

IN A LEAGUE OF ITS OWN?: EVOLVING PATTERNS OF POST-COLD WAR
NON-STATE POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA



VOLKAN İŞBAŞARAN

NOVEMBER, 2021

IN A LEAGUE OF ITS OWN?: EVOLVING PATTERNS OF POST-COLD WAR
NON-STATE POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA

VOLKAN İŞBAŞARAN

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY

NOVEMBER, 2021

PLAGIARISM

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

Name: Volkan İşbaşıran

01.12.2021

ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to analyze the patterns of post-Cold War non-governmental political violence in Latin America. Even though there are many studies analyzing political violence in the region, there is limited research combining the elements of terrorist attacks and violent protests during the stated era. This study focuses on the state of non-governmental political violence, meaning both terrorist attacks and violent protests, in Latin America in the aftermath of the Cold War. The research analyzes both intra-regional patterns and compares the pattern of Latin America with the world. The temporal frame of the research covers the period between 1 January 1990 and 31 December 2019. While the prevailing hypothesis in the literature states that terrorism increased with the end of the Cold War, Latin America falsifies this hypothesis due to the decreasing numbers in terrorist attacks. In the deviant case of Latin America, political protests have increased instead of terrorism and violent protests became the dominant form of political violence.

Keywords: *Post-Cold War, political violence, terrorism, political protest, Latin America*

ÖZET

Bu tez, Latin Amerika'da Soğuk Savaş sonrası hükümet dışı siyasi şiddet serilerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bölgede siyasi şiddeti inceleyen çok sayıda çalışma olmasına rağmen, belirtilen dönemde terör saldırıları ve şiddetli protestolar unsurlarını birleştiren sınırlı sayıda araştırma bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Soğuk Savaş sonrasında Latin Amerika'da hükümet dışı siyasi şiddetin durumuna, yani hem terör saldırıları hem de şiddetli protestolara odaklanmaktadır. Araştırma hem bölge içi kalıpları analiz etmektedir hem de Latin Amerika kalıbını dünya ile karşılaştırmaktadır. Araştırmanın zaman dilimi 1 Ocak 1990 ile 31 Aralık 2019 arasındaki dönemi kapsamaktadır. Literatürdeki hâkim hipotez Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesiyle terörizmin arttığını belirtirken, Latin Amerika terör saldırılarının sayısının azalması nedeniyle bu hipotezi yanlışlamaktadır. Latin Amerika'nın aykırı örneğinde, terörizm yerine siyasi protestolar arttı ve şiddetli protestolar siyasi şiddetin baskın biçimi haline geldi.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Soğuk savaş sonrası, siyasal şiddet, terörizm, siyasi protesto, Latin Amerika*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ÖZET	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
1. METHODOLOGY	2
2. HISTORY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA	9
2.1. Pre-Colombian Americas	9
2.2. European Colonization	10
2.3. 19 th Century Wars of Independence	11
2.4. 20 th Century	12
3. POLITICAL VIOLENCE	16
4. PROTESTS IN LATIN AMERICA	17
4.1. Protests in Argentina	20
4.2. Protests in Bolivia	22
4.3. Protests in Brazil	24
4.4. Protests in Chile	25
4.5. Protests in Colombia	26
4.6. Protests in Costa Rica	27
4.7. Protests in Cuba	28
4.8. Protests in Dominican Republic	29

4.9. Protests in Ecuador	30
4.10. Protests in El Salvador	31
4.11. Protests in Guatemala	32
4.12. Protests in Honduras	33
4.13. Protests in Mexico	34
4.14. Protests in Nicaragua	35
4.15. Protests in Panama	36
4.16. Protests in Paraguay	37
4.17. Protests in Peru	38
Figure 21: Protests in Peru	38
4.18. Protests in Uruguay	39
4.19. Protests in Venezuela	40
4.20. Discussion	42
5. TERRORISM IN LATIN AMERICA	46
5.1. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	48
5.2. Shining Path (SL)	49
5.3. National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN)	49
5.4. Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN)	49
5.5. Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)	50
5.6. Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinating Board (CGSB)	50
5.7. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) dissidents	50
5.8. Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG)	51
5.9. Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR)	51
5.10. United Popular Action Movement (MAPU)	52
5.11. Paraguayan People's Army (EPP)	52
5.12. United Self Defense Units of Colombia (AUC)	52
5.13. Recontras	52

5.14. Popular Liberation Army (EPL)	53
5.15. Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)	53
5.16. Peasant Self-Defense Group (ACCU)	54
5.17. Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army (EGTK)	54
5.18. Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR).....	54
5.19. Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN)	55
5.20. Discussion.....	55
CONCLUSION.....	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY	60



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of sub-regions of Latin American countries (Map generated with mapchart.net)	6
Figure 2: Percentages of violent protests per year in Latin America.	19
Figure 3: Total number of protests in all Latin American countries per year	19
Figure 4: Total number of protests in the World per year	20
Figure 5: Protests in Argentina	20
Figure 6: Protests in Bolivia	22
Figure 7: Protests in Brazil	24
Figure 8: Protests in Chile	25
Figure 9: Protests in Colombia	26
Figure 10: Protests in Costa Rica	27
Figure 11: Protests in Cuba	28
Figure 12: Protests in Dominican Republic	29
Figure 13: Protests in Ecuador	30
Figure 14: Protests in El Salvador	31
Figure 15: Protests in Guatemala	32
Figure 16: Protests in Honduras	33
Figure 17: Protests in Mexico	34
Figure 18: Protests in Nicaragua	35
Figure 19: Protests in Panama	36
Figure 20: Protests in Paraguay	37
Figure 21: Protests in Peru	38
Figure 22: Protests in Uruguay	39
Figure 23: Protests in Venezuela	40
Figure 24: Timeline of terrorist attacks in Latin America	46
Figure 25: Number of terrorist incidents in the World per years.	47

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Percentages of violent protests in Latin America.....	18
Table 2: Violent protest percentages per regions in Latin America	18
Table 3: Average number of terrorist attacks per regions.	47
Table 4: Top 25 terrorist organizations in Latin America by numbers of attacks between 1990-2020	48



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACCU: Peasant Self-Defense Group

CGSB: Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinating Board

EGP: Guerrilla Army of the Poor

EGTK: Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army

ELN: National Liberation Army of Colombia

EPP: Paraguayan People's Army

EZLN: Zapatista National Liberation Army

FALN: Armed Forces of National Liberation

FARC: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia

FMLN: Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front

FPMR: Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front

FSLN: Sandinista National Liberation Front

M-19: Movement of April 19

MIR: Revolutionary Left Movement

MRTA: Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement

MST: Landless Peasants' Movement

ORPA: Revolutionary Organization of People in Arms

URNG: Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity

INTRODUCTION

With the beginning of a new decade on 1 January 1990, the Cold War was reaching its end and on 26 December 1991, the USSR officially ceased to exist, marking the end of the Cold War. Even though the Cold War did not witness any confrontation between the two superpowers, USA and USSR competed against each other to gain influence all around the world. During this period, Latin America was a peripheral arena in the East-West contest (Williams, 2017). In each country in the region, both sides supported their local allies. USA supported anti-communist right wing dictatorships and it also saw the regimes of Cuba, Chile, Guatemala, and Nicaragua as Soviet proxies. From civil wars to revolutions, and terrorist attacks from both right- and left-wing organizations to coup d'états, the region saw all sorts of acts of political violence during the Cold War. This thesis will focus on the aftermath of the Cold War in terms of the political violence which were committed by non-state actors in Latin America.

This thesis asks three main questions. First, to what extent does Latin America deviate from the worldwide pattern of terrorist incidents in the aftermath of the Cold War? Secondly, is the decline of organized political violence in Latin America a sustained one? Third, has spontaneous protest activism spiraling into violence increasingly become the dominant form of political violence in Latin America? This thesis will cover the period between 1 January 1990 and 31 December 2019. Countries included in this research are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The first part of the study outlines the methodology used in the dissertation. The most similar systems design (MSSD), which is the preferred variant in this study, is discussed, followed by a debate on the comparative area studies and the intra-regional comparison variant

of such studies. Case selection is also explained in this part of the study, alongside temporal framework of the study and data collection through the databases. In the second part, an effort is made to delve into the history of political violence in Latin America from the Pre-Colombian Americas to the European colonization, the 19th century wars of independence, and the 20th century. The following and the third part of the study rather concentrates on defining political violence in the contemporary manifestations of the term. In the fourth part of the analysis, attention is focused on protests in Latin America, whereby data collected from the Mass Mobilization Project Database (MMPD) are used. In this part, the general patterns of protests within the recent 30 years in Latin America, their sub-regional characteristics, comparison with the worldwide patterns of protests, and ratios of violent and peaceful protests are explored. The section then summarizes the major events which led to peaks in protests in each Latin American country. The fifth and the final part of the study discusses terrorist attacks in Latin America with details on Latin American and worldwide patterns of terrorist attacks in the last 30 years as well as the average number of incidents in each sub-region of Latin America. The top 25 terrorist organizations in Latin America are then surveyed, with a view to the number of attacks perpetrated by each, in addition to the ideologies and methods followed. The study concludes by noting the decline of organized political violence in Latin America, only to explore whether protests activism turning violent has become the dominant form of political violence in Latin America.

1. METHODOLOGY

Most of contemporary political science and comparative politics is founded on positivist assumptions. Positivism assumes that there is a fact/value distinction, meaning that different individuals can observe and verify real facts about social phenomena in the same way of studying phenomena in the natural sciences through quantitative measurement, hypothesis testing, and theory formation (Peters, 2020, p. 36). Because of its research methods,

comparative politics is the only discipline of political science which carries a methodological label instead of a substantive one and while comparative politics as a term indicates how to analyze, it does not indicate what to analyze (Lijphart, 1971, p. 682). Comparative politics provides explanation and understanding of important social and political phenomena by comparing similarities and differences across varying units, with these units usually being countries of the world (Landman & Robinson, 2009).

In his 1843 book, *A System of Logic*, English philosopher John Stuart Mill presented five methods to observe causation and effect. These were the method of agreement, method of difference, joint method of agreement and difference, method of residues and the method of concomitant variations. Mill's methods of "difference" and "agreement" form the methodological core of comparative politics (Landman & Robinson, 2009). In his first canon, he summarized the Method of Agreement as: "If two or more instances of the phenomenon under investigation have only one circumstance in common, the circumstance in which alone all the instances agree, is the cause (or effect) of the given phenomenon." (Mill, 1843, pp. 373-374). This method is the basis of Most Different Systems Design (MDSD) in comparative politics. In his second canon, he summarized the Method of difference as "If an instance in which the phenomenon under investigation occurs, and an instance in which it does not occur, have every circumstance in common save one, that one occurring only in the former; the circumstance in which alone the two instances differ, is the effect, or the cause, or an indispensable part of the cause, of the phenomenon." (Mill, 1843, p. 375). This method is the basis of MSSD in comparative politics.

Area studies are a form of multidisciplinary social research that focuses on specific geographic or cultural regions in the world. It emerged as a legacy of colonialism since with the expansion of colonies, the commercial and political interests of the colonizer powers drove them to research the colonized peoples' languages, cultures and social organizations (Hoffmann

& Mehler, 2015). Area studies reached its high point in the following years of the Second World War during which, as the world went through decolonization, new countries emerged and political science had much to find out about these newly independent states. In addition, from a global standpoint, area studies was important since the two rivals of the Cold War both wanted to learn more about their “friends” in the Third World (Berg-Schlosser, 2018, p.29). Area specialists usually research countries, regions or inter-regional linkages but some scholars also use comparative research. Comparative area studies (CAS) come into play when there is a comparison between nations or other empirical entities. CAS is a field of study which combines the knowledge of area studies with the use of comparative methods (Bank, n.d.). CAS offer three comparative models; these are intra-regional, cross-regional and trans-regional models. First, in intra-regional comparisons, a phenomenon is compared within the different geographical entities of a region. Second, in inter-regional comparisons, regions are treated as if they are one single entity and then various regions are compared to one another. Third, in cross-regional comparison, entities from different areas compared with each other (Basedau & Köllner, 2007, pp. 110-111).

In this research, a comparative area study with intra-regional comparison is designed. Intra-regional comparisons usually have the advantage that a number of background conditions are broadly similar. These background conditions may be geography, climate, history, and culture (Bank, n.d.). MSSD is the preferred variant. The research covers Latin America with a view to intra-regional comparisons on the evolving patterns of non-state political violence. The countries included in the region of this research are the Ibero-American countries of Latin America. To elaborate, these countries are former Spanish or Portuguese colonies with predominantly Spanish or Portuguese speaking populations. French (Haiti), English (Belize and Guyana) and Dutch (Suriname) speaking countries are excluded or former French, British and Dutch colonies are excluded. Only sovereign states are included, therefore even though Puerto

Rico is a predominantly Spanish speaking territory, since it is an unincorporated territory of the United States of America, it is not included. In total, nineteen countries can be enumerated in the sample of this study, to cover Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. These countries have the similar backgrounds of Spanish, and in the case of Brazil, Portuguese colonization. Majority of these countries are in South America, these are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Sub-regions of countries included in this research is shown on Figure 1. Within the sub-regions of South America; Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay are Southern Cone countries and Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru are Andean countries. Six of them; Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama are in Central America. Two of them; Cuba and Dominican Republic are in the Caribbean and Mexico is in North America. As of 2021, all countries included in this research are presidential republics, with varying levels of democracy. According to the Freedom House's Freedom in the World 2021 report, six countries in Latin America are considered "free", these are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Panama, and Uruguay. Ten countries are considered "party free", these are Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, and Peru. Three countries are considered "not free". These are Cuba, Nicaragua, and Venezuela (Freedom House, 2021).



Figure 1: Map of sub-regions of Latin American countries (Map generated with mapchart.net)

To observe and analyze the non-state political violence in nineteen Latin American countries between 1990 and 2020, two sets of data were collected. First one was data on the number of total protests in each Latin American country. Numbers of total protests were organized according to their years, and then these protests are categorized into peaceful and violent protests. The database used is the Mass Mobilization Data Project (MMDP), while the data covers protests in 162 countries between 1990 and March 2020 as well as events where at least 50 protesters publicly demonstrate against government, culminating in more than 10,000 recorded protests worldwide (Mass Mobilization Data Project, n.d.). Second set of data used are for the terrorist attacks in each country between 1990 and 2020. The terrorist incidents are categorized based on the country, year, perpetrating organizations and the organizations'

ideologies. The databases used for this information is the Global Terrorism Database (GTD). The GTD is the most comprehensive unclassified database of terrorist attacks in the world, providing information on both domestic and international terrorist attacks since 1970 and including more than 200,000 events. In this research, the definition of terrorism is taken into consideration. The GTD defines terrorism as the threat or use of illegal force by a non-state actor to attain political, economic, religious, or social goals (Global Terrorism Database, n.d.). Since the goal of this research is to observe the scope of the post-Cold War non-state political violence, incidents of political violence taken from both datasets in this research only include non-state actors, terrorist organizations, and protestors per the definitions the GTD and the MMDP uses, respectively. This means that political violence committed by a government via their security forces such as police or armed forces are not incorporated into the sample. Non-state actors mentioned are protesters, terrorist organizations such as FARC or the Shining Path, paramilitary organizations such as AUC or if their acts of violence are committed to achieve political gains, even criminal organizations such as cartels.

Overall, data of 2348 protests were compiled from the MMDP and 11965 attacks by 324 different terrorist organizations were compiled from the GTD. Then these data were processed, for example the MMDP data were divided into violent protests and peaceful protests. Then for both terrorism and protests data, they were categorized per country and year. They were then presented in both graphs and tables. The table used for the MMDP data show the number of violent protests and the total protests to show the percentages of violent protests per country. The graphs used for the MMDP data show the number of total protests per year, a graph was made for each Latin American country to present the unique protest mobilization trend for each country. For the GTD data, a table of the top 25 terrorist organizations per their number of terrorist attacks was made. The bars in this graph show their rankings by the number of attacks, their name and if applicable the abbreviation, total number of attacks the organization

committed and the countries the attack was committed since some of them committed terrorist attacks in more than one country. For the GTD data, a timeline graph was made to present the years and the number of terrorist attacks per the year. Since the terrorist activity trends in Latin American countries were very similar unlike the protests, only one graph was made to present the terrorism in Latin America.



2. HISTORY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA

To delve deep the topic of post-Cold War political violence in Latin America, one should not and cannot ignore explaining the pre-Cold War timeline of political violence in the region, especially in a geography such as its where political violence has been endemic and persistent throughout its' history (Kay, 2001, p. 743). The wars, protests, terrorist attacks, civil wars and the numerous acts of political violence included in the following parts of this research are not mere statistics and numbers. These are past experiences of the region and the respective 19 countries as well as the parts of a bigger story in Latin American history.

2.1. Pre-Colombian Americas

Warfare was present in the Americas both before and after the arrival of Europeans; Many indigenous American cultures had engaged in wars on a frequent basis. Within the countries included in this research, two large parts with substantial indigenous American populations existed. The first was Mesoamerica¹ and the second was the Andes. The most influential empires in these regions were the Aztec empire in Mesoamerica and the Inca empire in the Andes (Bushnell, Kittleson, & Lockhart, 2021).

Central America was inhabited by various Mesoamerican societies, first one of whom arrived sometime between 30,000 BC and 10,000 BC during the Paleo-Indian period. It is theorized that the ancestors of Native Americans arrived at Americas from Asia by walking the Bering land bridge, new evidence suggests that some of them might have arrived by boats (National Geographic Society, 2013). In the formative period of Mesoamerica, Olmecs (1500 BC-400 BC) were the earliest major civilization, and the Olmec culture was the “mother culture” from which all other Mesoamerican cultures descended. Following the extinction of the Olmec civilization, its influence was seen in the large city of Monte Alban, which was

¹ Present day southern Mexico and northern Central America.

founded by the Zapotecs. The classic period of Mesoamerica saw the rise of Teotihuacan in the north and the Mayas in south. In line with the widespread accounts, following the classic period was the postclassical period which ended with the arrival of Europeans. During the postclassical period Chichen Itza was built by the Mayas in the south while Toltec civilization rose in the north, as the Toltec culture was followed by the Aztec civilization (Carmack, Gasco, & Gossen, 2006, pp. 40-42). A century before the arrival of the Spaniards, both Aztec and Inca empires incorporated their weaker neighbors by conquest or intimidation. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, both empires experienced internal divisions caused by the resentment of the conquered subjects. These internal political problems in both Aztec and Inca Empires were crucial to the Spaniards for the success of conquests (Encyclopedia.com, n.d.-a).

2.2. European Colonization

The conquest and colonization of Latin America by Spain and Portugal has probably been the most dramatic and violent episode in the region's history (Kay, 2001, p. 743). In October 1492, Christopher Columbus arrived at northern Caribbean with three Spanish ships, triggering continuous European contact with the Americas. In his first voyage, Columbus arrived at Bahamas, Cuba and Hispaniola.² Before returning to Europe, Columbus left behind 38 men and they established the first European colony called “La Navidad” (Altman, 2018). In his second journey in 1493, Columbus and his fleet arrived at La Navidad on November 27, only to find out that the settlement was burnt to the ground and all of Columbus’ men were killed. La Navidad marks two important events in the history of European colonization of the Americas; first, La Navidad was the first Spanish settlement in the New World, and it was also the site of the first major conflict between the indigenous peoples and the Europeans (Minster, 2018). In 1494, in order to avoid conflict during the colonization of the New World, Spain and

² The island of Hispaniola is currently divided into two countries, i.e., Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Portugal agreed to the Treaty of Tordesillas, which divided the Americas into two (National Geographic Society, 2014). Starting from the 15th century until the start of de-colonization in 19th century, European powers³ established colonies across the American continent. Rebellions became the hallmark of Latin America only during the late colonial era. In the 18th century rebellions, monarchy was never the target. While allegiance was still declared to the King, fiscal policies were considered to be oppressive and local authority figures exercising power in the name of the King were pointed at as the real cause of grievance.

2.3. 19th Century Wars of Independence

In early 19th century, a revolutionary wave swept the American continent. Two important revolutions of the late 18th century are major influences on the Latin American independence movements. First of these is the American Revolution and the subsequent independence of United States of America in 1776. This was the first time that an independent country emerged from a European colony in the Americas. Secondly, the French Revolution of 1789 ensured that the wave would continue and magnify, spreading throughout Europe and then to the colonies of the weakest empires, Spain, and Portugal (Beck, 2011, p. 175).

In 1808, as part of Napoeleon's campaign in Europe, French forces invaded Spain and removed the Spanish Bourbon King Ferdinand VII from power. The monarch bounded the Hispanic world together and removal of the legitimate monarch caused the subjects to fragment. As a result of this, revolts broke out in the Spanish colonies in America, as the crown's subjects were fighting among themselves to establish an authority in an environment left in a power vacuum (McFarlane, 2014, p. 11). This led to independence wars in Spanish America. In 1810, Argentine War of Independence began as the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata⁴ broke away

³ European countries with colonies in Americas were Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, Russia, France, and the Netherlands.

⁴ Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata comprises present day Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Uruguay.

from the Spanish Empire. Also in early 19th century, the most important leader of independence, nicknamed “The Liberator” Simon Bolivar, began his campaign for independence of New Granada. Gran Colombia⁵ was formed in 1819 and following his victories, by 1822 Bolivar’s army controlled the entire northern South America. In 1824 he helped two more countries gain independence, i.e., Peru and Bolivia, which was named after him (Chasteen, 2016, pp. 101-115). In 1823, United States of America, opposing the European presence in the Americas, issued the Monroe Doctrine.

2.4. 20th Century

Modern terrorism began in the late 19th century as anarchists started to adapt a strategy called “Propaganda by the deed” (Fleming, 1980, p. 4). With this strategy, anarchists started to commit terrorist acts in order to assassinate prominent officials. In 1890s, during the height of this wave, anarchists assassinated monarchs, prime ministers and presidents all over the world. European statesmen and monarchs were never assassinated in such rapid succession. This threat of anarchist terrorism led to an international Anti-Anarchist conference in 1898 in Rome. The goal of this conference was to promote international police cooperation, which paved the way for the creation of Interpol (Jensen, 1981). Anarchism also reached South America in late 19th century with the arrival of European immigrants. In Argentina, anarchism had its greatest South American development and the period with the most anarchist militancy was also the period when anarchists were most active in trade unions. In 1901, Labor Federation of Argentina (FOA) was created and in 1905 the union renamed itself as Argentine Regional Workers' Federation (FORA). Inspired by the philosophy of direct action, anarchists in Argentina launched violent strikes and workers clashed with the police. In protest, in 1905, an anarchist tried to assassinate President Quintana. In May Day of 1909 in Rosario, the police, with the presence of the chief of police Colonel Ramon Falcon, attacked anarchist demonstrations which

⁵ Gran Colombia comprises present day Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Panama.

resulted in the death of eight demonstrators. Simon Radowitzky, an anarchist retaliated by assassinating Colonel Falcon.

During the First World War, Latin American governments stayed neutral, but the conflict divided Latin American societies. Public opinion was polarized into supporters of the Allies (aliadófilos) and the supporters of the Central Powers (germanófilos). In 1917, with the entry of United States into the war against the Central Powers, most Latin American countries abandoned neutrality and also declared war on Germany, whereas only six countries remained neutral until the end of the war⁶ (Goebel & Tato, 2015). Both Allies and Central Powers contested to gain the loyalties of Latin American countries. In 1917 the German attempt to gain Mexico as an ally backfired since German foreign minister Arthur Zimmerman's telegram to Mexico was intercepted by the British intelligence (Dehne, 2014, p. 153). In that telegram, Germany proposed Mexico a military alliance and if Mexico joined a war against USA, Germany would help Mexico with the conquest of Arizona, New Mexico and Texas (Corera, 2017).

In the interwar period, there were movements across Latin America which were influenced by the wave of fascism in Europe. Yet, only in Brazil, did a major fascist party develop. In 1932, Brazilian Integralist Action was founded and over time, continuous street clashes broke out between the left-wing radicals and Integralists (Williams, 1974, pp. 435-439).

With the start of the Cold War, the USA and the USSR started to compete with each other in every corner of the world. The USSR started to support the left wing revolutionary movements in Latin America while the USA supported right wing coups. Wickham-Crowley divided the history of revolutionary activism in Latin America into four eras. While the first era involves the emergence of guerrilla movements after the Cuban Revolution and the second their decline and disappearance in the late 1960s, third era entails the appearance of new guerrilla-

⁶ Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, and Venezuela.

style activism in early 1970s while the fourth pertains to the complete end to all important insurgencies in 1990s except in Colombia. Thus, within these four eras there were two “waves” of guerrilla movements (2014, p. 216). First wave started with the success of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. In 1956, Fidel Castro established the 26th of July Movement (M-26-7). The overthrow of Batista government by the 26th of July Movement influenced left wing revolutionaries all over Latin America. Many movements took the “Foco theory of revolution” as an example, trying to adopt the Cuban revolution as a model for their countries. Organizations modeled after the Cuban Revolution were National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN) in Colombia, Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) in Peru, Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) in Venezuela, Rebel Armed Forces (FAR) in Guatemala and Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua. With the death of Che Guevara, guerrilla insurgencies lost their appeal, the defeat of Che's approach in Bolivia led Cuba to stop supporting similar focoist organizations worldwide and the already present focoist organizations began splitting into factions. Another factor contributing to the defeat of the focoist movements was the usage of vicious state terror tactics adopted by governments fearing a revolution similar to the one in Cuba (Dictionary of Revolutionary Marxism, n.d.).

Second wave started with the emergence of revolutionary groups composed of highly educated cadres. These organizations were crushed by the military regimes and right-wing paramilitaries across the region. Nonetheless, as the organizations of the Southern Cone were disappearing, new ones emerged in Central America. Sandinistas in Nicaragua, FMLN in El Salvador and FAR in Guatemala were rising in the 1970s. In 1980, in Peru a new organization called the “Shining Path” was formed, the organization adopted Maoist ideals and started a violent insurgency in the Andes region. Also in Peru, in 1982, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) was formed, a rival of the Shining Path, given the Pro-Moscow views of MRTA (Berrios & Blasier, 1991).

In 1980s, Latin America went through its longest and deepest wave of democratization (Remmer, 1992). Military rule established during the 1960s and 1970s was eliminated in Peru (1980), Bolivia (1982), Argentina (1983), Uruguay (1985), Brazil (1985), and Chile (1990). Following this democratization wave, during the 1990s, Latin American countries went through a process called the “Washington Consensus”. With that economic system supported by the IMF, the World Bank and the U.S. Government, Latin American countries adopted trade liberalization and privatization (Teichman, 2019).

In late 1990s, as the neoliberalism championed by the USA met with disillusionment in the region, left wing political figures who challenged those economic policies gained support. Starting with Hugo Chavez’s election victory in Venezuela in 1998, followed by Lula da Silva in Brazil in 2002, Nestor Kirchner in 2003, Evo Morales in 2006, and Rafael Correa in 2007, a pink tide began in Latin America (McMaken, 2016). The “Pink Tide” meant that the majority of Latin American countries had either left-wing or center-left governments. In the mid-2010s, the region started to drift away from the pink tide with the elections of right-wing governments.

At present, potential threat coming from terrorism is lower in most countries in Latin America compared to the other regions of the world. Today, most terrorist acts occur in the Andean region of South America, mainly committed by three terrorist organizations, i.e., FARC, ELN, and the Shining Path (Sullivan, Beittel, 2016, p. 2). In the world, terrorism has risen sharply since the mid-1990s but unlike in many parts of the world, terrorism has decreased in Latin America since the end of the Cold War (Feldmann, 2005, pp. 3-4), given that the USA and USSR no longer supported rival ideological armed groups in Latin America. Peace deals in Central America also contributed to the decrease of terrorism in the region. According to the US Department of State’s 2015 Country Reports on Terrorism, transnational criminal organizations pose a more significant threat to Latin American countries than terrorism (US Department of State, 2016, p. 270).

3. POLITICAL VIOLENCE

The term “political violence” has been described as violence directly and purposefully administered in the name of a political ideology, movement, or state such as the physical repression of dissent by the army or the police as well as its converse, popular armed struggle against a repressive regime (Bourgois, 2001, p. 7), the act of inflicting physical, psychological and symbolic damage to individuals and/or property with the intention of achieving political, social and/or social change (Della Porta, Diani, Bosi, & Malthaner, 2015, p. 2).

The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) categorizes organized violence into three. First one is “state-based armed conflict”, where at least one of actors of the violence is the government of a state. Second one is “non-state” conflict where neither actor is the government of a state and the third one is “one-sided violence” where non-state actors or governments use violence against unarmed civilians (Uppsala University Department of Peace and Conflict Research, 2021).

In his book titled *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Stathis Kalyvas provided a typology of mass political violence. Those categories were not intended to capture the spectrum of real-world variations. First one, the state terror, is used for coercion; it is exercised against a population that lacks organized alternatives. An example of state terror is Maoist “Anti-Rightist” Campaign. Meanwhile genocide, is premeditated, purposive and centrally planned. It aims to exterminate instead of coercion. Reciprocal extermination is when neither political actor intends to govern the population it targets for violence. Both political actors intend to exterminate each other’s civilian basis. Examples include Balkan Wars, partition of India. Unlike the other types mentioned, civil war violence is not unilateral violence. It is produced by at least two political actors who have monopolies of violence (Kalyvas, 2011).

4. PROTESTS IN LATIN AMERICA

Research confirms that political protest is increasingly becoming integrated into the range of alternatives channeling an individual's political participation. In ten countries of the region, absolute majorities of the population approve the protests, with a Latin American average of 52% (Latinobarometro, 2021, pp. 91-96). While there are a variety of drivers of political protest in Latin America, the most frequent form of violence identified by Latin Americans is violence in the streets, with 43% of Latin Americans identifying it as the most frequent type, up from 34% and 35 % in the findings of 2016-2018 reports (Latinobarometro, 2021, p. 100; Latinobarometro, 2018, p. 57).

The first data collected for this research is the protests in Latin America between 1990 and 2020. Data for the protests in are gathered from the Mass Mobilization Project Database. This section includes timeline graphs for each Latin American country and the numbers of protests for each corresponding year. For example, in Figure 5, it is possible to observe that in Argentina eight protests occurred in 1990. Each subsection explains the causes for the peak number of protests and the causes of protest waves occurring within more than one year. For example, the protest wave between 2000 and 2005 in Bolivia is explained with the political crisis between those years. In Table 1, numbers of total protests, violent protests and the percentages of violent protests in each Latin American country in the 30-year period are presented. This data helps us to observe which countries had more and less violent protests.

Country	Total Protests	Violent Protests	Percentage of Violent Protests
Argentina	114	28	24,56%
Bolivia	143	58	40,55%
Brazil	223	40	17,93%
Chile	171	46	26,90%
Colombia	139	14	10,07%
Costa Rica	38	10	26,31%
Cuba	100	1	1%
Dominican Republic	70	28	40%
Ecuador	162	37	22,83%
El Salvador	54	17	31,48%
Guatemala	111	28	25,22%
Honduras	113	23	20,35%
Mexico	150	38	25,33%
Nicaragua	89	41	46,06%
Panama	50	21	42%
Paraguay	68	6	8,82%
Peru	166	28	16,86%
Uruguay	70	2	2,85%
Venezuela	317	79	24,92%
Total	2348	545	23,21%

Table 1: Percentages of violent protests in Latin America

In Table 2, the percentages of violent protests per regions in Latin America are shown, the region with the least violent protests is Caribbean and the region with the most violent protests is Central America.

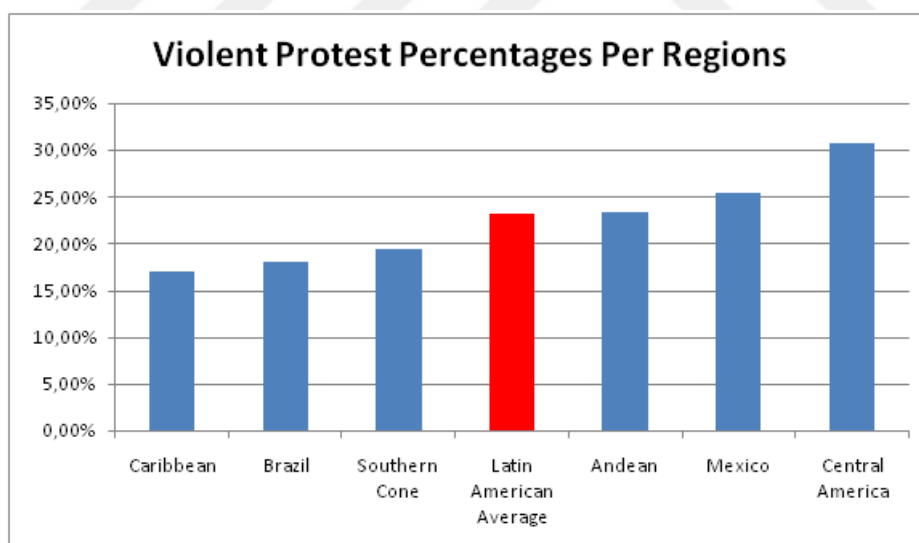


Table 2: Violent protest percentages per regions in Latin America

In Figure 2, percentages of violent protests per year in Latin America are shown. The violence in protests increased in mid-1990s, decreased in late 1990s and increased again in mid 2000s. The most violent period was in early 2010s with a rapid decrease in 2015 but an increase again in the late 2010s.

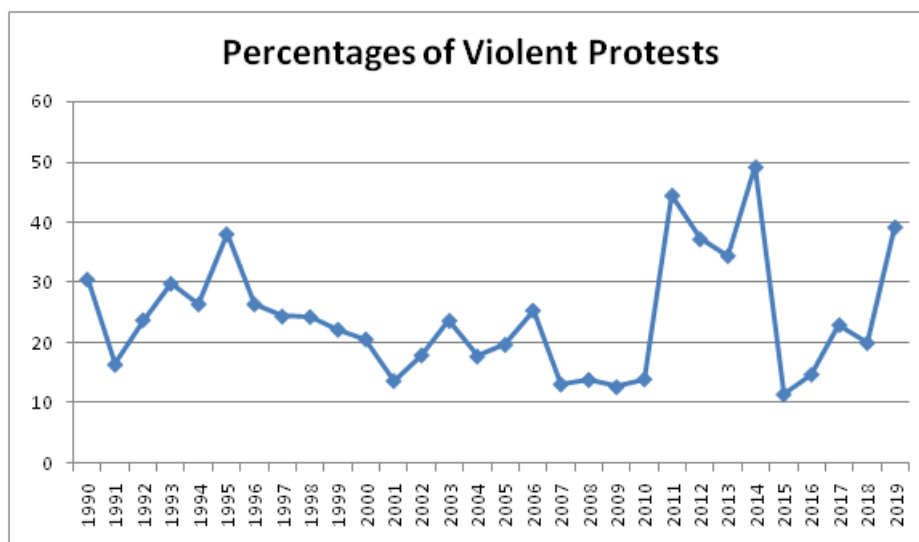


Figure 2: Percentages of violent protests per year in Latin America.

In Figure 3, data for total numbers of protests in Latin America per year are presented and this figure helps us to observe the general pattern of protests in Latin America and in Figure 4, the Worldwide patterns of protests are shown. This figure helps us to observe the worldwide patterns of protests.



Figure 3: Total number of protests in all Latin American countries per year

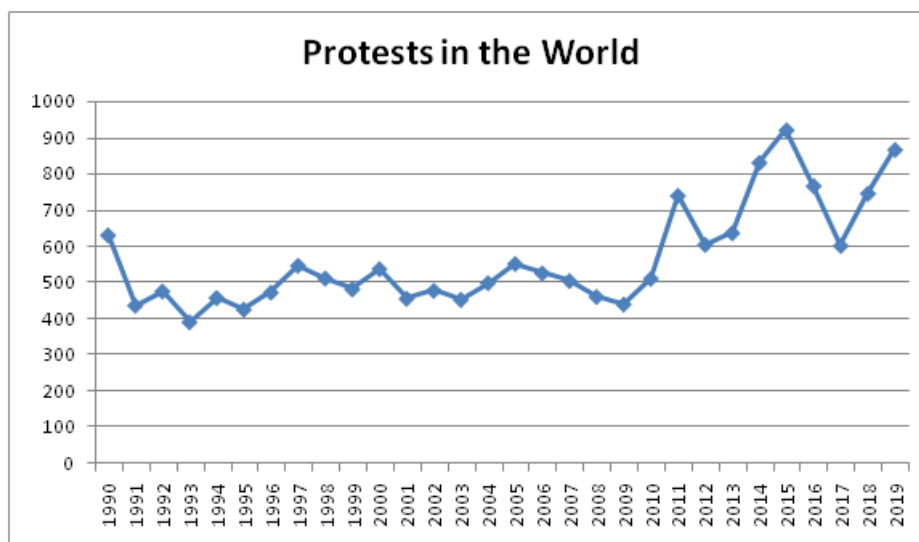


Figure 4: Total number of protests in the World per year

4.1. Protests in Argentina



Figure 5: Protests in Argentina

The Coup D'état of 1976 dragged Argentina into a 7-year military dictatorship. The military began an infamous campaign known as the "Dirty War", officially known as "Process of National Reorganization", during this period, suspected leftists were "disappeared" at the hands of the state. They were arrested by the authorities, and they were never heard from again

(Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020). One of the most known protests, not just in Argentina, but in the world started as a result of the “disappearances”. Since 1977, every Thursday, mothers of these “disappeared” children demonstrate at the Plaza de Mayo in the city center of Buenos Aires hence they are named “Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo”. They wear white headscarves as a symbol, and they demand to know about the fate of their children (CIPDH-UNESCO, 2021). After the Falklands War in 1982, the Argentinean defeat led to protests which led to the collapse of the military junta.

The 1989 elections in Argentina were held amidst an economic crisis and protests. The elections resulted in Peronist Carlos Menem’s presidency and Justicialist Party’s (PJ) victory. The protests of 1989 spilled over into early 1990. The new Peronist government adopted neoliberal reforms which clashed with traditional view of Peronism. Menem government managed to survive the economic crisis and retained the support of PJ’s lower-class base. Support of party, trade unions and the Peronist electorate into the President Menem’s government were crucial for success and this continued support prevented major protests which could have derailed the reform process. PJ managed to win four straight elections between 1989 and 1999 (Levitsky, 1998). In the aftermath of the Menem administration, a wave of protests coincides with the 1998-2002 Argentinean economic crisis. The protests started in 1998, reached its’ peak in 2001 and reached its’ lowest point in 2003. The most severe civil unrest in Argentina for more than a decade broke out in December 2001, impoverished protesters revolted against the government’s handling of the economic crisis. As result of those protests, Argentina’s president Fernando de la Rua resigned after two days of rioting and looting (Goni, 2001).

Nestor Kirchner came to power as the President of Argentina in 2003, during his administration; he promoted openness and recognition of the mobilized actors. During the Kirchner’s presidency, majority of the protests did not originate from “below”, but “above”.

His government actively granted the protesters' demands; this led to trade unions, human rights organizations supporting Kirchner. In 2007 Nestor Kirchner's wife, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner became the president. During her administration, in 2008, another peak in protests happened during the 2008 Farmers' protests. In 2015, Mauricio Macri, the most antagonistic opponent to Kirchnerism, won the elections and became the president. He started to implement a restructure of neoliberal capitalism, his economic policies led to protests by the trade unions, human rights groups, and women's movement (Rebon, 2018).

4.2. Protests in Bolivia

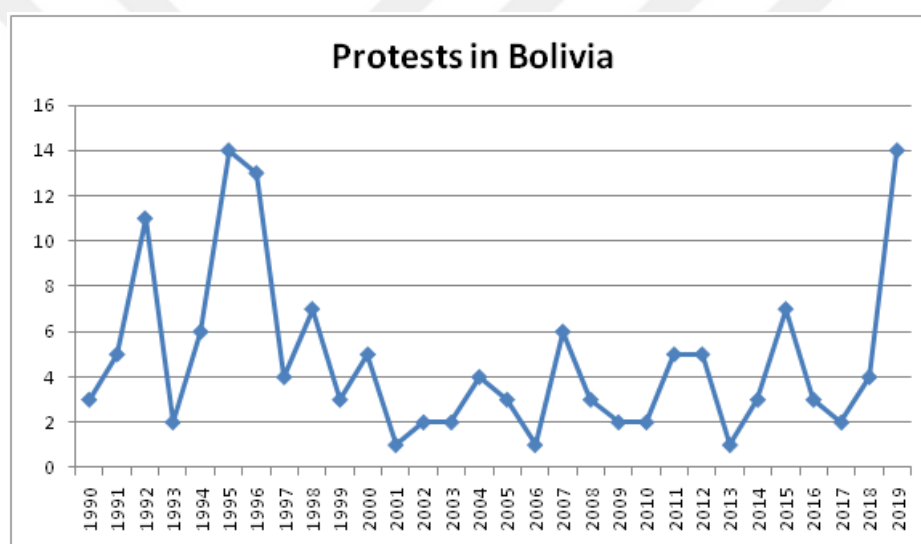


Figure 6: Protests in Bolivia

According to Sven Harten, coca is one of the key factors in understanding Bolivia, the country is one of the largest producers of the coca plant, the crop has been part of daily life in the Andean region for thousands of years and approximately eight million people consume coca leaves on a daily basis (Harten, 2011, p. 25). Even though coca has been very important to the indigenous communities of the Andean region, the plant also has a bad connotation since it can also be used in the production of cocaine. During the Reagan administration, the United States declared a “War on Drugs”. This campaign led United States to fund and promote efforts to

eradicate the production of coca leaves worldwide as a consequence, Bolivia suffered between 1985 and 2005 (Harten, 2011, p. 108). In the graph, it is possible to observe that 1990s was the decade with the most protests in Bolivia, 68 out of the total 143 protests have occurred between 1990 and 1999. During 1990s, coca producers (especially in the Chapere east of Cochabamba) protested against United States' both drug and neoliberal economic policies, these movements even led to the creation of a new left-wing political party Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS). Evo Morales, whom was the head of the coca producers' union, led the MAS party after their foundation in 1998. Between 2000 and 2005, Bolivia experienced several social unrests during a period of legitimacy crisis in the political system (Rivera, 2019).

In 2005, Evo Morales won the presidential elections and became Bolivia's first indigenous president (Farthing & Kohl, 2010, p. 198). First years of Morales were marked by social unrest. After the government passed the new constitution in 2009, even though social unrest was still common, the Morales government overcame the political impasse. Morales continued to win high number of votes and his charismatic leadership was a key element in the MAS administration (Rivera, 2019). The second major peak of protests in Bolivia happened after the 2019 general elections; the protesters claimed that Evo Morales committed electoral fraud. Result count was paused for 24 hours, and final results showed Morales leading with more than 10% of the votes, which he needed to win the elections in the first round (BBC News, 2019c). Morales was forced to resign by the military after a wave of opposition protests, right-wing politician Jeanine Áñez had declared herself the president of Bolivia and Evo Morales fled to Mexico. This coup d'état led pro-Morales protesters to mobilize and resist against the military (Wilgress, 2019).

4.3. Protests in Brazil



Figure 7: Protests in Brazil

According to our data, with 223 recorded protests, Brazil is the country with the second most number of demonstrations in Latin America. In the 1970s and 1980s, Brazilian environmentalist activists organized small protests with creative and high-impact demonstrations. In the 1990s, these protests were replaced with negotiations with the public officials, whom were supportive in these initiatives (Alonso & Maciel, 2010, p. 300). In the summer of 2013, the biggest protests Brazil has seen erupted after two decades. Millions of participants in over 100 cities in Brazil protested corruption, police brutality, poor public services, and excess spending on the 2013 Confederations Cup and the 2014 World Cup (Watts, 2013). In 2014, number of protests declined. In the same year, despite the heavy criticism during the 2013 protests, Dilma Rousseff won the 2014 elections with some defending the Workers' Party (PT) as the lesser evil (Bringel, 2016). In 2015 and 2016, a massive corruption scandal and the economic crisis led to protests against the President Dilma Rousseff (Magalhaes & Jelmayer, 2015). The protests continued until Rousseff was impeached in 2016.

4.4. Protests in Chile



Figure 8: Protests in Chile

Memories of the 17-year-old brutal military regime of General Augusto Pinochet are still remembered in Chilean politics. In 1970, Salvador Allende ran as the presidential candidate of the Popular Unity (UP) alliance, the bloc was made up by Socialists, Communists, Radicals, and some Christian Democrats (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2021b). His victory in the 1970 elections led him to become the first Marxist to be elected president in a liberal democracy in the world. He began a campaign of nationalization and social reforms, but his rule was cut short in a Coup d'état in 1973 led by the Chief of Staff General Augusto Pinochet. Pinochet established a military dictatorship which lasted until he lost a referendum in 1988 on whether he should stay in power, he stepped down in 1990 and Chile returned to democracy.

Since 1990, citizen mobilization rarely accompanied the democratization and the youth in 1990s were known as being apathetic to politics. They were even known as the “Whatever” generation (La generacion “No estoy ni ahi”). In 2000s, the youth started to play an important role in Chilean politics. In 2006, massive student protests broke out (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013, p. 108). Unlike other countries in the region, Chile did not have major setbacks to her economy

and the country had a very successful performance over the last thirty years. In October 2019, biggest protests since the end of the Pinochet's military dictatorship broke out in Chile's capital city Santiago triggered by a subway fare increase, the protests' quick expansion and the spread of violent responses by the security forces caught Chile by surprise (Gonzalez & Morán, 2020).

4.5. Protests in Colombia



Figure 9: Protests in Colombia

The 1990s in Colombia saw the escalation of violence by the guerrillas, drug cartels, and paramilitaries. These actions by the non-state actors showed the state's weakness. The 1991 Constitution was implemented in order to open political opportunities for the citizens. The dramatic rise of violence also made the exercise of political and civil rights much more difficult. The general atmosphere of terror, violence and government weakness made ordinary citizens fear participating in demonstrations as they would expose themselves to dangers of violent attacks by either left- or right-wing groups (Velasco, 2007, pp. 80-81). In 2007 and 2008, peak of protests in Colombia were during the marches and demonstrations against FARC (Markey, 2008) and the kidnapping of hostages whom have been held for years (Walker, 2007). Another peak after 2007-08 protests was in 2019. Hundreds of thousands of Colombians protested the

unpopular government and they also showed support for the peace process between Colombian government and the leftists rebels (Daniels, 2019).

4.6. Protests in Costa Rica

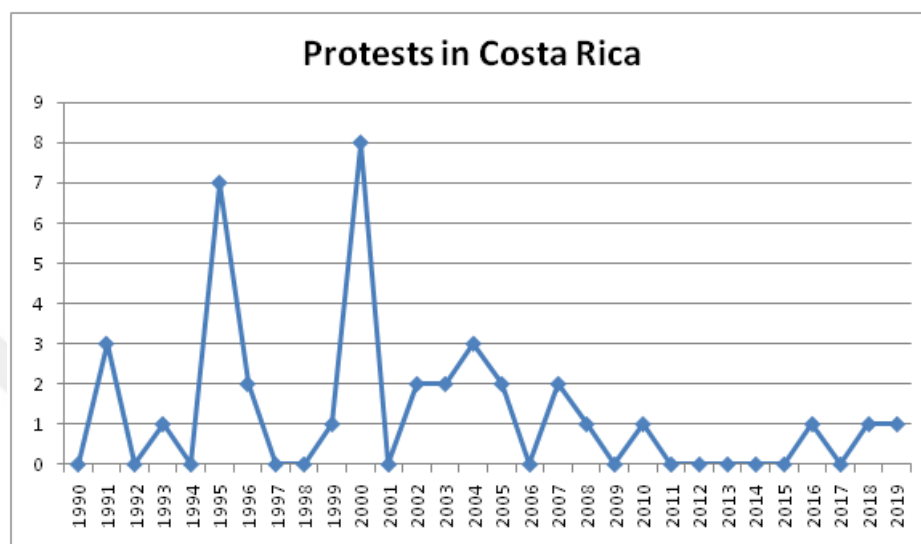


Figure 10: Protests in Costa Rica

Costa Rica, with 38 protests in 30 years, is the country with the least number of total protests in this research. Within the 30-year period, there are two major peaks, first one is in 1995 and the second one is in 2000. In 1995, teachers began a strike against a pension law. The roots of the strike go back to a bipartisan pact, in which President Jose Maria Figueres and leader of the main opposition, Rafael Calderon signed a pact which allowed the President's new economic program to move through the legislature (LABD Staff, 1995). The second peak was in 2000 when nationwide popular mobilizations against the government's initiative to let foreign companies to compete in the electricity and telecommunication industries (Frajman, 2009, p. 44). The country had few protests for the last 20 years.

4.7. Protests in Cuba

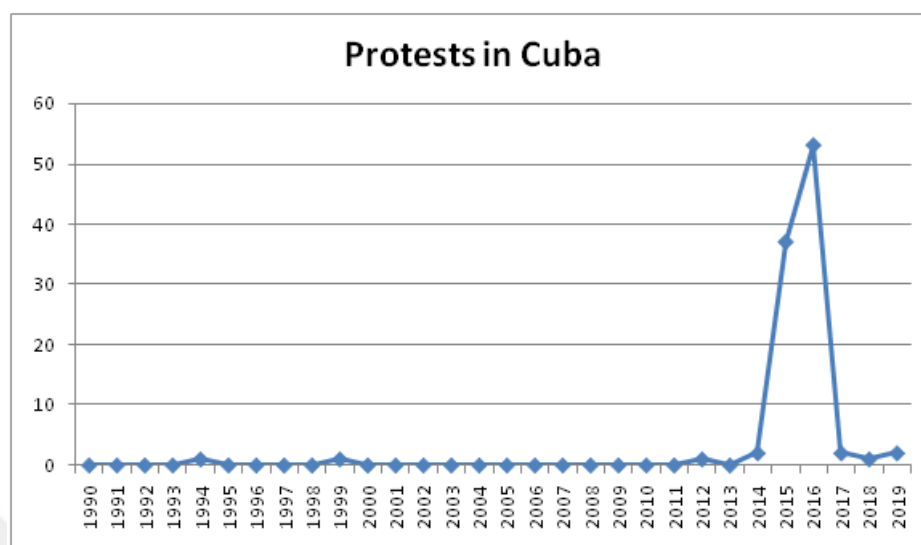


Figure 11: Protests in Cuba

As seen in the data, before 2015 only five protests occurred, because in Cuba, unauthorized public gatherings are illegal and protests are rare (BBC News, 2021). In early 1990s, an economic crisis began in Cuba since the country was under United States embargo, Cuba also could no longer receive aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Immigration from Cuba to the United States via boats increased (The Associated Press, 1994). In 1994, Cuban authorities tried to stop Cubans leaving the country by sea, this led to Maleconazo uprising (Robles, 2021). In 2015, protests against Ecuadoran government's announcement of new visa requirements broke out; Ecuador is a popular migration route to the United States for Cubans (Miroff, 2015). In 2016, before Barack Obama's visit to Cuba, pro-democracy protests led by Damas de Blanco (Ladies in White) and other opposition groups broke out, the protestors demanded democratic reforms and protested against human rights violations (Watts, 2017).

4.8. Protests in Dominican Republic

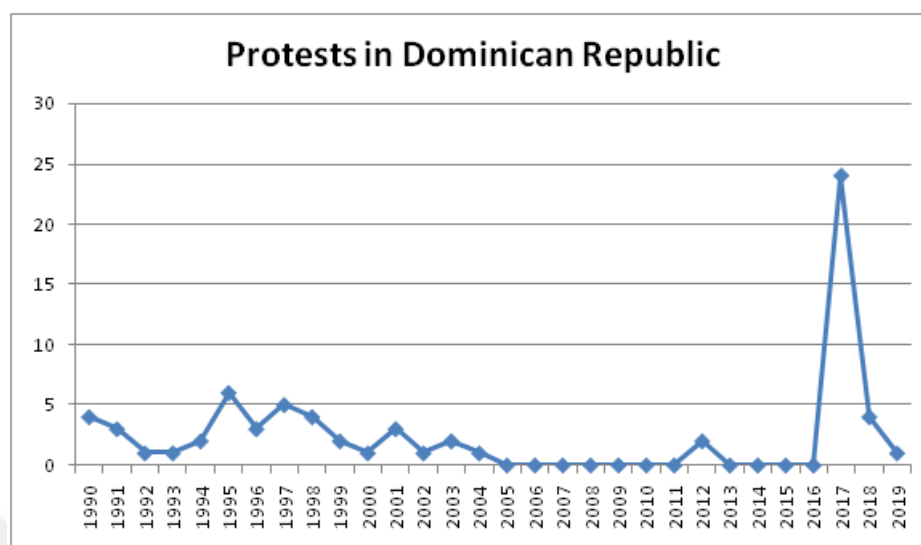


Figure 12: Protests in Dominican Republic

Numbers of total protests were low in Dominican Republic in 1990s and 2000s. In January 2017, Dominican Republic's one of the largest protests broke out after the Odebrecht scandals.⁷ Thousands of Dominicans protested Medina government's repression, corruption, and impunity. The protesters used the green color for the symbol of these protests as they unified under a heterogeneous movement called Movimiento Marcha Verde (Green March Movement) (Rodriguez, 2017).

⁷ The scandal involves the Brazilian transnational company Odebrecht. A New York court announced that the company admitted bribing government officials in 12 countries in Latin America and Africa (Betances, 2020, pp. 20-21).

4.9. Protests in Ecuador

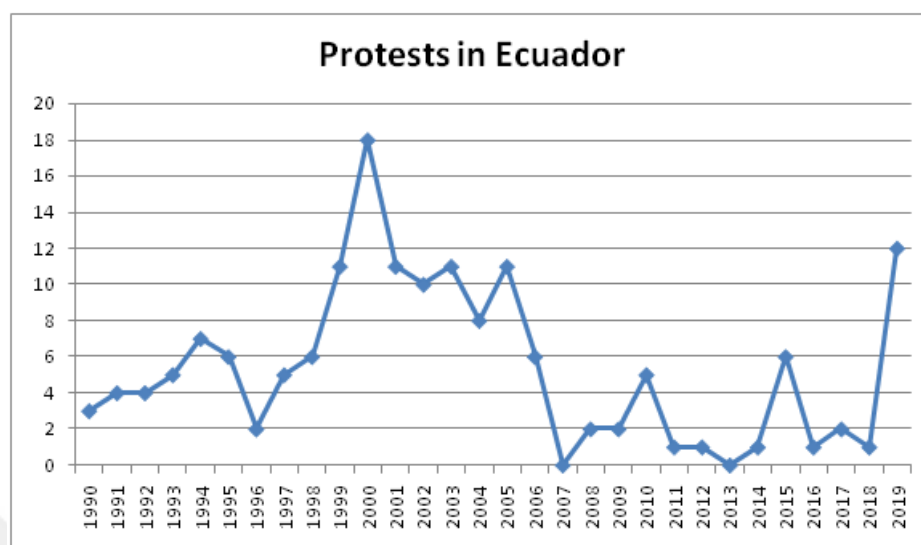


Figure 13: Protests in Ecuador

Ecuador's largest number of protests between 1990 and 2020 happened in 2000. After an economic crisis in late 1990s, Colonel Lucio Gutierrez, influenced by Venezuela's Hugo Chavez, led a coup d'état with the support of indigenous protesters against the President Jamil Mahuad. The protesters occupied the Congress building and the military forced Mahuad out of office, but Colonel Gutierrez was also arrested. As a result, former Vice-President Gustavo Noboa became the president and Ecuador adopted the US dollar as a national currency in order to combat the economic crisis (The Economist, 2000). Two years later, former coup leader Gutierrez won the presidential elections and took office in 2003, in 2005, he decided to replace 31 judges with the ones sympathetic to the government. Claims of president's unconstitutional attempt to control the judiciary resulted in protests with tens of thousands of demonstrators in Ecuador's biggest city of Guayaquil. President Gutierrez eventually resigned after protests (Hayes, 2005). Largest number of protests since 2000 happened in 2019. President Lenin Moreno announced an austerity package which led to two weeks of violent protests. After the protests, president struck a deal with the indigenous leaders and cancelled the austerity package (Associated Press, 2019).

4.10. Protests in El Salvador

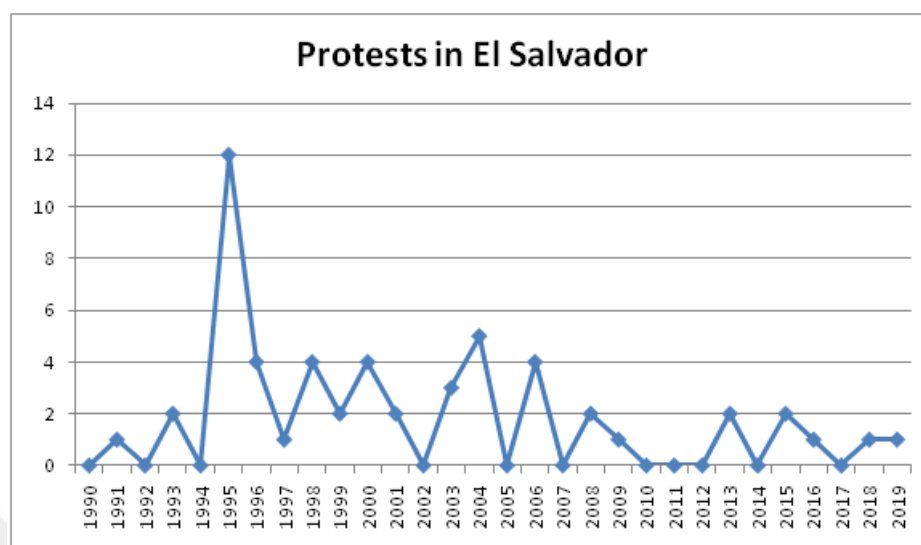


Figure 14: Protests in El Salvador

Salvadoran Civil War broke out after the 1979 coup d'état. United States started to support the new right-wing military government of El Salvador and the army formed right wing death squads and 30,000 people were killed by them between 1979 and 1981. In 1980, FMLN was formed as an umbrella of leftist guerilla groups. The civil war lasted for 12 years, and the Peace Accords were signed in 1992, with the FMLN being recognized as a political party (BBC News, 2018b). As part of the peace accords, the government was supposed to combat poverty, inequality and they were supposed to reform the land distribution. The peak of protests in El Salvador happened after landless peasants eventually took the matters into their own hands 1995 by protesting and squatting lands (White, 1995, p. 110). After 1995, numbers of protests in El Salvador were very low compared to the other Latin American countries.

4.11. Protests in Guatemala

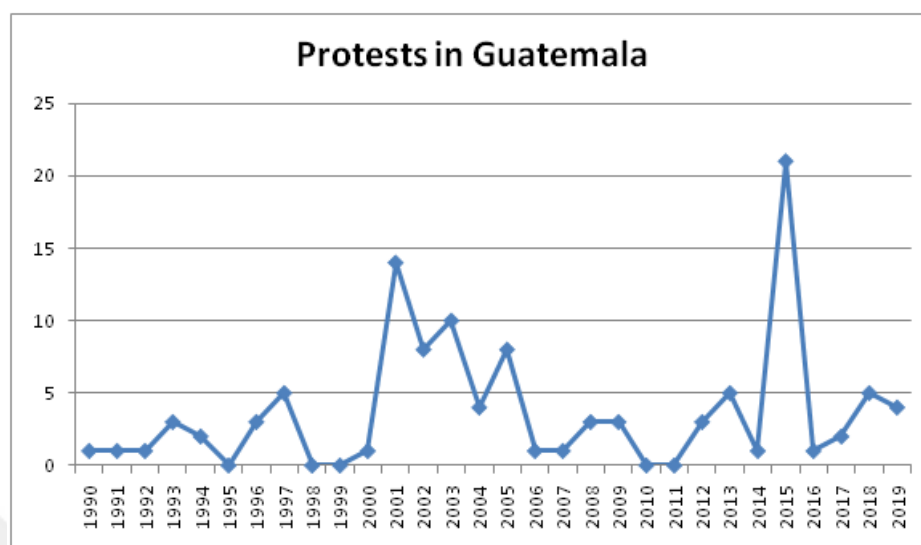


Figure 15: Protests in Guatemala

Guatemalan Civil War was a 36-year-old conflict between 1960 and 1996. The country is still trying to get over the civil war where leftist, mostly Mayan insurgents fought against the US backed state forces. In 36 years, more than 200,000 people were killed and 83 percent of the casualties were ethnic Mayans (PBS, 2011). Years after the civil war, in 2001, protesters demonstrated against the alleged role of United States in the Guatemalan government's decision to increase the Value Added Tax (VAT). Teachers, students, unionists marched on the United States embassy in Guatemala City (Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2002). Second peak of protests after 2001 happened in 2015 where a crowd of priests, businessmen and students protested against corruption. Thousands of demonstrators in Guatemala City's Constitution Square demanded the resignation of President Otto Perez Molina (Associated Press, 2015).

4.12. Protests in Honduras

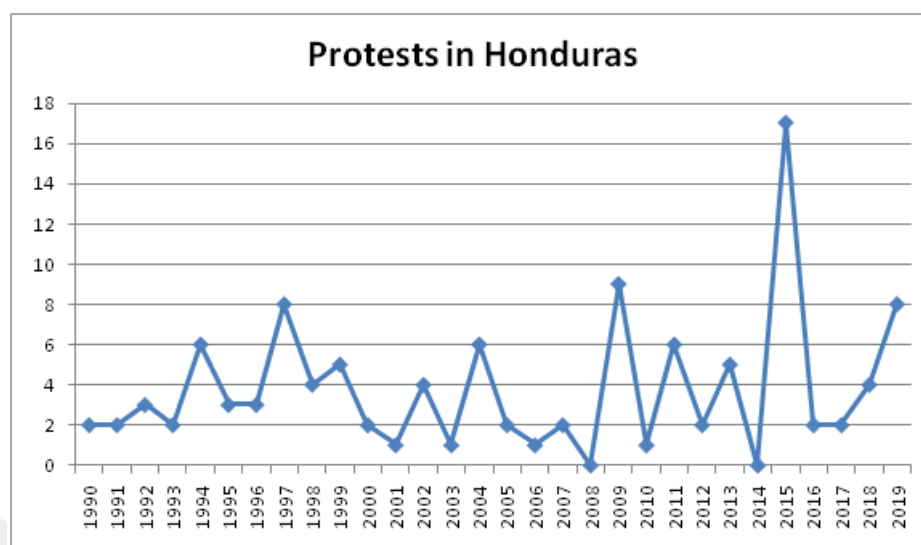


Figure 16: Protests in Honduras

In the 1990s, many protests by indigenous peoples broke out in Honduras. For example, in 1991, thousands of indigenous people protested against the land reform after indigenous farmers were killed in Tela. President Callejas, in order to stop the rural violence offered amnesty to 300 peasant protesters. In 1992, six thousand Miskitos⁸ protested against deforestation plans. In 1997, a peak of protests happened with various demonstrations and hunger strikes against the government's land rights policies. Same year, Honduran government accused the Mexican rebel group EZLN of infiltrating the indigenous population (Minorities at Risk Project, 2004). In 2009, a peak of protests was during the 2009 Honduran coup d'état. President Manuel Zelaya was removed from office by the military, the coup led to both pro-Zelaya and anti-Zelaya protests. In 2012, thousands marched to protests the killings of journalists. In 2015, biggest number of protests happened in Honduras where tens of thousands of protesters in the capital city of Tegucigalpa demonstrated after the opposition claimed that

⁸ An indigenous ethnic group in Central America.

President Juan Orlando Hernandez received millions of dollars from the country's health system to fund his 2013 election campaign (BBC News, 2018c).

4.13. Protests in Mexico



Figure 17: Protests in Mexico

In 1994, North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into force. To protest Mexico's entry to the NAFTA, Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) began a rebellion as they believed that the economic agreement would negatively affect Mexico's indigenous population. Conflict between the rebels and the government's security forces began in EZLN's stronghold Chiapas. The conflict also generated both pro-EZLN and anti-EZLN protests. In 2003, Zapatistas started to construct autonomous regions, ending the cycle of protests (Inclán, 2012). The peak of protests related to Chiapas conflict was in 1994 when the insurgency began.

After 2003, two peaks of protests happened. First of which was during the 2006 presidential elections, after Felipe Calderon was declared as the winner, protests broke out surrounding the controversies of the vote counts (Global Nonviolent Action Database, 2021). The second peak was during 2014, the protesters demonstrated against the mass murder of 43 students and the building of a mansion for the president (Tuckman, 2014). Next year, protests

broke out during the 2015 Congress elections, some voting were disrupted as a result (BBC News, 2015). Number of protests in Mexico declined after 2015.

4.14. Protests in Nicaragua

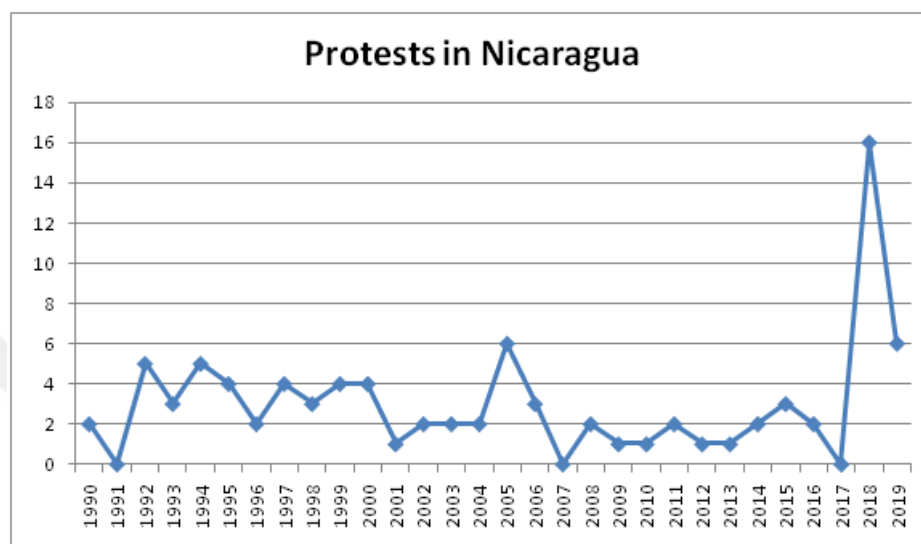


Figure 18: Protests in Nicaragua

Between 1937 and 1979 Nicaragua was ruled by the Somoza family, the dynasty was supported by the United States. The Somoza family was ousted by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in 1979 and a new government was formed under the leadership of Daniel Ortega. In retaliation, anti-Sandinista rebels (The Contras) were formed. After the 1984 elections where Ortega was reelected, US government backed the Contras with arms and money. In 1990 elections, Violeta Chamorro led an anti-FSLN coalition, and she beat Daniel Ortega. Numbers of protests in 1990s in Nicaragua were low. In 2005, rises of fuel prices and the cost of living triggered weeks of violent protests. In 2006, Daniel Ortega won the elections and returned to power (BBC News, 2018e). In 2018, largest peak of protests happened after the country was in a social and economic crisis, the Nicaraguan government responded with a brutal crackdown which led to thousands of people fleeing persecution in Nicaragua (McVeigh, 2020).

4.15. Protests in Panama

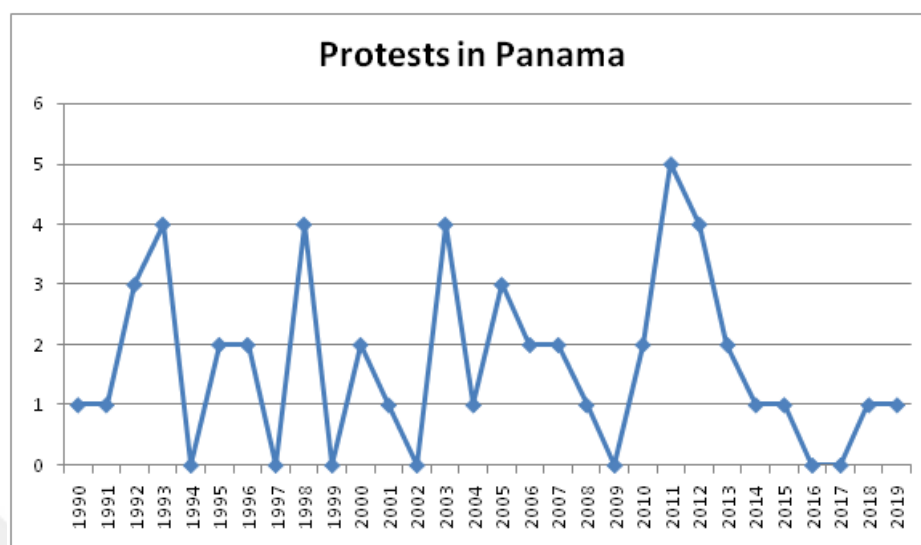


Figure 19: Protests in Panama

Panama's transition to democracy happened after 30 years of military rule between 1968 and 1989. In 1989, the opposition won the elections, but General Manuel Noriega did not recognize the results. Noriega was deposed after the United States invasion of Panama and he was replaced with Guillermo Endara in 1990 (Furlong, 1993, pp.19-21). In 1999, United States handed over the jurisdiction of the Panama Canal to Panama. In 2003, more than 40 demonstrators were injured in a strike over the management of social security funds. In 2005, government's decision to raise the age of retirement and increase pension contributions led to weeks of protests. In 2011, during the peak of protests in Panama's recent history, indigenous groups and environmentalists protested against the plans to change the mining laws. As a result of the protests, the new reforms were reversed. Next year, workers of a project to expand the Panama Canal began to strike until the government agreed to increase the minimum wage. The same year, the government agreed not to sell land in the duty-free zone of Colon after protesters clashed with the police (BBC News, 2018d).

4.16. Protests in Paraguay

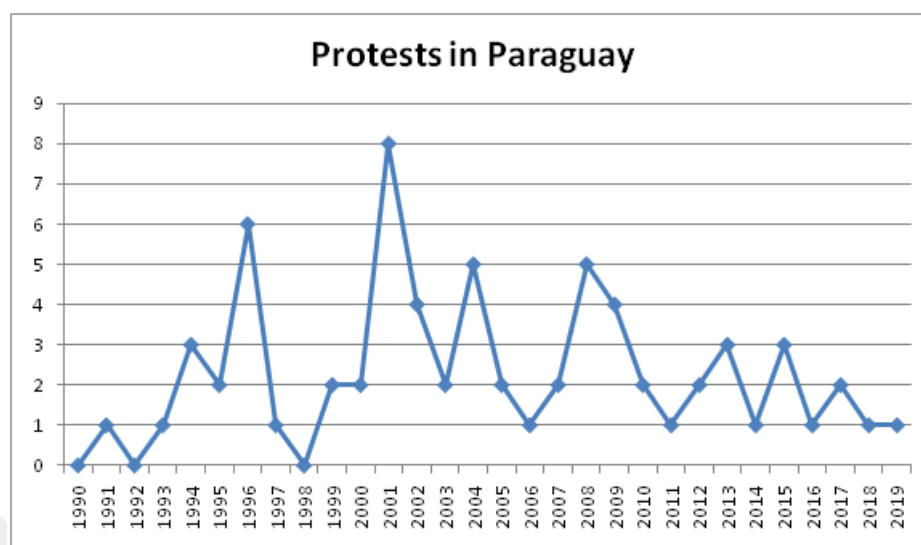


Figure 20: Protests in Paraguay

Paraguay transitioned into democracy after General Alfredo Stroessner's 34-years dictatorship. His overthrow by the military in 1989 shocked the people; he came to power in 1954 also with a military coup d'état, over years he became a symbol of national identity. His name was on streets, towns, currency, postage stamps and the main airport of the country located near the capital city Asuncion (Lambert, 1997, p.3). After the 1989 Coup, Andres Rodriguez became the president and in 1992, a new constitution was adopted. In 1993, the first civilian President of Paraguay, Juan Carlos Wasmosy won the elections (BBC News, 2018f). According to our data, the first peak in protests was in 1996 when the civilian government averted a coup d'état. President Wasmosy ordered General Lino Cesar Oviedo to resign, but the general refused this order. General Oviedo announced that, if he became the Defense Minister, he would resign. President Wasmosy agreed to Oviedo's condition, but this led to protests from opposition parties, students, and human rights groups (Sims, 1996). Under major pressure, Wasmosy revoked his decision, and retained his presidency.

In 2001, largest peak of protests was during demonstrations against the corruption of both former President Wamosy and the President at the time Luis Gonzalez Macchi (The Economist, 2001). Another peak of protests was in 2008, during the protests called “El Tractorazo”, laborers demonstrated with parking their tractors on roads all over Paraguay demanding greater security (Garelli, 2008). Numbers of protests declined after the peak in 2008.

4.17. Protests in Peru



Figure 21: Protests in Peru

In 1980, first elections in Peru after the 1968 Coup were held. Shining Path boycotted these elections and started an armed campaign against the Peruvian government (Starn, 1995, pp. 399-400). After a violent Shining Path insurgency in the 1980s, Alberto Fujimori was elected the president of Peru in 1990. He came to power in an anti-corruption platform and as a strong opponent of guerrilla insurgencies in Peru, he led a counter-terrorism campaign. In 1992 he suspended the constitution with the support of the army. Same year, leader of Shining Path, Abimael Guzman was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment. In 2000, Fujimori's authoritarian rule ended when he was sacked by the congress (BBC News, 2018a). Fujimori, a Peruvian of Japanese descent, fled to Japan. His rule between 1990 and 2000 is known by the

political violence in the country and authoritarianism. Number of protests during the Fujimori administration reached a peak in 1998 when strikers rioted at the presidential palace against Fujimori's possible re-election bid (CNN, 1998).

In 2001, center-left candidate Alejandro Toledo won the presidential elections. Next year, violent protests erupted as a result of the government's decision to privatize two power companies. Following the protests, the sale was cancelled. Peak in the numbers of protests in Peru happened in 2009 when more than 50 indigenous people and security forces in total were killed during the protests against the new laws allowing foreign companies to use the oil and gas resources. Prime Minister Yehude Simon resigned as a result of the protests. Same year, pro-free trade policies led to protests by the unions and leftists. In 2012, violent protests against the mine projects led the government to declare a state of emergency (BBC News, 2018a). Numbers of protests declined after 2012.

4.18. Protests in Uruguay

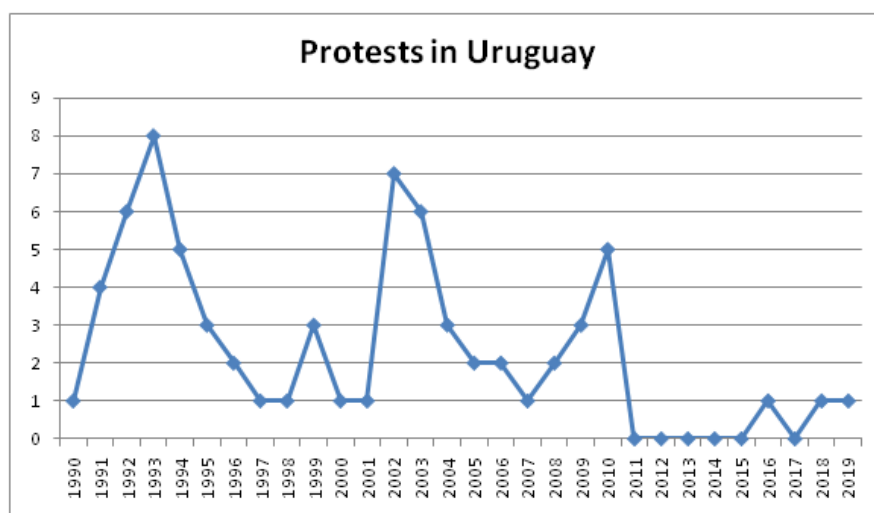


Figure 22: Protests in Uruguay

Following a 15-year military rule, Uruguay returned to democracy in 1984. With the democratization, Uruguay also started to pursue neoliberal reforms as well. In 1991, the first

major privatization law was passed but privatization of some other industries was stopped after the resistance of the PIT-CNT trade union. President Luis Alberto Lacalle's administration⁹ met with protests (Kohl, 1992) and general strikes (Kohl, 1991) because of the government's aggressive push toward neoliberal reforms. The peak of protests was in 1993 which was also during his administration. Second peak of protests were in 2002. Uruguay went through a major financial crisis in 2002, after banks shut down, people started to protest in the streets, riots broke out in the capital city Montevideo. Thousands joined a general strike, and some shops were looted (Stewart, 2002). Except for a peak in 2010, numbers of protests were low in Uruguay after 2002.

4.19. Protests in Venezuela



Figure 23: Protests in Venezuela

According to the data included in this research, Venezuela is the country with the highest number of protests in Latin America with 317 protests in 30 years. The numbers of protests were generally high in the country since the mid-1980s, the country is considered both at home and abroad as “a society in constant mobilization” (Maya & Lander, 2005, p. 92). Even though

⁹ Luis Alberto Lacalle served as president between 1990 and 1995.

those protests are outside the scope of this research, it is important to note the infamous “The Caracazo”. The government of recently elected President Carlos Andres Perez announced an economic adjustment package; this led to an increase in public transport fares and as a result, crowds started to protest not only the fare increases but the new economic package in general. Absence of intervention by the security forces led to protesters looting. As the rebellion started to spread to other large cities outside the capital, curfews were imposed and a brutal wave of repression by both the police and the army was unleashed on the population, especially in the working-class districts of Caracas. The Caracazo resulted in 277 deaths according to the official reports of the Ministry of Defense (Maya, 2003, pp. 117-129). The revolts stand out in Venezuelan history, and they are remembered with their duration and violence.

Between 1989 and 2003 there are two periods of intense activity, first of which is during the political crisis between 1991 and 1994 and second of which is between 1999 and 2003 (Maya & Lander, 2005, p. 94). The peak in the 30-year period is in 1992, where two coup attempts were made against President Perez, first one was in February and the second one was in November. Both attempts failed but the leader of the coup attempt Colonel Hugo Chavez was elected President in 1998 elections (Baburkin et al. 1999, pp. 141-144). Chavez founded the Movement of the Fifth Republic political party, and after he came to power in 1999, he started to implement the “Bolivarian Revolution”, this was a socialist political program named after Simon Bolivar (Nelson, 2021). This process included the draft of a new constitution in 1999 and even changing the official name of the country from “Republic of Venezuela” into “Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela” The second peak of the protest wave is during the years of Chavez government, the new political elite’s attempts to implement an alternative route for the country generated protests both in favor and against it (Maya & Lander, 2005, p. 95). In 2002, a failed coup attempt also generated both pro and anti-Chavez protests. During the coup attempt,

Chavez was deposed on Friday and returned “in a miraculous political resurrection” on Sunday (Bellos, 2002).

Between 2003 and 2013, protests against the Chavez government continued. Before his cancer surgery Chavez designated Nicolas Maduro as his successor, Chavez died on March 5, 2013, and Maduro became the interim president (Nelson, 2021). With Maduro taking office after winning the presidential elections on April 14, a new wave of protests began. Venezuela was once Latin America’s richest economy and the country has the world’s largest supply of crude oil; but under Maduro administration inflation skyrocketed, corruption, mismanagement and high levels debt led to Venezuela’s economy collapse (BBC News, 2019a). In 2019, protests against Maduro’s rule have entered a new phase as the Venezuelan opposition rejects the results of 2018 Presidential elections. In January 2019, after Maduro’s inauguration, Juan Guaido, leader of the National Assembly declares Maduro’s leadership illegitimate and claims he is the legitimate president (BBC News, 2019b).

4.20. Discussion

Latin America went through a process called dual transition towards economic liberalization and democracy. Liberalization was met with resistance by the emergence of new political movements which challenged the neoliberal model. In the 2000s, the wave of those new political movements swept the region in what is called the pink tide. Aside from the political parties and leaders, social mobilization against the neoliberal policies also arose. Traditional actors such as the labor in Argentina were active in the demonstrations but new actors also emerged, such as the indigenous and rural protesters in the Andes or in water and gas protests in Bolivia (Bellinger & Arce, 2011, p. 697). Between 1989 and 2002, anti-neoliberal mobilization shook Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela to the core (Silva, 2009, p.1).

As seen in Table 1, in this research, first the total number of protests in each country was categorized by their respective years. Then the protests were divided into two categories, peaceful and violent. In Table 2, the percentages of violent protests per regions of Latin America are shown. The Caribbean, Brazil and the Southern Cone have less violent protests whereas the Andean countries, Mexico, and Central America witness more violent protests than the Latin American average.

As shown in Figure 2, political violence in protests increased from 1991 to 1994, then decreased until 2001. After 2001, the biggest jump in protests was in 2011, decreasing rapidly in 2015. After 2015, violent protests started to increase again. Even though each country in Latin America has different aspects regarding the protests, the general trend can still be depicted. As can be seen in Figure 3, the number of protests increased after the 1990-1994 period until the 2005-2009 period. There were 354 protests in total between 1990-1994, then the number rose to 420 during 1995-1999 and 454 in 2000-2004. The number of protests saw a downward trend in the 2005-2009 and the 2010-2014 periods, with 345 and 258 protests respectively. The period with the highest number of protests was 2014-2019. The high levels of protests in the 2014-19 period can be attributed to two factors. The first factor is the mass protest wave in 2019 in Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, and Colombia (Chatham House, 2021). The second factor is that, in 2015 and 2016, numbers of protests were high in unprecedented numbers in Cuba, i.e., 37 and 53 respectively.

When Figures 3 and 4 are viewed, we can compare the patterns of protests in Latin America with the worldwide pattern. Both cases show an increase after the 1990-1995 period, having higher protests in the 1995-1999 period. Then, in Latin America, protests increased in the 2000-2004 period, while protests decreased slightly in the same period in the world. In the 2005-2009 and the 2010-2014 periods, protests in Latin America decreased while they increased worldwide. Protests increased both in Latin America and worldwide in the 2015-2019

period. This means that, Latin America and the world showed similar trends in only the 1995-1999 and the 2015-2019 periods, while displaying different trends in the 2000-2004, the 2005-2009, and the 2010-2014 periods.

In Latin America, there were 2348 protests in total during the period between 1990 and 2020. 545 of these protests were violent, with an average regional frequency of 23,21%. Nicaragua had the highest percentage of violent protests, with 46,06% of the recorded protests having turned violent. The country with the lowest percentage of violent protests is Cuba with a single protest out of a total of 100. That means 1% of the protests in Cuba were violent. It is possible to observe regional patterns in these percentages as well. Central American countries had the highest percentage of violent protests. All of them except Honduras (20.35%) are above the Latin American average. These countries are Nicaragua (46.06%), Panama (42.00%), El Salvador (31.48%), Costa Rica (26.31%), and Guatemala (25.22). Southern Cone, on the other hand, has two countries below and two countries above the Latin American average. Uruguay (2.85%) and Paraguay (8.82%) are below average while Chile (26.90%), and Argentina (24.56%) are above average.

The question this research aimed to answer in this section was whether spontaneous protest activism spiraling into violence increasingly has become the dominant form of political violence in Latin America. When the last 30 years are observed, it is possible to see an upward trend in protests. While the numbers of protests are going up, the numbers of terrorist attacks decrease. This decrease in the numbers of terrorist attacks is explained in the next section. Economic inequality, democracy levels, and their correlation with protests in Latin America are outside the scope of this research, while these factors could serve to explain the causes and the outcomes of the protests in Latin America. To cite an example, the countries with the lowest percentage of violent protests in Latin America are Cuba and Uruguay, even though Cuba has an authoritarian regime while Uruguay is a liberal democracy.

Further research on income equality could also explain the differences in protests better. Between 1992 and 2002, income inequality increased in the majority of Latin American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela) (Tornarolli, Ciaschi, & Galeano, 2018). Between 2002 and 2010, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Peru, and Venezuela managed to lower income inequality. Yet, in Chile and Costa Rica income inequality was stagnant. Preliminary results stimulate interest in the correlation between protests and the rate of income inequality as part of a new research agenda. To exemplify, Uruguay is the country with the least income inequality and the numbers of protests are low. Brazil, on the other hand, is the country with the highest income inequality in Latin America and the numbers of protests are high.

5. TERRORISM IN LATIN AMERICA

This part of the research aims to explain the intensity of terrorist activities in Latin America between 1990 and 2020 by delving deep into the numbers of terrorist attacks gathered from the GTD data.

In Figure 24, total numbers of terrorist attacks in all Latin American countries with their corresponding years are presented.

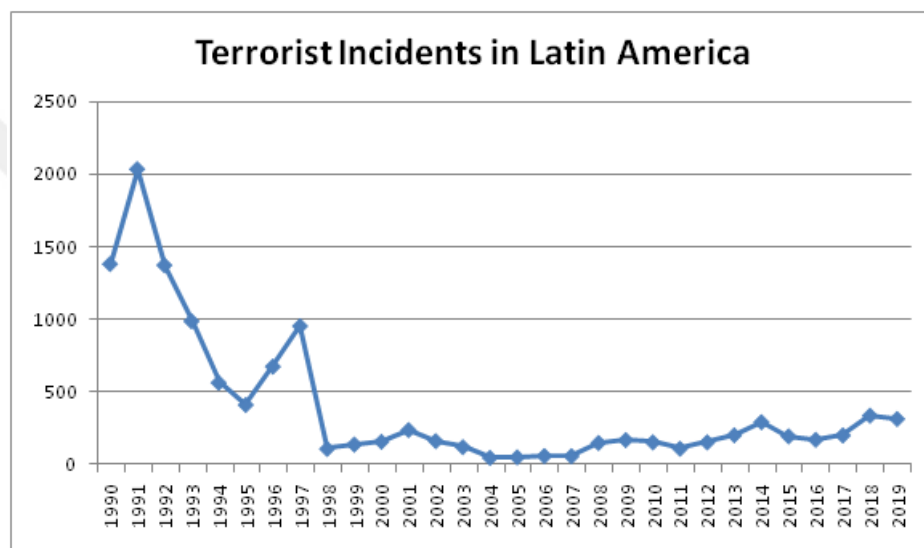


Figure 24: Timeline of terrorist attacks in Latin America

In Figure 25, the numbers of terrorist attacks worldwide in the last 30 years are presented.



Figure 25: Number of terrorist incidents in the World per years.

In Table 3, terrorist attacks in Latin American sub-regions are presented. Andean average is more than two times higher the Latin American average while Caribbean has the lowest average.

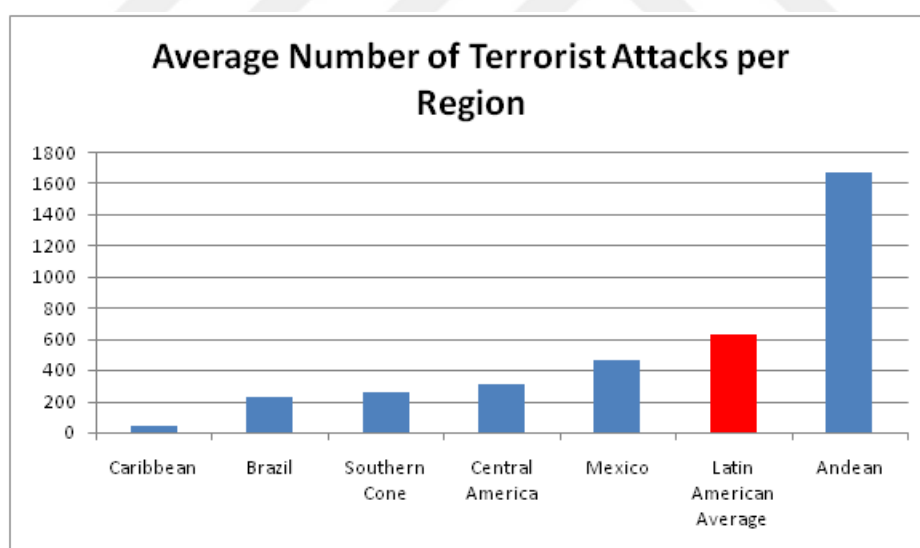


Table 3: Average number of terrorist attacks per regions.

In Table 4, the top 25 terrorist organizations with the most numbers of terrorist attacks are presented and in the following section, these organizations are explained even further.

	Terrorist Organization	Number of Attacks	Affected Countries
1	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	1871	Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Panama, Brazil
2	Shining Path (SL)	1315	Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, Mexico
3	National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN)	1185	Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador
4	Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN)	682	El Salvador, Honduras
5	Narco-Terrorists	227	Colombia, Peru, Brazil, Panama, Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico
6	Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)	176	Peru, Bolivia, Colombia
7	Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinating Board (CGSB)	156	Colombia, Venezuela
8	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) dissidents	137	Colombia, Ecuador
9	Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG)	106	Guatemala
10	Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR)	102	Chile
11	Left-Wing Groups	100	Colombia, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Uruguay
12	United Popular Action Movement	94	Chile
13	Paraguayan People's Army (EPP)	76	Paraguay, Argentina, Colombia
14	Colombian Paramilitaries	73	Colombia, Mexico, Guatemala
15	United Self Defense Units of Colombia (AUC)	67	Colombia, Ecuador
16	Recontras	61	Nicaragua
17	Popular Liberation Army (EPL)	59	Colombia
18	Mapuche Extremists	46	Chile, Argentina
19	Colombian Death Squads	34	Colombia
20	Guatemalan Death Squads	33	Guatemala
21	Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)	25	Nicaragua
22	Peasant Self-Defense Group (ACCU)	24	Colombia, Panama
23	Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army (EGTK)	22	Bolivia
24	Popular Revolutionary Army (Mexico)	22	Mexico
25	Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN)	22	Mexico

Table 4: Top 25 terrorist organizations in Latin America by numbers of attacks between 1990-2020

In the GTD data, some terrorist attacks are attributed to organizations which lack clarity, i.e., "Narco-terrorists", "left-wing groups", "Colombian paramilitaries", "Mapuche extremists", "Colombian death squads", and "Guatemalan death squads". Because of the lack of information presented for these assailants, these entries are not explained unlike the organizations with accessible information such as FARC or the Shining Path.

5.1. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)

FARC is a Marxist-Leninist guerrilla group which was founded in 1964. The group aimed to represent the rural people's interests and inspired by the Cuban revolution, aimed to overthrow the Colombian government. The organizations methods for financing itself was the drug trade, kidnapping, extortion, and illegal gold mining (Stanford University, 2019). In 1990s, in peace talks FARC started to officially control a Switzerland sized portion of territory in the south of Colombia. In the late 1990s, the organization started to use the region for guerrilla training and drug trafficking. In 2002, the Colombian government took the territory back in a devastating offensive (Lee, 2011, p.31). In 2016, a historic peace agreement was signed between the FARC and the Colombian government.

5.2. Shining Path (SL)

In 1980, first elections in Peru after the 1968 Coup were held. Communist Party of Peru, also known as the “Shining Path” boycotted these elections. Following a Maoist strategy, Shining Path declared a “People’s War”, their announcement against the Peruvian state was when they burned ballots in the Andean village of Chuschi during the 1980 elections (Starn, 1995, pp. 399-400). Mid 1980s were the period which the Maoist organization were the most powerful. In 1992, leader of Shining Path, Abimael Guzman was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment (BBC News, 2018a).

5.3. National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN)

ELN is a Marxist organization inspired by the success of the Cuban revolution. In the 1960s, some priests from the Catholic Church, claiming that religion needs to play a major role in promoting human rights and social justice joined the ELN. Thus, ELN's ideology is a mixture of Marxism and Christianity. ELN is active in two fields, first one is the military insurgency and the second one is the social works by helping peasants, workers, and the poor (Gale Research Inc., 2006b).

5.4. Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN)

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) is a former Marxist-Leninist insurgent group which became a legal political party in El Salvador. The FMLN was founded in 1980 as the paramilitary arm of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR). The FDR was a coalition of leftist political groups backed by Cuba (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2011). After a coup d'état in 1979, the Salvadoran Civil War broke out. The civil war was between the US backed right wing government of El Salvador and FMLN. The civil war lasted for 12 years, and

the Peace Accords were signed in 1992, FMLN was recognized as a political party as a result of the peace agreement (BBC News, 2018b).

5.5. Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)

The Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) is a Peruvian Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization which was founded in 1984. MRTA aimed to establish a Marxist regime in Peru and the organization's violence was focused towards announcing its anti-US and anti-foreign investment message in the Peruvian society. In 1996, MRTA attacked the Japanese ambassador's residence, taking hundreds of diplomats hostage. The organization was named after Tupac Amaru II, an indigenous leader who fought against the Spanish colonialism in 18th century. MRTA was founded in the shadow of the Shining Path, eventually they became rivals caused by their ideological and tactical differences (Gale Research Inc., 2006b, pp. 828-830). Shining Path's Maoist views conflicted with MRTA's Marxist-Leninist views (Berrios & Blasier, 1991).

5.6. Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinating Board (CGSB)

In early 1990s, Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinating Board (CGSB) was formed as a leftist umbrella group in order to negotiate peace talks with the Colombian government. Members of the CGSB were FARC, 19th of April Movement (M-19), Quintin Lame Armed Revolutionary Movement (MAQL), Revolutionary Party of the Workers (PRT) and EPL (Braun, 2003, p. 147).

5.7. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) dissidents

After the peace agreement between FARC and the Colombian government in 2016, some FARC members did not demobilize and they continued the insurgency. As some FARC members rejected the peace process, "FARC dissidents" emerged. Currently, 25 different

FARC dissident groups operate in Colombia. The Colombian government estimates 2500-2600 fighters still continue to fight (Pappier & Johnson, 2020).

5.8. Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG)

The Civil War broke out in 1960 between the Government of Guatemala and the leftist revolutionary armed group Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional (URNG) and it lasted until 1996 when the peace agreement was signed (Rosenthal, 2001, p. 56). URNG was a leftist umbrella group formed with the merger of four leftist guerrilla movements (Encyclopedia.com, n.d.). In Guatemala, 70% of the attacks were committed by unknown assailants. 20% of the attacks were committed by URNG. Rest of the attacks were committed by death squads, Organización del Pueblo en Armas (ORPA), Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres (EGP), and the Peaceful Resistance Group of Mataquescuintla. ORPA and EGP are two of the four groups which merged into URNG.

5.9. Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR)

The Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) is a Marxist-Leninist guerilla formed as the armed faction of the Chilean Communist Party in 1983. The FPMR is founded in order to overthrow and resist the military regime of Augusto Pinochet. The group carried out several assassinations, bombings, and kidnappings in the mid-80s. In 1990, Chilean democracy was restored and in 1991, FPMR announced that the group is going to become a conventional political party. There were dissident splinter groups emerging in the 1990s and by 1993, the Chilean government arrested over 200 members. By 1999, FPMR activities ceased and FPMR was dropped out of the Patterns of Global Terrorism 1999 active terrorist organizations list (Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2004).

5.10. United Popular Action Movement (MAPU)

The United Popular Action Movement (MAPU) was a Chilean political party which was part of the Salvador's Allende's Popular Unity coalition. After the 1973 coup d'état, the party was suppressed and some of the members formed a militant leftist group active in 1980s with the goal of overthrowing the Pinochet regime. After the return to democracy in 1990, some members continued violent activities (Martin, 2011, p. 343).

5.11. Paraguayan People's Army (EPP)

In 2008, Paraguayan People's Army (EPP) started an insurgency against the Paraguay government. The roots of the Marxist group date back to 1990s and it emerged as the military wing of the Free Fatherland Party (PPL). EPP seeks to overthrow the Paraguayan government and claims to improve the conditions of the Paraguay's poor population. EPP has no more than 50 armed members, but the organization's attacks are newsworthy because of their high-profile kidnappings (GlobalSecurity.org, 2016).

5.12. United Self Defense Units of Colombia (AUC)

AUC is an umbrella organization of right-wing paramilitary groups. The Castaño brothers founded the ACCU as a self-defense movement against leftist guerillas in 1982. In 1997, ACCU was transformed into AUC. The organization used kidnappings and assassinations as primary tactics. The organization demobilized in 2006 (Mapping Militants Organizations, 2018).

5.13. Recontras

Recontras are the groups of Contras which rearmed. After the overthrow of the Somoza regime in 1979 by the Sandinistas, Contras led an Anti-communist insurgency. Contras were a

counterrevolutionary organization which aimed to overthrow the Nicaragua's Sandinista government. The anti-communist rebels received aid and training from the US Central Intelligence Agency. In 1984, the US Congress banned aid to the contras and in 1990, Nicaraguan president negotiated the Contras' demobilization (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2013). In 1990s, more than 30 groups of Contras rearmed and continued the insurgency, while the national press defined these Recontras as criminals, pawns of the far right and extremists (Envio Team, 1991).

5.14. Popular Liberation Army (EPL)

The Popular Liberation Army (EPL) is founded in 1967 as the armed wing of the Colombian Communist Party, the armed group is mainly based in Catatumbo in the north of Colombia. The organization gained followers among workers and rural peasant by preaching Mao Zedong's theories. In the 1980s, EPL began to move away from Maoism and started to focus on political struggle. In 1991, the group demobilized and formed the political party Esperanza, Paz, y Libertad. Some members rejected this move and continued their insurgency against the Colombian government (Grant, 2021).

5.15. Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)

FSLN is a socialist organization and the current ruling party of Nicaragua. The organization was founded in 1962 and they are named after Cesar Augusto Sandino, a Nicaraguan resistance figure who resisted the US military occupation between 1927 and 1933. The Somoza family, which ruled the country since 1937 was ousted by the FSLN in 1979 and a new government was formed under the leadership of Daniel Ortega. After 1979, the US backed Contras were formed to resist the FSLN government and FSLN became dependent on Soviet Union and Cuba support (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2016). In 1990 he lost the elections.

After 26 years in opposition, in 2006, Daniel Ortega won the elections and returned to power (BBC News, 2018e).

5.16. Peasant Self-Defense Group (ACCU)

The Peasant Self-Defense Group (ACCU) is a key component of the AUC. The organization was formed in 1982 by the Castaño brothers to avenge the murder of their father by FARC guerrillas. The organization acted as an anti-leftist guerrilla self-defense group, but they also received support the drug cartels in exchange for ACCU to defend drug cartels' coca plantations. In the mid-1990s, one of the Castaño brothers, Fidel was disappeared. His brother Carlos Castaño inherited the ACCU and in 1997, he transformed the organization into AUC (PBS, 2008).

5.17. Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army (EGTK)

The Tupac Katari Guerrilla Army (EGTK) is an indigenous armed group active in Bolivia during the 1990s, little is known about the group's ideology or motives. Just like MRTA, the group is named after Tupac Katari II, an Inca indigenous leader who rebelled against the Spanish in the eighteenth century (Martin, 2011, pp. 588-589).

5.18. Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR)

The Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) is a Marxist-Leninist guerrilla organization based in southern Mexico. The group was formed in 1994, the same EZLN launched an insurgency. The group announced themselves in 1996 and the main activities of the EPR is launching attacks on gas and oil pipelines. The group expressed support for the EZLN, but Zapatistas deny any connection between EPR and EZLN (Insight Crime, 2017).

5.19. Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN)

The Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) is a leftist organization which is committed for the rights of the indigenous and poor Mexicans. The organization's primary spokesperson is Subcommandante Marcos, always in military fatigues, black ski mask and a pipe. The EZLN has three major influences and the organization is named after Emilio Zapata, a peasant leader in the early 20th century. The other influences of the EZLN are the 1970s Latin American guerrilla traditions and the organization is also influenced by the Catholic Church with the original founders of the EZLN assuming biblical nicknames (Gale Research Inc., 2006b, pp. 908-912). On 1 January 1994, when the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was inaugurated, EZLN launched an insurgency and a conflict between the EZLN and the government's security forces began in EZLN's stronghold Chiapas (Inclán, 2012).

5.20. Discussion

Within the 30-year period this research focuses on, a total of 11965 terrorist attacks were recorded in Latin America. Out of the 11965 attacks, 6344 of them were in the 1990-1994 period. Hence, the absolute majority of attacks (53.02%) were committed during that era. Between 1995 and 1999, there were 2286 (19,10%) attacks. Thus, the 1995-1999 period is the second most violent era in the post-Cold War history of terrorism in Latin America. As Latin America entered the 21st century, the number of attacks dropped rapidly. There were 723 attacks in the 2000-2004 period and 485 attacks in the 2005-2009 period. They respectively make up 6,04% and 4,05% of the terrorist attacks in the 30-year period. Thus, the 2000s were the decade with the lowest number of terrorist attacks. In 2010, the number of attacks started to rise. Between 2010 and 2014, there were 909 attacks, which is 7,59% of all attacks and between 2015-2019, there were 1218 attacks, constituting 10,17%. After 15 years, there were more than 1000 attacks in a five-year period once again. In every country except Paraguay, the most

violent period in terms of terrorist attacks were the 1990s. The trend of terrorist activities in the majority of the Latin American countries can be summarized to reveal a decreasing number of terrorist attacks in the 1990s, including some rises and falls in the number of attacks. The decade of the 2000s witnessed much fewer attacks compared to the 1990s, with an upward trend starting in the 2010s.

When the sub-regional trajectory of terrorism in Latin America is explored, it is possible to observe that the Caribbean, Brazil, the Southern Cone, Central America, and Mexico are all under the Latin American average while the Andean region returns higher figures than the Latin American average. One question this section aims to answer is how terrorism in Latin America in the aftermath of the Cold War developed compared to the world. When Figures 24 and 25 are examined, it is safe to conclude that Latin America and the world display opposite patterns.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation intended to answer three main questions. The first question is "to what extent does Latin America deviate from the worldwide pattern of terrorist incidents in the aftermath of the Cold War?". With the data gathered from GTD, it is possible to prove that Latin America and the world manifest opposite patterns. Compared to the increasing numbers of terrorist attacks in other parts of the world in the post-Cold War era, the number of terrorist attacks decreased in Latin America. When observing the data on terrorist attacks, it was apparent that in almost all Latin American countries, the 1990s were the most violent period. Nonetheless, starting from the 2000s, the numbers of terrorist attacks decreased with many of the major terrorist groups demobilizing as a result of peace processes, legalization of the armed groups, or the defeat of insurgencies. In the world, terrorism has risen sharply since the mid-1990s with the 2010s being the most violent period. Yet, in Latin America, this is not the case since the 1990s was the most violent period while the 2010s was the least violent. Thus, it is possible to observe that Latin America deviates from the worldwide pattern of terrorist incidents in the aftermath of the Cold War, since the numbers of terrorist attacks in Latin America decreased unlike in the rest of the world.

Second question this research aimed to answer was "is the decline of organized political violence in Latin America a sustained one?". When both terrorism and protest data are analyzed, as mentioned in the last paragraph, it is possible to say that terrorist violence has decreased. Yet, this is not the case for protests. The number of protests increased in Latin America after the Cold War and as seen in the last major protest wave starting in 2019, violence in protests is still prevalent. When the Latin American protest trends are compared with the world, Latin America and the world showed similar trends in only the 1995-1999 and the 2015-2019 periods, while showing different trends in the 2000-2004, the 2005-2009, and the 2010-2014 periods.

Third question this study aimed to answer was "has spontaneous protest activism spiraling into violence increasingly become the dominant form of political violence in Latin America?". It is possible to confirm this hypothesis using the data from both GTD and MMDP. When the total numbers of terrorist attacks and protests in the last 30 years are compared, it is clear that as the numbers of terrorist attacks decreased, the numbers of protests increased in Latin America. When violence in protests is compared by years, the percentage of protests decreased after 1990s, but increased to the levels in 1990s in 2010s. The most violent five-year period was the 2010-2014 period. It can clearly be stated that political violence in protests increased in 2010s. Further research is needed to confirm this finding, such as by examining the demands of the protestors to observe whether they are taking the place of the formerly active armed groups through demanding the same outcomes.

This study adds to the literature on non-governmental political violence in Latin America since there is limited research combining the elements of both terrorist attacks and violent protests. There is a wide literature focusing on governmental political violence, terrorist activities during the Cold War, and protests in single case studies. The research design in this study involves a comparative analysis for all the Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries in Latin America.

One of the main limitations of the study is that better results for the same research topic could be achieved if the period before 1990 was also included. The research also delves deep only into the numbers of protests and terrorist attacks during each year. Major protests causing peaks in each Latin America and the top 25 terrorist organizations organizing the highest number of attacks are scrutinized. Further research could improve the results if minor protests and terrorist groups are also entered into the analysis.

In conclusion, the findings based on the empirical data from two databases have significant implications for the fields of Latin American studies, comparative politics, and intra-regional CAS research. Aside from explaining the patterns of non-governmental political violence in Latin America, these findings raise further questions about the inequalities, indigenous peoples' rights, and the overall politics of Latin America.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahram, A. I. (2011). The Theory and Method of Comparative Area Studies. *Qualitative Research*, 11(1), 69–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794110385297>
- Alonso, A., & Maciel, D. (2010). From Protest to Professionalization: Brazilian Environmental Activism After Rio-92. *The Journal of Environment & Development*, 19(3), 300–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1070496510378101>
- Altman, I. (2018). The Spanish Caribbean, 1492–1550. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*. Published. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.630>
- Anckar, C. (2008). On the Applicability of the Most Similar Systems Design and the Most Different Systems Design in Comparative Research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(5), 389–401. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570701401552>
- Associated Press. (2015, June 12). Thousands of protesters demand resignation of president in Guatemala. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/12/protesters-guatemala-president-resignation>
- Associated Press. (2019, October 15). Ecuador protests end after deal struck with indigenous leaders. Retrieved August 6, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/14/ecuador-protests-end-after-deal-struck-with-indigenous-leaders>
- Baburkin, S., Danopoulos, A. C., Giacalone, R., & Moreno, E. (1999). The 1992 Coup Attempts in Venezuela: Causes and Failure. *Journal of Political & Military Sociology*, 27(1), 141–154. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45294157>
- Basedau, M., & Köllner, P. (2007). Area studies, comparative area studies, and the study of politics: Context, substance, and methodological challenges. *Zeitschrift Für*

Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft, 1(1), 105–124. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12286-007-0009-3>

BBC News. (2015, June 8). Mexico elections: Protests as some voting disrupted. Retrieved

August 10, 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-latin-america-33044017>

BBC News. (2018a, April 3). Peru profile - Timeline. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19928907>

BBC News. (2018b, May 16). El Salvador profile - Timeline. Retrieved August 10, 2021,

from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19402222>

BBC News. (2018c, May 16). Honduras profile - Timeline. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-18974519>

BBC News. (2018d, May 28). Panama profile - Timeline. Retrieved August 7, 2021, from

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19889251>

BBC News. (2018e, May 31). Nicaragua profile - Timeline. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19909695>

BBC News. (2018f, June 1). Paraguay profile - Timeline. Retrieved August 4, 2021, from

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19968754>

BBC News. (2019a, February 4). Venezuela: All you need to know about the crisis in nine

charts. Retrieved July 28, 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-46999668>

BBC News. (2019b, April 30). Timeline: Venezuela's leadership battle. Retrieved July 28,

2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48111078>

BBC News. (2019c, November 10). Bolivia protests: Ruling party urges support for Evo

Morales. Retrieved July 28, 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-50363765>

BBC News. (2021, July 13). Cuba protests: Arrests after thousands rally against government.

Retrieved July 23, 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-57813704>

Beck, C. J. (2011). The World-Cultural Origins of Revolutionary Waves: Five Centuries of European Contention. *Social Science History*, 35(2), 167–207.

<https://doi.org/10.1215/01455532-2010-020>

Bellei, C., & Cabalin, C. (2013). Chilean Student Movements: Sustained Struggle to Transform a Market-oriented Educational System. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 15(2), 108–123.

Bellinger, P. T., & Arce, M. (2011). Protest and Democracy in Latin America's Market Era. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(3), 688–704.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912910373557>

Bellos, A. (2002, December 11). Chavez rises from very peculiar coup. Retrieved July 28, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/apr/15/venezuela.alexbellos>

Berg-Schlosser, D. (2018). Comparative Area Studies: The Golden Mean between Area Studies and Universalist Approaches? In A. I. Ahram, P. Köllner, & R. Sil (Eds.), *Comparative Area Studies: Methodological Rationales and Cross-Regional Applications* (pp. 29–45). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Betances, E. (2020). The Rise and Fall of Marcha Verde in the Dominican Republic. *Latin American Perspectives*, 47(5), 20–34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582x20939100>

Bosi, L., & Malthaner, S. (2015). Political Violence. In D. D. Porta & M. Diani (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (pp. 439–542). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199678402.013.50>

Braun, H. (2003). *Our Guerrillas, Our Sidewalks: A Journey into the Violence of Colombia* (Second ed.). Washington, D.C., USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

- Bringel, B. (2016, February 18). 2013–2016: polarization and protests in Brazil. Retrieved August 9, 2021, from <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/democraciaabierta/2013-2016-polarization-and-protests-in-brazil/>
- Bushnell, D., Kittleson, R. A., & Lockhart, J. (2021). History of Latin America. Retrieved June 26, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Latin-America>
- Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. (2002, July). *Guatemala: A demonstration or demonstrations held in front of the United States embassy on or around 1 August 2001; details on who organized it, how many participated, arrests, and whether participants reportedly sought refuge in Casa de Maestros, Zone 1* (GTM39207.E). Retrieved from <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3df4be3910.html>
- Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. (2004, July). *Chile: Whether the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (Frente Patriotico Manuel Rodriguez, FPMR) is still active; if so, whether they were involved in recent illegal activities; whether there is any history of forcible recruitment, specifically of women, into this group (2002 - July 2004)* (CHL42764.E). Retrieved from <https://www.refworld.org/docid/41501bf47.html>
- Caramani, D. (2020). *Comparative Politics* (5th ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Carmack, R. M., Gasco, J. L., & Gossen, G. H. (2006). *The Legacy of Mesoamerica: History and Culture of a Native American Civilization* (2nd ed.). New York, USA: Routledge.
- Chasteen, J. C. (2016). *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America* (4th ed.). New York, USA: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Chatham House. (2021, September 13). Protests in Latin America. Retrieved November 15, 2021, from <https://www.chathamhouse.org/events/all/members-event/protests-latin-america>

- CIPDH-UNESCO. (2021). The March of Mothers of Plaza de Mayo. Retrieved August 9, 2021, from <https://www.cipdh.gob.ar/memorias-situadas/en/lugar-de-memoria/ronda-de-las-madres-de-plaza-de-mayo/>
- Corera, G. (2017, January 17). Why was the Zimmermann Telegram so important? Retrieved June 26, 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-38581861>
- Daniels, J. P. (2019, November 22). Clashes in Colombia as hundreds of thousands protest against government. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/21/colombia-protests-ivan-duque-government>
- Dehne, P. (2014). How important was Latin America to the First World War? *Iberoamericana*, 14(53), 151–164.
- Dictionary of Revolutionary Marxism. (n.d.). Foco Theory. Retrieved November 5, 2021, from <http://www.massline.org/Dictionary/FO.htm>
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2020, May 11). Dirty War. Retrieved August 9, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Dirty-War>
- Encyclopedia Britannica. (2011, December 26). Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Farabundo-Marti-National-Liberation-Front>
- Encyclopedia Britannica. (2013, November 17). Contra: Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/contra-Nicaraguan-counterrevolutionary>
- Encyclopedia Britannica. (2021a, March 10). Uruguay - The struggle for national identity. Retrieved September 30, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Uruguay/The-struggle-for-national-identity#ref407721>

Encyclopedia Britannica. (2021b, June 22). Salvador Allende. Retrieved August 6, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Salvador-Allende#ref125597>

Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.-a). Conquests and Colonization. In *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450*. Retrieved from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/conquests-and-colonization>

Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.-b). National Guatemalan Revolutionary Unity (URNG). Retrieved September 30, 2021, from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/national-guatemalan-revolutionary-unity-urng>

Envio Team. (1991, October). Behind the Birth of the Recontras. *Envio*, 123. Retrieved from <https://www.envio.org.ni>

Farthing, L., & Kohl, B. (2010). Social Control: Bolivia's New Approach to Coca Reduction. *Latin American Perspectives*, 37(4), 197–213. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582x10372516>

Feldmann, A. (2005). A Shift in the Paradigm of Violence: Non-Governmental Terrorism in Latin America since the End of the Cold War. *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 25(2), 3–36. <https://doi.org/10.4067/s0718-090x2005000200001>

Frajman, E. (2009). Information and Values in Popular Protests: Costa Rica in 2000. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 28(1), 44–62. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1470-9856.2008.00289.x>

Freedom House. (2021). Explore the Map. Retrieved December 11, 2021, from <https://freedomhouse.org/explore-the-map?type=fiw&year=2021>

Furlong, W. L. (1993). Panama: The Difficult Transition Towards Democracy. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 35(3), 19–64. <https://doi.org/10.2307/165968>

Gale Research Inc. (2006a). *Extremist Groups: Information for Students* (Vol. 1). Farmington Hills, USA: Thomson Gale.

Gale Research Inc. (2006b). *Extremist Groups: Information for Students* (Vol. 2). Farmington Hills, USA: Thomson Gale.

Garelli, S. L. (2008, December 15). Paraguay protesters take tractors to the streets - CNN.com. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from

<http://edition.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/americas/12/15/paraguay.protests/index.html>

Global Nonviolent Action Database. (2021). Mexican citizens massively protest presidential election results, 2006 | Global Nonviolent Action Database. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/mexican-citizens-massively-protest-presidential-election-results-2006>

Global Terrorism Database. (n.d.). GTD - Global Terrorism Database. Retrieved June 18, 2021, from <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>

GlobalSecurity.org. (2016, August 29). Paraguayan People's Army (Ejército del Pueblo Paraguayo - EPP). Retrieved September 12, 2021, from <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/epp.htm>

Goebel, M., & Tato, M. I. (2015). Making sense of the war (Latin America). 1914-1918 Online. Published. <https://doi.org/10.15463/ie1418.1071>

Goni, U. (2001, December 21). Argentina collapses into chaos. Retrieved July 26, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/dec/21/argentina.ukigoni>

Gonzalez, R., & Morán, C. L. F. (2020). The 2019–2020 Chilean protests: A first look at their causes and participants. *International Journal of Sociology*, 50(3), 227–235. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207659.2020.1752499>

Grant, K. (2021, April 23). EPL. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/epl/>

- Harten, S. (2011). *The Rise of Evo Morales and the MAS*. London, United Kingdom: Zed Books.
- Hoffmann, B., & Mehler, A. (2015). Area studies. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/area-studies>
- Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, USA: Yale University Press.
- Inclán, M. (2012). Zapatista and counter-Zapatista protests. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(3), 459–472. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343311434238>
- Insight Crime. (2017, March 7). EPR. Retrieved August 26, 2021, from <https://insightcrime.org/mexico-organized-crime-news/epr-guerrillas-mexico/>
- Institute for Economics & Peace. (2017). *Global Terrorism Index 2017*. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Global%20Terrorism%20Index%202017%20%284%29.pdf>
- Jensen, R. B. (1981). The International Anti-Anarchist Conference of 1898 and the Origins of Interpol. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 16(2), 323–347.
- Kay, C. (2001). Reflections on rural violence in Latin America. *Third World Quarterly*, 22(5), 741–775. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590120084584>
- Khol, B. (1992, January 21). Uruguay: Trade Unions Protest Privatization, Wage Deregulation. Retrieved August 9, 2021, from <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/notisur/8174>
- Kohl, B. (1991, December 19). Uruguay: General Strike To Protest Government Economic Policies. Retrieved August 9, 2021, from <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/notisur/7981>
- LADB Staff. (1995). *Costa Rican Teaches End Strike After Government Promises to Negotiate*. Retrieved from <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/notisur/11999>

- Lambert, P., & Nickson, A. (Eds.). (1997). *The Transition to Democracy in Paraguay* (1st ed.). London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Landman, T. (2003). *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Landman, T., & Robinson, N. (2009). Introduction. In T. Landman & N. Robinson (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Comparative Politics* (pp. 1–11). London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Latinobarometro. (2018). *Latinobarometro Report 2018*. Retrieved December 25, 2021, from <https://www.latinobarometro.org/latContents.jsp>
- Latinobarometro. (2021). *Latinobarometro Report 2021*. Retrieved December 25, 2021, from <https://www.latinobarometro.org/latContents.jsp>
- Lee, C. (2011). The FARC and the Colombian Left. *Latin American Perspectives*, 39(1), 28–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582x11423227>
- Levitsky, S. (1998). Crisis, Party Adaptation and Regime Stability in Argentina. *Party Politics*, 4(4), 445–470. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068898004004003>
- Lijphart, A. (1971). Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method. *American Political Science Review*, 65(3), 682–693. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1955513>
- Magalhaes, L., & Jelmayer, R. (2015, March 16). Mass Protests Across Brazil Reflect Anger at President. Retrieved August 9, 2021, from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/protesters-across-brazil-demonstrate-against-president-on-sunday-1426448960>
- Mapping Militants Organizations. (2018, June). The United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia, AUC. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/united-self-defense-forces-colombia#highlight_text_14354

- Markey, P. (2008, February 5). Colombians take to streets in huge anti-FARC march. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-colombia-hostages-idUSN0459656620080205>
- Martin, G. (2011). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Terrorism, Second Edition* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, USA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Mass Mobilization Data Project. (n.d.). The Mass Mobilization Project. Retrieved June 18, 2021, from <https://massmobilization.github.io/about.html>
- Maya, M. L. (2003). The Venezuelan Caracazo of 1989: Popular Protest and Institutional Weakness. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 35(1), 117–137. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022216x02006673>
- Maya, M. L., & Lander, L. (2005). Popular Protest in Venezuela. *Latin American Perspectives*, 32(2), 92–108. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582x04273870>
- McFarlane, A. (2014). *War and Independence in Spanish America*. New York, USA: Routledge.
- McMaken, R. (2016, September 8). Latin America's Pink Tide Crashes on the Rocks. Retrieved April 27, 2021, from <https://mises.org/wire/latin-americas-pink-tide-crashes-rocks>
- McVeigh, K. (2020, October 15). Over 100,000 have fled Nicaragua since brutal 2018 crackdown, says UN. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/mar/11/over-100000-have-fled-nicaragua-since-brutal-2018-crackdown-says-un>
- Mielke, K., & Hornidge, A. (2017). *Area Studies at the Crossroads: Knowledge Production after the Mobility Turn* (1st ed.). New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59834-9>
- Mill, J. S. (1843). *System of Logic*. London, UK: John W. Parker.

- Minorities at Risk Project. (2004). Refworld | Chronology for Indigenous Peoples in Honduras. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from <https://www.refworld.org/docid/469f38941e.html>
- Minster, C. (2018, June 12). La Navidad: First European Settlement in the Americas. Retrieved June 26, 2021, from <https://www.thoughtco.com/la-navidad-first-european-settlement-2136439>
- Miroff, N. (2015, November 28). Cuba sees rare protest as migration tensions rise. Retrieved July 28, 2021, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/rare-protest-in-cuba-as-migration-tensions-rise/2015/11/27/5201645a-953a-11e5-8aa0-5d0946560a97_story.html
- National Geographic Society. (2013, April 18). Bering Land Bridge. Retrieved November 4, 2021, from <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/photo/bering-land-bridge/>
- National Geographic Society. (2014, May 6). Jun 7, 1494 CE: Treaty of Tordesillas. Retrieved June 26, 2021, from <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/thisday/jun7/treaty-tordesillas/>
- Nelson, B. A. (2021, July 24). Hugo Chávez - The Chávez presidency. Retrieved July 28, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hugo-Chavez/The-Chavez-presidency>
- Pappier, J., & Johnson, K. (2020, October 28). Does the FARC still exist? Challenges in Assessing Colombia's 'Post Conflict' under International Humanitarian Law. Retrieved November 16, 2021, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/10/22/does-farc-still-exist-challenges-assessing-colombias-post-conflict-under>
- PBS. (2008, June 15). Colombia's Civil Warrior: AUC Paramilitaries. Retrieved November 17, 2021, from <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/uncategorized/colombias-civil-warriors-auc-paramilitaries/574/>

- PBS. (2011, March 7). Timeline: Guatemala's Brutal Civil War. Retrieved August 4, 2021, from https://www.pbs.org/newshour/health/latin_america-jan-june11-timeline_03-07
- Peters, B. G. (2020). Approaches In Comparative Politics. In D. Caramani (Ed.), *Comparative Politics* (5th ed., pp. 50–67). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Rebon, J. (2018, December 12). The politics of protest in Argentina. Retrieved August 9, 2021, from <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/democraciaabierta/politics-of-protest-in-argentina/>
- Remmer, K. L. (1992). The process of democratization in Latin America. *Studies In Comparative International Development*, 27(4), 3–24.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/bf02687137>
- Rivera, S. V. (2019). *Political Networks and Social Movements: Bolivian State–Society Relations under Evo Morales, 2006–2016 (CEDLA Latin America Studies, 106)* (1st ed.). New York, USA: Berghahn Books.
- Robles, F. (2021, July 12). Cubans Denounce ‘Misery’ in Biggest Protests in Decades. Retrieved July 28, 2021, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/11/world/americas/cuba-crisis-protests.html>
- Rodriguez, A. (2017, June 19). A “Green Tide” Engulfs the D.R. Retrieved August 3, 2021, from [https://nacla.org/news/2017/06/19/"green-tide"-engulfs-dr](https://nacla.org/news/2017/06/19/)
- Rosenthal, G. (2001). The Peace Process in Guatemala and the Role of Third Parties. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 8(1), 55–59.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/15718110120908169>
- Sil, R., & Ahram, A. I. (2020). Comparative Area Studies and the Study of the Global South. *Vestnik RUDN. International Relations*, 20(2), 279–287.
<https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-0660-2020-20-2-279-287>

- Silva, E. (2009). *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803222>
- Sims, C. (1996, April 25). Paraguay Averts a Military Coup, but the Deal Outrages Many. Retrieved August 4, 2021, from <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/04/25/world/paraguay-averts-a-military-coup-but-the-deal-outrages-many.html>
- Stanford University. (2019, July). MMP: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). Retrieved September 19, 2021, from https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/revolutionary-armed-forces-colombia-farc#text_block_17686
- Starn, O. (1995). Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path and the Refusal of History. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 27(2), 399–421. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022216x00010804>
- Stewart, H. (2002, August 3). Uruguay riots fuel fear of financial meltdown. Retrieved August 8, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/aug/03/heatherstewart>
- Sullivan, M. P., & Beittel, J. S. (2016). *Latin America: Terrorism Issues* (CRS Report No. RS21049). Congressional Research Service. Retrieved from <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/RS/RS21049/54>
- Teichman, J. (2019). The Washington Consensus in Latin America. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Published. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1653>
- The Associated Press. (1994, August 6). Protesters Battle Police in Havana; Castro Warns U.S. *The New York Times*, p. 2.

- The Economist. (2000, January 27). Ecuador's post-coup reckoning. Retrieved August 6, 2021, from <https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2000/01/27/ecuadors-post-coup-reckoning>
- The Economist. (2001, August 30). Despair and anger. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from <https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2001/08/30/despair-and-anger>
- Tornarolli, L., Ciaschi, M., & Galeano, L. (2018, September). *Income Distribution in Latin America. The Evolution in the Last 20 Years: A Global Approach*. CEDLAS. Retrieved from https://www.cedlas.econo.unlp.edu.ar/wp/wp-content/uploads/doc_cedlas234.pdf
- Tuckman, J. (2014, October 20). Mexico on the brink: thousands to protest over widespread corruption and student massacre. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/20/mexico-protests-anti-government-anger-violence-students-president>
- Uppsala University Department of Peace and Conflict Research. (2021). UCDP Methodology. Retrieved August 22, 2021, from <https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/methodology/>
- U.S. Department of State. (2016, June). *Country Reports on Terrorism 2015*. Retrieved from <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2015/index.htm>
- Velasco, M. (2007). *Manifesting the people's will: Institutional change and protests in Colombia, 1958–2002* (3232927). Boston University. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing. Retrieved from <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/manifesting-peoples-will-institutional-change/docview/304898310/se-2?accountid=17381>
- Walker, P. (2007, July 6). More than 1m protest kidnappings in Colombia. Retrieved August 10, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jul/06/colombia.peterwalker>

- Watts, J. (2013, June 21). Brazil erupts in protest: more than a million on the streets. Retrieved July 28, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/21/brazil-police-crowds-rio-protest>
- Watts, J. (2017, November 29). “The oppression is high”: Cuban police break up protest ahead of Obama’s visit. Retrieved July 28, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/20/cuba-obama-visit-anti-castro-protesters-clash>
- Wickham-Crowley, T. P. (1992). *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956* (1st ed.). Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Wickham-Crowley, T. P. (2014). Two “Waves” of Guerrilla-Movement Organizing in Latin America, 1956–1990. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 56(1), 215–242. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0010417513000674>
- Wilgress, M. (2019, November 14). The Far-Right Coup in Bolivia. Retrieved July 28, 2021, from <https://jacobinmag.com/2019/11/bolivia-coup-evo-morales-jeanine-anes-indigenous-violence>
- Williams, M. E. (2017). Revisiting the Cold War in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review*, 52(5), 916–924. <https://doi.org/10.25222/larr.229>
- Williams, M. T. (1974). Integralism and the Brazilian Catholic Church. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 54(3), 431–452. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2512932>