THE INTERPLAY OF OLD AND NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN CHILE: CONTINUITIES AND TRANSFORMATIONS FROM THE PINOCHET ERA TO THE PRESENT

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ABSTRACT

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Beginning with the third quarter of the 20th century, the world experienced a tumultuous political and economic atmosphere. These chaotic circumstances echoed sharply across societies, especially in areas where responses tend to emerge first. In a short period, increasing levels of social movements transformed riveting phenomena that were necessary to scrutinize. These developments constituted layers of the discussion about social movements; one of them was between Old Social Movements (OSMs) and New Social Movements (NSMs). The debates in the literature have not reached a clear consensus on whether the relationship between OSM and NSM represents a rupture or a form of continuity. Nevertheless, both theories were insufficient when trying to elucidate some social movements. At this point, Chile becomes a sui-generis example regarding the historical process of economic and political patterns and their reflection on social movements. This thesis aims to explore the transformation of Chilean social movements through the lens of continuity between Old Social Movements (OSMs) and New Social Movements (NSMs), challenging the conventional dichotomy that separates them. By focusing on two pivotal episodes—the 2011 Chilean Winter and the 2019 Estallido Social, it examines how contemporary mobilizations were triggered from the historical

legacies of Pinochet's regime and his neoliberal transformation effort, which evolved social movements in Chile and constituted the continuation. Grounded in a Marxist theoretical framework and guided by an interpretive methodology, this study engages in discourse analysis to investigate how structural inequalities, ideological reproduction, and the legacy of the Pinochet regime continue to shape collective action.

Keywords: Chile, Neoliberalism, New Social Movements, Legacy of Pinochet, Old Social Movements

ÖZ

ŞİLİ'DE ESKİ VE YENİ TOPLUMSAL HAREKETLERİN ETKİLEŞİMİ: PİNOCHET DÖNEMİNDEN GÜNÜMÜZE SÜREKLİLİKLER VE DÖNÜŞÜMLER

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20. yüzyılın üçüncü çeyreğinden itibaren dünya, çalkantılı bir politik ve ekonomik atmosfer yaşamaya başladı. Bu kaotik koşullar, özellikle tepkilerin ilk olarak ortaya çıktığı toplumlarda keskin bir şekilde yankı buldu. Bu sebeple kısa bir süre içinde, artan toplumsal hareketler, incelenmesi gereken çarpıcı olgulara dönüşmüştü. Bu gelişmeler, toplumsal hareketler tartışmasına çeşitli katmanlar ekledi; bunlardan biri de Eski Toplumsal Hareketler ile Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler arasındaki ilişkidir. Literatürde, Eski ile Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler arasındaki ilişkinin bir kopuş mu yoksa bir devamlılık mı temsil ettiği konusunda net bir fikir birliğine varılamamıştır. Bununla birlikte, her iki teori de bazı toplumsal hareketleri açıklamada yetersiz kalmıştır. Bu noktada Şili, ekonomik ve politik örüntülerin tarihsel süreçteki gelişimi ve bunların toplumsal hareketlere yansıması açısından nevi şahsına münhasır bir örnek oluşturmaktadır. Bu tez, Şili'deki toplumsal hareketlerin dönüşümünü, Eski ve Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler arasındaki devamlılık merceğinden incelemeyi amaçlamakta ve bu iki hareket tipi arasındaki geleneksel ikili karşıtlığı sorgulamaktadır. 2011 Şili Kışı ve 2019 Sosyal Kalkışma gibi iki kritik döneme

odaklanarak, çağdaş toplumsal mobilizasyonların, Pinochet rejiminin tarihsel mirası ve onun neoliberal dönüşüm girişimlerinin etkisiyle nasıl tetiklendiğini ve bu süreçlerin hareketlerin evriminde nasıl bir devamlılık oluşturduğunu araştırmaktadır. Marksist bir teorik çerçeveye dayanan ve yorumlayıcı bir metodoloji ile yönlendirilen bu çalışma, yapısal eşitsizliklerin, ideolojik yeniden üretimin ve Pinochet rejiminin mirasının kolektif eylemleri nasıl şekillendirmeye devam ettiğini diskur analizi yoluyla incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Şili, Neoliberalizm, Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler, Pinochet'nin Mirası, Eski Toplum Hareketler

Dedico este trabajo al pueblo chileno, que nunca dejó de luchar por su dignidad.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFDD	Agrupación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos (Association of Relatives of the Detained Disappeared)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CODEPU	Corporación de Promoción y Defensa de los Derechos del Pueblo (Corporation for the Promotion and Defense of People's Rights)
CONFECH	Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile (Confederation of Chilean Students)
CORFO	Corporación de Fomento de la Producción (Production Development Corporation)
CNTC	Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores del Cobre (National Confederation of Copper Workers)
DINA	Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (National Intelligence Directorate)
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
FECh	Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile (Student Federation of the University of Chile)
FEMAE	Federación Mapuche de Estudiantes (Mapuche Student Federation)
FEUC	Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad Católica (Student Federation of the Catholic University)
FEUSACH	Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Santiago de Chile (Student Federation of the University of Santiago)
FPMR	Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez (Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front)
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialization
LGBTQI	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer and Intersex
LOCE	Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza (Organic Constitutional Law on Education)
MENA	Middle East and North African Region

MIR	Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Left Movement)
NSMs	New Social Movements
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSMs	Old Social Movements
PCCh	Partido Comunista de Chile (Communist Party of Chile)
PSU	Prueba de Selección Universitaria (University Selection Test)
UP	Unidad Popular (Popular Unity)
US	United States

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the second half of the 20th century, there has been a significant increase in studies on social movements. The massive mobilization of 1968 began in Western Europe and extended worldwide. Along with these developments, social movement studies have gone through several phases of conceptual development since its inception in the 1970s, mainly through disagreements and debates (Edwards, 2014, p.2). In the beginning, labour movements had articulated with the new generation of radicals who were the protagonists of the anti-authoritarian revolt of the late 1960s; thus, in the 1970s, the movements became much broader in terms of scopes and capabilities (Kriesi, 2004). Such complications including collisions that had not existed in movements at the beginning regarding the theoretical framework can explain the debates within the relevant literature.

The literature attempts to elucidate the process leading to social transformation through different theoretical frameworks. Given the strong macro-theoretical approach dominating the post-'68 period in Western social science, the opportunities for a backlash against macro-structural theorizing favouring micro-structural approaches have grown rapidly (Eder, 2014, p.36). The interest and transformation in social movement studies differed from the conditions of the earlier era. The transition to the détente period[1] followed the systemic conflict in the world during the 1970s,the stagnation of import substitution policies, and the cultural and lifestyle changes occurring in industrial societies (Edwards, 2014). This transformation, which began in Western countries, spread similarly to the rest of the world (Kriesi, 2004). However, this transformation was challenging to distinguish theoretical

[1] The détente period was a phase of relaxed tensions and improved diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

aspects of social movements. The interconnectedness of social movements and the way different movements benefit and continue with each other have complicated the theoretical discussions. The new movements' focus on identity and belonging does not adopt a class-based perspective of Orthodox Marxism. While on the other hand, due to their forms of protest and critical perspectives toward political channels, they also exhibit characteristics reminiscent to Marxian perspectives (Crossley, 2002). In literature, there are several attempts to explain this collision from different perspectives. For example, Touraine suggests that new social movements struggle over cultural and symbolic meanings rather than material production (cited in Edwards, 2014, p.135). According to Habermas, these movements rely on dialogue and communicative rationality rather than violent or hierarchical structures (cited in Edwards, 2014, p. 141).

Social movements have been conventionally categorized in literature into classical and contemporary social movements. The social movements that fall into the classical approach are organized around class cleavages and socio-economic inequalities stemming from the Industrial Era. Marxism had had an incontrovertible influence on the what is classified as classical social movements. Meanwhile, contemporary social movements are often analyzed through different conceptual frameworks such as political opportunity, relative deprivation, and other framing theories under an umbrella of New Social Movements (NSMs), which offer more nuanced perspectives with reference to identity-based approaches (Peoples, 2019, p. 17). As a result of contrasting the classical social movements with contemporary social movements, they are often referred to as old and new social movements.

At this point, this study aims to question the contrasting theoretical perspectives in the literature. It argues that rather than a sharp shift from the Old Social Movements (OSMs), new social movements (NSMs) can also be understood with respect to continuities from the old social movements. Especially when explaining such a transformation, focusing on a historical account requires focusing on continuities as well as ruptures in experiences of particular social movements. With these motivations, examining the continuities between OSMs and NSM in the Chilean context will be the focus of this study.

OSMs are considered to be the emanating from antagonist effects of the Industrial era based on class cleavages and unionism. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels are the intellectual and ideological sources of these movements. The spread of industrial capitalism had caused unprecedented demographic shifts in labouring classes to launch collective forms of resistance against exploitation and the expropriation of the social surplus (Almedia, 2019, p.45). These social movements are explained from a theoretical framework focusing on the essentially antagonistic relations between proletariat and bourgeoisie. These social movements are considered a natural outcome of this relationship. However, it is crucial to emphasize that Marx and Engels had no specific theoretical framework to explain the dynamics of social movements. Rather, their ideas were distilled in the context of the socio-economic reality of the era.

On the other hand, NSMs included issues of civil rights, anti-war, anti-racism, feminism, LGBTQI+ rights, disability rights, ecology, and anti-colonial struggles. Scholars providing theoretical explanations for the organizational dynamics of these movements increasingly viewed the agents of these movements as *rational actors.* Rather than class-based analysis, the central tension of the movements is defined as the political power concentrated in the hands of economic and political elites. (Almedia, 2019, p.47).

In other words, NSMs theories suggests that contemporary social movements cannot be viewed as the organized pursuit of collective interests, nor do they involve making claims about the state and political institutions. Instead, the explanations suggest that we should analyze social movements as the construction of collective identities that express society's key conflicts (Edwards, 2014, p.113). This thesis argues that the shift from Old to New Social Movements is not a sharp break, but a gradual process of transformation. Using Chilean Social Movements as a case study, it examines how this transition unfolded and how contemporary movements are shaped by past socio-political changes.

The Chilean Winter (2011) and the Estallido Social (2019–2022) reflect both the legacy of earlier movements and the enduring impact of the Pinochet era (1973-1988) while also influencing the evolution of current social movements. Instead of a

dichotomous narrative that underlines the contradictions of New Social Movements and understate the continuities of main features of the OSM, this thesis will analyze its case study by exploring continuities to acknowledge the porousness of these processes and the historical progression from the old to the new.

1.1 Research Questions

Through tracing the selected social struggles in Chile, this study will present an analysis and depiction of how Old and New Social Movements are not in conflict but rather build upon one another, demonstrating that where the old becomes obstructed, the movement paves a new path forward.

NSM have been a dominant theoretical approach in Western academia since the 1970s. The neoliberal economic transformation has had implications on the relationship between society and state. The new lens to make sense of social movements under the rubric of NSM defined them as a product of the post-industrial era. On the other hand, OSM representing the past times, are portrayed in a dichotomous manner. Nevertheless, the historical processes that underlie the evolution of social movements could be addressed without defining contrasting differences between NSM and OSM.

Chile is chosen as the case study. It provides the best example of how the new approach to social struggle found its path, where the channels by the old social struggles became obstructed. The transition during the Pinochet era (1973-1988) demonstrates how social movements have transformed over time and how this continuity has persisted. This transformation can also be observed in the ongoing student movements of the 21st century.

This thesis will look to answer the following questions in line with its aims:

1. How does integrating class dynamics and long-term historical processes reshape our understanding of contemporary movements, such as the 2019 Chilean social uprising and the 2011 Chilean Winter?

2. At what points did Old Social Movements become obstructed and reach an impasse? How did New Social Movements find a way out in these circumstances?

Research Methodology and Methods

Examining past social movements methodologically is not easy task, due to challenges of data collection and analysis. Data collection requires a multifaceted perspective. Data analysis requires the ability to evaluate the evidence within the same theoretical framework.

This study inevitably requires a neat historical tracing of the events in relation to social movements. The major events need to addressed within a historical context to be able to show the phases of societal transformation, even when it appears to occur suddenly, often exhibits numerous signs before the actual change occurs. For this reason, a positivist approach does not provide an appropriate research methodology. In the positivist tradition, the research aims to single out causal explanations based on a cause-effect relationship between variables. Researchers aim at a structural and context-free explanation, allowing generalization and the discovery of universal laws of behaviour (Porta & Keating, 2008, p.26). Considering the epistemological perspective, the positivist approach aims to obtain knowledge of reality. However, the assertions of the thesis need to be examined contextually.

For this reason, adopting an interpretive methodological approach enriches the structure of the theoretical framework. Interpretive approaches reject sharp distinctions and present a more nuanced and broad explanation by addressing values and conflicting concepts. This allows for a more fluid depiction of the dynamics under examination (Porta & Keating, 2008). Subjective interpretations of the objective reality lead to the different strategies of the movements. How actors perceive the existing conditions shape their alliances and expectations. The interpretivist approach presents comprehensive analysis of multiple possibilities at a

given time. The interpretive analyses provide a holistic focus, emphasizing the complexity of cases (which could be a subject, a community, or other social collectivity) while also stressing the importance of cultural context (Porta & Keating, 2008, p.30). Thought an interpretive approach, the study aims to highlight the theoretical narrative. Since it will analyse social movements in Chile as a case study, the thesis will adopt a narrative grounded in Marxian theories. A theoretical framework will be constructed through historical materialism. It is the framework through which the socio-economic structure of society is analyzed concerning historical development. It posits that the material conditions of production, including economic forces and relations, constitute the foundation of societal structure (Thomas, 2006).

The thesis will fundamentally examine OSM-NSM relations and the continuity between these two seemingly distinct sets of social movements, demonstrating that the material conditions of the transformation process cannot be considered independently of one another. Thus, historical materialism is integral to the theoretical explanation of this analysis.

The thesis will mainly focus on the class divisions in Chilean society before the Pinochet era, the relations of production, and how the Chilean society has transformed under the Pinochet's regime. Furthermore, the thesis will explore 21st-century social movements with particular focus on the student movements to understand the pattern of the historical transformation process that illustrates the continuity and how they should be analyzed within this context.

By enlightening the fundamental material relations in society, a Marxian perspective will provide a broader analytical framework for understanding these dynamics. The thesis will utilize qualitative research methods to support its arguments. Primary data reservoir of the study are all the available texts that would reveal the strategies, alliances, expectation and demands of the social movements. For that purpose official reports, news and opinion pieces from the periodicals and newspapers, interviews with individuals who participated in social movements, social movement

leaders' talks, magazine and newspaper articles published during the era, and television broadcasts will be reviewed and analyzed.

1.2 Contribution of the Thesis

The debate around old and new social movements has been unfolding for years and continues to hold an important place in how we understand collective struggles and will formation. Much of the debate centers on whether it really makes sense to separate movements into "old" and "new" categories and, if we do, whether there is truly a clear break between them or whether there are threads of continuity that run across time and context. Although the debates in the literature provide explanations based on continuity, a significant portion of contemporary social movements has been analyzed directly through the lens of NSMs.

As can be understood from the Chilean case study selected for this thesis, the transformation process between OSMs and NSMs has yet to be thoroughly analyzed within the framework of theoretical discussions. These debates have remained mainly at a theoretical level and provided a more systematic explanation. Questions such as where OSMs faded, what bottlenecks it faced, what types of barriers existed, and how social struggles attempted to carve out new paths for themselves have yet to be sufficiently examined. In short, when discussing the theoretical framework through the lens of the Chilean case, debates on continuity and discontinuity have been carried out with a particular focus. At this point, it will be argued that the dynamics of social movements and, by extension, the actions of their actors do not completely align with the theoretical frequencies within these debates. This study aims to contribute to the ongoing debates by explaining how this process unfolded during the Pinochet era, how the new social movements charted their paths, and how this process influenced and transformed student movements in 21st-century Chile.

1.3 Structure of The Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. This first chapter serves to introduce the purpose of the thesis, the research questions it addresses, its objectives, and the methodologies employed throughout the study. To set the stage, a brief and general

overview of social movements is provided, followed by a discussion on the thesis methodology, its contributions to the structure of the study. The second chapter establishes the theoretical and conceptual framework of the thesis. Given the thesis's central topic, it analyzes theories that aim to define and interpret social movements, with a particular focus on old and new social movement theories. In this context, the chapter first examines the theoretical foundation of old social movements within the framework of the Marxist approach. It then shifts to an analysis of new social movement theories. Prominent NSM theorists such as Alberto Melucci, Alain Touraine, and Manuel Castells' theoretical frameworks will be analyzed within the context. To better understand and critically assess the core arguments of both old and new social movement theories, the chapter explores discussions in the literature associated with these movements under the headings of continuity and discontinuity theories.

The third chapter focuses on Chile's social and political history, particularly from the late 19th century until today, and it primarily examines the economic and political crises that have triggered social movements. The Pinochet era will be one of the pillars of the chapter. From the 1970s to the 1980s, the Pinochet regime exerted a repressive influence on these movements. Nonetheless, this period also sowed the seeds of resistance and transformation. Regarding OSM-NSM relations with continuities and discontinuities, what caused earlier social movements to lose their momentum, and what challenges and bottlenecks stood in their way?

Towards the end of the Pinochet regime, the referendum process was a pivotal moment in Chile's social transformation. However, how did this transformation take shape, and under what circumstances did it unfold? This section will look at these movements profoundly to explore structures, heritages of the Pinochet Era, and outcomes, and offer a nuanced and comprehensive analysis.

The fourth chapter analyses the Chilean student movements in the 21st century, particularly two critical movements: the 2011 Chilean Winter and the 2019 Social Outburst. These movements will be examined within the continuity and rupture

framework by highlighting profound links between OSM and contemporary social movements. The aim is to highlight how the social movements of the Pinochet era influenced the dynamics of these 21st-century movements. This chapter presents a discourse analysis of key actors within governmental institutions and social movement organizations. Secondary sources, such as newspaper articles, figures, tables about related research, and interviews from the respective periods, also provide context of the movements.

The fifth and final chapter revisits the theoretical framework with insights gained from the analyses in the fourth section. This chapter aims to demonstrate that there has not been a complete discontinuity in Chilean social movements. Instead, OSM could be seen as a foundation or a reservoir that has influenced and shaped the evolution of subsequent movements. The discussion concludes with how this process would unfold over time.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

By the twenty-first century, the term “social movement" has entered the public agenda, as a counterweight to oppressive power, and as a popular action against a wide range of injustices. However, popular uprisings of one kind or another have occurred worldwide for thousands of years (Tilly, 2020, p. 5). These analyses of social movements aimed to offer a close-up perspective concerning what motivates these mobilizations, what the resistance strategies are, and how collective action unfolds. Within the wider scope of sociology, understanding the discipline’s own historical development is essential to examining how social movement literature has evolved and been shaped. In this context, the first significant works in sociology began with the French thinker Auguste Comte. However, the institutionalization of sociology as a discipline corresponds to the end of the 19th century. Only then did sociology have an equal footing with other disciplines, such as economics, political science, psychology, and anthropology (Buechler, 2016).

The most phenomenal figure in this field during that period was Karl Marx. Marx’s work was neither framed nor constrained by the now-familiar boundaries between social sciences and their distinctive assumptions, theories, and methods. As a professional revolutionary, his training, interests, writings, and life work moved fluidly across the terrain of philosophy, politics, economics, and sociology (Buechler, 2016, p. 9). As he notes in the 11th thesis on Feuerbach, “philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it.” Marx’s work was, therefore, not shaped by a well-defined disciplinary matrix of distinct social sciences to only interpret the world (Buechler, 2016). Nevertheless, he was providing a methodological and theoretical framework to examine and change the social dynamics that began with the economic transformation of the Industrial

Revolution and were driven by structural inequalities and the rise of industrial capitalism. Marx's ideas have significantly contributed to the study of social movements by explaining the relationships within the balance of social forces in industrial society.

The classical period of social movements outlines a revolutionary process driven by collective action against the economic injustices and inequalities constructed by the ruling class (Almedia, 2019). In contrast, Weber and Durkheim explain this process through the lens of culture, shared values, and ideologies. However, these perspectives also provide explanations based on the impact of industrialization on society, which can be classified as the classical period. At the core of all of them, in fact, lies the perspective that these converge on antagonism: social struggles and expressions of outrage against the owners of the means of production. Their class powers have been driven by exploitation and oppression (Peoples, 2019, p. 3).

Throughout the second quarter of the 20th century, the process underwent significant changes as sociology embraced a more empirical perspective, which also considerably impacted the study of social movements. Social science studies have proposed various explanations for the causes, development processes, and organization of social movements, and the definition remains contested. Some scholars emphasize structural factors, while others focus on cultural and psychological dimensions (Morris & Herring, 1984).

The examination of social movements was influenced by broader shifts in the intellectual climate that extended beyond specific disciplines. Urbanization, industrialization, and immigration shifted the focus towards phenomena like “urban crowd”, which were viewed with concern due to their spontaneity and irrationality. The early twentieth century saw a "civilizing process" of many of these trends; the movements of the interwar period - Fascism, Nazism, Stalinism - fit the image of violence and extremism fostered by the French and industrial revolutions (Tarrow, 2012, p. 4). Thus, these ideas were integrated into the study of social movements, and these approaches gained prominence in understanding movements.

However, shortly thereafter, previous approaches began to dramatically reverse the values proposed by these new frameworks (Buechler, 2016).

By the mid-20th century, the upheaval of the late 1960s had become the backdrop for the mobilization of what came to be the most significant social movements in Europe during the 1970s and 1980s, known as the New Social Movements. The rise of NSMs coincided with the socio-economic and cultural shifts of so-called post-industrial societies, marked by the decline of traditional labour movements and the increasing prominence of identity and cultural politics (Buechler, 1995). NSMs differ in their emphases on identity, lifestyle, and cultural issues over economic ones. These movements often focus on values, self-expression, and autonomy rather than material goals. Unlike their predecessors, NSMs are often portrayed as decentralized, bottom-up grassroots movements that rely on informal networks rather than top-down hierarchical structures (Edwards, 2014).

The general approach in the literature towards the old movements often was overly critical. In many instances, the authors have attempted to provide explanations through a critical narrative focused on inadequacies of the former wave of social movements. Claus Offe (1985) argues that these movements respond to the failures of modern welfare states and capitalist democracies to address the evolving needs of citizens in late-modern societies. On the other hand, Alan Touraine frames NSMs as engaging in a battle between systemic goals and individual autonomy (cited in Buechler,1995).

At the same time, alongside the transforming approaches, the Marxist perspective also criticized NSMs' on many points. For instance, Carroll and Ratner (1995) assert that NMSs' decentralized nature can hinder long-term strategizing and policy influence. Furthermore, they pinpoint that the emphasis on identity politics sometimes ignore and undermine the material focus to address systemic economic inequalities (Carroll & Ratner, 1995). On the other hand, Young (1999) emphasizes the social gains achieved alongside Marxist movements in response to criticisms. He says the text of the "Communist Manifesto" has been an inspiration for global

movements (Young, 1999). From the proletariat throughout the world, the Marxist ideals fueled the demands for better wages, working conditions, and social justice. These movements extended far beyond purely economic concerns. Making their way into academic and political spheres and highlighting merely how Marxist thought had become influential. Thinkers like Gramsci, Adorno, and Marcuse further expanded on the fundamental ideas of Marx, describing that tension is not felt only in the labour process. The contradictions of capitalism run through culture, psychology, and even everyday life. Their work helped stretch the boundaries of Marxist analysis of class consciousness in order to give answers that are more nuanced and responsive to fit the complex challenges of the modern world (Young, 1999).

In this sense, social movements are understood as collective efforts by individuals or groups aiming to push forward, resist, or reverse social, political, or economic sphere implementations. These movements are under numerous different causes, some of them focusing on civil rights and others on the environment. They vary widely in how they are organized, how long movements last, and what kind of impact they leave behind. As Morris and Herring (1984) highlight, due to scholars addressing social movements in the literature with such different perspectives, it can be observed that there is no consensus among scholars regarding their definitions. Especially contemporary theories build upon these foundations, incorporating and refining classical concepts to address modern contexts. Such discard leaves a multi-dimensional structure of social movement without proper examination. While opposing the argument that there is a rupture between OSM and NSM, as described by some NSM theorists, this thesis will focus on the continuity of social movements and how this continuity between NSM and OSM has been formed. Accordingly, it will demonstrate the existence of this continuity by explaining how the transformation of social movements has occurred through a single case study. In order to engage in the debate concerning the distinctions between old and new social movements, it is fundamental first to examine Marxist approach to classical social movements. For that reason, the next section focuses on how Marx himself examined the social problems of his time with the perspective that they could fuel a potential revolution. In the second section, NSMs are discussed focusing on thematic differences in values, organization, and objectives within social movements as

explained by NSM theories. Additionally, systemic transformations shaped by transition to neoliberalism and globalization of the supply and production chains are also examined to contextualize the transition dynamics from old to new movements. The final section presents the continuity and discontinuity debates between OSMs and NSMs in the literature, highlighting that the process needs to unfold in practice as theorized.

2.1 Theories of Social Movement

The transformation of social movements, which became more pronounced starting from the 1960s, could be characterized through several key points. With globalization, the transformation in the production system and the evolution of industrial societies into a more inward-looking, individualistic social structures led to the dissolution of class-based movements towards the 1980s.

In other words, through the post-industrial era, the process combined with the failure of Keynesian policies, paved the way for NSMs to gain significant prominence in the literature from the 1970s onward. One of the central debates in the literature has been whether the transformation observed in social movements represents continuity or a complete transformation of mass movements. This thesis will then describe the old-versus-new debate on social movements and argue that there has been a steady transformation entails a form of continuity, using a Marxist perspective. However, throughout this narrative, the primary focus will be on how this process unfolded and how continuity was ultimately depicted as a result of this transformation.

2.1.1 Old Social Movements under the Theoretical Light of Marxism

The discussion in the literature about OSMs depicts how the Marxist theoretical framework provides the insight about and for the OSMs. D'Anieri, Ernst, and Kier (1990, pp 446-447) depict OSMs as associated with a particular class, that is the working class, and articulate the interests or demands of that class, such as the right to organize, the vote, and the length of the workday. According to Edwards (2014), OSMs are the product of the Industrial Revolution driven by structural inequalities that gave rise due to industrial capitalism.

These movements were often rooted in collective grievances tied to material deprivation and aimed at systemic change. In other words, OSMs in the industrial era revolved around the mobilization of the working class, emphasizing economic justice and systemic transformation.

As Buechler (2016) notes, for Marx, capitalism brought material progress to a few at the price of alienation and exploitation of the many. Marx's more specific target was the factory system of industrialized production. With its detailed division of labour in labour process, dangerous working conditions, exceedingly long working days, miserably low wages, and abusive child labour, this system offered a wealth of "grievances" that could fuel working-class resistance (Buechler, 2016: p.10).

Although these definitions in the literature are aligned with and intertwined with the Marxist theory, it should be noted that Marx did not produce a specific academic work devoted exclusively on social movements. Rather, Marx provided a methodological frame for an explaining and understanding the social movements (Eder, 2014). Marx generally analyzed the economic structure and relations of production with implications on social life.

In this context, when examining social movements between the 19th and 21st centuries, the processes of this long dure period naturally aligned to a large extent with Marx's ideas. Therefore, Marx's ideas, which are still relevant today, will be demonstrated even more clearly in the following discussion outlined below. When Marx's ideas are examined from a broader perspective, they present the view that the economic system, namely capitalism, is the primary target and that the collective effort of the exploited class to resist the interests of the benefiting class (the bourgeoisie) leads to collective solidarity, unlike contemporary theories. Those theories focused on cultural, environmental, and identity-based issues that did not fit neatly into traditional frameworks like Marxism. ((Morris & Herring, 1984). Returning to Marx's perspective, he essentially provides an evaluation of the economic system by explaining the relationship between individuals and the means of production and how this relationship is managed.

Within the system, an equation of exploitation is constructed, where in individuals/labours and how the means of production are utilized constitute an effort to generate profit or surplus value. As a result of this effort, Marx described how the class that controls the means of production and the class that is exploited through this control would develop a collective consciousness, leading them to engage in social struggle. This process, he argued, would naturally emerge within the existing order.

Marx emphasizes the distinguished feature of the surplus value generated directly by the proletariat's relationship with the means of production as follows:

> Marx and Engels (1848/1982) state that the social differentiation between those who perform the work and those who accumulate the wealth is not a distinguishing feature of historical capitalism. Such divergence exists in all class societies and other historical systems (i.e., in slavery, feudalism, and the so-called Asiatic modes of production) in different forms. What distinguishes capitalism from all other political-economic systems is the specific form that labour process and surplus-value accumulation assume under capitalism, which conceals the source of surplus-value production and appropriation.

Explaining how surplus value is created is essential to understanding how social movements are interpreted from Marx's perspective. At this point, Buechler (2016) elucidates Marx's thoughts with the following explanation:

> It is as if workers work part of the day for themselves and capitalists. If the day was divided this way, logical workers would go home after necessary labour with all their wages and leave capitalists without any income. The wage form prevents this. It takes the money workers need and spreads it out over the entire workday, so they must work a complete shift to receive their wages. Imagine that workers produce eight hours of new value and get four hours back as wages while capitalists take the other four hours as surplus value. This ratio is the rate of surplus value; it expresses what capitalists get relative to workers. It is also the rate of exploitation; it reveals what workers get relative to their contributions. Such exploitation is inherent in capitalism; it makes profits possible (p.14).

In other words, a working labourer generates surplus value in the first half of their labour, which is appropriated by the owners of the means of production, 'the bourgeoisie.' At the same time, the wage paid to the worker for a full day's work only

compensates for half of their labour. This wage is expected to cover their basic needs, thus describing a class constrained within these limits. This process is part of the formation of collective consciousness, although other processes also contribute to its construction in different ways. On the other hand, when the relationship established by Marx is analyzed in the context of contemporary conditions, the working conditions and the state of the labour market that developed within the neoliberal system after the 1980s show parallels with these ideas, which were proposed in the late 19th century.

At this point, Marx's theory of alienation is one of the fundamental arguments that guide social movements. Marx examines the relationship between the product and the worker that produces it; he argues that there is no connection between the two. He assumes that within the production system, the worker is objectified and estranged from the product they create. Furthermore, the produced goods remain entirely under the control of the owners of the means of production, positioning the workers within a uniform structure that suppresses their distinctive potential qualities, shaping them to serve the system rather than their individuality (Buechler, 2016). The capitalist system, as defined by Marx, contains contradictions. First, while production is organized and collective, property and assets remain privately owned. Second, due to the prevailing anarchy within the economic system, unity and efficiency cannot be ultimately achieved. Another point is the inequality in wealth distribution. Lastly, products are not yet produced based on need; they are instead produced with a focus on profit (Buechler, 2016). The exploitation and alienation of the working class, as examined concerning the production system, are the most significant dynamics flourishing collective consciousness and, consequently, the emergence of social movements. At this stage, the class conflicts defined by Marx are crucial for understanding how the social struggle is organized and analysing social movements. Engelhardt and Moore (2022) divide this process into three dynamics. First is cognitive dynamics, where social movements are directly related to the internal contradictions of the capitalist system. These contradictions, such as inequalities in wealth distribution and the exploitation of workers, lead to the reorganization of the affected groups within a new framework.

At the same time, these contradictions matured collective learning, mobilization, and the desire to resist. Second, the authors examine environmental dynamics by focusing on the historical and material conditions in which social movements emerge. Social movements often mature alongside systemic contradictions, crises, and economic breakdown. From a broader perspective, the mode of production and its restructuring shape the methods of struggle adopted by social movements. Third, Engelhardt and Moore consider organizational dynamics by emphasizing the goals of social movements and their efforts to build alliances with other movements. This cooperation aims to construct a broader struggle to address systemic issues or, more comprehensively, fundamental societal problems.

The relationship between early social movements and Marxist theory was systematically discussed above. The formation process of class struggle, shaped by the structure of the means of production, the ownership model, and the dominance of the capitalist system, has contributed to the construction of collective consciousness within the working class. The emergence of social movements through the perspective of class struggle has been elucidated in this context. Marx and Engels's focus on production relations, informing their concept of social class, exploitation, and class struggle, as the foundation of the historical-materialist conception of society and social life, including the role of the state and power relations in society, makes an important contribution to classical social theory, as well as to our understanding of class structure in capitalist society (Berberoglu, 2019, p.23).

2.1.2 Advocators and Critics of the Marxist Theoretical Framework

When examining social movements, numerous theoretical analyses in the literature that address various dynamics and debates surrounding these analyses are likely to be encountered. One of the most enduring debates revolves around the theoretical differences between Old and New Social Movements. During the Post-Industrial transition period after the 1960s, scholars evaluated the theoretical frameworks used to explain Old Social Movements as either sufficient or insufficient for explaining New Social Movements, leading to differing interpretations. From a Marxist perspective, the explanation provided for OSMs has been widely regarded as

insufficient within these debates. Critics assert that Marx's focus on collective consciousness arising from class conflicts and the resulting social movements is weak in addressing thematic, value-based, and cultural aspects. They argued that Marx's analysis relies on an economy-centered macro perspective, leading to oversight of other important dynamics.

Marxist reflection is beginning to become aware of these limitations and to re-examine the theoretical foundations from which they arise. The debate that developed in the 1970s within Marxism has shown that the primary source of difficulty on the theoretical level is the separation of the system's analysis from the actors' analysis (Melucci, 1980, p.200).

At this point, before examining NSM, it is based on discussing the debates within this academic circle and underlining the significant arguments. The discussion will be scrutinized as a foundation for the important analysis of continuity and discontinuity. As society has changed, so have the conditions that originally gave rise to Marx’s theories, leading many scholars to revisit and reconsider how well his ideas apply to the present day. In this context, his view of social movements as primarily rooted in class conflict and collective consciousness is often seen as too narrow to capture the complexity and diversity of modern social struggles fully. Nevertheless, academics have tried modernizing Marx's ideas and adapting them to the theoretical frameworks that align with contemporary social structures. When we focus on the critical aspects of this debate, the following points emerge: Cohen sees classical Marxist theory as inadequate for understanding NSM. He argues that the collective identities of social actors can no longer be identified only through economic contradictions, class relations, and crises within the capitalist system. According to Cohen, Marxism's theoretical framework, which focuses on economic growth and class conflict, falls short in explaining movements like peace, ecology, and women's movements. These movements are on a non-material basis and instead critique the cultural conformity brought about by industrial modernization (Cohen,1983). Another significant critic of Marxism is Alberto Melucci. He criticizes a legacy for simplifying collective action into opposing explanations: structural crises. According to his perspective, the separation needs to evaluate the

sophisticated reality of social movements. Marxist approaches mainly interpret collective action as a reaction to economic contradictions. However, the approach ignores the dynamic connection between individuals and systems (Melucci, 1985).

On the other hand, for Melucci, social movements are not merely a collective discomfort arising solely from class struggle, as defined by Marx. Instead, for Melucci, social movements are dynamic systems of action. He emphasizes that these movements are constructed through social relations, negotiations, and the ability to converge on common ground. In short, He asserts that Movements are action systems operating in a systemic field of possibilities and limits (Melucci, 1985).

Lastly, Tarrow (2012) stresses that the Marxist theory was unsatisfactory because no one could say whose consciousness was false and whose was real. Marx thought the problem would resolve itself when capitalism's contradictions and the solidarity that came from years of toiling side by side with others like themselves opened the workers' eyes to their real interests (p.11).

In contrast to the criticisms mentioned above, there are also views in academic circles that argue the Marxist perspective is still valid and can be adapted to the evolving social structure. Young (1999) explains that within a framework built around the class relations described by Marx, they are aligned with the structure of modern society. Young places Marx's depiction of societal transformation at the center of his analysis and how this transformation is shaped by a social structure that facilitates class struggle. Young also highlights that the Communist Manifesto catalyzed better wages, working conditions, and social reforms across Europe and America. According to Young, this mobilization process in Occidental states represents the transformation of historically developed structures of domination through a collective will (Young, 1999). On the other hand, Harvey argues that Marx's fundamental ideas, while not entirely intact, remain methodologically valid. Specifically, regarding Capital, Harvey explains social movements through overarching concepts like economic inequality rather than delving into details. He asserts that despite the increasingly sophisticated lifestyles brought about by industrialization and modernization in economics—no matter how complex the structure—Marxist theory provides a satisfactory explanation at its core. At this

point, the susceptibility of the economic system to crises and its inherently fragile nature serve as catalysts for social movements (Harvey, 2012).

The critiques of Old Social Movements (OSM) and the theoretical analysis of Marxism discussed above are not limited to those mentioned. As NSM theorists, Melucci and Cohen offered comprehensive critiques of OSM, describing its theoretical framework as too simplistic to address the sophisticated needs of contemporary societies. They saw Marxist theory as inadequate for neglecting social dynamics when individuals construct their identities.

Moreover, the reductionist economic narrative of Marxism, which focuses only on class conflict while ignoring shared values, culture, and the thematic organizational structure of social movements, has marginalized the perspectives advocated by scholars like Cohen and Melucci. They concluded that Marxist theory does not fit as a framework for analyzing NSMs. Understanding and analyzing these critiques in detail is essential for better grasping the debate surrounding the continuity and discontinuity between Old and New Social Movements. Therefore, it is necessary to examine NSM theories more closely.

2.1.3 New Social Movements Theories

The emergence of NSM began in the mid of the 20th century. The era hosted significant transformations in the industrial economic structure in the aftermath of two world wars. With the advancement of the Post-Industrial era, a socio-economic, identical, and cultural transformation took place. Conventional-antagonist politics encountered a decline and were gradually replaced by identity and culture-based politics. NSM reacted to the inadequate perception of classical theoretical framework, especially Marxist theory analyzing contemporary social struggles. NSM theorists explained movements focusing on identity, culture, and non-economic issues. Their evaluation of Marxist theory does not have a specific theory about social movements because it is a theory of social movements. In other words, Marxism's ideas are fundamentally bound to the social movement whose struggle it predicts and analyses: the labour movement (Edwards, 2014, p.127).

New social movement theorists, by contrast, have looked to other logics of action based on politics, ideology, and culture as the root of much collective action. They have looked to other sources of identity, such as ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, as the definers of collective identity (Buechler, 1995, p.442). Confronting changes in production structure is essential for defining new social movements. He argues that production is no longer merely transforming raw materials into value-added products. Instead, it has evolved into a process that influences the construction of individuals' biological and interpersonal identities (Melucci, 1980). Thus, NSM theories argue that Marxist theory lacks the theoretical foundation necessary to explain the structure of modern societies due to its reductionist approaches. First, Marxist theory emphasizes the economy as the base that shapes the superstructure, framing all societal actions as rooted in the economic logic of capitalist production while locating other perspectives to a secondary position. Second, when defining social actors, Marxist theory ties their identity primarily to their relationship with the production process, downplaying other identities in constructing collective actors. (Buechler, 1995).

At this point, Edwards's definition succinctly stresses the fundamental distinction between NSMs and OSMs from the perspective of NSM theorists. According to this view, rather than classifying OSMs as true social movements, they are more appropriately labelled as "labour movements." Beyond this fundamental differentiation, NSM theorists explore several other aspects, such as the structure and organization of social movements, identity, and culture. After discussing the fundamental perspective and emergence of New Social Movements, a more comprehensive analysis is necessary to understand their differences from Marxist theory. Therefore, a general framework for NSM will be outlined, considering several studies in the literature. To understand the perspective of New Social Movements within society and where they locate themselves. It is critical to discuss their emergence. Most of the defining feature of the movements that rose to prominence in the aftermath of the 1968 uprisings was their ability to sustain themselves within a distinct political context. If we are to explain this narrative of difference, NSMs have a decentralized structure that distinguishes them from Old Social Movements (OSMs), which were centered around the working class and

economic structures. Instead, NSMs focus on micro-level areas and are specified within focus where specific resistance can occur. Touraine (1985) attributes this shift to transforming societies into a post-industrial structure. Furthermore, while NSMs emerged within the same historical context as OSMs, they do not form a homogeneous whole; they exist alongside each other yet evolve in distinct ways. NSMs are defined as "new" because their political development is rooted primarily in the cultural sphere rather than the traditional economic one.

With this 'New' definition, Touraine (1985) argues that the most important conflicts are not just about economic inequalities but about control over cultural and symbolic production. Social movements that address issues such as identity, ethics, and creativity are at the forefront of this transformation. They provide a bridge between technological alteration and a new structure of political (hegemony) and cultural life that shapes the direction of contemporary societies.

In defining social movements, Touraine also seeks answers regarding their role and purpose,

> What is the aim of this social movement? Seize power, establish a proletarian dictatorship, or rule workers' councils? Not at all. First, because the agreements of Gdansk, which have from the start constituted Solidarity's fundamental law, explicitly recognize the party's leading role in the state. Second, because militants themselves are trying to free themselves from the grip of power and not to win power. The repeatedly stated aim of Solidarity is to free society from the party's totalitarian domination. (Touraine, Dubet, Wieviorka, & Strzelecki, 1982, as cited in Tilly, 2018, p. 93)

Touraine highlights that social movements no longer question the role or existence of the state. Instead, they focus on the limited spaces of freedom that cause societal grievances. Rather than challenging the system of governance itself, these movements aim for gains within the existing governance framework. In short, the understanding of hegemony altered. Unlike OSM, they do not possess a fundamentally conflictual nature with the system. While Laclau and Mouffe define a new hegemonic structure, they also define the development stages of NSM.

> More specifically, the introduction of Fordism is the articulation between a labour process organized around the semi-automatic production line and a mode of consumption characterized by the individual acquisition of commodities produced on a large scale for private consumption. This penetration of capitalist relations of production, initiated at the beginning of the century and stepped up from the 1940s on, was to transform society into a vast market in which new 'needs* were ceaselessly created and in which more and more of the products of human labour were turned into commodities (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, pp. 160-161)

They argue that this commercialization process has completely disrupted the old social order. The production system is now entirely controlled by capitalist logic, incorporating commercial activities into many unrelated areas of society. As a result, capitalism has left no collective or individual space within society untouched by capitalist activity. Thus, social movements have also transformed with the rise of commercialization and the consequence of changes in how societal grievances are expressed. (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985).

Touraine (1985) describes the consumer/customer relationship emerging with commercialization as a cultural conflict. According to him, the root cause of this conflict lies in society's shift from preferences centered on products and material goods—what is traditionally economic—towards a more post-materialist relationship. New Social Movements (NSMs) and the associated social and political environments have emerged within this context.

Another prominent NSM theorist is Alberto Melucci. He begins his arguments by asserting that classical theories fail the reasoning of social movements, particularly in advanced capitalist societies. He critiques Marxist analysis for having a primitive theoretical framework, arguing that it neglects crucial elements such as the mobilization process, the organization of movements, and the institutions and actors contributing to these movements. He argues that it constitutes a gap in understanding how movements emerge and sustain themselves in practice. He indicates that contemporary social movements are not solely responses to crises or systemic congestion. Instead, they are willful, organized forms of collective action to challenge and alter societal norms and structures (Melucci, 1980).

Melucci defines social movements precisely, differentiating them from other forms of collective behaviour. He claims that social movements must fulfill two essential conditions: they must entangle conflict between actors competing for control over societal values and resources and seek to break the boundaries of founded social and political systems. This criterion underlines the transformative potential of social movements to challenge established hierarchies and redistribute power (Melucci, 1980).

He also stresses that actors in NSM do not seek only economic gains but struggle for symbolic and cultural gains. This depicts that societies undergo radical transformations. The reality that we live in has become a cultural structure. The reality we experience has become profoundly shaped by culture, and how we perceive and represent this reality filters how we connect with the world around us. This perspective shows that human actions have the power to construct their own cultural spaces and meanings (Melucci, 1985).

Lastly, Melucci elucidates the distinguished features of NSM from traditional movements; these characteristic features illustrate how NSM is a cultural phenomenon that looks to reshape societal norms and values. First, the integration of the private sphere became part of collective struggles such as feminist movements and gender-based movements. Secondly, from Touraine's perspective, Melucci highlights that, unlike traditional movements, NSM rejects political institutions, such as parties and unions, in favor of grassroots organization and direct action. This reflects autonomy and self-expression as movements in nature. Another point is that, unlike traditional movements that prioritize material gains, NSM emphasizes solidarity and collective identity. This leads to united participation around shared aims and values (Mellucci,1980).

Manuel Castells is another prominent NSM theorist who focuses on how technology and globalization shape the essence of society and, consequently, social movements, explicitly underlying identity politics and the transformation of institutions, through his concepts of the "network society" world where social, political, and economic

relationships are increasingly mediated by digital communication and global interconnections. Castells explores real-world examples of successful movements, analyzing them in cultural and institutional contexts. In The Power of Identity, Castells explains a sophisticated analysis of how globalization, technology, and cultural shifts redefine social movements' purpose, structure, and impact. At its core, his study explores the relationship between collective identities and the networked systems of power that characterize contemporary society (Castells, 2010).

Castells (2010) begins by defining social movements as purposive collective actions whose outcome, in victory as in defeat, transforms society's values and institutions. He argues that social movements have become more sophisticated, decentralized, and rooted in cultural and identity-based struggles.

For Castells (2010), identity is not just a personal construct. It is a social force that mobilizes communities, fosters solidarity, and drives collective action. He identifies three distinct types of identity that influence social movements: first, he mentions legitimized identity. He defines inclusive-whole type identities such as national identity. However, he also stresses that this type of identity could be excluded for individuals. Secondly, Resistance identity he defines this group mostly as marginalized communities such as indigenous and anti-colonial struggles and civil rights movements. This type of identity-based movement mostly looks for recognition, justice, or equality. The last of his identity-movement definitions is Project identity. This type of identity seeks transformation in societal values, such as Feminist or environmentalist movements. According to him, these movements propose new visions to societies. Castells asserts that globalization and technology are the connections that influence contemporary social movements. They have significantly altered movements and how they organize and achieve goals. Social movements have transformed network society's structures, purpose, and strategies. Castells introduces the concept of 'networked social movements' to describe how these movements leverage the unique characteristics of network society to challenge power and drive change (Castells, 2010). With the spread of globalization, the rising interaction among economies has allowed maneuvering opportunities and new challenges for cultures and societies. While it has become easier to spread ideas or

unite around them, issues like cultural erosion, injustice, and inequality have grown similarly. Through his concept of "network societies," Castells highlights how digital networks have enabled social movements to operate globally. These movements can now organize, mobilize, and communicate without being confined to geography or national borders (Castells, 2010). Castells (2010) grounds his theoretical framework of the "network society" on key principles.

First, he indicates that the relationships within modern societies are no longer linked to solid hierarchies. Instead, they are flexible, dynamic, and capable of quickly adapting to changing conditions. Second, Castells identifies the flow of information as the fuel that drives network societies. Information restructures economic activities and impacts cultures and even political decisions. Its role in social movements is particularly significant, as information becomes a powerful apparatus for opposition and mobilization. Third, Castells asserts that concentrated power is not in the hands of a few institutions or individuals in network societies. Instead, it is distributed across various actors and organizations. This decentralization challenges the traditional understanding of leadership, allowing different institutions and individuals to self-realize. As a result, centralized structures are less relevant in network societies. As a last, Castells emphasizes that digitalization has made it easier for social movements to organize and sustain their efforts for extended periods. Castells points out that the ability to communicate instantly on social media platforms has saliently enhanced the capabilities and influence of social movements.

Manuel Castells' concept of the network society provides a profound framework for understanding the evolution of social movements in the digital age. Castells highlights how social movements are reshaping the world by emphasizing the interconnectedness, flexibility, and decentralization of networks. When examining the recognition of New Social Movements, it becomes clear that the pioneering theorists, whose frameworks were discussed earlier, share common themes that distinctly separate NSMs from Old Social Movements. These include the roles of actors, organizational structures, identity narratives, and the thematic nature of movements. However, despite these shared features, NSM theorists approach the task of defining the movements by incorporating varying elements such as culture,

technology, economy, and identity into their theoretical frameworks. Moreover, when considering the debates about continuity and discontinuity between NSM and OSM, it becomes salient that those theorists hold differing views on how to interpret movements within their respective frameworks. The following section will analyse these discussions in greater depth.

2.2 Continuity and Discontinuity Theories

NSM theorists have approached social movements from various perspectives, using these viewpoints to construct theoretical frameworks that define and analyse their main characteristics, structures, and organizations. These approaches are often shaped around politics, economics, culture, and identity, offering a broad understanding of the movements. However, theorists are divided when it comes to the debate over the continuity or discontinuity between OSM and NSM. Some argue that NSMs represent a sharp societal transformation, breaking away entirely from OSMs and lacking continuity. Others, however, indicate numerous parallels between the two, suggesting that NSMs are, in many respects, a continuation of previous movements. In this section, we will re-examine this divide by focusing on the arguments of those who claim that NSM lacks continuity and isolate class struggle from social movements. At the same time, we will examine and debate these perspectives alongside the arguments that advocate for continuity. Buechler's categorization of new social movements into distinct typologies offers reliable insight into the theoretical differences and the debates on continuity and discontinuity among scholars. This framework elucidates better the internal diversity of scholars' perspectives on NSM and their connection or disconnection with previous social movements.

New social movement theory encompasses two dominant paradigms: the political version, which aligns with Marxist traditions, and the cultural version, influenced by post-Marxist interpretations. These paradigms differ in their theoretical orientations, key theorists (e.g., Manuel Castells for the political version, Alberto Melucci for the cultural version), and movement activities (Buechler, 1995, Table 1, p. 457).

> Buechler (1995) exerts this differentiation: The political version of new social movement theory is pro-Marxist in that it draws upon the most promising working neo-Marxist scholars' hip and seeks to build up on the strengths of this tradition. Like all new social movement theories, this version has a model of the societal totality in which new social movements arise. However, this version is likely to emphasize the (advanced) capitalist nature of that totality over any other designation. In so doing, it is likely to offer strong claims about the connections between macro-level structural features of contemporary capitalism and the emergence of new social movements (pp. 457-458).

Buechler's typological framework clearly shows the 'political and cultural' differences at the heart of the discussion. Building on this perspective, we will look deeper into the debates about whether New Social Movements represent a continuation of or a discontinuation of Old Social Movements.

2.2.1 Materialist and Post-Post Materialist Values

When examining the cultural-political context, the first striking element that highlights both similarities and differences between OSM and NSM is the contrast between materialist and post-materialist approaches. Castells' explanations provide valuable insights that can help deepen our understanding of this distinction.

One of Castells' most significant contributions is his argument that modern social movements are as much about culture and identity as they are about material concerns. This perspective challenges the traditional view of movements as primarily rooted in economic grievances. Castells evaluates three identity and culture-based social movements in this context, starting with the women's movement. While these movements challenge the patriarchal system by redefining gender roles and representing a collective action possibility for women's liberation, Castells highlights an often disregarded yet critical point: the economic inequality between men and women.

Even though feminist movements have not chosen to center their efforts merely on economic disparities, instead striving for broader cultural alter to constitute a more inclusive and equitable society, Castells emphasizes that economic inequality remains a significant and inseparable part of the women's movement. This dual focus

on cultural transformation and the underlying economic dimensions illustrates the multifaceted nature of feminist activism. Secondly, Environmental movements exemplify how cultural values, such as sustainability and respect for nature, can drive collective action. These movements challenge corporate practices and societal attitudes toward consumption and progress. Castells is not the only NSM scholar who has the same lens regarding continuity debates. Della Porta (2015) also claims that environmental activism may critique ecological destruction but is deeply intertwined with capitalist modes of production and consumption. Thirdly, rooted in the preservation of cultural heritage and land rights, indigenous movements resist the erasure of identity by global capitalism. They emphasize the importance of cultural survival in the face of economic exploitation and environmental degradation. On the other hand, Coskun also depicts parallelism with Castells and Della Porta. According to him, peace movements, ecological movements, women's movements, human rights defenders, solidarity with the Third World, and campaigns against cultural impoverishment and degradation have all been misinterpreted as "moving beyond class politics." Williams, while acknowledging that the scope of specific interest groups is limited, argues that issues such as the environment, peace, and human rights inevitably lead us back to the fundamental systems of industrial production and, more specifically, the class system. In this sense, there are strong connections between the emergence of NSM and advanced capitalism. Furthermore, according to Raymond Williams, some trade unions' proposals for forming new social production groups and new modes of production represent significant developments that could establish connections with NSM in many aspects. These ties highlight the connection between traditional labour struggles and the broader themes of NSMs, emphasizing their shared roots in the dynamics of late capitalism. (Coşkun, 2021, paraphrasing Williams, 1983). D'Anieri, Ernst, and Kier ask a direct question against discontinuity theorists. If a particular, historically specific set of institutional arrangements like "post-industrial society" or the welfare state is responsible for generating new social movements, then why do we find such "new" characteristics in old movements (1990, p. 445)? It is significant to analyse not only their structural foundations but also the political contexts that they arise to understand the development and characteristics of social movements completely; when the factors are considered, it becomes evident that social movements across various historical periods and

socioeconomic systems often share common features. In short, the goals, organizational forms, participant dynamics, and underlying values of "new" social movements are not exclusive to the context of modern advanced industrial societies (D'Anieri, Ernst, & Kier,1990).

Another prominent NSM theorist, Claus Offe (1985), highlights similar approaches in the debate. First of all, he defines NSM; the movements prioritize post-materialist values. These include environmental sustainability, personal autonomy, gender equality, and a broader critique of alienation within modern capitalist societies. NSM, Offe notes, shifts the discourse from production-based concerns to the quality of life, cultural representation, and symbolic autonomy.

> Values and norms are inherited from the progressive movements of both the working class. This continuity would suggest that the new social movements are, in their basic normative orientations, neither "postmodern" in the sense that they emphasize new values that are not (yet) shared by the wider society nor, on the other side, "premodern," in the sense that they adhere to the remnants of a romanticized prerational past. Regarding their implicit moral philosophies, they are rather the contemporaries of the societies in which they live and whose institutional embodiments of economic and political rationality they oppose (Offe, 1985, p.849).

Despite their differences, Offe (1985) highlights significant continuities between the two approaches. OSM and NSM share a common goal: opposing authority and challenging settled power structures. While their approaches and primacy may vary, these approaches are born as responses to systemic inequalities, even if they frame their struggles in distinct ways.

2.2.2 Thematic Continuation

Laclau and Mouffe (1985), under the framework of NSM theories, provide a clear summary regarding whether there is a thematic continuity between old and new movements. In their discussion of the developmental stages of movements, they highlight a critical shift: as modes of production and consumption are increasingly commodified, goods are largely produced for individual consumption. This process creates a contradictory relationship between genuine needs and commercial trade.

Societies conditioned to consume have, in a way, transformed from being workers to becoming products themselves.

The key point emphasized here is how this transformation led to the rise of identity-based thematic movements, such as feminism and environmental movements. The understanding of urbanization in the post-industrial era also played a significant role in this transformation. From the center of cities, factories moved to the periphery, while urban centers evolved into areas focused on consumption, including music, art, and entertainment. David Harvey (2012), in his book Rebel Cities, underlies on this thematic continuity, offering insights into how these changes have shaped modern social movements. He displays similarities between the role of urban centers during the industrial era, which aroused OSMs, and their significance in NSMs, where cities become arenas of cultural expression and protest. In Harvey's approach, urbanization has not just been a part of capitalist exploitation but also a space for visualizing alternative societal arrangements, making it a consistent focus point for both types of movements.

Harvey (2012) identifies the rise of gated communities, privatized public spaces, and urban gentrification as manifestations of capitalist dominance that NSM seeks to disrupt. However, he acknowledges the limitations of NSMs, particularly their fragmented nature and struggles to achieve systemic change. It is salient that there is a strong tie between NSM and OSM regarding values and themes of movements. Thus, the interpretation of the discussion in the literature guides to continuation rather than discontinuation.

2.2.3 Actors of the Movements

Though actors may share similarities across movements, their participation in different types of movements depicts a notable distinction. This emphasizes an essential point: the changing ways individuals express themselves and define their roles within the context of evolving social movements. This section will look at these dynamics as a starting point for understanding the broader discussions on continuity in the literature. Della Porta explains that the discontinued area of OSM and NSM

highlights the decentralized structure of NSM, which emphasizes inclusivity and grassroots participation. While decentralization allows broader flexibility and adaptability, it also raises questions about the long-term cohesion and strategic effectiveness of such movements. Unlike Della Porta's perspective, the student-led movement in Chile, which can be categorized as a thematic New Social Movement focused on public education, grew incrementally and mobilized with unity and coherence. Despite its flexible structure, as Della Porta says, the movement sustained coordinated and centralized efforts and gained official recognition even internationally (Vidal, 2013). The approach by the actors strongly underscores the argument for continuity within the broader context of social movements. At this point, Kriesi (2004), elaborates on how the characteristic features of the movements' actors have altered.

> That is, education has become a crucial factor in the reproduction of the social structure. At the same time, it has also become a crucial factor in the social placement process. In modern societies, the family typically determines the amount of education children receive instead of supplying them with more or fewer financial resources. This "cultural capital" of education increasingly takes over the role of the classic means of production in the social placement process. This implies that the expansion of higher education is also a response to the challenges of powerful social movements of the past - the labor movement and the women's movement in particular, which have demanded an extension of individual rights to education to fulfill the aspirations of millions of people for equality of opportunities (p. 400).

Kriesi (2004) provides an overview of how new generations, the future actors of social movements, are being shaped and the context in which they perceive the world. From this, two possible outcomes emerge. First, an antagonistic approach, similar to the '68 movements, where actors position themselves outside traditional labor movements. Second, as Touraine suggests, a process focused on securing or expanding non-systemic rights within their limited spheres.

When analyzing the attitude of actors within social movements, it becomes fundamental, especially in the context of this thesis, to engage with the debates in the literature that address these dynamics. In this regard, the idea that education is not only reproduced but instrumentalized in ways that shape future generations is far

from being a point raised solely by Kriesi; it has been a broader concern shared across various strands of thought. Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (1990) articulate a theory of education that, while structurally aligned with Marxist thought, departs from orthodox economic determinism by foregrounding the symbolic dimension of domination. Their work reveals how education functions as a mechanism of ideological reproduction under capitalism, wherein the culture of the ruling class is imposed. While Bourdieu resists simplistic class reductionism, he does not reject class struggle as the underlying dynamic of educational reproduction. On the contrary, he emphasizes how educational systems serve to reproduce the structure of the distribution of capital, including cultural capital, thereby reproducing class divisions (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp. vii–x). This symbolic reproduction serves what Bourdieu calls the "illusion of meritocracy," a mystification essential to the functioning of capitalist society. By naturalizing the arbitrary culture of the ruling class as "legitimate knowledge," schools ensure the reproduction of existing class relations, but in a way that appears voluntary and neutral (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp. 6–8). Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) contributions are shaped around a Marxist theoretical framework, yet distinctly symbolic, a framework for understanding how education is instrumentalized in the service of capitalist reproduction. By obscuring structural inequalities behind the veil of meritocracy, the education system contributes to the maintenance and legitimization of social hierarchies. This analysis remains profoundly relevant in how contemporary social movements harbour continuity elements regarding the social injustice and inequality that the actors of social movements stand firmly against.While these perspectives differ, they both highlight a sense of continuity in terms of how movements evolve through their actors. Whether through opposition or more targeted reforms, the actions of these new generations suggest a thread of persistence linking past and present social movements.

In the next chapter, the historical process of the Chilean social movement will be examined to establish a connection between the literature review and the cases.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL STRUGGLES IN CHILE

Digging out the turmoils and cornerstones of the movement's historical evolution is important to perceive the OSM-NSM and continuation-rupture discussions. This chapter will scrutinize the political and economic developments and their influence on the social movements of historical evolution in Latin America, particularly Chile, from the late 19th century until the 21st century. Thus, the historical evolution of the Chilean social movements could shed light on the main arguments of this study. Five historical periods need to be highlighted in this chapter.

The first spans from the late 19th century until the 1930s in which the enlightenment of Latin American and national developmentalism needs to be discussed. Secondly, the 1960s to 1970s focused on the classical movements, especially the Allende period. The third period is the most critical era: the military regime, Pinochet's policy shift and implementation of new policies, and the transformation of the social movements. The last two periods correspond to the post-Pinochet regime and *Concertación* government, along with the reaction of the social movements in the 21st century. Each section of this chapter reflects actors' problems and their reactions to the political and economic developments of each period. In the conclusion, a brief evaluation of the consequences of the developments are maintained.

3.1. Political and Economic Developments and Social Movements in Chile (1850-1950)

The Late 19th Century was a significant period of political and economic transformation. Chile experienced a transition from oligarchy to more organized political and labour movements, which were shaped by industrialization, class struggle, and political problems.

The War of the Pacific (1879–1884) played a critical role in the era. The expansion of Chile brought prosperity to the country with the control of nitrate resources. However, this economic relief was distributed equally. Therefore, growing class tensions constituted a series of social movements (Loveman & Lira, 2007). In this era, the political system was controlled by an elite group in the aftermath of the 1892 Chilean Civil War (Loveman & Lira, 2007).

The social movements emerged as a consequence of the political developments of the era and had three significant points regarding an influence on the 20th-century Chilean social movements. Firstly, Miners' struggles in the northern nitrate fields were harsh conditions, including low wages, debt peonage, and company stores that kept them in perpetual economic dependency (Loveman & Lira, 2007). The governments had suppressed the movements brutally. It was a critical movement, particularly among miners, as the Chilean economy mainly depended on rich ore beds. Secondly, the effect of socialism was increasing incrementally. The European labour movements influenced the Chilean workers. Thus, they organized and consolidated a class consciousness (Tilly, 2004). Lastly, Mutual aid societies and early "Sindicatos" (unions) emerged, though they remained weak due to government repression and lack of legal recognition (Loveman & Lira, 2007).

The labour movement was not only visible collective actions in the late 19th century in Chile. There was also the Mapuche resistance against the expansion of Chile. The "Pacification of Araucanía" (1860s–1880s) led to the military occupation of indigenous lands, and Mapuches continued to resist the Chilean army (Loveman & Lira, 2007). Although the era's movements did not experience systemic change, they made considerable gains, such as strengthening labour movements, consolidating class consciousness, and increasing political democratic participation, influencing future electoral and constitutional reforms.

3.1.1. Questioning the Problem of Underdevelopment

The economic orbit of Latin American states became critical in the aftermath of WWI. The Monroe Doctrine indicated US foreign policy toward Latin America and

transformed the proclamation of sovereignty in the Western Hemisphere. Therefore, all Latin American states are located in the trajectory of the US economically and politically. Nevertheless, the situation changed with the 1929 crisis. The crisis profoundly influenced the Latin American economy and politics. The fall of the US stock market and the losing capacity of the international trade routes constituted public finance problems and the banking crisis in Latin America (Topal, 2020, own translation). Meanwhile, due to the internal economic problems of the US, the way of implementation of the Monroe Doctrine had to be changed with implications on the military existence of the US in Latin America. Therefore, Franklin D. Roosevelt indicated a new policy for Latin America, the "Good Neighbor Policy."[2] With this new approach, the US aimed to settle relations with Latin American states by limiting the military's existence in the region and interventionist perception instead of cooperation and trust (Akgemci, 2020). Due to those political and economic developments, particularly those beginning with the Great Depression, deepening instability in the region constructed a path from social democracy to Marxism (Topal, 2020). With the influence of the Great Depression, Laissez-faire cadres that lost power were replaced by those advocating for establishing an independent and national economy. Thus, redefining the relationship between Latin American and imperialist states was shaped and mainly focused on relational needs to evolve an anti-imperialist line (Topal 2020). Consequently, thoughts on Latin America's developmentalism had been shaped.

The pursuit of development in Latin America began to take shape with the establishment of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) in 1948. The most influential figure of this era was Raúl Prebisch, an Argentine economist and the first Executive Secretary of ECLAC, who worked mainly to shape Latin American developmentalism. Between the 1930s and the 1970s, Latin American countries grew extraordinarily fast with differing performances of Import-Substitution Industrialization (ISI). In general terms, they took advantage of the weakness of the center in the 1930s in order to formulate

[2] The Good Neighbor Policy was a diplomatic strategy adopted by the United States in the 1930s. It aimed to improve relations with Latin American countries through non-interventionist and cooperative approaches, marking a departure from earlier imperialist tendencies.

national development strategies that, in essence, implied the protection of the infant national industry (Bresser-Pereira, 2012, p. 110).

In Chile, national and independent economic development policies began institutionalizing even before the ECLAC was established. The *Corporación de Fomento de la Producción* (CORFO) was established in 1939 to promote industrialization and infrastructure development (Dvoskin, 2022, p. 30). Chile also established protectionist policies in this decade, such as increasing tariffs and import quotas. In the 1940s and 1950s, it continued with state-supported electricity, transportation, and steel production investments. On the other hand, the Expansion of labour protections and social policies reflected a commitment to economic modernization and welfare (Bresser-Pereira, 2012, p. 110)—Chilean ISI model. Most people accepted the influence of ECLAC's policies. (Topal, 2020, own translation). While until the middle of the century, these developments constructed prosperity in Chile, by the 1960s, problems had begun to emerge within the economic model. Firstly, it started with rising inflation and fiscal deficits due to high state spending and declining productivity in state-protected industries, which led to a growing disturbance among the Chilean people. Eventually, all these growing economic stagflations will be reflected in the streets. Salvador Allende was elected in such a frustrating era.

3.2. The Years of Allende

Salvador Allende's election was a historic movement. It was the first time a Marxist president was elected in a democracy in the Western Hemisphere (Espinosa, 2021, p. 96). Allende's *Unidad Popular* (Popular Union-UP) coalition sought to nationalize industrial and expand agricultural reforms to construct a successful socialist regime in Chile. Espinosa (2021) states that the UP coalition followed a gradual economic strategy: a short-term Keynesian policy and a long-term Marxist policy (p. 97). Nevertheless, these economic reforms had to confront resistance from the Chilean elites and international actors, including the U.S. government, which feared most: a socialist government in its backyard (Espinosa, 2021, p. 105). Several main factors steered the social movement during the Allende period. First, due to national

development policies, industrialization and urbanization significantly grew working-class activities that sought improved wages and working conditions (Goldberg, 1975) . Second, the conjecture of International politics of the 68th generation activism, including students, the Indigenous population, and some other groups who sought better living conditions and prosperity articulated with Working-class movements. Lastly, Undone Land reforms. Rural workers and peasants stood against a small group of landlords in Chile who forced rural workers and peasants to low wages and living conditions (Muir & Angell, 2005). All those simultaneous activisms also articulated economic problems. Therefore, Allende struggled with intensified hyperinflation, food shortages, and foreign economic pressures. The Nixon administration actively sought to “make the economy scream” by cutting off credit to Chile and supporting opposition groups (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 1973). On the other hand, one of the most significant economic disruptions leading up to the 1973 coup was the employer strikes and business-led supply chain disruptions aimed at destabilizing the UP government. The most notable were the 1972 and 1973 Chilean truckers' strikes, which paralyzed transportation and distribution networks nationwide (Goldberg, 1975).

> Goldberg (1975) points out that Chilean business elites deliberately shut down operations in protest against Allende's nationalization policies, particularly in the retail and transportation sectors. The Chilean Confederation of Truck Owners (CNTC), a key actor in these strikes, went on an extended work stoppage in October 1972, significantly disrupting the delivery of essential goods such as food, fuel, and raw materials. Many small and medium-sized business owners, including shopkeepers and merchants, joined the strike, further aggravating shortages and economic instability (p. 104).

The U.S. government not only implemented strategic actions to weaken the Chilean economy but also provided significant support to paramilitary groups in Chile that opposed the Unidad Popular (UP) coalition. One such group, "Patria y Libertad," escalated its activities against UP supporters by attacking leftist organizations and committing acts of sabotage (Espinosa, 2021, p. 108). Allende's election as president caused a significant shock in the United States. Throughout his brief and challenging tenure as the leader of the UP coalition, he faced continuous pressure to address Chile’s struggling economy while also dealing with strong opposition from the

country's elite and increasing intervention from the US government. Despite his efforts to resist these pressures, his presidency ultimately ended with a military coup.

3.3. The Pinochet Era

The military coup in Chile between 1973 and 1988 caused an irreversible modification in Chilean society. The experiences of Chilean society during the period constituted a trauma that has persisted until today. It would not be wrong to compare the impact of this trauma on the Chilean people to a burn scar, as the changes implemented by Pinochet during his time in power have had lasting effects on society. In the discussion of social movements, the impact of this period can be seen much more clearly. When examining the continuity of social movements in Chile, the most critical aspect to focus on is the policies, impacts, and consequences of the junta regime.

Understanding the continuity and discontinuity of social movements in Chile and examining the causation relationship requires thoroughly looking over the policies implemented by Pinochet's junta regime. These practices represent a significant turning point in the transformation of the social movement in Chile. In this context, the military coup was not merely an intervention to overthrow Allende's (Marxist) government; a closer look at the regime's policies makes the argument distinctively clear. At this point, the rise of Unidad Popular (UP) to power in Chile became a perfect case study within the US economic ecosystem, illustrating the abandonment of import-substitution policies. Instead, it marked the implementation of a neoliberal system, where the state withdrew from key sectors such as education and healthcare, leaving the economy in the hands of market forces. Periphery or center of the coup: Many points could be expanded in various directions. However, in this section, the transformation of Chilean society under the Pinochet regime will be analyzed and linked to the broader neoliberal transformation process. Additionally, the consequences of the junta regime's policies will be examined to understand the responses that social movements could mount and the reasons behind their limitations in reacting to this transformation.

3.3.1. Impasses and Barriers

On September 11, 1973, at 8.42 A.M., Chilean Army Forces seized and bombed the presidential office. Allende, the President of Chile, did not surrender to the Army. Allende understood his duty: "I am not going to resign." He explained: "Placed at a historical turning point, I will pay with my life the loyalty of the pueblo (Stern, 2006, p.11). In the aftermath of the speech that Allende gave on Radio Magallanes, only the radio remained uncooperative, and he committed suicide. The Chilean military did not consider this process a coup or an intervention because the National Congress and the Supreme Court had declared Allende's actions illegal. The junta regime quickly carried out numerous arrests and swiftly dismantled the opposition that was attempting to unite. As a result, under the Junta Regime, thousands of people lost their lives. The regime treated Marxist and leftist groups like gangrenous limbs, cutting them off without hesitation. On September 11, 1973, the general replied that the armed forces had completely surprised them with "speed and decisiveness" (Arellano, 1973, as cited in Bawden, 2016, p. 136). Whereas, 19 days before the coup, Pinochet pledged in front of Allende, who appointed him the Chilean Army Force General Chief. With this coup, Chile would restructure politically, sociologically, and economically between 1973 and 1988.

The Junta regime's strategies must be elucidated according to the timeline and method of implementation to analyze the coup and its influence on social movements in Chile regarding the transformation process. One of the most traumatic memories of the Coup was recorded in "Estadio Chile," which was used as a detention center during the Junta regime. In the stadium, approximately 14.000 people were detained, and in the early days of the coup, the regime killed 3000 people (Dalton, 2014).

This example demonstrates a clear intimidation policy for society; in other words, it can be called "Fear of Culture."

According to Pratt (1999), Pinochet's authoritarian regime aimed to infuse a pervasive sense of fear within Chilean society. Through social engineering, the regime legitimized violence and repression while normalizing authoritarian

discourse. Beyond that, it sought to crush resistance, dismantling leftist movements and targeting women's organizations and intellectual figures, ultimately striving to become the overarching discourse in the public sphere. To justify its rule, the regime constructed a dominant (and patriarchal) narrative, drawing on themes of religion and family.

When we analyze the layers of fear and repression policies implemented by the junta regime, it becomes possible to present them more systematically. Repression of the state was one key fact that was used by the regime efficiently. Pinochet's Government had an imminent intervention policy about any social movement since the regime desired total obedience and evaluated any kind of dissident activity as a threat to the regime.

Pratt (1999) argues that the regime also strategically utilized technology as a control apparatus designed to spread fear and ensure that society internalized repression. The Pinochet regime did not rely only on violence executed by law enforcement to spread fear; instead, it sought to embed fear into everyday life, making it an internalized part of people's daily experiences across all sectors of society. While the visibility of police and military violence has been reduced after some point, this did not lessen repression; instead, by normalizing control and surveillance, the regime settled an unconscious fear, which effectively suppressed any potential resistance before it could mobilize. One of the intensifying factors of the state's repression was surveillance; the regime used The Directorate of National Intelligency (*Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional*-DINA) for this. Intelligence services infiltrated communities, workplaces, and universities. The fear of informants discouraged public dissent. Another thought that gives an overview Bawden (2016) mentions that South American soldiers represented the interests of global capitalism backed up by the Pentagon; their role in the world system was to discipline labour movements, destroy left-wing politics, and empower technocrats who would facilitate the flow of transnational capital to Latin America" (O'Donnell, 1988, as cited in Bawden, 2016, p. 6). Political organizing was forced underground, political parties were banned, and civil liberties were suspended (Weeks, 2000). This perspective resulted in the development of extensive state surveillance systems that targeted individuals

suspected of subversion, with military courts rapidly sentencing labour activists and political dissidents.

After repression and surveillance measures were implemented, additional legal barriers were reinforced. Laws were altered to suppress political opposition by prohibiting labour unions, any leftist resistance, and media organizations that opposed the regime. Thus, the increased use of courts heightened the fear, ensuring that dissent had severe consequences (Pratt, 1999). One of them was National Security Legislation: By labeling civil disobedience as a threat to national stability, new laws justified the arrest and prosecution of individuals involved in protests (Sharma & Kumar, 2003). The other was "Emergency Powers and Military Tribunals"; the executive branch was granted extensive authority to declare a state of emergency, effectively silencing opposition and facilitating the arrest of activists (Díaz, 2020, p. 29). Lastly, as the most influential implementation, the regime deprived resistance essential rights such as voting, participating in unions, and working for public office. (Díaz, 2020). Therefore, Pinochet could weaken social movements via the judicial system.

During Augusto Pinochet's regime, media control and propaganda were crucial in shaping public perception, suppressing resistance, and disenabling the influence of social movements. The dictatorship used censorship to silence opposition and endless propaganda to legitimize the regime by aiming to undermine labour unions and student and human rights organizations. The regime had started with silenced independent voices, such as El Clarín, which were banned, while others were placed under heavy surveillance (Stern, 2006). Nevertheless, the Government criminalized any alternative communication channel. Pamphlets, posters, and independent publications were classified as disturbing activities, leading to condemning journalists and activists (Stern, 2006). Another crucial state policy was aggregating all media organizations and broadcasting a line. Radio and television had to align with the state's narrative. Thus, the regime aimed to suppress hegemonic anti-coup discourse (Stern, 2006). Therefore, Pinochet weakened the ability of social movements to mobilize and spread their messages. The regime did not just silence journalists; it sought to erase entire conversations from the public sphere (Stern,

2006, p. 353). Pinochet's regime manipulated the media to create challenges for the Chilean social movements. It succeeded in postponing social resistance by weaponizing broadcast organs like television and radio and psychologically intimidating the opposition (Stern, 2006).

3.3.2 The Chile Project

Beyond the dispute, the most crucial and influential alteration had happened in the economic sphere. WWII had a devastating influence throughout the world. Millions of people were dead, and the entire European continent was in ruins. Consequently, the economy almost stopped, and millions had to emigrate. Meanwhile, British economist John Maynard Keynes presented a prevailing idea that free markets would automatically provide full employment—that is, everyone who wanted a job would have one as long as workers were flexible in their wage demands (Jahan & Papageorgiou, 2014). The central plank of Keynes's theory, which has come to bear his name, is the assertion that aggregate demand—measured as the sum of spending by households, businesses, and the Government—is the most important driving force in an economy. Keynes further asserted that free markets have no self-balancing mechanisms that lead to full employment. Keynesian economists justify government intervention through public policies that aim to achieve full employment and price stability (Jahan & Papageorgiou, 2014).

However, by the mid-50s, a rising Ecole of economics at Chicago University advocated a free-market economy and minimized state intervention, including led by Milton Freeman and other of the most influential economists of the 20th century; Gary Becker, Arnold Harberger, and Theodore Schultz were pioneer sources of the economic transformation that prevailed throughout the world during the last quarter of the 20th century, starting in Chile.

> In 1955, as the Cold War reached a new peak, the US Department of State launched the Chile Project. The purpose of this program was to train Chilean economists at the University of Chicago, the bastion of capitalist thought and Milton Friedman's academic home. Once they returned to Chile, the young graduates were supposed to tout the principles of free markets in the increasingly ferocious war of ideas that raged in Latin America (Edwards, 2023, p.1).

This project started as an exchange program under the guise of modernizing the Latin America Academy between the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile and the University of Chicago. In the beginning, almost 100 students went to the US for their master's degree. Until the Pinochet Military regime, the program had been operated successfully, yet for Chilean politics, these economic doctrines were rather radical and had no conjecture to implement. (Edwards, 2023). However, the wind changed with the coup in 1973. Under the Pinochet regime (1973-90), Chile underwent a radical neoliberal transformation that profoundly influenced the economy and society. Thus, social movements also affected the top-down. The economic policies were implemented by the "Chicago Boys" who trained at the University of Chicago: dismantling state intervention, privatizing industries, and opening the economy to global markets (Winn, 2005). While these policies were praised for creating the so-called "Chilean Miracle," they also resulted in widespread social inequality, labour precarity, and weakened collective action (Escalante, 2022).

The Military Regime did not just construct strategies to prevent opposition and break social movements, such as rigid surveillance or using law enforcement or the judicial system. These policy implementations were direct and conventional, yet economic transformation was differentiated with a few key points—initially, the influence of US state institutions. In the beginning, the Chilean project was a strategic policy mainly implemented due to fear of communism in the backyard of the US, which was also articulated with the Cuban Revolution, which led to the acceleration of the process. The last and most critical political consequence was Allende's Government. Allende had prevailed in the legal election. Thus, the US had to intervene in this situation, which did not turn into the most frightening scenario for the US. CIA played a critical role in destabilizing Allende's Government, funding opposition groups, and providing logistical support to the Chilean military (Harmer, 2011, as cited in Bawden, 2016). Kissinger also directly uttered that reflects his fear about the situation. There is no reason for the United States to stand idly by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people" (Skidmore and Smith, 2010, as cited in Mizrahi, 2020, p. 9). Therefore, Neoliberalism was not just an economic policy but an implementation of ideology. Sebastian Edward (2023) asserts that Neoliberalism aimed to replace the state-driven economy model with a

market-driven system. Nevertheless, he also asserts that these policies, implemented on institutions, led to disaffected state-govern logic. The 1980 Constitution, drafted under Pinochet, institutionalized these reforms by limiting state intervention in social services and entrenching the principle of subsidiarity, which meant that the state would only step in when private actors failed (Edwards, 2023).

At this point, it is essential to emphasize that the Neoliberal transformation constituted impasses and barriers to the Chilean Social Movements. Institutional alteration directly and imminently reflected Labour classes. Acquired rights, such as strikes, unions, and bargaining leverage, were immediately eliminated to shut down collective action (Klubock, 2004). The weakening of labour rights through the 1979 Plan Laboral, designed by the Chicago Boys' José Piñera, significantly reduced union power, allowing businesses to hire and fire workers more freely and leading to widespread labour insecurity (Edwards, 2023). On the other hand, not only labourers but also an equally significant part of the social movements, students, became targets for the regime. Historically, student movements, which had played a significant role in political activism, were restricted. Depoliticization policies implemented in universities led to the dissolution of student unions and the criminalization of protests, leaving young activists without a platform for organizing (Collins et al., 2013). Specifically, pressure on the student movements will have affected the following decades, which will be elucidated in the next chapters.

These policies were evident in the force to replace collective consciousness with an individualist mindset. According to "The Chile Project," union membership decreased as companies gained greater flexibility to negotiate individually with workers rather than through collective bargaining (Edwards, 2023, p. 136). As social safety nets disappeared, many Chileans were forced into individualized economic survival strategies, replacing collective activism with personal economic concerns (Stern, 2006). Therefore, dominant groups in social movements in the 1960s and 70s profoundly influenced class-oriented ideologies and Marxist thoughts. However, the new economic model dismissed those traditional actors. The Chilean Social Movements which could be categorized as OSM encountered two significant essential challenges during the Pinochet era. Firstly, it could be the Military regime

suppressed whole collective struggles via law enforcement (Police and Intelligence Services), the Judicial system, and controlling Media-broadcast activities (making propaganda). Many activists had to leave the country, while others were exposed to constant surveillance and pressure. The dictatorship's legal apparatuses ensured that all forms of mass mobilization could be evaluated as subversive activity, justifying brutal oppression by law enforcement (Stern, 2006). Secondly, a fundamental alteration in the economic system. The neoliberal system had changed the way of living of the Chilean Society—the de-organized class-based struggle through the most influential resistance groups, labourers, and students. With Neoliberal policies, individual struggle is foregrounded, and the collective identity is cracked down. This ideological struggle of the Pinochet regime constructed impasses and barriers on the Chilean Social Movement. Nevertheless, in the short term, these brutal policies seemed successful. Chilean people will have found new paths for struggle.

3.3.3 Re-Awakening of the Resistance

One significant reason for the brutalism of the Pinochet regime against the Chilean social struggle was the people's potent endurance. Chile's sui-generis social structure did not allow their wills to be shattered rapidly. Even though the regime's strategies seemed to prevail in reaching their aims, they could not sustain equal severity for much time and backfired. Despite facing extreme forms of state control, different segments of Chilean society adapted their resistance strategies, evolving from covert actions to mass mobilization by the 1980s (Bawden, 2016).

The first responses against the regime came from old social movement actors and Marxist and leftist groups. Despite this repression, organizations such as the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) and the Left Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria*-FPMR) carried out sabotage, assassinations, and bombings targeting military and government infrastructure (Bawden, 2016). These groups were also part of the Cold War dynamics, and most of these activists were armed wings of the Communist Party of Chile and were heavily involved in militant resistance (McSherry, 1992). Therefore, their method of resistance allowed the Pinochet regime to preserve a war on terror climate that led to

the use of this rather influential propaganda apparatus. The Government regularly broadcast images of leftist protests as violent riots, fostering public fear (Klubock, 2004). Nevertheless, three significant groups played a critical role in the social struggle during the Pinochet Era. These were Women, Human Rights, and Urban poor (Pobladores). Each group suffered from different aspects of the regime's policies. Although these groups were not acting as one under a collective identity that reflected their individualistic and reductionist perspective, highlighted as a key feature of the New Social Movements, their common resistance against the military regime provided them with room to stage persistent demonstrations. Their strong visibility was also related to the regime's legalization process, starting with the 1980 Chilean Constitution. The 1980 Chilean Constitution allowed Pinochet to institutionalize his authoritarian rule, reducing the need for overt brutality while ensuring continued control through legal and economic means (Drake and Jaksic, 1999, as cited in Diaz, 2020). However, it also contained the seeds of democratic transition, as its provisions ultimately allowed opposition forces to organize legally and challenge the regime through elections (Stern, 2010).

3.3.3.1 The Women's Movements

The women's movement played a significant role in Pinochet's era of social struggle, resisting his authoritarian rule. The movement's defiance and well-organized nature, thus their maneuverer capacity, was high. Women for Life (*Mujeres por la Vida*) and the Association of Families of the Detained-Disappeared (AFDD) were among the most significant women-led movements (Stern, 2006). According to Kareithi (2010), the Pinochet regime reinforced traditional gender roles, promoting women as caretakers and loyal patriots while simultaneously forcing many into the workforce due to economic hardships. The contradiction between the state's "marianismo" ideology and economic Neoliberalism created space for working-class women to engage in protest. The Pinochet regime also believed it knew what was best for women's bodies. The Popular Unity government's health programs included comprehensive family planning, and because of this, contraception was made available to approximately 40% of the female population of childbearing age. These programs were ended by the Pinochet regime, not only because the Government cut

numerous social programs as part of its neoliberal policies but also because, in their view, Chilean women should focus on taking care of their numerous children (Kareithi, 2010, pp. 9-10). The Church had a key role in this since, in the mid-1970s, segments of the Catholic hierarchy aligned with the Government's ideological narrative, framing Pinochet's leadership as a defense of traditional Christian values (Escalante, 2022).

The regime used symbols of Christianity to justify its rule and policy implementation. At the same time, by using the patriarchal discourse of the Church, it aimed to keep women in line. On the other hand, the Church was a significant symbol of women. For many Chilean women, the Church was not just a place of worship but a sanctuary of resistance (Stern, 2010, p. 167). The Church became a gathering place for women's social struggle during the Pinochet era.

This has allowed them to engage in resistance efforts despite the widespread suppression of civil society. The efforts of the Women's Movements, especially regarding women's presence in the workplace, underlie the economic inequality. This was a significant demonstration of continuities/discontinuities in discussions of old/new social movements.

3.3.3.2 The Human Rights Movements

One of the influential resistance movements was the Human Rights Organization. They had looked for international support to display the atrocity of the regime, and they documented state abuses. The human rights organizations initially operated in secrecy but later gained strength as repression became more challenging to hide. The Vicariate of Solidarity, which was a Catholic Church-supported group, had played an active role in collecting evidence on unidentified murders and disappearances (Diaz, 2020). On the other hand, they provided legal support to political prisoners and denounced torture. The Vicariate of Solidarity was vital in recorrecting the Government's image, yet it was not only an organization. The Association of Families of the Detained and Disappeared (AFDD) organized passive-active movements like hunger strikes and silent marches. It highlighted the brutalism of the

regime to create moral pressure to influence the decisions of the judicial system (Stern, 2006). Another critical group was the Committee for the Défense of People's Rights (CODEPU), which was a defense of human rights organization with grassroots political discussion and Left visions of social mobilization, and by including in its purview the small but growing number of human rights cases involving persons who took up arms against the regime (Stern, 2006).

It is essential to highlight the human rights organization's crucial demonstration of preserving collective identity. Their resistance against the regime's relentless policies and efforts to stop the regime or soften its policies, both by acquiring international support and by holding onto detained and disappeared people, are significant demonstrations of the continuity discussion. On the other hand, even if it is not in the foreground, it is important to mention the economic dimension of their activities.

3.3.3.3 The Student Movements

In the 20th century, student movements were critical in colossal political developments. Significantly, the 68th generation took international politics by storm, reaching its peak in the third quarter of the century. Undisputedly, the student movements took the lead in this storm, and Chile was no exception. It had its share of experience before the coup.

The Military Coup had changed the playground for 15 years, yet even the armed forces regime was not able to stop students completely. Student movements in Chile reacted to initial suppression, becoming a core driving force of the resistance. While the Pinochet regime was trying to find ways to depoliticize educational institutions, especially universities, students had looked for ways to organize and mobilize against the regime. In 1973, military rectors were appointed to oversee universities, and thousands of students, professors, and staff were expelled (Stern,2010). The regime also arrested the student movement leaders or forcibly disappeared them (Bülow & Donoso, 2017) due to its strict policies on educational institutions. Universities were depoliticized by expanding technical programs while drastically reducing the funding for humanities and social sciences programs. These changes,

introduced in 1981, resulted in a 20.9% decline in student enrollment, disproportionately affecting lower-income students and further marginalizing critical thinking (Stern, 2010). However, the student organizations that had to go underground to continue their operations, such as University of Chile Student Federation (*Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile*- FECh) and Pontificia Catholic University Student Federation (*Federación de Estudiantes de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*-FEUC), became rather influential in mobilizing students (Bülow & Donoso, 2017). Therefore, while the regime had weakened, student participation in national protests against Pinochet expanded. Students joined workers and Pobladores (urban poor) in massive demonstrations, leading to violent police repression (Stern, 2010). In an aspect of "clashing" the movements, it also demonstrates ties to the old class-based movements.

Nonetheless, the regime's policies on student movements and the educational system unintentionally constituted tremendous resistance to all the legacies of Pinochet for the following decades. This resistance will be analyzed in the next chapter of the thesis.

3.3.3.4 The Pobladores Movements

The last yet not least significant social movement, Pobladores, whose income levels were already low and who were pushed into even deeper poverty by Pinochet's neoliberal policies, became a crucial part of the ongoing social movements throughout the dictatorship. This group was fundamentally suffering from unplanned urbanization that had to force the periphery of the city. Tomas Moulian (2002) depicts the situation: This disorder and irrationality in urban development, which accentuates the decline in the quality of life beyond the expected level of megalopolises, is the result of a combination of specific atavistic cultural patterns related to housing and the lack of planning in urban growth. (p. 127, own translation). During the 1980s, Pobladores became influential via social movements. They transformed them into urban spaces and constructed resistance centers. They had directly confronted law enforcement. The barricade became a symbol of their opposition to the Pinochet regime. (Moulian, 2002, own translation). Their resistance

effort also merged with other social movements since the regime's neoliberal policies constructed a common goal with different groups of Chilean society. The neighborhood became a central space for the organization because of the many unemployed and fired miners and the authoritarian conditions within the mine. Neighborhood committees began to form ollas communes to help feed unemployed or fired laborers and "*Pobladores –urban poor*" (Stern, 2006, p. 234). Women's movements also played leadership roles in community organizations, such as *Ollas Comunes*, which helps low-income groups (Kareithi, 2010). The Pobladores's movements were mainly driven by economic problems that incrementally increased with the neoliberal implementation of the regime. Thus, Pobladores merged with broader political protest, contributing to the wave of anti-dictatorship mobilizations. The Pobladores movements had a significant role in the post-Pinochet era. Most important of all, the broad social protests in a situation of severe economic crisis created a space for the re-emergence of political parties and the need for such legitimate political interlocutors on the part of the regime that had previously banned them (Winn, 2005, p. 46). They became significant vote potential for Concertación governments during the 1990s.

At this point, it is essential to highlight that the regime did not act solely against Marxist threats. As Pratt emphasizes, women's movements, and as Tomás Moulian notes, the urban poor and student organizations were also exposed to the regime's repression. Despite this situation, they played a significant role in social movements throughout the dictatorship era. This highlights a crucial process in understanding how new social movements emerged.

3.4 The Decade of Concertación

The 1990s were frustrating years for both Chilean society and politics. On the one hand, there was a temporary sense of excitement with the Concertación governments, which promised re-democratization, prosperity, and freedom. On the other hand, Chilean society found itself in a chaotic situation, simultaneously caught between the relief of the dictatorship's end and the lingering fear and anger it left behind. Social movements profoundly reflected the exhaustion from nearly 17 years of military rule

during this period. The Chilean Social Movements in the 1990s had been shaped around two essential consequences of the Military Coup. First, even though the Pinochet regime left power peacefully due to the 1988 referendum. The regime, and especially Pinochet, were not able to be touched. In Chile's post-dictatorship period, the Human Rights Movement demonstrated a relatively strong resistance to trailing the coup-era political actors such as regime supporters and former government institutions (Collins, Hite, & Joignant, 2013). However, unlike other Latin American transitions, Chile's 1980 Constitution (written under the Military regime) remained in place, limiting major reforms and forcing movements to operate within rigid institutional boundaries. On the other hand, Concertación governments had no power to mitigate the rage of the Chilean People. The return to democracy in 1990 under the Concertación coalition did not erase tensions over human rights violations. Many movements emerged around truth-seeking, justice, and commemorating past abuses (Collins, Hite, & Joignant, 2013). Secondly, due to the implementation of Neoliberal policies, many Chileans have suffered economic inequalities.

However, the Labour and Pobladores movements had been weakened by the Concertación governments by weakening grassroots activities via social support programs. On the other hand, most former union leaders joined the government or sided with the government. Lastly, most radical activists who refused to use bureaucratic-institutional channels had been repressed (Collins, Hite, & Joignant, 2013). Due to the bureaucratic and legal policy implementation of the Concertación government, many possible social movements were extinguished. This is also a consequence of the traumatic effect of the Pinochet regime. According to Camila Jara Ibarra (2016), this demobilization was influenced by post-traumatic memory, as communities that had suffered extreme repression under the dictatorship feared returning to mass protest.

> Concertación political elites severed their ties with social activists under the belief that too much mobilization could endanger the newly restored democracy and motivate a military coup.4 And, with the passage of time, it became evident that the Concertación governments could not or did not want to engage in the structural reforms that post-transition movements demanded in areas such as labor markets, education, Indigenous rights, the electoral system, and the environment, among others (Somma & Medel, 2017, p. 30)

The brutality of the former military regime constituted barriers and impasses on the class-based leftist-Marxist antagonist social movements. Secondly, the Neoliberal economic transition altered the collective resistance perspective and weakened labour movements via legal apparatuses. However, Chilean society's perception of the weakened social struggle did not disappear during this period. It adapted and evolved, finding a new path and formations; thus, the 1990s also saw significant alterations in the social movements. Besides the women's, human rights, and student movements, Indigenous and Environmentalist movements have been rising in this decade. The new social movement found room with the re-democratization process, which did not mean the process facilitated the struggle. Mapuches also faced similar barriers with labour-Pobladores movements. They were met with police repression and criminalization, and the use of anti-terrorism laws against indigenous groups marked a continuity of authoritarian practices (Ibarria, 2016).

However, repression and continuity of Neoliberal policies will have constructed a new cycle of resistance, leading to mass mobilizations that will start with students and the articulation of many other groups, such as the Women's, Environmentalist, and Indigenous movements.

3.5 The Chilean Social Struggle in the 21st Century

In the 21st century, non-negligibly, the Chilean social struggle has been formed by the political and economic perversion of the last three decades. This process began before the Military Coup d'état and underwent tremendous alteration with the military regime's implementations. Starting with physical intervention (Law enforcement) and sequentially following institutional transformation via legislative power and economic transformation (neoliberalism) sewed legal barriers and impasses for the Chilean social struggle. In the post-Pinochet period, the packed-transition under *Concertación* the process did not precisely stop, reshape, and contribute to the movement's demobilization.

The characteristics of the social movements transformed (the post-modern society evolved the New Social Movements). Still, the transformation did not bring about

change by the power regarding their attitudes toward the social movements—however, the unfortunate events for the Chilean social struggle altered dramatically at the beginning of the millennium. The post-2000 era has seen a resurgence of mass mobilization driven by economic grievances, political disillusionment, and demands for social justice (Albala & Salomon, 2019). A new generation of movements, especially those born in the post-Pinochet era, rewrote the political landscape; they directly confronted and resisted the political order, unlike previous generations who exposed the military regime's policy implementation and thus, lost or loosened their will, thereby preferring negotiation or cooperation. The reasoning behind this is clear: they have no experience with the past, but they have an experience with the consequences of the past.

Before the overview of the root-causes relation of the 21st Chilean social movement in its first decade, there was only one influential group: Students. Three significant movements were connected to one problem: Neoliberal educational policies. Pinochet's policies profoundly influenced the Chilean educational system, particularly the introduction of the voucher system. This policy promoted a competitive model where public and private institutions depended on state-issued vouchers for funding (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2018). Furthermore, the Organic Constitutional Law of Teaching (LOCE), enacted in 1990, led to decreased state funding in the educational system, and thereby, private educational institutions became pervasive. According to OECD data regarding household income in relation to university fees, Chile was ranked first among the OECD countries, yet this not only segments Chile to race to the top regarding socioeconomic segregation in education (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2018).

One of the first student movements in the 21st century was the 2001 *Mochilazo* (Backpack) movement, an influential demonstration of neoliberal educational policies. It triggered the groundwork for subsequent student protests, including the 2006 the Penguin Revolution (Revolución Pingüina) and the 2011 student movement. The *Mochilazo* emerged in response to the unbearable cost of secondary and university education, and families had to take on debt increasing between private and state educational institutions. On the one hand, Private schools provide elite

education via funding. On the other hand, much more underfunding of state schools consolidated inequality within the system. The *Mochilazo* was not merely significant as it was the first student-led movement, but also, regarding the structure of the movement, it was rather critical. Unlike traditional political movements, the *Mochilazo* was organized from the bottom up and solely depended on secondary schools, high schools, and universities rather than unions or political parties. Secondly, Students formed local organizing committees to coordinate protests in different cities, rejecting hierarchical leadership structures (Hite, Collins, & Joignant, 2013, p. 5). This allowed the government's intervention via institutional or bureaucratic apparatuses to be punctured by the activists; there was no one authority to negotiate or cooperate with the government. This resistance method caused a dramatic change in the second decade of the century, which will be examined in the fourth part of the thesis.

The 2006 Penguin movement's name came from high school student activists who wore black and white uniforms like penguins. Regarding structure, grassroots, and reason, it is rather akin to the *Mochilazo* movement. Nonetheless, with a few points, the Penguin movement differentiates from the Mochilazo. Pingüino was refereeing to a more formal and well-organized movement. Students joined under student unions, forming structured groups that helped coordinate mobilization and fostered a shared sense of activism. Previous movements laid the groundwork for this expansion by shaping both identity and organizational methods, making it easier for the movement to take root in new areas (Donoso, 2013). On the other hand, the massiveness of the movement was one of the biggest in the post-Pinochet era. Hite, Collins, and Joignant (2013) point out that with more than 800,000 students participating, the 2006 protests were the largest in post-dictatorship Chile, bringing education reform to the national agenda (p. 7). Due to the movement, the incumbent president of Chile, Michelle Bachelet, has to step back and promise reforms like reviewing LOCE and increasing funding of state educational institutions. Nevertheless, she will not have kept her promises and, therefore, ultimately failed to dismantle the privatized education model, ensuring that student discontent would continue in later years" (Hite, Collins, & Joignant, 2013, p. 12).

> The neoliberal system in Chile has become a breeding ground for social mobilization and activism. That historical memory plays one of the many roles in social mobilization in post-dictatorship Chile. The respondents in this study actively struggle against neoliberalism. They were politicized in 2011 during the student mobilizations and their fight against neoliberalism more broadly, and historical memory was used as one of the justifications for changing the system in which they live (Trules, 2018, p. 39).

The 2011 Chilean Winter and the 2019 Social Outburst have broader aspects that were not merely student movements. Besides students, those movements have harboured the Indigenous, Women's, and Human Rights movements, which desire to confront the Pinochet era. Therefore, those social movements differentiate the Pingüino and Mochilazo movements regarding conjecture. Therefore, this movement will be examined in the following chapter of the thesis.

3.6 Conclusion

The era of political dynamics and conjectures mainly influenced the Chilean social movements. However, the most influential and dramatic transformation happened during the Pinochet Era. The military regime brought a systemic alteration in political (institutions), economic, and sociologically. This inevitably led to a transformation in the social movements as well. This chapter depicted that the class-oriented (Marxist) and the product of the Industrial Revolution movements evolved with a more individualistic identity and were culturally oriented as the product of neoliberalism. In the nonignorable OSM/NSM transformation matter in the Chilean case, there is a continuation of the movements regarding colossal aspects like political memories of the Pinochet regime or the economic struggle of Chilean society. The Pinochet era constituted a tremendous trauma in society, and beginning with the 1990s, this traumatic memory did not pass from the predecessors to the new one, yet the consequences did, as mentioned above.

The following chapter examines the continuation and rupture discussion in the OSM-NSM relations, considering the 2011 Chilean Winter and the 2019 social uprising in Chile. The literature review scrutinizes both theoretical frameworks and discourse analyses of the activists and officials; secondary resources and interviews provide information to consolidate the thesis's argumentation.

CHAPTER 4

CONTINUITIES AND RUPTURES: TRANSFORMATION OF THE CHILEAN SOCIAL STRUGGLE

This chapter analyses continuities and discontinuities under the theoretical magnifier mentioned in the second chapter. It will be retiled for "The 2011 Chilean Winter" and "The 2019 Chilean Social Uprising," which are the most critical movements in Chile's social struggle regarding a sphere of influence, organizations, and consequences.

Both movements share a significant common point and starting lines that are closely related to the era of Pinochet, which has the most dramatic political and economic legacy in recent Chilean history. The 2011 Chilean Winter was also connected to the world's trajectory, as the Arab Spring spread across the Northern Hemisphere; it was winter in the South. The movement is critical since even though it began as a student movement, it merged with several other groups that also merged with common problems that started as consequences of the military coup. As for the 2019 uprising, it came knocking at the door of the government's more organized and comprehensive for their demands.

These two movements will be analyzed by discussing their actors and aiming to connect with the OSM-NSM debate, with a focus on whether there is a rupture or continuity. On the other hand, discourse analysis will support the theoretical framework by reflecting on the actors of the movements. I assert that these two movements have strong ties to Chile's historical political and economic memories, and they represent a new reaction to old problems. Therefore, these movements carry a sense of continuity, as they share many profound connections with earlier movements.

4.1 The Chilean Winter

The Chilean Winter was not an arbitrary protest by students; it resulted from 30 years of political and economic developments that began with the Military Coup. The introduction of Neoliberal economic policies and an incrementally rising level of disturbance among the people were reflected in the streets during the democratization process of the 1990s. Even though Chile had a consistent economic growth rate of 6,7% during the 1990s (Skidmore & Smith, 2005, as cited in Akgemci, 2015), With a Gini coefficient of 0.52, Chile ranks among the most unequal countries in the world in terms of income distribution. Like many other Latin American nations, where poverty and social inequality have persisted for centuries, Chile has not distinguished itself (Akgemci, 2015, p. 182). It highlights how, despite steady economic growth, the expected improvement in people's living standards never truly changed. This leads us to two key points: one being a consequence, the other a cause. As a result, there was a straightforward transfer of wealth. This is because the benefits of growth failed to reach the wider population, eventually fueling public unrest and mass protests. Intending to narrow the reason for the student protests, it is crucial to highlight the neoliberal education policies.

4.1.1 Paving the Way to the Chilean Winter

The Pinochet era marked a turning point in transforming the neoliberal education system. Privatization, decentralization, and mechanization of the education system have left the state's responsibility in the hands of private institutions. These transitions constituted a tiered system entirely segregated by classes, where access to quality education depended mainly on income (Silva, 2015). On the other hand, the Concertación governments in the 1990s largely refrained from addressing Pinochet's legacy, thereby ultimately deepening students' frustrations about the promised reforms (Silva, 2015). These two tables depict a clear overview of how the Neoliberal education system created visible segregation in society. When examining both linguistic and mathematical skills, we observe that performance varies noticeably according to students' socioeconomic backgrounds. To begin with, the high class never chooses public schools. When we examine this more closely, it is clear that private schools are attended almost exclusively by students from the

wealthiest segment of society. Even high-middle and middle-class families rarely have the opportunity to choose private institutions. This points out that the costs of private educational institutions are exceptionally high. This, in turn, reflects a broader pattern of wealth accumulation, essentially confirming the existence of a large-scale transfer of wealth.

Table 1: National Score of 4th-grade Language Skills (% of grades) According to Type of Schools

Level of Income	State 1999	State 2002	State 2005	Voucher 1999	Voucher 2002	Voucher 2005	Private 1999	Private 2002	Private 2005
High		0	0	20,17	19,57	20,11	20,11	20,04	0
Mid-high	19,83	19,68	0	20,19	20,04	20,26	0	0	0
Middle	19,65	19,65		20,36	20,36		19,97	0	0
Mid low	24,84	25,37		24,63	25,16			0	0
Low	25,47	26,25		24,03	24,25			0	0
Weighted average	9,92	9,97	10,13	10,76	10,8	10,97	12,43	12,51	12,51
Average	30,04			32,54			37,42		

Source: Data adapted from "The Chilean Winter: A Student Revolution," written by Sam Pickett (2018).

Table 2: National Score of 4th-grade Mathematics Skills (% of grades) According to Type of Schools

Level of Income	State 1999	State 2002	State 2005	Voucher 1999	Voucher 2002	Voucher 2005	Private 1999	Private 2002	Private 2005
High		0	0	20,07	19,46	20,2	20,2	20,07	0
Mid-high	16,5	16,32	16,81	16,81	16,63	16,93	0	0	0
Middle	19,71	19,39		20,27	19,95		20,67	0	0
Mid low	25,16	25,05		24,95	24,84			0	0
Low	25,81	25,93		24,31	23,96			0	0
Weighted average	10,1	9,93	9,93	10,82	10,73	10,77	12,59	12,59	12,55
Average	29,91			32,32			37,77		

Source: Data adapted from "The Chilean Winter: A Student Revolution," written by Sam Pickett (2018).

Looking at student performance in both skill areas, public school students unignorably score lower, almost 10% behind those in voucher-subsidized private schools and about 20% behind those in fully private institutions.

While these figures offer a partial view of the issue, they do not fully reflect the more profound inequalities, such as the limited number of public schools and their inadequate resources. They reveal a key point: In Chile, a strong correlation exists between the type of school students attend and their academic performance. Jose Weinstein, former President of the Chile National Council of Culture and the Arts (2011: pp. 76-77), indicates that the wealthy elite (7%) go to exclusive and expensive private schools; the middle class (52%) attend private subsidized schools, adding some family co-payment to a public subsidy; and the lower groups (41%) participate in municipal public schools, free of charge. These percentages also clearly illustrate how segregation is deeply rooted in society. As a result, it is also likely that this early educational divide significantly influences the type of job they can secure and their subsequent earnings later in life. In this system, a student's socioeconomic status shapes their present and effectively determines their future.

This interpretation of the tables demonstrates the root causes of the waves of protests that started with The Mochilazo and continued with "The Penguin Revolution" and the Chilean Winter. Education costs remained one of the core problems of most of the population. This situation bred a profound disillusionment among Chilean youth. According to Greene (2017), the protests were not a break from the system but a demand for democratization and expansion.

4.1.2. The Organization and Actors of the Chilean Winter

The Chilean Winter emerged as a legacy of the Penguin Revolution, with activists on the streets wearing black and white school uniforms in 2006. In December 2010, a Tunisian street vendor set himself on fire, which started a wave of protests around the world, especially in the Middle East and the North African (MENA) region. Worldwide protests demanding a “new democracy” also took place in Chile, where high school and university students revolted to reform the educational system constructed by the Pinochet dictatorship (González 2020). The movement officially began in May 2011, just two months into the academic year. Protests had formed around postponed scholarship payments and the cutting of transportation benefits. However, it rapidly evolved into a full-scale social movement demanding

comprehensive reforms in Chile's education system (González, 2020). Initial protests were coordinated by the Confederation of Chilean Students (CONFECH) but quickly expanded to include university and high school students, parents, educators, and unions. High school students, whose participation is often underappreciated, played a pivotal role in organizing school takeovers and coordinating regional actions (González, 2020). Leading the protests under the umbrella of CONFECH were figures who would later play a significant role in shaping Chile's political landscape, including Gabriel Boric, Camila Vallejo (leader of the University of Chile Student Federation, FECH), and Giorgio Jackson from FEUC. Following the Chilean Winter of 2011–2013, these individuals secured seats in Congress and eventually rose to power through democratic elections in the aftermath of the mass uprisings of 2019. Looking back to 2011, despite tens of thousands of students taking to the streets, the Piñera government refused to shift its policies and responded with increased intensity. The Education Ministry of the era, led by Joaquín Lavín, also one of the Chicago Boys, funded universities according to their academic performance and strongly reacted against the students. Although FECH and FEUC leaders met with the minister to negotiate, the situation remained inconclusive. Therefore, throughout the country, the students started a protest called "toma" (Akgemci, 2015, own translation). The students took over the schools and barricaded the classes in order to cancel them. The movement expanded and became more politicized; the students began to demand structural changes. They were furious about the socioeconomic stratification and inequality that was prevalent in their schools and society (Pickett, 2018, p.7). Toma was not only a protest during the Chilean Winter. Students created an innovative and attractive way of protesting during the movement. One of the famous ones is "Flashmob Performances." Students performed coordinated dance routines, most famously Michael Jackson's Thriller, in public spaces to symbolize the "zombie-like" state of the Chilean education system (Donoso & von Bülow, 2017, pp. 36–37). Another one was the Mass Kiss-In "*Besatón*". Thousands of students gathered in Santiago's Plaza de Armas to stage a mass kissing protest advocating educational justice and democratic affection (Donoso, 2013, p. 18). Even before the Chilean Winter, a student-initiated website on which Chilean youth publicly posted their education loan debt amounts, exposing the financial burden of privatized education, became quite a spectacular way of protest (Bellei, Contreras, &

Valenzuela, 2010). Lastly, (Umbrella March) "*Marcha de los Paraguas*". During heavy rain in Santiago, students marched with umbrellas painted with slogans, transforming a weather event into a visual symbol of their decisiveness (UNICEF Chile, 2011). Not only the way of protest but also the slogans of the students were foregrounded during the Chilean Winter. (End profit in education) "*Fin al lucro en la educación."* This slogan criticized the commodification of education and demanded the removal of profit motives from the educational system (Donoso, 2013). Other slogans have similarities in terms of given messages (Free and Quality education) "*Educación gratuita y de calidad",* and (No More Profit) "*No más lucro*" (Donoso & Bülow, 2017). These slogans and methods of protest demonstrated how fed up students were with neoliberal education policies and, more importantly, how far they were willing to go. Their creative demonstrations managed not only to increase attention across the nation but also to get attention internationally, boosting their message far beyond Chile's borders.

Students were not the only actors in the Chilean Winter. As social unrest grew, the labour unions were pushed to the edge, fighting against lower wages, insecure jobs, and creating pressure on labourers, particularly miners. Simultaneously, people across the country were raising their voices against energy projects such as hydroelectric dams, coal plants, and thermoelectric stations that disrupted their communities and posed real threats to public health and the environment. It was no longer solely about jobs or infrastructure but about dignity, safety, and the right to be heard (Larrabure & Torchia, 2015). Besides environmentalists, students, and proletariat actors, the Chilean Winter successfully unified many parts of the country, from Indigenous movements (such as the Mapuches) to women's movements. By 2011, several members of Meli Newen had entered higher education and reengaged with activism through the Federation of Mapuche Students (FEMAE). Working alongside CONFECH, they advocated for the establishment of a free, public intercultural university, increased access to student scholarships, and enhanced living conditions in the "*hogares*" residences that housed Mapuche students who had relocated to the city to study (Webb, 2022). The unification of the different parts of the country against Pinochet's Neoliberal legacy was the biggest acquisition of the student movements (Akgemci, 2015, own translation). This resulted from students

seeing their struggle against the neoliberal education system as part of a broader, revolutionary process that called for resistance to neoliberalism in every aspect of society (Akgemci, 2015, own translation). Protests intensified directly from May 2011 to June, with participants joining groups and demanding reforms. With the usage of social media, students were able to organize quite rapidly. This situation enabled students to quickly and easily form a group and disseminate their ideas (Bellei, Cabalin, and Orellana, 2018). Students employed participatory mechanisms, including open assemblies and collective decision-making, to promote legitimacy and inclusivity. Digital tools, such as Facebook and Twitter, played a crucial role in coordinating protests and disseminating information rapidly, particularly within high school networks (Felipe González, 2020). Therefore, thousands and thousands of students went down the streets, and they could constitute strategies that had political results.

Apart from students' self-organization strategies, political parties also had a significant presence in the Chilean Winter. Therefore, to understand the movement's organizational structure, it is important to analyse the strategies of the political parties, particularly PCCh (the Communist Party of Chile). One of its most prominent leaders, Camila Vallejo, was an avowed member of the Communist Youth (Juventudes Comunistas de Chile), and her role became emblematic of how traditional leftist cadres could engage with horizontalist structures (Villalobos-Ruminott, 2012, p. 12). Camila Vallejo stood out amongst other students as a leader and voice in the student movement, both nationwide and internationally. Her activism was reflected directly in the media, and the protests gained broader visibility and negotiation ground with the government. Drawing from a strong tradition of Communist youth activism, she focused and disciplined rhetoric brought strategic depth to a movement otherwise marked by its spontaneous and grassroots-driven momentum. Camila Vallejo, a communist party member, along with Giorgio Jackson, a socialist one, are the most recognizable leaders of the Chilean Winter that challenges the hierarchical structures of political parties and insists on horizontal decision-making processes (Villalobos-Ruminott, 2012, p. 12). With media power, PCCh also had institutional influence via Vallejo regarding student federations. The PCCh had long cultivated influence in student politics, particularly through its strong

presence in FECH (University of Chile) and FEUSACH (University of Santiago). These federations, especially FECH under Vallejo's leadership, became institutional anchors for organizing, communication, and negotiation with the state (Villalobos-Ruminott, 2012). Villalobos-Ruminott also summarizes the student movement, with support from communist-aligned actors. He highlighted the "structural complicity between the government and the main opposition parties" and helped reopen wounds from Chile's unfinished democratic transition (2012, pp. 13–14).

Regarding actors, the Chilean Winter has not lost any consistency when compared to before, during, and after the Pinochet era; this presents a solid link with the characteristics of the Old Social Movements. There are numerous visible nuances, such as the methods of organization (unions, federations, etc.) and forms of protest (antagonistic and challenging). On the other hand, the transformation to the new social movement is also visible in the ways actors organize and express themselves through social media.

4.1.3 Demands of the Winter

Examining the demands of the Chilean Winter, it is evident that most of them are directly related to Educational Reforms. In a broader framework, demand could be expressed as an "alteration in neoliberal economic policies."

One of the most significant challenges for students was the debt crisis. Many students, particularly those from middle, lower-middle, or lower socioeconomic classes, relied on government-backed loans to access university education. These loans often turn into long-term financial burdens for students. When they graduate, they struggle to find well-paying jobs, even if they must incur long-term debt at the beginning of their working life. Under the merchandized education system, students must pay for quality education; thereby, the system creates a vicious cycle.

Weinstein (2011) highlights that students chant slogans to summarize their situations, like "Pago por estudiar, y estudio para pagar" ("I pay to study, and I study to pay," p. 77). He also emphasizes that, in this context, education was framed not only as a

social right but also as a tool of social justice and national development (Weinstein, 2011).

One of the pain points of student debt was the loan interest rate during the protest period, which was 5.8%. McSherry & Raôl Molina Mejía (2011) indicate that "*5 años estudiando 15 pagando*" ("5 years studying, 15 years paying)". Another significant demand of the students was the Abolition of the University Admission Test (*Prueba de Selección Universitaria*- PSU). Protesters argued that the PSU favored privileged students; thus, the PSU system contributes to systemic inequality. Students oppose the PSU because it favors wealthier students and causes social stratification (Pickett, 2018). Therefore, the students demand standardized entrance exams.

Other significant demands from students and faculty also sought cooperative governance models in which administrators or external stakeholders would not monopolize the decision-making process. This would allow collective decision-making that reflects the interests and values of the entire academic community. Activists demanded participatory governance structures that gave decision-making power to students, teachers, and staff (Larrabure & Torchia, 2015).

The actor's demands can be evaluated as an effort to acquire the right. They questioned the state's roles and duties by demanding universal rights from an economic perspective; thus, protests have a leftist political view and a clear path of continuation from OSM to NSM.

4.1.4 Discourse Analyses

The scope of the Discourse analysis comprises, in particular, the first six months of the protest, as well as the statements of incumbent officers and protest actors. Therefore, this provides a salient perspective on understanding the connection between the protests and the political memory of the past and its continuation of social movements. Initially, officials' statements are rather inconsistent and changeable, unlike those of the protesters. The government constantly changes its

opinions and attitude toward the protesters. The official statements mostly change due to the excessive acts of agitators among the protesters. Chilean Interior Minister Rodrigo Hinzpeter said, "Students are not only citizens who have rights; all other Chileans also have them," he said. "The time has come for students to reconsider. They are calling for marches that are beyond their control (ROUNDUP: Clashes as 100,000 Chilean students rally in protest, 2011). Minister of the Interior and Public Security Andrés Chadwick and Deputy Secretary of the Interior Rodrigo Ubilla also issued similar statements about the protests. They said that the protesters were purposefully disturbing the public order that the police had tried to restore (Hundreds Arrested in Chilean Student Protests, 2011). Although protests display an antagonistic character, the discourse of the leaders suggests an opposite character. It is a significant fact that the transformation of social movements is underway. FECH leader Camila Vallejo spoke in the interview: We do not want violence; our fight is not against the police. Our fight is to recover the right to education; on that, we have been emphatic and clear," said Vallejo as she stood outside the presidential palace (Franklin, 2011). Another name, Vice-President of FEUC, Pedro Pablo Glatz, stated that almost 100,000 people participated in the protest, with only a small number turning violent. These individuals were repeatedly warned and reprimanded by the movement's leaders (Tear gas flies during Chilean student protests, 2011).

However, the leader's discourse does not present a rupture but rather scrutinizes this perspective. Even Piñera's 4 billion dollar offer to fund the education system did not conclude or decelerate the protests. Protesters argue that the government must do more to ensure students' right to an affordable education (Tear gas flies during Chilean student protests, 2011). Thanks to their organization and the leadership within the student movement, protesters were able to counter the government's attempts to weaken and discredit the broader social mobilization. Protests held in August 2011 demonstrated consistent student demands and also undermined the efforts of the Piñera Government. Three crucial factors contributed to the protest's success and the change in officials' statements: the impact on the Chilean economy, the public's support for the student protests, and the pressure of the opposition. Minister of Treasury Felipe Larrain said, "The protest was illegal and warned of a damaging impact on Chile's economic and social fabric." According to him, the

Chilean economy may lose $ 200 million each day of protest (Chilean student protests snowballing, 2011).

He also stated that, in response to business leaders' demands for tax reform and increased social reforms in the country, Treasury Minister Felipe Larrain responded, “We will not give in” (Violence continues in Chile student protests, 2011). One of the significant reasons for this was the strike call of the workers union. A central union of workers added demand for a long list of educational reforms to a general strike. A representative of the union stated that the Constitution, a legacy of Pinochet, also needs to be revised (Chilean student protests snowballing, 2011). President Piñera stated that he was pained to see "those working so hard to paralyze Chile" (Chilean student protests snowballing, 2011).

On the other hand, the Chilean opposition in Congress rejected the education fund contained in the 2012 budget, saying it was not enough to resolve the actual crisis in the education sector (Chilean government begins a dialogue with the opposition on education crisis, 2011). Former Chilean president Eduardo Frei said how we will find and finance 4 billion dollars: “We do not know how they plan to spend this" (Franklin, 2011).

Another point is that while the Piñera government was losing popularity, the students gained public support. This process was realized in 5 months simultaneously. "The government must assume that everyone agrees with our demands since its ratings are only at 22 percent," said Francisco Figueroa, vice president of the FECH (Violence continues in Chile student protests, 2011). Gradually supporting the student movement is also correlated with a decline in support for Piñera’s government. FECH leader Camila Vallejo spoke in the interview: "It is always the students that make the first move." Youth does not have family commitments, which allows us to be freer. We took the first step, but we are no longer alone; the older generations are now participating in this fight” (Franklin, 2011). Camila Vallejo turned into a popular figure during the protest. This was not significant for the movement's leadership, but it was significant for the women’s struggle.

Vallejo, who is also a member of the Chilean Communist Party, is the face of a movement that has not been seen since the last years of Augusto Pinochet's rule in the 1980s.; even the leaders of other countries in the region made similar statements about her. "We are all in love with her," said Bolivian Vice President Alvaro Garcia Linera (Franklin, 2011). The support of society, beyond laborers and students, was also articulated among Indigenous people during the Chilean Winter. Camilo Catrilanca, the 16-year-old spokesperson of the toma in Ercilla province, stated that The Mapuches are tired of the presence of police in their communities. They want an end to the militarization of their everyday lives. Meanwhile, they stand in unity with the student movement, which is resisting the establishment of a free, decent public education system accessible to everyone (Chile: Mapuche teens take over town to end "police brutality, 2011). Mapuche students combine their minority issues with education reform demands, highlighting that the Chilean Winter has transformed inclusive protests that allow all parts of society to express themselves.

At that point, the officials' discourse had shifted in the opposite direction. The resident, Piñera, said that after more than 3 months of continuing violence and rising conflict, now is the time for peace, unity, and dialogue (Hundreds Arrested in Chilean student protests, 2011). The other members of the cabinet had also determined this salient alteration; Chilean Interior Minister Rodrigo Hinzpeter called protesters to negotiate educational reforms under the roof of the National Congress. However, the movements were skeptical about the government calls. Camila Vallejo highlighted the need for a profound reform of the commercialized education system (Franklin, 2011). FEUC leader Giorgio Jackson was skeptical about the government's call for a meeting. He stated that it was only after six months of protests that the government was willing to engage in dialogue with the opposition (Chilean government begins dialogue with the opposition on education crisis, 2011). The Chilean Winter notably demanded a series of protests from students. The Discourse analysis reveals the will and decisiveness of the protesters, as well as their organizational structure and attitudes toward the government and its responses. Regarding Demands, the organizational structure and demonstration of a massive mobilization reveal the movement's unignorable link to the characteristics of old social movements. On the other hand, the movements display new methods of

resistance, lowering the level of violence and involving all classes of society, with a greater focus on a common aim rather than individual or dispersed demands.

The Chilean Movements constructed an environment that dismantled the fear of the Pinochet legacy; they also continually struggled with the legacy of Pinochet through demands for educational reform. Quilodran (2011) asserts that student boycotts have evolved into Chile's largest mass movement since democracy was restored in 1991. This is solid evidence of how new generations learn from the past and shape the future.

4.1.5 The Chilean Winter Rupture or Continuity?

In the previous passages, we analyzed the Chilean winter by looking into the organization demand actors and the movements' background reasoning. Now, it is time for a theoretical interpretation of the Movements that we discussed in the second chapter. This part aims to present a theoretical answer to the question of whether OSM/NSM transformation is a rupture or continuity regarding the Chilean Winter. In the beginning, the Winter's demands, as I mentioned above, related to the consequences of the Neoliberal Economic policies.

The merchandising education system caused a massive mobilization of the students. This did not happen over a night yet erupted like a pressurized Volcano over time. In the aftermath of Pinochet, the indifferent policies of the Concertación governments led to students finding their path. The Chilean Winter was also a revolt against the status quo politics. Therefore, it has an anti-capitalist and antagonistic character. This points out Marx's interpretation of his era in terms of economic society apparatus relations; the Chilean Winter had similar characteristics.

Regarding these circumstances, the Chilean Winter has strong ties with OSM. On the other hand, a slogan used during the protests is quite connected with how Marxist ideas sustain their validity. "*5 años estudiando 15 pagando*" 5 years studying, 15 years paying. This slogan demonstrates the relationship with surplus value theory. Buechler (2016) elucidates Marx's idea with the example of the factory workers'

working hours. To sum up, eight hours of new value are created and four hours are returned as wages, while capitalists take the other four hours as surplus value. A similar algorithm is valid for the students; in order to find a decent job, they have studied for 5 years and have to pay for 15 years.

Another point is the actors of the movement; the students were the main actors and also articulated with other groups, such as Mapuches, Women, and Labourers. All of the groups also had an interception of a cluster that was to eradicate the legacy of Pinochet. They looked for freedom and rights equality. Not regarding a group of actors, but demands also have a link with the OSMs. Della Porta and Diani (2020), one of the established elements that qualified with social movement was a relation between collective identity and commitment. Collective identity initialized shared commitment in the Chilean Winter case was the Pinochet Legacy. This is also an indicator of how the legacy transforms the movement.

Regarding rupture, the discourse analyses facilitate answers to the question of the break. The Chilean Winter was anti-systemic and antagonistic; the answer is yes, yet there is no conventional meaning to these terms. The protesters were against the system regarding the Coup Constitution and the economic and educational system. They demanded profound reforms, equality, and freedom.

However, this did not mean demolishing the capitalist system or the rise of a revolution. They demanded a proper democracy and a sustainable economic system. Thus, resistance has a premise of a capitalist system. Another point is their attitude. Evidently, some protesters tended to be violent. However, in the discourse analysis, it is clearly in the statements of the protest leaders or spokespersons that highlighted, “We have been marching all along in a massive, peaceful manner” (Tear gas flies during Chilean student protests, 2011). This is a rupture regarding the NSM/OSM discussion. However, it is not interpreted as a total rupture; it is a consequence of the transformation process of society. The movement has no segregated weak voice; it is organized, has a common purpose, and is mobilized. It brings new methodologies to problems that fit with the era of needs. It also related to alterations in economic

apparatus regarding Historical materialism. The Neoliberal system was born due to an unmaintainable import-substitute model, and The Chilean Winter was an outburst rooted in the country's harsh and profoundly entrenched implementation of neoliberalism.

4.2 The 2019 Chilean Outburst

The Penguin Revolution and the Chilean Winter were precursor steps to the social eruption in Chile. These two movements succeeded in mobilizing hundreds of thousands of people and achieved two times shifts of power. Michelle Bachelet, both in 2006 and in 2013, was elected as president of Chile. However, both these processes did not have a common political conjecture. In 2006, it did not include all parts of society. It rested on the stability provided by 15 years of Concertación rule and its "neoliberal consensus," clearly setting itself apart from the broader wave of leftward shifts seen across Latin America (Akgemci, 2015, own translation). On the other hand, in 2013, it was the consequence of the Chilean Winter that included future leaders of Chile as social actors. Thus, she was able to manage a broader coalition, which had never been done.

Briefly, Bachelet's office days (2014-2018) quite related to the generation by this coalition of a high level of ideological heterogeneity can be explained because the Chilean electorate was more ideologically misaligned, an issue that makes parties relate to its bases in a nonprogrammatic manner (Yáñez, 2021). Michelle Bachelet's second term (2014–2018), though framed by ambitious promises of structural reform, particularly in education, taxation, and the constitution. She struggled to meet public expectations (Navarrete & Tricot, 2021). It is critical to understand this process due to the root causes of the 2019 outburst (Estallido Social). Bachelet's failures to meet the protesters' demands brought a profound alteration to Chilean politics. The coalition of Chile people will construct a new path in politics.

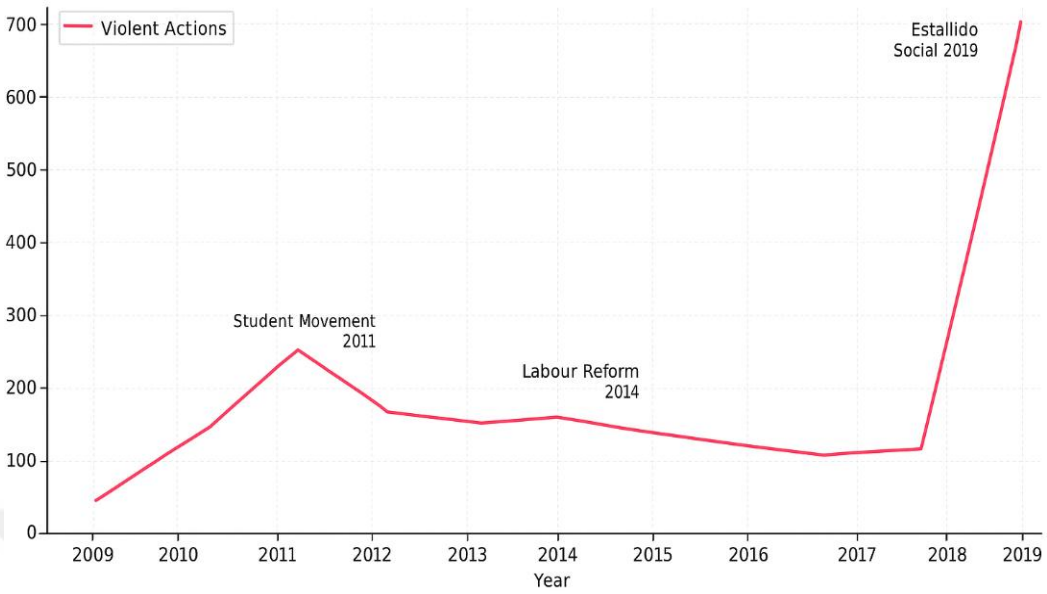
4.2.1 The Organizations, Actors, and Demands

Estallido Social had started with a similar cause-root of the Chilean Winter rise in transportation prices coincidently. After Piñera returned to power following

Bachelet's election loss, the 30 pesos increase in subway fares triggered outrage among students, many of whom began jumping turnstiles in protest (Valladares, 2020). Nonetheless, what started as a simple resistance act rapidly escalated. The government's harsh response to the protests acted like a small tremor that triggered a volcano already rumbling beneath the surface of Chilean society, ready to erupt. Initially, the government brought police forces in front of metro stations.

However, the latter sparked, in turn, a widespread backlash, leading to spontaneous seizures by students and non-students of more metro stations and further confrontations with the police (Valladares, 2020). With the quick expansion and support of the protests, the sudden rise in unrest and violence caught everyone, especially the government, unprepared (Gonzalez and Le Foulon Morán, 2020). The government of Sebastian Piñera met as a matter of urgency. The administration resolved to declare a state of emergency, allowing the military to be present in the capital (Montes, 2019, as cited in Sasse, 2021, p.12). According to Páez (2019), It is the first time military presence since the Pinochet Era. Nevertheless, unlike the expectations, the protest spread out throughout the nation. Piñera declared a curfew in the aftermath of the developments. However, on 25 October 2019 (the greatest march in Chile), "*La Marcha más grande de Chile"* was organized, and almost 1.2 million people joined, which was almost 6,4% of Chile's population (Ferreira and Schoch, 2020, as cited in Sasse, 2021). Due to massive demonstrations, Piñera could not continue harsh intervention to quell the protests in the aftermath of the end of the state of emergency. He initiated negotiations with the protesters. Unlike the 2011 Chilean Winter, the presence of the public and their demands were colossal, steady, and sharp, and the response was noticeably harsh as the government did. "Figure 1" displays how the 2019 social outburst was rather different from the Chilean Winter. It was way more antagonistic, and it has a salient connection with the OSM characteristic. On the other hand, the declaration of a state of emergency and the presence of the military were reminders of the Pinochet era. Many Chileans, thus, demonstrated massive resistance and violence. The dramatic increase in the level also presents us with an inconsistent evaluation while comparing the Chilean Winter and the 2019 Social Outburst in terms of the antagonistic approach of both movements.

Figure 1: Violent Actions in Chile 2009 - 2019



Source: Data adapted from "The Reasons for the Mass Protests in Chile 2019/2020," written by Lea Sasse (2021).

The discourse analyses evidently imply that the leader of the Chilean Winter did not tend to violent action, unlike they tended to condemn those who attempted to demonstrate violent actions. At that point, this differentiation could be interpreted as The Chilean Winter marked a turning point for mass protests that once seemed unimaginable under Pinochet's regime became a reality. By 2019, the fact that people took to the streets in such overwhelming numbers suggests that the fear his dictatorship had long embedded in society was, at last, being left behind. One of the spectacular slogans, which also reflects the mindset of the protesters, first emerged in the feminist movement: "*Nos quitaron tanto que nos quitaron el miedo*" (They took so much from us that they took away our fear). This slogan displays how these movements became successful since the struggle, which started in the 2000s, in the aftermath of more than 20 years, demonstrated tremendous success in the 2022 election; former student leader Gabriel Boric became the president of Chile. This also describes the decisiveness of the protesters. As displayed in "Table 3" a variety of organizations is comprehensive when compared to the Chilean Winter. There are larger and institutionalized collective associations via Civil Society organizations.

The Chilean Winter organizational structure mainly consolidates Student movements and Labour unions. Whereas in the Estadillo Social; labourers, teachers, students, feminists, retirees, and Indigenous and environmentalist groups were all part of the protests. The biggest minority group in Chile, the Mapuches, was not separately displayed in the table. However, Lea Sasse (2021) included Mapuches, specifically "No+AFP" and environmentalist movements. Bringing such groups under an umbrella of the protests was a non-negligible success of the 2019 Social Outburst. Especially there are rather specific focus groups within the protests, such as "No más TAG," which is against high toll fees.

Table 3: A List of Participant Organizations to the Estallido Social

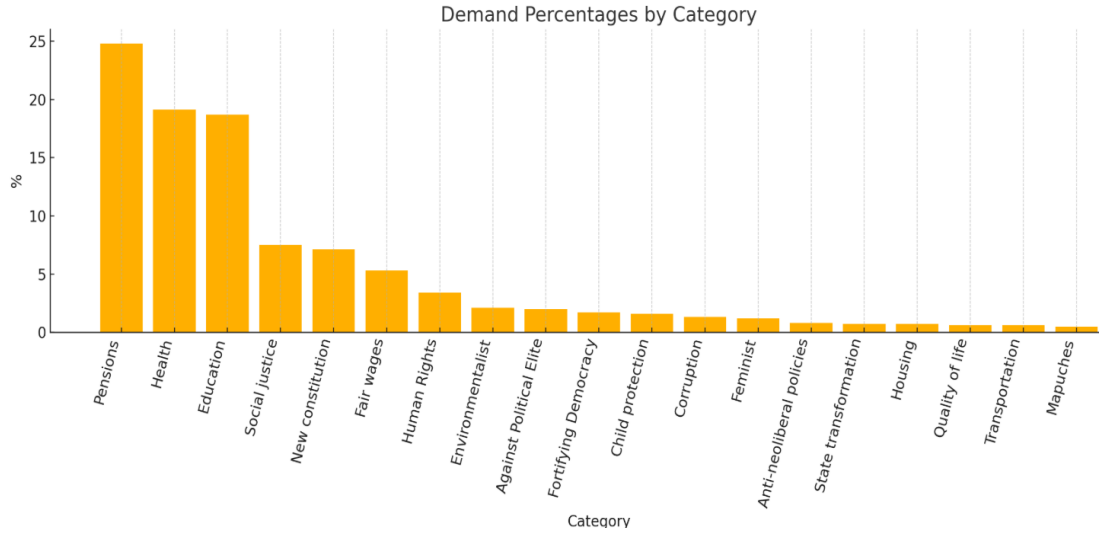
Category	Labour Unions	From Previous Social Movements	Assemblies: Cabildos
CUT	Trade union federation		
ANEF	Union of Public Sector		
CONFUSAM	Healthcare workers union		
Colegio de Profesores	Teacher union		
No+AFP		Opposing the private pension system	
Movement for water-territories		Environmentalist	
No más TAG		Against high toll fees	
Coordinadora Feminista 8M		Feminist organization,	
CONFECH		Uni. Student Confed.	
Town-hall meetings			Town-hall meetings
Self-ed. groups			Neigh. self-ed.
Discussion groups			
Assemblies			At least 205

Source: Data adapted from "The Reasons for the Mass Protests in Chile 2019/2020," written by Lea Sasse (2021).

This also describes how each organization could be unified for a common purpose. This Common purpose has not altered since the 2000s. It is the Neoliberal Economic

Policies through the legacy of Pinochet.According to income level, the lowest 5% at the bottom is the same as Mongolia, and also the highest 2% is the same as Germany (Páez, 2019). This data underlines how the income gap is open in Chile. Chile is the country where billionaires' share, in terms of GDP, is the highest in the world (Páez, 2019, p.2). Whereas in Chile, the annual rise rate of GDP has increased critically in the last 20 years (Caroca Soto et al., 2020). Therefore, this indicator does not explain such collective protests. The demands of the Estallido Social Data highlighted by Páez give concrete results, especially when examining "Figure 2" below. Chile University's sociological students conducted field research during the protests and asked the participants, who were almost a thousand people, about their priority demands.

Figure 2: Demands of the Social Outburst Protesters



Source: Data adapted from "The Reasons for the Mass Protests in Chile 2019/2020" (NUDESOC, 2020, as cited in Sasse, 2021).

The table evidently demonstrates most of the demands connected with the consequences of the Neoliberal Economic Policies. Even though "Anti-neoliberalism" has a much lesser frequency, according to participants' answers, the Pension, Health, and Education systems are directly linked with Neoliberalism.

Therefore, the protesters have anti-neoliberalist characteristics, as in the Chilean Winter. Besides anti-neoliberal demands, the new constitution demand and also

thematically related demands such as state transformation or diminishing corruption have considerable percentages. As an overview, almost all demands related to Pinochet's legacy. Those demands go in line with the desire of the majority of the protesters to change the constitution, which originates from the dictatorship and favours the neoliberal model (Sasse,2021, p. 17). In fact, these demands point to root causes and how the Pinochet legacy transformed the next 30 years of Chile.

4.2.2 Discourse Analyses

Discourse analysis will cover the first 4 months of the movement; although this movement has continued until the 2022 elections, most of the critical developments occurred within 4 months. The global pandemic COVİD-19 profoundly broke the movement's momentum.

Even in the first 12 days of protests, the level of tension and violence was rather high, and there was no gradual intensification in the movement. All the critical developments are consecutively and imminently realized. During the first two weeks, 18 people died, and 7500 people were arrested nationwide (Franklin, 2019). The government's brutalist actions toward the protest had to alter quite rapidly. In the very first days of the movement, President Sebastian Piñera informed the public there would be no price rise in metro transportation (Piñera lifts state of emergency in the country, 2019). However, this development did not satisfy the protesters. The protesters emerged with a slogan: It is not about 30 pesos. It is about 30 years (Piñera lifts state of emergency in the country, 2019). This slogan noticeably reacts to indifferent policies toward the Pinochet legacy of the Chilean Political Elites. They digested the Neoliberal implementations. The slogan emphasizes 30 years of suffering of the Chilean people. Right after the subway stations' protests, Interior Minister Andrés Chadwick said that a new social agenda would be announced soon. On the other hand, the secretary general of the Presidency, Gonzalo Blumel, states that by underlying, people should expect a comprehensive change but an initial kick (The fifth day of chaos in Chile forced Piñera to propose an agenda of "social change, 2019). However, meanwhile, 15 people have already died in the streets, and the number of arrested people reached 3000.

Thus, Piñera made his famous statement at the point that Chile was "at war with a powerful and relentless enemy" (The fifth day of chaos in Chile forced Piñera to propose an agenda of "social change, 2019). After that point, the president had to declare a state of emergency with these statements: We must differentiate peaceful and violent actions; he also underlined that if anyone thinks I cannot use force in the rule of law, they are profoundly wrong (Piñera does not rule out re-decreeing state of emergency if violence grows in Chile, 2020). When the Military went down the streets, the protesters had a tremendous answer to the Piñera government. With 1.2 million participants, the largest marches had been realized in Santiago throughout the democratic history of Chile. One of the buildings in the square sign on written: "For the dignity of our people, to the street without fear" (With 1.2 million people, Chile is experiencing its biggest protest since the dictatorship, 2019). In the aftermath of the protests, Piñera had to retreat with the statement, “We have all heard the message. We have all changed. With unity and help from God, we will walk the path to Chile better for all” (Sebastián Piñera, after the historic march in Chile: "We have all heard the message, we have all changed, 2019). This situation did not remain with the statement; also, he lifted the state of emergency (Piñera lifts state of emergency in the country, 2019). Even though Piñera accelerated a constitutional reform process, he could not find support from both the opposition and the public. The people demanded their resignation of him. Journalist Katy Watson, in an interview with President Piñera. He pointed out that these problems have continued for 30 years. I am not responsible for the whole process yet; I accept my responsibility for some problems. He also added; I do not resign (Piñera says he will not resign despite protests in Chile, 2019). The opposition party leaders, such as the president of the Progressive Party for Democracy, Heraldo Muñoz, the Christian democrat’s leader Fuad Chaín, and the Socialist party leader Alejandro Guillier, gave similar statements; Pinera was late to act inclusively. People do not demand a patched constitution; Chilean people are looking for a new constitution (Piñera announced "deep" and "intense" changes to the constitution but did not conform to the opposition, 2019). In terms of the protester's demands to convey a direct message to the political elite, the reason for the demand demonstrates a connection with the Pinochet legacy reshaped social movements. Journalist Jonathan Franklin (2019) interviewed the participants of the protests, a critical indicator to display links

between past and present. Juan, who is 60, a 60-year-old teacher, asserts, "I want to change, and I want it now. The cost of living keeps rising, and our money is badly distributed - in pensions, in healthcare, and in education." She also added, "I am not afraid. I have nothing to lose. I am doing this for my granddaughter". Another young participant, Melissa, 25, an old makeup artist, said that my grandmother resisted Pinochet, which my mother did in her time, and now I am a mother, and it is my turn (Franklin, 2019). Lastly, an 18-year-old student, German, indicates he fights for better living conditions, free and fair education, and lower subway fares. His parent can barely afford his school. He also highlighted the will for change and the fearless stand of the people (Franklin, 2019). These three interviews have a rather common aspect that is profoundly related to the term change. They referred to the constitution, with the thought to start at that point. When merging with "Figure 2" and the discourse of the protester, a strong consistency can be observed. The protesters went down the street in order to complete an alteration in the political and economic system. They have no fear or hesitation yet; they believe they can change their future; thus, there were massive demonstrations in the streets.

There is an undeniable connection between the 2019 Social Outburst and the Pinochet legacy. His policy implementation reshaped Chilean society irreversibly. The discourse of the actors directly displays their efforts to find new ways of struggle, clearly emerging as an element of continuity within social movements.

4.2.3 The Social Outburst Rupture or Continuity?

The 2019 Social Outburst of Chile has many similarities with the Chilean Winter in terms of theoretical elucidation of the movement. It is rather anti-neoliberalist characters. It is an eruption of the last 30 years of economic problems and the indifferent attitude of politicians toward problems. As represented by the successful implementation of Neoliberalism, also famously called the Laboratory of Neoliberalism, Chilean people saliently demonstrated with Estallido Social that this argument is not correct anymore. Even though many economic indicators display that Chile has consistent growth and stability (World Bank, n.d.), These positive developments do not reflect on the Chilean people. Discourse analyses, tables, and

figures colossally demonstrate rooted economic problems that triggered the long-term process of the transformative power of society. Hence, the historical materials that Marx and Engel introduced facilitate the understanding of the movement. Fundamental needs of the urbanized society, such as having a decent pension, getting proper healthcare, or accessing quality education, should not be a luxury, yet for many in Chile, it feels exactly that way. People are either forced to pay high costs to get the services they need, or they are left with support so minimal that it barely covers the basics. This circumstance constructed relations of production, base, and superstructure.

Another point is the antagonistic characteristic of the movement. As in “Figure 2 “ saliently observed, the 2019 Social Outburst was quite an intense and violent process of struggle. Especially when compared with the 2011 Chilean Winter, there is no room for moderate action or discourse regarding protestors. Also, this movement has much more disintegrated groups and organizations that unified to struggle for a common goal. Therefore, consolidation of movement via a leader or leaders is less likely. Extreme precautions of the Piñera government are another significant sign to justifying the argument. Antagonistic characteristics of the movement are not the only element examined to determine connections between OSM/NSM. Participating in organizations, movements (gathered for a specific goal), assemblies, or meetings describes the leftist characteristics of the movement. Prominent NSM theorists like Touraine (1985) and Melucci (1980) assertation that technological transformation and new establishment of political structure shaped the cultural life of modern societies. They associate consumer societies' actions with their preferences. Societies' behaviour and attitudes were shaped by a new model of economy focusing on consumption, individual preferences, and culture. OSMs do not adequately explain those higher factors. These argumentations could be falsified with the Estallido Social. Obviously, those mostly unrelated organizations, struggles, and assemblies have a common and fundamental goal that tries to reach collective actions. Pinochet’s Legacy constructed such a struggle. To sum up, there is an evident continuation in the 2019 Social Outburst regarding the OSM/NSM classification. In terms of rupture, I have a similar conclusion with the Chilean Winter. When we look at the organizations and groups involved, it becomes clear that the 2019 social

uprising can be seen as a continuation and a broader extension of the Chilean Winter. However, despite the movement's calls for a new constitution and an enlarged social state understanding, these demands alone are not adequate to define the movement as totally anti-systemic. Their scale of demands remains under the capitalist system. Therefore, there is a rupture; in that sense, the movement sets itself apart from old social mobilizations by not positioning itself as explicitly anti-systemic.

In the final evaluation, this movement has been a result of an indifferent political actor toward the public for 30 years. The demands of organizations and actors display strong ties with the anti-neoliberal and antagonistic characteristics of the movement. Thus, there is clear evidence of the continuation of the OSM features in this movement. This social movement played a key role in revealing just how deeply Pinochet’s legacy had reshaped Chilean society and, just as importantly, how openly people rose against that legacy. It not only brought the historical trajectory into a transformative position focus but also exposed how New Social Movements, often centered on identity and the demand for recognition and inclusion, have evolved within the constraints of an ongoing economic vicious cycle.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

After World War II, a new world order emerged in the second half of the 20th century, characterized by significant economic and political changes. In addition to these transformations, social movements grew rapidly. During the 1960s and 1970s, these movements peaked and had a substantial impact on the direction and focus of academic research during that period. Therefore, the variety of approaches has increased along with it. Buechler (2016) highlights that political and economic changes in this era have always influenced social movements. Thus, they are defined as a modernist form. In this context, the transformations that occurred during the 1960s and 70s are specifically visible. Scholars' perspectives on the dynamics of social movements transform as well. Initially, these movements were viewed primarily through a state-centered, macro-level lens. However, they gradually came to be understood as expressions of collective cultural struggle.

With the transformation in society, the theories of the New Social Movement emerged and spread during this period. One of the significant claims asserted by New Social Movement (NSM) theorists, such as Alberto Melucci (1980) and Alain Touraine (1985), is that contemporary society must be understood beyond the framework of industrial societies' needs. Shifts in production relations, articulated with technological, political, and economic developments, have significantly altered the needs and priorities of modern societies. In this context, NSM scholars argue that the traditional narratives shaped by old social movements, especially those centered around struggles of the proletariat, are no longer sufficient to explain or respond to the evolving demands of today's societies. This thesis argues that, even though the transformation of society changed the dynamics and characteristics of social movements, this is not a total collapse and rebuilding process. Thus, some

characteristics of the old social movements can also be found in the new social movements. To display this continuity relation between OSM-NSM, the Chilean Winter, and the 2019 Social Outburst (*Estallido Social)*, movements have been chosen for this study. There is a strong connection with the implementation of the Pinochet era policy. The historical relation between NSM and OSM and the Pinochet era, as well as their emergence as a response to the chronic problems continuing since 1973, strongly supports the main argument of this thesis. The limited space afforded to Old Social Movements, as well as the construction of political barriers and impasses during the dictatorship, reveals the constraints they faced. Under such circumstances, new social movements could forge new paths, which were made visible with the Chilean Winter and the 2019 Social Outburst. Thus, past and present mobilizations remained consistent, supporting the thesis's claim from multiple perspectives. First, some significant discussions in the literature highlighted about continuity narrative, and after the theoretical debate, the findings in the cases have merged. On the other hand, these movements do not provide a concrete connection between OSM and NSM by merely referring to historical connections and their explanations of the Marxist theoretical framework. Therefore, suggestions will be made for how contemporary social movement theory, for example, anti-neoliberal and anti-austerity, has explanatory power for NSM-OSM discussion. The symbiotic relation of the Marxist theoretical framework and these movements' root causes also supports a continuity argument. Lastly, while Chile stands out as a unique case, especially due to its dictatorship-era legacy, it also shares striking similarities with other movements across the Global South. The last part offers brief reflections on those parallels in the waves of social movements. Providing a perspective that highlights examples beyond Chile in the context of social movements in the Global South is also of significant importance for encouraging further research in this area.

In the literature review chapter, the discussion of continuity and rupture is categorized into three specific, distinctive facts: values, theme, and actors of the movement. First, the values of the movements display parallelism with the material concerns of the NSMs. For example, Women's and Indigenous movements have material concerns along with cultural struggles. The root cause of these movements is economic grievances, which are not directly visible due to their cultural identity.

However, when looking into their issues and demands, such as equality, it is evident that it is not solely related to acceptance in society but to economic inequalities. Therefore, the emergence of the movements is connected with the alteration in the mode of production rather than merely cultural struggle. In this context, when we evaluate the social movements thematically, Andrew Levine and Elliott Sober (1985) describe how post-capitalist societies materialize and how consumers become products themselves. Harvey's (2012) claim at that point is that urbanization isn't just a tool of capitalist exploitation; it's also a space where alternative ways of organizing society can be imagined. Because of this, cities have long served as a central focus for both old and new social movements, offering a stage where struggles over space, rights, and futures continue to unfold. While he was admitting continuity, he also left a margin for limitation of NSMs by highlighting their pre-admission characteristics.

Returning to the two major social movements in Chile, it is possible to observe the extent to which they align with the continuity debates present in the literature. Chilean Winter began with a price rise in public transportation; however, it rapidly transformed into a movement against neoliberal education policies. By incrementally gaining public support, eventually, both these movements evolved into confrontation with Pinochet's legacy. Both movements have antagonistic and anti-neoliberal characteristics. "*Figure 1*" and "*Figure 2*" display clearly these characteristics of the movements. Therefore, regarding the Marxist theoretical framework, there is an evident relation between the base and superstructure narrative. On the other hand, especially the main actors of the Chilean Winter (Students) and their struggle with the education system are described during the movements as a slogan: "5 años estudiando 15 pagando." 5 years studying, 15 years paying. This situation depicts not only an example of how students are turned into commodities through the capitalization of their education but also as evidence of how capital holders exploit this process to generate surplus value. In this sense, it offers a significant reflection of the changing relations of production within a post-industrial society. Nevertheless, another important point of these movements is the organizational capacity and structure. Starting with the Chilean Winter, students were organized under the student confederation (CONFECH). Their ability to negotiate effectively with the government played a critical role in the influence of the movement. At the same

time, the relationships that both federation leaders and prominent figures within the confederation maintained with opposition parties had a notable impact on the organizational capacity of the Chilean Winter, particularly at the horizontal level. The 2019 social uprising unfolded as a response to both the failure of the larger left coalition formed after the 2011 Chilean Winter and the growing economic pressure on the public caused by neoliberal policies. Unlike the more centralized student mobilization of the 2011 movement, the 2019 protests evolved into a broader and more fragmented mobilization, fueled by the participation of a wide range of organizations. This organizational structure is outlined in Table 3. However, regarding discontinuity, anti-systemic characteristics of the OSMs are not present in NSMs. In both Chilean Winter and The Social Outburst, unlike any anti-systemic actions, the movements sought root reforms within the system. Discourse analysis supports these interpretations solidly. Franklin (2011) indicates that, particularly in Chilean Winter, protest leaders tend to reconcile with the government, and in the Social Outburst, "Figure 2" displays the demands of the movement, and these demands have a strong connection with the essential ability of the Social State.

With the Chile Project, Chile became the first country to introduce neoliberal economic policies. In the thesis, one of the most fortified arguments in favor of continuity theories aligns easily with the Chilean Winter and the Social Outburst due to the implementation of neoliberal economic policy. Therefore, not only NSM-OSM discussions but also contemporary movements such as anti-neoliberalism and anti-austerity in societies shaped by neoliberal transformation can be seen as a necessary response to that change. They reflect how people push back against the pressures of a shifting system. And because they still carry many of the core traits found in earlier social movements, they emerge not as a rupture, but as a natural continuation of collective struggle. At this point, Della Porta (2015) critiques mainstream social movement theory for its detachment from long-term structural transformations: "concerns for the social bases of protest even declined, as socioeconomic claims raised through protest remained stable or even increased" (p. 7). Della Porta's critique highlights how neoliberal capitalism has restructured societies in ways that revitalize class-based cleavages. However, this was not realized by the working class because of the emergence of the precariat as a "class-in-the-making," a group with

no stable labor contracts or access to the traditional social contract of the Fordist era. Della Porta draws from Guy Standing to define them as "people who have minimal trust relations with capitalism or the state" (Standing, 2011, as cited in della Porta, 2015, p. 9). The Chile case also supports Della Porta's arguments, as the initiators of the movements were students rather than the working class. This situation not only highlights the changes that have taken place but also reveals a sense of continuity with old social movements. Specifically, it describes that modern social movements still share common ground with their predecessors, especially when it comes to key actors and materialist values.

Contemporary social movements in the Global South cannot be grasped adequately through Eurocentric lenses that dominate much of classical social movement theory. Rather, their emergence, form, and substance are profoundly embedded in historical trajectories of dispossession and resistance that stem from both colonial legacies and the capitalist restructuring that followed neoliberal globalization. A critical insight from both Altmann et al. (2017) and Motta and Nilsen (2011) is the inadequacy of mainstream theories like the political process model and new social movement theory when applied to global South contexts. These paradigms are inconvenient in understanding movements operating outside liberal democratic frameworks or confronting antagonists beyond the state, such as transnational corporations, patriarchal norms, or extractive development projects. This is especially evident in the case of peasant and indigenous movements in Latin America, whose resistance is not simply against the state but also multinational entities and the very idea of development as imposed from above. The Marxist interpretation here is instructive. Movements in the Global South often emerge at the fault lines of capital accumulation, whether through land grabs, privatization of essential services, or environmental degradation (Altmann et al., 2017). These are not merely protests; they are class struggles reconfigured under new historical conditions. For instance, the resistance to pre-paid water meters in South Africa, as described by Jackie Dugard (in Motta & Nilsen, 2011, pp. 59–82), reflects a broader confrontation with neoliberal logics that commodify life itself. Water, a basic means of subsistence, becomes a site of contestation, echoing Marx's analysis of primitive accumulation and the transformation of commons into private property. Motta & Nilsen (2011)

also highlight Zapatista movements in Mexico and MST movements in Brazil, as well as resistance to pre-paid water meters in South Africa; these could be read as a reclaim attempt for collective control of land/ resources by challenging state and capital owners. They interpret this kind of activism as revolutionary. Such mobilizations, while responding to contemporary neoliberal conditions, remain deeply interwoven with earlier traditions of anti-colonial and developmentalist resistance, thus highlighting the enduring continuity of oppressed struggle across historical conjunctures.

In short, social movements in the Global South include the contradictions of global capitalism in its neoliberal phase. They resist not merely local injustices but systemic forces that commodify land, labor, and life itself. A Marxist reading, when rooted in the concrete experiences of these movements, allows us to understand them not as anomalies or exceptions but as pivotal nodes of resistance in the global class struggle, voices from the margins that challenge the very architecture of the neoliberal world order.

As a result, when evaluating the causes, processes, organizational structures, and demands of the two social movements in Chile, the thesis findings demonstrate that they were fundamentally class-based and economic struggles. Even when analyzed within the framework of post-modern societies, this underlying reality remains unchanged. It is clearly observable that even movements centered on identity are rooted in class concerns, particularly in demands for recognition and acceptance within society. From a Marxist perspective, this situation can be further explained by the transformation of social structures during the 1980s: the alteration of production relations, the weakening of the working class, the rise of identity-based politics, and the reshaping of society through consumerist definitions.

As seen in Chile four decades later, these structural changes did not fundamentally influence the main demands of social movements; rather, they profounded the existing problems. In this context, a clearer answer emerges regarding the debate on the continuity between old and new social movements. The presence of these

characteristic features within contemporary movements, such as anti-neoliberal and anti-austerity protests, further embeds the continuity process within a more natural and coherent framework.

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APPENDICES

A. APPENDIX

Hundreds arrested in Chilean student protests. (2011, August 5). CNN Wire. hundreds arrested in Chilean student protests (CNN) -- The aftermath of clashes between protesters and police in Chile this week over educational reforms included nearly 900 people arrested and 90 police officers injured, a government spokesman said Friday. Local media reported that spokesman Andres Chadwick said 874 people had been arrested across the country in street protests that the government opposed because it had not authorized them. The biggest demonstrations were in the capital, Santiago, where students and some professors took to the streets, as they have been doing for weeks, to call for the repeal of dictatorship-era laws that had chopped the amount of money spent on education. President Sebastian Pinera had said publicly earlier this week that the protesters' message had been heard, and that his government would be open to talk of reforms. But the chances of negotiations seemed slimmer after Thursday's crackdown on protesters as they demonstrated despite not receiving permits from the government. "We hope a dialogue will always exist, that there is always room for negotiation," Karen Boisier, an engineering student, told CNN en Español. "But we want negotiations based on our claims, and not something they are imposing on us." Chileans have a constitutional right to express themselves through protest, she said. "I think this is a lesson for the government because they have to realize we are a social movement, and that they can't repress their own people, but have to listen to them,". Boisier said. Deputy Secretary of the Interior Rodrigo Ubilla said that protesters had to be confronted because they were purposefully blocking roads and otherwise disrupting the public. "We can say that this so-called 'repression' is not so," he told CNN Chile. He blamed a "minority" of the protesters for inciting violence, while police tried to restore order.

"There is a minority group of (protest) leaders who prefer violence. They prefer Molotov cocktails, they prefer throwing rocks," he said.

B. APPENDIX

ROUNDUP: Clashes as 100,000 Chilean students rally in protest. (2011, August 9). Deutsche Presse-Agentur. ROUNDUP: Clashes as 100,000 Chilean students rally in protest DPA POLITICS Chile demos education ROUNDUP: Clashes as 100,000 Chilean students rally in protest Santiago Around 100,000 Chilean youths marched Tuesday through central Santiago to demand free education, part of a movement that has been organizing protests for months. Hundreds of masked people clashed with police just a few blocks from the presidential palace, vandalized private property and set a car ablaze. Chilean Interior Minister Rodrigo Hinzpeter condemned the violence, which he linked to the student movement. "It is not just students who have rights. All other Chileans have them too," he said. "The time has come for students to reconsider. They are calling to marches that are beyond their control." Leaders of the student protest distanced themselves from the violence. "They are not us!" university student leader Camila Vallejo wrote in her Twitter account. Outside the capital, similar rallies were held in Valparaiso, Concepcion, La Serena and Copiapo. Earlier, peaceful marchers walked past the Dario Salas School, where three minors have been on a hunger strike for 21 days to support student demands. Twenty-nine other schoolchildren are on hunger strikes across Chile. Chilean student protests started three months ago and have already led to a change of minister in President Sebastian Pinera's government. In Chile, most school education and all universities require monthly fees. Last week, close to 900 people were arrested and 90 police officers were injured in student protests. In recent months, hundreds of thousands of people have poured onto the streets to support the movement, whose rallies have drawn the biggest crowds for protests in Chile since the end of the military dictatorship in 1990. The ongoing protests have eroded Pinera's approval rating, which sank to 26 per cent according to an opinion poll published last week, the of any Chilean president since 1990.

C. APPENDIX

Chilean gov't begins dialogue with opposition on education crisis. (2011, November 17). Xinhua General News Service. Chilean gov't begins dialogue with opposition on education crisis Chile's Education Minister Felipe Bulnes met with opposition congress members in the central city of Valparaiso Wednesday to deal with students' demands for educational reform. They discussed possible education reforms to meet the demands of students, who had started protesting six months ago. The Chilean opposition in the Congress rejected the education fund contained in the 2012 budget, saying it was not enough to resolve the actual crisis in the education sector. Bulnes called for a meeting with the opposition congress members after they addressed a new proposal to resolve the crisis, which included a large amount of funds to finance the sector and increase the number of scholarships. Yet students were still dissatisfied, especially the ones from middle schools, saying the proposal only covered the university sector. University students agreed that the government wasn't going far enough. Spokesman of the university students Giorgio Jackson was skeptical about the meeting, saying that only after six months of protests was the government willing to engage in a dialogue with the opposition. The Chilean student protests have been the largest ones in this country in the last 20 years. The students have called for new protests on Nov. 18 and 19.

D. APPENDIX

Chilean student protests snowballing Chilean student protests are snowballing into a political storm with President Sebastian Pinera finding himself right at the center of it and not liking it. The millionaire president, who retains vast business interests but swears by arrangements aimed at avoiding conflicts of interests, faced widening revolt this week after increasing numbers of labor union members and teachers threw their support behind students. Protesters' representatives said their calls for general strikes across the country received greater attention than anticipated. As the protests grow, the lists of reforms demanded by those taking part in street marches and work

stoppages are multiplying. Rather than relent, Pinera said he was pained to see "those working so hard to paralyze Chile." A central union of workers added to general calls for education reforms a longer list of changes, which includes a redrafting of the constitution and statutes to remove what critics see as vestiges of past military dictatorial regimes, notably the highly controversial rule of Gen. Augusto Pinochet from 1973 to 1990. Pinera came to power in March 2010 after a democratic election that displaced hugely popular Michelle Bachelet. He pledged sweeping modernization and promised to bring Chileans into the 21st century with economic liberalization, state investment in gigantic development projects and transformation of a society bedeviled by sharp economic disparities. Pinera saw his plans founder when an 8.8-magnitude earthquake struck the country in February 2010, causing tens of millions of dollars of damage and destruction. Pinera led a swift economic and social regeneration but the work used up cash reserves he hoped to use for the promised march to progress. Critics question Pinera's style of government and claim he lacks communication skills necessary to engage with all strata of Chilean society. The Unitary Central for Workers called for a nationwide strike for the second consecutive day Thursday and invited other unions to join the protest action. Thousands of protesters barricaded roads and burned tires and debris as the strike went into full swing. Officials put the law enforcement agencies on alert to prevent a repetition of protests earlier in August that deteriorated into violent clashes between police and demonstrators. Student protests against high tuition fees began about two months ago and focused on private academic institutions operating with impunity, alleged corruption and favoritism in the education system. Both the Interior Ministry and law enforcement commanders faced angry charges that unarmed protesters received beatings, summary detentions and abusive treatment in police custody. Protest leaders said they hoped to make the rallies "the biggest national strike of the last decade." It is the first 48-hour national strike since the Pinochet dictatorship. Government spokesman Andres Chadwick said police defused some protests and claimed the situation was normal beyond traffic disruptions.

Finance Minister Felipe Larrain called the protest illegal and warned of a damaging impact on Chile's economic and social fabric. The Chilean economy may be losing up to $200 million a day, officials said. Analysts said Pinera's decision to fill his

Cabinet with technocrats and business experts might be well-intentioned but the lack of public savvy political negotiators appears to be alienating many Chileans. A Cabinet reshuffle in July, the second since Pinera assumed office last year, failed to defuse tensions. The outcome of the protests is likely to hinder the president's move to push through sweeping economic reforms, including plans to integrate Chile more comprehensively with the global markets. Chile was badly hit by the 2008 economic crisis. Critics blamed the country's connectivity with international markets for the problems faced after the economic downturn.

E. APPENDIX

Tear gas flies during Chilean student protests. (2011, August 9). CNN Wire. Tear gas flies during Chilean student protests Vehicles burned and tear gas flew in Chile's capital Tuesday as tens of thousands of demonstrators protested education policies in the South American nation. Police said more than 60,000 demonstrators protested in Santiago, CNN Chile reported. The march in Chile's capital began peacefully but became violent, CNN's sister network reported, with some protesters setting vehicles ablaze and throwing debris at police. Video from CNN Chile showed authorities shooting tear gas into crowds of demonstrators. The nationwide marches were the latest in a series of protests that began weeks ago. Students have been demanding lower tuition and other reforms in the nation's education system. Protesters Tuesday included students, professors and copper workers -- who announced a strike to support the student movement. Tuesday's marches came after police arrested nearly 900 protesters last week, accusing them of blocking roads and disturbing the peace as they participated in unauthorized marches. Details were not immediately available about arrests in Tuesday's march -- which officials authorized. "Unfortunately, the results have shown one more time that they (organizers) do not have control of the marches," Chilean Interior Minister Rodrigo Hinzpeter told reporters. But student leader Pedro Pablo Glatz told CNN en Español that only a small group of an estimated 100,000 protesters who marched nationwide Tuesday had turned to violence. And the disturbances have repeatedly been condemned by the movement's

organizers, he said. "We have been marching all along in a massive, peaceful manner," he said. Last month Chilean President Sebastian Pinera announced a new plan that included a $4 billion education fund, but his proposal has done little to mollify protesters, who say the government must do more to guarantee students' right to an affordable education. Hinzpeter repeated the government's calls to end protests and negotiate details of education reforms in other settings, such as in the halls of Chile's National Congress. "It is time to start work of substance," he said.

F. APPENDIX

Quilodran, F. (2011, August 26). 1 dead, nearly 1,400 arrested in Chilean student protests-turned mass social movement; Chile leader wants talks; 1 dead, 1,400 arrests. Canadian Press. 1 dead, nearly 1,400 arrested in Chilean student protests-turned mass social movement; Chile leader wants talks; 1 dead, 1,400 arrests SANTIAGO, Chile - After three months of mass protests that provoked a sharp drop in his popularity, Chilean President Sebastian Pinera agreed Friday to negotiate with students and teachers demanding more state funding for education and profound changes in government. Pinera, who leads Chile's centre-right political coalition, made the call for dialogue as people recovered from a two-day nationwide strike called by the country's largest union organization. As students, teachers and pot-banging families around the country joined in, the strike turned into a huge protest against his 18-month old government. Most marchers were peaceful but scattered violence marred the protests, and a 16-year-old boy was shot to death early Friday, allegedly by a police bullet, as officers responded to looting and riots. Nearly 1,400 people were arrested nationwide, and more than 200 police and civilians were injured. "After more than three months in which we've seen violence and conflict flourish, now is the time for peace, the time for unity, the time for dialogue, the time for agreements," Pinera said. He took care to invite representatives of all the sectors involved - students, teachers, parents, professors and those who run the nation's schools and universities - and say that education reform talks should take place in the presidential palace as well as Congress. That represents an about-face for Pinera, who had avoided talking directly with protesting students or openly considering their

demands before sending his 21-point package of education proposals to Congress. The students had their own list when they began taking over high schools and universities three months ago, from more state funding to better teacher training, and a guarantee of free quality education to all Chileans. But their demands grew to include a new constitution to replace the top-down political system dictated by Gen. Augusto Pinochet's regime, and popular referendums to give Chileans a direct voice in their democracy. Union organizers of the nationwide strike added their own list, including major changes to pensions, health care and the labour code. Camilo Ballesteros, student president at the University of Santiago, praised Pinera's overture. The student leader at the University of Concepcion, Guillermo Petersen, credited the movement's pressure for changing the president's mind, but said it remains to be seen how willing Pinera will be to make real concessions. Students planned to decide this weekend how to respond. The presidents of Chile's House and Senate, representing leftist and rightist parties, had offered to sponsor negotiations, but Pinera and the students were both leery of participating. Neighbors blamed the death of Manuel Gutierrez on police gunfire. Deputy Interior Minister Rodrigo Ubilla suggested the boy may have died while confronting police, and said the case should be clarified quickly. Union members estimated that 600,000 people participated in Thursday's marches nationwide. Police offered no nationwide numbers, but estimated far lower crowds in Santiago. What is clear is that some isolated student boycotts have grown to become Chile's largest mass movement since democracy was reestablished in 1991.

G. APPENDIX

Violence continues in Chile student protests. (2011, October 19). Deutsche Presse-Agentur. Chilean student protests again turned violent Wednesday, as tens of thousands took to the streets to demand free public education. Carrying placards and sporting body paint, 60,000 students marched in protests nationwide, continuing five months of demonstrations that have significantly damaged the popularity of President Sebastian Pinero. While the majority of demonstrators were peaceful, clashes broke out with police and between marchers trying to control violent splinter

groups who on Tuesday set fire to a public bus. Five police officers were wounded Wednesday and at least forty people were arrested, local media reported, citing preliminary police figures. Tuesday ended with 263 arrests. Government spokesman Andres Chadwick condemned the violence. "We're dealing with extremists here, people acting in a violent and premeditated way, with their faces covered, wearing hoods, carrying weapons," he said. Chadwick said despite hundreds of arrests every day of protesters - and more than two thousand so far this year - police have the situation under control. Pinera has seen his popularity collapse in five months of youth protests. "The government must assume that everyone agrees with our demands, since its ratings are only at 22 per cent," said the student leader Francisco Figueroa. In Chile, a country where half of households live on less than 900 dollars a month, higher education costs thousands of dollars per year, even at public universities. Student loans are priced at higher-than-market rates, and many students graduate with debts of 40,000 dollars or more in a country where per capita income averages 15,000 dollars. Talks broke down after the government's last offer, which would cover tuition for only the poorest 40 per cent of students. Business leaders have urged tax reform and more money for social programs. But Treasury Minister Felipe Larrain said Wednesday the government would not "give in," local media reported.

H. APPENDIX

Franklin, J. (2011, August 25). Commander Camila, the student who can shut down a city: Chilean leaders promise educational reforms; Public sector workers join countrywide strike. The Guardian – Final Edition. Not since the days of the Zapatistas' Subcomandante Marcos has Latin America been so charmed by a rebel leader. This time there is no ski mask, no pipe and no gun, just a silver nose ring. Meet Commander Camila, a student leader in Chile who has become the face of a populist uprising that some analysts are calling the Chilean winter. Her press conferences can lead to the sacking of a minister. The street marches she leads shut down sections of the Chilean capital. She has the government on the run, and has been given police protection after receiving death threats. Yet six months ago, no one

had heard of Camila Vallejo, the 23-year-old spearheading an uprising that has shaken not only the presidency of the billionaire businessman Sebastian Pinera, but the entire Chilean political class. Opinion polls show that 26% of the public support Pinera and only 16% back his recently ousted Concertacion coalition. Yesterday saw the start of a two-day nationwide shutdown, as transport workers and other public-sector employees joined the burgeoning student movement in protest. "There are huge levels of discontent," said Vallejo in a recent interview. "It is always the youth that make the first move . . . we don't have family commitments, this allows us to be freer. We took the first step, but we are no longer alone, the older generations are now joining this fight." Elected as only the second female leader in the 105-year history of the University of Chile's student union, Vallejo, who is also a member of the Chilean Communist party, is the face of a movement the likes of which has not been seen since the last years of Augusto Pinochet in the 80s. Hundreds of thousands of high-school and university students have refused to go to lessons since early June, calling for better and more affordable education and an end to a two-tier system that creates a few wealthy, elite colleges along with many underfunded public ones. Vallejo has organised cacerolazos - protests in which participants bang pots and pans. Some demonstrations have turned violent. "We don't want violence, our fight is not versus the police or to destroy commercial shops . . . our fight is to recover the right to education, on that we have been emphatic and clear," said Vallejo as she stood outside the presidential palace. The government has rushed out a number of initiatives to try to head off protests, promising to amend Chile's constitution to include a guarantee of quality education and cutting interest rates on student loans from 6.4% to 2%. But the promise of an extra 1.9 trillion Chilean pesos (£2.5bn) in education spending has done little to quell the uprising. Few analysts believe the students will back down despite a heavy police presence at recent demonstrations. As she spoke, Vallejo was surrounded by students laying out a huge peace sign made up of hundreds of empty teargas canisters that had been used against students. "Here we have more than 50m pesos' worth of teargas bombs," said Vallejo. "Imagine how much was used on the regional or the national level? This is unacceptable, we want to reiterate our demand that we made to the minister of the interior that he step aside." Tatiana Acuna, a government official in the ministry of culture, was recently fired for suggesting that the assassination of Vallejo would end the protests.

On Tuesday, Chile's supreme court ordered police protection for the student leader. Vallejo has become a cult figure - with odes on YouTube and predictions that her charisma may well catapult her into Chilean politics. "We are all in love with her," said the Bolivian vice-president, Alvaro Garcia Linera. Vallejo said on the subject of her looks: "You have to recognise that beauty can be a hook. It can be a compliment, they come to listen to me because of my appearance, but then I explain the ideas. A movement as historical as this cannot be summarised in such superficial terms. "We do not want to improve the actual system; we want a profound change - to stop seeing education as a consumer good, to see education as a right where the state provides a guarantee." Captions: Camila Vallejos, the students' leader, in a peace sign made from teargas canisters in Santiago Photograph: Roberto Candia/AP

I. APPENDIX

Chile: Mapuche teens takeover town to end "police brutality". (2011, August 30). Indigenous Peoples Issues and Resources. A decades-old is heating up as Chilean cities spend their winter under a blanket of protests. Forty teenagers staged a toma, or takeover, in Ercilla. A decades-old debate over a 150-year-old conflict is heating up as Chilean cities spend their winter under a blanket of protests. Forty teenagers, part of 700,000 Mapuche Indians out of 17 million people in Chile, staged a toma, or takeover, in Ercilla. The small forest-farming town, 600 kilometers south of Santiago, frequently hosts brawls between the police force and Mapuche. Since August 19, the 11-to-17-year-olds occupied the town's government center. They're not giving it back, they said, until Interior Minister Rodrigo Hinzpeter hears out their grievances over the "constant police presence" and a lack of intercultural education. The clock is ticking according to Camilo Catrilanca, the 16-year-old spokesperson of the toma. "We're not going anywhere. We haven't had an answer," said Catrilanca. Mayor of Ercilla José Vilugrón said the government won't resort to violence to break up the students' toma. He sent a proposal over to La Moneda, Chile's presidential palace, with recommendations on how resolve the issues. But the local governor, Miguel Mellado, said if they don't go willingly, he will forcibly remove the students from the building.

Catrilanca said the Mapuche are sick of what they describe as a relentless police presence and demand "the end to the militarization of their communities." The forty are also on board with the student movement in Chile, which fights for a free, high-quality, public education system for all.

The Mapuche are pushing to include their traditions, language and history as part of the overhaul of the school system in Mapuche areas. They want the government to build an intercultural school in order to realize this goal. Authorities offered to construct a school to placate the striking students. The students are mulling over the offer, but hesitate because of its location. There have been several run-ins between the Mapuche and the farmer who lives on the chosen property. The Mapuche community is backing up the teens. The leader of the Mapuche territorial alliance, Ñizol longko Juan Catrillanca, said their occupation shows "discontent with abusive police presence constantly raiding our areas," and added, "We respect their decision." For years, their clashes with police have included land occupations, hunger strikes, teargas, arson and violence on both sides. Just last month, a confrontation in Ercilla ended with a policeman hit by a gun pellet in one eye and a 16-year old with a bullet through his thigh according to a Mapuche leader. The government started to reassign lands to native groups in 1993, under Chile's newly replanted democracy. The Mapuches are demanding that the government restore what they see as theirs by historical right. The government relies on records to determine what belongs to whom. Some of this land in Ercilla, now privately owned, presents difficulties for the municipality. The government would need to uproot the farmers, who've built their homes on these properties, to fulfill the Mapuches' request. They also want the Chilean state to recognize their perspective on land rights, which means that the air, subsurface, water, and the land aren't quartered and sold separately.

Mapuches want the whole pie packaged together. In the world of the Mapuche, an individual doesn't own a parcel of land: it belongs to the community. After land is reassigned, raising capital to start up or even just maintain the agriculture often causes problems for the new Mapuche owners. Some, including several displaced farmers, view the situation under a different lens, arguing that indigenous rights establish special protections for only part of the population. This, they say, is unfair

to the rest of Chilean society because it gives indigenous people unequal treatment under the law.

The group of Mapuche teens threatens to take further action if Hinzpeter hasn't met them within the next few days. Although a school proposal is on the table, the students said they won't step down until they hear how the government plans to resolve police violence in their neighborhoods. Republished with permission, original here.

J. APPENDIX

Franklin, J. (2011, October 6). Chile students meet leaders for reform talks. The Guardian – Final Edition. It started off five months ago as a student protest, calling for radical reform of the education system. But the protests that came to be known as the Chilean winter grew into a mass movement, demanding the restructuring of the government. And on Tuesday government negotiators finally convinced student leaders to meet the education minister for the first time to discuss their demand for free university education. "We believe that there are enough resources to provide not only free university in the public sector, but in the private sector as well," said Camila Vallejo, who called for the nation's copper mines to be nationalised. Vallejo and other student leaders have delivered a detailed proposal to the government including higher taxes for Chile's extremely wealthy individuals and an end to what they call a for-profit education system that has failed. Students have already won major battles in their effort to better fund Chilean education. On Tuesday the Chilean Congress moved forward with a law to cut interest rates on student loans and earlier this year the government announced a special $4bn (£2.5bn) fund for the 2012 budget, including a 24% rise in student scholarships. Opposition politicians said the proposal lacks specifics. "This fund with $4bn, how will it be created? How will it be financed?," said former Chilean president Eduardo Frei. "We don't know how they plan to spend this." Despite a slump in the price of copper, the nation's primary export, the Chilean economy continues to boom. Car sales in August and September were so high that the government ran out of licence plates and authorized the use of cardboard plates for up to six months. GDP growth

for 2011 is still estimated to be over 4%. Buoyed by their nation's sound financial foundation, high school and university students have held out for months, resisting threats and pleas for them to return to classes. With hundreds of public high schools still occupied by 15- and 16-year-old students and weekly marches drawing up to 120,000 students, the movement has shattered two decades of political consensus in post-Pinochet Chile. A series of violent attacks at schools and threats of expulsion have hardened positions on both sides in the past week. "I have doubts about whether or not there is a real willingness (on the part of the government) to resolve this conflict," said Vallejo, the student leader who accused President Sebastian Pinera of provoking students by proposing laws that would allow for up to three months' imprisonment of protesting students. Pinera's approval ratings have dipped to as low as 22% - the lowest recorded in Chile. Captions: Student leader Camila Vallejo at a demonstration in Santiago to demand big changes to Chile's education system.

K. APPENDIX

The fifth day of chaos in Chile forced Piñera to propose an agenda of "social change". (2019, October 22). CE Noticias Financieras – English. During the five days of the social outburst, 15 people died. The riots also left a balance of hundreds of injuries. Chile experienced a fifth consecutive day of chaos on Tuesday, with long pitched battles between security forces and demonstrators, saquiries against shops and mass protest demonstrations, which forced the government to work on the development of a "social change" agenda to stem a social outburst that left fifteen dead, hundreds injured and more than a thousand detainees. The landscape of violence and repression was re-settled in central areas of Santiago and other cities in the interior of the country, such as Concepción and Valparaíso, in the midst of a state of militarization of public spaces that was not seen since the time of the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. "Chile woke up": shocking images of protests A group of demonstrators waving a Chilean flag next to a masked statue during a protest. (AP) Keys to understanding the state of emergency in Chile Chile protests: long queues in supermarkets While the streets of the Chilean capital were dominated by the unrest,

President Sebastián Piñera received at the government headquarters leaders of the political parties of the ruling alliance and the opposition, to analyze measures aimed at shaping the protesters, who demand improvements in health services, education and income distribution. Leaders of the parties for democracy (PPD), Radical (PR) and Christian Democrats (PDC) met this afternoon with Piñera in the palace of La Moneda with a statement of requests, which also demands answers about the 15 dead that already accounts for the revolt. The head of state heard requests for the military to be removed from the streets and to put an end to the declared state of emergency in the midst of the social outburst. After that meeting, Interior Minister Andrés Chadwick, quoted by La Tercera, announced that Piñera would "soon" announce a "proposal of social agenda to advance in the country". (DPA) But then the secretary general of the Presidency, Gonzalo Blumel, clarified that "it is unrealistic to expect a definitive answer, but to give an initial kick" to begin to emerge from the crisis. He said a "unity agenda, social change for a country where everyone has greater equal opportunities and assurances was being studied than we all aspire to." Several left-wing or centre-left organizations preferred not to attend the meeting convened by the president, who in a speech yesterday, Monday, had declared thename in favour of lowering drug prices and putting in place measures to improve health systems and education. New curfews announced in four cities in Chile for this Tuesday night Meanwhile, a central corner of Santiago was on Tuesday the real battleground where protesters and security forces clashed for more than two hours. The riots broke out at one end of the iconic Plaza Italia, the scene of historic mobilizations in Santiago, where thousands of people concentrated to express their protest. (Télam) Although the bulk of the protesters remained in a peaceful posture, at one point groups of people were seen running to escape the clouds of smoke generated by tear gas grenades thrown at security forces officers, who acted protected behind several armored tankers. Groups of protesters defied the use offorce and confronted the carabinieri with stones or simply standing with their arms held high in front of the tankers, which at times were encircled between two groups of protesters. A powerful Chilean businessman announced a pay rise and called on his colleagues to imitate him (AP) Official balance According to the last official balance sheet, during the five days of the social outburst, 15 people died, 11 in fires declared amid vandalism or slaughties and the remaining four by the repression of the armed or security forces.

Three of those killed by the crackdown were hit by bullets fired by security agents and another hit by a Navy truck in Talcahuano, a city near Concepción, about 500 kilometres south of the capital, the EFE agency reported. The riots also left an account of hundreds of injuries (at least 88 of bullets) and 2,643 arrested. The wave of violence led the government to first decree a state of emergency throughout the country and then the curfew in several cities, in a context in which Piñera came to say that Chile was "at war with a powerful and relentless enemy" whose origin and objectivity he didn't identify you.

L. APPENDIX

Piñera does not rule out re-decreeing state of emergency if violence grows in Chile. (2020, March 2). CE Noticias Financieras – English. President Sebastián Piñera said on Sunday that he does not rule out declaring the state of emergency in Chile again and taking the military to the streets if violence escalates in March as happened on October 18 when the social outburst began. "If I were to believe that it is again necessary to establish a state of emergency to protect public order, to protect my compatriots, we will do it,"Piñera said in an interview on TVN's "National State" program. On the night of October 18,the day the social revolt broke out with violent protests, sackings and fires in the trade, Piñera decreed a state of emergency in Santiago and took the military to the streets. The measure was extended to other cities and was cancelled 10 days later. The social crisis began after strong protests over the metro fare hike of the Chilean capital and decided on a series of social demands and strong demonstrations that after four months have resulted in 31 civilians killed,two deceased in state custody, and four other victims by action by state agents, according to figures from the National Prosecutor's Office. Although the violence of the protests has subsided between January and February,authorities fear that the riots will escalate in March,by the time new demonstrations have already been announced on social media from Monday. "If anyone believes that I have a complex or that I do not want to use force, within the law and the rule of law, is deeply wrong,"the Representative said. About Piñera, he weighs in the inability to overcome protests that call for deep social reforms and which he has faced with a

series of measures considered mostly insufficient to overcome the crisis. With popular support on the floors, the Head of State supports the repudiation of his figure with loud chants and cries that began in the protests and have spread to the stands of football matches and musical events such as the Festival de Viña del Mar,where they have even demanded his resignation and called him "murderer", comparing him to Augusto Pinochet, under whose dictatorship nearly 3,000 people died. "It causes me a lot of pain, a lot of sorrow. I think it's a very unfair accusation. As President I have something clear what respect for human rights and life is, that is a sacred thing,"Piñera said. In the midst of acute political polarization, Chileans will decide on April 26 in a plebiscite whether a new Constitution is drafted to replace the current one, inherited from the Pinochet dictatorship, one of the most heartfelt demands of social protests. Piñera for March: We must distinguish between peaceful demonstrations and criminal violence

M. APPENDIX

Sebastián Piñera, after the historic march in Chile: "We have all heard the message, we have all changed". (2019, October 26). CE Noticias Financieras – English. Sebastián Piñera (Photo by JAVIER TORRES / AFP) (JAVIER TORRES/) Chile's president, Sebastián Piñera, on Friday dedicated a commentary to the million people who mobilized in Santiago against the economic measures that sparked strong protests in the country for more than a week. "The crowded, cheerful and peaceful march today, where Chileans are calling for a more just and supportive Chile, opens great paths of future and hope," Piñera said on Twitter in reference to the Santiago demonstration, the most crowded in decades. The crowd, joyful and peaceful march today, where Chileans ask for a more just and supportive Chile, opens great paths of future and hope. We've all heard the message. We've all changed. With unity and help from God, we will walk the path to that Chile better for all — Sebastian Piñera (@sebastianpinera) October 26, 2019 "We've all heard the message. We've all changed. With unity and help from God, we will walk the path to that Chile better for all," he added in his first reaction to an unprecedented manifestation. However, the most repeated request in the mass protests has been his resignation, in the cries of the

people and the posters they carried. The president's decisions during the crisis, such as decreeing a state of emergency and taking the military to the streets or considering Chile is at war, have only altered the moods of a citizenry that is increasingly manifesting itself in a more massive way. This wave of protests, which has a death toll of 19, at least 600 wounded and 6,000 detainees, according to the Prosecutor's Office, originated from the rise in the price of the Santiago metro passage, the drop that filled the glass of patience of the Chileans , who from last Friday go out every day to the street to show their disenchantment. More than one million people participated in "Chile's largest march" (AFP) Nearly a million people on Friday covered all avenues to a central Plaza de Santiago, demanding reforms of an economic system that they consider unequal and chanting anti-government slogans for facing with military the worst social outburst in Chile in three decades. The demonstrations were replicated in cities from north to south of this South American country. Some isolated incidents broke through the shocking postcard that delivered the most massive march the Chilean capital remembers in decades. Some commentators argued that he surpassed in convocation the celebration of the triumph of No on October 5, 1988 in the plebiscite that brought dictator Augusto Pinochet (1973-90) out of power. The student protest that began a week ago against the rise of the subway led to a social crisis in Chile, with demonstrators in the streets demanding a larger piece of prosperity that made this country one of the most stable in Latin America. MORE ON THIS THEME: The Chilean government raised the death toll from the protests to 19 and it was confirmed that three of them were Peruvian Chile's revolts took over on Twitter and the government did not learn

N. APPENDIX

Piñera announced "deep" and "intense" changes to the constitution but did not conform to the opposition. (2019, November 9). CE Noticias Financieras – English. After the ruling's sayings were known, various opposition leaders showed their rejection of the announcement. Chile's opposition on Saturday harshly criticized the "deep" and "intense" changes to the Constitution announced by President Sebastián Piñera, who recognized the urgent need for magna carta reform after more than three

weeks of social upheaval. After 22 days of protests, serious acts of violence and repression, Piñera admitted that the change of the constitutional text is an urgent matter, having said weeks ago that the priority for his government was to regain peace and put into development an "agenda respond to the demands that erupted on the streets across Chile. "Today I think that changes to the Constitution have to be deeper and more intense than I thought a few years ago; I don't want to commit to deadlines, but I'm clear that there's a sense of urgency, this is for now," the representative said in an interview published this Saturday by the newspaper El Mercurio. After the ruling's sayings were known, various opposition leaders showed their rejection of the announcement, as published by Télam. The president of the progressive Party for Democracy, Heraldo Muñoz, opined that these measures will come late as a solution because "citizen cry is for a new constitution, not for change, it is for a plebiscite". A criticism shared by the president of the Christian Democracy, Fuad Chaín, who considered that what Piñera raised dismisses a real citizen participation. "People don't want more patch measures," he said. The leader of the Socialist Party also considered that the solution lies in the convening of a plebiscite and called on the representative to push "an accusatory agenda against abuses" that responds to social demands, bio bio called. Members of the official chile-ista coalition supported instead the statements of the chief executive, Télam reported. The head of National Renewal - Piñera's party - Mario Desbordes said the initiative is "valuable," while the president of the Pine Independent Democratic Union, Jacqueline Van Rysselberghe, admitted that it is an important issue to discuss but " it is essential that it be done within the framework of institutionality." (DPA) The need to reform the Constitution, in force, albeit with many modifications since the Pinochetista dictatorship, is one of the demands that resonated in the protests of hundreds of thousands of Chileans who for more than three weeks demand an end to inequalities Social. The social outburst left some 20 dead and thousands injured and detained, as well as million-dollar damage in various cities across the country. Protests follow Despite various social and security measures announced by the government, the intensity of the protests does not decrease. According to the last balance sheet of the Interior Ministry, yesterday there was an increase in the number of "serious events" and of civilians and police injured, with 40 people injured and 80 uniformed contudos contudos. One such violent incident was the attack that a group

of strangers made on the headquarters of the Argentine embassy in Santiago, which did not leave injured but damage to the building and gardens. (AP) "Security at that time was completely overcome, the barricades blocked vehicle access and the residence was exposed to the attack of the vandalizers," said the Argentine ambassador, José Octavio Bordón, to the newspaper La Nación. On the other hand, an old building in the center of the Chilean capital was set on fire last night by hooded men during a protest inwhich thousands of people took to the streets to repudiate the government's neoliberal policy. (AP) The property, which was used as rectory and decanate of several faculties of the University Pedro de Valdivia. Carabineros' body arrested three suspected of causing the accident, who were located by eye surveillance by plainclothes agents and via videos from the University's security cameras. Advertising

O. APPENDIX

Piñera says he will not resign despite protests in Chile. (2019, November 5). CE Noticias Financieras – English. Chilean President Sebastián Piñera said he will not resign despite massive anti-government protests marked by the violence that shook his country, although he acknowledged "part" of responsibility in the crisis, in an interview broadcast tuesday on tuesday on the BBC. The demonstrations, which began against the increase in metro fares to cover a wide range of social demands, are already in their third week and do not seem to want to remit. The government appears impotent despite having declared a state of emergency and took the military out to patrol the streets alongside the police. "There are calls for me to resign," said British public television journalist Katy Watson, "Is he going to do it?" "No," the conservative president who pays his mistakes in managing this social outburst with a sharp drop in popularity replied sharply. With 13% approval, he is the lowest-rate head of state since Chile's return to democracy in 1990. "These problems have been accumulating over the last 30 years, I am responsible for part of it and

I take responsibility but I am not the only one," he said. Activists, led by Nobel Peace Prize laureate Rigoberta Menchú, urged Piñera to curb what they denounce as

"serious and systematic" human rights violations to suppress protests. "There are many alleged complaints about excessive use of force and if that took place I can guarantee that it will be investigated (...) and will be judged," Piñera said. "There will be no impunity," he said.

P. APPENDIX

Franklin, J. (2019, October 30). Chile protesters: “We are subjugated by the rich. It’s time for that to end”; Chile’s worst unrest in decades has transformed into a nationwide uprising for change. Here seven protesters explain what they’re fighting for. The Guardian (London). The spark that lit the flame was , but after 12 days of mass protests and street violence, Chile's worst unrest in decades has transformed into a nationwide uprising demanding dramatic changes to the country's economic and political system. Eighteen people have died in the violence and 7,000 have been arrested amid widespread outbreaks of violence and arson, and credible allegations of human rights abuses by the security forces. The leaderless movement has forced the billionaire president, Sebastián Piñera, on the defensive, prompting him to replace eight ministers and announce a string of emergency measures including a small increase in the minimum wage and higher taxes on wealthy Chileans. But such moves have not been enough to defuse the protests, which are driven by deep-rooted disillusionment over inequality that has left millions of citizens frozen out of Chile's economic rise. One per cent of Chile's population earns 33% of the nation's wealth, making it the most unequal country in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development group of nations. Many protesters are calling for a new constitution to replace the one written in 1980 during the reign of , which created the legal basis for a market-driven economic model that has privatized pensions, health and education. Juan Ángel, 60, school teacher "I want change and I want it now. The cost of living keeps rising and our money is badly distributed - in pensions, in healthcare and in education. There is privilege for armed forces, the priests, the politicians, the corporations. And to change that? You have to change the constitution. "This is a small country, we have natural resources. This could be a prosperous country if our riches were better distributed. We could be marvelous. A

country that is prosperous and happy and in peace. "I'm not afraid. I have nothing to lose. I'm doing this for my granddaughter who is six months old." Melissa Medina, 25, makeup artist "My grandmother fought against the dictatorship; my mother fought in her time; I am the mother of a six-year-old girl and now it's my turn to protest. "We want long-term changes that I hope she will enjoy in 20 years. "We have shitty wages and 12-hour shifts. It takes me two hours to get back from work, and when I get home I don't see my daughter because she is asleep. "Marching with us, there are children, students, workers, parents, aunts, grandmothers. Grandmothers screaming for change! At their age and still fighting. "Look at us: we carry spoons and pots and pans [to rattle in protest]. We have water and baking soda to combat the effects of teargas. "And they have buckshot, teargas, lockups, police brutality, rapes, tortures - so who is still winning and who is still losing? The fight must go on. "Maybe nothing positive will come out of this, and we will win nothing. But I don't want to wait until I'm 50 and realize I wasn't brave enough. I screamed and I fought. I ran from the police, I got shot in the leg. Next, it's going to be my daughter's turn. I hope she doesn't have to fight." Antonia del Almendro, 25, film-maker "The people are tired of being treated like slaves or criminals. If you don't have an important last name or don't have money you are nothing. "The first demand is to change the constitution: we are the only country in Latin America that has the same constitution it had under a dictatorship. We have the same laws and the same economic model brought in by the dictatorship. And we are seeing that like they did under the dictatorship. "It is incredible how they think we are stupid. But people woke up and are showing the government that we are not stupid: they won't be sticking their finger down our throats ever again." Germán David Requena Zeta, 18, student "As a student it's very expensive to live here in Santiago. My parents and I are from northern Chile, so I live here alone. "I am fighting for a better education that costs less, a subway fare that is fair, and a life with more dignity. Because what we earn now is not enough to survive on. I want to become [economically] independent but I can't - life it is just too expensive. I want to be a student, to live in peace - these are little things.

"I am not afraid of the police- even though many people have been wounded, and others have been killed. I just don't understand why they attack us with so much force." María Borgoño, 32, art history student "The people who run the government

are the same people who have economic power, it is a perfect circle: they pass laws to make more money, and the rest of us become poorer. "During the protests the government has killed people, women have been raped, men have been raped. Many have lost eyes while they protested peacefully. "Human rights have not been truly respected since the dictatorship. We are subjugated by the rich -and now it is time for that to end. It's time for the people to have a kind of life that makes them want to live. "People live with a lot of stress: they're in debt to the banks and businesses - and then spend that money in the same businesses in order to live." Cristian Quiroga, 43, television camera assistant "I want the government and big business to stop looting my country - to stop taking what belongs to all of us and selling it to the highest bidder. "They make deals made for the copper, the water, the lithium, the ocean - everything is up for sale and flogged off for a pittance to other countries. And none of the cash comes down to us. "The Chilean people have changed their way of thinking because of social media and the internet. Chile has changed; the people are more liberal. But labor laws and our education system have not changed in 30 years. If we do get a new constitution? I'll go out with my broom and my rags, and I'll help clean the streets and repaint the country." Tammy Cabezas, 21 "I came out to represent trans people.

The average life expectancy of a trans person in Chile is 35, and demands that many are fighting for - like a decent pension - we can't even dream of that. We are protesting because without a sexual revolution there is no social revolution. "My goal is to see Piñera and his ministers in prison for all that they have done - and that there is a law protecting trans and non-binary people. "I never imagined the protests would reach this size. Things were bad: people were dying; trans people were dying; the [indigenous] Mapuches were dying - and in the end the people woke up and realized this was wrong. "In a democracy, the people have the power. And the government has to listen to us."

Q. APPENDIX

Piñera lifts state of emergency in the country. (2019, October 27). CE Noticias Financieras – English. Chile's president, Sebastián Piñera, signed decrees to lift the

state of emergency, established by the continuing social protests in that country, the Presidency reported, according to Sputnik. "President Sebastián Piñera has signed the decrees required for the state of emergency in all regions and communes to be lifted from 00:00 on Monday, 28 October, account of the social network Twitter. Piñera had already announced on Saturday that if circumstances allowed, his intention was to lift the state of emergency to take the military off the streets, following a massive march in Santiago and confirmation of the deaths of five people at the hands of the Ar Forces madas. On Friday it was held what was christened "The Greatest March of Chile", whose wide call was commented and celebrated transversally by all political sectors, both for its massivity and for how peaceful it was. Following the explosion of demonstrations on Friday, 18 October, the president announced a package of measures that include an increase in pensions for some groups of retirees, a tax contribution to guarantee a minimum wage for some workers, the rise tax on those earning more than $11,000 a month, among other measures. However, from the political opposition the measures were considered 'inadequate', as they ensure that the structural model of the system does not change. Measures were not enough for citizens either, as it did not stop manifesting itself after the announcement. The first mobilizations began on the 14th of this month in Chile due to a 30 pesos increase (less than a dollar) in the price of the Santiago Metro, where hundreds of students and workers jumped above the paid turnstiles of the underground train in the so-called 'massive evasions'. Last October 19, President Piñera relented and announced that the passage would not go up in price, but with his announcement the protests did not subside and on the contrary they took a much more intense face, which included fires and destruction of several Metro stations, and dozens of demonstrations in various places in Chile with marches and "saucepans" (going out into the street en masse to hit a saucepan). During that weekend came the slogan "it is not 30 pesos, it is 30 years", showing that people were manifesting theself no longer by the passage of the Metro, but by more substantive themes, by injustices that drag 30 years ago since the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-19 90), and that, according to many Chileans, they have also been deepening in democracy. Although the novelty of these mobilizations is that they do not have a taxative list of demands, neither leaders nor organizations that lead it, on the street you can hear some of the main demands of the public. They call for an end to the old-age pension system, run by private

companies called AFP (Pension Fund Managers), the reduction in working hours that is one of the longest in the region, that the bank financing system be eliminated from the universities, which leave students in debt for decades, protest against the high price of medicines, among others. Piñera's first responsein the face of the demonstrations that were going on was to decree three repressive measures: the State Security Act, to speed up trials against protesters, the State of Emergency in almost every major city in the country, and curfews to prevent the people leave their homes, measures that have not yet been lifted. The State of Emergency is the measure that empowers the Government to deploy the Army and the Armed Forces to the streets, whose presence has generated rejection and a series of allegations of human rights violations. Chile's National Institute of Human Rights has received a series of allegations of torture, abuses of power, beatings, and detensions from the Armed Forces against civilians. It also revealed a complaint of the existence of a possible clandestine torture center at the underground Metro Baquedano station in the center of the capital, whose background has already been handed over to the Public Prosecutor's Office for investigation. A total of 19 people have died in the context of the protests, according to figures from the Chilean government, five of them led by Armed Forces personnel. The Piñera entry lifts the state of emergency in the country was first published in Diario La República.

R. APPENDIX

With 1.2 million people, Chile is experiencing its biggest protest since the dictatorship. (2019, October 26). CE Noticias Financieras – English. SANTIAGO-The protests in Chile against social inequality reached an unprecedented level on Friday by bringing together about 1.2 million people in a historic demonstration in Santiago to demand the departure of President Sebastián Piñera and claim deep social reforms. The massive concentration in Plaza Italia, the nerve point of this wave of protests that encompasses the whole country, was unprecedented in chile's democratic history and is only comparable to the 1988 mobilizations against the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). The great square of the Chilean capital remained small to accommodate all the protesters who were called for 17:00

local time (15:00 Mexico City), but half an hour before there was no room for anyone else and the rest stayed in the surrounding avenues s in being able to enter. Reads: Piñera's measures are insufficient to curb Chile protests Even the two Copas America that Chile won in 2015 and 2016 failed to gather so many people in the emblematic square, where this time Chileans arrived from the farthest points of the city in real rivers of people. The most emotional moment the mobilization came when a giant national flag was unfurled with the already stretched motto "Chile awoke", while from one of the buildings of the square read another huge sign that said "For the dignity of our people, to the street without fear ". From the Palacio de La Moneda, the headquarters of the Chilean government, Piñera tracked events and on Twitter ignored those who are calling for his resignation. The pan, a Chilean invention that rumbles again in the protests "Chileans are calling for a fairer and more supportive Chile and the march opens great paths of future and hope. We've all heard the message. We've all changed. With unity and help from God, we will walk the path to that Chile better for all," he wrote. A tsunami floods the "oasis" of Piñera The march acted as a tsunami on the "oasis" of tranquility that for Piñera was Chile just six days before this series of protests erupted that kept the country for the eighth day in a state of emergency. To claims for better wages and pensions and fairer prices for light, gas, university education and health services, there is now the addition of outrage against the government over the repression and excesses allegedly committed by law enforcement against the population in the previous days. These are the reasons for the social unrest. Chile, perceived as an 'oasis' of stability in Latin America, is experiencing its worst social outburst in at least three decades. The increase in the subway fares was the drop that spilled the glass of the Chileans, who have accumulated years of economic and social claims. Protests went from metro stations to the street. On Friday, October 19, some riots began to occur. On the night of October 19, Santiago Metro service was suspended, and several stations were set on fire. President Sebastián Piñera reversed the subway rise, but this announcement was marred by the declaration of a state of emergency and curfew orders for the last four Nights. This did not stop the protests. Politicians and analysts explain that the rise in the price of the subway is only the tip of the iceberg of social discontent in Chile. Chile is one of the 10 most unequal countries in the world, according to the World Bank. Changing the pension system inherited from the

dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, who pioneered the absolutely individual capitalization of workers, tops the long list of demands. On social media, photos and videos were multiplied with allegations of abuse of force by security agents. Overwhelmed by the protests, Piñera on Tuesday announced a series of economic measures, such as increasing pensions, improving health care, and taxing those who earn the most. The peaceful tone lasted about two hours, when the riot police began to act with the release of tear gas to the masses, which led to the rapid dispersal of the manifestation, and most of the participants set course for their homes before the start of the eighth curfew in the capital. At that time, the vandalism came into play and some hooded men set fire to the entrances to the Baquedano station in the Santiago Metro, where in the rallies of days ago a suspected torture center by the National Institute has been denounced Human Rights (INDH). Read: It's much more than the subway: the reasons behind the demonstrations in Chile The confusion was exploited by another group to rant a nearby supermarket, another more than 330 that have been stolen and even burned since last Friday. So far the wave of protests leaves at least 19 dead, including six foreigners and five deaths allegedly occurred at the hands of state agents; the wounded are no less than 600 and the detainees exceed 6,000, according to the Prosecutor's Office. Trade losses in these eight days of riots reach $1.4 billion, according to the Santiago Chamber of Commerce (CCS), of which 900 to destroy and take stock in 25,000 commercial premises and 500 million for loss of profit. UN-DH prepares inspection mission Meanwhile, the United Nations began preparing the mission to make an inspection of the actions of Chilean law enforcement in these protests, at the request of the former President of Chile, Michelle Bachelet, the current UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Human. These are the inequalities that Chileans fight against "Of course there is concern at the UN," said Bachelet's South American office representative Xavier Mena after meeting with INDH Director Sergio Micco. Thus Chile arrives at its second consecutive weekend of protests without the tension being reduced by the increasing outrage of the demonstrators, for the more time passes without political change, the stronger the discontent.

S. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren toplumsal hareketler üzerine yapılan çalışmalar önemli ölçüde artmıştır. 1968 yılında Batı Avrupa'da başlayan ve kısa sürede dünya geneline yayılan kitlesel mobilizasyon bu sürecin başlangıcını oluşturmuştur. Bu gelişmelere paralel olarak, toplumsal hareketler çalışmaları 1970'lerden itibaren, büyük ölçüde fikir ayrılıkları ve tartışmalar yoluyla, kavramsal gelişimin birkaç aşamasından geçmiştir (Edwards, 2014, s. 2). Başlangıçta, işçi hareketleri 1960'ların sonlarındaki otorite karşıtı isyanların baş aktörleri olan yeni kuşak radikallerle bütünleşmiş; böylece 1970'lerde hareketler kapsam ve yetenek açısından çok daha geniş bir hal almıştır (Kriesi, 2004). Hareketlerin ilk dönemlerinde bulunmayan bu türden karmaşıklıklar ve çatışmalar, ilgili literatürdeki teorik tartışmaları açıklayabilmektedir.

Literatür, toplumsal dönüşüme yol açan süreci farklı teorik çerçeveler aracılığıyla açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. 1968 sonrası dönemde Batı sosyal bilimlerinde baskın hale gelen güçlü makro-teorik yaklaşım göz önüne alındığında, makro-yapısalcı kuramlamaya karşı mikro-yapısal yaklaşımların yükselmesi için fırsatlar hızla artmıştır (Eder, 2014, s. 36). Toplumsal hareketler çalışmalarına duyulan ilgi ve bu alandaki dönüşüm, önceki dönem koşullarından farklılık göstermiştir. 1970'lerdeki dünya çapındaki sistemsel çatışmanın ardından gelen “detant” (yumuşama) dönemi, ithal ikameci politikaların duraklaması ve sanayileşmiş toplumlarda yaşanan kültürel ve yaşam tarzı değişimleri bu dönüşüm sürecine zemin hazırlamıştır (Edwards, 2014). Batı ülkelerinde başlayan bu dönüşüm, benzer şekilde dünyanın diğer bölgelerine de yayılmıştır (Kriesi, 2004). Buechler (2016), bu dönemdeki politik ve ekonomik değişimlerin her zaman toplumsal hareketleri etkilediğini vurgular.

Bu yüzden, toplumsal hareketler modernist bir form olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, 1960'lar ve 70'lerde meydana gelen dönüşümler özellikle belirgindir. Akademisyenlerin toplumsal hareketlerin dinamiklerine ilişkin bakış açıları da

dönüşmüştür. Başlangıçta bu hareketler daha çok devlet merkezli, makro düzeyde bir bakış açısıyla ele alınırken, zamanla kolektif kültürel mücadelelerin ifadesi olarak anlaşılmaya başlanmıştır.

Toplumdaki dönüşümle birlikte, bu dönemde Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler (YTH) teorileri ortaya çıkmış ve yaygınlaşmıştır. Alberto Melucci (1980) ve Alain Touraine (1985) gibi Yeni Toplumsal Hareket (YTH) teorisyenleri tarafından öne sürülen önemli iddialardan biri, çağdaş toplumun yalnızca endüstriyel toplumların ihtiyaçları çerçevesinde anlaşılamayacağıdır. Üretim ilişkilerinde meydana gelen değişimler; teknolojik, politik ve ekonomik gelişmelerle birlikte, modern toplumların ihtiyaçlarını ve önceliklerini önemli ölçüde dönüşmuştur.. Bu bağlamda, YTH araştırmacıları, eski toplumsal hareketler tarafından şekillendirilen ve özellikle proletarya mücadelesi etrafında örülen geleneksel anlatıların, günümüz toplumlarının değişen taleplerini açıklamak veya bunlara yanıt vermek için artık yeterli olmadığını ileri sürmektedir. Bu tez ise, toplumdaki dönüşümün toplumsal hareketlerin dinamiklerini ve karakteristik özelliklerini değiştirmiş olsa da bunun tam bir kopuş ve yeniden inşa süreci olmadığını savunmaktadır. Bu nedenle, eski toplumsal hareketlerin bazı özelliklerinin yeni toplumsal hareketlerde de izlenebildiği ileri sürülmektedir. Yeni-Eski Toplumsal Hareketler arasındaki bu devamlılık ilişkisini ortaya koymak amacıyla, bu çalışmada Şili Kışı ve 2019 Sosyal Kalkışma "Estallido Social" hareketleri seçilmiştir. Bu hareketler ile Pinochet dönemi politikalarının uygulanışı arasında güçlü bir bağ bulunmaktadır. Yeni ve Eski Toplumsal Hareketler ile Pinochet dönemi arasındaki tarihsel ilişki, ayrıca bu hareketlerin 1973'ten bu yana süregelen kronik problemlere bir yanıt olarak ortaya çıkmaları, tezin temel savını güçlü bir şekilde desteklemektedir. Eski Toplumsal Hareketlere tanınan sınırlı hareket alanı ile diktatörlük döneminde inşa edilen siyasi bariyerler ve çıkmazlar, bu hareketlerin karşılaştığı kısıtlamaları gözler önüne sermektedir. Bu koşullar altında, yeni toplumsal hareketler kendilerine yeni yollar açabilmiş ve bu süreç Şili Kışı ve 2019 Sosyal Patlaması ile görünür hale gelmiştir. Böylece geçmiş ve günümüz mobilizasyonları arasında bir tutarlılık korunmuş ve bu durum tezin iddiasını çok yönlü bir şekilde desteklemiştir. Öncelikle, literatürdeki devamlılık anlatısına ilişkin bazı önemli tartışmalar vurgulanmış, ve ardından teorik tartışmalar vaka çalışmalarındaki bulgular birleştirilmiştir.

Öte yandan, söz konusu hareketler yalnızca tarihsel bağlantılara ve Marksist teorik çerçeveye atıf yaparak Yeni ve Eski Toplumsal Hareketler arasındaki ilişkiyi somut bir şekilde kurmamaktadır. Bu nedenle, çağdaş toplumsal hareketler teorisinin — örneğin anti-neoliberal ve anti-austerity karşıtı yaklaşımların — Yeni- Eski Toplumsal Hareketler tartışmasına nasıl açıklayıcılık kazandırdığına dair öneriler sunulacaktır. Marksist teorik çerçeve ile bu hareketlerin kökenleri arasındaki simbiyotik ilişki de devamlılık argümanını desteklemektedir. Son olarak, Şili özellikle diktatörlük dönemi mirası nedeniyle özgün bir örnek olarak öne çıkarken, aynı zamanda Küresel Güney'deki diğer toplumsal hareketlerle de dikkat çekici benzerlikler paylaşmaktadır. Çalışmanın son bölümü, toplumsal hareketler dalgaları bağlamında bu paralelliklere kısa bir bakış sunacaktır. Şili'nin ötesinde, Küresel Güney'deki toplumsal hareketler örneklerine de değinmek, bu alanda gelecekte yapılacak araştırmaları teşvik etmek açısından önem taşımaktadır.

Literatür taraması bölümünde, devamlılık ve kopuş tartışması üç belirgin ve özgün olgu üzerinden kategorize edilmiştir: hareketin değerleri, teması ve aktörleri. İlk olarak, hareketlerin değerleri, Yeni Toplumsal Hareketlerin (YTH) maddi kaygılarıyla paralellik göstermektedir. Örneğin, kadın ve yerli halk hareketleri, kültürel mücadelelerin yanı sıra maddi kaygılar da taşımaktadır. Bu hareketlerin kök nedenini ekonomik mağduriyetler oluşturmaktadır; ancak bu durum, kültürel kimlikleri nedeniyle doğrudan görünür değildir. Yine de, eşitlik gibi taleplerine ve meselelerine bakıldığında, sorunun yalnızca toplumda kabul görmekle değil, ekonomik eşitsizliklerle de ilgili olduğu açıkça görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla, bu hareketlerin ortaya çıkışı, yalnızca kültürel mücadelelere değil, üretim tarzındaki değişimlere de bağlıdır. Bu bağlamda, toplumsal hareketleri tematik olarak değerlendirdiğimizde, Andrew Levine ve Elliott Sober (1985), post-kapitalist toplumların nasıl somutlaştığını ve tüketicilerin nasıl bizzat birer ürüne dönüştüğünü açıklamaktadır. Harvey (2012) ise bu noktada, kentleşmenin yalnızca kapitalist sömürünün bir aracı olmadığını; aynı zamanda toplumun alternatif biçimlerde örgütlenebileceği bir alan sunduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Bu nedenle, kentler hem eski hem de yeni toplumsal hareketler için uzun süredir bir mücadele sahası olarak hizmet vermekte; mekân, haklar ve gelecekler üzerindeki çatışmalar burada devam etmektedir. Harvey, bir yandan devamlılığı kabul ederken, diğer yandan Yeni

Toplumsal Hareketlerin sınırlılıklarına da işaret ederek onların bazı önkabullü özelliklerini vurgulamaktadır.

Şili'deki iki büyük toplumsal harekete geri dönersek, bu hareketlerin literatürdeki devamlılık tartışmalarıyla ne ölçüde örtüştüğünü gözlemlemek mümkündür. Şili Kışı, toplu taşıma ücretlerindeki artışla başlamış; ancak kısa sürede neoliberal eğitim politikalarına karşı bir harekete dönüşmüştür. Toplumsal desteği kademeli olarak artmsaıyla birlikte, her iki hareket de sonunda Pinochet mirasıyla doğrudan bir yüzleşmeye evrilmiştir. Her iki hareket de antagonistik ve anti-neoliberal nitelikler taşımaktadır. "Şekil 1" ve "Şekil 2", bu hareketlerin söz konusu özelliklerini açık bir şekilde göstermektedir. Bu nedenle, Marksist teorik çerçeve açısından, altyapı (base) ve üstyapı (superstructure) anlatısı arasında açık bir ilişki olduğu söylenebilir. Öte yandan, özellikle Şili Kışı'nın ana aktörleri olan öğrenciler ve onların eğitim sistemiyle verdikleri mücadele, hareket süresince "5 años estudiando, 15 pagando" (5 yıl okumak, 15 yıl ödemek) sloganıyla dile getirilmiştir. Bu durum, öğrencilerin eğitimlerinin ticarileştirilmesi yoluyla nasıl birer meta haline getirildiğini ve sermaye sahiplerinin bu süreci artı değer üretmek için nasıl sömürdüğünü gösteren önemli bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Bu anlamda, post-endüstriyel toplumda üretim ilişkilerindeki değişimin somut bir yansımasını sunmaktadır.

Bununla birlikte, bu hareketlerin bir diğer önemli boyutu da örgütlenme kapasiteleri ve yapılarıdır. Şili Kışı hareketi, öğrencilerin CONFECH (Şili Öğrenci Federasyonu) çatısı altında örgütlenmesiyle başlamıştır. Hükümetle etkili bir şekilde müzakere edebilme becerileri, hareketin etkisi üzerinde kritik bir rol oynamıştır. Aynı zamanda, federasyon liderlerinin ve konfederasyondaki önemli figürlerin muhalefet partileriyle sürdürdüğü ilişkiler, özellikle yatay örgütlenme düzeyinde, Şili Kışı'nın örgütsel kapasitesi üzerinde belirgin bir etki yaratmıştır

2019'daki toplumsal ayaklanma ise, 2011 Şili Kışı sonrasında kurulan daha geniş sol koalisyonun başarısızlığına ve neoliberal politikaların halk üzerindeki artan ekonomik baskısına bir tepki olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. 2011'deki daha merkezileşmiş öğrenci mobilizasyonunun aksine, 2019 protestoları, çok daha geniş ve parçalı bir

mobilizasyona dönüşmüş ve birçok farklı örgütün katılımıyla beslenmiştir. Bu örgütsel yapı "Tablo 3"te özetlenmektedir.

Bununla birlikte, kopuş (discontinuity) açısından bakıldığında, eski toplumsal hareketlerde (ETH) görülen sistem karşıtı (anti-sistemik) özellikler, yeni toplumsal hareketlerde (YTH) bulunmamaktadır. Hem Şili Kışı'nda hem de Sosyal Patlamada, sistem karşıtı eylemlerden ziyade sistem içerisinde köklü reformlar arayışı ön planda olmuştur. Diskur analizi bu yorumları güçlü bir şekilde desteklemektedir. Franklin (2011), özellikle Şili Kışı sırasında protesto liderlerinin hükümetle uzlaşma eğiliminde olduklarını belirtirken, Sosyal Patlama'da ise "Şekil 2"de gösterildiği gibi, hareketin taleplerinin Sosyal Devletin temel işlevleriyle sıkı bir ilişki içerisinde olduğunu ifade etmektedir.

Şili Projesi ile birlikte Şili, neoliberal ekonomik politikaları uygulayan ilk ülke olmuştur. Bu tezde, devamlılık teorilerini destekleyen en güçlü argümanlardan biri, neoliberal ekonomik politikaların uygulanması sayesinde Şili Kışı ve 2019 Sosyal Patlaması ile kolayca örtüşmektedir. Dolayısıyla, yalnızca YTH-ETH (Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler-Eski Toplumsal Hareketler) tartışmaları değil, aynı zamanda neoliberal dönüşümle şekillenen toplumlarda ortaya çıkan anti-neoliberalizm ve kemer sıkma karşıtı çağdaş hareketler de bu değişime verilen zorunlu bir yanıt olarak görülebilir. Bu hareketler, değişen bir sisteme karşı halkın nasıl direndiğini yansıtmaktadır. Ve önceki toplumsal hareketlerde bulunan birçok temel özelliği hâlâ taşıdıkları için, bir kopuşun değil, kolektif mücadelenin doğal bir devamının örnekleri olarak ortaya çıkmaktadırlar.

Bu noktada, Della Porta (2015), ana akım toplumsal hareketler teorisini uzun dönemli yapısal dönüşümlerden kopuk olmakla eleştirmektedir: "Protesto yoluyla dile getirilen sosyoekonomik taleplerin sabit kaldığı veya hatta arttığı bir dönemde, protestoların sosyal temellerine yönelik ilgi azalmıştır" (s. 7). Della Porta'nın bu eleştirisi, neoliberal kapitalizmin toplumları sınıfsal ayrımları yeniden canlandıracak şekilde nasıl yeniden yapılandırdığını vurgulamaktadır. Ancak, bu dönüşüm doğrudan işçi sınıfı tarafından değil; istikrarlı iş sözleşmelerine veya Fordist

dönemin geleneksel sosyal sözleşmesine erişimi olmayan, "oluşum halindeki bir sınıf" olarak tanımlanan prekarya tarafından deneyimlenmiştir. Della Porta, Guy Standing'den alıntı yaparak prekaryayı, "kapitalizm ya da devletle asgari düzeyde güven ilişkisine sahip insanlar" olarak tanımlamaktadır (Standing, 2011, aktaran della Porta, 2015, s. 9).

Şili örneği de Della Porta'nın argümanlarını desteklemektedir; zira hareketlerin öncülüğünü işçi sınıfı değil, öğrenciler üstlenmiştir. Bu durum yalnızca toplumsal yapıda meydana gelen değişimi değil, aynı zamanda eski toplumsal hareketlerle olan devamlılık ilişkisini de gözler önüne sermektedir. Özellikle, modern toplumsal hareketlerin temel aktörler ve maddi değerler bakımından selefleriyle ortak zemin paylaştığını göstermektedir.

Öte yandan, Küresel Güney'deki çağdaş toplumsal hareketler, klasik toplumsal hareketler teorisinin büyük ölçüde Eurocentrik (Avrupamerkezci) bakış açılarıyla yeterince anlaşılamamaktadır. Bu hareketlerin ortaya çıkışı, biçimi ve özü, sömürge miraslarından ve neoliberal küreselleşme sonrasında derinleşerek devam eden kapitalistismin yeniden yapılanmasından kaynaklanan mülksüzleştirme ve direnişin tarihsel seyirlerine derinlemesine kök salmıştır. Altmann ve diğerleri (2017) ile Motta ve Nilsen'in (2011) sunduğu temel bir içgörü, Küresel Güney bağlamında politik süreç modeli veya yeni toplumsal hareketler teorisi gibi ana akım paradigmalardaki yetersizliktir. Bu paradigmalar, liberal demokratik çerçeve dışında işleyen veya devlet dışındaki aktörlerle —çok uluslu şirketler, patriarkal normlar ya da maden çıkarma projeleri gibi— mücadele eden hareketleri anlamakta yetersiz kalmaktadır.

Bu durum özellikle, Latin Amerika'daki köylü ve yerli hareketlerinde belirgin şekilde görülmektedir. Bu hareketlerin direnişi yalnızca devlete karşı değil; çok uluslu şirketlere ve yukarıdan dayatılan kalkınma anlayışına karşı da şekillenmektedir. Burada Marksist bir yorumlama son derece öğretici olmaktadır. Küresel Güney'deki hareketler, sermaye birikimi süreçlerinin fay hatlarında ortaya çıkmaktadır; toprak gaspları, temel hizmetlerin özelleştirilmesi veya çevresel

tahribatlar bu sürece örnektir (Altmann ve diğerleri, 2017). Bu hareketler yalnızca protestolar değil; yeni tarihsel koşullar altında yeniden biçimlenen sınıf mücadeleleridir.

Örneğin, Güney Afrika'da ön ödemeli su sayaçlarına karşı direniş, Jackie Dugard tarafından (Motta & Nilsen, 2011, ss. 59–82) ayrıntılı biçimde tanımlanmıştır. Bu direniş, yaşamın kendisinin metalaştırılması sürecine karşı daha geniş bir çatışmayı yansıtmaktadır. Su gibi temel bir yaşamsal ihtiyaç, bir mücadele alanına dönüşmekte; bu da Marx'ın ilkel birikim ve ortak mülkiyetin özel mülkiyete dönüştürülmesi analizini çağrıştırmaktadır.

Motta ve Nilsen (2011) ayrıca, Meksika'daki Zapatista hareketlerini, Brezilya'daki MST (Mülksüz İşçi Hareketleri) hareketlerini ve Güney Afrika'daki su sayaçlarına karşı direnişi örnek göstermektedir. Bu hareketleri, devlet ve sermaye sahiplerine karşı toprakların ve kaynakların kolektif kontrolünü yeniden ele geçirme girişimi olarak okumaktadırlar. Onlar bu tür aktivizmi devrimci olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bu tür mobilizasyonlar, çağdaş neoliberal koşullara yanıt verirken, aynı zamanda sömürgecilik karşıtı ve kalkınmacı direniş gelenekleriyle derinden iç içe geçmiş durumdadır. Bu da ezilenlerin tarihsel mücadeleleri arasında sürekliliğin güçlü bir şekilde devam ettiğini göstermektedir.

Kısacası, Küresel Güney'deki toplumsal hareketler, neoliberal kapitalizmin çelişkilerini içinde barındırmaktadır. Bu hareketler yalnızca yerel adaletsizliklere değil, toprağı, emeği ve yaşamı metalaştıran sistemik güçlere karşı direnmektedir. Bu hareketlerin somut deneyimlerine kök salmış Marksist bir okuma, onları birer istisna ya da anomali olarak değil; küresel sınıf mücadelesinin kilit direniş odakları ve neoliberal dünya düzeninin mimarisine meydan okuyan marjinal sesler olarak anlamamıza olanak tanımaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, Şili'deki iki toplumsal hareketin oluşma nedenlerini, süreçlerini, organizasyonel yapılarını ve isteklerini değerlendirdiğimizde; sınıfsal ve ekonomik bir mücadele olduğu, post-modern toplumlar açısından bir analiz yapıldığında dahi

bu durumun bir değişiklik göstermediği, tezin bulgularıyla ortaya konmuştur. Kimlik nedenli toplumsal hareketlerin temelinde dahi sınıfsal kaygıların, toplum içinde kabul görme ve tanınma talebinin olduğu açıkça gözlemlenebilmektedir. Marksist bir okumadan bu durumu açıkladığımızda ise 1980'lerdeki toplumsal dönüşümün üretim ilişkilerini değiştirmesi, işçi sınıfının güç kaybetmesi, kimlik temelli siyasetin ön plana çıkması, toplumu bir ürüne dönüştürme ve tüketim tanımlarının yeniden şekillendirme süreci, 40 yıl sonra Şili'de görüldüğü gibi toplumsal hareketlerdeki temel talepleri değiştirmemiş, aksine sorunların çok daha derinleştiği ortaya konmuştur. Bu bağlamda eski-yeni toplumsal hareketlerin arasındaki karakteristiksel devamlılık tartışması için daha net cevap bulunabilmiş ve anti-neoliberal, anti-austerity gibi modern toplumsal hareketlerde bu karakteristiksel özelliklerin bulunması da devamlılık süreci için daha doğal bir bağlama oturmuştur.

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