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RESUMEN / ABSTRACT:

Este capítulo analiza el carácter distintivo de los proyectos culturales y los patrones institucionales de la construcción de la modernidad en las sociedades latinoamericanas, toda vez que ambas dimensiones nutren el aporte central de Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt para elaborar el concepto de múltiples modernidades. Siguiendo la propuesta de este autor, las Américas fueron el primer caso histórico de múltiples modernidades que refutaron los supuestos hegemónicos y homogeneizantes del programa occidental de la modernidad. En el trabajo se exploran y destacan categorías sociológicas básicas y la dinámica histórica social como los dos ejes que permiten analizar de un renovado modo la modernidad latinoamericana. De este modo, los binomios jerarquía-inclusión; tradición y modernidad; élites y procesos representativos permiten analizar las transformaciones en un contexto regional y transnacional. Así, en este capítulo y por medio del binomio identidades colectivas/espacio público se analizan los modos como en América Latina operaron los procesos de inclusión y exclusión y de construcción de límites de membresías a lo largo de tensiones, conflictos y contradicciones.

This chapter examines the distinctive nature of cultural projects and institutional patterns that have built modernity in Latin American societies, as both dimensions nourish Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt's key input to the development of the concept of multiple modernities. According to Eisenstadt, the Americas represent the first historical case of multiple modernities having contested the hegemonic and homogenizing assumptions of the Western modernity project. This paper highlights the basic sociological categories and social historical dynamics as two focal points from which Latin American modernity can be reconsidered from an all new perspective. Thus, by means of the dyads hierarchy/inclusion; tradition/ modernity; elites/ representative processes, transformations in a regional and transnational context can be analyzed. Through the collective identities/public space dyad, this chapter examines how in Latin America the processes of inclusion and exclusion have developed, as well as the boundaries of belonging along tensions, conflicts and contradictions.

Varieties of Multiple Modernities

New Research Design

Edited by

Gerhard Preyer
Michael Sussman



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Thinking Multiple Modernities from Latin America's Perspective: Complexity, Periphery and Diversity

Judit Bokser Liwerant

Recent decades have seen the development of complex systems of interrelations simultaneously affecting the global, regional, national and local levels and enhancing the expansion, intensification, and acceleration of interactions in an increasingly mobile world. In this context emerge new conceptual challenges associated to the multifaceted and multidimensional character of globalization processes. Multifaceted, insofar as they bring together increasingly interdependent economic, political and cultural aspects; multidimensional, because they are expressed both in transnational networks of interaction between institutions and agents, and in processes of organizational, institutional, strategic and cultural convergence, alignment and standardization. Globalization processes are also contradictory: they can be intentional and reflexive and simultaneously unintentional at the international as well as a regional, national, or local scope.

While Latin America today has been directly impacted by the contradictory nature of these globalization processes (facing both new horizons of opportunity and sectorial inequality), historically, this region has been globally constituted and incorporated into the world configuration by an extension of the European experience of the Americas. Nevertheless, the latter became neither "fragments of Europe" (Hartz), nor replicas of each other, but civilizations and societies in their own right and thus the earliest case of Multiple Modernities, as conceived by S.N. Eisenstadt. He rightly sustained that the Americas followed distinctive institutional patterns and cultural projects in order to enter and/or create Modernity.

Eisenstadt's approach certainly challenges a view of globalization processes as uniform and unchanging as well as the "homogenizing and hegemonic assumptions" of the Western program of Modernity. While retaining a global scope, it emphasizes the contradictory, contingent and even antinomian character both of Modernity and Modernization. Eisenstadt's understanding and explanation of Latin America in terms of Multiple Modernities constitutes a watershed both for its contribution to the theoretical, conceptual and methodological dimensions of research and the meta-theoretical implication related

to the recognition of the complexity embedded in its peripheral condition, while recognizing diversity and heterogeneity.

Whereas the Western program of Modernity constituted a crucial and critical referent for Latin American societies, they developed distinctly modern singular models and paths related to their cultural premises, traditions and historical experiences. Sustained global dynamics developed through a peripheral connection to external centres that provided the parameters of institutional creation and conceptions of nation building. Their being part of the West but simultaneously differing from it led Latin American cultures to a *global immersion* and a *global awareness* (Eisenstadt 2002b; Roniger 2002).

Eisenstadt conceived Modernity as an inherently contradictory and contingent series of open-ended processes. He explicitly set up the Multiple Modernities scenario in contrast to other meta-narratives of the post Cold War era, such as Huntington's 'Clash of Civilizations' theory or Fukuyama's 'End of History' thesis (Thomassen 2010). This view represents a meaningful step forward in the sense that it constitutes a critical reflection upon the profound tensions, contradictions and paradoxes arising from the emergence of globally interconnected realities (Susen & Turner 2011; Spohn 2011; Preyer, 2013).

Multiple pathways of social transformations at the local or national, regional and global levels call upon an understanding of continuity, variability, and changeability in the region and abroad, concerning both new institutional designs and cultural models:

The notion of Multiple Modernities denotes a certain view of the contemporary world – of the history and defining characteristics of the modern era – that goes against the views prevalent in scholarly and general discourses. It stands against the view of the “classical” theories of modernization and of the convergence of industrial societies prevalent in the 1950s and certainly against the classical sociological analyses of Marx, Durkheim and even (to a large extent) Weber; at least in one reading of his work. They all assumed, if only implicitly, that the cultural program of modernity as it developed in modern Europe, together with the basic institutional constellations that evolved in its wake, would ultimately predominate in all modernizing and modern societies; and with the expansion of modernity, they would prevail throughout the world.

EISENSTADT 2002B: 1, 2004; PREYER 2010

Moreover, the idea of Multiple Modernities suggests that the best way to understand contemporary society – and certainly to explain the historical

development of modernity – is to see it as a story of continual constitution and reconstitution of a multiplicity of cultural programs (Eisenstadt 2000c).

Thus, this approach revisits the studies of modernization and its alleged assumption that its cultural dimensions are inherently and necessarily interwoven with the structural ones. The actual unfolding indicated that the various modern autonomous institutional arenas, i.e. the economic, political, educational or family spheres, are defined and regulated and come together in different ways in different societies and in different periods of their development (Eisenstadt 2000b). The processes of building modern institutions and cultural projects in Latin America, following colonization and the Europeans' encounter with native peoples and civilizations, highlight the constitution of societies that differed from those of the metropolis; new civilizations, varying modernities, multiple ones. Thus, in unique ways, migration processes from Europe to the region defined Latin America's contested and ambivalent relations with an outside Western referent.

The cultural program of modernity, which entailed 'promissory notes' to redefine the meaning of human agency and its role in building social and political orders acted permanently as a critical orientation vis-à-vis the centre(s) (Eisenstadt 2000b; Wittrock 2000). Its principles of freedom, equality and individual autonomy as a substratum for association and community belonging; reflexivity as the basis for tolerance and pluralism and the centrality of public spaces for citizenship building confronted Latin Americans with radical challenges as well as common and distinctive ways of becoming modern.

Alternative Western centres acted as a project to follow and to contest. Shifting centres and global foci of identity: Spain and Portugal in the foundational encounter defined by asymmetry; France and England, later, as the imperial balance of power changed; the United States, and the still current tensions and ambivalences.

While its historical development highlights diverse phases, contemporary regional and globalized constellations recover and redefine Latin American Modernities. Institutional arrangements as well as national and regional spaces and borders are modified, new transnational interactions and realms take shape. Belongings and allegiances change and processes of reconfiguration of collective identities point to new forms and tempos of interplay between ethno-national components of identities and new identification networks and flows. Certainly, collective identities overlap with strong processes of individualization, shedding new light on the changing faces of culture and the new role of tradition. Processes that lead to increased complexity and functional differentiation are displayed simultaneously with traditional social formations,

thus calling for a new gaze into the indeterminate binomial modernization/differentiation.

Eisenstadt's manifold formulations and his multiple conceptual insights opened new analytical roads to explain and understand the compound of trajectories and experiences that defined the parameters of Latin American multiple modernities. This article explores the analytical potentialities of this approach, in a conceptual-diachronic perspective that follows the unique transition of the region from a founding global immersion to a new insertion in an increased globalized and interconnected world. To achieve this aim, it deals primarily with the defining conceptual and historical parameters of the first multiple modernities, while in the second part it focuses on the current transformations unleashed by globalization processes. Changing scenarios of complexity, periphery and diversity accompanied these different moments and are explored through the lenses of this theoretical approach.

1

Referring to Eisenstadt's place and contribution to social thought, Edward Tiryakian asked:

How does one pay homage to a world-class scholar, key contributor to the studies of social change, modernization and civilizational analysis, recipient of the most prestigious prizes a sociologist can obtain, and with an eighty-two page list of publications ranging far and wide in space and time?

His answer draws on a metaphor as a heuristic device, Homer's *Odyssey* – Eisenstadt's *odyssey* as “the exploration of modernity” (Tiryakian 2011). He suggests that this intellectual and existential voyage was undertaken for both universalistic and particularistic reasons and reached diverse shores, which, in turn, projected into the complex map of roads and venues, therefore questioning the existence of one station of arrival. While Eisenstadt's exploratory voyage refers mainly to his European and Israeli Jewish experiences, the long trip brought him to the Americas – Latin America included – a continent defined as the first Multiple Modernities. His sociological work and his intellectual career are marked by the radical shift in the context of sociological theory, from the comparative analysis of institutions to the research program of comparative civilizations (Eisenstadt 1995a: 1–40, 2003a: 1–28; Preyer 2011: 13–57). This new approach contributed to Eisenstadt's critique of the classical theory

of modernization, which eventually led to the research program of multiple modernities – a viewpoint that radically changed the prevailing conceptual and methodological formulations. The Jewish civilization and the Israeli challenge of building a modern society differentially – in a culture in which tradition had a central role – conditioned the valorization of periphery and variability. Bringing together the diverse lines of thought, Spohn affirmed “Eisenstadt was a historical-comparative sociologist of global modernity, but from a peripheral and heterodox point of view” (2011: 282). In this framework, Latin America became a meaningful referent at a very early stage in his trajectory and also became a subset model related to diverse dimensions of his work (Eisenstadt 2000, 2009b).

His successive and sustained approach to the continent may be traced back to his participation in the UNESCO Regional Conference on Cultural Integration of Immigrants held in La Habana in 1956, and in the Seminar on Economic Development, Secularization and Political Evolution, organized by IDES in Buenos Aires in 1963, and up to his appointment as Principal Researcher on Agricultural Development and Modernization in Latin America, UNESCO, 1968–1970. He taught at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and conducted seminars in this field in Israel, both at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at the Van Leer Institute. The seminars dealt with Spanish Colonial America as well as with topics that oriented the research on Latin America, such as collective identities, public sphere, elites and social movements. He underscored Latin America's singularity regarding the relative weakness of primordial criteria in the definition of collective identities, a much weaker combination of territorial, historical and linguistic elements as components of collective identity and the tensions entailed in the dislocation of sectors and collectivities excluded from the public sphere.

Indeed, the region and its specificities acquired a relevant place in the Research Projects on Multiple Modernities. He participated in diverse initiatives on the region, which resulted in the publication of important collective work. Exemplary were *Constructing Collective Identities and Shaping Public Spheres. Latin American Paths*, edited by Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder in 1998; *Globality and Multiple Identities. Comparative North American and Latin American Perspectives*, edited by Luis Roniger and Carlos Waisman in 2002. In this line, *Shifting Frontiers of Citizenship: the Latin American Experience* (2013), edited by Sznajder, Roniger and Forment has Eisenstadt' posthumous work in the area. It came out of a research project that took place at the Institute of Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in which the author of this article participated.

Eisenstadt's work and his studies on modernization and their conceptual and methodological interactions with social categories are part of an ongoing dialogue/debate with theoretical currents and sociological approaches that prevailed in Latin America (Torres 2010). His global scope and distance from a structural-functional conception of social processes lies behind the inclusion of individual and collective agency and the conception of modernity as a mediated and historically contingent process. (Spohn 2011; Tiryakian 1995). Therefore, he developed a comprehensive conceptual and methodological distinction between the components of the structural dimensions of modernity and between them and the cultural ones, as well as the synchronic and diachronic analyses of different societies and of different phases of development within the same society.

Contrary to the presupposition of classical evolutionary and structural functional sociology, Eisenstadt considered that different dimensions of structural differentiation and disembedding of cultural orientations do not always go together (Eisenstadt 1965c; Preyer 2009, 2010) There is no necessary correlation between any degree or type of structural differentiation, of development of autonomous institutional arenas and specific types of modern institutional formations. Such different formations may develop in societies with relatively similar levels of differentiation and, conversely, similar frameworks may develop in societies with different levels of differentiation of the development of autonomous institutional arenas. Approaching Eisenstadt, Preyer has underscored that, on the structural level, the major process of such 'decoupling' has been that of structural differentiation: the crystallization of specific distinct roles. On the symbolic level, the process of such decoupling is manifest above all in the disembedding of the major cultural orientations from one another. Such decoupling can be seen in the transition from immanent to transcendental orientations, or in the structuring of collectivities and models of legitimation or regimes, from primordial to civil and transcendental ones (Cf. Figure 1).

Eisenstadt explains the notion of multiple modernities with the different constellations between agency (creativity) and structure and between culture and social-structure, as well as the role of elites and their coalitions within the expansion of the cultural visions in the socio-structural evolution. The components are not ontological entities, but they are essentially interconnected by the semantic map (Eisenstadt 1995g: 297–300; Preyer 2011: 78–90). In this context, the Axial Age civilizations concept (Jaspers) was determinant because it implied new ontological metaphysical conceptions of a transcendental and mundane order, which were basic to further transformations and thus constitute a major break that precedes and explains modernity.

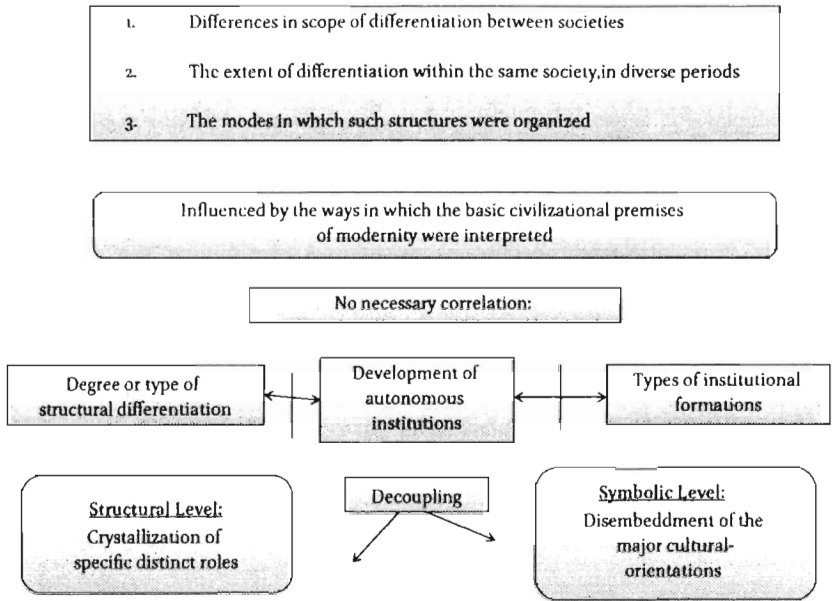


FIGURE 1 *The structural and cultural dimensions of modernities*

Particularly useful for the comprehension of Latin America's modernities were, as stated, the necessity to distinguish analytically between the structural and the cultural dimensions of modernities; the conception of modernities in terms of discontinuity, breakdowns, disjunctures, tensions and contradictions; tradition as a creative and integral element of the evolving civilization of modernity and the particularity conceptions of collective identities and the public sphere (Eisenstadt 2013a, 2013b).

These diverse dimensions may be traced to the complex encounters between worlds as epitomized by the simultaneous referent of Modernity – the existing, the European one(s) (in plural) and the ideal to be built in the new ecological realities of the territories and the native populations. Eisenstadt acutely differentiated the central axes around which two broad patterns crystallized in Europe: “those of hierarchy-equality and of relatively pluralistic “ex-parte” as against homogeneous “ex-toto” conception of the social orders” (Eisenstadt 2002a: 10). While in Protestant Europe these patterns were shaped through at least the partial incorporation of heterodox groups into the centre, which implied the inclusion of elements of equality in the religious and political spheres, in Counter-Reformation Catholic Europe – Spain and Portugal in particular – heterodox groups were excluded and the regimes were based “on a fundamental denial of the validity of heterodox teachings on a growing

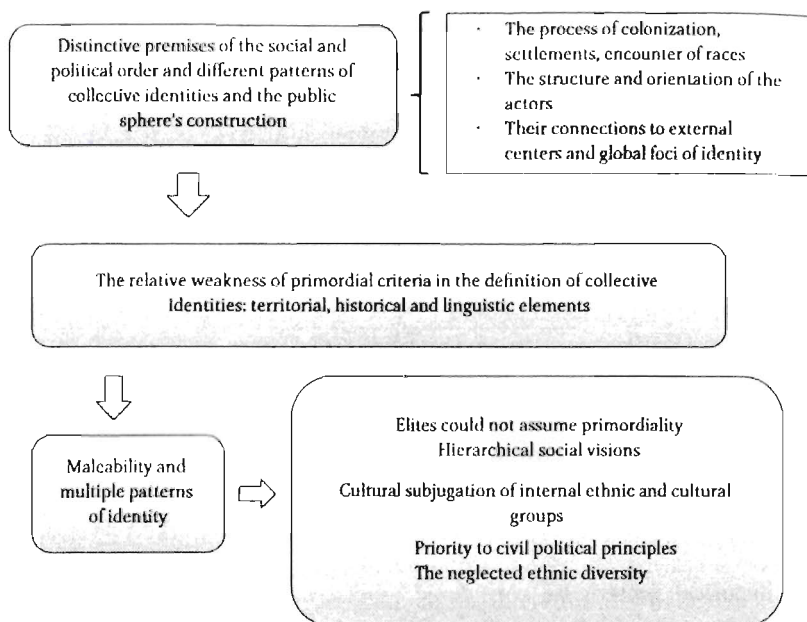


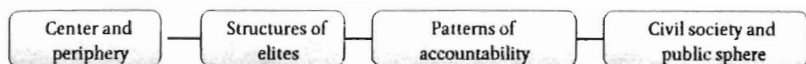
FIGURE 2 *Multiple Modernities from Latin America's perspective*

monopolization of the promulgation of the basic cultural premises by Church and State, along with a closely related strong emphasis on hierarchy" (Eisenstadt 2002c: 11). Thereafter, both the encounters and the changing models of cultural and social order as well as conquerors and settlers were influenced by the way in which the tension between equality and hierarchy or autonomous and controlled access to the administrative and market centres as developed in Europe, were transformed.

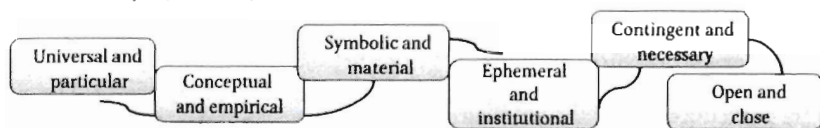
Thus, in Latin America, hierarchy was emphasized to a much greater extent than in Spain and Portugal; so were other patterns of exclusion (and inclusion). Through an in depth analytical insight, Eisenstadt followed the changing spectrum of the encounters between referents and agents of the new spaces, discovering the way in which they determined the diverse development of the different societies, "in particular the patterns of formation and transformation of the criteria of membership into, and exclusion from, the national communities; changes in the patterns of class and ethnic stratification; and changes in the patterns of social and political inclusion and exclusion" (Eisenstadt 2002c: 12, 2013b). Figure 2 presents central trends and specific characteristics of the multiple modernities as were shaped and unleashed in Latin American.

There were certainly profound tensions between the external centres of reference and the inner composition of the populations. The dual dilemmatic

- Different levels and sublevels of analysis in the realm of institutions and in of symbolic codes with a degree of autonomy



- Hermeneutically informed and comparatively oriented mode of social analysis (Silber 2011)



Modernity as historical conglomerate of large scale generative structures: universality and particularity

Against the convergence of modernization, the end of the history and the hegemonic and homogenizing assumptions of the Western program

FIGURE 3 *Modernities in Latin American and Western modernity: Discontinuity, breakdowns and tensions*

referents acted as oscillating parameters at the level of the people/elites binomial as well as at the challenges derived from nation building (Eisenstadt 2002a; Roniger 2002). The analysis of Latin American modernities followed distinct sub-levels or dimensions of analysis both in the realm of institutions and in that of symbolic codes and orientations; each level reaching a degree of autonomy. Thus, as may be seen in Figure 3, Susen and Turner underscore the hermeneutically informed and comparatively orientated mode of social analysis that accounts for diverse aspects underlying human forms of coexistence: the universal and the particular; the conceptual and the empirical; the symbolic and the material; the ephemeral and the institutional; the contingent and the necessary; the open and the closed. Eisenstadt studied modernity as a historical conglomerate of large-scale generative structures expressed in the universality of civilizational achievements and in the particularity of collectively sustained boundaries.

Latin American societies institutionalized new visions of the social and political order through their peripheral connection to external centres of religious, cultural, ideological and political-administrative articulation. Roniger (2002: 79) has rightly defined it as global immersion: from their very inception they were connected to external centres and global foci of identity. However, this original link did not nourish the self-perception of becoming autonomous

centres of modernity, but was permeated and often associated with the ulterior search for alternative modernities; thus, such 'external' and even ambivalent reference points remained crucial. European premises, social cultural orientations and institutional patterns that were transplanted and transformed differed along the diverse societies of the continent.

Indeed, Latin America is not an undifferentiated unity. It is one continent with diverse societies. Braudel referred in plural to the region in *Les Annales*: "*À travers les Amériques Latines*," emphasizing the diverse nature of the different countries and cultures that make up the region. This diversity, which comprises economic, political, and historical dimensions, might best be understood through the ethno-cultural differentiation as a fertile resource to study the civilizational processes. Eisenstadt recreated García Ribeiro's typologies: Indoamerica and Euroamerica. Significant differences exist between Indoamerican countries – Peru, Mexico, Ecuador and Bolivia, among others: with highly hierarchical compositions that include Indian lower classes, mestizo middle classes and Spanish and mestizo elites; and Euroamerican countries such as Argentina and Uruguay, which attracted immigration; homogenous mestizo Chile and Colombia; multiracial Brazil, Cuba and the Caribbean areas.

Grand trends and specific historical context explain the way these collective identities unfold in different institutional arenas – territorial, communal or religious – in various political-ecological settings – local, regional, national – and in a global context wherein they interact, intersect, and overlap and their components become re-linked (Eisenstadt 1998b). Modernity entailed a distinctive mode of constructing boundaries. New definitions evolve from the basic components or dimensions of collective identities – civil, primordial and universalistic, transcendental or sacred. Analyzing the connections between political boundaries and cultural collectivities, Latin Americans experienced in singular modes the tensions derived from the particular-territorial boundaries and the more universal ones. Both referents claimed their part and interacted in contradictory ways. Thus:

Latin American's hierarchical ethos was based on a combination of totalistic, hierarchical principles with strong tendencies toward what may be called topological as opposed to purely linear ways of constructing social space. Consequently, there arose a strong inclination to overlap between such spaces to blur the boundaries between them, and to prefer relational rather than formal-legal definitions of the social nexus. Formal-legal definitions were embedded in interpersonal relations; formal relations were disembedded from citizenship. Between the formal and informal definitions, between the relational hierarchical criteria

and the egalitarian and individualistic ones, formally espoused in the constitutions and the legal systems, there existed a continuous unresolved tension, sometimes evolving into a disjunction between the formal underpinnings and practical ground rules of society.

EISENSTADT 2002C: 20

Tensions and disjunctures were the basis for a rich and complex analytical perspective in with explanatory strength.

As stated, he further considered that:

one of the most important differences, which distinguish the American civilizations from both European and the Asian societies was the relative weakness of primordial criteria in the definition of their collective identities and the malleability of collective identities in the region.

EISENSTADT 2002C: 20

Another historical pattern he considered crucial was the protagonic role assumed by the state in "defining citizenship and establishing ground rules for participation in public spheres and access to institutional resources and recognition." Therefore, the centrality of institutional processes of domination, struggle and contestation, compromises and consensus formation were highlighted as basic to the construction of collective identities.

On the relation between nationalism, ethnicity and modernity there has been an ongoing discussion. Brubaker recognizes the contribution of Multiple Modernities literature but questions its criticism of modernization theorists that:

[A]re said to have dismissed ethnicity (along with religion) as a vestigial private matter, of no public significance; to have treated nationalism as axiomatically civic, secular, and inclusive; and to have vastly overemphasized the power of the nation-state to bind loyalties and generate attractive and inclusive national identities. (2011: 1).

He considers that nationalism and politicized ethnicity are characteristically modern phenomena, "as manifestations of modernity as a singular historical phenomenon, though one that is dynamically changing and, of course, subject to chronic contestation" (2011: 5).¹

1 For the discussion: Cf. Schmidt (2006; 2010) and Fourie (2012).

Eisenstadt claimed a dynamic analysis that challenged a static view of people and culture based on an ethno-demographic composition. The historic and anthropological criteria of Merquior and Da Matta exemplify his thesis about relative shifts in borders and the possibility of incorporating or reintegrating identities such as the indigenous one, besides the dominant Catholicism and refer local identity towards the centre (Eisenstadt 1992c), while recognizing, based on Roniger's statement, great inequalities in the distribution and the control of resources (Eisenstadt 1993). In this overall framework, *mestizaje*-miscegenation "became a pervasive concern and a metaphor, often constructed, suspected or experienced as part of the collective image of many of these societies in tandem with religious syncretism and hybrid structures" (Roniger 2002). As properly asserted, it has not been seen as more than a racial matter; it directly concerns behaviour, institutions and political actors (Bokser Liwerant 2013).

Walking the Scale: A Conceptual and Historical Journey through Mexico

Following Eisenstadt's conception of Latin American collective identities, *mestizaje* has been seen mostly along its inclusive dimension. It has been conceived as a resource for national integration, as a material and symbolic tool to bring together Iberoamericanism and universalism and thus its unifying goal has been recognized and underscored as epitomized by Vasconcelos' "cosmic race" (Roniger 2002). However, in spite of its aim to overcome inner ethnic and social divides, this construct carried inner contradictions as it developed a parallel discriminatory dimension, which differentiated the legitimacy of the national actors in the public sphere. Collective identities' interaction with the public sphere's contours entails social practices, recognition and representation. In the public sphere converge demands for visibility and legitimacy, as well as interactions between agency and structure. National thought defines the collective self-image and the conceptual margins of the Other. The nation displays its conception of membership along ethnicity/civility dimensions.²

2 Eisenstadt referred to three main codes in the process construction of collective identity: primordiality, civility, and sacredness or transcendence. The primordial code focuses on such components as gender and generation, kinship, territory, language and race for constructing and reinforcing the boundary between inside and outside. The second, the civic code, is constructed on the basis of familiarity with implicit and explicit rules of conduct, traditions, and social routines that define and demarcate the boundary of the collectivity. The third code – the sacral or transcendent – links the constituted boundary between us and them not to natural conditions but to a particular relation of the collectivity subject to the realm of the sacred and the sublime, be it defined as God or reason, progress or rationality.

The specific dynamics of *mestizaje* in Mexico reveals the complex way in which membership criteria and conditions for collective action were defined given the interdependence between ethnicity, national belonging and the State's political project. The real and symbolic meaning of its founding aim expressed the nation's ethnic and political dimensions. While it called for an ethnic-socio-cultural encounter between its indigenous and the Hispanic-Christian components, its primordialist features had limiting effects on the social construction of diversity. Thus, not every group and culture was a foundational layer of the nation, or was perceived as such (Bokser Liwerant 2008; 2013).

The inner tension between inclusion and exclusion may be traced back to the dilemmatic construction of the Other (indigenous, foreigners) that accompanied the intellectual *Criollo* who, on the one hand, in his quest for autonomy from Spain identified with the indigenous population, but, on the other hand, remained reluctant to lose his ancestors' privileges (Brading 1973; Villoro 1986). The *criollo* faced this dilemma through successive reformulations of the national project: *indigenismo* was articulated as a native claim and, thus, benefited precisely from the new socio-ethnic category: the *mestizo*. At the same time, the latter became the rising political actor in the national scene. Paradoxically, its author-producer, the *criollo*, was disqualified as a foreigner.

The complex relationship between liberalism and the political national project, manifest in the latter half of the nineteenth century, resulted from their divergent ideological and political premises. Liberalism sought to found the nation based on a rupture with its colonial and indigenous past and, therefore, the conceived Other acquired a new meaning. The debates on religious freedom in Mexico reflected the premises of liberal thought on tolerance as an incentive to promote European immigration (Hale 1972). By laying the grounds for Republican institutionalization, Positivism subsequently enhanced existing difficulties to relate to the 'Other'. The unfulfilled efforts of Porfirio Díaz's regime to attract European immigration to Mexico reinforced socio-ethnic splits in the public sphere (González Navarro 1988: 565–583).

The Mexican Revolution was preceded by the search for the Mexican self as a requisite in the construction of the new political and social order. From Justo Sierra to Molina Enríquez, from Antonio Caso to José Vasconcelos, the 'we' was configured in terms of ethnicity and race. The *mestizo* became the emblematic protagonist of the national endeavour. He who had "the unity of origin, the unity of religion, the unity of type, the unity of language, and the unity of desires, purposes, and aspirations" was required to build the new cohesive national and socio-political order (Molina Enríquez 1985). The revolutionary

critique of Porfirismo repudiated in complex ways both the persistence of indigenous people (social inequalities sanctioned by ethnicity) and of foreigners, as a privileged group (Cabrera 1960). The ethnic and socioeconomic dimensions overlapped with far reaching restrictive implications. As the Mexican Revolution prioritized social over individual rights, the legitimacy of the new regime rested de facto on its ability to fulfill its social justice program. The disjunctures between the legal and factual behaviours were further reinforced. The recovery, discovery and creation of the meaning of the national stood at the centre of a 'mysticism' called "the crux of contemporary Mexican nationalism" (Cline 1972: 89-90). Therefore, the dynamics behind the aspirations for universalism and inclusiveness of the *mestizaje* project met limits that require a better understanding of the complexity, inner tensions and contradictions involved in the construction of modernity.

The basic premises of political order influenced the political dynamics, especially the development of non-hegemonic modes of social and political order and modes of resistance, which conditioned the struggle over the definition of public spheres as well as ways of incorporation of different groups into the political body.

Discontinuities and disjunctures along structural and cultural disembedding seem to mark the process of the making and un-making of a fluid and heterogeneous modernity (Brunner 1987). Multiple practices of modernization thus conditioned an ambiguous logic of institutionalization. Seen from one side, wide social realms are characterized by signs of fragility and absences while simultaneously the State strived for and achieved a strong homogenizing presence. Political instability, authoritarian regimes and democratic breakdowns in Latin America certainly expressed and shaped the disjuncture between economic development and social cohesion (Tiryakian 2011).

Tensions and disjunctures are basic conceptual tools to approach complexity: between the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion of collective identities and social sectors struggling to make inroad into the public sphere (Bokser Liwerant 2009; 2013); between hierarchy and inclusion, elites and representation processes, and elitist patterns and popular massive protest movements; between economic development and social cohesion; along changing parameters of the public sphere and its alternative openness and closure. Challenges faced by State of Law vis-à-vis energies channelled towards the nation state, populism and corporatism (Roniger 2002); renewed creation of authoritarian legacies; unstable democracy building and processes of de-democratization; as well as low institutional trust and violence have also nourished a legacy of institutional weakness and its consequent cumulative deficit when entering new phases of globalization.

The twentieth century draws a complex picture in which most Latin American countries have experienced transition processes from authoritarian bureaucratic regimes to systems of dictatorial-military profile.³ In the three decades that run from the mid-Fifties to the mid-Eighties, 14 Latin American countries (out of 20) had rightist dictatorial/military governments.⁴ Although in unequal terms, this scenario changed when transitions to democratic political institutional governments took place (O'Donnell et al. 1988). Amidst the wide variety of national circumstances, Latin America, in its indisputable process of democratic transition oscillated in contradictory ways between delegative democracies and experiences of a new populism. Starting in the 1990s and in the context of the transition processes, civilian governments of various trends (from conservative to radical nationalists) were established.⁵

While cultural understanding influenced the different ways modernity was built, 'classical' modern institutions do matter insofar as they are central to the construction of citizenship, pluralism and democracy. Thus, the relevance of the ongoing discussion on the parameters and margins of the variation and the multiplicity of values and institutions that may guarantee social criticism (reflexivity) and democratic integration. In this sense, the region has to cope with incomplete achievements (Alexander 2006) or, worse still, the certainly harsh characterization as "mausoleum of modernities" (Whithead 2002).

Furthermore, as Weissman has analyzed, dualism has defined economy and society. Economic liberalization has led to greater inequality and, in some cases, greater poverty and unemployment. Social polarization inhibits the development of civil society. This dualism is not based on segregation between modern and traditional regions. Rather, it consists of the co-existence of groups with different degrees of inclusion in labour and

3 The cases of authoritarian bureaucratic regimes considered by O'Donnell are Brazil after 1964 and during 1966 to 1970; Chile after 1973 and Argentina during 1976. *Vid.* Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernización y autoritarismo* (1972); David Collier, *El nuevo autoritarismo en América Latina* (1985).

4 The countries are: Argentina (1976 and 1983); Brazil (1964–1985); Bolivia (1971–1978 and 1997–2002); Chile (1973–1990); Ecuador (1972–1978); El Salvador (1979–1982); Guatemala (1954–1986); Haiti (1964–1990); Honduras (1972–1980); Nicaragua (1967–1979); Panama (1968–1989); Paraguay (1954–1989); Peru (1968–1980) and Uruguay (1973–1985).

5 At the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the population of Latin America reached 550 million, of which 227 million lived in countries defined as liberal or conservatives, another 208 million in the so-called Socialist/European-style regimes, 63 million in hard Socialist regimes and 52 million more in non-aligned regimes (Baldinelli 2009; Alcántara 1999; Dallanegra 2008).

- a. Disjuncture between the **formal and the informal rules** of the game
- b. Tensions and contradictions between the process of **incorporation of social sectors into the public sphere and of protest movements**:
 1. 'post-modern' and 'post-materialist' movements;
 2. assertive and aggressive, particularistic, local, regional, ethnic cultural autonomous movements, as well as various religious-fundamentalist and religious-communal ones
- c. **Elitist and populist parameters**: corporatist patterns and popular massive waves: democratization and repression
- d. **Commitment to representative democracy with low institutional trust**, disruption of procedural norms, authoritarian closure and control of public spheres
- e. Corporatist articulation, clientelism and violence

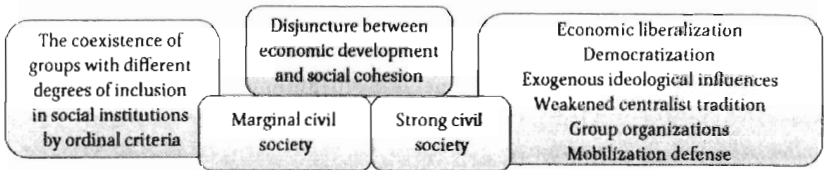


FIGURE 4 *Tensions, disjunctures and contradictions: Conceptual tools*

commodity markets, as well as access to education, health and social security. The outcome has been:

[T]he generation of two poles, a strong civil society, very much like that of established democracies, and a marginal one, susceptible to clientelistic co-optation and coercion. The first pole generates citizens, while the second apathetic subjects prone to short lived instances of anomic activation, not sustainable because of the low capacity for autonomous organization among these strata.

WAISMAN 2002

Individually and collectively, polarization in the structure of opportunities becomes more acute. Collective frameworks are diluted and new forms of social cohesion, less known, less defined, less socially oriented and closer to a "domestic sociability" appear (Lechner 2002). The social contracts that gave birth to the protection of modern risks did not always correspond with the democratization processes and they did not respond to basic premises of central modernity (Mancini 2013). However, Domínguez (2009), following Eisenstadt, underscores that the modern imaginary is as Latinoamerican and peripheral as it is Western and central and claims the multiple modernities code to approach the highly contradictory specificities and particular dynamics. Figure 4 further illustrates main axes of

tensions, disjunctures and contradictions along which modernity has been sought and built.

2

The construction and reconstruction of social spaces imply encounters with different identificational/cultural/political/geographical *moments* of modernity and pose new realities and extended questions to the concept of multiple modernities. For Latin America, these encounters certainly account for the transition from an historical global immersion to a new insertion into globalization.

Globalization processes have led to economic, social, political and cultural changes that upset geographical, territorial and temporal referents, without which it would be impossible to think the structures and institutions, economies, social relations and cultural spaces today. The concept acquired multiple meanings according to diverse theoretical approaches and in relation to their analytical scope and specific focus on the variables of space and time.⁶ A broad perspective points to different periods and moments of globalization processes related to uneven developments over time (and in space). There are certainly approaches that underline the fact that, during the last five hundred years, increasingly dense and intense interactions brought by capitalist labour markets, commodity production and the political expansion of the nation state lie behind globalization, as do migrations, wars of conquest, flow of commodities, and ideas. As stated, Latin America's historical trajectory represents a pathway to globality as a result of the world's expansion and the extension of European dynamics. In the last decades, however, a new phase of unprecedented globalization unfolds: trends are closely related and underscore aspects of the same phenomenon; time and space cease to have the same influence on the way in which social relations and institutions are structured; economic, social and political arrangements depend neither on distance, nor on borders, nor do they have the same influence on the final shaping of institutions and social relations. Consequently, social interaction is organized and structured around the unity of the planet as the horizon

6 Although there is no agreement among scholars regarding its origins or its basic characteristics, there is a convergent approach in identifying radical changes that upset spatial, temporal, geographical and/or territorial references, without which it would be impossible to think of economic, political, social and cultural relations in the contemporary world (Wallerstein 1974; Waters 1995; Robertson 1992; Scholte 1998; Wiewiorka 2007).

while there is an intensifying connectivity and/or compression of the world (Robertson 1992; Scholte 1998, 2005). Eisenstadt conceived these radical transformations as a “multi-civilizational reconfiguration of global modernity” (2003a). He emphasized the:

[...] changing multi-civilizational political and cultural programs of modernity, their institutional and cultural formations, their contestation through new social movements in their postmodern, pragmatic or fundamentalist orientations, and the multiple experiences, perceptions and legitimization of the global system and globality.

SPOHN 2011: 295

His analysis focused on the way classical institutional orders face their capacities restricted or modified, while identities take shape along national and transnational axes. Ethnic, national, and religious old and new Diasporas have been likewise redefining their nature and scope on national and world scenes. Contemporary changes are understood as a further stimulus to revisit and rethink modernity and the various modernization programs and roads, as expressed in his second Research Program, focused on the transformations derived from the dynamics of the global as networks of social systems and their consequent new tensions (Kahavi, Lerner, Brayer-Grab 2003).

For Latin America, the changing role of the State becomes crucial. Whereas Eisenstadt made sustained efforts not to use the concepts of society and nation state interchangeably, contemporary reality exacerbated the concrete and conceptual differentiation:

While the political centres of the nation and revolutionary states continued to constitute the major agencies of resource distribution, as well as very strong and important actors in the major international arenas, the control of the nation state as the hegemonic centre – over its own economic and political affairs – despite the continual strengthening of the ‘technocratic’ ‘rational’ secular policies in various arenas, be it in education or family planning – was reduced. Many global, above all financial, actors became very powerful.

EISENSTADT 2010A

The State, its powers, functions, spaces and territories where it performs have indeed been radically transformed. It seems clear at this stage that, far from what some hurried estimates maintained (Ohmae 1990; Fukuyama 1992), states not only do not disappear but continue to be actors that have a decisive

influence in many fields at national and international levels. They are even considered among the most active and committed forces of globalization. Nonetheless, their sovereign status weakens in various fields: the state becomes incapable, for example, of regulating financial and trade flows, property and authorship rights, universally sanctioned human rights and other cross-border economic, social and cultural transactions. Likewise, the authority of the State loses effectiveness in regulating and applying sanctions to International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGO) and its relations to communities and identities that go beyond national borders are reconsidered, reconnecting the links between the local, the national and the global. The State thus loses regulatory capacity in certain spheres while at the same time strengthening its influence in others.

State sovereignty, according to which states exercised supreme, comprehensive and exclusive control over their territory, is an historical category arising as an organizing principle in the seventeenth century. In the context of globalization, state apparatuses survive, grow, strengthen and penetrate new spheres of society. On the other hand, sovereignty, as a supreme and exclusive control, ceases to operate because the State's regulatory capacity becomes eroded vis-à-vis the emerging mechanisms of regulation and governance at global level (Scholte 1998; Held 1995; Bokser Liwerant & Salas Porras 1999):

[States] also lost their centrality and semi-monopoly over the constitution of the international playgrounds and of the rules regulating them. Above all, the ideological and symbolic centrality of the nation and revolutionary states, their perception as the major bearers of the cultural program of modernity, the basic frameworks of collective identity, and as the principal regulator of the various secondary identities, became weakened and they are certainly no longer closely connected with a distinct cultural and civilizing program.

EISENSTADT 2009B

Thus, within the framework of globalization, sovereignty loses strength due to the fact that states must share the task of governing with international public agencies and non-governmental, private and civic organizations. In parallel, within their borders, they face new patterns of association among civil society, as well as of political participation – individual and collective – and of building citizenship. These trends impose efforts at redefinition and specification regarding the competence of public and private domains as well as the relations between civil society and the state. In view of the simultaneous and contradictory trends of integration and reconfiguration currently affecting national states, new possibilities for coexistence arise among its sectors.

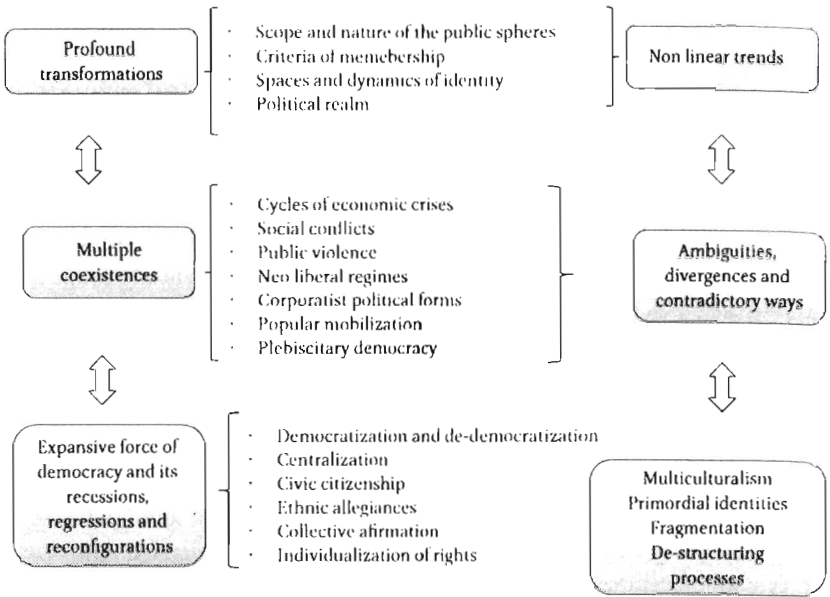


FIGURE 5 *Transformations, ambiguities and divergences in contemporary Latin America*

Latin America has experienced profound transformations in the scope and nature of the region's diverse public spheres and their criteria for social inclusion and membership, as well as in the political realm, the spaces and dynamics of identity building. As stated, such changes follow non-linear trends. Figure 5 seeks to account for, in a synthetic way, the diversity of processes. An increasingly expansive force of democracy takes place amidst global cycles of economic crises, social conflicts and public violence. Neo-liberal and growingly institutionalized regimes coexist with corporatist political forms, popular mobilization and plebiscitary democracy (Sznajder, Roniger & Forment 2013). The region has incorporated global sequences of political opportunities and social conflicts in contradictory ways, as is evident in social transformation; centralization and de-centralization; civic citizenship and ethnic allegiances; collective affirmation and individualization of rights. The region's changing reality reflects, as well, its recessions, regressions, and reconfigurations. It is certainly pertinent to underscore the relevance of the Third Wave of democratization processes – and especially the Latin American experiences we referred to – had on Eisenstadt's transition from a post-traditional formulation to his conceptualization of multiple modernities one (Fisher 2011).⁷

7 Fisher refers to a second influential referent of this conceptual transition: Eric Voegelin's insight of the Orthodox religious character of modern political ideologies.

Indeed, as Eisenstadt asserts,

[...] under the impact of intensive globalization processes, far-reaching changes concomitantly developed in the constitution of many social boundaries – weakening and diversifying hitherto hegemonic collectivities and social arenas; and the crystallization of new cultural and social identities that transcend existing political and cultural boundaries; the closely related reconstitution of the place of territoriality in the structuring of social roles and of collective identities and the decoupling of the hitherto predominant relations between local and global frameworks.

EISENSTADT, 2010B: 27

Thus, as a result of increasingly intense cross-border interaction, diverse groups, communities and/or classes adopt identities and loyalties over and above national sentiments. Such is the case with new social movements, members of the corporate elite, epistemic communities, migrants, Diasporas and ethnic groups that place various values (economic growth, human rights including those of women and minorities) above sovereignty and even self-determination. At the same time, globalization encourages and strengthens local, ethnic and indigenous identities, as epitomized by the Zapatista movement in the southeastern state of Chiapas in the early 1990s. This juncture opened and enhanced a diversified scenario certainly preceded and paralleled by new processes and trends. Its claims for recognition and its emphasis on cultural diversity broadened an ongoing discussion on the nexus between culture, society, and politics; a dialogue on the basis of which minority groups could gain legitimacy. Theoretical and practical divergences spilled over into the logic of assimilationist integration, which was profoundly questioned. Mexico as 'a nation of nations' confronted the need to consider itself through a perspective of diversity that would encompass local and regional perspectives, its indigenous peoples and its various ethnic groups (Bokser Liwerant 2009; 2013). By challenging the State as the vertex that produced symbolic resources and cultural identities, an increasingly differentiating nation sought an opportunity to become publicly visible given the changing coordinates of the public sphere. Zapatistas engaged in a struggle over the definition of the public good, both national and transnational, in a call for the creation of a new civil society. The idea of many cultures draws away from the recurrent search for an essentialist 'soul' or national character and instead leads to a reconfiguration of the national as a legitimating myth (Menéndez Carrión 2001; Lomnitz 1992). However, the ethnic revival enhanced an essentialist idea of culture as the property of an ethnic group, overemphasizing the internal homogeneity:

the *Manifiesto Zapatista* affirmed that democracy would come when the culture of the nation is refashioned from the perspective of indigenous people (First and Second Declaration of the Selva Lacandona, 1993, 1994).

Implications on national identities and dynamics of social integration are strongly felt, as well as its effect on the redefinition of membership criteria. Intertwined with the complex and differentiated historical trajectory of Latin America, public spheres and democratic spaces are highly fragmented. Continuity, variability and changeability define the broad contours of this trajectory. Latin American citizens were the first in the modern West that failed in their attempt to reconcile social equality with cultural differences, provoking socio-ethnic fissures in the continent's public life (Forment 2003). Contemporary roads towards recognition of difference, a new identity politics and the emphasis on heterogeneity act as substratum that seeks to enhance pluralism. "Struggles for recognition" (Fraser & Honneth 2003) and "identity/difference movements" (Chambers 2008) signal a new political imaginary that propels identity issues to the forefront of the public political discourse in the broadest sense. Elective and civic bonds coexist with ethnic and/or religious affiliations, linking individuals, communities and larger societies in unprecedented ways. Regional and global processes interact. In the current conditions, individuals, networks, groups, goods, commodities and cultural circuits transcend national borders. Transnational scenarios unleash and account for continuous and intense interactions between communal and social, global and local, national and transnational levels. Ethnic, national, and religious old and new movements and Diasporas have been likewise redefining their nature and scope on national and world scenes. The recovery and even resurgence of the concept of Diaspora and the emergence of transnationalism as an analytical approach can be used productively to study central questions of social change. While older notions of Diaspora concern mainly forced dispersal, today this concept covers diverse groups such as migrants, expatriates, refugees and displaced peoples, temporary migrant workers, groups of exiles, or ethnic communities (Eisenstadt 2010b; Baubock & Faist 2010; Nonini 2005; Brubaker 2005).⁸ Contemporary approaches gradually point to the dynamics both of collective identities that Eisenstadt so well understood and broadened the concept of return to include old-new dynamics of interactions and interconnectedness.

8 The research on Diaspora, despite its potential indiscriminate use of the term, has highlighted three essential components: a) dispersion of its members; b) orientation toward an ethno-national centre, real or imaginary, considered to be a homeland; and c) host country maintenance of the group's ethno-cultural borders (Cohen 2008; O'Haire 2008; Brenner 2008; Esman 2009).

Moreover, in its full parameters, the national and transnational dimensions interact, shift and overlap. In this sense, transnationalism has focused mainly on more recent migration movements. While it has emphasized hybridity over distinctiveness and border maintenance (over border erosion) as a key characteristic it should be conceived as an analytical angle that complements and apprehends the current transformation of Diasporas. Transnationalism embraces a variety of multifaceted social relations that are both embedded in and transcend nation states; cross-cutting socio-political, territorial, and cultural borders bringing to the multiplicity, pluralization, and diversification of semantic-ideological and institutional connections between major arenas of life (Ben Rafael 2013; Bokser Liwerant 2014).

Certainly, the state-civil society equation becomes the prominent venue for continuous interactions between individuals and their communities, between national and transnational spheres and particular identities, between inclusion and exclusion processes that constitute the most significant ambiguities around contemporary democratization. Strong and persistent trends of material and symbolic exclusion parallel the search for inclusive political forms, thus hindering democracy itself. It certainly interacts with the dualism it has marked societies and with new trends of fragmentation (Álvarez & Mejorada 2006; Waisman 2002).

Globalization processes and their multidimensional and contradictory impact are expressed both in increasingly inclusive public spheres and sustained migratory processes. Emigration is a global phenomenon of unexpected scope – world stock migration having grown from 75 million in 1965 to 150 million in 1990, 175 million in 2000 and 232 million in 2013. The United Nations identified 37 million Latin Americans living outside the region in 2013; 11 million more than in 2000. Latin America is a relevant case for the global scenario of international migration that has become more massive and diversified (Durand 2010; ONU 2013).

During the 1970s, violence and authoritarianism in the region determined regional and international emigration and political exile, especially in the Southern Cone; a decade later, re-democratization was a pull factor for exiles to return to their homelands. However, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the combination of economic crises, political uncertainties and security problems again pushed the region into a global international migration pattern. This tendency has expanded, though intermittently, since the 1990s. The last phases of accelerated globalization processes have witnessed significant increases in the number of Latin American migrants. Diversified migration waves reflect and create diverse paths – territorial, cultural, sub-ethnic – and social experiences in unequal terms (Zlotnick 1999; Castles 2000). Following the “new economics of labour migration” (Stark 1991), population movements cannot be explained

only by income differences between two countries, but also by additional factors such as secure employment, availability of capital for entrepreneurial activities and the need to manage risk over long periods. However, the reality of segmented labour markets seems to better describe the bifurcation of migration today. The twofold pattern points to an increasing migration of marginal sectors; mainly non-skilled workers and peasants that lack formal education.

At the same time, there is a sustained increment in the population of qualified labour, including professionals, scientists and entrepreneurial sectors. A close look points to this trend. In 2008, migrants with 12 years or more of education represented nine per cent of the total migration to the United States, while in 2012 this figure reached 30 per cent (BBVA 2013: 32); 33 per cent of the Mexican population with a PhD degree inhabits the US (Olivares Alonso 2013). Mexico is characterized by exceptionally high migration fluxes; close to 10.5 per cent of its total population live outside the country. It is estimated that 11.7 million migrants born in Mexico live in the United States. According to US sources, by the end of the 1990s, the yearly net migration rate of Mexicans peaked at over 500,000 individuals, on average. Out of the total Hispanic population living in the US (almost 50 million), more than 30 million has Mexican origins.⁹ From the approximately 11.5 million undocumented migrants in the US, 6.5 million are Mexican, representing 57 per cent of the total. Undocumented migrants from other Latin American countries represent an additional 24–26 per cent (Durand 2010).¹⁰

Migration causes social transformations in both migrant-sending and receiving countries (Castles 2000). It becomes a multi-level and diversified process encompassing movements that are steady – as are the more traditional waves of migration – as well as repeated and circular, bi-local or multi-local and also instances of return. Multiple relocations and the emergence of transmigrants generate diversified interactions as well as the exchange of economic

9 Cf. Pew Hispanic Center last decade data, evaluated based on self-described family ancestry or place of birth. <http://pewhispanic.org/>.

10 If we refer briefly to the south, Argentina, an historical hub of immigration became a country of emigration and exile. Data about the migration phenomenon are not very precise. According to the National Division of Migration, in 2007, there were approximately 1,053,000 Argentinians residing abroad (Resolution 452/2007, Ministry of Interior). The Organization of International Migration estimates the number to be, 971,698, which represents 2.4 per cent of the total population of the country (OIT 2012). In fact, Pellegrino (2003) suggests that worries about international emigration resulted from its qualitative aspects, mainly associated with the highly qualified population that left the country who had high educational levels, a strong presence of professionals and individuals with technical specializations.

and social resources, cultural narratives, practices and symbols between societies thereby creating and redefining associational frameworks and ethnic, religious and national identities (Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Castles 2000).

A sort of contradictory process, entailing the emergence of interconnected-unified mental and relational space, contributes to diminishing the impact of physical dispersal while the tension between the universal-particular and global-local axes persists and even reaches acute tones. Global spaces give a new density to the close and specific, the characteristic and particular, and encourage the building of collective identities on institutional bases, spaces and frameworks that are radically different from those previously considered by social theory.

While the conceptual development of religion has been central in Eisenstadt's work, I here underscore his emphasis on the religious dimension of transnational movements. Indeed, religion has assumed a growing public role and visibility amidst secularization processes. Religious traditions have gained a new public relevance, as a result of their interaction with social movements and public agencies and by their claim to a new sort of interaction between private and public morality (Casanova 1994).

He observed virtual transnational religious identities and belongings as well as their interaction with ethnic communities (including new Diasporic ones) as one of the most important developments in the contemporary global scene. Diverse contradictory trends have helped the revival of ethnic identities in many communities precisely through the return to religion and religious mythologies.¹¹ The ethnic-religious revival is to be found not only in non-Western contexts in the face of fear of the Western influx of globalization, but also in the West as well as Westernized contexts: in America as well as in Japan, Poland, Ireland and Mexico.

Thus, the resurgence of religions often connected with ethnic components become central to protagonists of the political arenas and pivotal elements of collective identities. "Such transposition did not however entail a simple return of some traditional forms of religious organizations, authority or practices but

11 The re-appropriation of an ethnic past has helped to advance a religious revival, which can be seen in the return of secular Muslims to Islam in Bosnia; in the interaction between Islam and Hinduism on the Indian subcontinent; in the return to nationalist Orthodoxy in Russia; and in the presence of Islamic movements among Islamic communities in the West. All these cases are related to the intensification of ethnic identity among embattled ethnic communities in the midst of what is perceived and felt to be an alien environment (Smith 1995).

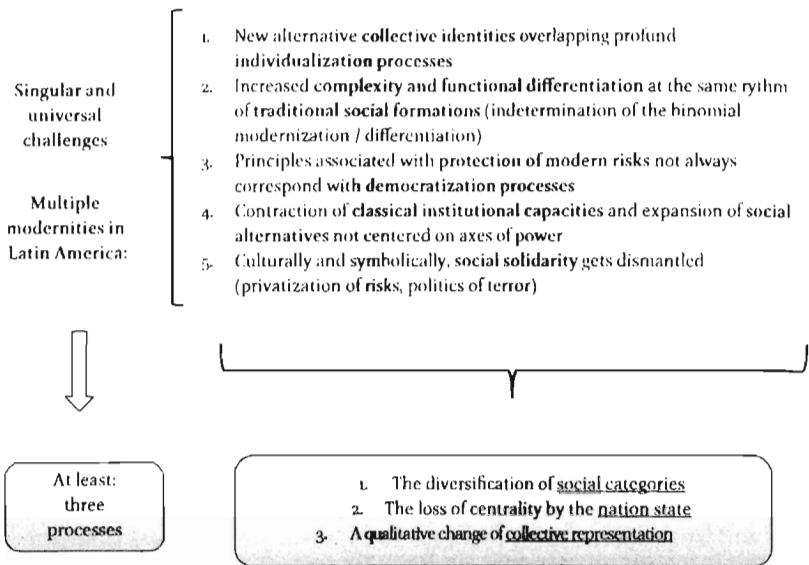


FIGURE 6 *Multiple modernities in Latin America: Challenges and questions*

rather a far-reaching reconstitution of the religious components in the overall cultural and institutional formations" (Eisenstadt 2010b: 22).

Eisenstadt further stresses that in parallel to the contraction of classical institutional capacities, new social alternatives overlap processes of individualization that broaden available options and decisions in contexts of social action that transcend the nation state, which does not require or expresses instrumental rationality (Cf. Figure 6). This sort of social deregulation means that individuals may cease to structure their collective action along ordered known patterns.

According to Eisenstadt, the current situation is one of growing globalization and, at the same time, a new differentiation of regional societies. Indeed, Latin American has been a fertile terrain for theoretical and practical models of development (modernization, dependency, world systems and globalization) (Vid. Reyes 2001; Kacowicz 2009; Korzeniewicz & Smith 2000). Since 1960, the region has become a huge laboratory: from economic stability unparalleled in that decade – due to the model of 'inward growth', 'stabilizing development' or 'import substitution industrialization' (ISI) to the explosion of the external debt during the Seventies, and into the difficult era of the Eighties, characterized by policies of economic adjustments (devaluations and inflation) and the rise of unemployment and social dislocations that led to higher rates of poverty and social protest. From there, it was outlined, in the following decade the

national bumps into a stage of macroeconomic growth, continuity of structural adjustment, receiving external financial flows and control of inflation. Subsequently, it was not possible for a phase of macroeconomic growth, sustained structural adjustments, fluxes of foreign capital and inflation control to take place outside the disruptive recurrence of profound crises. The links and interactions between liberalization, democratization and crises were marked by contradictions and disjunctures.

Recent research highlights that in Latin America the “unfulfilled promises of Modernity” are increasingly addressed through the family, social networks and communal instances and less through formal institutions, precisely as part of the prevailing arrangements and in spite of a sustained process of social intervention (Mancini 2013; Lechner 2002). The research expresses the weakening of defined life cycles, the changes in the boundaries of family, community and spatial/social organizations and the redefinition of social roles (in particular of the occupational and citizenship role cluster). One of the sustained paradoxes in the region is precisely that the increase in the complexity and functional differentiation of societies (though weak, in process) takes place not instead of but following the rhythm of the traditional patterns of social formation.

This particular process of traditional individualization – associated with a familiarist conception of welfare – would enhance an informal approach to the uncertainties of modernity. Thus, traditional patterns may be generators or minimizers of the impact of risks, as a key perspective to modern institutional and cultural (civilizational) constellations.¹² It is indeed related to the diverse lines of continuity and change displayed by multiple modernities: it points to the limits of a determinist binomial modernization-differentiation. Particularly important dynamics of functional differentiation develop amidst social and cultural traditional practices.

In fact, it also points to the coupling between structural and dynamic inequalities, which defines new links between social risk, inequalities and welfare regimes in Latin America, while drawing increased social complexity and uncertainty. (Mancini 2015). As indicated, the pathways that social and economic transformations have followed in the region have redefined the principles of protection of social risks and its three main sources: State, family and market. Three processes outlined by Eisenstadt are displayed in Latin America: the loss of centrality by the nation state; the diversification of social categories; and a qualitative transformation of collective representation (Figure 6). If, in

12 Thus, questioning approaches that consider that risks start where tradition ends (reflexive sociology).

the past, it was possible to guarantee collective agreements it was partially due to the relative homogeneity of social categories, to the centrality of the State (also as symbolic referent of social cohesion) and the presence of these principles in uniform collectivities with capacity to express their demands and engage in social action. The economic consensus and the agreement to regulate social relations inside the national frontiers have been fractured and so the organizational rules that frame social functions become flexible. The changing models of economic development interacted in equally contradictory ways with the political cycles and upheavals previously referred to (Esping Andersen 1989; Waisman 2002).

Contemporary Latin America faces the real and explanatory limits of traditional social categories and classical hierarchies (class structures, occupational structure) to explain the new ways an inner diversified and increasingly uncertain social stratification system is built today. Thus, processes associated with individualization, social uncertainty, transitional and ephemeral occupational status, reduction of social protection become new mechanisms of individual social inequality, which, due to their structural origin and its consequences, transcend the individual dimension and become factors of social reproduction (Beck 1998; Giddens 2002; Eisenstadt 2010b; Mancini 2015). The risk of social exclusion becomes extended and cuts diverse social strata that are, conversely, highly heterogeneous in their inner composition.

Finally, it cannot be denied that close to the emergence of new forms of representation, we are witnessing a process of growing expansion of interest in citizenry, a 'return of the citizen' in which a plurality of approaches coincide (Kymlicka & Wayne 1995; Kymlicka 1996). Perspectives oscillate between those who, in effect, emphasize the weakening of politics as a result of varying losses of credibility, representativity, and citizen participation (and its equivalent in communitarian sectors, understood as public orders), versus those who stress their revitalization, derived from a renewed interest in reconstituting the sphere of politics with new forms and new players. Thus, on the one hand, an over-exhaustion of politics takes shape: a lack of credibility regarding the performance of government figures and public institutions that is expressed through the uncertainty of citizens who do not see themselves reflected in traditional political players (Przeworski 1998); or a minimization of politics, expressed by the displacement of citizens' demands toward the social sphere, which would jibe with the vision of a growing 'privatization' of a citizenry that is no longer anchored in shared representations that are strictly universal and inclusive, but rather in differences, particularities, and fractures (Lechner 1997; Bokser 2002). On the other hand, emphasis is placed on the renewed vigour with which politics is taking shape in light of the broad horizon of the public

sphere and its redimensioning as the field and space where the causeways and modalities of collective coexistence are defined. Together with the recognition of social diversity, the approach that vindicates, within the framework of political pluralism, the solidity of institutions and their efficiency (while remaining anchored in the participation and creation of citizen consensus) is reinforced. Latin America, in turn, would be constrained by the need to overcome historic gaps and lack of convergence between politics and other dimensions, specifically economics, which has given rise to a serious democratic deficit in processes of collective reflection and deliberation (Alarcón 1999).

The re-emergence of the concept of citizenship can also be seen as an attempt to integrate the demands of justice, in direct reference to the concept of individual rights, with those of community belonging, derived from phenomena associated with the rearticulation of collective identities, the rationale of justice, and the feeling of belonging to a specific community (Cortina 1997).

The possibility of bringing together both vectors remits us, in turn, to the recognition and feasibility of minorities and Diasporas displaying their collective dimension in the public sphere.

Axes of continuity and variability both structural and cultural overlap in new ways outlining traces and tendencies towards complexity and heterogeneity of Latin American societies and political praxis; the symbolic, cultural and institutional variability of the diverse configurations of modernity in the region reaffirms the potentialities of the Multiple Modernities conception.