associated with modern democracy, liberal democracy is used to explain characteristics of countries regarding free and fair elections, universal suffrage, having rule of law and civil and political liberties under protection by law and juridical equality as accepted democratic values. That is liberal democracy is composed of two notions: democracy and liberalism. In this respect, it is not wrong to argue that the main aim of liberal democracy as a settled system is to limit the power of the states over the individual.

Liberal democracy has been handled in this research from its farness to pluralism and its tendency toward majoritarianism. Both concepts are quite related to representation and meet the demands of others. That is to say, representation is indispensable in democracies. Once representation is fair, diversified, open to participation and strong enough to meet the expectations of individuals in society then it becomes the important essence of democracy.

It is argued that liberal democracy has been challenged by this increasing demand for pluralism, political participation, and representation of differences in a general framework. Liberal democracies could not be successful to make this coverage because of its emphasis on individuality and homogeneity. Durutürk (2018, p.1435) argued that "The nation state's perception of homogenous society and the emphasis of liberal democracy on the representation of majority is closely related to globalization in the world order." However, plurality necessitates approaching this acceptance by questioning. Additionally, this research approaches hesitantly the tendencies of globalization which are not compatible with Latin America since its heterogeneous characteristics. That's why radical democratic theory has been analyzed as an alternative democracy theory to comprehend Latin American democracy in line with its heterogeneity in terms of identity, ethnicity, race, and political involvement. The crisis of democracy is a reality that is questioned in today's world. This is also a chance

to understand the possibilities of different types of democracy. However, once liberal values have a tendency to be dominant over democratic values, it can be mentioned about a more elitist approach. Once representatives who are elected by the ordinary individual in the society and bureaucrats start to break off their organic ties with society and its demands, this would pave the way for the opposition to produce a populist discourse that embraces the rest of the society. Defective representation is used to define this situation. It would be correct to argue that populism emerges to be against this defective representation in the political spectrum. Populism is a kind of confrontation against the conditions where the demands of society were not met and where society started to feel excluded from decision-making process.

Liberal representative democracy ignores the minorities, disadvantageous groups in the society. It is an ultimate problem for holistic representative democracy. The aim of the democracy should not only get support from any part of society then have pluralism whichever. The opposite form of pluralism is Tyranny of the Majority. Tyranny of the Majority or tyranny of the masses explains this system of majority rule without consideration of the rights and demands of minorities or others. This is a danger for all democracies. When the majority rule governs the political representation, exclusion in the society would deepen, which would be harmful to the wealth of democracy. Tocqueville argued as the greatest danger "majority could tyrannize unpopular minorities and marginal individuals." It is argued in this thesis that there is no power in the political atmosphere as omnipotent on the contrary absolute command belongs to diversified representation which covers everyone's demands and expectations in society. On the contrary, it should target the whole society with a holistic approach that may not lead to excluding others' political participation and their demands. Emphasizing individualism by liberal representative democracy may have two results: diminishing the interests of each individual in politics or weakening the idea of collectiveness to be stronger which paves the way for being an organization. From this point of view, the question should be investigated: Can there be a solution for this representation crisis or the lack of interest in political participation? The answer to this question is: Yes, it can be. It can be whenever individuals start to feel as the subject of politics. It is called political subjectivation.

There are some other criticisms in the literature regarding the deficiency of liberal democracy. According to Barber (2003), liberal democracy is a thin theory of democracy. Its democratic values are purely individualistic. He also adds "the aim of it is not to share in power to be part of a community but to contain power and community and to judge them by how they affect freedom and private interest" (Barber, 2003, p.7). Thus, liberal democracy is unsuccessful to make the balance between majority rule and individual and minority rights. According to Bobbio's examination of the relationship between liberal democracy and socialism, Yturbe also (1997) stated that there is a tension that liberal democracy cannot alone guarantee social justice. Additionally, scholars added that liberal democratic theory is an 'unfulfilled promises' of democracy.

The liberal representative democratic model comprehensively leans toward the procedural rather than the substantive model. Liberal democracy considers free elections the sources of legitimacy of political authorities. It is acceptable but not enough to have healthy democracies. Zakaria (1997) clearly expressed that there are not any respectable alternatives to democracy because it is a part of the fashionable attire of modernity. Democracy should be settled and stable yet it can be different interpretations and implementations favoring real political and civil equality based on more regional and inherited dynamics. The problems, which are all mentioned in the thesis, are the problems of governance within neoliberal democracy in the 21st century.

2.5. Radical Democracy

The theory of radical democracy, pioneered by Ernesto Laclau and Chantall Mouffe (1985) in their studies named Hegemony and Socialist Strategy (HSS), argued a new conceptualization of democracy with reference to the crises of liberal democracy which failed to express the increasing social conflicts and social struggles in the capitalist society by only referencing working class. It was suggested that the limits of ontological privilege given to the working class by Marxism should be expanded. In

this respect, Radical Democracy has also been figured as the critics of Marxism. R-Democracy is an understanding of politics based on the relationship between identity and difference. It is a democratic theory that tries to understand the modern state by differences. It is believed that this would pave the way for social differences to produce the idea of identity politics that challenges the modern understanding of standardization.

Radical Democracy as one of the theories of democracy is not a homogenous theory. There are multiple approaches and questioning of Mouffe's and Laclau's main conceptualization of Radical Democracy. In this respect, R-Democracy is characterized by its heterogeneity itself with different interpretations.

Radical democracy criticizes the modern state built by liberal democratic institutions only prioritizes the existence and the survival of the state rather than the society. From this perspective, liberal democracy brings standardization as ignoring differences. It leads to distinct defaults such as ignoring comprehensive political participation, plurivocality and not adopting collective demands than individual demands. Whereas, Özdemir (2013) pointed out that Radical Democracy is a convenient model for the geographies where intersected differences including all identity differences, civil initiatives, new discourses herewith new social movements, minorities, subaltern nations, environmentalists, religious groups and gender.

As a critic of the situation that liberal democracy caused, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) suggested the 'Radicalization of Democracy' which is a political project that has feet on the articulation of demands of others '*excluded*' and pluralism. This approach supports diversity and equal fair representation. According to Conway & Singh (2011), the formulation of 'radical and plural democracy' of Laclau and Mouffe includes some formulations. The first is breaking the contemporary leftist pendulum from the 'debacle of communism'. Liberal democratic revolution is accepted with core values and its spread to do so. The second changing leftists focus on the 'working class' solely. It is evaluated as one of the main deadlocks of leftist politics. The category of 'class' struggle should be enlarged related to gender identity, race, ethnicity, and

environmental struggles. It is rejected that one class focus or subordinate-superior relations. On the contrary, any class struggle with its own demands and expectations should be taken into account for targeted plurivocality. Popular sovereignty and pluralistic or participatory politics concepts are engaged in this proverbial discussion among researchers. Plurivocality and civic actions are advocated by radical democracy discussions in response to the crisis of liberal democracy. The third is opening democracy to re-conceptualize as conflictual, always open-ended and diverse. Finally, it is encouraging to build 'a chain of equivalence' among democratic struggles to that they all can establish a possible 'collective will' and 'we' of the radical democratic forces. All these formulations are quite compatible with the current political pendulum in Latin America because the resurgence of the left in the region with equality, diversity and pluralism discourses has extended into social and political life profoundly. Laclau & Mouffe (1985) suggested that the aim of left-wing politics is not to abandon liberal democratic ideologies because the core values of liberal democratic theory is highly accepted. The aim of them is to deepen and expand liberal democracy toward radical and pluralist democracy. All in all, 'Radical Democracy' attracts attention to explain the vision of pluriverse, pluralism and plurivocality from any aspect. According to (Kothari et al., 2019), Pluriverse is a word that reflects transformative and alternative initiatives to the currently dominant globalized world. It is a word presents radically different practices on social, political and ecological environments. Escobar (2018) stated that designing pluriverse attends to questioning of environment, society and politics while focusing on the production of human experiences based on the radical interdependence of all beings. From this point of view, it is frequently highlighted inclusion instead of exclusion and marginalization.

Radical democracy paves the wave for competitive democracy. Individual's re-gain their political consciousness that is diminished by liberal democracy. Therefore, losing commitments to affect decision-making power imposed by capital reveals the necessity of new democratic understanding can go further them as political subjects. In this point, that liberal democracies cannot represent diversities sufficiently seem like a common argument by researchers dealing with the criticism of liberal democracy and alternative forms of democracy. The attribution of the quality of being democratic

to society cannot only be given by the ability of the representation of limited instead it is a must to represent the whole.

According to Institutionalization of Radical Democracy in the region, Dahlberg (2013, p.1) explains "the institutionalization of contingency and openness to contestation, ensuring that no social arrangement or identity is taken as extra-political." That is, R-Democracy differs from L-Democracy in terms of not limiting political contestation within the political environment. Radical Democracy politics converges all aspects of social and political life and some other conditions that are hidden by political domination such as polarization in society, lack of political participation in politics, limitations to raise individual voices both in social and political spheres.

Liberal democracy has tendencies to remove individuals from politics. This alienation leads to insufficient political participation and unawareness of politics. L-Democracy has convinced individuals in society that social life is an exterior sphere of political life. However, R-Democracy tries to converge social and political life. It is the idea that political life is implicit in social life. In order words, it is a new construction of political life with relations to social life. This is possible with the inclusion of universities, other educational entities, think tanks, religious groups, benevolent associations, religious organizations, non-governmental organizations, and households as well. Therefore, providing a basis for the equal participation of all citizens can be succeeded. High participation hands in hand with openness to the discussion is evaluated by Mouffe (2005) as the transformation of 'antagonism' into 'agonism' by liberty and equality evaluated as the notions of shared ethico-political principles of democracy. Politics cannot be purified from 'antagonism'. Antagonism is the constituent elements of politics. The ground of the contestation transformed from 'contestation between enemies' into 'contestation between rivals'.

More pointedly, democracy should be handled by these concepts but broadly. It is evaluated that the theory of Radical Democracy, which is a post-modern approach to democracy, advocates embracing two conceptualizations of democracy: substantial and procedural profoundly than the theory of Liberal Democracy. The way Radical

Democracy handles democracy aims at overcoming the representative liberal democracy practices that create a crisis of legitimacy in relations between the state and society. This way broadens and deepens the understanding of democracy. From this point of view, this thesis advocates democratization of the accepted and inherited core values of liberal democracy by consolidating radical democracy arguments such as plurivocality, inclusive citizenship, and diversity as a chain of equivalence. It is highlighted that any deviation from the liberal core democratic values are falsity but should be connected by joint values.

According to Mouffe (2013), the universalization of liberal democracy as a global regime is not more than an illusion of a unified world. In order to advocate this argument, Latin America as a region is employed in this research with its own dynamics, history of democracy and current developments compatible with radical democracy. Radical Democracy is an extension of egalitarian values by inclusive direction. In this respect, insights of radical democratic theory may find an area of application in Latin American politics after all destructions of the neo-liberal period of time in the region.

2.6. Institutionalization of Democracy

As it is highlighted, democracy is not a static phenomenon similarly the concept of institution is not also static but continuous and can change in continuity. Adaptability is crucial for this change in continuity. Democracy would be more institutionalized if it is more adaptable to change. Duverger (1975) explains the opposition to adaptability as the 'threat of collapse' in his book named Political Sociology. Once there is a conflict regarding the values of democracy, the democratic system would face the threat of collapse. Right at this point, adaptation to change and transformation is one of the main concerns of democracy. This adaptation should be highly related to the diversification of representation, inclusive citizenship, and more participatory politics in harmony with the fluctuant demands and expectations of societies. According to Scott (1987), institutionalization significantly refers to adaptive process: to

institutionalize is to infuse with value. While the institution represents the order and shape of a certain existing situation or feature, institutionalization refers to the process of reaching such a situation. From this point of view, political institutionalization is to develop or transform formal or informal rules or norms that influence human interaction in social and political environments. In other words, it is the emergence and change of rule configurations for the political and social outcomes.

According to Rose (2016), Huntington argues that institutionalization and the importance of institutional development concerning democratization are highly important. It is visible in a living world where the demand of the individuals in society diversifies and followingly their political participation is growing rapidly in different ways.

It is right to express that institutions are the set of rules that emerge through behavior. They have an important weight as a structural importance in realizing and providing the social and political order. Ensuring the institutionalization of democracy is promoting some core values that symbolize the existence of democracy. These values must be composed of social and political equality, freedom, pluralism in line with plurivocality. All these promoting core values will facilitate the process of institutionalization of democracy which most of the countries in the region adopted this system as the best way of managing demos so to say self-ruling.

Institutionalization of democracy should be handled important benchmarks such as elections & levels of representation, the existence of political parties, level of political participation, political & existence of civil society organizations, and rule of law. In order for democracies to be institutionalized, it is expected that these benchmarks are able to work in a harmonized way. In order words to say that democracy is called institutionalized when these benchmarks are in interoperability in the political system.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF LATIN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Contemporary democracies in Latin America have faced multiple challenges and improvements. Liberal Democracy crisis stemmed from the majority rule principle of itself led to questioning the accepted liberal democratic point of view in the region. According to Kaufman (n.d.) democratic fight must be understood with an understanding of what liberal democracy can and cannot accomplish. Right in this point, in which liberal democracies failed in Latin America, radical democracy began to be questioned by its principles. Nevertheless, the capacity of Latin American democracies which confront the structural problems in the region such as lack of representation, exclusion, polarization, marginalization and social and political inequalities have always strong and be signs of refreshment.

Hershberg (2009) identified Latin American democracy starting from the democratization wave, expressing three distinct moments to analyze the recent democratic history of the region. The first moment was identified as the demise of military regimes in the region. Democratically elected governments started to rule the countries. The second moment was identified as neoliberal transformation. Mostly in the 1980s and 1990s, neoliberal policy promotion and implementations aimed at integrating the countries' economies to the global economy. Neoliberal policy implementation can be associated with the democratic calibre of the countries in terms of its values and results that influenced social and political life comprehensively in the region. The results arising from the Neoliberal implementations deteriorated trust of society in states during neoliberal hegemonic period. The third moment can be evaluated as the 'rise of populism'. Populist strategy in the region incorporated the part of society that has been excluded from power by authoritarian power holders. By

questioning authoritarianism and oligarchic period of time in the region, populist democracies were started to be understood by the scholars.

3.1. Populism in Latin America

Gandesha (2018, p.49) states that "we appear to be living in an age of populism." Cachanosky & Padilla (2019, p.209) also points out that "The beginning of the twenty-first century has been characterized by a renaissance of populist governments in Latin America." It is obvious because discrepancies in liberal democracy, neo-liberal policy implementations and the representation crisis of liberal democracy opened the ground for new famous discussions in democracy studies. Radical Democratic Theory and Populism, in this respect, have been started to be rather visible in the arguments of critics after the crisis of legitimacy in state-society relations under liberal democratic order. Mouffe (2018) states that left populists can trail the people who are against subordination, oppression, and discrimination, which are abundant in Latin America. From this point of view, it can be stated that Latin American populism is associated with 'Left Populism'. Using the most different vocabularies which support a more egalitarian perspective is the suggestion of Mouffe. This can be noticed in the discourses of Latin American populist leaders by using convergence, humanity, and equality for all.

Populism is not an autonomous ideology itself. It is a supplementary praxis to support ideology where it leans either left-wing or right-wing politics. From this point of view, accepting populism as a holistic praxis may direct researcher to misunderstand. It is changeable from political ideology to another. That is, whereas populism is associated with the rising nationalist political pendulum in Europe and North America producing racist, anti-migrant, policies and demolishing human rights in the end, it is associated with the rising leftist political pendulum in Latin America as a democratizing force for the sake of society. What populism is in Europe or any other part of the world is a totally different discussion in the literature. This research focuses on populism in Latin American politics solely.

It is believed that the impossibility of drawing parallels between right populism and left populism in any part of the world: Latin America, Europe, or North America. However, the literature see the similarities of populist ideology leans on. For example; today's politics are associated with populism by the hands of SYRIZA [1]in Greece and by the hands of PODEMOS[2] in Spain. Both resemble Latin American populism but in a different region. Giving these examples is solely a step to show the ambiguity of the concept and its interpretations in different parts of the world. It is not necessary to search global definitions, common policy implementations, or discourses of populism. It is valid for both left and right populism.

Additionally, it is highly possible to mention again the conceptual ambiguities of social science concepts. This ambiguity arises from the nature of social sciences and the interdisciplinary nature of the concepts. Populism is one of the concepts that harbor ambiguity in itself. It is an ambiguous concept like democracy. There are plenty of definitions and research on it, yet they are not concrete. It was argued that populism is a technique or instrument that emphasizes structural problems that society deals with a lot and promises to solve these problems to receive social support without considering any long-term strategies. The analysis of the effect of populism on democracy can be positive or negative depending on whether the politics oppose 'the people' or favor 'the people'.

In terms of Latin American Populism, the phenomenon is also one of the main concepts interbedded with democracy in the region. It can be an indispensable concept that is associated with democracy. Ernesto Laclau is one of the pioneer scholars searching the form and content of this phenomenon. Laclau (2005) focuses on populism by the side of constructing popular identities and collective actors. Laclau tried to show dependency on populism and democracy. Additionally, di Tella (1997) argues that populism is a lasting component of the political spectrum in Latin America. He added that better-known examples of populism came from Latin America as well.

[1] SYRIZA is a left-wing parties coalition in Greece. In Eglish translation, it means 'Radical Left Coalition'

[2] PODEMOS is a left-wing popülist political party in Spain. In English translation, it means 'We Can'

de la Torre (2007) also argues that populism is a crucial democratizing force and has incorporated common people, who have previously been excluded, into the political community. In this regard, populism intrinsically is an instrument of democracy that should be remembered in democracy studies, especially research on democracies in Latin America. It paves the way for deep discussions for the sake of society because it is right to say that populism is composed of both unmet demands and dissatisfaction of individuals in society that will shape politics in line with their desires. Urbinati (1998, p.116) argues "the debate over the meaning of populism turns out to be a debate over the interpretation of democracy." Therefore, tackling populism with the interpretation of democracy is one of the main discussions in the region. How democracy discussion proceeds with its own nature-framed populism in Latin America is the spine of this research. To make this read meaningfully preliminary conceptual analyses are needed in order in line with own historical background and dynamics of the region.

The concept of Populism which is employed in this research has no tie with exclusionary politics or politicians associated with xenophobic or racist points of view. Populism in Latin America is associated with a strategy that highlights "the supremacy of the will of the people" (Ionescu & Gellner, 1970) and "political activation aiming expansion of closed political system" (de la Torre, 2014). This overarching is regarding the integration of the people in the context of mass democracy as guarding demands and expectations of demos. In this respect, Filc (2015) explains on the whole that Latin American populism is inclusive compared to exclusionary populism by a cross-regional comparison.

Latin American populism mainly depends on equality and sovereignty principles and discourses including them. This emphasis also belongs to the liberal understanding, however, Latin American populism strongly covers the existence of excluded groups. In this respect, Latin American populism has not been fully satisfied with the libertarian principles and rules thoroughly. From this point of view, Urbinati (2013) states populism is an imprecise concept but may conceptualize as "bringing politics to the people" and "the people to politics". Populism can also be argued as an inclusive

political discourse or strategy that conducing towards seeing every individual who has the potential to participate in politics not giving more privileges to individuals excluded from society beforehand. Populism is the incorporation of previously excluded people into politics with their importances of participation. The necessities and demands of the whole society should be the concrete democratic debate by analyzing populism within a political pendulum. Moreover, populism is not evaluated only by the dignification of people excluded in the political environment. Right at this point, populism emerges with its dynamics and supportive point of view for others in the society. Interestingly, the liberal point of view abstains from discussions due to its individualist norms. It is one of the specific characteristics of liberal democratic understanding that comes from the Western perspective, it is recognized that democracy has meant liberal democracy. On the other hand, Radical Democracy tends to embrace these contradictions not to destroy each other but to design a more democratic political culture by recognition and inclusiveness.

Populist social programs in Latin America directing excluded people's choices. It has the power to increase the popularity of the leader. It would potentially show success if it is transparent and institutionalized instead of only discourse or promise. It is not argued that democracy rests in the hands of a populist leader. Complete dependency on a populist leader would not make democracy qualified and stable. However, good alliances between individuals as a whole and the egalitarian character of the leader give an opportunity to strengthen democracy in line with the supplying demands and expectations of individuals, their high political participation supporting pluralism and diversity.

As an indispensable characteristic of Latin American political culture, Armony (2005) pointed out that populism is undoubtedly an enduring feature of Latin America that seems to be embedded in Latin American political culture. di Tella also (1997, pp.189:190) states "There are omens of change in the countries of the region, … which breeds discontent and possible populism. Admittedly, discontent can help to build a solid Left, which though also appealing to popular sentiments, is another kind of fish.". From this point of, populism in the region has structural and cultural roots. Populist

leaders in the region address the ordinary people in the society or those who are marginalized or excluded from the political environment by denouncing political elites or some other interest groups in the society.

Lastly, it should be discussed the prejudices regarding populism. In the reality, apparently, modern liberal democracy experiences big crises which can be explained by the rising of authoritarianism, the pandemic and its worse effects, and the harmful effects of capitalism and neoliberalism. The populist discourse of leftist leaders' policy implementations are not in this reason package.

Left populism in Latin America is on a different favorable path. It has a positive understanding from the eyes of the individual in the society and the leaders who wish to direct society towards a strong democracy and equality. The argument that the ultimate result of populism is authoritarianism is not a possible tendency. A leader, who has populist discourse, will be transformed into an authoritarian leader in the future is a weak and shaky ground assumption in Latin America. It is hard to say that populist leaders in Latin America have full power to suppress opposition in their countries; there is always political competition. Authoritarian regimes in the region stem from military support by coups or international interventions by the international power influence region. It is a weak assumption that leftist populist leaders who came from the society itself have the possibility to transform into the persona who is directly opposite who they are in the beginning. These leaders, who have competed in free elections and won the elections by the massive support of the society, can only transform their countries' democratic conditions into a more democratic political climate. Seeing populism only as rhetorical is another prejudice that is needed to reject in this research. Laclau (2005) answers to this bias that populism is not a political apparatus 'mere rhetoric'. On the contrary, it is in the 'logic of constitution of political identities'. In this respect, populism can preside over the constitution and dissolution of any political space. 'mere rhetoric' is, at most, only a simplification of populism, which can be a wrong assumption in Latin American politics. In this thesis, populism is analyzed as a concept that has intimate relations with democracy in the region.

Additionally, populism is more instrumental in activating participation and raising everyone's voices in society.

3.2. Democratization in Latin America

Democracy studies always mention the '*democratization wave'* which highlights a visible period for transforming regimes into democracies. 'Democratization' is so important for this research because Latin America has witnessed a wave into democracies in its history. It is an early process that democratic regime establishment in the region comes back to the beginning of the 1970s which is a period of shifting political power from military governments and dictatorships to civilian governments.

In this regard, it is right to investigate Latin American Democracy as an output of the Third Way of Democratization. Huntington's (1991)'Third Wave of Democratization' discusses the successes in the region quite well because this period can be evaluated as a transition to have liberal democratic leadership, free popular elections, political parties, and the importance of civil society and rule of law. It is not rejected that there are success stories of liberal democratic implementations in the region in terms of more procedurally such as holding elections, free voting, having electoral committees etc. In this period, elected civilian regimes emerged throughout the continent. The only exception to this democratization period is Cuba. However, the democratic process is more than holding free elections periodically as the procedural conception of democracy. The early democratization period could not meet the increasing demands of civil society in Latin America in line with the substantial conceptualization of democracy.

Unfortunately, maturing democracy in the region is a troubling experience in Latin America. In terms of this troubling history of democracy which still run this characteristic. Goenaga (2016) states that countries in Latin America serve a testing ground for theories of democracy. Although the successes of 'Third Wave of Democratization' in Latin America at the beginning, Magalhães (2021) argues that the

definitive victory of liberal democracy, which many had both predicted and hoped for, did not materialize. Moreover, according to Bermeo (2016) subtle forms of 'democratic backsliding' has been experienced just as novel, increasingly sophisticated varieties of authoritarian rule gained momentum in Latin American history.

Democratization is not an identical single path for nations. They may have different paths toward democratization. In this respect, there is not one holistic approach explaining democratization. Democratization may occur at the same time in different countries and also occur at different times in history. Beriş (2019) states that different factors arising from the countries' domestic dynamics could explain their democratization process more clearly. It is an assistive argument that political culture and the current political pendulum in the countries are the influential factors for this process. What is evaluated in the thesis is the re-understanding of the democratic climate with all aspects of the Latin American nations renewedly. The current period should be analyzed with the transition of radical democracy in the region associated with the deepening & strengthening of democracy. It is not argued that this transition is not a regime change. It is the consolidation of democratic values and consolidation of better democratic implementations. In other words, the consolidation of democratic values concretely in a democratic regime.

3.3. Neoliberalism in Latin America

Latin America has witnessed considerable shifts politically during its history of democracy. The region experienced military regimes, dictatorships, and authoritarian regimes, especially in the 1970s. Many Latin American countries from Chile to Mexico have been governed by military rules. After flourishing the neoliberal policies in the region, which happened in the 1980s and 1990s, aimed at market-oriented reform policies, and free trade throughout the region are outcomes of the period. However, the neoliberal turn is not sufficient to support the entire society in Latin America in terms of wealth, prosperity, and equal opportunities. Therefore,

neoliberalism could not prevent the widening inequality in society. The income gap steadily increased and people were excluded from political participation. Cınar (2019) states that neo-liberalism is the political maneuver put forward by the capitalist class to re-establish its hegemony when the social welfare state experiences a crisis in Latin America. By doing this, Akcay (2018) pointed out that neo-liberal economic implementations excluded the lower classes from decision-making mechanisms; therefore, politics were transformed into an activity place of the capitalist and elite class. Williams (2019) expressed that Latin America grew tired of the empty promises and ugly realities of neoliberalism in the middle of the 20th century.

After all these empty promises and ugly faces of neoliberalism, Latin American nations seem ready to change the structure by the hands of the populist-leftist leaders. In this political and economic climate, leaders from the leftist point of view and the populist inclusive discourse production became very visible in the political arena. On one hand, Latin America is the laboratory of neo-liberal policy implementation which led to stumble democratic improvement in the region. On the other hand, the crisis of neo-liberalism or neo-liberal hegemony paved the way for questioning the existing democratic order. Weyland (2004) argues that neo-liberalism has devitalized leftist parties, unions, and radical socioeconomic reforms in Latin America when neo-liberal hegemony boomed in the region. Neo-liberal policy implementation purely advocated elitist rules and interests and restricted the effective range of democratic choice. Weakening equal political participation and pluralism are the outcomes of what neo-liberalism has caused in the region as a democratic recession. Additionally, massive poverty together with immiseration, exploitation, human rights violations, ecological ravage, maintenance of oppressive relations in every field of life, and rise of polarization are the ugly faces of neoliberalism in the region.

It is, additionally, evaluated that rise of polarization in society is highly related to the composition of demos and their actions. During neo-liberal policy implementation, the marginalization of the people deepened, which influenced the composition of demos and their idea of democracy in the region. This influence occurred as breaking off from the political arena and then finding other ways to raise their voices by establishing new

organizations opposed to the system or organizing social protests and movements. The consciousness of being marginalized or excluded led to demand for more. Once problems start to become devastating the social, economic, and political harmony in the region, 'factionalized/otherized politics' show up before any other political agenda. Unfortunately, 'factionalized/otherized politics' became harmful to human rights, equality, and justice in every field of life which are the core values of democracy. The rise of polarization became one of the structural problems in the region as a heritage of the neoliberal era. As a political tool to deal with the polarization, populist and inclusive discourses, which targeted managing all negativities and problems, were accepted a better way to flourish democratic values in the region by the hands of the rising left. Referring to 'other' lies at the heart of the polarization of society. It is the easiest way to refer to 'other' who do not support his or her ideology. It led to the loss of immanent values of democracy. All these developments and practices that have been occurred in Latin America evaluated as the period of the deperdition together with undemocratic tendencies in the political environment.

Under these circumstances, 'A left turn' together with the rising leftist movement in the region brought renewed hopes and expectations in the post-neoliberal future. According to Vilas (1998), convergence among the left is the result of decades of the repressive and aggressive authoritarian rule followed by the punishing effects of neoliberal globalization. It is argued that leftist socialist policies have been impoverished during neoliberal implementation in the region. The time of arising of the 'Pink Tide' government overlapped with the time when negative outcomes of neoliberal policies came to light in the late 1990s. With the rising leftist populist leaders in the region starting from the 'Pink Tide' governments, Radical Democratic practices became visible in the region. The idea is that democracy can be strengthened in this region when political actors prevent polarization and social inequality in society. Battling social and political inequalities and favoring inclusive citizenship are antidotes of 'factionalized/otherized politics'. These antidotes are seen as remedial politics to fit divisive 'factionalized/otherized politics' derived from the rise of polarization. It is inferred that actors who produced kind of remedial steps and inclusive politics and discourse started to show their success through 'A Left Turn'.

Huber & Stephens (2012) explain that the left-wing parties did not pursue what traditional parties follow in the political environment, conversely, these parties have been differentiated from them in terms of establishing close relations with civil society organizations and unions mostly in line with inclusive solidaristic approach. van Cott (2008) also advocates that Latin American people observe traditional political parties as corrupt, self-serving, unresponsive increasing expectations, and not eager to solve structural problems such as citizens' rights, the quality of democracy. Election results and vibrancy of raising left-pole political parties in the region are the proofs, which is indicated detailed in Chapter 5 in the course of selected country reviews.

It is argued that pure liberal democracy could not show predictive and definitive victory in the region. It never became a hope for Latin American nations. Deficits and defaults of liberal democracy and efforts to bring liberal democracy practices to the region by a neoliberal point of view failed.

Latin American nations started to question the ongoing system where it has to be convenient to their demands and expectations. Their inconsistencies boomed which showed different ways and forms. Social movements, street protests, increasing political participation in any way. “Dealt a blow to liberal democracy's self-confidence and sense of moral superiority” (Magalhães, 2021, p.3) is an extremely meaningful explanation to understand the exaggeration of liberal democracies in the modern world and especially in Latin America.

Magalhães (2021) also argues that the political spectrum within two decades of our century had put the prospects of an illiberal democracy back on the agenda. This argument is evaluated in two ways in the Latin American region. The first is that liberal democracy might not show success in strengthening core substantive democratic values in the region. It can be proved by tracing political, social, and economic developments in the region. The second is that a unique democracy conceptualization or a more suitable form of democracy in the region might show further success conveniently its own regional dynamics and political culture.

CHAPTER 4

RETHINKING OF LATIN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

In this research, mainly, two theories of democracy are employed in terms of discrepancies and compatibilities in the selected region: Latin America. In terms of the dominance form of liberal democracy in the world, Conway & Singh (2011) point out that the dominant form of liberal representative democracy is not an alternative to imperialism conversely it is the informal imperialism that is used against the demands of the majority of the population in the post-colonial region. This argument can also be evaluated as the crises of liberal democracy in the post-colonial period in Latin America. According to Topal, Abatay (2022) stated that what it is seen in Latin America shows the crisis of liberal democracy. The ongoing process is represented by the segments which were excluded from the system, marginalized, and experienced a crisis of representation. Biekart (2005, p.92) states that "social movements either managed to remove presidents or give rise to newsy elected presidents that are expected to listen better to the demands of the marginalized and the excluded." The lack of responsiveness, marginalization, and exclusion were considered and noticed by the left-wing political parties to be translated into policy changes in their discourses and their political agenda. In this respect, radical democracy with its pluriverse, enlarged representation and strong responsiveness became the harbor of the rising left in the region and their supporters as well. (Weyland et al., 2010) argue that left-leaning leaders intend to eliminate barriers of social class or any other discriminatory factors that have structurally excluded them from political participation.

Making sense of democracy by the society had been started to be loud during the 'Pink Tide' period in the region. Spronk (2008) evaluates that 'Pink Tide' has resurrected the debate about the meaning of democracy in society in Latin America. This resurrection has overlapped the debate in the literature regarding the transition from authoritarian rule in the 1980s and 1990s to authentic liberal democracies. Robert

(1998) summarizes the literature in terms of the evolution of this transition as two different positions *'democracy as institutionalized pluralism'* and *'democracy as popular empowerment'*. It is evaluated that these two positions are still valid and supportive of each other once scholars evaluate the Latin American democracy by the rising leftist pendulum recently. These are like the indispensable legs of the radical democracy table. Institutionalized pluralism and popular empowerment feed each other to constitute a radical democratic ground.

Pluralism as a political philosophy means the recognition and affirmation of diversity of different interests and convictions in society. Pluralism as a value accepts everyone in society as a subject. This acceptance gives value to each individual as a political subject as well. Pluralism lets and encourages diversity of political opinions and participation. Once diversity is engaged and interacting with each other, pluralism becomes more visible on social and political grounds. This makes it possible to be represented in the governing processes. In this sense, Longley (2019) advocates that pluralism is considered a key element of democracy. The main pledge of pluralism is its process of conflict, dialog, and negotiation bring in compromise of representation and having the right to participate in politics. Additionally, this pledge is the barrier of majoritarianism in front of democracy. The stability of pluralism depends on how much it is institutionalized. It is possible if there is no obstacle to participate in policymaking for everyone. Pavel (2014) points out that institutionalized pluralism is the absence of a central agency, or a hierarchy of subordinated agencies hold a coercive monopoly on power. What the theorist argues will be mentioned in Chapter 5 in line with the compatibilities of institutionalization of radical democracy with its one of the main tenets: pluralism & plurivocality in the country examination.

Popular empowerment paves the way for changing in political culture in society. Fortunately, it conduces to demolish distrust in politics. Perkins (2010) explains the common elements of empowerment that has the power to change politics; empowerment is a process, occurs in society, involves active participation, critical reflection, awareness and understanding, access to control important decisions and resources. Warren (1996, p.241) also explains from the radical democracy perspective:

> If individuals were more broadly empowered, especially in the institutions that most directly affect their everyday lives, their experiences would have transformative effects. Transformation such as these would improve the workings of higher-level representative institutions, as well as mitigate threats that democracy is often held to pose rights, pluralism and governability. And institutions that make collective decision in radically democratic ways will tend to generate new forms of solidarity, cooperation and civic attachment.

This view expresses that radical democratic understanding leads to a transformation in favoring plurivocality, active participation, inclusive citizenship, more governability of diversities and having the right to say on the institutional ground.

4.1. Political Participation in Latin America

As a living phenomenon of living democracies, real democracy is characterized by the available forms of political participation. Verba & Nie (1972, p.1) point out that "Where few take part in decisions there is little democracy; the more participation there is in decisions, the more democracy there is". From a similar point of view, political participation is accepted as an indispensable characteristic of democracy. Increasing political participation is important in this respect in any form such as voting, demonstrating, boycotting, attending political parties, and volunteer activities in any political organization. According to van Deth (2016) conceptualization of political participation should be attuned to changes in democratic societies. For example, there can be protests under authoritarian regimes or going to the ballot box to choose their representative in real democracies that have a diverse representative pool. It is accepted that the if it happens the expansion of political participation is compatible with the political pendulum in the country, then the satisfaction of democracy can reach the desired level in society.

The importance of political participation is alive and constitutes one of the main factors of political culture in Latin America. It shows itself in different methods in the political environment in the region. Political Participation is the main drive of Latin American nations that never die out in their understanding of democracy. Fighting for high political participation and being represented in diversity are agendas of Latin

American nations. Today's world with detrimental developments such as rising authoritarianism, pandemics, wars, and neoliberal destruction tends to reduce or prevent political participation. The deepening of democracy is subject to a high level of political participation in any form. Regardingly, the success of Latin American democracy will come from this eagerness to participate in politics and to raise their voices in political and social arenas.

According to Mill, Ashford (2012) states that political participation is highly desirable in society. It nurtures intellectual development, moral merit, and a sense of inclusive citizenship. In this respect, violation or usurpation of the right of equal participation caused the exclusion of individuals. This situation is evaluated as a state of tyranny rather than a democratic system where everyone has a right to participate in politics and be represented by whom they desire.

Political participation is diversified in today's world. Individuals can have multiple ways to raise their voices anymore in social media, in the street protests and being part of unions and so on. Consciousness is also getting increase day by day in terms of being a political subject and be part of political participation. Also, the political participation of young, women, mestizos, blacks, whites, businesspeople, the LGBTIQ community, people from different nationalities, religions and ethnicities would strengthen democracy in Latin America. The understanding of equality should be grounded in political participation.

The exclusion of demands of every individual, strict class division, increasing income gap and equality, and obstacles to political participation led to the marginalization of people. The existing system which is the remnant of neoliberal understanding and got worsened by the military coups never met the expectations and demands of society. Thus, Latin American people, who starts to increase their awareness regarding being a political subject, commenced being more demanding and more visible in the socio-political system. This socio-political environment has been questioned by scholars since the accepted idea that neoliberal crises and undemocratic regimes have an absolute effect on democracy. Volk (2021) explains this desire that the increasing of

number of protests and conflicts urges researchers to analyze the meanings and functions of this environment in a modern democracy. In a similar desire framework, this thesis has an enthusiasm to understand idiosyncratic democracy understanding in Latin America through the radical democratic theory which is the most promising approach to explain the meaning of conflictive social and political relations and transformation in the recent political arena starting from Pink Tide governments and accelerated leftist populist leaders' both electoral campaigns and governmental periods after the series of leftist victories starting from 2018s.

Each individual should feel like a subject of the political environment. de Moor (2017, p.3) points out that "lifestyle politics refers to the politicization of everyday life." This is what populist leaders in Latin America tried to ensure in their countries. These leaders are quite aware of the exclusion of individuals from politics. Therefore, their efforts and discourses aimed at the inclusion of lifestyle politics in the political arena. It is one of the components of the populist strategy which encourages citizen's lifestyle politics into organized movements. Butzlaff & Messinger-Zimmer (2020) explain in a similar manner that the reason why populist leaders apply to this strategy can be associated with the distrust of liberal representative democracies. There is a sharp decline in the level of trust in liberal representative democracies not only in Western societies but also in Latin American nations. Individuals tend to support leaders who produce multifarious discourse including gender rights, environmental protection, inclusive citizenship, reducing the wealth gap, battling corruption and inequality, and more. That is, politicians who produce a comprehensive discourse have the possibility to become more visible and accepted as leaders in the eyes of the people of Latin America.

The transformation of the idea of democracy and political participation in Latin America comes from the progressive increasing gap between government and society. Once this gap increased along with the failures of structural problems in the region, the social legitimacy of the government started to be questioned. In terms of legal legitimacy, governments were elected by popular vote and came to power. It is an appropriate way of democracy. However, during the incumbency period of the

government, when society starts to question and show their discontent, the social legitimacy of the government should be examined. Discontentedness obviously paves the way for any mode of political participation in society. It can be observed diverse political participation in Latin America due to the discontent of the existing governments.

van Deth's (2014, p.350) clearly emphasizes the importance of political participation in democracy. "The continuous expansion of available modes of participation in the last decades underlines the relevance of political participation for democracy and democratization: participation is the elixir of life for democracy."

4.2. Inclusive Citizenship in Latin America

Inclusive citizenship is not a concept that is handled separately from political participation and civil society. The concept of civil society is also quite principal in understanding radical democracy clearly. The existence of civil society is composed of each individual having a special meaning and function in terms of constituting demos in the political field. It is impossible to evaluate radical democracy without comprehending inclusive citizenship.

Inclusive citizenship, in other words, is a concept that it is not different from the idea of citizenship. It is a practice that activates to make rights real. It means equal access to democratic rights, political participation, and the ability to represent in decision-making processes. It is evaluated that the idea of inclusive citizenship empowers the political participation of citizens which is the key of decision-making.

There are couple of aims that inclusive citizenship desire to ensure. The first is removing segregation in the social structure which enables all citizens to reach equal social and political rights without any restrictions. The second is strengthening democracy as a continuum of the first aim.

Inclusive citizenship is also related to building inclusive societies or social convergence. Fernández & Sotelo (2022) states that Latin American democratic societies had not reached equality as a foundational value necessary to guarantee access to public goods and services to all citizens; thus, a vast majority of people are left aside. It can also be added that Latin American societies together with all segments and minorities are not represented fully in the political arena, which influences their social and economic gains. What it is mentioned as 'turn' or 'transition' refers also this inclusive politics by the resurgence of the left in the region. It is very meaningful that the party name of Gabriel Boric in Chile is 'Social Convergence' *(Convergencia Social).* Changing Bolivia's official country name to the Plurinational state of Bolivia is also an indicator of its inclusiveness to all segments and minorities.

In Latin America, it is not wrong to say that citizenship is mediated by diversified factors. Latin American countries are not homogenous in terms of religion, ethnicity, gender and some other crucial distinctions. Left-wing populist leaders very frequently use those concepts in their speeches to influence society. They encourage every individual to participate and reach their rights in society regardless of their distinctions. With regards to relations between inclusive citizenship and Radical Democracy, R-Democracy expands its definition of democracy by attaching differentiation in all many contexts (societal, gender, ethnic, social class or political) on the freedom and equality ground. According to this understanding, truly pluralistic democracy can only be possible by recognizing the differences and approaching them all in the political sphere equidistantly. Perez (2021) states that inclusive citizenship guides to trace the common horizon of leftwing governments and leaders in Latin America. From this point of view, promoting inclusive citizenship discourse those leftwing leaders insistently highlighted is not a coincidence. Inclusive citizenship is identified as the area that should be advanced at least by leftwing governments so that Latin American nations would have a genuine democratic environment.

4.3. New Pink Tide

The possibility of 'New Pink Tide' is very new in discussion in the literature after the series of leftist leaders' victories. Left-wing leaders won the elections starting in Mexico then followed by Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, and lastly Brazil. Neo-liberal destruction, high inflation, and negative effects of the pandemic are the prominent reasons that paved the way to dispose of right-wing governments in the region. The current political pendulum is seen either disposition of right-wing governments in Colombia, Brazil, and Chile or the continuation of left-wing governments in Bolivia.

Although Pink Tide and 'New Pink Tide' leaders resemble each other in terms of the political wing they lean on, 'New Pink Tide' has produced different discourses and promises. The awareness of the new leftist leaders regarding intersectional issues in terms of rights and equality seems high. The political agenda of 'New Pink Tide' seems more diverse including environmental issues, LGBTIQ rights, indigenous people's demands for identity and representation, inclusive citizenship, and encouraging political participation and as well as economic reforms, fighting high inflation, poverty, inequality, and deepened income gap and negative effects of neoliberal destruction which are predominantly focused by 'Pink Tide' governments. These discursive indications were supported by the pluriverse argument of radical democracy. It seems that every topic about human beings and society is the subject of democracy. The adaptive pluriverse agenda, plurivocality and multi topic agenda are the core of 'New Pink Tide'.

The emergence of 'New Pink Tide' got strengthened by the social movements in the region does give signs of a better future for Latin America. Moreover, all these developments, which are attributed to better future prediction in terms of more egalitarian and democratic by the tenets of radical democracy, seem quite relevant to the cumulative successful resurgence of the left trend in the region. From this

perspective, Latin America in general deserves a closer examination through the lens of radical democratic theory.

CHAPTER 5

5. ANALYSIS OF CASE COUNTRIES

The Radical Democratic Transition can be understood by the developments that happened in Latin American Countries in line with the compatibilities of the tenets of radical democracy. In this regard, the selection of the Plurinational State of Bolivia (hereafter Bolivia), the Republic of Colombia (hereafter Colombia), and the Republic of Chile (hereafter Chile) are quite meaningful case countries to analyze their transition to radical democratic implementations. In other words, developments and policy implementations in these countries are highly associated with the radical democratic transition from different aspects through case by case.

As a brief commencement regarding the latest elections which ended up the leftist victories and evaluated as the resurgence of the left, many of the countries in Latin America passed new elections and the winners of the elections were the leaders of parties who produced a discourse in line with democratic values and equality. As for the case countries in the research, in Bolivia, the last elections were held on October 18th, 2020. Former President Evo Morales Ayma's ally Luis Arce, who is the leftist-socialist leader from the Movement for Socialism (MAS) Party, won the election. Arce government started to play power of authority in Bolivia. In Colombia, the last presidential election was held on June 19th, 2022. The former congressman and the former Mayor of Bogota, Gustavo Petro won the election and was selected as the first leftist president of Colombia. Similarly, in Chile, Gabriel Boric, who is the former student rebellion leader, was elected on November 21st, 2022 as the new Chilean President. Boric started to govern in March 2022.

It is a possible expectation that political leaders can ensure a meaningful link with the demands of civil society. Arce and Boric succeed in winning the elections in favor of

this established meaningful link with society. Currently, Petro is seen that he established this meaningful correlation according to his supporters in the street for the victory of the presidential election. These elected country leaders proved this link with the electoral victory of their races in the political arena. What makes these leaders; Boric in Chile, Morales and his ally Arce in Bolivia, and Petro in Colombia visible is their organizational leadership capacities are strong. They strengthen their organizational muscles from their previous student's movements by Boric, indigenous movements and union experiences by Morales, congress representation and local executive experiences by Petro. All know how to organize mass afforded to mount historical populist political campaigns favoring their presidential elections. The period starting from the 2000s was not a calm period for the world. It has been a period of crises so far. There are economic crises, migration issues, humanitarian crises, wars, terrorism, and so on. Considering all these conditions which are also valid for Latin America region, it is very normal that populist leaders get on the stage who produces populist discourse for the sake of their societies as a whole.

The perspective of the actors of this transition to radical democracy is 'social convergence despite of all separateness' by the initiatives of the leftist-socialist leaders. According to Oropeza & Perron (2013), in the Evidence and Lessons from Latin America-ELLA report, leaders encourage political engagement through referendums, plebiscites, and popular consultation which are the mechanisms enabling citizens to participate actively in Latin America. The main aim of these mechanisms is to seek citizens' choices and opinions regarding policy implementation both administrative decisions and any constitutional reforms. For the way of popular consultation, leaders and their administrations are in close relations with society so that they can comprehend the expectations and interests of them.

In terms of conceptual analysis, Bolivia is employed mainly by the indigenous movement and its successes. Colombia is employed in the analysis by the peace agreement implemented with the military organization, its transition to being a political actor and having the first leftist government in the country's history. Chile is employed by student protests and social unrests that led to government change and

drifting the country into a new constitutional negotiation process. It is evaluated that there are correlations between the tenets of radical democratic theory and all indicators in different countries.

This transition is handled with the resurgence of the left in the region. Currently, all three countries are governed by left-wing governments. As it is stated, Colombia has experienced leftist leadership first time in its history. From this point of view, all negativities, undemocratic implementations, and bad faces of neoliberal implementations have Colombian society awaken for having a real democracy and equality in every aspect. As for the Republic of Chile, this country has become a stage where the demands and expectations of society are fulfilled by a new generation of leftist leader after many years passed in a dictatorship regime. As for The Plurinational State of Bolivia, this country experienced the leftist government continuation since its successes came from the previous terms in terms of inclusion of indigenous demands and political participation. For all three countries, the last election campaigns of the leftist populist leaders, their discourses and first policy implementations after their inaugurations, the composition of the cabinet that they establish composed of diversity. What is significantly apparent in these three countries is rising leftist socialist governments who pioneer the current political pendulum, which has clear similarities in these countries. In this regard, case by case analysis has been employed by doing this review to make a bitter vindication for a Radical Democratic Transition in the region. All in all, these countries shows meaningful and noticeable signs of pluralism and plurivocality which are the prominent tenets of radical democracy.

5.1. The Plurinational State of Bolivia [3]

The official name of the country is the Plurinational State of Bolivia is a prominent country that should be investigated in terms of its history of democracy and recent development in line with democratic strengthening by the lens of radical democracy.

[3] The original name in Spanish Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia

Bolivia is mainly employed in this thesis to show the political participation of indigenous people, their representation, and democracy relations. Thanks to the recognition of indigenous people, political participation has increased in an equal setting in society. It is better to understand this recognition from the perspective of shaping demos at the beginning. It affects ethnic mobilization and organizing so that they can demand more equal representation and establish indigenous-origin parties, which would verify the diversification in the political system. In this respect, Bebbington (2010) related developments in Bolivia in terms of radical democratic experiences in the hands of indigenous authorities.

Historical background in this case regarding the democracy history of Bolivia starts with the 1952 Revolution and the 1961 Constitution in the research. The 1961 Constitution is the key to the understanding of the democratic history of Bolivia in terms of the adoption of universal suffrage and free election. From this point of view, the 1961 Constitution is the institutionalization of the 1952 Revolution's gains.

National Revolution happened in 1952 in Bolivia. This revolution was led by the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) [4] which is the leftist nationalist party. This revolution is one of the prominent one in terms of human rights were relatively extended and social welfare policies were carried out after the revolution. However, Bueno & Datta (2011) pointed out that although revolution is significant in terms of what brought in political and social sphere, it failed to empower indigenous population. The longstanding reality in Bolivia which is the exclusion of indigenous still were disregarded and ignored. Therefore, until 2000s, Bolivian politics had been in turbulent in the sense of no democratic government, exclusion of indigenous, hinderance of indigenous participation, neoliberal policy implementations that led to increase inequalities from social, political and economic aspects.

[4] The original name in Spanish Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucinario, MNR as an acronym composed of the first letters of Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucinario.

5.1.1. The Indigenous Movement in Bolivia

The Indigenous Movement in Bolivia can be traced back to the 1970s and 1980s. However, the achievements of the movement can be seen in the late 1990s. van Cott (2010), who is one of the scholars focused on indigenous movement and identity politics, argues that indigenous politics are important for three aspects: 'changing the nature of citizenship', 'indigenous political parties and electoral behavior' and 'reform of the state' in Latin America. According to Inter-American Development Bank-IDB (2006), all Latin American states contain indigenous populations, but only Bolivia and Guatemala have indigenous majorities. From this point of, indigenous politics predominantly shape the political pendulum of Bolivia. In this regard, the case of Bolivia has been made by analyzing the indigenous movement that favors the arguments of radical democratic theory in terms of pluralism.

Similar to other case countries in this thesis, in Bolivia, neoliberal policies shifted to redistributive policies at the hands of radical populists. This transition has been started by Evo Morales Ayma, who is Bolivia's first president of indigenous descent. Evo Morales is the leading figure that transforms country's political system through constitutional reform and enacting more inclusive policies in terms of the demands of the indigenous population. It is not wrong to say that he is a prominent political actor in the indigenous movement in the country.

2005 is accepted as the beginning point of the new era of Bolivia in terms of the victory of the inclusion of pluralism. The leader of the Movement for Socialism (MAS), Evo Morales won the election. His victory is important in terms of the fact that he became the first indigenous president of the country. The reasons why Morales's political legacy got strengthened are his charisma, indigenous descent and revolutionary discourses.

Postero (2010) argued that the agenda of the Morales government is not only moving towards post-neoliberalism but also transforming liberalism. According to Torre,

Wolff (2013) discusses this transformation of current ways of democracy into less liberal and differently democratic model whether in the form of participatory democracy or radical democracy. Wolff (2011, p.2) states that "Political transformation initiated by President Evo Morales constitutes one of the few experiences in the world of a serious effort to build a democracy different from the existing Western Liberal Models." Therefore, Bolivia is a crucial selected country for this research in terms of analyzing the institutionalization of radical democracy in the country.

Morales's prominent discourse during the election campaign has been to create a new constitution that will be more inclusive and egalitarian. In this respect, In August 2006, a constituent assembly was established. By 2007, it had prepared a draft constitution that was approved by the National Congress. The draft was finally approved in a Constitutional Referendum in 2009. Then, Bolivia owned the New Constitution of 2009[5] which describes the country: Bolivia is a representative, participatory and communitarian democracy.

5.1.2. Constitutional Changes in Bolivia

The constitutional changes are one of the clear steps of institutionalization of radical democratic progress. The new constitution in Bolivia made macro-political changes indicating the newly emergence of post-liberal democracy at the state level. It is evaluated that post-liberal democracy can be associated with what radical democracy argues at the implementation level.

One of the main amendments of the Constitution is to change the official name of the country. In Article 1 of the Constitution states:

[5] The orijinal name in Spanish: La Constitución Política del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia de 2009

> Bolivia is constituted as a Unitary Social State of Pluri-National Communitarian Law[6] that is free, independent, sovereign, democratic, inter-cultural, decentralized and with autonomies. Bolivia is founded on plurality and on political, economic, juridical, cultural and linguistic pluralism in the integration process of the country.[7]

It shows that the pluralism in the model of state is institutionalized and quarantined by the constitution.

In Article 26 of the Constitution regarding political rights states:

> All citizens have the right to participate freely in the formation, exercise and control of political power, directly or through their representatives, individually or collectively. Participation shall be equitable and under equal conditions for men and women.[8]

This article also shows that political participation without any restriction in terms of race, ethnicity or gender is under protection by Constitution. This paves the way for the diversification of representation. The cabinet of Morales's government has this diversification in terms of gender, ethnicity, and cultural identity. Followingly, the successor of Morales, Luis Arce, who was the minister of finance in Morales's cabinet, has a similar cabinet composition in terms of diversification. According to the Economic Commission for Latin America-CEPAL[9] (2020) report, the representative of Bolivia stated that Arce's government has been working on policies to empower women, business people, and entrepreneurs all together.

5.1.3. The Victory of Luis Arce and MAS

It is evaluated that Arce's victory is the continuation of Morales's ideological set in terms of promoting pluralism and encouraging political participation. Arnold (2020) evaluated the victory of Luis Arce with 54 percent of total votes as an impressive signal

[6] The orijinal name in Spanish: Estado Unitario Social de Derecho Plurinacional Comunitario
[7] Constitution of 2009, The Plurinational State Bolivia

[8] Ibid.

[9] CEPAL is the Spanish acronym of La Comisión Económica para América Latina

of Bolivians' return to socialist policies and reject center-right policies. It is like a ‘(re)turn to the left’ after the Morales presidency even though there was an interim government period only lasted for approximately one year by Jeanine Áñez. This victory once again proved that MAS has a good degree of legitimacy in the eyes of Bolivian society.

Establishing a new ministry which is called Cultures, Decolonization and Depatriarchalization is one of the greatest examples showing the preservation and protection of indigenous culture and women as well during Luis Arce’s governing period. It shows that the promotion of the differences among people in an institutionalized way by the hand of the government. The appointment of one of the indigenous women, who is Quechua origin Sabrina Orellana, to ministry on 20 November 2020 characterizes the establishment of equal base representation in the country. According to Hislop (2022), president Arce’s speech in the United Nations General Assembly in 2022: “We are speaking of elimination of patriarchy because it’s important to have an in depth political, economic, social and cultural transformation based on community respect and reciprocal relations for a life free from any exclusion, domination, exploitation, discrimination, violence for all of humankind and for mother Earth.” is mainly regarding the promotion of equability. Additionally, Luis Arce’s Bolivia has declared 2022 as ‘The Year of the Cultural Revolution to Eliminate the Patriarchy’ (Gopal, 2022). All these improvements are evaluated as the radical democratic project’s pluriverse agenda. Any minority group which can be ethnic or gender starts to have a right to say and be represented.

Bolivia’s democratic revolution has its main characteristics. The first is that representation and participation accompanied each other by a measurable increase. According to Wolff (2011, p.6), “There can be no doubt that both Bolivia’s government and the new parliament are considerably more representative today than ever before, and political participation— measurable in, but not limited to, electoral events—has clearly grown.”. The second is the modification of liberal democratic order by the indigenous customary law. This modification opened the way that indigenous people can elect their representatives to the national parliament. The last

one is the inclusion of anti-systemic social movements contributing to political stabilization comparable to the previous history of the country. It is not argued that there are not any political disputes and social conflicts by the inclusion. However, inclusive policies hindered the marginalization of the excluded beforehand. It is believed that the ever-growing consciousness of the Bolivian people, especially indigenous people, created political resources based on diversification and plurivocality as radical democratic theory advocates. Being excluded from any position where they would have the right to say constituted the civic memory of indigenous people in the country, which triggered mass upheavals targeting be a part of the system.

One of the main desires of analyzing radical democracy is to show possibilities that plurivocality -with the indigenous population in the Bolivia case- heals the problems in the country has been dealing with. It is believed that most of the problems such as environmental problems, violence, problems related to the violation of gender rights and exclusion are prominent problems that can be cured by inclusion and equal representation.

Bebbington (2010, p.405) argues that both local government and national government Evo Morales's Movement to Socialism (MAS)[10] "have changed the practice of politics and governance in ways that have become more inclusive."

5.2. The Republic of Colombia

The Republic of Colombia can be another example of the radicalization of democracy which is proposed by Mouffe. In other words, Colombia can be one of the significant countries where the test laboratory of the radical democratic theory. Colombia is a visible Latin American country that hosted a civil war, a peace-building process, and a number of protests and upheavals in the country's past. Steele & Schubiger (2018)

[10] The original name in Spanish Movimiento al Socialismo, MAS an acronym composed of the first letters of the Movimiento al Socialismo.

states the civil war and ‘multiple violences’ have coexisted with democratic politics for decades in Colombia. ‘Violence’ usage is unfortunately quite fit to describe the Colombia’s history. Without this ‘term’, the case country analysis may not be sufficient. According to Statista Research Department (2021), there are 214,584 civilians and 46,675 combatants have been killed between 1958 and 2018 in Colombia. The interesting of this data is the coverage of the period. This period does not include the civil war period, it is afterward period of civil var, which means Colombia is a country of conflict because of tardy democratization.

In terms of the political pendulum, Colombia has never been ruled by a leftist government in the past. The country has always under the rule of either military government or the far-right blocs. There is a sharp breakdown with the victory of Gustavo Petro in 2022.

In terms of having a similar destiny together with other Latin American countries, neo-liberal policy implementations and disruption of democracy by the hands of military governments and right-wing governments are also destiny of this country. Apart from military governments, historically, the political system of Colombia was dominated for almost 150 years by the Conservative and Liberal fronts. This domination was formalized between 1958 and 1974 ‘National Front’[11] period. It became a third party composed of unification of Liberal Party and Conservative Party. The aim of this unification against the military dictatorship of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla governed between 1953 and 1957. The governing period of the National Front is from 1958 to 1974.

[11] The original name in Spanish Frente Nacional

5.2.1. The Formation of Patriotic Union and The Peace Treaty

It can be evaluated as the first radical democracy attempt in the formation of Patriotic Union[12] in 1985 in Colombia. It is a Marxist legal political party formed by the members and supporters of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)[13]. Military organization profile of Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC, 2019), FARC is a Marxist-Leninist guerilla group, was founded in 1964. The group was established to represent the rural population's interests after the Colombian Civil War between 1948 to 1958. Members of the organization were from rural, impoverished communities. Post (2009) states that fear, desperation and a sense of marginalization led to the formation of FARC after 'La Violencia' referring Civil War. According to Hobsbawm, Sanín & Guataquí (2009) stated that La Violencia is the biggest peasant mobilization in the Western Hemisphere in the 20th century. Afterwards, Colombia never became fully stable country.

Patriotic Union contested in the 1986 election and received %4 of votes, which can be accepted as a considerably high votes among left-wing parties. Riding (1986) explained this result that Patriatic Union-UP won 14 seats in Congress and gained representation in 12 departmental assemblies and 150 municipal councils. Thus, the party has become a symbol of small left groups, students, and political elites in a short while.

Radical democratic implementations in Colombia should also be investigated by the concept of citizenship that was triggered by the social movements in the country and the Peace Treaty [14] with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) in 2016. The year 2016 is a turning point in Colombian history in terms of ending the armed conflict of more than six decades. This process undergone between the State of

[12] The original name in Spanish Unión Patriótica

[13] The original name in Spanish 'Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia', with the first letter of the words as an acronym FARC.

[14] The original name in Spanish 'Acuerdo final para şa terminación del conflicto y la construcción de una paz estable y duradera'.

Colombia and FARC shows the transformation in the relationship as creating a new political rival instead of an enemy. In other words, the relationship has been carried into the political arena as a democratic contest. This situation supports what Mouffe said regarding the transformation of 'antagonism' which is a contestation between enemies into 'agonism' which is a contestation between rivals. The Colombian government has proceeded with the integration progress of former guerillas of FARC into society. According to United Nations Security Council-UNSC Report (2021), by the implementation of the Final Agreement for Ending the Conflict and Building a Stable and Lasting Peace between the Government of Colombia and the FARC, 13,608 accredited former FARC guerillas, including 3,139 women have participated in the reintegration program as of September 12, 2021. This integration process also includes establishing and new social and political identity for the former guerillas. (Correa-Chica et al., 2022) expressed in line with establishing a political identity, FARC continues to present itself as a form of a political party. All in all, peace building negotiations generally focused on future political participation of FARC, rebel's reintegration into civilian life, transitional justice and reparation, disarmament and illegality (Klobucista & Renwick, 2017).

5.2.2. The Victory of Gustavo Petro and Historic Pact for Colombia

Colombia is the country that will be governed by a leftist leader first time in its history. Gustavo Petro, who is the former guerilla, congressman and former Bogota mayor, was elected as president in June 2022. Being a former guerilla and the executive of 19th of April Movement (M19) of Petro is the real discussion during the election campaigns. This issue is the winning card of the right against Petro. However, Uyanık (2022) has pointed out that it was not an important propaganda tool of the right-wing in the eyes of society since he had served in important duties in Colombian politics since 1991. Lastly, he has served as the mayor of Bogota. In other words, the 'guerilla or engineer?' smear campaign could not reach success during the election period.

Colombian civil society has the power to shape this political environment in the country recently. Large & Tauss (2021) explained that inspiring street protests and electoral challenge from the left in the country, fortunately, prevent Colombia from being a bastion of the right in Latin America.

Historic Pact for Colombia (PHxC)[15] is the coalition that has nominated Gustavo Petro as President and Francia Márquez as the Vice President. This pact has been composed of leftist parties including the center and far left and supported by social movements. Both candidates are quite different from the usual politician in terms of their background and ethnicity. Gustavo Petro was the former guerilla of M-19 [16] and Francia Márquez is the indigenous coloured Afro-Colombian. Humane Colombia [17] is one of the constituent parties of this leftist pact led by Petro.

Humane Colombia is an anti-imperialist, anti-neo-liberal, and left-wing political party founded in 2011. The party is led by Gustavo Petro. The first success of the party is to win the regional election of Bogota. Gustavo Petro was elected the mayor of Bogota in the 2011 election. With the great support of the citizens of Bogota, Humane Colombia started to establish an alliance with the left-wing parties including center-left and far-left for the 2022 presidential rally. The most important ally of the alliance is the Patriotic Union which is the political extension of the FARC.

Bolaños & Daniels (2022) mentioned Petro's victory speech including a call for unity and extended an olive branch to some of his harshest critics, saying all members of the opposition will be welcomed at the presidential palace to discuss the problems of Colombia. This convergence shows that negotiation in Colombian politics regardless of the differences would become the new era of the country's political history. From this aspect, it is also evaluated as the first popular victory in Colombia.

[15] The original name in Spanish Pacto Histórico por Colombia (PHxC)

[16] The original name in Spanish Movimiento 19 de Abril. M-19 was the urban military organization in 1970s and 1980s, later tranformed into political party.

[17] The original name in Spanish Colombia Humana

As for the Vice-Persident of Colombia, Francia Márquez is the indigenous coloured Afro-Colombian women who devoted herself social inequalities in terms of Afro-Colombian rights and environmental challenges doing activism from her fifteens. She spent her adult life battling against extractive industries in rural Colombia.

For example, according to Cabot (2022), the Ovejas River campaign marked the starting point of her long struggle to advocate the rights of Afro-Colombian communities and preserve their land from exploitation by multinational companies. Additionally, Márquez became a local leader who took on the struggle for environmental and ancestral land rights, fighting and beating back incursions into La Toma[18] by multi-national mining companies (Goldman Environmental Community, 2022). Her devotion was to challenge the illegal mining of multinational companies in her land and challenge the conservative racist policies of the government in Colombian history. Cohen (2022) stated that Márquez received the 2018 Goldman "Environmental Nobel" for her revindication of collective land rights afforded by Colombia's new Constitution.

Starting from the nomination period of Petro and Márquez till their victory, it is evaluated as a seismic shift in Colombia where there was no leftist government in its history. Plurivocality and Pluralism are the main argument of Radical democracy can also be evaluated as the differentiation of policies and promises. In order words, issues and challenges that were not so much popular in politics got on the stage in line with the pluriverse. When it is analyzed Petro's victory and the Peace Agreement between FARC and Colombia government together, it would not be wrong to argue that voters' preferences have approached to leftist parties in the election who highlighted the inclusive diverse policies. For example, Petro formed alliances with environmentalists during his presidential campaign. According to Rueda (2022), Petro's discourse was to slow down deforestation and take steps to reduce Colombia's dependence on fossil

[18] La Toma is the name of village in the Alto Cauca in Colombia characterized by privatisation, exploitation of the environment and exclusion of Afro-Colombian population.

fuels. This is one of the examples of pluriverse in terms of ecological policy inclusion into the discourse that is supported by the Márquez's environmentalist background.

van Cott (2000) has pointed out that Colombia and Bolivia have striking similarities regarding the constitutional language of legal pluralism. The similarities are regarding the interaction and inclusion of indigenous people. As Cott stated, this interaction has been possibly made by increasing tolerance of diversity in the political system, by demolishing the cultural alienation of previously marginalized or excluded communities such as the indigenous population, youth, and LGBTIQ community.

5.3. The Republic of Chile

The selection of the Republic of Chile as one of the country cases in this study can be justified with reference to its being the first country where a neo-liberal policy framework was implemented with a series of social movements and protests in the recent past that shaped the political environment and the understanding of democracy. The discussion around the movements and protests would provide a suitable context for uncovering the links between economic transformations and the deterioration of liberal democratic principles.

Chile is one of the prominent countries in Latin America in terms of experiencing anti-democratic regimes because of the military interventions and junta governments. After the bloody coup carried out by General Augusto Pinochet on September 11, 1973, Chile was governed by a dictatorship regime for 16 years until 1989. This U.S.-led military coup aimed at abruptly ending the Salvador Allende rule with a new shift in the macro-economic policy framework which would later be coined as "transitions to neoliberalism." Allende's presidency is important since Allende was the first democratically elected Marxist and Socialist leader in the Chilean history after four decades of democratic electoral practices. Benitez and Chovanec (2008, pp. 40, 41) mention Allende's rather short-lived rule as "the socialist experiment that included nationalization of industry (especially in natural resources) and land reform, proved

too threatening for both national and international powers." In a nutshell, 43 years of the democratic rule including the last 3 years of the coalition of the left parties under the leadership of Salvador Allende came to an end with a U.S.-backed military coup.

The political climate has been reversed to an authoritarian regime. Immediately after the coup, in terms of the policies of repression, the constitution was suspended, and trade unions and political parties were prohibited. Moreover, media censoring has been implemented by the hand of regime. At the same time, Chile became the laboratory of the shock doctrine in the neo-liberal transition (Klein, 2008). Despite the shock therapy in moving from democratic to junta regime, the reverse transition has taken a radically different path. Democratization in Chile has been protracted and has taken gradual steps which still influence the current political pendulum in the country.

Chile's return to democratic government took place in 1990 after the Agosto Pinochet regime. The transition from an authoritarian regime into a democracy was formally completed in 1990 in Chile with the inauguration of the first elected president Patricio Aylwin Azócar after 17 years of a military junta regime. Although it seems the demise of the dictatorship regime and the transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratically elected regime, Montes and Vial (2005) called the system as a sub-minimal democracy directed by the 1980 Constitution. The political system was still within the limits of a junta constitution with restricted political freedoms and basic electoral rights. After all, the 1980 Constitution of Chile was written and approved under the repressive military dictatorship with authoritarian, neo-liberal, and anti-communist tenets.

It is important to understand why the military government needed a constitution in 1980. The fundamental reason was to create an opportunity to hold on to power as long as possible by defining the very constitution of the country. In other words, the authoritarian regime tried to secure its *de jure* rule for a long time in Chile even when the junta government would no longer be in *de facto* in power. The protracted nature of the transition to democracy has been reflected on the stickiness of the Junta Constitution as the major legal text still in force.

This desire to be permanent and reactions to the authoritarian and neoliberal regimes culminated in the rise of social movements in Chile. According to the Chile Country Report of Bertelsmann Stiftung (2022) covering the years between 2019 and 2022 in Chile, there has been a wide gap between the policy output and the demands of the society which ended up with a crisis of political representation. This may lead to a space for massive demonstrations and rebellion against the existing political actors.

5.3.1. Social Movements in Chile

Social Movements in Chilean recent history are important in terms of triggering popular demands and creating a democratic atmosphere. According to Scott (2001), civil society played an influential role in the transition to democracy in Chile. It is still evaluated in a similar manner after three decades. Negretto (2021) explains that mass mobilization against the political and social status quo and a multiparty agreement recently activated a process of constitutional change and a real transition to democracy. It would not be wrong to accept that the protests in 2019 had a triggering effect on resurrecting the left in the country. However, it would be also noted that the tensions of the protests before 2019 had been accumulating since the mid-2000s.

2019 protests took place in Chile during the right-wing administration of Sebastián Piñera was on duty. The series of events shows that a resistance movement that had started as a student mobilization succeeded in mobilizing the rest of society. It is clearly argued that a series of strong social movements evoked at different times since the 2000s opened a new constitution-making process and an electoral victory of the left.

In order to understand why protests in 2019 had an influential power to direct Chile into new constitutional progress, it is necessary to investigate the previous social unrest in the country's recent past. Chile can often be referred to as the most stable and economically advanced country among other Latin American countries, hence the term

"Chilean Miracle" according to Milton Friedman (Richards, 1997). However, according to Akgemci (2015) student movements that led to the 'Penguin Revolution' in 2006 and the 'Chile Winter' in 2011 are important moments of resistance that clearly demonstrated that stable and high growth rates would not be enough to hide the injustice in income distribution. Being a stable and advanced country situation is only the illusion of neoliberal policy implementation hiding behind the bad faces of neoliberalism.

Student Movement known as the 'Penguin Revolution' took place between April and August 2006. More than a million students -with their black school uniforms and white collars hence the resemblance to that animal, penguins- have demanded from the government to ensure equal access to quality education for all. Benitez and Chovanec (2008) state that this mobilization was composed of free bus fare, waiving the university admissions test fee, reform to the full-time school day policy, and the abolition of the law to privatize the education system.

The student protests have not completely ended, as the protests continued sporadically in the following years with another peak in the 2011-2013 period. In April 2011, a series of student protests swept the country that would also be known as Chilean Winter. These series of protests are reflections of the deep inequalities spread and pervaded throughout the country because the neo-liberalization of education in Chile has a harmful effect on equality of opportunities in terms of access to higher education.

The prolonged nature of the protests defined and fixed the hegemonic meanings of justice and democracy. A generation indeed grew up within this political context internalizing more radical definitions of justice, representation, protests and covering all these grounds for a sense of democracy. Chovanec and Lange (2007) argue that community values are important to effect the foundation for the earliest form of political socialization, creating the predisposition for critical consciousness. From this point of view, according to them, there is intergenerational learning that further stimulated the next social movement. What is observed in Chilean social movements came from these intergenerational learnings. It should be noted that intergenerational

learning has two arrows, while young generations learn from the earlier generations, the older generations learn from the youth through their protests and demands.

Somma (2022) discusses the Chilean transition from the perspective of institutional contradiction between neoliberalism and democracy. Upon this discussion, Somma argues that when the 2019 protests became a national scale social uprising opened a process of constitutional change and democratic innovation. This is the success of the contemporary student, indigenous, women and labor mobilizations. By focusing on social movements and especially student movements in Chile, it aims to show the opposition of students as political actors in the fight against repression and neoliberalism. In other words, student movements are associated with the Chilean fight against inequality, repression and representation crisis.

In this research, a new transition period starting from the social movements in 2006 can be understood by the tenets of radical democracy. Ironically, Radical Democracy *(La Democracia Radical)* was a Chilean center-right political party. However, radical democratic implementations and attempts towards radical democracy have been led by leftist politics in Chile. That is, Radical Democracy in the case of Chile represents the theory of Radical Democracy not a political party in Chile.

Obviously, the left in Latin America received the support of social movements because the main promise of the left is to eliminate social and political inequalities, to enable a ground for every citizen to be part of politics, and to respect the diversity and demands of society. In line with the definition of citizenship, every citizen has the same civic and political rights without any discrimination. Who qualifies to be a citizen is not a right question in the truly democratic system. Radical democracy in this respect embraces all citizens as a part of the political system through its pluralist perspective.

Fernández & Sotelo (2022, p.341) conclude the situation in Chile:

> The characterization of a pluriversal condition in which the different sources of discontent are connected beyond the neoliberal model and the crisis of Western democracies; they visualize alternative, native and progressive

articulations in the complex social configurations of social movements in the region.

5.3.2. Constitutional Reform and New Constitutional Negotiation Process

The process of Constitutional Changes in Chile is the main indicator of the transition to radical democracy in terms of the fact that the proposed new constitution harbors the acceptance of diversity, gender parity, environmental concerns and enlarged social rights. From this point of view, it can be said that there is a sharp shift from the current 1980 constitution. The process that led Chile to the new constitutional writing referendum is a major development that strengthens the argument for the transition to radical democracy. Augusto Pinochet's coup, which took on the stage of Chilean democracy history as democratic destruction, can be accepted as the most harmful incident in terms of demolishing the will of citizens.

Historically, Chilean Constitutional amendments are not new. There were some amendments made to Dictator's Constitution. Seminario (2020) pointed out that the 1980 Constitution has been amended 42 times until 2020. It is believed that there are still the current state of inequalities, discrimination, and exclusion from politics stems from the dictator Pinochet's Constitution together with neoliberal policy implementations. However, these amendments could not fix anti-majoritarian regulations that ensure the Right's predominance. It is not wrong to state that the 1980 constitution even with amendments is not fully democratic and equality based. It still preserves private property, acceptance of elites, and privatization in every field of life such as water, healthcare, education, and pensions**.**

In terms of procedural values of liberal democracy, elections including presidential, parliamentary, and regional are held by secret ballot and universal suffrage which

accepted as procedural values of liberal democracy. There is an Electoral Service[19] which is the autonomous organ of the state who serves for the impartiality and transparency of the elections. Generally speaking, the political system in theory is well functioning in terms of the procedural values of the liberal democracy.

According to Freedom House [20] (2021), Freedom in the World 2021 and 2022 Chile Report and Freedom House (2022), there are some questions regarding the electoral process, political pluralism and participation, and the functioning of government to evaluate country's carnet on political rights. The results of the reports show that Chile is a free country and took 90 points out of 100 in 2021 and took 94 points out of 100 in 2022. It is evaluated that questions are directed to understand the political system in Chile mainly based on the procedural values of democracy. It is obvious that there are fair and free elections to some extend. The electoral framework is generally implemented in good coordination and smoothly. There is a multiparty system apparently where parties can attend and operate freely. Different segments of the population are in the political system. However, it is not sufficient to evaluate country's freedom and democracy level only based on the procedural values of democracy. These are what liberal democracy mainly highlighted. In terms of substantive values, liberal democracy in Chile is in crisis. Indicators of procedural democracy are not visible in practice which are substantive values of democracy. It can be said that if the procedural liberal democracy answered the expectations and demands of society, social unrest in the country flourished in 2019 would not be that much load and influential in the country's democratic history. All in all, social unrest has ended up with the government change, which is the leftist coalition government, and new constitutional writing and negotiation process through the establishment of the Constituent Convention of Chile.

[19] The Electoral Service is the highest body of the electoral administration in Chile. It is an autonomous body of constitutional rank, with legal personality and its own assets, whose objective is to fulfill the functions indicated by law. Its domicile is the capital of the Republic.

[20] Freedom in the World is an annual global report on political rights and civil liberties, composed of numerical ratings and descriptive texts for each country and a select group of territories.

Plebiscites were the answers to the upheavals in Chile starting in 2006 and climbed in October 2019 with the mass support of the society. The national plebiscite was held in Chile and rescheduled date on October 25, 2020 due to the COVID-19 Pandemic. It was expected to be held in April 2020 previously.

The National Political Constitution Plebiscite [21] which was held in October 2020 is composed of 2 questions:

1) Do you want a new constitution? and
2) What type of convention should draft the new constitution? There are 2 options served to Chileans as answers:
    a. Mixed Constitutional Convention
    b. Constituent Convention

According to the Electoral Service of Chile, results were recorded that 78,31 percent of the voters cast their ballots for the option of 'I approve', meaning approval for drawing up a new constitution; while 21,69 percent voted for the option 'I reject'. Titelman (2022) added that the result is impressive in terms of high percentage of approval and also the geographic distribution of votes. "Just five of the country's 346 municipalities[22] voted against the constitutional process. These five municipalities included the three iconic Santiago *comunas* where the national economic elite reside." Rejection by five municipalities also shows that elites in Chile still want to preserve their domination in the political and economic areas by conserving elite-authoritarian dictatorship constitution.

[21] Original name in Spanish Plebiscito 2020 Constitución Política
[22] Original name in Spanish comunas

Table 1 *Results of 2020 National Political Constitution Plebiscite in Chile* [23]

Votación Total por Opción
Plebiscito 2020 Constitución Política

Opción	Votos	Porcentaje	Selección
1. APRUEBO	5.899.683	78,31%	**Apruebo**
2. RECHAZO	1.634.506	21,69%	
Válidamente Emitidos	**7.534.189**	**99,48%**	
Votos Nulos	**27.381**	**0,36%**	
Votos en Blanco	**12.344**	**0,16%**	
Total Votación	**7.573.914**	**100,00%**	

In addition, society has expressed its opinion on coming up with the new constitution: 79,18 percent voted for a "Constitutional Convention", whereas only 20,82 percent voted for a "Mixed Constitutional Convention".

[23] The official data from the Electoral Service of Chile, obtained from https://historico.servel.cl

Table 2 *Results of the type of 2020 Constituent Convention Plebiscite in Chile* [24]

Votación Total por Opción
Plebiscito 2020 Tipo de Órgano

Opción	Votos	Porcentaje	Selección
1. CONVENCION MIXTA CONSTITUCIONAL	1.492.260	20,82%	
2. CONVENCION CONSTITUCIONAL	5.673.793	79,18%	**Convención Constitucional**
Válidamente Emitidos	**7.166.053**	**94,62%**	
Votos Nulos	**283.794**	**3,75%**	
Votos en Blanco	**123.277**	**1,63%**	
Total Votación	**7.573.124**	**100,00%**	

Chileans' preferences were to have a new constitution and to prepare a new constitution by the Constituent Convention which will be composed of solely of 155 directly elected citizens.

One of the main indicators of radical democratic transition in this period is that Chileans demanded to be a whole part of the writing period of the new draft constitution instead of a mixed constitutional convention which will be composed of an equal number of acting members of Parliament[25] and directly elected citizens.

The composition of the Constituent Convention is unique. In the formulation of the Constituent Convention, it was decided to give seats to the indigenous population, to ensure gender parity of %50 and to be open to the participation of ordinary citizens in line with Article 13 which is "Chilean citizens who are at least 18 years of age and who have not been convicted of the most serious criminal offenses."[26] From all perspectives, the pluralist new constitutional writing period started in Chile after the plebiscite in theory. However, it can be argued that the process, which carried the country into the new constitutional writing period, has already given signs after the

[24] The official data from the Electoral Service of Chile, obtained from https://historico.servel.cl

[25] Original name in Spanish Congreso

[26] Constitution of 1980 (Rev. 2021), The Republic of Chile

massive social mobilization. Additionally, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) (2020) pointed out that Chile is the only country in the world where a Constitutional Convention had to be elected on gender parity based. Vermehren (2021) explained that gender-balanced with indigenous and minority representation could be evaluated as a great development for inclusion in Chile. It is not wrong to say that these inclusive attempts ensure the argument of plurivocality of the Radical Democratic Theory. The election of the Constituent Convention was held together with the municipality election on May 15-16, 2021 in Chile to select 155 members of the Constituent Convention. It is evaluated that the determined rules in its formation and the members elected by the society are crucial milestones for political negotiation and the collective sense of self-determination. Also, the number of members elected by each district is proportionate to its population. The composition of the Constituent Convention is made up total 78 men and 77 women. Totally 17 men and women representatives are from the indigenous population. Vermehren (2021) clearly showed the composition of the Constituent Convention in Chile in Figure 1:

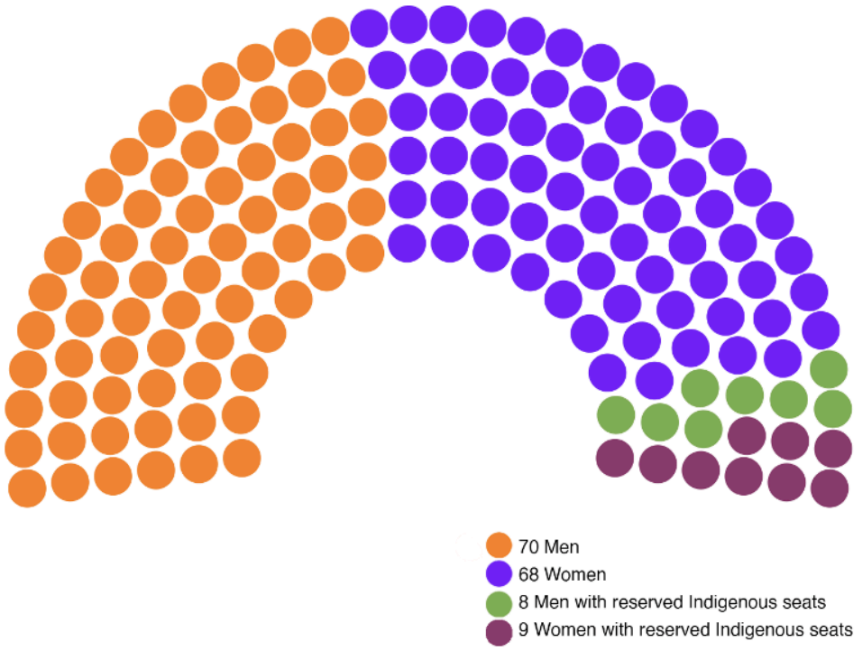


Figure 1 *Distribution of seats in the Constituent Convention in Chile*

This figure shows that Chilean people have successfully managed to capture diversity within Constituent Convention. It would have the possibility to open to recognize every demand and expectation from the society, to benefit from the knowledge of diverse members against dominant elitist discourses and practices since the Pinochet era.

Tobar (2021) expressed that the election of the Constituent Convention is historical. From the composition of members, Chilean CC is the first such institution in the world to have complete gender parity by design: 155 members, 78 men and 77 women. Additionally, CC includes 17 reserved seats for the indigenous population. The average age is 45 which is another remarkable specialty of the elected convention. The oldest member was 78 years old at the time of the election, while the youngest was 21 years old. And six of them are members of the LGBTIQ community, which shows that any discriminatory attempt in the composition of the elected convention was precluded. Most of the members have also come from non-elite social and economic backgrounds.

In terms of political affiliation, the center-right coalition has gained 37 seats, the center-left 25 seats, and the left 28 seats. The remaining 65 seats belong to independent members. It is argued that Constituent Convention is a turning point for genuine radical representative democracy in Chile. Composition of the CC shows that there is not any group can control enough votes to approve or to block proposal by itself. From all these point of view Heiss (2021, p.33) stated that "Constituent Convention has an opportunity to deepen and rejuvenate a democracy from which Chileans had come to feel increasingly detached."

Venice Commission [27] (2022) stated in Chile Opinion Report:

> Following civil protests initiated on 18 October, almost all political parties signed an agreement on 15 November 2019 (Acuerdo por la paz social y la nueva constitución) stipulating that a referendum would be held to give Chileans an opportunity to approve or reject the drafting of a new constitution and the mechanism through which it would be drafted.

Whole Constitutional Negotiation progress should not be handled without the victory of Gabriel Boris and the Social Convergence Party.

5.3.3. The Victory of Gabriel Boris and The Social Convergence Party [28]

Gabriel Boric is the youngest-ever leader in Chile. Boric won the Chilean presidential election with 55,8 percent of votes, 11,8 percent ahead of his rival José Antonio Kast in November 2021. In the first round of the presidential elections, on November 21, Boric took second place with 25.83% of the vote. On December 19, President Boric won in the second round at the ballot box with 55.8% of the total vote.[29]

In order to understand the reason why his victory is not a coincidence, it should be traced back his background before he came to the office in La Moneda.[30] He is the new generation of leftist Latin Americans who sometimes disregard the environment, democracy and human right issues due to their congested agenda. Thus, his leadership would have the possibility to mark a generational change in Chilean politics.

[27] The Venice Commission as the better known as The European Commission for Democracy through Law is the Council of Europe's advisory body on constitutional matters.

[28] Original name in Spanish Partido Convergencia Social

[29] The President of Chile, Gabriel Boric, retrieved from https://www.gob.cl/en/institutions/presidency/

[30] La Moneda is is the seat of the President of the Republic of Chile.

In 2008, Boric was elected councilor to the University of Chile Student Federation (FECh), representing the Faculty of Law, couple of years later, he became president of the Student Union of the Faculty of Law. In 2010 and 2011, he was a member of the Universidad de Chile Senate. He also won the election to lead the University of Chile Student Federation.[31] During his educational life, he led student organizations and student unions. He has carried his organizational skills into politics for the country's return to democracy. All these leadership position during his student period strongly influences the turbulent years of student mobilization in 2011 in Chile.

Radical democratic transformation is visible in his discourses, election campaigns, and in the structure of the cabinet. Bartlett (2021) cited that Boric shouted from a stage the night of his victory that "Chile was the birthplace of neoliberalism, and it shall also be its grave!".

Boris also established a cabinet after his electoral victory which was composed of different 24 different ministries in the Chilean government. 15 ministries out of 24 are led by women. The cabinet composition shows that women's leadership is important in the cabinet of Boris. Women ministers started to lead the foreign, defense and interior ministries.

Social Convergence is currently representative of the resurgence of the left in the country. This resurgence contains hope in the eyes of the Chilean people. The Social Convergence Party is a political organization of citizens committed to achieving a socialist, democratic, libertarian and feminist society, based on the strengthening and deepening of economic, social and institutional democracy. The manifest of the Social Convergence Party can be proof of what is advocated in the research. Firstly, according to the principles of The Social Convergence Party in its official website, it is stated:

> The Socialist historical project must consist of social and institutional transformations that involve the redistribution of power and radical democracy for a new social order, framed in a sovereign, independent, national and

[31] The President of Chile, Gabriel Boric, retrieved from https://www.gob.cl/en/institutions/presidency/

> continentally integrated project, with full respect, guarantee and promotion of human rights guaranteed in the Constitution.[32]

From this point forth, The Social Convergence Party is consciously aiming at governing by pluralist principles and taking into account all diversities. What is referred to as redistribution of power means inclusiveness of previously excluded and marginalized in line with the way Radical Democracy is theorized through differences.

Secondly, it is stated that:

> We recognize the diversity of peoples that inhabit the territory since before the configuration of the Nation-State of Chile, along with their particular cross-border, migratory, multinational, gender and ethnic logics. That is why we defend a Plurinational State.[33]

This desire to be called an officially plurinational state is the institutionalization attempt of radical democracy in Chile. Bolivia could be managed this desire and changed officially the name of the country as the Plurinational State of Bolivia by constitutional amendment. Right at this point, it should be highlighted once again that Latin America is the harbor of diversities and radical democracy can be the most suitable form of diverse regions. All incidents happen in Chile can be associated with the desire to complete a radical democratic transition.

In terms of the new draft constitution which was prepared by the Constituent Convention, it seems that the draft constitution can be specifically analyzed by freshness. There are multiple radical updates. These updates can be categorized by the environment, indigenous recognition, inclusive citizenship and plurinationalism. The highlights of the proposed new constitution related to tenets of the radical democratic theory include 'the plurinational' term in article 1. Article 1 stated that Chile is a social and democratic state of law. It is *plurinational*, intercultural, regional and ecological (Propuesta Constitución Política de La República de Chile, 2022).

[32] The offical webpage of Convergencia Social. Retrieved from https://convergenciasocial.cl/principios/
[33] Ibid.

The proposed constitution is also called 'the Environmental Constitution' by Huneeus (2022). This nomination is also supported in this thesis because 'environment' [34] has been mentioned more than 10 times in the whole text. Chapter 3 in the constitution, starting from articles 127 to 150, is devoted only environment and nature. In this regard, the government of Chile has assumed itself as an environmental government. The draft constitution, moreover, ensures first the recognition of indigenous by declaring Chile as a plurinational state. In other words, indigenous sovereignty is tried to be acknowledged for their political participation.

In terms of the result of the 2nd last plebiscite, which was held on September 4, 2022, Chileans have voted 'No' to the proposed constitution which was made by the special Constituent Assembly. Although Chilean wanted to change the constitution in a plebiscite in 2020, according to official results of the Electoral Service of Chile 61,89 percent of votes rejected the proposed constitution.

Table 3 *Results of 2022 Constitutional Plebiscite in Chile* [35]

Votación Total por Opción
Plebiscito Constitucional 2022

Opción	Votos	Porcentaje	Selección
1. APRUEBO	4.859.103	38,11%	
2. RECHAZO	7.891.415	61,89%	
Válidamente Emitidos	**12.750.518**	**97,86%**	
Votos Nulos	**200.881**	**1,54%**	
Votos en Blanco	**77.340**	**0,59%**	
Total Votación	**13.028.739**	**100,00%**	

[34] Original name in Spanish *medioambiente*
[35] The official data from the Electoral Service of Chile, retrieved from https://historico.servel.cl

It is hard to know the reasons why Chilean rejected although they approved writing a new constitution plebiscite by a 78,31 percent majority. It is obvious that in the Table 5, there is an almost 100% increase of voters in the 2nd last plebiscite. The reason can be searched in the turnout of the plebiscite. The participation rate so-called turnout is the highest in Chilean electoral history which is 85,86 percent in total in Table 4. According to the turnout comparison Table 5 that was used by Carrasco (2022), there are 5,460,170 new balloters who went to 2nd plebiscite. The new voters who went to the ballot box in the 2nd last election highly influenced the result of this plebiscite. One possibility can be the reaction of traditional identities to give power to marginalized identities.

Table 4 *Turnout of 2022 Constitutional Plebiscite in Chile* [36]

Participación Total
Plebiscito Constitucional 2022

Votación	Total Mesas	Inscritos Total	Total Votación	Porcentaje
En Chile	38.472	15.076.690	12.969.229	86,02%
En Extranjero	285	97.215	59.510	61,21%
Total Votación	**38.757**	**15.173.905**	**13.028.739**	**85,86%**

[36] The official data from the Electoral Service of Chile, retrieved from https://historico.servel.cl

Table 5 *Turnout Comparison between Plebiscites and Elections in 2020, 2021 and 2022 in Chile* [37]

Election	Turnout %	Nº of voters	Difference with the previous election
1st referendum (2020)	50.9%	7,560,893	-
Conventional members election (May 2021)	43.4%	6,458,760	-14.6%
Presidential election (December 2021)	55.7%	8,364,534	29.5%
2nd referendum (September 2022)	85.8%	13,021,063	55.7%

	Turnout %	Nº of voters
Turnout difference between 1st referendum and 2nd referendum	-72.2%	-5,460,170
Turnout difference between Conventional Member Election and 2nd referendum	-101.6%	-6,562,303

In a country where neo-liberal policies were harshly implemented and devastated in terms of severe inequalities and the loss of democratic values, the transition would not have been expected immediately. Rejection of the new proposed draft constitution plebiscite is not an end in Chile. Regardless of the rejection result, Chile is in an ongoing process of transition to have a free and democratic constitution. In other words, it is expected that the constitution writing process and negotiations will be continued by the pluralist approach that meets every people in the society. This is what radical democracy said. According to Varlı (2022), Topal stated that the middle class in Chile has withdrawn their support for the radical democracy project for the time being. The proposed draft Constitution explicitly committed to more freedom and equality given to genders, sexual identities, and indigenous peoples. It may be disturbed the sensitivities of the Catholic conservative middle class in Chile. It can be stated that there is hesitation together with hope related to this transition. Rejection of the draft constitution may be seen as a short pause. However, this pause also has the

[37] Carrasco, M. (2022). Why we failed to approve the new Chilean constitution: the need for a cultural transformation. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/latamcaribbean/2022/09/15/why-we-failed-to-approve-the-new-chilean-constitution/

power to pave the way for creating political conditions to promote radical democracy and the institutionalization of inclusion.

It is a couple of steps forward from the beginning. It should not be expected in a one-shot. The existence of that kind of struggle is still worthwhile to investigate. The transition itself is a value. Even if it had been completed, the transition would also be a part of this investigation and won't be independent research on this topic. For these radical democratic attempts, Chileans, who transformed their commitments to democracy into victory through a leader who paid attention to their demands and expectations through the attempts of constitutional changes, should be congratulated. Rejection of the new draft constitution can open the way for 'reject to restart' or pave the way 'approve to reform' in the next chapter of Chilean political history.

All in all, students' mobilization is seen as the visible and powerful form in this country. The common point of being an opposition form is occurring from the below not from above. Zilla (2022, p.5) expresses that "The new actors have not had a career in institutionalized and hierarchical parties but mostly derive their experience from students' unions and social movements with more horizontal and network-like organizational structures." The members of society in all segments have an important and crucial role in Latin America to shape Latin American politics. The leaders who hear from the demands and expectations of society always take support from the ground. Rojas (2021) expressed that Chile's rising left makes neoliberal domination impossible to continue its domination indefinitely. The newly elected government led by Gabriel Boric tries to prevent this domination as well.

It is evaluated that the Republic of Chile is on the edge of a more democratic regime. It is obviously hard to create a more democratic and inclusive regime after almost 20 years rule of dictatorship. However, Chile's commitments are quite visible to replace the country's neoliberal and dictatorship constitution by the leadership of young leftist populist leader Gabriel Boric. His victory shows that organized social movements have the possibility to direct the country's political road into a new visionary and radical path.

CONCLUSION

"In this world which is losing faith in so called representative democracy, there are new developments in participatory democracy. These are very interesting developments, reflecting the revitalization of community power with a more and more active presence of minorities in political life, including the presence of women who are of course by no means a minority."

Attributed to Eduardo Galeano

Latin America is a region that cyclically experienced problems regarding democratic regression by several undemocratic interruptions. Latin American democracies also went through severe challenges and obstacles. However, the feeling of belonging of citizens to the idea of democracy never ends. It can be argued that the idea of democracy in this region is persistently stable and exists all the time even during democratic recession periods that the region experienced. The idea of democracy is resilient with the support of society by demanding equal and fair representation. It is not wrong to say that idea of democracy and the motivation of people tto democracy are all exist in the contestation of Latin American people all the time for a genuine, strong democracy. Although there were obstacles in the region coming from different motives or actors who prevented the consolidation of democracy, it is analyzed in this research that democracy is an internal phenomenon of the society in the understanding and awareness of the political structure of their countries. From this point of view, the efforts of Latin American people in searching for democracy by raising their voices all the time in history even authoritarian regimes show their enormous commitment to democracy.

It can be said that there have been undemocratic practices in the region throughout Latin American history. At the same time, Latin American democracy history has witnessed democratic victories. Therefore, Democracy in Latin America is motional and preserve its uniqueness from the other type of democracies in the world. Looking at Latin American Democracy through the lens of Liberal Democratic understanding

is not inclusionary and embracive. It may lead to an insufficient evaluation of democracy in Latin America. One-sided, universalized western liberal representative democracy has had its day since the neoliberal era to today. This one-sided, shallower determinations can, unfortunately, take the directions of upcoming democracy studies in Latin America away far from its demystification. Democracy in Latin America preserves its distinctiveness. It is still not demystified; it is under transition and seems to go Radical Democracy but developments are so news to make clear-cut assumptions.

It is already stated that implementations and developments which are compatible with the Radical Democracy paving the way for flourishing substantive democratic values in the region with the rising leftist political pendulum. Rising left-wing political actors and parties with their discourses, manifestations and promises have the power to strengthen the 'Latin American Democracy'. The future of democracy in Latin America is not evaluated as weak and vulnerable under the lights of current political development. Moreover, the resurgence of the left will give hope for the other nations of Latin American countries after Chile and Colombia which are the countries that have been examined for their democratic advancements. The new governments in these 2 countries obviously give voice to all members of the society regardless of their gender, race, religion, ethnicity, nation or any other discriminatory factors.

Today, after passed two decades of the 21st century, is the right time to make a fresh and updated analysis of democracy over again in Latin America from a Radical Democratic point of view. The resurgence of the Left in the region that already started to 'New Pink Tide' discussion in the literature by the victories of Boric and Petro are important turns to analyze the region comprehensively. All developments mentioned in the thesis are quite relevant to the tenets of radical democratic theory. It is believed that this new attempt with regards to observing a different democratic lens will prevent seeing democracies from a single monograph as a Western dynamic and Western process of formation.

It is not rejected that each approach regarding democracy is consistent and meaningful. Yet, it does not mean that they have paradoxes that lie at the heart of concepts of populism and democracy. It is not the intention of this study to reject the values of liberal democracy in the political and social environment. It is not denied the claims of liberal democracy. However, there could be a different path for the analysis of Latin American democracy because liberal democratic implementations with neoliberal pressure could not deal with the social and economic inequalities in the region, conversely, it increased the gap. Thus, the re-interpretation of Latin American democracies will open the re-examination of the concept related to democracy by changing the dominant political pendulum as left in the region.

From the lights of all the above analysis regarding the differences between theories of democracy, on one hand there is a consensus about the main procedural and substantive values of democracy by different theorists. However, all indicators and developments show that Latin America already in the transition to radical democratic implementations because of the making out of crise of liberal democratic implementations related to representation, inequality, deterioration of substantive values of democracy. On the other hand, Latin America is a region where democratic strengthening which is tried to be ensured by the tenets of radical democracy. All in all, Democracy Studies hold an important position in the literature all the time. It is a vivid phenomenon that remains its thrillingness in the ongoing research. This situation is undeniable because democracy is evaluated as a core question of fact connected with all other thematic phenomena such as populism, social wealth, participation, citizenship, equality and state-society relations. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with democracy is always a prominent topic and this matter of debate is sharply scaled up due to the increasing consciousness and aspirations of the individual in the society to have a better future in their region. The massive social movements in overall Latin America and especially in the case countries Colombia and Chile are proofs of this awakening and consciousness.

From this point of view, Latin America is a shining region even in the period of liberal democratic backsliding of the 21st century in the world because its in own transition to Radical Democratic implementations.

This characteristic of the region comes from its idiosyncratic disposition toward its own breakdown into unique democratic understanding and strengthening substantive democratic values in the light of the last elections, which have been completed the victories of leftist leaders who produced inclusive discourse and pursued election campaigns embraced the society as a whole. Latin American nations' fighting for democratic values than ever before and raising consciousness about their political participation have never been seen before in their political spectrum. Exclusion of popular demand of the society, exclusion of others, marginalization, and bad faces of neoliberalism that cannot be withheld anymore lie at the heart of raising consciousness to genuine democratic order.

Although it may be an assertive hypothesis, the winner of the competition -if there exists- between democracy and authoritarianism will always be democracies. There can be, unfortunately, the recession of the transition; however, in the end, values of democracy flourished from the ashes in Latin America under favor of the commitments of Latin American nations to democratic values.

It is inevitable that groups who were excluded and marginalized used their right to protest and to organize themselves to show counterbalance to inequalities in their countries. It is argued considering the whole discussion in the research that the struggles that Latin American people faced have contributed to a process of democratization of societies in line with radical democratic values and to support the transition to radical democracy by eliminating liberal democratic defaults.

All developments in the selected case countries will possibly be hope for Latin American countries who are open to being affected by each other and even were already affected since they have historical commonalities, geographical proximity and similar social, political, and economic conditions.

It is not wrong to say that the democratic projects of Gustavo Petro, Gabriel Boric, Luis Arce who is the successor of Evo Morales started to rethink the nature of democracy in an age of globalization through practices of radical democracy in their countries. Watson (2002) clearly indicated in the same manner that 'representing a politics of resistance to globalization that cultivates a project of radical democracy.'

I as a researcher on Latin America take my hat off to Latin American societies who insist on greater democracy and expanded political participation and never desist from their better future even their history of democracy is interrupted by undemocratic regimes: military governments and authoritarian regimes. It is evaluated that 'A Left Turn' defining resurgence of the left is a welcome sign of deepening democracy in the region by the tenets of radical democratic implementations. By this research, it is aimed at - understanding democracy in Latin America through case countries Colombia, Chile and Bolivia by the lens of the Radical Democratic perspective that overlaps the Latin American diversified environment in terms of identity, political opinion and expectations of the society.

REFERENCES

Abatay, B. (2022, November 3). *Sol, Brezilya ve Latin Amerika: 'İkinci Pembe Dalga' Nasıl Yayıldı?* BBC News Türkçe. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/c8vg81v1l96o

Akcay, U. (2018, March 20). *Neoliberal Popülizm ve yeni emek rejimi*. 1+1Express. https://birartibir.org/neoliberal-populizm-ve-yeni-emek-rejimi/

Akgemci, E. (2015). Neoliberalizmin Laboratuvarında Direniş: Şili Kışı'nın Penguenleri. *Mülkiye Dergisi*, *39*(2), 179–216.

Armony, V. (2005). *Populism and neo-populism in Latin America*. Université de Montréal. http://www.cccg.umontreal.ca/pdf/armony%20udm%202005.pdf

Arnold, S. P. (2020, November 13). *Bolivia's (re)turn to the left: The significance of Luis Arce's electoral victory*. Global Risk Insights. https://globalriskinsights.com/2020/11/bolivias-return-to-the-left-the-significance-of-luis-arces-electoral-victory/

Ashford, N. (2012). *Özgür toplumun ilkeleri*. Liberte Yayınları.

Barber, B. (2003). *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*. University of California Press.

Bartlett, J. (2021, December 20). *Who is Gabriel Boric? The radical student leader who will be Chile's next president*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/dec/20/who-is-gabriel-boric-the-radical-student-leader-who-will-be-chiles-next-president

Bebbington, A. (2010). Radical Democracy in the Andes. *Mountain Research and Development*, *30*(4), 405–406. https://doi.org/10.1659/mrd.mm073

Benitez, A., & Chovanec, D. (2008). The Penguin Revolution in Chile: Exploring Intergenerational Learning in Social Movements. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, *3*(1), 39–57. https://doi.org/10.20355/C5SG6J

Bennett, B., & Barton, G. (2017). Generalizations in Global History: Dealing with Diversity without Losing the Big Picture. *Itinerario*, *41*(1), 15–25. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115317000067

Beriş, H. E. (2019). Demokrasiye Neler Oluyor? Popülizm ve Otoriterleşme Tartışmalarına Bir Bakış. *Liberal Düşünce Dergisi*, *24*(96), 27–53. https://doi.org/10.36484/liberal.621730

Bermeo, N. (2016). On Democratic backsliding. *Journal of Democracy*, *27*(1), 5–19. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2016.0012

Bertelsmann Stiftung. (2022). *BTI 2022 Chile Country Report*. https://www.bti-project.org.

Biekart, K. (2005). Seven theses on Latin American social movements and political change: A tribute to André Gunder Frank (1929-2005). *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies | Revista Europea De Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe*, (79), 85. https://doi.org/10.18352/erlacs.9664

Blanco, L., & Grier, R. (2013). Explaining the rise of the left in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review*, *48*(1), 68–90. https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2013.0011

Bolaños, E., & Daniels, J. P. (2022, July 20). *Former guerrilla Gustavo Petro wins Colombian election to become first leftist president*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jun/20/former-guerrilla-gustavo-petro-wins-colombian-election-to-become-first-leftist-president

Bollen, K. (1993). Liberal Democracy: Validity and Method Factors in Cross-National Measures. *American Journal of Political Science*, *37*(4), 1230. https://doi.org/10.2307/2111550

Briscoe, I. (2022, June 20). *Gustavo Petro's big win*. Foreign Affairs. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/colombia/2022-06-19/gustavo-petros-big-win

Bueno, R. L., & Datta, A. (2011). *The politics of Evo Morales' rise to power in Bolivia: The role of social movements and think tanks*. http://dx.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.2747.8649

Butzlaff, F., & Messinger-Zimmer, S. (2020). Undermining or defending democracy? The consequences of distrust for democratic attitudes and participation. *Critical Policy Studies*, *14*(3), 249–266. https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2019.1584120

Cabot, C. (2022, June 20). *Francia Marquez: From maid to Colombia's first Black vice president*. France 24. https://www.france24.com/en/americas/20220620-francia-marquez-from-maid-to-colombia-s-first-black-vice-president

Cachanosky, N., & Padilla, A. (2019). Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century. *The Independent Review*, *24*(2), 209–226.

Carrasco, M. (2022, September 15). *Why we failed to approve the new Chilean Constitution: LSE Latin America and Caribbean*. LSE Latin America and Caribbean Blogs. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/latamcaribbean/2022/09/15/why-we-failed-to-approve-the-new-chilean-constitution/

Cernadas, G., & de los Santos, M. (2022, June 6). *A second left-wing progressive wave is emerging in Latin America*. MR Online. https://mronline.org/2022/06/06/a-second-left-wing-progressive-wave-is-emerging-in-latin-america/

Chovanec, D. M., & Lange, E. A. (2007). Formative, Restorative and Transformative Learning: Insights into the Critical Consciousness of Social Activists. *Adult Education Research Conference*, 133–138. Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada: New Prairie Press.

Ciccariello-Maher, G. (2016). *Building the commune: Radical democracy in Venezuela*. Random House.

CISAC. (2019). *Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)*. Center for International Security and Cooperation. Retrieved August 17, 2022, from https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/revolutionary-armed-forces-colombia-farc

Cınar, S. (2019). Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Universitesi Kolombiya'da Barış Anlaşması ve Askerileşme 1. *COMU International Journal of Social Sciences*, *4*(2), 289–301. https://doi.org/10.31454/usb.634649

Cohen, S. D. (2022, June 28). *Colombia's Historic Pact*. The Baffler. https://thebaffler.com/latest/colombias-historic-pact-cohen

Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL). (2020, August 3). *Report of the fourteenth session of the regional conference on women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Publication | Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. Retrieved January 15, 2022, from https://www.cepal.org/sites/default/files/events/files/s2000518_en.pdf

Conway, J., & Singh, J. (2011). Radical democracy in global perspective: Notes from the pluriverse. *Third World Quarterly*, *32*(4), 689–706. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2011.570029

Correa-Chica, A., Gluecker, A., & López-López, W. (2022). The FARC in Colombia: Collective Reintegration and Social Identity Transformation. *Political Psychology*, *43*(2), 359–374. https://doi.org/10.1111/POPS.12765

Crush, J. (2014, September 29). *Is there a single conception of democracy?* E-International Relations. https://www.e-ir.info/2014/09/29/is-there-a-single-conception-of-democracy/

Dahl, R. A. (1971). *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. Yale University Press.

Dahl, R. A. (1998). *On democracy*. Yale University Press.

Dahlberg, L. (2013, March 6). *Radical Democracy in Contemporary Times*. E-International Relations. https://www.e-ir.info/2013/02/26/radical-democracy-in-contemporary-times/

Dalton, R. J., Shin, D. C., & Jou, W. (2007, May 18). *Popular conceptions of the meaning of democracy: Democratic understanding in unlikely places*. eScholarship, University of California. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2j74b860

de la Torre, C. (2007). The Resurgence of Radical Populism in Latin America. *Constellations*, *14*(3), 384–397.

de La Torre, C. (2014). Populism in Latin American politics. *Research in Political Sociology*, *22*, 79–100. https://doi.org/10.1108/S0895-993520140000022003

de Moor, J. (2017). Lifestyle politics and the concept of political participation. *Acta Politica*, *52*(2), 179–197. https://doi.org/10.1057/AP.2015.27

di Tella, T. S. (1997). Populism into the Twenty-first Century. *Government and Opposition*, *32*(2), 187–200. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1477-7053.1997.TB00157.X

Durutürk, B. (2018). Küreselleşme ve Kimlik Politikaları: Liberal Demokrasinin Alternatifleri. *Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *9*(16). https://doi.org/10.26466/opus.471134

Duverger, M. (1975). *Siyaset Sosyolojisi*. Varlık Yayınları.

Dworkin, R. (2006). *Is Democracy Possible Here?: Principles for a New Political Debate*. Princeton University Press.

Escobar, A. (2018). *Designs for the Pluriverse: Radical Interdependence, Autonomy, and the Making of Worlds*. Duke University Press.

Fernández, A. M., & Sotelo, M. R. (2022). Manifesting democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, *47*(3), 337–345. https://doi.org/10.1080/08263663.2022.2110715

Ferretti, P. (2022, November 1). *Gabriel Boric Won in Chile Thanks to Popular Mobilization*. https://www.rosalux.de/en/news/id/45704/gabriel-boric-won-in-chile-thanks-to-popular-mobilization

Filc, D. (2015). Latin American inclusive and European exclusionary populism: colonialism as an explanation. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, *20*(3), 263–283. https://doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2015.1075264

Freedom House. (2021). *Chile 2021 Country Report*. https://freedomhouse.org/country/chile/freedom-world/2021

Freedom House. (2022). *Chile 2022 Country Report*. https://freedomhouse.org/country/chile/freedom-world/2022

Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The End of History and the Last Man*. Penguin.

Gandesha, S. (2018). Understanding right and left populism. *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*, 49–70. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv9hvtcf.7

Gilbert, M. (1992). *On Social Facts*. Princeton University Press.

Goenaga, A. (2016). Democracy in Latin America. *Political Science*. https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199756223-0189

Goldman Environmental Community. (2022, November 9). *Francia Márquez - Goldman Environmental Prize*. Retrieved May 16, 2022, from https://www.goldmanprize.org/recipient/francia-marquez/

Goodin, R. E. (2007). Enfranchising All Affected Interests, and Its Alternatives. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, *35*(1), 40–68. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1088-4963.2007.00098.X

Gopal, S. (2022, November 15). *A world leader declares 2022 the year we stamp out patriarchy*. The Remarkable Women. https://www.theremarkablewoman.com.au/insights/a-world-leader-declares-2022-the-year-we-stamp-out-patriarchy

Güzel, M. N. (2018). Antik Demokrasi ve Modern Demokrasi Kavramlarının Kuvvetler Ayrılığı İlkesi Çerçevesinde Değerlendirilmesi. *Dicle University Journal of Law Faculty*, *23*(38), 205–231.

Heiss, C. (2021). Latin America Erupts: Re-founding Chile. *Journal of Democracy*, *32*(3), 33–47. https://doi.org/10.1353/JOD.2021.0032

Hershberg. (2009). Democracy in Latin America: A Review of Recent Literatıre. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, *34*(68), 19208. https://doi.org/10.2307/2082603

Hislop, M. (2022). *Bolivia's President declares 2022 "The Year of the Cultural Revolution to Eliminate the Patriarchy."* https://womensagenda.com.au/latest/bolivias-president-declares-2022-the-year-of-the-cultural-revolution-to-eliminate-the-patriarchy/

Huber, E., & Stephens, J. D. (2012). *Democracy and the Left*. The University of Chicago Press.

Huneeus, A. (2022, August 31). *Win or lose, Chile's draft constitution heralds a new era of climate constitutionalism*. Verfassungsblog: On Matters Constitutional. https://dx.doi.org/10.17176/20220831-181822-0

Huntington, S. P. (1991). Democracy's third wave. *Journal of Democracy*, *2*(2), 12–34. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.1991.0016

Inter-American Development Bank (2006). *Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples*. Retrieved October 17, 2022 from https://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=691261

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance-IDEA. (2020, November 2). *National Plebiscite in Chile: Voters approve drawing up a new constitution and that it be done by a Constitutional Convention. What are the next steps?* Retrieved October 19, 2022 from https://www.idea.int/news-media/news/national-plebiscite-chile-voters-approve-drawing-new-constitution-and-it-be-done

Ionescu, G., & Gellner, E. (1970). *Populism: Its meanings and national characteristics.* Weidenfeld Goldbacks.

Kaufman, R. (n.d.). *Democracy in Latin America: Historical perspectives and contemporary challenges.* LASA FORUM. Retrieved November 16, 2022, from https://forum.lasaweb.org/files/vol49-issue3/Guillermo-ODonnell-2.pdf

Klein, N. (2008). *The Shock Doctrine*. Penguin Books.

Klobucista, C., & Renwick, D. (2017). *Colombia's Civil Conflict*. Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/colombias-civil-conflict

Kothari, A., Salleh, A., Escobar, A., Demaria, F., & Acosta, A. (2019). *Pluriverse a post-development dictionary*. Tulika Books.

Laclau, E. (2005). *On populist reason*. Verso.

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. Verso.

Large, J., & Tauss, A. (2021, December 12). *In Latin America, the Long Shadow of Colombia's Far-Right Is Receding*. https://jacobin.com/2021/12/colombia-right-wing-uribismo-2022-election-petro

Leijssenaar, B. (2017). The Demos as a Plural Subject. *Netherlands Journal of Legal Philosophy*, *1*, 37–64. https://doi.org/10.5553/NJLP/221307132017046001004

Levine, D. H., & Molina, J. E. (2007). *The quality of democracy in Latin America: Another view*. Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies.

List, C., & Koenig-Archibugi, M. (2010). Can there be a global demos? An agency-based approach. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, *38*(1), 76–110. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1088-4963.2009.01174.x

Longley, R. (2019, July 31). *What is pluralism? definition and examples*. ThoughtCo. https://www.thoughtco.com/pluralism-definition-4692539

Magalhães, P. T. (2021). *The Legitimacy of Modern Democracy*. Routledge.

Malinowski, M., & Fuentes, V. (2021, December 20). *Leftist Millennial Elected President in Chile After Running on Higher Taxes, a Green Economy and Greater Equality*. https://time.com/6130126/gabriel-boric-elected-chile-president/

Mancheno, C. M. (2012). *La dictadura plebiscitaria: neoconstitucionalismo y construcción de un nuevo régimen político. El Ecuador a inicios del siglo XXI* [Unpublished Master Thesis]. Universidad Andına Simón Bolívar Sede Ecuador.

Meiser, J. W. (2018, February 18). *Introducing Liberalism in International Relations Theory Written Introducing Liberalism in International Relations Theory*. https://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/18/introducing-liberalism-in-international-relations-theory/

Miller, D. (2009). Democracy's domain. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, *37*(3), 201–228. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1088-4963.2009.01158.X

Montero, M. G. (2021, March 16). *A new left turn in Latin America?*. https://latinoamerica21.com/en/a-new-left-turn-in-latin-america/

Montes, J. E., & Vial, T. (2005). *The Role of Constitution-Building Processes in Democratization*. http://www.idea.int/conflict/cbp/

Mouffe, C. (2005). *On the Political*. Taylor & Francis Group.

Mouffe, C. (2008). Which World Order: Cosmopolitan or Multipolar? *Ethical Perspectives*, *15*(4), 453–467. https://doi.org/10.2143/EP.15.4.2034391

Mouffe, C. (2013). *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically*. Verso.

Mouffe, C. (2018). *For a Left Populism*. Verso.

Negretto, G. L. (2021). Deepening Democracy? Promises and challenges of Chile's Road to a New Constitution. *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, *13*, 335–358. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40803-021-00158-2

Oropeza, J., & Perron, M. (2013, June 11). *Citizen participation in Latin America: Innovations to strengthen governance*. ELLA. http://ella.practicalaction.org/wp-content/uploads/files/130516_CitPar_GOV_GUIDE.pdf

Özdemir, G. (2013). Farklılıkların Kesiştiği Coğrafyalar İçin Bir Öneri: Radikal Demokrasi. *Yönetim ve Ekonomi*, *20*(73–93), 20–21.

Pavel, C. E. (2014). *Divided sovereignty: international institutions and the limits of state authority*. Oxford University Press.

Perez, O. C. (2021). Inclusive Citizenship as the Horizon of Leftwing Governments in Latin America. *Journal of the Brazilian Political Science Association*, *15*(2). https://doi.org/10.1590/1981-3821202100030006

Perkins, D. D. (2010). Empowerment. In *Political and Civic Leadership: A Reference Handbook* (pp. 207–218). SAGE Publications Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412979337.n25

Post, J. M. (2009). Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). *The World's Most Threatening Terrorist Networks and Criminal Gangs*, 235–245. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230623293_11

Postero, N. (2010). The Struggle to Create a Radical Democracy in Bolivia. *Latin American Research Review*, *45*(S), 59–78. https://doi.org/10.1353/LAR.2010.0035

Propuesta Constitución Política de la República de Chile (2022). Retrieved November 4, 2022, from https://www.chileconvencion.cl/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Texto-Definitivo-CPR-2022-Tapas.pdf

Richards, D. G. (1997). The Political Economy of the Chilean Miracle. *Latin American Research Review*, *32*(1), 139–159. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0023879100037705

Riding, A. (1986, May 18). *Colombian Rebels Join in elections*. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/1986/05/18/world/colombian-rebels-join-in-elections.html

Roberts, K. M. (1998). *Deepening democracy?: The modern left and social movements in Chile and Peru*. Stanford University Press.

Rojas, I. (2021, December 18). *Şili siyasi devrime adım adım ilerliyor*. Birgün. https://www.birgun.net/haber/sili-siyasi-devrime-adim-adim-ilerliyor-369814

Rose, M. (2016, December 30). *Samuel Huntington "Political Development and Political Decay" Summary*. https://ourpolitics.net/samuel-huntington-political-development-and-political-decay-summary/

Rueda, M. (2022, August 7). *Gustavo Petro Taking Oath as Colombia President*. Time. https://time.com/6204259/gustavo-petro-colombia-president/

Sanín, G. F. & Guataquí, J. C. (2009). *The Colombian case: Peace-Making and Power Sharing The National Front (1958-1974) and New Constitution (1991-2002) experiences*. http://web.worldbank.org/archive/website01241/WEB/IMAGES/COLOMBIA.PDF

Scherz, A. (2013, May). *The Legitimacy of the Demos: Who Should Be Included in the Demos and on What Grounds?* Living Reviews in Democracy. http://www.livingreviews.org/lrd-2013-1

Scott, R. (1987). The Adolescence of Institutional Theory. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *32*(4), 493–511. https://doi.org/10.2307/2392880

Scott, S. D. (2001). *Transition to democracy in Chile: Two Factors*. The University of Montana. https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/3938

Seminario, M. (2020, October 5). *The 2020 Chilean plebiscite: Overview, citizen engagement, and potential impact*. The 2020 Chilean Plebiscite: Overview, Citizen Engagement, and Potential Impact | Center for Strategic and International Studies. https://www.csis.org/analysis/2020-chilean-plebiscite-overview-citizen-engagement-and-potential-impact

Sen, A. K. (1999). Democracy as a universal value. *Journal of Democracy*, *10*(3), 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.1999.0055

Somma, N. M. (2022). Social protests, neoliberalism and democratic institutions in Chile. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, *47*(3), 436–457. https://doi.org/10.1080/08263663.2022.2110783

Song, S. (2012). The boundary problem in Democratic theory: Why the demos should be bounded by the State. *International Theory*, *4*(1), 39–68. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1752971911000248

Sørensen, E. (2011). *Enhancing democracy through inter-demos governance networks*. NCCR Democracy. https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=ff6ccb2df0b42ac0b0f185c68c9cbe04437865f7

Spicker, P. (2008). Government for the people: the substantive elements of democracy. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, *17*, 251–259. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2397.2008.00556.x

Spronk, S. (2008). Pink tide? neoliberalism and its alternatives in Latin America. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, *33*(65), 173–186. https://doi.org/10.1080/08263663.2008.10816944

Statista Research Department. (2021, July 5). *Number of fatalities in the armed conflict in Colombia between 1958 and 2018*. https://www.statista.com/statistics/987115/number-fatalities-armed-conflict-category-colombia/

Steele, A., & Schubiger, L. I. (2018). Democracy and civil war: The case of Colombia. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *35*(6), 587–600. https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894218787780

Titelman, N. (2022, September 8). *Why Did Chileans Reject the Draft Constitution?*. NACLA Reporting. https://nacla.org/why-did-chileans-reject-draft-constitution

Tobar, M. R. (2021, June 3). *Chile's Constitutional Convention: a triumph of inclusion*. https://www.undp.org/latin-america/blog/chiles-constitutional-convention-triumph-inclusion

United Nations Security Council. (2021). *Children and armed conflict in Colombia*. https://alertastempranas.defensoria.gov.co/Alerta/Tablero

Urbinati, N. (1998). Democracy and populism. *Constellations*, *5*(1), 110–124. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8675.00080

Urbinati, N. (2013). The populist phenomenon. *Raisons Politiques*, *51*(3), 137. https://doi.org/10.3917/rai.051.0137

Uyanık, Ö. (2022, June 21). *Nihayetinde sol, Kolombiya'da iktidara geldi* . https://www.indyturk.com/node/524101/t%C3%BCrki%CC%87yeden-sesler/nihayetinde-sol-kolombiyada-iktidara-geldi

van Cott, D. L. (2000). A Political Analysis of Legal Pluralism in Bolivia and Colombia. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *32*(1), 207–234. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022216x99005519

van Cott, D. L. (2008). *Radical Democracy in the Andes*. Cambridge University Press.

van Cott, D. L. (2010). Indigenous peoples' politics in Latin America. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *13*, 385–405. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.032708.133003

van Deth, J. W. (2014). A conceptual map of political participation. *Acta Politica*, *49*(3), 349–367. https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2014.6

van Deth, J. W. (2016). What is political participation? *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.68

Varlı, İ. (2022, September 8). *Anayasa, 'orta sınıf hassasiyeti'ne takıldı*. BirGün. https://www.birgun.net/haber/anayasa-orta-sinif-hassasiyeti-ne-takildi-401921

Venice Commission. (2022). *Chile Opinion on the Drafting and Adoption of a New Constitution*. Council of Europe Venice Commission. https://www.venice.coe.int

Verba, S., & Nie, N. H. (1972). *Participation in america: Political democracy and social equality*. The University of Chicago Press.

Vermehren, I. O. (2021, May 24). *Chile will write its new constitution building on a more diverse, plural and female 'we'*. University College London. https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/dpublog/2021/05/24/chile-will-write-its-new-constitution-building-on-a-more-diverse-plural-and-female-we/

Vilas, C. M. (1998). Keeping abreast of Latin America's dynamics. *Latin American Perspectives*, *25*(6), 101–102. https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582x9802500624

Volk, C. (2021). On a radical democratic theory of political protest: potentials and shortcomings. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, *24*(4), 437–459. https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2018.1555684

Warren, M. E. (1996). What Should we Expect from More Democracy?: Radically Democratic Responses to Politics. *Political Theory*, *24*(2), 241–270. https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591796024002004

Watson, I. (2002). An Examination of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) and New Political Participation. *Democracy & Nature*, *8*(1), 63–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/10855660120117674

Weyland, K. G. (2004). Neoliberalism and democracy in Latin America: A mixed record. *Latin American Politics and Society*, *46*(1), 135–157. https://doi.org/10.1353/lap.2004.0012

Weyland, K., Madrid, R. L., & Hunter, W. (2010). *Leftist Governments in Latin America Successes and Shortcomings*. Cambridge University Press.

Williams, R. (2019, August 14). *How neoliberal principles failed the people of Latin America*. Medium. https://medium.com/lessons-from-history/how-neoliberal-principles-failed-the-people-of-latin-america-57ed0b80b7bb

Wolff, J. (2011). *Challenges to democracy promotion: The case of Bolivia*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Wolff, J. (2013). Towards post-liberal democracy in Latin America? A conceptual framework applied to Bolivia. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *45*(1), 31–59. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022216x12000843

Yturbe, C. (1997). On Norberto Bobbio's Theory of Democracy. *Political Theory*, *25*(3), 377–400. https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591797025003003

Zakaria, F. (1997). The rise of illiberal democracy. *Foreign Affairs*, *76*(6), 22–43. https://doi.org/10.2307/20048274

Zilla, C. (2022). Gabriel Boric assumes office in Chile: A “hinge presidency” launched amidst constitutional process. *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)*. https://doi.org/10.18449/2022C18

APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Demokrasi literatürü genel olarak farklı ülke ve bölgelerdeki demokrasi geleneklerini Liberal Demokrasinin temel ilkeleri ve kurumsal işleyişi perspektiflerinden değerlendirip, kavramsallaştırarak analiz etme eğilimindedir. Bu eğilim küreselleşme kuramlarının etkisiyle daha güçlenmiş görünmektedir. Bu süreçte, Latin Amerika bölgesi özelinde demokrasi anlayışının farklılaşabileceğini savunan bir literatür de bulunmaktadır. Bu bakımdan Radikal Demokrasi Teorisinin, Latin Amerika'da 'Sola Dönüş' olarak belirginleşen Sol siyasi iklimi anlamak için kullanılabilecek uygun demokrasi teorilerinden biri olduğu bu tezde savunulan temel argümandır.

Latin Amerika'da son yıllarda gerçekleşen hükümet değişikleri ve toplumsal huzursuzluk, liberal demokrasinin mevcut kabulüne meydan okumaya başlamıştır. Başka bir deyişle, bölgede yükselen sol siyasi hareket, Batı ve Küresel Kuzey ile özdeşleştirilen ana akım liberal demokrasi anlayışını sorgulatmaya başlamıştır. Bu noktadan hareketle Bolivya, Kolombiya ve Şili'de yaşananlar bu sorgulama neticesinde alternatif kurumsal çerçeve olan Radikal Demokrasi Teorisinin prensipleri ile değerlendirilmiştir. Bu değerlendirme ile tezin örnek ülkelerinin Radikal Demokrasiye geçiş süreci anlaşılır hala getirilecektir.

"Latin Amerika'da solun yeniden dirilişi olarak ortaya çıkan siyasi iklim doğrultusunda mevcut demokrasi literatürünü nasıl anlamlandırabiliriz?" sorusuna radika demokrasi tartışmaları ışığında yanıt aramak bu bakımdan önemlidir. Bu araştırma sorusuna cevap bulmak için tez beş bölüme ayrılmıştır. Birinci bölüm liberal demokrasi krizlerine ve alternatif kurumsal bir yaklaşımın mümkün olabileceğine ilişkin giriştir. İkinci bölüm demokrasi ilkelerine ilişkin teorik bakış açılarını değerlendirir. Üçüncü bölüm Latin Amerika'da popülizm, neoliberalizme geçiş ve demokratikleşme tartışmalarının bölgeye özgü ve küresel nitelikli tartışmalarını analiz

etmeyi amaçlar. Bu bölüm, Latin Amerika'da demokrasi tartışmalarını derleyen genel bir bölüm olarak tasarlanmıştır. Dördüncü bölüm, ikinci bölümde yer alan tüm teorik yaklaşımlar ve üçüncü bölümde yer alan Latin Amerika demokrasisini solun 'Yeni Bir Pembe Dalga' olarak yeniden dirilişi' argümanı göz önünde bulundurularak; kapsayıcı vatandaşlık ve çoğulcu ve siyasal katılımın arttırıldığı bir siyasi düzen etrafında incelenmektedir. Beşinci bölüm ise Bolivya, Kolombiya ve Şili özelinde Radikal Demokrasiye geçiş ile ilişkilendirilebilecek siyasi ve toplumsal göstergeleri incelemektedir. Bu göstergeler: yeni seçimlerin sonuçları, temsilin genişletildiği çeşitlilik, toplum tarafından büyük ölçüde desteklenen partilerin seçim kampanyaları, eşitliği, insan ve cinsiyet haklarını, sosyal ve çevresel refahı ve demokrasi fikrini pekiştiren yükselen popülist söylem, anayasa değişiklikleri ve halk oylaması süreçleri ve sosyal hareketlerin başarısı olarak ele alınmıştır.

Latin Amerika'da Demokrasi ve Popülizm

Latin Amerika demokrasi tarihinde küresel kapitalizmin kriz ve genişleme dinamiklerine de paralel olarak demokratik ilkelerin güçlendiği ve gerilediği dönemler mevcuttur. Bu durum Latin Amerika demokrasisinin bölgenin ekonomik ve politik dengelerinin değişkenlik içerisinde olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu değişkenlik, demokrasiyi devamlı olarak yeniden açıklamaya ve her zamankinden daha açık bir kavram haline getirme gerekliliğine neden olmuştur. Yani, istikrarlı bir çizgide denemeyecek Latin Amerika demokrasisi, Latin Amerika çalışmalarının dikkat çekici fakat bir o kadar da zor bir tartışmalarından olmuştur. Diğer taraftan, Latin Amerika'da demokrasi tartışmaları popülizm literatürü ile geçişkenlikler göstermektedir. Demokratik kurumlar ve ilkelerin popülizm bağlamında bölge özelinde nasıl bir kendine özgü nitelik edindiği önemli bir analiz konusu olagelmiştir. Hatta "Yirmi birinci yüzyılın başlangıcı, Latin Amerika'daki popülist olarak nitelenen hükümetlerin rönesansı olarak karakterize edilir" Cachanosky & Padilla (2019, s.209). Bu yorumu anlamlandırmak Latin Amerika coğrafyası için hiç de zor değildir çünkü Liberal Demokrasi, neo-liberal politika uygulamaları ve Liberal Demokrasinin temsil

mekanizmalarındaki krizler, demokrasi çalışmalarında popülist siyasetin bölgedeki önemli etkisi hakkında yeni tartışmalara zemin oluşturmuştur. Bu tartışmalardan hareketle, Radikal Demokrasi Teorisi ve Popülizm, liberal demokratik düzende devlet-toplum ilişkilerinde yaşanan meşruiyet ve temsil krizi ile birlikte Latin Amerika demokrasisi için beraber ele alınan kavramlar olmuştur.

Latin Amerika siyaseti açısından popülizm, demokratik gelenek ile iç içe geçmiş temel kavramlardan biridir. Popülizm bu coğrafya için demokrasi ile ilişkilendirilen vazgeçilmez bir kavramdır demek yanlış olmaz. Di Tella (1997) popülizmin Latin Amerika'daki siyasi yelpazenin kalıcı bir bileşeni olduğunu savunur. İyi bilinen popülizm örneklerinin de Latin Amerika'dan geldiğini ekler. De La Torre (2007) ayrıca popülizmin çok önemli bir demokratikleştirici güç olduğunu ve daha önce dışlanmış olanı siyasal iklime dahil ettiğini savunur. Latin Amerika'da popülizm, "halkın iradesinin üstünlüğü"nü (Ionescu & Gellner, 1970) ve "farklılıklara kapalı siyasi sistemin genişletilmesini amaçlayan siyasi aktivasyon"unu (De La Torre, 2014) öne çıkaran bir stratejiyle ilişkilendirilir. Bu bağlamda popülizm, demokrasi çalışmalarında, özellikle Latin Amerika demokrasileri üzerine yapılan araştırmalarda hatırlanması gereken tamamlayıcı bir praksistir. Popülizm, toplumun taleplerinin karşılanmadığı ve toplumun karar alma sürecinden dışlanmış hissetmeye başladığı koşullara karşı bir tür yüzleşmedir. Bu bakımdan Urbinati (2013) popülizmin "siyaseti halka götürmek" ve "halkı siyasete getirmek" olarak kavramsallaştırılabileceğini ifade etmiştir. Siyasete katılma potansiyeli olan her bireyin ya da daha önceleri siyasetten dışlanmış kişilerin katılımına verdikleri önemle siyasete dahil edilmesidir. Özetle, Latin Amerika'da sol popülizmin bölge siyasetinde liberal demokrasinin krizlerini ifşa eden ve farklı bir demokrasi prensipleri çerçevesinde dönüştüren olumlu bir dinamik olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Demos ve Demokrasi Teorileri

Kümülatif bir anlayışla tartışmalara konu olan Demos kavramı siyasal katılım haklarına sahip bireylerden oluşan bir yönetimin siyasal öznesidir. Latin Amerika'da

Demos bölgenin heterojenliği ve çeşitliliği nedeniyle 'Demos'ların genişletilmesi' ve 'Demos'ların çeşitlendirilmesi' tartışmaları ile literatürde kendine yer bulmuştur. Etnik köken, dil, milliyet, din, cinsiyet kimliği ve siyasi kaygılar açısından zenginliğiyle Latin Amerika, bölgede her zamankinden daha çeşitli ve işlevsel olması gereken yeni Demos'lar fikrini büyük ölçüde gerekli kılmaktadır. 'Bu nasıl mümkün olabilir?' sorusu zor bir sorudur çünkü bölgede çeşitlenen ve genişleyen Demos'lara karar verecek ve yeni Demos'ların gözünden demokrasi anlayışını belirleyecek bir algoritma yer almamaktadır. Liberal Demokrasinin krizi göstermiştir ki: Liberal Demokrasi perpektifinden Demos, Latin Amerika'da toplumu genel olarak kapsayan bir kavram değildir. Bu da beraberinde dışlayıcılık, kısıtlayıcı vatandaşlık ve temsilde yetersizlik gibi sorunları gün ışığına çıkarmıştır. Radikal demokratik geçiş döneminde öğrenci hareketlerinin, yerli hareketlerin, sendikal hareketlerin güçlenmesi, Latin Amerika'da Demos kavramının genişletilmesi ve karar alma süreçlerinde daha kapsayıcı ve aktif katılıma öncelik verilmesi gerekliliğini göstermiştir. Yani bir kavram olarak Demos, temsil ve siyasal katılımla yakından ilişkilidir.

Demos'lar arasındaki uyum da 'Sola Dönüş' olarak adlandırılan bu dirilişten olumlu yönde etkilenmiştir. Popülist liderlerin kapsayıcı söylem üretmesinin bölgedeki Demos'ların kompozisyonunu çeşitlendirdiği ve Demos'lar arası uyumu güçlendirdiği inkâr edilemez. Latin Amerika'da genişleyen ve çeşitlenen Demos tartışmaları, demokrasi konusunda Demos için de yeni bir bakış açısı geliştirme ihtiyacını doğurmuştur. Bu gereklilik, Latin Amerika'da ve özellikle bu tez için seçilen örnek ülkelerdeki göstergeleri ve siyasi iklimi şekillendiren öğrencilerin, kadınların, yerli halkın ve LGBTIQ topluluğunun yani toplumun bir parçası olan herkesin meşru talepleri vesilesiyle gelişen radikal demokratik geçiş ile değerlendirilmiştir.

Demokrasi Teorileri

Liberal Demokrasi bu araştırmada çoğulculuğa uzaklığı ve çoğunlukçuluğa eğilimi açısından ele alınmıştır. Liberal Demokrasi, çoğulcu bir bakışla siyasal katılım ve

farklılıkların temsiline yönelik artan talep ile sınanmaktadır çünkü Liberal Demokrasi, bireyselliğe ve homojenliğe yaptığı vurgular ile çoğulcu bir bakış getirememektedir. Liberal Temsili Demokrasi, toplumdaki azınlıkları ve dezavantajlı grupları yok sayma eğilimi gösterdiği için bütüncül bir demokrasi anlayışı açısından nihai bir sorundur. Latin Amerika'nın heterojen yapısı nedeniyle liberal demokrasi kavramsallaştırmasına tedbirli yaklaşılmaktadır. Bu nedenle de Latin Amerika'da Radikal Demokrasi Teorisi; kimlik, etnik köken, ırk, toplumsal cinsiyet ve siyasal katılım açısından heterojenliği başka bir ifadeyle çeşitliliği savunması doğrultusunda alternatif bir demokrasi teorisi olarak analiz edilir.

Ernesto Laclau ve Chantall Mouffe'un (1985) Hegemonya ve Sosyalist Strateji (HSS) adlı çalışmalarında, artan toplumsal çatışmaları çözümleyemeyen liberal demokrasinin krizlerinden hareketle yeni bir demokrasi kavramsallaştırması olan Radikal Demokrasi Teorisini savunmuşlardır. Radikal Demokrasi, kimlik ve farklılık ilişkisine dayalı bir demokrasi teorisi anlayışıdır. Başka bir deyişle modern devleti farklılıklarla anlamaya çalışan demokratik bir teoridir.

Radikal Demokrasi, Liberal Demokrasi ile kapsamlı siyasal katılımın göz ardı edilmesi, çok seslilik ve kolektif taleplerin benimsenmemesi gibi belirgin sonuçların olduğunu ifade eder. Aynı doğrultuda Özdemir (2013) Radikal Demokrasinin tüm kimlik farklılıkları, sivil girişimler, yeni söylemler ve buna bağlı olarak yeni toplumsal hareketler, azınlıklar, çevreciler, dini gruplar ve toplumsal cinsiyet dahil olmak üzere farklılıkların kesiştiği coğrafyalar için uygun bir model olduğunu işaret etmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, dışlama ve marjinalleştirme yerine dahil etme ve kapsayıcılık sıklıkla vurgulanmaktadır. Teori, Latin Amerika'daki mevcut siyasi iklimle oldukça uyumludur çünkü Solun bölgede; eşitlik, çeşitlilik ve çoğulculuk söylemleriyle yeniden canlanması toplumsal ve siyasi hayata derinden yayılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, Radikal Demokrasi, çoğulculuk ve çok seslilik vizyonunu her yönüyle açıklamak ve anlatmak üzerine kavramsallaşmalar üreten ve Latin Amerika coğrafyasında yaşanan mücadeleleri anlamlandırmayı kolaylaştıracak bir teoridir.

Radikal demokrasi ile rekabetçi demokrasi dalgası hızlanır. Bireyler, liberal demokrasinin zayıflattığı siyasal bilincini yeniden kazanır ve siyasi özneler olarak taleplerini dile getirebilecekleri, sermayenin ve neoliberal hegemonyanın dayattığı karar alma gücünü etkileme gücünün varlığına inandırıldıkları bir demokratik iklime dahil edilir çünkü bir topluma demokratik olma niteliğinin atfedilmesi sadece sınırlı olanı temsil edebilme yeteneği ile verilemez bütünü temsil edebilme kabiliyeti ile verilebilir. Latin Amerika'da Radikal Demokrasiye geçiş sürecinde gözlemlenen tam da budur.

Latin Amerika Demokrasisini Yeniden Düşünmek

Latin Amerika demokrasisi; askeri rejimler, darbeler, diktatörlükler ve katı neoliberal uygulamalar ile iç içe geçmiş durumdadır. Bölge, özellikle 1970'lerde askeri rejimler, diktatörlükler ve otoriter rejimler yaşamıştır. Şili'den Meksika'ya kadar birçok Latin Amerika ülkesi askeri rejimlerle yönetildiği bir süreç deneyimlemiştir. 1980'ler ve 1990'larda bölgede gelişen neoliberal politikalar ise zenginlik, refah ve eşit fırsatlar açısından Latin Amerika toplumlarının tamamını desteklemek için yeterli olamamıştır. Dolayısıyla neoliberalizm; toplumda giderek büyüyen eşitsizliği ve demokratik olmayan koşulları engelleyemediği gibi derinleştirmiştir. Gelir uçurumu giderek artmış ve neoliberal politikaların siyasi bir çıktısı olarak insanlar siyasal katılımdan dışlanmıştır.

Başka bir ifadeyle Latin Amerika, bölgede demokratik gelişmeyi tökezleten neo-liberal politika uygulamalarının bir laboratuvarıdır. Neo-liberalizmin ya da neo-liberal hegemonyanın krizi, mevcut demokratik düzenin sorgulanmasına zemin hazırlamıştır. Eşit siyasal katılımın ve çoğulculuğun zayıflaması, neo-liberalizmin bölgede yol açtığı demokratik gerilemenin sonuçlarıdır. Ayrıca kitlesel yoksullukla birlikte sefalet, sömürü, insan hakları ihlalleri, ekolojik tahribat, hayatın her alanında baskıcı ilişkilerin sürdürülmesi ve kutuplaşmanın yükselişi neoliberalizmin bölgedeki çirkin yüzleridir. Neoliberalizmin boş vaatleri ve çirkin gerçeklerinden sonra Latin Amerika ülkelerinin

popülist-sol ideoloji eğilimli liderler eliyle yapıyı değiştirmeye hazır göründüğü değerlendirilmektedir.

Bu durumların neden olduğu çelişkili sosyal ve siyasi ilişkiler Latin Amerika'yı, bölgede son zamanlarda güçlenen 'Sola Dönüş'ün ev sahibi yapmıştır. Bu koşullar altında, bölgede yükselen Sol hareketle birlikte 'Sola Dönüş', neoliberal dönem sonrası geleceğe dair umutları ve beklentileri tazelemiştir. Vilas'a (1998) göre Sol etrafında kümelenme: neoliberal küreselleşmenin olumsuz etkilerinin takip ettiği, onlarca yıllık baskıcı ve saldırgan otoriter yönetimin sonucudur. 'Pembe Dalga' *(Pink Tide)* hükümetlerinin ortaya çıkış zamanı, 1990'ların sonunda neoliberal politikaların olumsuz sonuçlarının iyice belirginleştiği bu dönemle örtüşür. 'Pembe Dalga' hükümetlerinden başlayarak bölgede sol kanat popülist liderlerin yükselişiyle Radikal Demokratik uygulamalar da görünür hale gelmiştir. Radikal Demokratik uygulamalardaki fikirsel çerçeve: siyasi aktörlerin toplumdaki kutuplaşmayı ve sosyal eşitsizliği önlediğinde bölgede demokrasiyi güçlendirebileceği yönündedir. Sosyal ve siyasal eşitsizlikle mücadelede, siyasal katılımın arttırılması ve kapsayıcı vatandaşlık bu hedefi gerçekleştirmenin anahtarlarıdır. Bu anahtarlar, kutuplaşmanın yükselişi ile türeyen ötekileştirici ve marjinalleştirici siyasetin panzehir siyaseti olarak görülmektedir. İyileştirici adımlar atan, kapsayıcı siyaset ve söylem üreten aktörlerin, "Sola Dönüş" üzerinden başarılarını göstermeye başladıkları hem tezin örnek ülkeleri olan Bolivya, Kolombiya ve Şili'de hem de Latin Amerika coğrafyasının genelinde fark edilmektedir.

1990'ların sonu ve 2000'lerin başında Pembe Dalga hükümetleri ile başlayan sol eğilim 2018 yılı itibariyle hızlanmıştır. López Obrador'un 2018'de Meksika başkanı seçilmesi, Latin Amerika'da 'Sola Dönüş' inşası olarak adlandırılan ikinci dalga olarak kabul edilebilir (Cernadas & de los Santos, 2022). Pembe Dalga'nın halefleri olarak yeni sol kanat liderler bölgede gerçek demokrasiye ve siyasal katılımın teşvikine yönelik söylemler ve politika üretmektedirler. Bu geçişe ve dönüşüm dalgasına yön veren liderler kitleler tarafından büyük destek görmektedirler. Bölgedeki yeni sol aktörler, siyasal katılımı ve çoğulculuğu teşvik ederek iyi organize edilmiş popülist söylem ve siyasi kampanyalar ile birleştirerek, Radikal Demokrasinin değerlerini

pekiştirmek adına motivasyon sahibidirler. Bu durum Latin Amerika'da Liberal Demokrasi anlayışında bir kırılma yaşandığını ve Radikal Demokrasiye geçişin sinyalleri olarak kabul edilmektedir. Aynı zamanda Latin Amerika'nın çeşitliliği ve kendi dinamikleri tarafından tasarlanan gerçek bir demokrasiye sahip olma olasılığı konusunda insanların gözünde makul yeni bir vizyon yarattığı ifade edilmektedir.

Özetle, Magalhães (2021) yüzyılımızın yirmi yılı içindeki siyasi yelpazenin liberal olmayan bir demokrasi olasılığını yeniden gündeme getirdiğini savunur. Bu argüman Latin Amerika için iki şekilde değerlendirilmektedir. İlki, liberal demokrasinin bölgedeki temel demokratik değerleri güçlendirmede daha da başarılı olamayacağıdır. İkincisi, kendi bölgesel dinamikleri ve siyasi kültürüyle ilişkilendirilen bölgeye özgü daha uygun bir demokrasi kavramsallaştırmasının bölgeyi anlama noktasında daha başarılı olabileceğidir: Radikal Demokrasi.

Popülist liderlerin görünürlüğünün yüksek olduğu sol eğilimli partilerin son seçim zaferleri ve daha demokratik uygulamalara yönelik anayasal reformları, ilgili reformların katılımcı referandum süreçleri ve her zamankinden daha eşitlik yanlısı ve kapsayıcı vatandaşlık vurgusu yapan yeni yasaların çıkarılması, Radikal Demokrasiye geçişin gerekçeleri olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Bolivya, Kolombiya ve Şili seçimleri, toplumun geniş kitlelerinin desteğini alan sol kanat popülist liderlerin zaferleriyle sonuçlanmıştır. Evo Morales'in varisi Luis Arce 2020'de Bolivya'da seçimleri kazanmıştır. Kolombiya'nın ilk sol kanat lideri olarak Gustavo Petro'nun 2022'deki büyük galibiyetinin, sol ideoloji eğilimli liderlerin zafer serisinin bir devamı olarak kabul edilmektedir. Eskiden bir öğrenci topluluğu lideri olan Gabriel Boric Şili'de beklenenden daha büyük bir farkla oyların %56'sını alarak Başkan seçilmiştir. Bütün bu liderlerin Latin Amerika siyaset sahnesindeki zaferlerinin, Sol'un; demokrasi, özgürlük ve insan haklarına olan bağlılığını güçlendirmeye yardımcı olacak muazzam bir olasılığa sahip olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Ekim 2022'de Lula da Silva'nın zaferi ile de Brezilya başkanlık seçimlerinin de benzer bir yönde olması beklentisi gerçekleşmiş olmuştur. Böylelikle solun yeniden dirilişi neredeyse tüm Latin Amerika ülkelerine yayılmış ve Latin

Amerika'nın yakın gelecekte sol-popülist liderler tarafından yönetilmeye başlanacağının göstergesi olmuştur.

Latin Amerika'da bütün bu gözlemlenenler Liberal Demokrasi krizinin çıktılarıdır. Latin Amerika'da kriz sistemden dışlanan, marjinalleştirilen ve temsil problemi yaşayan kesimler tarafından temsil edilmektedir. Hal böyle iken de Radikal Demokrasi; çoğulculuğu, genişletilmiş temsili ve herkese yanıt verilebilir olma prensipleri ile bölgede yükselen Sol tarafından uygulanabilir ve pratikte sonuç alınabilir bir liman olmuştur.

Latin Amerika toplumlarında demokrasiyi anlamaya dönük yeni tartışmalar, Robert (1998) tarafından literatürün iki farklı bakış ile konum alması açısından değerlendirilir: "kurumsallaşmış çoğulculuk olarak demokrasi" ve "halkın güçlendirilmesi olarak demokrasi". Son dönemde yükselen sol siyasi iklim ile Latin Amerika demokrasisini bu iki pozisyonun geçerli ve birbirini destekleyici nitelikte olması bakımından önemlidir. Kurumsallaşmış çoğulculuk ve halkın güçlendirilmesi radikal bir demokratik zemin oluşturmak için birbirini beslemektedir.

Çoğulculuğun demokrasinin temel bir unsuru olarak kabul edildiği savunulmaktadır. Çoğulculuğun temel güvencesi, temsil ve siyasete katılma hakkına uzlaşı getiren çatışma, diyalog ve müzakere süreçlerini de kapsar. Ayrıca bu güvence, çoğunlukçuluğun demokrasi önündeki engel olduğunun da kabulüdür. Radikal Demokrasinin kurumsallaşmasının temel ilkeleri çoğulculuk ve çok seslilik olarak ifade edilmiştir. Radikal Demokrasi anlayışının araştırmanın örnek ülkelerinde çokseslilik, aktif katılım, farklılıkların da yönetilebilirliği, kapsayıcı vatandaşlık ve kurumsal zeminde söz hakkına sahip olmaları yönünde bir dönüşüme yol açtığı ifade edilmektedir.

Yeni Pembe Dalga

Latin Amerika'da Yeni Pembe Dalga *(New Pink Tide)* olasılığı, sol kanat liderlerinin bir dizi zaferinden sonra literatürde tartışılmaya başlanan oldukça yeni bir tartışmadır. 2018 yılında Meksika'da başlayan sol zaferler, ardından Arjantin, Bolivya, Kolombiya, Şili ve son olarak Brezilya ile devam etmiştir. Neo-liberal yıkım, temsil krizi, yüksek enflasyon ve pandeminin olumsuz etkileri bölgedeki sağ iktidarların tasfiye edilmesinin önünü açan sebeplerin başında gelmiştir. Mevcut siyasi iklim, ya Kolombiya, Brezilya ve Şili'deki gibi sağ hükümetlerin değişiminde ya da Bolivya'daki gibi sol hükümetin devam etmesiyle şekillenmiştir.

Yeni Pembe Dalga liderlerinin hak ve eşitlik anlamında kesişen konulara ilişkin farkındalığı oldukça yüksek görünmektedir. Yeni Pembe Dalga'nın siyasi gündemi, Pembe Dalga hükümetlerinin ağırlıkla odaklandığı yüksek enflasyonla mücadele, yoksulluk, eşitsizlik, derinleşen gelir uçurumu ve neoliberal yıkımın olumsuz etkilerinin yanı sıra çevre sorunları, LGBTIQ hakları, yerli halkın kimlik ve temsil talepleri, kapsayıcı vatandaşlık ve siyasal katılımın teşvik edilmesi de olmuştur. Öyle görünüyor ki insana ve topluma dair her konu demokrasinin konusudur. Her anlamda çeşitliliğe uyarlanabilir, çok seslilik ve çoklu ajanda gündemi bu bakımdan Yeni Pembe Dalga'nın özünü oluşturmaktadır.

Ülke İncelemeleri

Çok Uluslu Bolivya Devleti

Bolivya, demokrasi tarihi ve son dönemdeki demokratik iklimin gelişimi açısından Radikal Demokrasiye geçiş doğrultusunda araştırılması gereken önemli bir ülkedir. Bolivya, bu tezde ağırlıklı olarak yerli halkın siyasal katılımını, temsilini ve demokrasi

ilişkilerini göstermek için kullanılmıştır. Yerli halkın anayasal olarak tanınması ve kapsayıcı vatandaşlık sayesinde siyasal katılım artmıştır. Daha eşit temsil talep edebilmeleri ve siyasal sistemdeki çeşitliliği doğrulayacak yerli kökenli partiler kurabilmeleri Bolivya'daki gelişmeleri yerli halkın radikal demokratik deneyimlerini göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda Bolivya, Radikal Demokrasi teorisinin başlıca prensibi olan çoğulculuğu destekleyen Yerli Hareketini analiz etme yönüyle incelenmiştir.

Radikal Demokrasiye geçiş, Bolivya'nın yerli ilk başkanı olan Evo Morales Ayma tarafından başlatılmıştır. Evo Morales, yerli halkın talepleri doğrultusunda anayasal reformlar ve daha kapsayıcı politikalar yürürlüğe koyarak ülkenin siyasal sistemini dönüştüren bir siyasi aktördür.

Morales'in seçim kampanyası boyunca öne çıkan söylemi, daha kapsayıcı ve eşitlikçi olacak yeni bir anayasa oluşturmak olmuştur. En nihayetinde Bolivya, ülkeyi çok uluslu, katılımcı ve çoğulcu olarak tanımlayan Anayasasına 2009 yılında kavuşmuştur. Anayasal değişiklik, radikal demokratik ilerlemenin kurumsallaşmasının net adımlarından biridir. Bir diğer nokta ise siyasal katılımın arttırılmasıdır. 2009 Anayasası ırk, etnisite veya cinsiyet bakımından herhangi bir sınırlama olmaksızın siyasal katılımın koruma altına alındığını göstermektedir. Bu da temsilin çeşitlendirilmesinin önünü açmaktadır. Morales hükümetinin kabinesi de cinsiyet, etnik köken ve kültürel kimlik açısından bu çeşitliliğe sahiptir. Morales'in halefi olan Luis Arce de çeşitlilikik açısından Morales' benzer bir kabine ile halihazırda ülke yönetimindedir.

Arce'nin zaferinin, çoğulculuğu teşvik etmek ve siyasal katılımı teşvik etmek açısından Morales'in ideoloji paketinin bir devamı olduğu değerlendirilmiştir. Bu zafer, MAS'ın Bolivya toplumunun gözünde iyi bir meşruiyete sahip olduğunu bir kez daha kanıtlamıştır.

Kolombiya Cumhuriyeti

Kolombiya Cumhuriyeti, Mouffe tarafından önerilen demokrasinin radikalleşmesine örnek bir diğer Latin Amerika ülkesidir. Diğer bir deyişle, Kolombiya Radikal Demokrasi teorisinin test edildiği önemli ülkelerden biridir.

Kolombiya'daki radikal demokratik uygulamalar, 2016'da Kolombiya Devrimci Silahlı Güçleri (FARC) ile imzalanan Barış Antlaşması üzerinden ve ülkedeki toplumsal hareketlerin tetiklediği kapsayıcı vatandaşlık ve temsilin çeşitlenmemesi üzerinden okunabilir. 2016 yılı Kolombiya'da bir dönüm noktasıdır. Kolombiya Devleti ile FARC arasında yaşanan Barış Anlaşması ile geçmiş ilişkiler dönüşüme uğramış ve Radikal Demokrasinin savunduğu şekliyle düşman yerine yeni bir siyasi rakip yaratma prensibi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Yani çekişme demokratik bir yarış olarak siyasi arenaya taşınmıştır.

Bir diğer gelişme ise: Kolombiya tarihinde ilk kez solcu bir lider tarafından yönetilecektir. Siyasi iklim açısından, Kolombiya siyasi tarihinde hiçbir zaman sol bir lider tarafından yönetilmemiştir. Ülke her zaman ya askeri yönetimin ya da aşırı sağcı blokların egemenliği altında olmuştur. 2022'de Gustavo Petro'nun galibiyetiyle keskin bir kırılma yaşandığı gözlemlenmektedir. Kolombiya Tarihi Paktı, Gustavo Petro'yu Başkan ve Francia Márquez'i Başkan Yardımcısı olarak aday gösteren koalisyondur. Eski gerilla, kongre üyesi ve eski Bogota belediye başkanı Gustavo Petro, Haziran 2022'de seçimlerden galip ayrılmıştır. Francia Márquez ise onun yardımcısı yerli Afro-Kolombiyalı kimliğiyle ülke tarihinin ilk siyahi Kadın Başkan yardımcısı olmuştur. Ülkede sol kanatın eşitlik ve adalet yanlısı ilham verici sokak protestolarının ve seçim yarışında gösterdikleri söylemsel başarının Kolombiya'yı Latin Amerika'da sağın kalesi olmayı engellediği değerlendirilmektedir. Seçimlerden çıkan bu tarihi sonuç Kolombiya'daki ilk halk zaferi olarak da değerlendirilmektedir.

Petro ve Márquez'in adaylık döneminden zafere kadar olan süreç, tarihinde sol bir iktidarın olmadığı Kolombiya'da radikal demokratik dönüşümün sinyalleri olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Radikal demokrasinin temel argümanı olan birbiri ile etkileşim içinde olan çoğulculuk, politikaların ve vaatlerin farklılaşması ve kapsayıcılığının artması bu sinyalleri destekler niteliktedir. Van Cott'un (2000) belirttiği gibi bu etkileşim Kolombiya'da öyle görünüyor ki; yerli halk, gençler ve LGBTIQ topluluğu gibi daha önceleri marjinalize edilmiş veya dışlanmış toplulukların kültürel yabancılaşmasını yıkarak, siyasal sistemdeki çeşitliliğe karşı hoşgörüyü artırarak gerçekleştirilmektedir.

Şili Cumhuriyeti

Şili neo-liberal politika uygulamalarının bir dizi toplumsal hareketler, protestolar ve bütün bunların neden olduğu kapsamlı bir anayasal değişiklik sürecine götürmesi gerekçeleri ile bu araştırmanın örnek ülkelerinden biri olarak seçilmiştir. Şili, askeri müdahaleler ve cunta yönetimleri nedeniyle anti-demokratik rejimlerin yaşandığı Latin Amerika ülkelerinden biridir. Şili aynı zamanda neoliberal politika uygulamalarının Latin Amerika'daki laboratuvarı olmuştur. Tüm bunlar Şili'de demokratikleşme sürecini uzatmış ve halen günümüz siyasetini etkileyen izler bırakmıştır.

Otoriter ve neoliberal rejimlere tepkiler, Şili'de toplumsal hareketlerin yükselişiyle sonuçlanmıştır. Şili yakın tarihindeki Toplumsal Hareketler, halkın taleplerini harekete geçirmesi ve demokratik bir ortam yaratması açısından önemlidir. 2019 yılındaki protestoların ülkede Solun yeniden canlanmasında tetikleyici bir etkiye sahip olduğunu kabul etmek yanlış olmaz. Ancak 2019 öncesindeki protestoların geriliminin 2000'li yılların ortalarından itibaren arttığını da belirtmek gerekir. 2000'li yıllardan bu yana farklı zamanlarda ortaya çıkan bir dizi güçlü Toplumsal Hareket gözlemlenebilir. Bu nedenle 2019'daki protestoların Şili'yi yeni anayasa müzakere sürecine

yönlendirmede nasıl kümülatif etkili bir güce sahip olduğunu anlamak için, ülkenin yakın geçmişindeki toplumsal huzursuzlukları anlamak gerekmektedir. 2006'daki 'Penguen Devrimi'ne ve 2011'deki 'Şili Kışına' yol açan öğrenci hareketleri yakın tarihin en önemlilerindendir. Toplumsal hareketlerin eklemlenerek ilerleyen doğası gereği 2019 protestolarının; ulusal ölçekte bir toplumsal ayaklanma haline gelmesini ve bir anayasal değişiklik ve demokratik yenilik süreci başlattığı öne sürülür.

Şili'deki Anayasal değişiklik süreci, önerilen yeni anayasanın çeşitlilik, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği, çevresel kaygılar ve genişletilmiş sosyal hakların kabulünü barındırması açısından Radikal Demokrasiye geçiş göstergeleri olarak kabul edilir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, mevcut 1980 anayasasından keskin bir kayma olduğu söylenebilir. Şili'yi yeni anayasa yazımı referandumuna götüren süreç, Radikal Demokrasiye geçiş argümanını güçlendiren önemli bir gelişmedir.

Ulusal halk oylaması (referandum) Şili'de 25 Ekim 2020 gerçekleştirildi. Bu oylamada Şili halkına 2 soru: yeni bir anayasa isteyip istemedikleri ve yeni anayasayı nasıl bir yapının hazırlamasını tercih ettikleri soruldu. Şili Seçim Dairesi'nin verilerine göre, seçmenlerin yüzde 78,31'inin yeni anayasa yapımını istemiştir. Ayrıca Şili halkı yeni anayasanın nasıl bir yapı tarafından yapılması konusuna oyların yüzde 79,18'i ile yeni bir kurucu meclis yanıtı vermiştir. Şilililerin tercihi ile 155 kişiden oluşacak Kurucu Meclis tarafından yeni bir anayasa hazırlanmıştır. Bu meclisin kurulması ve kompozisyonu Radikal Demokrasiye geçişin başka bir önemli göstergelerinden biri olmuştur.

Kurucu Meclis, yerli ve azınlık halka yer vermesi ve cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanması açısından önemlidir. Kurucu Meclis toplam 78 erkek ve 77 kadından oluşur ve toplam 17 erkek ve kadın temsilci yerli halktandır. Altı üye ise LGBTIQ topluluğunun üyeleridir ki bu da seçilen meclisin oluşumunda herhangi bir ayrımcı girişimin engellendiğini göstermektedir. Bu kapsayıcı ve çoğulcu girişimlerin Radikal Demokratik Teori'nin çoksesliliği argümanını sağladığını söylemek yanlış olmaz. Bu oluşumu, kendisi de kurucu meclisin bir üyesi olan Heiss (2021, s.33) "Kurucu

Meclis’in Şilililerin giderek daha fazla kopuk hissetmeye başladıkları bir demokrasiyi derinleştirme ve canlandırma fırsatına sahip olduğu" şeklinde ifade eder.

Tüm Anayasal Müzakere süreci Gabriel Boris ve partisinin zaferi değerlendirilmeden ele alınmamalıdır. Gabriel Boric, Şili'nin gelmiş geçmiş en genç lideridir. Boric, 19 Aralık 2021'de Başkanlık seçimlerinin 2. Turunda sandıktan toplam oyların %55,8'ini alarak galip gelmiştir. Daha önceleri ülkedeki öğrenci hareketlerinin lideri olan Boric, örgütlenme becerisini ülkenin demokrasiye dönüşü için siyasete taşımıştır. Radikal demokratik dönüşüm onun söylemlerinde, seçim kampanyalarında ve kabine yapısında da görülmektedir.

Boris’in partisi *(Social Convergence)* şuanda ülkede solun yeniden dirilişini temsil etmektedir. Parti ekonomik, sosyal ve kurumsal demokrasinin güçlendirilmesi ve derinleştirilmesine dayalı, sosyalist, demokratik, özgürlükçü ve feminist bir topluma ulaşmaya kendini adamış vatandaşların siyasi bir örgütüdür. Parti bilinçli olarak çoğulcu ilkelerle ve tüm farklılıkları dikkate alarak yönetmeyi hedeflemektedir. Bolivya’da olduğu gibi Şili’yi çok uluslu devlet olarak adlandırılma arzusu, Şili'deki Radikal Demokrasiyi kurumsallaştırma girişimlerinden biridir. Tam bu noktada, Latin Amerika'nın farklılıkların limanı olduğunun ve radikal demokrasinin farklılıkları barındıran coğrafyalar için en uygun demokrasi biçimi olabileceğinin altını bir kez daha çizmek gerekiyor.

Önerilen yeni anayasa metninde birden fazla radikal güncelleme var. Bu güncellemeler çevre, yerlilerin tanınması, çevre dostu oluşu, kapsayıcı vatandaşlık ve çok ulusluluk olarak kategorize edilebilir. Fakat, 4 Eylül 2022'de yapılan 2. halk oylamasında Şilililer, Kurucu Meclis tarafından hazırlanan yeni anayasa metnine 'Hayır' oyu verdiler. Şili, 2020'de referandum ile anayasayı değiştirmek istese de ikinci referandumda oyların yüzde 61,89'u ile önerilen anayasa metnini reddetti. Yeni anayasa referandumunun yazılmasını yüzde 78,31'lik bir çoğunlukla onaylayan Şili'nin önerilen yeni anayasayı neden reddettiğini bilmek elbette zordur. Önerilen yeni anayasa taslağının halk oylamasıyla reddedilmesi Şili için bir son değildir. Anayasa

taslağının reddi kısa bir duraklama olarak görülebilir. Ancak bu duraklama, radikal demokrasiyi ve kapsayıcılığın ve çok sesliğin kurumsallaşmasını teşvik edecek siyasi koşulların yaratılmasının önünü açma gücüne de sahiptir.

Şili son referandumda anayasa metnini reddetmiş olsa bile başlangıçtan bir adım ileridedir, Radikal Demokratik geçişin içerisindedir. Başlı başına bu adım bile verilen mücadelenin varlığını hala araştırmaya oldukça değer kılmaktadır. Geçişin kendisi bir değerdir.

Sonuç

Toplumun siyasal iktidardan talep ve beklentileri açısından, demokratik siyasetin bir çekişme ve uzlaşı siyaseti olduğunu söylemek doğru olur. Bu bağlamda, seçilen üç Latin Amerika ülkesindeki son gelişmeler, bu çekişmeyi ve beraberinde yaşanan radikal demokratik geçişi destekleyen ihtimaller sunmaktadır. Latin Amerika'daki yeni demokrasi vizyonunun Radikal Demokrasi perspektifi ile daha etkileşimli, daha katılımcı, herkese açık, daha dinamik, çoğulcu ve pratikte sonuç alabilme potansiyeline sahip olduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Bunu incelemeyi yaparak bu tezin literatüre olan katkısının, yalnızca Latin Amerika'da demokrasiyi tartışmaya açmak ve demokrasiyle ilgili olguları kavramaya çalışmak değil, aynı zamanda 2022 yılı itibariyle bölgede solun yeniden dirilişi olarak tanımlanan gelişmeler etrafında Latin Amerika demokrasi tarihinin geleceğine ilişkin varsayımları test etmek için bir zemin oluşturmaktır. Sonuç olarak, Latin Amerika demokrasisi henüz gizemi çözülebilmiş bir olgu değildir; Radikal Demokrasi bakış açısıyla dönüşmekte ve gelişmektedir. Latin Amerika'da demokrasiyi anlamlandırmaya çalışılırken sadece Liberal Demokrasi bakış açısıyla sınırlandırılmamalı ve buna hapsedilmemelidir. Latin Amerika'da demokrasiye odaklanacak sonraki araştırmalarda bu tezde ifade edilenlerin -pratik olarak

uygulanmaya başlayacağı bir zamanda test edilmeye başlanacağı- yararlı bir analiz işlevi göreceği düşünülmektedir. Ayrıca, mevcut demokrasi çalışmalarının 2022 yılı ve sonrası itibariyle bölgeyi değerlendireceği düşünülecek olursa, araştırmaların Latin Amerika'daki mevcut Sol hareket ve popülist hareket ile birlikte Latin Amerika demokrasini anlaması beklenmektedir.

Bütün bu noktalardan hareketle bu araştırmada, Radikal Demokrasinin kendi prensipleri ve argümanları ile Latin Amerika'da yeni bir dönemi -Radikal Demokrasiye geçiş olarak adlandırılan- açabileceği savunulmaktadır. Latin Amerika Radikal Demokrasi prensiplerinin ve argümanlarının vitrini haline gelmeye başlamış bir bölge olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Sonuç olarak: Solun yeniden dirilişi olarak tanımlanan bu 'Sola Dönüş'ün, özellikle bu teze konu olmuş örnek ülkeler: Bolivya, Kolombiya ve Şili'de Radikal Demokrasiye geçişin yansımaları olduğu değerlendirilmektedir. Bir Latin Amerika araştırmacısı olarak, gerçek demokrasi ve genişletilmiş siyasi katılımda ısrar eden; askeri hükümetler, otoriter rejim gibi demokratik olmayan rejimler tarafından kesintiye uğramış da olsa daha iyi bir gelecek umutlarından asla vaz geçmeyen Latin Amerika toplumlarının demokrasiye olan bağlılıklarına şapka çıkarıyorum.

B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences ☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : AYKAÇ
Adı / Name : OSMAN EREN
Bölümü / Department : Latin ve Kuzey Amerika Çalışmaları / Latin and North American Studies

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): The Transition to Radical Democracy in Latin America?: Insights from the Cases of Bolivia, Colombia and Chile

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ☒ **Doktora** / PhD ☐

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. /** Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☒
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years. *** ☐
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. ***** ☐

***** *Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

Yazarın imzası / Signature ..... **Tarih** / Date .....
(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)
(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)

Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.