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Pending and Emerging Methodological
Reflections on the New Epistemologies of
the Global South

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EDITORIAL

Reflexiones metodológicas pendientes y emergentes frente a las nuevas epistemologías del Sur Global

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Resumen

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Presentación de la temática del dossier “Reflexiones metodológicas pendientes y emergentes frente a las nuevas epistemologías del Sur Global”, el cual introduce un conjunto reflexiones metodológicas que buscan trascender las tensiones entre los cánones metodológicos tradiciones y los cambios paradigmáticos que las Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades han atravesado en las últimas décadas en la Latinoamérica y el Caribe o Abya Yala.

Palabras-clave: Metodologías; Sur Global; Ciencias Sociales, Humanidades.

Este dossier se pensó como una contribución a las reflexiones metodológicas ante los cambios paradigmáticos que tanto las Ciencias Sociales como las

Humanidades han atravesado en las últimas décadas en la Latinoamérica y el Caribe o Abya Yala¹.

Recordemos que con el reconocimiento geoepestémico del “Sur Global” comenzaron a cuestionarse los modos occidente-centrados² de producción del conocimiento y; como corolario, aumentó el interés por los saberes que se desarrollaban en los márgenes del sistema occidental, colonial, capitalista y patriarcal. Con esto se diversificaron los ámbitos de problematización en las Ciencias Sociales y las Humanidades, se valorizaron nuevos sujetos, nuevos tópicos y nuevas perspectivas de abordaje y construcción de saberes.

Específicamente, en Latinoamérica y el Caribe/Abya Yala, este proceso constituyó un escenario heterogéneo de reflexiones en el que, por un lado, se recuperaron las epistemologías críticas que habían planeado el pensamiento anti o contracolonial de autores como Franz Fanon o Fausto Reinaga; el pensamiento (teología, filosofía, sociología) de la liberación, el colonialismo interno (Pablo González Casanova y Rodolfo Stavenhagen); las teorías de la dependencia; el feminismo chicano, por mencionar los más significativos. Se repasaron, también, las contribuciones hechas por Edward Said en *Orientalismo*, las críticas al universalismo europeo del pensamiento poscolonial y los cuestionamientos a la historiografía que realizara el Grupo de Estudios Subalterno.

Por otro lado, se enhebraron tres novedosos campos de reflexión: el Grupo Modernidad/ Colonialidad, que devendrá luego en el pensamiento descolonial en sus diferentes corrientes; el Grupo de Estudios Subalternos Latinoamericanos y los Estudios Poscoloniales Latinoamericanos. Todos sentaron los fundamentos epistémicos y teóricos para el conocimiento de/sobre/para el Sur Global.

Ahora bien, a más de veinte años de la emergencia de este escenario, y habiéndose ampliado las perspectivas y diversificado los enfoques en aquellos tres campos de reflexión, no se ha generado aún una renovación metodológica significativa que acompañe y sostenga las investigaciones inscriptas en las epistemologías del Sur Global.

Esto no quiere decir que no hubiera reflexiones en este sentido. En algún momento se reconoció la experiencia de trabajo en Bolivia del Taller de Historia Oral Andina, que comienza a mediados de la década de 1980, en el que participa de manera activa Silvia Rivera (1987/2010) Cusicanqui, quien más tarde trabajar

1. Abya Yala es el nombre indígena con el que se denomina a Latinoamérica. El vocablo proviene del idioma guna / kuna, Pueblo Indígena del Panamá. Desde la década de los 90 es ampliamente usado por diversos Pueblos y Nacionalidades Indígenas para disputar los nombres asignados por los colonizadores y las elites criollas al continente (Nuevo Mundo, América Latina, Latinoamérica). También lo utilizamos en los ámbitos académicos replicando el gesto y la disputa indígena. Abya Yala significa Tierra Madura o Tierra en Plena Madurez.

2. Tomo esta expresión de Nira Yuval-Davis (2004) quien indica que el concepto permite resaltar, frente al concepto de “eurocentricidad” que el “occidente” se extendió más allá de Europa.

sobre la “sociología de la imagen”. Aparece el enfoque de la “semiopraxis” de José Luis Grosso (2008) (desde inicios de la década del 2000) y la propuesta de transitar de la “objetualización hacia la situacionalidad” en la “nometodología” o la “metodología indisciplinada” de Alejandro Haber (2011), a principios de 2010. Más recientemente, Mariana Alvarado y Alejandro de Oto (2017) reúnen en un texto una diversidad de discusiones multidisciplinares sobre las “Metodologías en contexto” y, también, cabe mencionar la reciente recepción de la experiencia de investigación con Pueblos indígenas en Nueva Zelanda de Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2016), una vez que su obra (publicada originalmente a mediados de la década de 1990) es traducida al español en el año 2016.

Sin embargo, esas reflexiones mantienen todavía un lugar rezagado frente a los cánones metodológicos tradicionales, provocando una tensión entre la episteme y los procedimientos de construcción de los corpus para el análisis. A esto debemos añadir que la reemergencia feminista de los últimos años y el pensamiento ambiental introdujeron nuevas discusiones paradigmáticas a las que debemos atender, y que quedan en evidencia en este dossier.

En consecuencia, las reflexiones metodológicas en relación a las epistemologías del Sur Global están emergentes y abiertas. Por eso propusimos este espacio de reflexión, para problematizar sobre las posibilidades y las limitaciones de los enfoques metodológicos tradicionales frente a aquellos renovados marcos epistémicos; para dar visibilidad a nuevas estrategias de investigación, de comunicación, de socialización y de construcción recíproca del conocimiento.

Los tres primeros artículos del dossier se posicionan en las reflexiones desde los feminismos. El primero: “Entre coaliciones, articulaciones y difracciones: hacia una pedagogía feminista” de Mariana Alvarado y Victoria Martínez, reflexiona sobre las prácticas de investigación y pedagógicas a partir de un tema espinoso: “los escraches hacia varones cis”, apelando al recurso de las “Narrativas ficcionadas” como facilitador de conversaciones. El segundo: “Narrar(nos) desde el cuerpo-territorio. Nuevos apuntes para un pensamiento situado y metodologías en contexto”, de Ana Britos-Castro y Sofía Zurbriggen, plantean el desafío de la co-construcción de metodologías de investigación alternativas a partir de tres ejes conceptuales: “cuerpo-territorio”, “teoría viva” e “intersubjetividad política”. Siguiendo con la centralidad de la categoría política de “cuerpo”, el artículo: “Desplazamientos corporales de una mujer afrodescendiente desde la deshumanización de los cuerpos racializados” de Adriana Arroyo Ortega, muestra los trazos de la deshumanización y constricción corporal que produce el racismo, a partir del análisis de la narrativa de una experiencia de inserción universitaria de una mujer afrodescendiente.

Los artículos siguientes de Carolina María Horta Gaviria y Margarita Marcela García Rodríguez: “La industria minera en Latinoamérica” y; el de Ana

Júlia Mourão Salheb do Amaral y Luis Miguel Barboza Arias: “El futuro posible: (Contra) narrativas de desarrollo para pensar América Latina en el contexto de la pandemia de Covid-19”, dejan en evidencia a partir de análisis comparado de casos, los desafíos metodológicos todavía abiertos para las perspectivas críticas al desarrollo, el extractivismo y la apropiación de la naturaleza.

Finalmente, el artículo “Derechos humanos, Antropología y Comunicación. Implicancias de una investigación comprometida con las luchas indígenas (Salta, Argentina)”, de María Paula Milana y Emilia Villagra reflexiona sobre las prácticas de investigación, extensión y colaboración en un trabajo con Pueblos Indígenas, reparando en los desafíos de las fronteras disciplinares para la investigación y, más contextualmente, en los retos que significó investigar a partir de la pandemia por el COVID-19.

La pluralidad que presentan los trabajos reafirma que la agenda está abierta. Esperamos, entonces, contribuir al debate y propiciar la continuidad de las reflexiones en torno a esta temática.

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(PENDING AND EMERGING METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE NEW EPISTEMOLOGIES OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH)

Between Coalitions, Articulations and Diffractions: Toward a Feminist Pedagogy*

[English Version]

Entre coaliciones, articulaciones y difracciones:
hacia una pedagogía feminista

Entre coalizões, articulações e difrações:
Em direção a uma pedagogia feminista

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Abstract

Objective: this paper seeks to account for the path experienced from certain epistemic-methodological key elements, and from certain practices located in/ from the southern feminisms. It takes as a starting point actions of protests against cis men as an enclave for the analysis of their testimonies accounting for the multiple space-times that were specified during the investigation. It seeks to provide materiality to an epistemology of coalitions in which the translation, the fictionalized narrative and thinking

* This research is part of the dialogues shared during 2021 based on common points in work plans in the framework of the preparation and presentation of a Multi-year Research Project (PIP-CONICET, 2021) on "Practices, knowledge, territories: Articulations between academia and activism."

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in conversation, one together with the other, were central devices. **Methodology:** as the axis of this methodology, the fictional narratives, based on testimonies, resulting conversations, discussions, debates, and coalitions, and diffracted a collective elaboration of materials that enable thinking of pedagogical strategies in a feminist element. Some of the inquiries that emerge and are plotted in this writing refer to: what has been the methodological renewal of southern feminisms? What epistemological tensions, conflicts, emergences, blindness and deafness make southern feminisms visible? To what extent does the displacement of subject-object to subject-subjectxs foster other forms of knowledge production? What risks are confronted if new masculinities are included as informants to think about protests? What are the variations that the fictional narrative enables? Why does its productive power drive from representation to diffraction? At what point does one assume a pedagogy of desire as a creative anchor? Why would this pedagogy overflow the known channels of all possible pedagogy? Would diffractions make an epistemology of coalitions possible? **Results:** in the framework of this itinerary, a feminist pedagogy develops based on an epistemology of location, positioning and articulations.

Keywords: Southern feminisms; Feminist methodologies; Epistemology of coalitions; Feminist pedagogies; Fictional narratives.

Resumen

Objetivo: este escrito busca dar cuenta del camino experimentado desde ciertas claves epistémico-metodológicas, y a partir de ciertas prácticas situadas en/desde los feminismos del Sur. Toma como punto de partida acciones de escrache hacia varones cis como enclave del análisis de sus testimonios para dar cuenta de los múltiples espacio-tiempos que fuimos precisando durante la investigación, a fin de dar materialidad a una epistemología de las coaliciones; en la que la traducción, la narrativa ficcionada y el pensar en conversación una junta a les otros, resultaron los dispositivos centrales.

Metodología: como eje de esta metodología, las narrativas ficcionadas, a partir de testimonios propiciaron conversaciones, discusiones, debates, coaliciones y difractaron una elaboración colectiva de materiales que habilita a pensar estrategias pedagógicas en clave feminista. Algunas de las preguntas de indagación que atraviesan y se traman en este escrito refieren a: ¿cuál ha sido la renovación metodológica que propician los feminismos del sur?, ¿qué tensiones, conflictos, emergencias, cegueras y sorderas epistemológicas visibilizan los feminismos del sur?, ¿en qué medida el desplazamiento sujeto-objeto a sujeta-sujetxs propicia otras formas de producción de conocimiento?, ¿cuáles riesgos corremos si incluimos a nuevas masculinidades como informantes para pensar los escraches?, ¿cuáles son las variaciones que habilita la narrativa ficcionada?,

¿por qué su potencia productiva nos corre de la representación a la difracción?, ¿en qué momento asumimos una pedagogía del deseo como anclaje creativo?, ¿por qué esa pedagogía desbordaría los canales conocidos de toda pedagogía posible?, ¿cómo esas difracciones posibilitarían una epistemología de las coaliciones? **Resultados:** en el marco de este itinerario devino una pedagogía feminista sustentada en una epistemología de la localización, del posicionamiento y de las articulaciones.

Palabras-clave: Feminismos del sur; Metodologías feministas; Epistemología de las coaliciones; Pedagogías feministas; Narrativas ficcionadas.

Resumo

Objetivo: este trabalho procura dar conta do caminho experimentado a partir de certas chaves epistêmico-metodológicas, e de certas práticas situadas desde os feminismos do Sul. O ponto de partida para a análise de seus testemunhos é tomar como enclave as ações de escravidão contra os homens cis, a fim de dar conta dos múltiplos espaços de tempo que especificamos durante a pesquisa, a fim de dar materialidade a uma epistemologia de coalizões, na qual a tradução, a narrativa ficcionalizada e o pensamento em conversa com os outros foram os dispositivos centrais. **Metodologia:** como eixo desta metodologia, as narrativas ficcionadas, baseadas em testemunhos, encorajaram conversas, discussões, debates, coalizões e difundiram uma elaboração coletiva de materiais que nos permite pensar em estratégias pedagógicas de caráter feminista. Algumas das questões de indagação que se colocam e se tecem neste documento referem-se a: qual renovação metodológica tem sido trazida pelos feminismos do sul?, que tensões, conflitos, emergências, cegueira e pontos cegos epistemológicos os feminismos do sul tornam visíveis?, até que ponto o sujeito-objeto a sujeito-sujeito muda de assunto traz outras formas de produção de conhecimento?, e até que ponto o sujeito-objeto a sujeito muda de assunto traz outras formas de produção de conhecimento?, que riscos corremos se incluirmos novas masculinidades como informantes para pensar sobre os escraches?, quais são as variações possibilitadas pela narrativa ficcionada?, por que seu poder produtivo nos move da representação para a difração?, em que ponto assumimos uma pedagogia do desejo como ancoragem criativa?, por que uma tal pedagogia transbordaria os canais conhecidos de qualquer possível pedagogia?, como tais difrações permitiriam uma epistemologia de coalizões? **Resultados:** no âmbito deste itinerário, uma pedagogia feminista baseada numa epistemologia de localização, posicionamento e articulações evoluiu.

Palavras-chave: Feminismos do Sul; Metodologias feministas; Epistemologia das coalizões; Pedagogias feministas; Narrativas ficcionalizadas.

Introduction

In this precarious beginning, the collective convenes for the act of unentangling oneself from the other. The procedure summons the meeting between those who take the voice and those who are listening in an epistemology of coalitions.

In this allied beginning, one allows oneself to disbelieve, in terms of bell hooks (1992/1984), and to inhabit disagreement, in terms of Catalina Trebisacce (2018), to propitiate spaces/times of productive discomfort. One does not intend to discover what one supposes or demonstrate what is anticipated; in any case, the authors hope to enable emergences in that which is articulated to configure a situated point of view, in context, local-global in/from the relativity of privileges. And, in tune with Trebisacce, reviewing the '*fráxitos*'¹ in which contemporary feminisms² are modulated to embrace or detach, to meet or miss, to celebrate or grieve, to lose oneself or survive, but, in any case, betting on a politics of coalitions (Haraway, 1995) that allows to wishing for other possible worlds and making other lives lovable.

The names of feminism allude, elude, delude in their power, with their flashes, resonances and reverberations, but also from their appropriations and modes of

1. The term "fráxitos" is proposed by Brad Epps in his paper "Los 'fráxitos' de la disidencia sexual en la época de la globalización neoliberal" (2018). In this paper, the author analyzes the current trends of LGBTIQ activisms from an interpretative sign of the minority, alternative, and dissident desire crisis. This crisis is not a cause of an established Western world arrangement that condemns, persecutes and annuls such desire, but rather endorses, protects, and assimilates it. Within a contradictory scenario of valuation, criticism, and reflection, the author remarks that the project's success on civil vindication has generated a "homonormativity" whose main values are monogamy, marriage and family, individualism, competitiveness, economic profit, psychophysical well-being, and bodily attractiveness. Meaning, values associated with a success concept of neoliberal capitalism. According to Epps, this process is seen and experienced by a whole group of people as a total or partial failure. Thus, in his article, he proposes "fraxito" as a neologism to designate a synthesis of "failure" and "success," take up questions already raised by other activists and critics of the movement ("How can the deconstructive impulse retain its critical energy before its own success?"), and capture what happens in the "in between" of failure and success that is an always mutably reversible, conjunctural, and situated scenario.

2. Specifically to the limited time since the enactment of Law 26150 on Comprehensive Sex Education (CSE), the curricular guidelines for comprehensive sex education (2008), Law 26618 on Equal Marriage (2010), the Law 26904 Incorporation into the penal code of grooming as a crime against sexual integrity, Law 27234 on the Prevention and Eradication of Gender Violence, Ni Una Menos June 3, 2015 (Not one less), the First Strike of Women in Argentina (October 19, 2016) (Gago, 2021), the treatment of the IVP Law (Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy) in 2018 (Argentina.gob.ar, sf), the debate in the National Congress around the IVP, a project prepared by the National Campaign for the Right to Abortion, Legal, Safe and Free (2006) (REDAAS, 2019), approved in the Chambers of Deputies on December 14, June and rejected in Senators (August 8, 2018), the Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy Law approved in December 2020.

circulation, and by those who read, repeat and found them; for the open debates, the sustained controversies and the pendular enjoyments; even there, when it has been depoliticized, commodified, mediated, in its emergencies, its overflows and rampages, from its specific forms of resilience and brotherhood. (Alvarado, Fischetti, 2018, 89)

Astride uncertain feminisms (Luongo, n.d.) and rhapsodic feminisms (flores, 2015), one articulates oneself without certainties, without anticipations, without a previous scheme, between fluid borders, the academy wandering toward an altering epistemology that takes the fictional story as methodical; to speak again, neither about the others nor for them, but even against oneself (flores, 2019), performing from the body what remains to be said in writing. As she says:

Microfeminisms that do not seek to prescribe new models of behavior or digitize what practices to prohibit, or what behaviors to challenge, or what fantasies to ban, or what forms of fornicating to legitimize, or what anatomically fit subjects to authorize for the fight. They are rhapsodic feminisms, of tense and interrogative coexistence of many languages and bodies — without aspirations of coherence — which with their practices constitute an opening of possibilities to disturb one's own life and re-think emancipatory practices. (flores, 2019, 1)

One is concerned about the place where desire and new meanings regarding ties survive in times of disenchantment, misunderstandings and disagreements; particularly in sexual-affective relationships and friendships between peers. “The patriarchy is falling” (are being thrown away) and the urgent and necessary shocks drive one to think and feel everything again. Can one, in this state of affairs, move toward new policies of ties and new pedagogies of desire toward an ironic and creative feminism that, in the words of Val flores, does not retreat into denunciation, but instead, deploys a radical political imagination?

Along with the concern for desire, and for learning to say it, there is also an urgent desire for justice and reparation for the wounds in one's body and memories. Could it be that from feminisms one enables new possibilities of justice?

From the audibility of testimonies of hetero cis male demonstrators³ one stammers fictional stories or, fictionalizes narratives; that is, one names experiences of strangeness whose materiality has been liquefied in/by the patriarchal structure. This political gesture against the grain of what could immediately be weighed assumes the performative power of testimony, as it

3. The testimonies from which the fictional narratives were produced are from men who were found guilty on social networks, without criminal complaints, in contexts of relationships among peers (circles of friendship and sexual-affective relationships).

bursts in and interrupts certain alliances and complicities to subvert the implicit agreement and manage the disagreement in the epistemological articulation and the political coalition, to ruminate what is socially enabled, even by and for oneself. A discursive production that is not representation but diffraction of meanings that stress and dispute spaces/times of listening, audibility, interpretation and (re)appropriation. Urgent fictional narratives to say what could not be said, to hear what could not be heard, a procedure of dismantling and unentangling.

Methodological Considerations

Fictionalize How to Write against Oneself

One writes against oneself configuring fictional narratives listening to the voices of men. One writes against oneself with the dizzying sensation of escaping from the security of the I, the me, the you, the us; dislocated from the certainties built from the academy and life. Listening, analysis, dialogue and writing knotted in an epistemology of articulation that is mirrored in a methodology that tests new forms. The path has already been walked by some, who narrate the following (flores, 2009, 2).

The openness of listening to these voices is a strange experience. There are no certainties about “what to do?” in the face of contradictions revealed by the unveiling of pain. One surrenders to the shelter of the collective embrace that one knew how to achieve #yositcreo, #nonoscallamosmas, #mirácomonosponemos, in the face of denial, distrust, the doubts cast on a woman when she raises her voice to say that she has stopped consenting to an approach. Although one does not consider the pain of those who denounce sexist violence to be the same as those who are presumed to have participated in aggravating acts such as abuse, harassment, rape, configuring crimes against sexual integrity. Nor does one write from the legal field, that is why one does not seek to make moral judgments about culprits, victims-victimizers, convictions or punishments. One opens of listening, makes one’s gaze more complex and modulates questions before the overflow that implies taking charge of some wounds, damages and desires at stake through a writing that modulates, interrupts and diffracts from the story.

The authors maintain that feminist theory questions positivist methodological strategies, heirs to Western and patriarchal theories (Harding, 1998; Haraway, 1995). One returns to this interpellation to think of methodologies that broaden the horizon of what can be said, what can be listened to and the ways to access it; as well as the relationships between the subjects involved in the research process. Hence, in what has been traveled during this investigation, desires of other epistemologies, methodologies, and pedagogies are knotted, traversed by the gestures of listening, reading, conversing and the collective proposition as an emergent.

The authors assume in line with Sandra Harding (1987) that epistemology is a theory of knowledge that comes to justify who can be the subject/s of knowledge, as well as which tests are subjected to certain beliefs to legitimize themselves as knowledge.

The methodology refers to the theory and analysis of the procedures followed by the investigation. Data collection techniques such as listening to certain informants or observing the behavior of such people refer to the method, that is, to the way of proceeding. It is in this framework that some questions configure research problems that cross and operate throughout this document: what has been the methodological renewal that southern feminisms promote? What epistemological tensions, conflicts, emergences, blindness and deafness make southern feminisms visible? To what extent does the displacement of subject-object to subject-subjects foster other forms of knowledge production? The listening or the materials with which one chooses to deal with in the investigation could (dis)locate one as allies of the patriarchy? What risks does one run if one includes new masculinities as informants to think about demonstrations? Inhabit a space for conversation between cis women? and lesbians would place one in symmetrical positions when thinking about sexist violence? Who is affected immediately and during the research process? To what extent does the authors' position as researchers within the framework of this inquiry manage renewed uses of the techniques traditionally known by the social sciences? How does one record these conditions and what place do they occupy in the article? Enable silences, absences, elusions, allusions from the translation? what are the variations that the fictional narrative enables? Why does its productive power take one from representation to diffraction? At what moment does one assume a pedagogy of desire as a creative anchor? Why would this pedagogy overflow the known channels of all possible pedagogy? How would these diffractions make an epistemology of coalitions possible?

The presence of fictional procedures in the social sciences proposes divergent ways of building knowledge (flores, 2009) by involving invention, analogy, creativity and, therefore, critical and questioning thinking. Postclassical

narratology allows understanding that writers and readers are immersed in stereotyped plots of meaning in which there is a certain stability about what can be told, and a certain tolerance about what can be heard. This could well configure epistemological deafness that enables emergences of divergent meaning or even apathy to intervene immediately. In this sense, questioned by stories that resist being explained, the gesture that translates into fiction allows returning to certain accounting testimonies, investigating the possibilities of narration, telling them again, in another way and opening their audibility (Klein, 2017).

Consider, together with Chandra Mohanty (2020), that there are connections between consciousness, identity, and writing. The authors affirm that the narratives written by individual subjects, although they refer to contexts and are intersected by race, sexuality, social class, and gender, are important to examining the development of political consciousness. Mohanty particularly refers to the writing of Third World women's narratives as a possibility for the formation of a politicized consciousness and identity:

Writing often becomes the context through which new political identities are forged. It becomes a space for fighting and contesting reality itself. If the everyday world is not transparent and its power relations—its organizations and institutional frames of reference—work to hide and make invisible power hierarchies (Smith, 1987), it becomes imperative that one rethink, remember, and use lived relationships as a knowledge base. Writing (discursive production) is an opportunity to produce this knowledge and consciousness. (2020, pp. 119-120)

Although the narratives with which the authors have worked correspond to cis male subjects, with relative privileges in the social structure, the authors consider that the potential of these narratives is put into play when they are read by others.

After all, it's not just about recording our individual history of struggle or awareness; what is significant are the different ways in which these stories are recorded, the way we read and receive them, and the ways we use to spread these imaginary records. (Mohanty, 2020, p. 119)

The authors established some steps around audibility/legibility that enabled the translation of testimony to fictional narratives. A first step was to contact men who were willing to give testimony. After the consultation, a date and time for the online meeting was agreed upon. This instance implied

listening from an exercise of audibility to capture what one could not or did not want to “empathize” with.

The authors previously organized a guide of open-ended questions, sensitive to the emergence of the story and in no way behavioral. This guide was mainly aimed at asking the following questions: how would you describe what happened, what happened to family, friendship, work, sexual and emotional ties after what happened?, why the events that were triggered collapsed in that situation?, how did you feel?, what happened with what happened to you?, could it have happened in a different way?, what other resolution could it have had?, how could it have been resolved? In the consultation, as well as in the formulation of the questions, the authors tried not to use the term “demonstrator” or “demonstrated”; it seemed relevant only to identify if these terms appeared, if they recognized themselves there, if any of the actions could be labeled as such by them. The authors were also interested in identifying if any other terms appeared, such as: shame, guilt, innocence, reparation, damage, re-linking, victim, desire, consent, jealousy.

From these testimonies, from the fluctuations of the story, from what was heard and what became audible, the authors translated two fictionalized narratives. Each of the testimonies, by its own particularities, referred to new questions that encouraged one to think about how to notice their disruptive power in others. From these questions the authors take elements for fictionalization: what voices, what faces, what bodies appear in this story?, how are affective and sex-love bonds managed?, what does it mean to take care?, how to take care of oneself?, how to inhabit the (hetero)sexual erotic if not from experience?, what does it mean to remove the body from behaviors rooted in the dynamics of the sex-gender system?, how to (dis)assemble the power matrix that sustains the sexual division?, what are the ways of encountering the sexual division? What does it mean to remove the body from the behaviors rooted in the dynamics of the sex-gender system? how to (dis)assemble the matrix of power that sustains the sexual division? what are the forms of consensual encounters? can the “no” be seen, heard, felt, perceived? What does it mean that “no” is “no”?, how did one learn to say “no”?, how is non-consent made audible?, what are the skills one would have to develop to be able to hear a “no”?, what is the enemy then?, why should one understand the difference between the male and the idea of the violent male?, what are the distances between “the abuser” and “someone who engages in abusive behavior”?, why would it be imperative and urgent to assume that distance and inhabit it?, what are the distances between “the abuser” and “someone who engages in abusive behavior”?, why would it be imperative and urgent to assume that distance and inhabit it?

Perhaps this is precisely where an ethical/epistemic positioning comes into play: if the abusive or violent is a condition of certain practices, if it is the qualification of an act that could be modified, there is the possibility of transformation from the deconstruction of patriarchal practices as sexist, misogynist, homo-lesbo-phobic; but what happens if the person is qualified and not the acts? What liberating, emancipating experiences could be shared to accompany the demands of the younger generations submerged in heteropatriarchal, adultcentric logics?, at what point does one move all?, is it right there where sorority is played?, how does one trench?, what have been the modulations that entrench one?, what is the feminist artillery to build trenches? Some experiences allow pointing out the technology of demonstration:

- Show the face of the victimizer.
- State first and last name of the offender.
- Publish the victim's testimony.
- Name the situation (harassment, bullying, abuse, rape).
- Getting organized.
- Inhabiting horizontal and empathetic political practices.
- Discuss ways to make visible.
- Weave networks of love and care for the victim.
- Protect the woman who consents the demonstration.
- Strengthening solidarity.
- Create times and spaces for accompaniment.
- To sustain the visibility of the demonstration for a certain period of time.
- Promote the empowerment of the victim as a victim.
- Eluding patriarchal justice.
- Inhabit healing practices.
- Recover the voice.

This point does not allow for delays in its processing in order to think and act in at least three directions: spaces/times for reflection, inclusion and (re) linking strategies. The authors understood that now they could place themselves in the first line of inquiry. From there they consider specific strategies to think about the power of fictionalized narratives with some people.

The authors shared fictionalized narratives with cis heterosexual males. The authors sought an intentional and biased sample: men who, according to their discourses, perceive themselves as deconstructed or in the process of deconstruction. The sample was made up of a group of men between 30 and 45 years of age, professionals in areas related to the social sciences, art and

design, who were close, either because they were colleagues or because of ties of friendship. The authors use virtual media: electronic forms that allow free-form, anonymous responses, and e-mails.

The shared form invited the subjects to read the fictionalized narratives, to reflect on them and to create a new narrative in which they could imagine possible alternative outcomes. With this gesture, the authors make some assumptions. On the one hand, just by compartmentalizing the fictionalized narrative and, assuming they had read it, something began to operate as it would with those who read the narratives. On the other hand, the authors tried to interrupt their subjectivities and to manage the enablement for an exchange; understanding that, in times of deep disagreements, it is necessary to build bridges to sustain one in conversation.

In general, the response to the first exercise proposed via an anonymous form was silence. When some of them were asked, personally via WhatsApp, they confirmed the receipt; but, after their confirmation, silence appeared again. The authors then generated a second proposal that involved an individualized approach via email and telephone call with greater accuracies. Of the 20 males to whom the exercise was sent, six responses were obtained.

The authors perceived this initial silence, and the few responses received afterward, as certain discomfort, and even hostility in thinking about the subject. The authors also suspect that the invitation to think about similar situations and to take care of the new outcomes to inhabit the links could have generated not only uncertainty but also a defensive attitude for having been questioned by the authors, women, feminists, academics, and researchers. In any case, the answers obtained allow a first approach to how they were able to configure ways of dealing with this type of experience and to make visible what proposals for inclusion and reintegration they imagine.

Escraches (Demonstrations): from the Sons to the Daughters

As a positive action of resistance, the demonstration is a direct action of organized collectives against the inaction of other institutions. A protest strategy that not only denounces a specific practice but also those who engage in it and their accomplices. In the networks it has been used to denounce sexual aggressors against women, lesbians, and transgender people.

The term *escrache* (demonstration) has been used since the 1990s in Argentina by *H.I.J.O.S.* and *HIJAS por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio (HIJOS)*. It is “a novel political tool of denunciation and proposal for action” (Bravo, 2012) to point out and make visible those involved in the

violation of human rights during the Argentine military dictatorship translated into the slogan that demands “If there is no justice, there is *escrache*.” A form of protest that in Argentina has a history; linked to the forced disappearance of people and to one of the most horrifying forms of violence, which is that which has been conceived, systematized, and implemented by the State, what one knows as State terrorism and which, in Argentina, took place between 1966 and 1973, and 1976 and 1983 with the civil-military dictatorships.

In an attempt to break with oblivion and silence, the demonstration points to an individual who enjoyed privileges: anonymity, freedoms and citizen rights under the protection of impunity sustained at the behest of parliamentary laws passed during the government of Raúl Alfonsín-Ley de Punto Final (1987) and Obediencia debida (1987) (Universidad Nacional de Rosario, 2013) — and, the pardons granted by President Carlos S. Menem in 1989 and 1990. The demonstration entails the denunciation of impunity and complicity of democratic justice, as well as achieving social condemnation, a divergent justice based on collective awareness against the repressors.

Within the framework of feminist struggles and based on the agreements reached at the *Escraches* Workshop, which took place at the 34th National Women’s Meeting, held in the city of La Plata in 2019, the following is being executed

as an instrument that does not have a pre-established mold and that can be adapted to the formats of each situation. Displaying photos of the violent person, name (or function/position in an institution) with a brief account of the violent acts he commits, is usually the most frequent alternative. The *escrache* as a method is implemented with the aim of exposing and discomfort to “violent males” who hold patriarchal power, often with a psychopathic personality structure, and where in turn the lack or failure of the Judiciary is expressed. (Lastra, González, 2019, p. 2)

From some feminist activisms, demonstration is then considered as a type of non-institutional denunciation, which weaves a genealogy with the aforementioned *HIJOS* demonstrations, and also with specifically feminist demonstrations during the year 2000. As Florencia Maffeo (2020) explains, an example of these are those organized by the “Colectiva Feminista La Revuelta” of Neuquén, between 2006 and 2011, when they accompanied victims of gender-based violence through the “Socorro Violeta” assistance device. Such accompaniment consisted of artistic interventions and dissemination of the cases during trials or in city courts after discriminatory sentences were handed down.

At present, this tool has been used to a large extent as a result of the emergence of *las pibas* in feminist militancy. As Valeria Fernández Hasan (2020) explains, demonstration is one of the emerging topics of the feminist political agenda, together with the issue of abuse complaints, positions around inclusive language, cyberactivism, the participation of actresses or show business figures in the feminist struggle, narratives on affectivities, the discussion for a plurinational movement and women's strikes. Given this generational imprint, the demonstrations take on new characteristics that must do, above all, with the prominence of social networks. Some of the voices that are woven into the conversations between activism and academia affirm that beyond the discussions about the effectiveness of demonstration, what has occurred is the breaking of the pact of silence and the family stories that cover the sexual violence lived with (Fernández-Hasan, 2020, p. 9).

The feminist artillery, which is configured as demonstration in social networks, contains, sustains and cares for the victim as victim, and marginalizes, isolates, separates and expels the victimizer as victimizer. In some cases, by promoting the spectacularization before the public opinion, from magazine cover tongues "for today's woman" in a thanatocratic show that displays a puritanism for heterosexual eroticism that smells of panic and spite:

In the networks, liminal space between the intimate and the public-political where today the meanings of politics are largely cooked and political subjects are constructed (feminism, the lgbttiq movement, etc.), the technology of the demonstration allows a place for the expansion of this new political subjectivity; recreating, simultaneously, a proto-judicial scenario (composed of victim, victimizers and virtual court) and a mass media scenario), of hyper-exposure/spectacularization (with the well-known regime of proper names, sensationalist data, etc.), but tailored to a new political subjectivity), but at the size of a click. (Trebisacce, 2018, p. 189)

Between 2017 and 2018, novel forms in the use of this tool emerged from the demonstration of adolescents in high schools, mainly in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, who started making visible the situations of harassment and sexual abuse among classmates through social networks in the format of anonymous complaints, as well as virtual complaints from the #nonoscallamosmas movement. As Guadalupe Janick explains, one is witnessing a new articulation in the modes of feminist activism that links different generations in unprecedented ways, as well as the spaces of political activity between the street and the digital (Janick, 2020, p. 50). In this sense, Alejandra Zani and Lucía Cholakian analyze that "the emergence of demonstration is a fleeting point in

the crossroads between the advance of women's struggle and the growth of social networks" and state that one of its characteristics is that they enable new discursivities, expanding the margin of what can be said (Zani, Cholakian, 2017).

For Diana Maffia (2020), the centrality of networks in everyday life and in forms of militancy within feminism has benefits and risks. The positive aspect is the fact that one can become strong and say something that was not channeled institutionally: for example, about violence protocols in secondary schools. On the side of risks, Maffia mentions the non-existence/violation of the principle of innocence, which is considered an achievement of democracy, since it protects one from the arbitrariness of penalties. It also mentions the importance of avoiding lynching. Within this context, the philosopher wonders about what the modalities of punishment could be in accordance with feminist ideas of justice.

It should be clarified that Maffia refers to damages committed between adolescents, peers, and not to femicides or rapes. Maffia proposes thinking about the possible reparations, and main considerations of listening and understanding what the possibilities are from the feelings of victims. In the process of thinking about new ways of denunciation and reparation, the authors mention some obstacles: lack of institutional protocols, difficulties on the part of adults in exercising authority in a democratic way, and language hedging in relation to violence and emotions. On the latter, the authors also warn that at present there is a certain impoverishment of language with respect to what affects one, desire, or makes one bad: "emotions have no name." Therefore, it is difficult to express the desire, as well as non-consent of desire of the other (Maffia, 2020).

On the other hand, some analyses affirm that the particularity of threatening in secondary schools is that, over time, they were transformed into collective actions of care and pedagogy, with reflection groups, discussions on consent in sexual relations and alcohol abuse at parties, and other tools that were bringing new debates to the classrooms (Faur, 2019; Maffeo, 2020).

Closer to one type of social/moral lynching could lead to ostracism or exile. It could be considered an act of terrorism, even a symbolic dismemberment that would foster justice by one's own hand carried out by virtue of social anger promoted by slowness or ineffectiveness of complaints or exposures that would require greater fluidity in their treatment by police, prosecutors and/or judges (Maffia, 2020).

In the dialogue between Dora Barrancos and Marisol Ambrosetti for the magazine *Anfibia*, Barrancos assumes:

It is one thing to demonstrate against genocide because there is impunity, but other things related to gender parities have to be well weighed. We cannot

terrorize, there is something that does not sympathize with feminism and that is punishment. Punishment is the patriarchal matrix. (Ambrosetti, n.d.)

Ambrosetti asks for extensions on threatening and punishment as a patriarchal matrix. Barrancos states:

Who has historically been the great challenger, the subjugator, the one who always used excessive punishment? Patriarchy, dear! Punishment is a patriarchal invention. We the feminists cannot do the same thing, we cannot take revenge, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. (Ambrosetti, n.d.)

However, it is not a thing of eliminating all punitive act, because:

How not having a punitive conduct to a femicide or rape, it is clear that it is a must to the due process of course. What I am saying is that there must be proportional sanction formulas to the denounced damage, and that these formulas must be functional and mainly pedagogical. (Ambrosetti, n.d.)

This process is also explained by Nicolás Cuello and Lucas Disalvo (2020) to relate the culture of threat and the culture of cancellation with the institutionalization of a new type of political language that is part of an internalized punitive vocabulary to practice autonomous forms of “justice.” And although they see in a positive way the process of socialization of critical tools to throw forms of inequality in social ties, they consider problematic the unrestricted the popularization and the amplified use of these tools outside their collective contexts of emergency, in a general framework in which everything happens in screens, *likes* and emojis. Thus, punishment becomes a cultural system, a desire for surveillance, control and sanction that lead one to reproduce the microeconomies of domination and punishment on a scale of the intimate, and close other forms of conflict sustained in reparation, conciliation, and transformation. They warn that anti-punishment also deserves some reflections:

Anti-punishment a question of how to receive criticism, how to listen to pain, how to substantialize the conflict, how to proceed from who we are, from what we have been, from the desire to move, to change, how to produce that change and how to make that change an accessible experience. There are not many certainties on that path. But there is no way to do this by forbidding ourselves from difference or conflict. There is no way to do this by demanding a perfection that only exists in deceptive reflection of our screens. (Cuello, Disalvo, 2020)

So far, the authors agree with some theorists to clear the threaten as a positive action of resistance, as a method of divergent justice, as a non-institutionalized public denunciation, as a method of justice from down, as an antisystemic collective practice; but also as a contemporary modality of expressing of eager, lynching, ostracism, separatism or justice by one's own hand. To stress scales of damage or typifications of pain that would enable modalities of punishment promote the punishment/anti-punishment debate that leaves little space to visualize (from the victims) forms of reparation, re-linking, reparation, depatriarchalization.

Results

What the New Masculinities Relate

Each form had an invitation, a fictional narrative and two questions: What happened to you when you read the narrative? Which another outcome can you imagine?

Among negative responses to answer the form, one assumes that the reasons reported are careful due to bonds held: friendship, share of diverse production spaces linked to art, activism or militancy, or being tied to practices of inquiry common to social and human sciences as a researchers. One focuses on one of four reasons, the one that describes their mood during the isolation time due to Covid-19:

I am in a profound and deep denial of any kind of virtual thing. Last year I felt well, but this year, it has been hard ... the classes, the meetings, the research group, the seminars, everything generates a huge rejection, whatsapp, emails ... I am dealing with that. I fulfill my tasks and try to turn it around to renew the desire. While all this is happening, I take refuge in the mountains a lot. I spend a lot of time in the mountains, in the valleys (where there is no signal or excuses) and I see how the days go by ... I started therapy and renovated the furniture ... life is a whatsapp vomit. (Anonymous⁴, personal communication via email, April 2021)

4. We have referred as "Anonymous" to the people who participated in the research according to agreement to hide their identities.

Among the answers to the first question, only one refers to textuality and warns of the use of inclusive language:

Singers and everyone (I made a micro-pause when I read singers and everyone in the text), mostly because I perceived it as a disruption with another management other than: fire/guys. Despite that point, the reading was very fluent from beginning to end. Words like: feminazi, male, patriarchy did not stop my reading at the time. (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

Two responses warn that the narrative puts the reader in a position to empathize with the threatened:

I find it interesting that it is written from the point of view of the threatened man, but I am uncomfortable that the character does not take charge of anything (he does not know what happened, he does not know what “dense” means, he does not ask enough, he does not know what to say to the girlfriend, etc.). The character who tells is almost like a victim of the situation, not the one who lived what happened the night before, but of what came after “nobody asked me,” “I had to go to therapy,” “I’m not well.” (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

Only one aims to give voice to those who do not speak and, to make them speak, questions them:

Why did Juan, their common friend, do nothing at the time? What happened to her at that time that made her stay and not to leave? What are the social ties and context of the person who writes the narrative in first person so that they have not modified their way of thinking from their adolescence until now? (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

At least two participants identify collateral causes:

It is weird that little by little he shows himself as someone very sensitive, who perceives the light of the moon but not what he did a few hours before, beyond drunkenness. There is another issue that bothers and that is that reasons always arise to explain contested actions. (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

I lived a similar event to the one narrated and it takes me back to that moment. Everything happened very quickly, there were girls taking cocaine in the men's bathroom. When I came in, they looked at me defiantly so I decided not to look at them and pretend they were not there. Those same girls hit the kid. (Anonymous, personal communication via email, March 2021)

Only one refers to a similar event and vividly recounts it:

A few years ago, we organized a festival of bands. I think 14 bands played, they came from Chile, Buenos Aires, even a band that moves a lot of people closed the event. When the 8th or 9th band was playing, it started raining heavily just when a punk band of girls was playing, the sound player told me that they could not continue because it was a very big safety risk for everyone, when he told them what the problem was and that they had to wait, they started to insult me because the previous band (also formed by female members) played the last song when it started to rain, I explained that they had to wait for it to stop, but on the other side, one of the girls had to go to work and they wanted to play and between insults they told me that I did not really want them to express themselves, that I was a son of patriarchy (...) I describe the situation to put in context that feeling when reading the narrative because it took me to that place, the first thing I relived was anger, sadness, anxiety, and loneliness, they are talking alone. (Anonymous, personal communication via email, March 2021)

Only one answer questions the threaten: "Is the form of threat a real and long-term solution or does it only generate an explosion product of weariness that disappears socially with the latest news?" (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

Only one comes from the event that names the narrative and anticipates from the first response another world to come: "Are we ready to love freely?" (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021).

In relation to the possibility of imagining other outcomes that enables the second question, one of the answers assumes that given the narrative there is no possibility of different outcomes:

I think that if Rocío was so determined by any context to impose her truth and if the child is the embodiment of her idea ... there is not too much to do, polarization and mainly fanaticism are deterministic, and I thought the story is quite closed in that way. Revolutions are like this, in angles, there are almost no curves. (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021)

Other answers state that it is only possible to imagine another outcome if one chose to fictionalize it again “from further back in time for not reaching this breaking point.” But the answer does not reflect that novelty. In this way, one of the answers remarks at the bond of friendship and finds there a possibility: “It could be that if they are or have been friends, they talk about it within the group or among people directly involved, before making an assembly in a square, although this depends on what has happened” (Anonymous, personal communication via email, April 2021).

Finally, a radically and evolutionary alternative is placed in other ways of inhabiting affective-sexual relationships:

When the three of them were in bed, I thought that they would recognize each other as others in relation to their past and, they would enjoy among the three of them as another way of physically and emotionally bonding. A pleasurable affective-sexual relationship among people who love, listen and respect each other. (Anonymous, personal communication, April 2021)

What Is Talked about between Cis Women and Lesbians

At this point in the research, it became imperative to broaden the fictionalized narrative circulations. The authors had not finished resonating with the diffractions that became audible from the men’s subjectivities answers in the forms; then consultation was urgent. There was a need for listening to build new futures that contained everyone, creating confusion, discomfort, uncertainties, destabilizations, insecurities audible right there where desire, love, eroticism, sexualities, and genders dwell.

Cis heterosexual and lesbian women were invited to think in conversation, one together with the other. The proposal was to meet in a face-to-face space/time; although the context of isolation for COVID-19 implied reduced time conversations no longer than two hours. The call was informal, limited, and via email. In confidence, among ourselves, again, friends, companions in militancy and/or activism, engaged in inquiries with an equal implication.

There were six at the first meeting. The authors started the session with a description of the positions that one’s sexed, gendered, racialized body occupied in the intersectionality of age and class. Self-perceived in a here and now that dug into the positions of subjects that one already knew how to name as lesbians,

queer, *okupas*, cis hetero women between 30 and 45 years old, with different steady labor paths in the academy and, outside the institutions as well, from the social and human sciences, social work, art, design, graphics, languages, and teaching. The authors (dis)agreed almost in the immediacy of narrating experiences that at first, seemed dispersed although all anchored in the situations of violence caused by the cis-hetero-patriarchal system: *machista*, sexist, misogynist violence that has been generated in daily practices, have gone through at various times, has been suffered as daughters of patriarchy at home, in the family, in divorce, in the faculty, in bed, in the street, as students, as teachers, as scholarship holders, as researchers, as moms, as militants; as well as, among friends, in affective-sexual relationships, and, even, with colleagues with whom one still has chosen to work. Every time that the relationships involve oneself, they place one in positions of submission, exploitation, domination, subjugation and victimization.

In a second meeting, the authors proposed the reading/listening of fictionalized narratives. The collective listening immediately caused an intense exchange because each one felt somehow challenged. Opinions were shared that became a point of view: violence against women is a product of the hetero-cis-patriarchal capitalist system. Talking about violence implies reviewing naturalized and normalized social constructions that also recreate and are held in brotherhoods faithful to the mandate of masculinity. A feminist justice as an alternative to the patriarchal one requires memory practices and processes to move away from the recreation of violence situations and aid for context intervention.

Toward the end of the meeting, the returns encouraged wanting collective learning spaces and assuming that thinking in conversation allowed denominating conflicts and embracing each other in uncertainty and insecurities, as well as (forming) the collective. The dynamics arising from the meeting led to agreeing on a concrete proposal to move toward something like a “manual” for groups that are or have been linked to a kind of macho violence with the *escrache* strategy to tell us what we are (not): we noticed that those of us who unentangled at the meeting had not been participants in any *escrache*. So, where to speak from, who to speak for, who to tell?

The momentum led to a subsequent meeting. This time they were women who had participated in demonstrations in a framework of militant collectives. Several topics emerged from this conversation without the need to exhaust them: what are the relationships among masculinities, sensibilities, and power? What are the privileges that are affected, and which cis hetero males would not be willing to renounce? What are the relational implications for the hetero cis male who occupies the position of the breeder, possessor, provider, and public? What happens with the blocking or cancellation of the subjects. What

are the implications of going that far? What are the consequences for when one demonstrates a cis hetero male who carries his cis heterosexual privileges? What are the ways to alert regarding the presumption of dangerousness? Can one expect that the desire to intervene collectively against themselves emerges from them? Can one expect them to agree on concrete interventions that disarticulate practices that cause violence against women?

The conversation led to deeper issues about (inter)subjectivities that go beyond this situation's exploratory stage, but that deserved to be raised. If no one wants to be a victim, how is the victim/victimizer polarity disarmed? Once again, the issue of understanding each other through a network is back to stay and makes one reflect for a while. What does one do as someone's friend or relative who has caused harm? How to avoid getting to that point? And if not, how to act afterward? Where and when does violence start? Are there perceptible beginnings? How does one disarm daily violence? Is it necessary to try to draw attention to men's violence against women or is it time for men to take ownership of the problem? Despite the immeasurability, the power of the conversation encouraged the authors to think about these issues that are deep inside the social fabric, but that come to fruition.

Thinking in conversation is a way of taking charge not only of what is bearable, but also of what is lovable and expected. What does it mean to consent? When does one consent, before, after, and during? What is it to perceive the other? How do we inhabit the desire of the other? How does one repair the damage if there was no consent? How does one act from the point of care? But also, how does one intervene as a network when violence appears in close relationships? How does one (not) perceive that someone who is close because of a family, friendship or work relationship is experiencing/exercising violence? How does one (not) intervene?

The authors then thought of starting by naming, to typify this daily violence from their own experiences. They assume that it is in the house where the political is managed in order to collectively domesticate politics and thus resume a new conversation in the following encounter from this situated violence.

During the third meeting, the authors began by talking about what it is important: putting words to violence. They talk about what one carries to compartmentalize among oneself* and about what cannot be measured because it is not lived (due to class, ethnic, age conditions) And going further, the authors moved from the place of victim to narrate against oneself: when did one exert violence oneself? How and when was it realized? How was one forced to be witnesses in situations of violence? How has the demonstration been against us? To what extent have feminisms made putting patriarchal violence exercised by cis and lesbian women and men's violence against women on the same level

possible? How to deal with the polarity that enables political lesbianism as the only way out? Would it be desirable that male violence ceases to be perceived as an anti-male issue? And, if it is not desirable, what are the desirable masculinities as partners in struggle? Are partners still needed? Would there be a way without partners? What would be the system that one would be willing to overthrow together? These drafts made it possible to produce a writing “We are all *escrachables?*” (2021), unpublished and of restricted circulation, whose authorship the authors attribute to the collective Les P.A.N.I.K (Porta Activismo Nomada Integral Kolectivo).

Concluding Remarks

What We Were able to Do Together

The authors were able to think in conversation, embrace each other in the word, take care of each other when listening, take care of each other in the plot, manage the productive discomforts, ruminate on the unentangling process, process the *fráxitos*, propitiate the dismantling, write collectively to disobey, interrupt, and dislocate; (dis)agree between the search and the finding during those processes of tracing what was left unsaid and what did not end up being named in the academy/activism frontier.

The authors enter into the practice of storytelling in order to (self)narrate. This process was modified from questioning. They resume the possibility of a pedagogy of questioning, which investigates in a feminist key, fostering coalitions with creative anchors. They reviewed some close practices. They stopped to question each other. They assumed that these questions radicalize the problem a lot, therefore they threaded them together in a brief unpublished manuscript that was processed with the intention of building positions and coalitions: “The slogan overwhelms: when we made silence although #yanonoscallamosmas, what was not said?, What does this absence of words shout? What pains does this silence keep? How to name what is not said? What marks do not communicate? What silence can be traced back? What complicities, among whom, with what practices? What does the harangue of others harangue in us? Is it good for me that others speak because I cannot? The collective cry takes one, carries me and moves me. Let other people be the ones who are being stigmatized because the spotlight is running, because I’m running the spotlight. #yotecreohermana until my people fell. Yes, it is possible, we are children of the patriarchy. Yes, it

is problematic, it is a *píjazo*, a club, in your face. Yes, it can happen: my brother, my uncle, my old man, my girlfriend, my *chongue*, it happens... my friend, my colleague, my partner, the girl next door too. And you and me? Inhabiting contradiction, diving into contradiction, assuming ourselves as *escrachable*. *Escrachable* me? Shall we check ourselves?" (Les P.A.N.I.K., 2021).

The starting point arises from the dislocations that opened up the fictionalized narratives from the testimonies of hetero cis-males that, as has been mentioned, were shared in the forms of men in the process of depatriarchalization. The power of these two narratives becomes visible in the drifts of experiences embodied by cis and lesbian women. All explored coalitions involve versions of many possible experiences and subject positions. Some of the shared fictionalized narratives were elaborated from the point of view that each one could have used to name a precarious and possible experience that could have been lived by any. This practice of experience-narrative-fiction translation took shape in a creative collective production based on design, activism and the use of networks as formats to insist that although for some people it is possible to (re)produce knowledge in an objective, neutral and homogeneous way, there are other epistemological positions anchored in affections, dislocations and nonconformities that enable and demand to put the body to what is thought; because the body is there, every time one is in relation with each other.

This feminist pedagogy to which the authors have tried to make room in the process described herein and that could unfold in the different times/spaces that were enabled for/with/among many, is sustained from an epistemology of localization, positioning and articulation that comes from the methodological renewal that the feminisms of the south favor. Making the locus visible for enunciation implies saying from where one speaks: a body marked in the intersectionality sex/gender, class, race, sexualities, ages and all the conceptualizations embodied in the partiality, precariousness and vulnerability of one's experiences; of each experience and of what between everyone, one together with the other can be named in the conditions in which one's voices have been heard. Making room for pretensions, needs, urgencies, desires encourage a collectively felt knowledge, limited, partial, relative, situated and audible in fictionalized narratives that now, dislocate what could not be foreseen.

The productive power of fictionalized narratives favors the shift from the representation to the diffraction of modern western patriarchal rationality to a narrative rationality embodied in individual and collective embodied bodies. These (auto)biographically testify from the experiences, what could have been, what was or what would be possible by moving away from the ambition for calculation, universalization, abstraction, and neutrality and, at the same time, subverting what modernity has dichotomized and hierarchized: logical-creative, biological-cultural, natural-historical, body-mind, reason-emotion, thought-experience. Then, a feminist epistemology for listening in order to narrate relative positions that is situated, contextualized and (dis)agreeing in articulations and diffracting in coalitions.

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Self-narration from the Body-territory: New Notes for Situated Thinking and Methodologies in Context*

[English Version]

Narrar(nos) desde el cuerpo-territorio. Nuevos apuntes para un pensamiento situado y metodologías en contexto

Narrar(nos) a partir do território do corpo. Novas notas sobre o pensamento situado e metodologias em contexto

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* This article is the product of a collective work of two researcher-militants, associated with the research project: "Critical interpellations of social sciences and humanities. Inquiries from the social to the political in local contexts: plurinational, popular-populist, autonomist and communitarian" (SeCyT) of the Research Center of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities (ClFFyH) of the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba (UNC).

This collective writing is based on locating a collective place of enunciation, as Latin American political philosophy, in dialogue with the diverse contributions of the Social Sciences. The authors consider that it is central to revisit the construction of political subjectivities from epistemes critical of colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy. In rethinking the articulation of a political philosophy in and from Latin America, this research is deeply connected to the question of democracy in the South and how to dismantle the modern representative imaginary of the nation-state and colonial civil society. These pages nourish the challenge to continue advocating for a situated thought that takes note of its geopolitical conditions and the possibility of developing new methodologies for the collective socio-historical and socio-territorial contexts.

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Abstract

Objective: this article proposes two central questions: on the one hand, the thread woven by the gambles on the construction of critical epistemologies is picked up and a course provided to renew the epistemic-political critique of colonial modernity in and from the bodies-territories of the global south; on the other, researchers throw themselves into new challenges to co-construct alternative research methodologies in order to look and speak to collective selves in the present and its socio-historical and socio-territorial context. **Methodology:** the place of enunciation and discussion is political philosophy in and from Latin America, which implies putting those topics on the agenda that are addressed and focused on the dialogue with other social and human sciences as the principle of construction of this proposal. Thus, this paper addresses the notions of body-territory, living theory –understood as the close relationship between narration, testimony and experience –and political intersubjectivity to define a situated thought with theoretical-methodological tools that distance themselves from modern logics in pursuit of decolonizing, feminist and community research. **Conclusions:** the intention is to continue gambling on the construction of critical epistemes and methodologies in context for situated thinking. We believe that for this one must resort to collective and intersubjective political action that is transformative in and with the struggle. Here a response to the question about what happens to bodies-territories is rehearsed, and with it, a response to the questions about what is done, said, and thought as urgent militant investigations. We strengthen the proposal of a contextualized thought, at a distance from an individual colonial and patriarchal rationality, to approach a thought as a place of *enunciation* and as a place of *being*, a thought as a territory, as a habitat.

Keywords: Latin American political philosophy; Body-territory; Living theory; Situated thinking; Methodologies in context.

Resumen

Objetivo: el presente artículo propone dos cuestiones centrales: por un lado, recogemos el hilo tejido por las apuestas a la construcción de epistemologías críticas y damos curso a renovar la crítica epistémico-política a la modernidad colonial en y desde nuestros cuerpos-territorios del sur global; por el otro, nos arrojamos a nuevos desafíos para co-construir metodologías de investigación alternativas de cara a mirarnos y hablarnos en un presente y su contexto socio-histórico y socio-territorial. **Metodología:** nuestro lugar de enunciación y de discusión es la filosofía política en y desde Latinoamérica, lo que implica para nosotras poner en agenda aquellas

temáticas que se abordan y se focalizan en el diálogo con otras ciencias sociales y humanas como el principio de construcción de esta propuesta. Así pues, este escrito aborda las nociones de cuerpo-territorio, teoría viva —entendida como la estrecha relación entre narración, testimonio y experiencia— e intersubjetividad política para definir un pensamiento situado con herramientas teóricas-metodológicas que se desmarcan de las lógicas modernas en pos de una investigación descolonizadora, feminista y comunitaria. **Conclusiones:** nuestra intención es continuar apostando a la construcción de epistemes críticas y metodologías en contexto para nuestro pensamiento situado. Creemos que para esto debemos echar mano a un hacer político colectivo e intersubjetivo que sea transformador en y con la lucha. Aquí ensayamos una respuesta a la pregunta por lo que pasa con nuestros cuerpos-territorios, y con ello, a los interrogantes por lo que hacemos, decimos y pensamos en tanto investigaciones militantes urgentes. Afianzamos la propuesta de un pensamiento contextualizado, a distancia de una racionalidad individual colonial y patriarcal, para acercarnos a un pensamiento como lugar de *enunciación* y como lugar de *estar*, un pensamiento como territorio, como hábitat.

Palabras claves: Filosofía política latinoamericana; Cuerpo-territorio; Teoría viva; Pensamiento situado; Metodologías en contexto.

Resumo

Objetivo: o presente artigo propõe duas questões centrais: por um lado, pegamos o fio tecido pelas apostas na construção de epistemologias críticas e damos curso para renovar a crítica epistêmico-política da modernidade colonial em e de nossos corpos-territórios do sul global; por outro lado, nos lançamos em novos desafios para co-construir metodologias de pesquisa alternativas a fim de olharmos para nós mesmos e falarmos a nós mesmos em um contexto atual e sócio-histórico e sócio-territorial. **Metodologia:** nosso lugar de enunciação e discussão é a filosofia política na e da América Latina, o que implica para nós colocarmos na agenda aqueles temas que são abordados e enfocados em diálogo com outras ciências sociais e humanas como o princípio de construção desta proposta. Assim, este trabalho aborda as noções de corpo-território, teoria viva—entendida como a estreita relação entre narrativa, testemunho e experiência—e intersubjetividade política para definir um pensamento situado com ferramentas teórico-metodológicas que se dissociam da lógica moderna na busca de uma descolonização, pesquisa feminista e comunitária. **Conclusões:** Nossa intenção é continuar apostando na construção de epistemes e metodologias críticas no contexto de nosso pensamento situado. Acreditamos que

para isso devemos contar com uma elaboração política coletiva e intersubjetiva que seja transformadora na e com a luta. Aqui nós tentamos dar uma resposta à questão do que acontece com nossos territórios corporais, e com ela, às questões do que fazemos, dizemos e pensamos como pesquisa militante urgente. Reforçamos a proposta de um pensamento contextualizado, à distância de uma racionalidade individual colonial e patriarcal, para abordar um pensamento como um lugar de *enunciação* e como um lugar de *ser*, um pensamento como território, como habitat.

Palavras-chave: Filosofia política latino-americana; Corpo-território; Teoria viva; Pensamento situado; Metodologias no contexto.



“In my house, there was always an extra set plate at the table for whoever in need”
Ramona Orellano de Buscamante, 2021¹.

Photography: Ezequiel Luque. La Tinta digital newspaper

Introduction

With and Beyond Critical Epistemes

In recent years, different approaches have emerged which, hand in hand with transdisciplinarity, seek to remedy those classical perspectives, which, based on modern/colonial epistemes, fail to account for certain nodal problems in the South, particularly those related to the reproduction of life. However, in line with the special issue on pending and emerging methodologies facing new epistemologies of the Global South that summons one, we consider that the development of these epistemological approaches has not yet generated a significant methodological renewal. It is possible to affirm that these reading perspectives, most of the times emerged from the heat of the struggles, from joint work or participant observation, still do not make a dent in spaces that

1. In homage to Ramona Orellano de Bustamante, woman, fighter of the land, who with her departure in June of this year 2021 has left us a legacy of (re) existence (Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, 2021, Luque, 2021; Urouro, 2021a).

gamble on critical epistemologies. They are little known and barely circulate in academic circles, where the same modes of connecting with knowledge are systematically reproduced, generating analytical tensions in research that could be challenging.

For these reasons, this paper intends to address some conceptions that epistemically and politically underpin current practices and that should be rethought to critically build a situated thinking. Body-territory, narrative/testimony and political intersubjectivity are concepts that fertilize this positioning, giving meaning to what we consider a "methodology in context" (Alvarado, Fischetti, 2017).

Consequently, one's place of enunciation and discussion is political philosophy in and from Latin America. This statement implies putting on the agenda those issues that are approached from a transdisciplinary perspective. We believe that building knowledge from a transdisciplinary perspective not only enriches the view held of the socio-historical and socio-territorial processes of the Global South, but also aims to dismantle the watertight pigeonholes, those where Philosophy, Anthropology, Sociology, History, Geography, Political Science, being the list even longer, and all considered in the singular. Transdisciplinarity is the gamble on a dialogic, open, and plural method to weave one's places of enunciation. In turn, it is the beginning of the construction of an alternative research methodology that allows addressing diverse issues in the Global South.

Thus, we are committed to a reactivation of critical epistemologies so that static and binary forms lacking utility do not crystallize, which only end up making complex processes of societies invisible. We believe that it is necessary to build theoretical and methodological tools that challenge modern colonial logics in pursuit of decolonizing, feminist and communitarian practices.

However, this will be possible as long as relations with the social and political processes of Latin American contemporaneity and heterogeneity are interwoven. Likewise, it will be possible as long as a critical attitude of the perspectives installed with colonization, imposed through devices of modern governmentality in the diverse logics of coloniality (macro) (Quijano, 2000) and internal (micro) colonialism² is maintained. Only in this way will producing

2. The first thing to note is that the notion of internal colonialism, which emerges in multiple ways, questions the continuity of colonial conditions in the organization of social life and in the relationship between societies. This first definition of the concept refers to the Mexican sociologist González Casanova (2009[1969]). However, in this paper the authors find it enriching to think about certain theoretical shifts made by authors such as the Aymara sociologist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui when she argues that internal colonialism is "a set of diachronic contradictions of varying depth that emerge on the surface of contemporaneity and cross, therefore, the contemporary spheres of modes of production, state political systems, ideologies anchored in cultural homogeneity" (2010, p. 36). Another contribution is provided by the political philosopher Luis Tapia when he argues that internal colonialism operates in the relationship

a new paradigm of intellectual sovereignty that confronts the fragmentation of the epistemic community, commodification, enclosure, demassification, and educational privatization be possible (Britos-Castro, Zurbriggen, 2020).

From this place, the authors reaffirm the close relationship between theories and practices, and define the space of reflection as *living theory*, that is, as a political action that in the broad gesture of narration brings one's own voices closer to the possibility of mapping resistances and weaving ways of understanding them. This interweaving proposed in the following pages speaks of a knowledge that links the more theoretical deliberations with the knowledge born of the struggles³.

With this challenge we seek to stop reproducing old patterns in order to advance toward the recognition of worlds, perspectives and experiences that constitute other ways of understanding Latin America and the Caribbean⁴.

between and within societies, producing asymmetries and hierarchies of power. In turn, it contains discrimination and exploitation based on racist practices, ignoring the different multisocial groups as part of the social (Tapia, 2014). In this line recovered by Rivera Cusicanqui and Tapia, the authors bring as a reference a work done by one of them in 2015 "We consider that, an alternative to rethinking internal colonialism is to be able to reconstruct the multiple historicities through methods, concepts, descriptions and local narratives" (Britos-Castro, 2016, p. 123).

Likewise, the authors also recognize the trajectory of debates on colonialism and internal colonialism that many Katarist and Indianist-Katarist thinkers or specialized readers of the indigenous uprisings have had, such as Portugal Mollinedo and Macusaya Cruz (2014), Mamani Ramírez and Cruz (2011), Escárzaga (2012), Choque Canqui (2014), among others.

3. The richness found in the significance of the interweaving of theoretical perspectives and the knowledge born in the heat of the struggles in the territories, leads one to maintain that the distinction between "theory" and "practice," typical of modern enlightened reason, is sterile from one's place of enunciation and for the construction of alternative methodologies. Rather, the authors have opted for the expression of a *living theory* that is understood as a "task" and from the legacy of Latin American philosophy this task makes possible a situated thought (Roig, 2009[1981]). However, in this paper the notion of living theory points to dismantling the established hierarchy that places "theory" above "practice," and in that gesture, properly colonial, legitimizes its pretended superiority.

4. The notion of variegation or "variegated social formation" comes from the theory of local thought of René Zavaleta Mercado (2013[1983]), who argues that it is the way through which it was possible to name and explain various types of historical-political and sociocultural superimpositions that are plotted from the colonial logic. The variegated makes it possible to think about the coexistence and "overlapping" (Zavaleta, 2013[1983]) of various elements that make up the social: historical time, modes of production, different worldviews, different languages, cultures and authority structures.

Considering the reappropriations, especially that of Luis Tapia, that have been made of the Zavaletian concept, the variegated implies a multiplicity of stories and narratives that occur in different juxtaposed temporalities, in and between different cultures, in diverse languages and modes of communication, and especially in and from communal plots of material reproduction of collective life.

As long as some variegated social margin persists, that is, juxtaposed and socially superimposed, the colonial condition will not disappear from that sphere of social and political relations. Retaking the idea of social variegation enables one to think that these coexistences and overlaps allow one to refute, on the one hand, the crystallization of a homogeneous civil society as the only possible social order in the face of

Methodological Considerations

When Territory Becomes Flesh and the Body Becomes a Trench: Some Contributions to Complexify the Body-Territory Category

For some time now, the body-territory category has been used by different actors as a tool of struggle and a key to understanding the advance of extractivist projects. However, this concept is also a way of making visible the cosmovision of many communities in Latin America and the Caribbean. As an idea-force, the body-territory has been developing in the last decades from the diverse *sentipensares*⁵ arising in contexts of resistance. For a long time in the West, the histories of collective struggles were associated with the organizational structures of the working class, considered the privileged actor of historical change. Social movements appeared as the central subject and the privileged expression of a societal alternative to the current capitalist model. However, the multiplication of conflict spheres since 1960 prompted the need to broaden definitions and analytical categories in order to make these processes more complex. It was thus that environmental and feminist movements – "the new social movements" – began to express a new politicization of society and, with it, new ways of conceptualizing conflicts and resistances (Svampa, 2016). Undoubtedly, the common point was the critique of extractivism, from which the idea of an expanded *extractivism*, in that it encompasses more than the activities traditionally considered as extractive, has emerged today.

In this context of neo-extractivism⁶, it has been the indigenous and community feminisms that, when speaking of body-territory, demand

Latin American heterogeneity, and, on the other, that capitalism flatly modified the non-modern modes of production (Britos-Castro, 2021a).

It is worth noting that understanding the social in some Latin American experiences as variegated implies posing a critical perspective to the modern colonial order and, at the same time, thinking of it as a philosophical-political problematic that must be valued.

For further readings around the variegated see Tapia, 2016[2002a], 2002b; Britos-Castro, 2017, 2021(Doctoral Thesis); Chavéz and Chavéz, 2017; Giller and Ouviaña, 2016, among others.

5. The concept of *sentipensamiento* was popularized by Orlando Fals Borda (1986) who learned the popular riverside conceptions of the Atlantic Coast while conducting his research. The sociologist Arturo Escobar, using Fals Borda, also develops the notion and maintains that "Feeling and thinking with the territory implies thinking from the heart and from the mind, or co-reasoning, as well stated by colleagues from Chiapas inspired by the Zapatista experience. It is the way in which territorialized communities have learned the art of living" (Escobar, 2014, p. 16).

6. Verónica Gago maintains that theorizing neoextractivism as a logic of valorization and as a political regime (not only economic) from the point of view of the struggles for the body-territory, provides the

decolonization as a practical dimension that is inseparable from depatriarchalization (Gago, 2019). For this reason, in this section we want to share the perspective of Delmy Tania Cruz-Hernández (2016). This feminist, indigenous Mexican woman with a Chiapas heart, has accompanied different social processes with indigenous women in vulnerable territories and, based on conversations with them, the question of the body-territory has positioned itself as the central axis of the academic and militant exercise. In consideration of this experience, we believe that contributions to this category allow for understanding humanity as a body-territory from which humans feel-think-with, as well as act in harmony and thus nurture situated practices.

The Sharing of a Collective Process. Unraveling the Importance of the Body-Territory Argument with Delmy Tania Cruz-Hernández

Cruz-Hernández and Jiménez (2019) affirm that in recent decades, many studies have been written on how the defense of the territory is experienced in our region. However, they relate that few have pointed out what the organization of women is in its defense and what these women defend. The mechanisms adopted by the dispossession of the territories and the natural, social and cultural resources that are in them, marked various scenarios which made the women show their struggles, previously hidden. The resurgence of extractive industries, supported by Latin American governments, returned to the spaces previously considered of life, hostile places to inhabit, leaving women alone in defense of the territory. Faced with the "patriarchalization of the territories" (Cruz-Hernández, 2016) and the increase in violence, women linked to the community experience of the original peoples have reinforced their commitment. Thus, as Rogério Haesbaert (2020) says, paraphrasing Cruz-Hernández, the articulation between body-territory, more than a concept, became a methodology for life that implies thinking about how bodies are linked to the territories they inhabit.

The body seen as a territory is itself a space, a territory/place, which is in the world and can experience all the emotions, sensations and physical reactions, to find in it a place of "resistance" and redefinition. This understanding puts the community as a way of life at the center and enables a view that starts from the body as the first territory of struggle and also as the embodiment of many other experienced oppressions. The link between the body and other

possibility of understanding the extractive logic as a new colonial form of dispossession and exploitation at the same time. This displacement *expands* the notion of extractivism beyond raw materials and peasant and indigenous territories toward urban and suburban territories (Gago, 2019).

conceptions generates a powerful dialectic between existence and the relationships that bind it to the territories inhabited. In turn, this argument is a form of sororal and political accompaniment; it is a dialogue between feminists and diverse women who, organized, come together in interest in other possible worlds. Cruz-Hernández considers that this invitation proposes:

Looking at bodies as living and historical territories that allude to a cosmogonic and political interpretation, where wounds, memories, knowledge, desires, individual and common dreams live; and in turn, invites looking at the territories as social bodies that are integrated into the web of life and therefore, one's relationship with them must be conceived as an "ethical event" understood as an irruption in the face of the "other" where the possibility of contract, domination and power have no place. Where there is reception understood as co-responsibility and the only viable proposal to look at the territory and then to look at oneself. (Hernández-Cruz, 2016, p. 44)

Similarly, this conceptual and methodological articulation made a dent in decolonial feminism. In line with Yuderkis Espinosa Miñoso (2014) and Dorotea Gómez Grijalva (2012) –Guatemalan Mayan K'iché feminist– the body is assumed as political territory insofar as it is understood as historical and not as biological. It is a social space that is affected by what happens in its environment, generating physical and emotional repercussions that become more complex in relation to subjectivities.

In turn, community and decolonial feminist Lorena Cabnal proposes the term *body-land* to delve into the damage that has been done to the territories from the colonial invasion that has gone from the expropriation of their lands, territories, resources and knowledge, using women's bodies as a vehicle. The invasion generates a colonial penetration that is configured "as a condition for the perpetuity of the multiple disadvantages of indigenous women" (Cabnal, 2010, p. 15). The author affirms that, to understand the defense of territories by women, the historical process of patriarchy must be understood. "Underlying the body-land concept is a political demand that emanates from a collective reflection of indigenous women in order to show their vision in defense of their territories" (Cruz-Hernández, 2016, p. 42).

Transversely to these processes, feminist thought in the social sciences also began to rethink the concepts of territory and body. Cruz-Hernández relates that one of the thinkers who is beginning to question the space-body relationship is Doreen Massey (2005). The British geographer maintains that to study space is to recognize how it has been built, under what political structures and through what power/knowledge relationships. Searching for these answers

can provide clues to understanding the social inequalities that are experienced in these contexts (Cruz-Hernández, 2016).

Another theorist that Delmy Cruz-Hernández considers is Linda McDowell (2000). For her, it has been essential to review the spatial divisions: public vs. private; inside vs. outside; considering that the latter influence the social construction of gender divisions. In addition, McDowell tries to unravel the idea provided by Simone de Beauvoir regarding the restriction of the feminine to the scale of the body, defining male bodies as incorporeal, placing them in the area of the mind, prioritizing it above the female body.

Based on the authors, the community feminist asks:

If we assume that not all bodies are equal, nor do they have the same standard and that they also depend on the roles of gender, class, ethnicity, age, and race that the collective imaginary "imposes" on you, what place do women's bodies occupy in the territories? (...) everything we do is spatially located and embodied in differentiated and hierarchical bodies. In that sense, the body is assigned not only by the physical determinations of the geographical context; but by the cultural constructions that underlie the idea of space, place, territory, community, and context. (Cruz-Hernández, 2016, p. 41)

In consideration of these postulates, Cruz-Hernández presents the way in which bodies and territories have been analyzed, including the way in which they have become political and struggle statements. However, she recognizes that although this is essential to rethink the territories that are threatened today, it is also necessary to create theoretical bridges between territories and female bodies⁷.

Expanding Body-Territory: The Power to Nurture Many Struggles

The contributions made by Cruz-Hernández allow making multiple displacements that make other ontologies possible and, therefore, alternative methodologies. From these cartographies, reflection on the ways in which one knows and what one does with that knowledge is inevitable. Setting the body-territory as a starting point moves one from the Cartesian solipsism to a place of crossed enunciation and influenced by context. Ideas are embodied and the territory is incorporated. Thus, the impacts of extractivism have repercussions in another

7. In pursuit of building these bridges, Cruz-Hernández has participated in the Critical Views of the Territory from Feminism Collective since 2012. This promotes meetings among organized women to put into practice social and corporal mapping tools with links between bodies and territories.

way, forcing one to think about the situation or, as the authors maintain, building a situated thought.

In turn, the articulation between body-territory allows understanding other struggles that happen simultaneously and are experienced. From a militant research perspective, Verónica Gago (2019) provides keys to continue thinking. She maintains that this practical concept shows how the exploitation of common, community territories (urban, suburban, peasant and indigenous) violates the body of each person and the collective body through dispossession. By de-liberalizing the notion of the body as individual private property, the body-territory specifies a political, productive, and epistemic continuity of the body as territory. In this way, as a "composition of affections, resources, and possibilities that are not 'individual' is revealed, as well as are singled out because they pass through each person's body to the extent that each body is never just 'one', but always with others, and with other non-human forces" (Gago, 2019, p. 91).

There is no confinement in individuality, in the limits of the body itself, but rather there is an extensive surface of feelings, trajectories and memories that exceed and spill out of the body, enabling the invention of other ways of life. For this reason, body-territory "is an idea-force that arises from certain struggles but has the power to migrate, resonate and compose other territories and other struggles" (Gago, 2019, p. 93). It is precisely this premise that challenges: the connection capacity of certain languages and images of struggle that permeate realities that are very different from those where they arose.

In this context, Gago's proposal to think from the body-territory of the radical nature and density that the debate on the legalization of abortion in Argentina took on, provided tools for research and feelings to inhabit the experience. Gago's analysis exceeds this section, however, we would like to highlight some of the folds that she gives to this problematization when she states that:

The body that is fought for when talking about the legalization of abortion, exceeds then the conquest of private individual rights, and the massive mobilization that has driven its demand goes beyond the request for legislative recognition at the same time that it demands it. And this is because it reveals the dispute over the sovereignty of a body-territory that allows connecting the anti-extractive struggles with the struggles for abortion. In those days, in conversation with the members of the Peasant Movement of Santiago del Estero (MOCASE), they recounted that for the first time what had been a taboo subject until then was being discussed in the communities and that the connection with the enslavement of the lands and the impossibility of autonomy that this implies arose in the assemblies. (Gago, 2019, p. 107)

The deepening of the debates through this articulation also makes it possible to think of a spatiality opposed to that of domestic confinement. Thus, one takes the street and make it a feminist home, reorganizing the political space in order to avoid the reproduction of oppositions such as public vs. private. This shows that knowledge can be built differently, as well that politics can be done from other spaces than the traditional ones. It is no longer about staying in the private sphere and from there producing theory. The body-territory forces leaving the cloisters to inhabit those areas that are an extension of human corporeality. Feeling this spatiality connects one with ways of thinking and reflecting that do not turn back on one's self as an individual, but as territory, land, mountain, river, mountain.

However, giving coordinates, "sharing the location" is advocating for the place of enunciation which, as Cruz-Hernández (2016) says, implies undressing, re-thinking and defining subjectivity. In this game it is worth asking if knowledge has enriched humans as subjects to corroborate the power of the methods. If the ways in which one knows do not place one in new locations, it may not be the right route.

Narrate (tell us), Give Birth to a Living Theory. Urgent Militant Investigations

“Immerse the matter in the life of the rapporteur, to be able to retrieve it later from there. Thus, the imprint of the narrator is attached to the narration, like the imprint of the potter's hand on the surface of his clay pot”
(Benjamin W, 2008, p.71).

The inquiry from a situated thought, as a methodology in context, implies throwing oneself into some questions and their possible answers to continue nurturing future dialogues. Thus, the authors open this game to reflect on urgent militant investigations. This leads to a central question from the previous section: what place do women's bodies occupy in the territories?

We consider that one of the ways to interrupt the capitalist and colonial order of expropriation, exploitation and domination – which is increasingly violent against the body-territories – is the act of witnessing as a gesture of being alive. That act builds a living theory that – recovered from one's own voice in and from one's own narrative – recreates new ways of being in common. For this reason, one asks oneself: what possibility of making our concerns visible does the act of narrating convey? What can a narrative do? What does it say? What is the plot? What does it silence? (Ripamonti, 2017).

As Francesca Gargallo supported in her book *Feminisms from Abya Yala*, women's ideas and proposals of 607 towns in Our America:

Narrating is one of the ways to make known. It is present at all times, in all places, in all societies and sometimes allows, as Roland Barthes already said, communion between human beings from different cultures. Narrating, then, is the way to transmit, learn and give meaning to stories. (Gargallo, 2013, p.33)⁸

By giving answers to the questions and reconsidering the proposal to organize certain alternative methodologies, humans problematize one's places of enunciation in the possibility of going beyond the "permission to narrate" (Edward Said cited by Bidaseca, 2017). Speaking and speaking (to oneself) opens the political gesture of being women in the contemporary patriarchal, colonial and racist world. There is a letting oneself be affected as a starting point, where what takes value is what can be built as common and collective knowledge, together with what one feels, what one has, what is needed. Letting oneself be affected and the body-territories flow implies understanding, following Cabnal (2010), that the damage and expropriation was consolidated through the body of women. This means that the life/death relationship is permanently linked to extractivism.

Thus, the way living theory is made is the relationship between narrative, testimony and experience. Following Ripamonti (2017), who narrates takes risks, and risks what exceeds him. Narrating is far from informing, defining, establishing, and much more distant from postulating statements that later become irrefutable truths or epistemic generalizations with long-term guarantees.

When there are socio-historical and socio-territorial experiences, there are knots, space-time landslides between present/past and future. Those knots in the fabric must attend to the contingent, to the alternate, to the possible. With this, the experiences are those that are nested from the testimony (oral or written) constituting themselves as differences. Following the postcolonial

8. For further development on this point see Francesca G. (2003).

perspective of Mario Rufer (2018), what enunciates the multitemporality of the present enunciates the past not as oblivion and loss as an index that no longer exists, but as a "trace of the past," that is, as something testimonial, something alive.

The narration combines the testimonial with a particular cartography of the experience, not its representation. Ripamonti (2017) suggests thinking of narration as writing rooted in singularity that does not aspire to the universalization of the experience that nourishes it.

[Narrating] is a thrown writing. Its meaning is dependent on those others whom it invites to inhabit it. It is an expression of a difference. Difference that I imagine as that "irreducible rebellious background" that can express itself (and act) even in the "apparent balance of an organic representation" (Deleuze, 2006, p. 71). Difference as the possibility of overflow, of a threshold that crosses its own limit. (Ripamonti, 2017, p. 84)

For this reason, one can affirm that it is a particular way of inhabiting the experience with a critical eye, with that problematic knot that stresses, pulls and finally crosses the discourses and the subjective ways of living, thinking and recounting what has been lived (Sardi, 2013). To narrate (oneself) is to inhabit the singularity of the experience by creating a space of resonance which affects (oneself) to articulate the voices and listeners.

What is called living theory in this paper –understood as the relationship between narrative, testimony, and experience –expresses effects, marks, wounds, and scars from the body-territories that they narrate. One accompanied Ripamonti when he suggests that narratives constitute quarries for research work, provide tools to formulate problems, critical and overwhelming questions and articulate what one participates in, listens to and sees.

In this last sense, this (un)disciplined writing complaint the invisibility of knowledge and subjectivities of the heterogeneous world of the Global South as a product of epistemicide (De Sousa Santos, 2009) considers the urgency of giving birth to the possibility of inhabiting and transforming from imagination, reality.

Testimonies and Experiences of Quisquisacate's Body-Territory an Intersubjective Political Birth-Making

The next few lines are committed to bringing to the narrative the subjective ways of living, thinking, and recounting what has been lived, as mentioned

before. In line with what was stated by Yuderkys Espinosa Miñoso (2019), what encourages "is not merely theoretical objectives –if something like this existed –but urgently practical (...) the conviction that all action is based on interpretations of the world which at the same time are prescriptive of the world" (p. 2009). In this way this work is reaffirmed, dismantling the hierarchy of knowledge established between "theory" and "practice" to return to the living theory that builds a horizon of political meaning.

At the beginning of the year 2020, when the first cases of coronavirus arrived in Argentina, a feeling of uncertainty invaded the populace. At first, during the quarantine, different images of places began to circulate on networks and mass media that, in the absence of human intervention, recovered a wild appearance. Flora and fauna seemed to gain lost ground as people were confined to their homes. The idea that production was slowed made one believe that at least for a few days the Earth was taking a breather. A certain ingenuity and ignorance provided a kind of hope regarding the possibility of reflecting and slowing down the accelerated pace with which the capitalist system reproduces extractivism in every corner of the planet. However, it did not take long for news to appear that denied one's dreams. Particularly in Argentina: clearing in the Chaco (Diez, 2020), fires in the Paraná wetlands (Kandus, Morandeira, Minotti, 2020), the advance of mining in Chubut (El Diario, 2020), the lack of protection of the nature in Santa Cruz (Urouro, 2020), femicides throughout the country, the list goes on. And what has been worse, the situation has been hardened. The winter and the drought did not help. The fires caused intentionally spread across different territories.

The province of Córdoba, a territory from where we narrate ourselves investigating and militating, was besieged by the burning of more than 400,000 hectares of native forest between 2020 and 2021 (Britos-Castro, 2021b; Díaz-Romero, 2021). Over the months of ecocide, that burning has meant a death management tool that constitutes irreparable damage to native forests and, therefore, to the adjacent communities.

With the start of 2021 and the continuation of preventive and mandatory social distancing, neo-extractivism took on new forms. In complicity with the Camino de las Sierras company, the provincial government searched – and still continues to do so – to advance on the territory burned in the 2020 fire with a road project that is part of the IIRSA Plan (Initiative for the Integration of the South American Regional Infrastructure) and that has its beginnings in the year 2018 (Molina, 2021; Maina-Waisman, 2021).

In April 2021, the "Alternative Route No. 38: Costa Azul-La Cumbre variant section" project will restart. Faced with this situation, the convoked neighbors, the socio-environmental organizations and the indigenous communities of the province, but mainly of the Punilla Valley, organized themselves

to provide information, promote participation in the virtual Public Hearing and denounce both the non-compliance of real instances of citizen participation as the different regulations that would be violated. More than six hundred exhibitors participated in the hearing, whose central axis was to report on the serious environmental, cultural, and heritage impact of the route, as well as the opening of dialogue to intervene in the decisions that involve individuals without the rulers doing it behind their backs. The massive virtual public hearing showed that citizens' demands point to responsible public policies, which imply participatory territorial reordering, organization and planning in relation to the needs of the Quisquisacate region (Britos-Castro, 2021b).

While we were writing this manuscript, we were preparing the writings that would be presented at non-binding public hearing with the conviction of politicizing from the community's voice.

The proposal of Alternative to Route No. 38 that the government of Cordoba has presented and that presses to concrete will seriously destroy our entire ecosystem, it means, among other things, 40% of water of the people of Cordoba. The route of this highway runs 33% through native forest, it is classified as a red zone by provincial law No. 9814 of Territorial Planning of Native Forest that determines it as a region of a very high conservation value that should not be transformed; with 20 huge bridges it will cross eight water basins that water San Roque Lake, a lake whose waters are already in process of severe eutrophication (decomposition) and the impact they will suffer will end up degrading the region ravaged by lack of sewers, clearing and fires and property speculation. (Britos-Castro, 2021b, p.75).

In the face of so much subjugation and destruction, it is impossible for us not to narrate ourselves from this situated spaces-times, even more taking into account that one of the us live in this territory. Narrating (one) to oneself from Quisquisacate is to speak in Quisquisacate, to "talk to" what the body goes through one and not to "talk about" as mere spectators of this present crisis (Britos-Castro, 2021b). This means to speak from understanding what is enunciated from the local, beyond modern and Eurocentric binary form that conceives the nation-state and its civil society from social, political, and cultural domination. Thus, to narrate or narrate to oneself in Quisquisacate is a form of life management that gambles on processes of identity recognition of indigenous communities that inhabit Valle de Punilla, to recover the linguistic complexity⁹ and the denouncement of colonial languages imposition, to attend to its own

9. See González Almada, M. (2017).

temporality of the forest, to protect the wealth of the native forest, to protect the pluralities of histories and cultures, to work the land at a distance from capitalist accumulation, to revitalize practices and economies based on-place (Escobar, 2003).

To open ourselves to common life experiences allows for strengthening bonds that modern history of systematic separation among economic, political, and social aspects in its logic of conquering and plundering of material and symbolic appropriation has de-communalized (Britos-Castro, 2018; Britos-Castro and Zurbriggen, 2020; Britos-Castro, 2021a).

Thus, the struggle in and for body-territories in Valle de Punilla (Córdoba), coined the slogan for the last four years "we have the right to decide how we want to live." This slogan was consolidated as a denunciation and as a clear positioning that local political forms dispute the horizon to understand the developmentalist and extractivist world (Ross, 2021; Urouro, 2021b)¹⁰.

The words "development" and "progress" are costly to Latin American experiences. They mean destruction, plundering in a sustained way and constant subjugation of the local; they also favor the violation of rights. Thus, to narrate or narrate to oneself in Quisquisacate implies to be in charge of the needed epistemic and political discussion on the modern civilizational project, its multiple dimensions and diversity of attitudes. We believe current debates in social sciences challenge one deeply and allow for reconstructing ourselves on dominant paradigms. As Omar Giraldo e Ingrid Toro (2020) suggests, there is no thought or knowledge free of sensitivity and affectivity. This is a main statement for this manuscript, since ecocides are expressed in devastation of earth, erosion of life, establishment and consolidation of death projects, plundering of nature and are not irrational actions, on the contrary, those acts intertwined reason and affectivity.

In this context we recover the bond of narrating (ourselves) from the common as an alternative way of reproducing life. The human is nature. "We are the fabric of life," as Mina Navarro and Gloria Martínez (2020) state. Thus, ecocide is a project of death and *common-doing* that has to do with *making collective politics*. When we struggle, we create a memory that guarantees (re) existence, reworking and re-updating the worlds of life.

In this *doing of collective politics*, one expresses the political dimension that every narrative has, as it makes subjectivities and modes of relationship. A

10. The Assemblies of Punilla and the Assembly in defense of the environment Córdoba Capital have pronounced themselves in relation to the situation that has been experienced since the end of 2020. One of the massive events was the march on December 23, 2020 to the legislature of Córdoba to the session against what they want to impose. See the pronouncements and maps of the new mountain highway: <https://www.facebook.com/Unidos-por-el-Monte-375026479532260>

narrative makes things visible, circulates, fosters a conversation, opens public interaction and does it from a critical reality of its present.

According to Ripamonti, "it is politics because it is a voice, it inhabits a plural plot without axiological hierarchies, but with anamnestic force, in the way of a subversion of time (linear/past/suffered/lived). It is politics because it constitutes a practice of resistance to silence" (2017, p. 86).¹¹

To perform collective politics also connects one with the notion of political intersubjectivity, as a social, political and cultural relationship between different body-territories, multiple experiences of construction of subjectivity from the local are named, understood, and recognized. The political intersubjectivity approach comprises a pluriverse of interpretations and feelings that, even mediated by hierarchical power relations of colonialism and domination, are defined and expressed in shaping historical experience of the plural (Britos-Castro, 2018; Tapia, 2002). In this way, it is the notion of political intersubjectivity that makes the idea of co-inhabiting the epistemic-colonial political modernity possible. That is, to articulate the various political aspects and historical and cultural experiences of one's own dynamics of local and testimonial forms of resistance. Therefore, it entails a greater gamble of recognizing only the symbolic forms of different cultures that implies subverting the dominant and hegemonic monocultural order.

Conclusion: Tracing and (re)Tracing to Wellness

The call to problematize alternative methodologies aligned with critical epistemologies have quickly challenged society. In recent years, thinking about the ways one knows has become urgent. It implies the political positioning, as well as doing justice to current forms that traditional methodologies seek to clarify and makes invisible what "contaminates" our ways of producing knowledge.

According to this statement, keeping the fabrics that are traditionally hidden is relevant. The intention is to continue gambling on the construction of

11. Paula Ripamonti, the intellectual person that are referred to in this manuscript works the notion "anamnetic force" based on Manuel Reyes Mate proposal and the extensive work regarding the category "anamnetic justice" that supposes a conception of the right as reparation emphasizing on victims and injustices they suffered. From this point, Ripamonti argues that it demands a critical review of western history and philosophical tradition in its stated project and domination.

Ripamonti's work meant motivation for the construction of a living theory from several elements that the philosopher Mendoza presents, even so, all this development on memory and forgetfulness in the recovery of history exceeds this development and motivates further writings.

critical epistememes and methodologies in context for this situated thinking. We believe that for this purpose it is necessary to use a collective and intersubjective political work to transform in and with the struggle.

Certainly, there is no methodology without epistemological assumptions, nor epistemology without methodological support, both are co-constructed in a dynamic relationship and reciprocal benefit. According to Ripamonti (2017), methodologies are a kind of toolbox that one has to choose and build those that best suit the problems and searches, and they can even always be modified and new ones created. Thus, this manuscript causes tensions and seeks legitimized truths. It chooses the construction of a living theory that is nourished by the relationship among narration, report, and experience as a way that marks genuineness of one's own writing.

Likewise, the starting point is the body-territory, as an extensive surface of feelings, background and memories that exceed and spill from the body enabling the invention of other ways of life. The possibility of reporting one's history (Roig, 1981) as a body-territory configures a dynamic collective memory contrary to a record of what happened. Who narrate from something lived, from something meaningful, perceived and intersubjective. For this reason, as Ripamonti (2017) argues, the constructions of memory are not merely personal but political, and the presence of struggle is nourished by the memory that interferes, acts, and dislocates meanings.

From these positions, we seek to understand why the methodologies that arise from the margins are not yet incorporated. It is urgent to change those pending and out of circulation tools for mechanisms imposed by different institutions within an emergency context such as the one that crosses oneself as humanity (and not humanity). These still do not attack the criticisms of colonial and patriarchal modernity ways that have been built in the Global South for decades. We consider it of utmost importance to abandon pretensions of objectivity and neutrality in order to install, as Maristella Svampa (2020) states, a paradigm of care as a sociocognitive framework and an ecosocial and economic agreement.

The advance of real estate and agro-industrial business on areas declared as reserves or water basins in Cordoba, Argentina, is another face of neo-extractivist logic that still crosses body-territories (Domínguez, 2021). The terror and sustained war mechanisms to take the lands leave one breathless and with a naked corpoterritoriality, without taboos that freely cries out for expression and resistance. Here it makes sense to raise one's voices again to be firmly against these subjugations. When in 2018 the banner of struggle in Valle de Punilla "that Progress does not cost life" was coined, many understood that disputes for

defense of this way of life do not end with a specific event, on the contrary, it is the constant construction of an epistemic and political horizon of (re)existence.

However, one has rehearsed a way of answering the question of what happens to one's body-territories, and with it, to the questions of what to do, say, and think about so much urgent militant investigations. We strengthen the proposal of a contextualized thought, on an individual colonial and patriarchal rationality, to approach a thought as a place of *enunciation* and as a place of *being*, a thought as a territory, as a habitat. We have put the body and the word to open a space of interrogation to alternative methodologies and to propose a living theory.

In this way, and based on the debates on methods and epistemes, we consider it is important to rethink their work from different transdisciplinary contributions in order to build that thought positioning and focused on the territories, their struggles and their resistances.

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Bodily Displacements of a Female Afro-descendant from the Dehumanization of Racialized bodies*

[English Version]

Desplazamientos corporales de una mujer afrodescendiente desde la deshumanización de los cuerpos racializados

Deslocamentos corporais de uma mulher afrodescendente da desumanização dos corpos racializados

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Abstract

Objective: the article shows and reflects on the processes of dehumanization and bodily constriction suffered by female Afro-descendants based on the narrative of a young woman who studies at a public university in Medellín. **Methodology:** the research from which this article emerges had narrative analysis as its methodology. **Results:** the fundamental topics that emerge from the young woman's stories are focused on how the youthful, racialized body is the constant object of bodily controls from socialization processes, and how hyper-sexualization and location, like the denial of what is beautiful, dehumanizes

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them. **Conclusion:** the main conclusion of the investigation is centered on the fact that the dehumanization suffered by female Afro-descendants establishes them in a place of symbolic inequality that is just as relevant as inequalities regarding access to economic resources.

Keywords: Woman; Afro-descendants; Young; Body; Discrimination; Racialization.

Resumen

Objetivos: el artículo visibiliza y reflexiona sobre los procesos de deshumanización y constricción corporal que sufren las mujeres afrodescendientes a partir de la narrativa de una joven que estudia en una universidad pública en Medellín. **Metodología:** la investigación de la cual emerge este artículo tuvo como metodología el análisis de narrativas. **Resultados:** los tópicos fundamentales que emergen de los relatos de la joven están centrados en cómo el cuerpo racializado juvenil es objeto constante de controles corporales desde los procesos de socialización, y cómo la hipersexualización y el lugar de ubicación, como la negación de lo bello, les deshumaniza. **Conclusión:** la conclusión central del texto está centrada en que la deshumanización que sufren las mujeres afrodescendientes las ubica en un lugar de desigualdad simbólica igual de relevante que las desigualdades en el acceso a los recursos económicos.

Palabras-clave: Mujer; Afrodescendientes; Joven; Cuerpo; Discriminación; Racialización.

Resumo

Objetivo: o artigo torna visível e reflete sobre os processos de desumanização e constricção corporal sofridos pelas mulheres afro-descendentes através da narrativa de uma jovem mulher estudando em uma universidade pública em Medellín. **Metodologia:** a pesquisa da qual este artigo emerge teve como metodologia a análise narrativa. **Resultados:** os temas fundamentais que emergem dos relatos da jovem estão centrados em como o corpo jovem racializado é constantemente

submetido a controles corporais dos processos de socialização, e como a hipersexualização e o lugar de localização, como a negação do belo, os desumaniza.

Conclusão: a conclusão central do texto é que a desumanização sofrida pelas mulheres afro-descendentes as coloca em um lugar de desigualdade simbólica tão relevante quanto as desigualdades no acesso aos recursos econômicos.

Palavras-chave: Mulheres; Afro-descendentes; Juventude; Corpo; Discriminação; Racialização.

Introduction

The Racialized Body as a Space for Inquiry

The ways in which young, racialized women¹ construct the body is one of the central questions of the research from which this article emerges, focusing on three young women, on the challenges and possibilities that can be defined around their bodies, and the relationship they establish with it. This text will reflect on the ways in which the body of a young Afro-descendant woman who lives in the city of Medellín is intersected with, and the social relations she establishes from the singularities of gender, generation, and racialization. Also taking up what Inés Dussel (2007) explains:

Identity is a central point in current theories and politics, it has been conceptualized as a material practice that is primarily located in the body (Butler, 1993). It has been argued that identity patterns for African Americans, Latinos, women, and homosexuals involve significant differences in the body behaviors that are established as "normal" for each of these groups (Donald, Rattansi, 1992). Thus, bodies are seen as privileged sites for the construction of the social, and great attention has been paid to bodily practices that function as regulations of the self. (p. 133-134)

Despite this and the importance of the body in everyday life, there are still pending reflections about it, remaining in the epidermis of theoretical configurations that leave aside that "the act of knowing is rooted in and on a body not only oppressed or subalternized but also racialized within a colonial matrix" (Walsh 2013, p 50), as well as concrete experiences that happen to many women in Colombia and other countries in Latin America.

For this article, in particular, the authors will analyze the narratives generated in the inquiry with Camila², one of the young participants who represents herself as an Afro-descendant, concentrating her enunciation beyond a skin color in the socio-symbolic and cultural aspects that are built in singular communities and that refer to ways of feeling and interpreting the world, which recognize

1. For this article the authors take up the category racialization as made explicit by Isoke (2015, p. 1) "refers to an ongoing process of marking, categorizing, and reproducing human difference through the unequal distribution of life chances within specific geographic spatiotemporal continuums".

2. The three young women participants received all the confidentiality and anonymity considerations set forth in the informed consent and chose to appear in all research-related information under their first names.

the abduction of her ancestors from the African continent and the subsequent processes of colonization, slavery and marginalization historically experienced.

In this sense, the social field of the different Latin American countries and academia itself have been covered with paradigms that are not only androcentric (Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1986) but also that in many cases have been racist and discriminatory toward Afro-descendant communities, and particularly toward women, accounting for historical and systematic processes of exclusion and invisibilization, which place them at an open disadvantage compared to their mestizo or white peers.

In the Colombian case, the situation of Afro-descendants in different parts of the national territory has not only shown the structural racism of society and the State, but additionally, in the context of the COVID 19 pandemic, these situations have been exacerbated; adding to the lack of equipment and hospital infrastructure that historically the territories inhabited by Afro-descendants have experienced, the situations of violence have worsened in their regions in a more bloody manner with the arrival of the paramilitaries and neocolonization (Lozano-Lerma, 2016).

As explained by the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE):

Multidimensional poverty for the national NARP³ group stood at 30.6%, 11.0 p.p. above the national poverty for this domain. In the capitals, poverty among the NARP population was 13.6 percentage points higher than total poverty. (2019)

This explains briefly but forcefully the difficult situation of marginalization and exclusion that Afro-descendant populations continue to experience in the country.

In this context, the body appears then as a territory that is marked by power relations (Foucault, 2010) and configured by regimes such as sex-gender and racialization, but that everyone inhabits differently according to their own experience in the world and in which historically, as expressed by Espinosa (2009):

When a reflection on the subject and the bodies of feminism has been installed as never before, I wonder who has occupied the material place of this postponed reflection and why the concern has been limited to the sexed and gendered body without being able to articulate it to a question about the way in which the

3. The National Administrative Department of Statistics - DANE uses the acronym NARP to refer to the Black, Afro-descendant, Raizal and Palenquera population of Colombia.

politics of racialization and impoverishment would also be defining the bodies that matter in a region like Latin America. (p 40)

And this is directly related to hegemonic values that are anchored to the way in which the supposed importance of some bodies and lives over others is evidenced, and the stereotyped representations that continue to exist socially about Afro-descendant populations, about their bodies and the materiality of existence for them, generating epistemic and symbolic violence on a daily basis. As Rosalba Icaza (2019) puts it:

Looking at non-white women produces an important epistemic shift. Not only does it mean looking at the inseparability of gender and race, but it reveals how the colonized subject was subjugated, dehumanized and her sexuality animalized while she was denied the sources of communal and collective meaning. (p. 34)

In addition, this context of ethical and political representations that are marked by the processes of coloniality, helps to explain the minimal presence of racialized women in public or private decision-making scenarios in Latin America, in state or university processes or in private enterprise; especially because in the framework of structural racism mentioned above, Afro-descendant and indigenous peoples have been placed in the place of physical or symbolic extermination, denying them equal access to fundamental rights such as good education, public services or recognition of their cultural processes; since, as mentioned by Walsh (2013), coloniality has promoted complicities in different spaces, including academic institutions, and generated prescriptions of racialization that place young Afro-descendant women and men as the last subjects in social spaces. Precisely, Afro-descendant youth are not homogeneous, as Adriana Arroyo Ortega and Sara Alvarado Salgado (2015) outline:

Because of this contextual relationship, it is not possible to define a single way of being young; there are diverse circulating meanings in this regard that encompass both the production of the social sciences themselves or of other organizations that work with "youth," as well as what young people themselves have been building. (p. 22)

All of this strongly impacts the lives of Afro-descendants in Latin America and the ways in which their bodies, especially those of young women, are seen or not seen as collectively important in the face of the situations of violence, vulnerability, or contingency to which they may be exposed.

Narratives as a Methodological Approach

For the development of this research, from which this article emerges, narratives appear as a form of knowledge construction, which from qualitative research fosters the establishment of stories that, beyond what is spoken and written, build forms of approach to the subjects. As Paula Dávila, Daniel Suarez and Liliana Ochoa (2009) state, the identity of the subject is narrative, since the question of who one is raises the telling of a story of life, the narration of their history. What makes it to be considered the most accurate methodology for the development of the proposed research objectives, from the interest in listening to other stories, to build forms of diverse records of the experience of those who historically have not been heard, to be generated especially with the racialized young women, who interrogate the hegemonic visualities and the forms of structural oblivion to which they have been subjected. Here, on the contrary, different forms of narrative enunciation are rescued.

In this sense, it was important for the investigative process to build scenarios of mutual listening, of fluid conversation in which the young women felt comfortable and at the same time closer forms could be generated in the construction of their stories. Given that, as Leonor Arfuch (2016) mentions, “narrative research requires, above all, a position of attentive listening: not only to what is said but also how it is said, not only the content of a story but the modes of its enunciation” (p. 235). Therefore, the audiovisual interview and the daily video were generated as techniques with some guiding questions that allowed generating a conversation and promoting all the scenarios so that the young women could narrate themselves.

The field work of this research was carried out at the end of 2019 with three young university students whose ages were between 18 and 25 years old, who are part of youth groups in the city of Medellín. In addition to talking in a first meeting with them about their participation in the research, they were also informed of the conditions of confidentiality, anonymity, and others, recorded in the informed consent. Likewise, each one was asked to define how they would appear in front of their story, deciding individually and autonomously to appear with their names in all the investigation publications. Although the research was carried out with three young women, in this article only the findings of one of them will be analyzed. This because of the richness of her story, as well as because the analytical results that emerged from the other stories are found in other location keys around the body tracings, which do not always manage to coincide around the narratives that emerged specifically in Camilla's story.

Camila, in addition of being a young Afro-descendant woman who studies at a public university, develops levels of activism in some spaces, for which the

University has become a place for claiming rights, meeting with others who have generated questions that she had already been weaving from her subjectivity⁴. In the story of Camila, there are no explanations about processes of academic racism suffered at the University, on the contrary, this has been a meeting space with levels of reflection and construction of other knowledge.

Bodily Obliterations and the Visual Hegemony of Whiteness

Young Afro-descendants must assume a set of practices around their bodies that are always examined in terms of the phenotypic configuration, but especially the lighter or darker tone of their skin, structuring the determinations of blackness or Afro-descendent around bodily pigmentation. For Camila, precisely from her childhood, skin tone was an issue to consider in her relationship with her own body and in the way she was seen by others, even within her own family:

So, something that cut across the body a lot, obviously, is skin color, so for example, generally when I was little, well, my grandparents are like ... my grandparents on my dad's side are like a combination with indigenous and my grandmother on my Mom's does have a fairly dark skin color, so like ... first of all, the first relationship they made me have with my skin, was like saying "I look more like the lighter ones," right? (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

The historical and highly racist structured idea of the value of people according to their skin color has generated that in many parts of the world there is not only irrational hatred toward such a large group of people, but also that such coloniality of being (Maldonado-Torres 2007) leads to the fact that in many cases, these same people seek to generate discrimination scenarios with their children or closest beings according to the level of pigmentation of their bodies. As Achille Mbembe (2016) says:

By reducing the body and the living being to a matter of appearance, skin, and color, by granting skin and color the status of a fiction with biological roots, the Euro-American worlds have made black and race two aspects of the same figure: codified madness. (p. 22)

4. In order to maintain the conditions of confidentiality and anonymity built with the participant, it is not considered appropriate to provide additional data about her, to prevent her from being identified in the university spaces of which she is a part.

This phenotypic reduction, typical of the invention of races (Quijano, 2014), has made other characteristics such as the hair of Afro-descendant women a source of ridicule, rejection or stigmatization, and that in their own close contexts, they seek ways to generate transformations in this regard or to value more strongly those who have less frizz; that is, those who may be closer to whiteness as a sociopolitical form of idealized body construction that privileges white/mestizo bodies over other racialized bodies.

With the hair too, "Oh thank goodness you didn't make your hair so chontudo!" well, that's what they call it, so curly then. Rather, it was curly but beautiful, right? Then those things that they tell you since you were a child, that later when you grow up and when you realize it is: "But why do we always try to deny that side," certain side. So then one realizes that in reality, like we are taught to hate certain things about our body, to hate those darker parts, to hate where my hair is curlier, right? which is a paradox because after all, what is my mother like or what is my grandmother like? so it's like I reject that, so those are the first relationships that one is taught. (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

The coloniality of being and the stereotyped ideals of neoliberal beauty that are inserted in the forms of bodily and subjective production end up having a negative impact on the lives of many Afro-descendant women, who do not feel beautiful or who hate their own bodies, their origins or forms of body construction, establishing self-censorship, a desire to resemble the whiteness established as the dominant beauty ideal, which permeates the subjectivities of young women and the decisions that in many cases they make about their bodies and relations:

I remember that when I was little, I kind of related more to my grandparents who were kind of clearer and all that, but later, like when you saw the whole world, that people in P* well, the Afro population is hardly there, well, the Afro population is very close and I studied in a very central place, so the Afro population in my classroom was like three or four, so when I interacted with other white, mestizo people, then I did say "oh no, I am black" so I no longer have that relationship like "oh! I'm on the lighter side" but "yes, yes, I'm black" Then also, let's also say, the other relationship that they tell you is like "you're black, but you're light-haired" and that somehow implies something, it means something, but you don't realize it, right? And in a certain way it implies a privilege in relation to the darkest Afro people. (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

Not accepting and loving one's own body is not only crossed by the devices of racialization and the ideal of whiteness, but also appears linked to weight scenarios, in a kind of constant avalanche on the body that prevents it from being accepted not only by the young women themselves, but also by people around them.

Let's see, I feel that, well, my body did change in the last two or three years at the beginning, that was very strange, because when I was 15 years old I was very skinny and I didn't like being so skinny, I said like 'Oh I look like, I don't know, like malnourished or something like that' and more or less around 17, well I started to gain weight and everything, and then I didn't like gaining weight, so it's like, I don't know; but I feel that this does not come from within me, but rather that all the time they teach us to hate ourselves, that is, regardless of what our body is like, they are always putting burdens on us so that we do not like our body. (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

What is undermining the self-esteem of Afro-descendant women and the possibility of considering themselves worthy of public support, of being loved from their own bodily and cultural configurations, placing them in a kind of hypersexualized dehumanization that leads them to deny themselves, their own bodies and desires. As Zenzele Isoke (2014) explains:

Black feminists have long argued that the subjugation of black women under white supremacy operates through the historical exploitation of black women's bodies, especially through the global proliferation of controlling images that mark black women (especially poor black women) as abject and unworthy of love, caring, respect, and sympathy. (p. 357)

In this sense and returning to Lux Moreno (2018), fatphobia is an increasingly widespread idea of control of the female body, which is more strongly centralized in women, even in those who have already incorporated gyms and other practices into their vital paths of bodily constitution, and that can plunge them into insecurity in the face of the possibility of social rejection for not embodying bodily standards, for not being a socially valid body given that "being beautiful is transformed into the very possibility of being loved by others" (Moreno, 2018, p. 105). This makes women begin to travel with the mental burdens associated with aesthetic ideals of beauty from a very young age.

I began to think a lot about these last ones, I don't know, two years, about how society imposes certain burdens on us that make us do not love each other, for example these days a friend who is very thin told me 'Oh no, a friend told me that she was fatter' but she is thinner than me, I say "impossible," that is, and she is a girl who goes to the gym every day, and she told me that at that moment she felt bad and I said "I mean, how is it that such simple words make us feel so bad?" (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

These considerations about body weight, the image that is transmitted to others, is not necessarily being generated by strangers, in many cases the comments and situations about the inadequacy of female bodies begin in their own family spaces and by other women that to some extent have imposed from the socialization scenarios in the processes of corporal discipline:

I think it's more from the family, especially because my grandmother was thin, she ended up being overweight, my mother was very thin, and now she is also suffering from obesity, so all the time they are "Oh, take care of yourself!", "Oh, don't get fat!", "Oh, I don't know what!" The same thing happened to my aunts, so all the time I go to Pereira, "Oh, I see you fatter!" So all the time, there are those kinds of comments and the truth is that I hear them mostly from my family, my friends. (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

This naturalization of violence that women must suffer especially from a very early age, are configured in a colonial way of looking at their bodies, which is structured from the closest spaces of socialization. As Lux Moreno (2018) says "body control has been instituted as a religion of bodies in which we initiate by entering to a social life and coming into contact with others" (p 166). What is taking hold with all the products on the market associated with health, beauty, and well-being, and that is structuring subjective female constitutions trapped in hegemonic ideals of thinness that ignore body diversity.

Dehumanization and The Object from Body Control Devices

The experiences around the body do not end there, in the case of Afro-descendant women, hypersexualization scenarios are part of everyday life in which the gazes of others, especially men, place them in places crossed by sexual objectification that turns them into objects that can be consumed and discarded according to a neoliberal logic, as Camila expresses in the following story:

So when I go downtown, people are always yelling things, they always say to you “Oh mamacita!” well, those things you say like “I am under a lot of stress or it’s disgusting” for example, once It happened with a foreigner, that made me very angry, I was in Poblado celebrating with a friend that she was turning 18, I was still 17 at the time, so two gringos passed by, two Americans, and one of them invited me to a party, and I told him “well no, I can't, I'm underage” at that time I hadn't related it but he told me that it didn't matter, that we go, and I said “Oh no! Thank you very much” and I went with my friend, about a block later she told to me, well, like, “why do you answer them? Can't you see what they're doing?” Then I made sure, it was that they were seeing me as a prostitute, of course, I was in a corner, I had shorts, right? I was waiting for her because she was doing something, so like, well, like they'll never see me as an academic person right? Well, no, even, it's not even that prostitutes aren't smart, but you can't see it either... well, people never think about that, right? (Personal communication, 2019)

The dehumanizing reification of the Afro-descendant bodies of women locates them only from a sexual point of view, ignoring what they are in terms of their human capacities and intelligence, excluding them from the circuits of knowledge production, realizing that colonial patterns and racism that still prevail in today's societies and in which "the logic that accompanies colonization is part of the matrix of scientific knowledge, perhaps its face is less pleasant" (Vargas-Monroy, 2011, p. 160).

These openly racist behaviors and thoughts, which are secretly integrated into the cultural ethos of many people, make them camouflage into everyday life and end up being naturalized, but, it does not mean they are less violent or generate less suffering in those who suffer from it. The murders of young afro-descendants, in different parts of Latin America, do not come out of nowhere, they are structured from systematic racist logics that have dehumanized afro-descendants:

It happened to me once, I have two, well, for me they are very strong, once when I was about 14 years old I liked a friend, so I told him that I liked him, and he told me like “Oh! ok! I love you very much, but I would never be with a black woman” so, in fact, at that moment, I didn't even take it badly, I took it like “Oh ok! Who would want to be with a black woman?” Well, I mean, it was imposed inside me that I perceived it that way, right? So precisely, because every time you imagine the love story you are not going to imagine a love story with a black woman. Why? Because we are not in those ... well, our bodies don't fit in those narratives. (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

These dehumanizing logics extend to other women, also placing Afro-descendants outside the logics of affection, desire, and the possibilities of affective relationships and sensitivities that involve affective ties:

And also, once my best friend, she went to Buenaventura, and when she came back, she also came to study here in Medellín, and let's say that I began to tell her a little about political training and all that. I told her that unconsciously people were racists, and at that moment she realized, "yes, that is right. I have been too" and she told me that when she went to Buenaventura at that time, they saw two people, she and her cousin were looking at two black people kissing and her cousin asked her "Oh! Do black people fall in love?" and she said "I don't know." Then I asked her "why did you reply that to your cousin? – I don't know – you were my friend then!" and she said "I don't know, I saw them different, well, I didn't relate to them" maybe because I seem valuable, because suddenly I don't have such dark skin, or because suddenly I do not have the accent from the Pacific, so I did not relate to the common imaginary of a black person, (...) as the relationship before them was like "they are inferior, but you are my equal and then that is why my questioning of whether they fall in love or not." Well, that confession was very strong for me. (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

The references toward Afro-descendants out of affective spaces dehumanize and place them in a state of nature in which they are not recognized as equals, they can be objects of cruel and degrading practices – such as those daily used with animals – but also as Eva Illouz and Shoshannah Finkelman (2009) state:

As William Reddy argues, all "communities construe emotions as an important domain of effort" (Reddy 2001, p. 55, our emphasis), modern culture is particularly prone to regulate emotional life according to scripts of rationality, making it increasingly difficult to separate emotion from rationality. (p. 407)

Issues that seem denied in many societies to Afro-descendants who are placed either in absolute emotionalities or in hypersexualization, and in any case outside of humanity.

One can think about the close relationship to the eurocentric category of the white man as a measure of the human that should not only be asked constantly but to generate increasingly strong positions that expand the human, due to, as Rossi Braidotti states: "We – the dwellers of this planet at this point in time – are interconnected, but also internally fractured. Social class, race, gender and

sexual orientations, age and able-bodiedness continue to function as significant markers in framing and policing access to normal "humanity" (2009, p. 407). What configures subjects and geopolitical locations of the depictable, bodies that not only do not matter, (Butler 2010) but as Laura Quintana states they end up being abstracted "from their historical location, from their interdependence with other bodies (human and non-human), from their ecosystem dependence, from their fragility as agents part of broader assemblages to which they are thrown" (2020, p. 196), so the establishment of bodies as ideal become as a type of socially naturalized violence.

These structural violence and racisms have affected the behavior of the Afro-descendant women that in many cases have internalized not only that they are not beautiful, but that they cannot be part of affective relationships because of their phenotypic features, body type or skin color. Briefly, these women internalize the feeling of not being equal to white women and of being inferior, this only changes when processes of social and political empowerment change these perceptions:

As it also changes one self's perception, for example, I said at that time, when my friend told me that I had so internalized that idea that a white woman was better or more beautiful than a black woman, as a black woman, that I even understood it but then, from all that training one says "I am important, I am relevant, we are on the same level" right? And then, one understands, one begins to understand those forms of racism, at that time I would never have realized it as racism, after having that deconstruction one says "well, I mean, how did not I realize it? Or how did not I realize it?" (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

Beauty is an extremely complex issue that cannot be structured from a binary imperative but for a long time and in different contexts, afro-descendant women have been seen from a different cultural and socialization foci as not beautiful, because their bodies do not correspond to the white eurocentric standard pattern.

This topic seems trivial compared to other difficulties and problematizations from daily realities of women today, but one must stop at this aspect because it significantly affects the subjectivities of afro-descendant women of their personal worth, affective possibilities and in the construction of their own vision, and that, as Camila's story relates it, she has only been recognizing the racism in these aesthetic ideals little by little, from the training processes in which she has been in. According to Toni Ingram (2021):

In what follows, I take up the idea of beauty as a process through a feminist new materialist framework. I bring together the work of feminist philosopher and quantum physicist Karen Barad (2003; 2007) and affect theory to explore feeling pretty as an intra-active affective-material process. Moving away from a focus on what beauty is, Barad's posthumanist framework of agential realism offers a way of conceptualizing beauty as emergent – a process or becoming. (p. 3)

What constitutes beauty not as a fixed attribute of certain bodies, but as a relational scenario determined by social buildings that have been culturally installed from different devices and that establish subjects with greater possibilities of access to symbolic capitals from the discursive frameworks of what is beautiful or not, thus it implies asking, changing, and imaging other political fictions around beauty that would have an impact on material forms of existence of many women who spend much of their lives dealing with social determinations around their bodies and the behavior that neoliberal models seek to impose on them.

Thus, beauty as a cultural construct is strongly crossed by the processes of coloniality and structural racism that in many cases make exotic and derogatory difference, it places it on a distant location, the unknown that can be invaded, phagocytized or instrumentalized:

How do others see my body? Yes, how others see my body, something very important is that many people believe that certain things are compliments to our body, but I often do not see them that way, right? I see many of them within a framework of exoticization, so I think that many people see my body and make it exotic and that bothers me a lot, it makes me feel very angry because I feel that they frame it in a stereotype that does not even fit with a woman who studies or works, or who is independent or who does many other things. (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

To minimize the other to a single determinant from skin color, hair or make it exotic it is a form of colonial construction of the bodies that perpetuate stigmatizing stereotypes of the subjects, they establish borders and barriers to bodies located under a geopolitical perspective of the "third world" or impoverishment, from neoliberal logics of self-production and corporal exploitation. It necessitates according to Adriana Arroyo Ortega, Natalia Ramírez Hernández and Irma Sánchez Correa (2018):

To question the naturalizations associated with the controls of the bodies and lives of women who have ended up objectified and homogenized from the aesthetic,

it stocks other aesthetics features, insurrectionary bodies, no schematized and disciplined that can generate enunciations and interpellations to the historically constructed colonial traces and carry out effective transformations in the ways of installed patriarchal relationship, since one cannot think of the colonial without including the coloniality of the genre (Lugones, 2008) as an analysis that must be developed around the visualities and corporalities that interfere with everyday life. (p. 165)

The bodies of afro-descendant women have historically been working bodies, enslaved, but also hypersexualized. It is problematized by Camila in her story from a political indignation to the way her body and the body of other racialized women are seen, they have been reduced and essentialized in forms of social intelligibility that do not recognize other elements of their dignity, but they also have no considerations on their own desire and bodily empowerment, as they place them as bodies for others, they are instrumentalized in many cases to a male desire or a scenario of neoliberal impoverished production or marginalizing care.

I think that the black woman's body in general has always been very sexualized, even though she has been a woman who has had to work a lot historically, because she has not been, well, she has not had, let's say in quotation marks "privilege" as they say about middle class white women who if they did not have freedom were supported by their husbands. Black women were never supported by anyone, they always had to work, or well, at least from what we know from colonization. They always had to work, they never had the opportunity, if we can call it an opportunity, to get married and be supported by someone, so they were always working, working, working, so they are working women's bodies. But they have never been seen as working women's bodies, it is always sexualized, hypersexualized. So let's say that this is reflected in my daily life, when I walk in the street and people say "Wow, you black woman!" or when I get those super outrageous compliments, which have to do with black women. (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

The exoticization and instrumentalization of Afro-descendant women's bodies is also daily occurrence when their bodies are invaded, touched, questioned and censored, which has led them in many cases to hide or transform their bodies in order to approach the hegemonic canon of what has been considered beautiful. More recently, however, these women have generated practices of vindication of their aesthetics, their beauty, and their existential poetics:

When people who do not know me and I do not know them generally come [they] tell me negative things. When I walk down the street they ask me if my hair is real or if it is a wig, it is really annoying because sometimes I feel that they see it pretty or that they see it as ... yes they see it pretty and they say “how, can this be hers?” So, I mean, in the last century black women have been straightening their hair precisely because before, if you ask a woman of 60-70 years old, having natural hair was something that was frowned upon, and they started to be insulted, so women started to straighten their hair, to use wigs, to gather their hair, they didn't keep it loose. So they don't think it's normal to see a black woman with her natural hair. Luckily, now it's becoming a little more normal, black women are starting to use natural hair, but it's really annoying when they come and say “Oh, is this your hair for real?” I don't know, I mean, what do they have to teach a person to come and invade your personal space without knowing you? I mean, to come out of nowhere and touch your hair or pull it and say “Oh, that's cool!” Well, I don't agree with that. (Camila, personal communication, 2019)

The corpo-spatial invasion has been a constant that Afro-descendant women have lived and that accounts for the coloniality of power and being that is maintained and re-actualized, that maintains discrimination but also generates mercantile aesthetics around them, as Emma Chirix García (2019) makes explicit:

The problem lies not only in the difference, but in the degree of valuation that each body acquires in the table of social hierarchy. Hence the need to bring to public light the construction of racialized, civilized, and colonized bodies from diverse spaces (p.146, own translation).

Reflecting on the very practices of corporal colonization – on the ways in which discourses that denigrate, infantilize or essentialize the bodies and subjectivities of Afro-descendant women continue to be enunciated – becomes an ethical imperative to generate social transformations that prevent them from continuing to be harassed, raped or murdered. Today more than ever – in the midst of a global pandemic that has raged hardest on racialized bodies – it is important to end political hierarchies based on skin color, phenotype, culture, and the application of legal fictions that reify human difference (Isoke, 2015) and to begin to generate – as Camila has been doing – at least questions around these kinds of racist naturalizations that constitute the first step to empowering herself and her own body, and to broader transformations in her everyday environments.

Conclusions

This text has tried to point out the colonization of the gaze and the social construction of beauty that considers some bodies as beautiful and desirable, corresponding to a canon that establishes as abject those bodies that do not coincide with it, especially those of racialized women or with body measurements different from the euronorcentric norm, generating behaviors and social expectations in relation to what is considered the ideal body, which, as stated in this article, constitutes a type of naturalized symbolic violence, embodied and made visible in the reflection on the relationships that appear in Camila's narrative.

These relationships, not always made explicit, account for some socio-cultural constructions of the beautiful, of socially accepted and excluded bodies, which continue to structure and reproduce inequalities that are not minor, because, as Eva Illouz (2019) puts it, in the light of Lamont's perspective:

For, if Lamont considers traditional measures of inequality to be important, she advances more qualitative and intangible ones as well, such as recognition (or lack thereof). This is indeed a most welcome move. To those who have traditionally argued that inequality is a matter of fair redistribution of resources, Lamont retorts that the problem is multidimensional, and that it should therefore include a cultural dimension as well, where culture is here located directly in the self and its inner resources. (p. 741)

This implies understanding that considerations of access to economic resources – without ignoring their importance – constitute determinants of inequality. Additionally, for populations such as racialized women, the ways in which beauty is constructed, how their bodies are seen or not seen, and dehumanizing and systematic inferiorization generate historically naturalized inequalities that are not always analyzed by social policies, because they are considered to have less impact on the subjective constitution and on the conditions of existence of these groups, ignoring the implications that such scenarios have on the reproduction and continuity of systematic violence.

This reflection does not ignore the material conditions of existence, the inequalities surrounding the redistribution of resources. Nor does it pretend to situate the scenario of social transformation exclusively in the subjective field, leaving aside critical analyses of the ways in which the neoliberal practices of the world (Calveiro 2019) have been installed in many of the political and business decision-making scenarios. However it does consider it important to

continuously interrogate the material inequalities and equity measures adopted by governments, while questioning the symbolic practices of dehumanization that reproduce such inequitable scenarios.

Recognizing the narratives of racialized women, their bodily experiences and asking questions with them in this regard, constitutes a symbolic form of resistance that can be incorporated from research exercises. It also comes from the everyday, in a trace that can map the affectations of the processes of racialization and systematic racism that Latin American women, in their great majority, still suffer, in order to not generate a scenario of methodological purism that places one exclusively on the outside, but that can also question the places of enunciation and the implications of these discursive types from which one is located.

Camila, in her story, makes explicit scenarios of bodily obliterations. She also gives way to daily resistances that were also generated in the research itself and that allowed structuring the space as the possibility of a meeting of women's bodies that listened to each other from dissimilar experiences, but crossed by socially installed logics of power that affected their bodies and ways of relating to each other. Listening appears as a form of resistance that allows getting closer to research as a form of ethical-political transformation and encounter with ourselves (Pérez-Bustos 2019). Academic research can be a way to question the forms of bodily disciplining and dehumanization installed, in order to contribute from everyday practices to their necessary transformation, but also to the visibility of racialized bodies in order to stop the *apartheid* of racialized difference.

The process of emancipation and reflection that Camila has been weaving has not yet ended, it has been slowly strengthening and at the time this research was conducted Camila was precisely generating questions about the way in which she and others in her environment had situated themselves in relation to their bodies and, in general, about the different exclusions that Afro-descendant women suffer on a daily basis. More than a totally constructed emancipation, what is found in it is an exercise of corporal decolonization, which even today is performatively weaving as a vital search, which does not leave out the recognition of the obliterations suffered from the scenarios of racialization, but which does not remain exclusively in these places, but is in the transit of finding other spheres of location from its own everyday life.

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The Possible Future: (Counter)Narratives Regarding Latin America amid the Covid-19 Pandemic*

[English Version]

O Futuro Possível: Contra-narrativas de desenvolvimento em relação à América Latina em meio à pandemia da Covid-19

El futuro posible: (Contra) narrativas de desarrollo para pensar América Latina en el contexto de la pandemia de Covid-19

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Abstract

Objective: this paper aims to discuss development practices through the presentation of two case studies from Latin-American contexts. This reflection was done during the first months of the COVID-19 pandemic. Post-development perspectives were

the result of an academic reflection/discussion raised by the authors, as doctoral students, in the discipline Rural Development I, of the Postgraduate Course in Rural Development (PGDR/UFRGS), which took place between August and December of 2020. The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest with third parties during the conduct and publication of this work.

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mobilized to explore new analytical dimensions in the epistemological and socio-political critique of the capitalist mode of appropriation of nature in América Latina and their potential implications amid the Covid-19 pandemic. **Methodology:** two study cases from Brazil and Costa Rica were elaborated. The qualitative methodological framework used to identify actors and their complex interactions became a useful tool in reconstructing different socio-political expressions, symbolic narratives, and survival/resistance strategies emerging from local groups. **Results:** social-environmental crisis emerging in the Anthropocene context suggest the need for different points of view and ontological turns to gain a better understanding of social change occurred in the margins of in the Western world. Latin-American societies are multiple and diverse. Both, Brazilian and Costa Rican experiences discussed in this paper, represent situated realities which cannot be generalized, but this is a rather important and critical issue. These case studies help illustrate how the non-critical adoption of hegemonic categories of sociotechnical control and securitization is inadequate to understand and explain the contingency emerging from these situated realities. **Conclusions:** we suggest in the final part of the paper that these reflections contribute to bring a different perspective on how science, political and nature converge in knowledge systems and how these systems are contested for different people, groups, and communities around the world. This reflection is crucial to the study of processes concerned with political legitimacy, democracy, and territorial political identities.

Keywords: Environment; Social sciences; Culture and development; Human activities effects; Pandemics.

Resumen

Objetivo: el objetivo del artículo es generar una discusión sobre dos prácticas de desarrollo realizadas en Brasil y Costa Rica durante los primeros meses de la pandemia del Covid-19. Se acompaña esta reflexión con insumos teóricos procedentes de los abordajes del posdesarrollo, con la finalidad de aportar nuevos elementos de análisis que contribuyan a profundizar la crítica epistemológica y sociopolítica de los procesos de apropiación de la naturaleza impulsados por el modo de producción capitalista en América Latina, y sus implicaciones en los tiempos del Covid-19. **Metodología:** en relación con el diseño metodológico, las prácticas de desarrollo son construidas como estudios de caso, según lo establecido por la investigación cualitativa, que sugiere la importancia de la identificación de los actores involucrados en la expresión de un fenómeno, sus interacciones complejas y el mapeo

de narrativas y estrategias de sobrevivencia y resistencia que surgen como formas de superar el conflicto. **Resultados:** en la discusión de los resultados se propone un giro ontológico en el abordaje reflexivo del desarrollo, que es coincidente con el establecimiento de miradas alternativas para entender las crisis socioambientales asociadas con el Antropoceno. Con el propósito de debatir las posibilidades de análisis que ofrecen estas alternativas epistémicas y onto-políticas, las experiencias empíricas permiten ejemplificar la inadecuación de las categorías tradicionales para atender los escenarios de contingencia, siendo pertinente la incorporación de abordajes no centrados en las medidas de control, securitización y planificación. **Conclusiones:** en las conclusiones, señalamos que el conjunto de estas reflexiones permite una mejor comprensión sobre la forma en que ciencia, política y naturaleza se articulan en las sociedades contemporáneas. Este conocimiento es fundamental en el estudio sobre las prácticas de legitimación democrática, los proyectos alternativos de ciudadanía y el surgimiento de nuevas identidades territoriales.

Palavras-chave: Ambiente; Ciencias sociales; Cultura y desarrollo; Efectos de las actividades humanas; Pandemia.

Resumo

Objetivo: o objetivo deste trabalho é gerar uma discussão sobre duas práticas de desenvolvimento acontecidas no Brasil e na Costa Rica durante os primeiros meses da pandemia da Covid-19. A reflexão é acompanhada de insumos teóricos das abordagens pós-desenvolvimentistas, com a finalidade de aportar novos elementos de análise que contribuam para o aprofundamento da crítica epistemológica e sociopolítica aos processos de apropriação da natureza pelo modo de produção capitalista na América Latina e suas implicações nos tempos da Covid-19. **Metodologia:** quanto ao delineamento metodológico, as práticas de desenvolvimento apresentadas foram construídas como estudos de caso, em função do estipulado pela pesquisa qualitativa, que sugere a importância da identificação dos atores envolvidos na expressão de um fenômeno, suas interações complexas e o mapeamento das narrativas e estratégias de sobrevivência e resistência que emergem como formas de superação dos conflitos. **Resultados:** a análise dos resultados propõe um giro ontológico na abordagem reflexiva do desenvolvimento que é coincidente com a adoção de olhares alternativos para entender as crises socioambientais originadas no Antropoceno. Com o propósito de debater as possibilidades de análise que oferecem os novos olhares epistêmicos e onto-políticos, as duas experiências empíricas permitem exemplificar a inadequação das categorias tradicionais para atender os cenários de contingência, sendo pertinente

a incorporação de abordagens não centrados em medidas de controle, securitização e planejamento. **Conclusões:** as conclusões sugerem que o conjunto destas reflexões permite uma melhor compreensão sobre as formas em que ciência, política e natureza articulam-se nas sociedades contemporâneas. Este conhecimento é fundamental nos estudos sobre as práticas de legitimação da democracia, os projetos alternativos de cidadania e o surgimento de novas identidades territoriais.

Palabras-clave: Ambiente; Ciências sociais; Cultura e desenvolvimento; Efeitos das atividades humanas; Pandemia.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to generate a discussion regarding two development practices that took place in Brazil and Costa Rica during the first months of the Covid-19 pandemic. The reflection is accompanied by theoretical inputs from post-developmental approaches, with the purpose of providing new elements of analysis that contribute to the deepening of the epistemological and socio-political critique of the processes of appropriation of nature by the capitalist mode of production in Latin America and their implications in Covid-19 times. The first section discusses the intrusion of Gaia and the emergence of thinking about the techno-scientific underpinnings of modernity. The thesis of "disconnection with nature" suggested by Bruno Latour invites thinking about the need to move toward a new ethic of coexistence among species that favors the reinsertion of man in nature through affective registers and sensorial experiences that favor the vitality of the world.

The paths taken so far by the ideology of progress and limitless economic growth are leading to an unprecedented ecological crisis. The consequences of this instrumental rationality compromise the reproduction of life and the spaces of socio-biodiversity.

In the current scenario, marked by uncertainties and the constant perception of new dangers, ethical and political dilemmas are being redefined, while the socio-environmental vulnerability that the world is experiencing is leading to the emergence of new environmental conflicts, which are an expression of model exhaustion. In this sense, the Anthropocene marks serious discontinuities; what comes after will not be like what came before. This same concept can also draw attention to the decisive refusal of the separation between Nature and Humanity that has paralyzed science and politics since the dawn of modernity. Edgardo Lander (2016) addresses an important issue, explaining the current serious capitalist crisis, is the system's loss of regulatory capacity. Neoliberal globalization has created the conditions for capital to move freely. In the face of this extraordinary combination of threats, not only to democracy, peace, and human dignity, but also to life itself, people are found in movement and resistance.

It is in this sense that the cases presented seek to identify some contextual and situational elements to problematize to what extent the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic and the actions taken by national governments to address the health and economic crisis may lead to reconsideration of normativistic approaches and planned interventions. These compromise adequate knowledge of the existence of other agents (including non-human ones), and at the same

time, jeopardize the environmental balance that is needed for the conservation of communities and their symbolic and material reproduction.

In this way, the case of the Riverine people of Baixo Tocantins, PA (Amazon, Brazil) affects the narrative of the (in) sustainability of planned development in a context of self-organization, autonomy, and resistance. In these, different visions of society-nature relations also converge, which will express themselves in the form of struggle and conflict, and their rearrangements of organization and strategies in the context of the pandemic. However, the case of the digital platforms promoted by the Costa Rican government to stimulate logistics and agricultural marketing activities during the pandemic questions the instrumental character of these initiatives and identifies the need for greater public reflection on the effects and potential of these devices in relation to the diversity of local livelihoods, territorialities, and the influence of the natural landscape.

The structure of this paper is as follows: after this introduction, the second section describes the methodological considerations that preceded the writing of this text. The following section establishes the main theoretical referents that guide the study. After that the empirical experiences are presented, which are subsequently problematized in following sections. The conclusion reviews the discussion of new epistemic horizons and the methodological inversion necessary to analyze and develop the (counter)narratives in question critically.

Methodological Considerations

The present article is part of an academic reflection that emerged in the context of the discussions held during the participation of the authors, as doctoral students, in the Rural Development I discipline of a Postgraduate Course in Rural Development (PGDR/UFRGS), which took place between August and December of 2020. An earlier version of this article was presented during the Third Seminar on Latin America (SIALAT), entitled Democracy, Nature and Epistemologies for Thinking Tomorrow, which took place on February 25, 26, and 27, 2021, in Belém do Pará (Brazil) on-line.

In both instances, the central questions that guided the formulation of the ideas developed are: to what extent does the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic create conditions for rethinking conventional development paradigms and their application in critical studies concerning capitalism? What are the possibilities of incorporating recent debates on post-development into theoretical elaborations that explore the interconnections between pandemic phenomena and the

environmental question in the context of the Anthropocene? What are the possible impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic for the trajectory and change of institutions associated with development planning? Can a political reconfiguration of social forces as a result of government-driven strategies to address the pandemic be expected?

From these general questions came more specific questions that were the subject of discussion with fellow researchers and the general public during the SIALAT event: Como a pandemia afetou e/ou está afetando a criação de cenários de futurabilidade e à percepção pública sobre o planejamento do desenvolvimento? What are the limits, opportunities, and possible outcomes of leveraging conventional development practices to serve vulnerable populations in times of health emergencies? What kind of innovative new narratives and discursive techniques conflict with the ideas that continue to support the thesis of human exceptionality and technocratic control of the world?

The case studies are based on the authors' previous fieldwork experiences with rural actors in Brazil and Costa Rica during the year before the pandemic broke out. In this sense, both cases are used to mobilize key theoretical placements and think about new categories of analysis, with the Covid-19 pandemic and the new contexts, potentialities and challenges associated with the health crisis as a backdrop.

The selection of these experiences is based on the following criteria:

1. Actors (whether communities, sectors, organizations, or other civil society associations) that have maintained a recognizable interconnection with the State Government either through timely directed actions or through indirect implementation of public policies aimed at boosting "controlled" development in the year prior to the outbreak of the pandemic.
2. The knowledge of a controversy or conflict that concerns the way the Government addresses or deals with some significant issue or problem for these actors, which has been aggravated by the pandemic or as a result of the measures implemented by the State Government to overcome the health emergency.
3. The identification of emergency measures by the Government that are directed toward these actors, with the purpose of reconciling the ongoing institutional actions with an adaptation strategy to the new scenario caused by the pandemic.
4. The authors' experiences with the case studies before and during the Covid-19 pandemic reveal the scenario of changes that occur with these populations and the relevance of problematizing here with this work. Which socioeconomic factors have remained or changed in these new

times full of uncertainties and challenges, and how these populations in the two case studies are dealing with these situations that affect their social, economic, and productive reproduction in a general context additionally are explored.

In the case of the Riverine people of Baixo Tocantins, PA (Brazilian Amazon), in interviews conducted online (web-video), with key informants from the Aricurá watershed, municipality of Cametá, State of Pará, through the study group on Socio-Environmental Diversity in the Amazon, of the Environmental Center of the Federal University of Pará, GEDAF/UFPA. The interview scripts were written prior to the writing of this work, but they fit with the literature presented, and since the research is still in progress, further detailing of the results will not be possible. However, also notes and possible clues to what has already been concluded, as well as another possible discussion to be held at this point is that of the appropriation of natural resources by the capitalist/hegemonic mode of production and its implications in COVID-19 times in the Brazilian context. This will be detailed in a prior section. To make these points and possible clues and/or paths of analysis, the interviews contained several questions about productive issues – what changed in the local productive systems with the pandemic of COVID-19 and how the social isolation affected the local Riverine communities in the socioeconomic context in their way of life and in the disposal of their products/food for local marketing.

Because of the restrictions of mobility and remoteness, a desk review of publications made in print and oral media during the period of January to December 2020 was conducted to develop a comprehensible narrative in the construction of the case studies. The set of secondary information allowed establishing an account that provides a better perspective for critical analysis, depending on the variations in the type of relationship the actors had with the central government before and during the first months of the pandemic.

Theoretical References

Gaia and the Techno-scientific Supports of Modernity

The Gaia hypothesis arose from studies that began in 1960 performed by James Lovelock and Dian Hitchcock at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, which sought to verify the existence of life on the planets Venus and Mars. The scientists compared the atmospheres of these two planets with the atmosphere

of planet Earth. The unique characteristics of Earth led Lovelock to develop the Gaia hypothesis, in which it is proposed that the biosphere acts as an adaptive control system, keeping the Earth in homeostasis. He also came to regard the Earth as analogous to living things, often qualifying it as a living being, considering planet Earth as a self-contained system. In this system, the biosphere and the environment would be coupled and inseparable: Gaia is a complex entity involving the Earth's atmosphere, biosphere, oceans, and soil. This totality constitutes a feedback control or cybernetic system, which seeks to optimize, physically and chemically, the environment for biota (Lovelock, Margulis, 1974). In this way, Lovelock and Margulis came up with a further definition of Gaia, which would imply the biosphere functioning as an adaptive control system and maintaining homeostasis on planet Earth. The notion of the biosphere as an adaptive control system that maintains the Earth in homeostasis is referred to as the Gaia hypothesis (Lovelock, 1990).

Gaia is a metaphor for "living earth," her name deriving from a Greek goddess. Aline de Fatima Chiaradia Valadão (2008) paraphrasing Lovelock (2006):

It is important to clarify that the metaphor living earth has no relation whatsoever to a sentient form, or even alive as an animal, it is convenient to extend the somewhat sententious and limited definition of life as something that reproduces itself and corrects the errors of reproduction by natural selection among offspring. (p. 3)

With this, the emergence of the Gaia Theory came to show humanity that the problem of balancing the environment is real and that if immediate action is not taken, this unbalanced situation will become irreversible. In this context the Anthropocene has an incisive meaning about the common existence, Krenak (2019) provides ideas for postponing the end of the world by taking care of planet Earth, the natural resources still possessed, and the traditional societies that are true "guardians" of these natural resources and the common good.

In the context of this paper, the intrusion of Gaia and the emergence of thinking about the techno-scientific supports of modernity is discussed. The ideology of progress and limitless economic growth are leading the world down a path to an unprecedented ecological crisis. The consequences of this *rationality compromise the reproduction of life and the spaces of socio-biodiversity*.

Latour has argued that Gaia has been misunderstood by much of the scientific community, especially by those who have tried to fit this potent theory—which presents a new description of a state of affairs—into an old frame (Latour, 2013). Latour also warns against a holistic thinking that disregards

Gaia's multiplicity: if treated it as a totality, it will only recharge the modern ways of thinking, recharge the idea of Nature.

The paths traced so far by the modern perspective have led directly to the ecological crisis in which the world finds itself. Thinking about environmental issues in a non-dualistic way seems, in this sense, essential for both understanding and formulating possible solutions to them. The supposed division of tasks between Science and Politics, established by the modern Brazilian constitution, has only made life more difficult for those who have been assigned the task of solving problems. Scientists are now forced to leave their laboratories to debate unpredictable, ambivalent entities that involve and are evoked by humans. Politicians, who thought they exclusively represented human issues, now need to leave their offices and take into account the rights of non-humans as well (Pimentel, 2003).

In line with Isabelle Stengers (2015), proposing reflections about what she calls "the art of being careful, and of (re)learning that art" becomes possible. From her perspective, when it comes to growth and development, just the opposite occurs. Stengers proposes in her work as a whole, how catastrophe has become globalized. For Stengers, this confidence in growth could bring the world to the end of the line. It motivates one to reflect on the growth and that of the economy, where the principle based on the art of caring loses its value completely because of competing interests.

Stengers (2015) describes how the global development project, is a pejorative project of the destruction of Gaia. Some clear examples from everyday life, as she emphasizes, make one think that the world is not in a crisis process, but rather a catastrophic one. A clear example of this are the numerous treaties, summits, and agreements (international, governmental, and others) on climate change that are appeased by the world's rulers. Stengers, facing the new times, suggests that it becomes important to create a way of life post-economic growth, a life that explores connections with new powers on how to act, feel, imagine, and think.

The Meaning of Disconnection from Nature

In the current context, the Covid-19 pandemic has turned out to be one of the greatest manifestations of the Anthropocene. This new geological era, which, in the words of Paul Crutzen (2006), is characterized by the impact of the actions of a single species, the human being, on the set of conditions necessary for the reproduction of life and biodiversity on the planet with consequences ranging from global warming to changes in the natural landscape.

This concept has seen further development among the social sciences, especially anthropology. While there is still an academic debate around its scientific rigor, the ideas and reflections expressed by Crutzen allow establishing new starting points to rethink alternatives. For purposes of the goal proposed by this article, it is important to highlight what is meant by alternatives in relation to the horizons of possibility that establish the narrative of the Anthropocene, and that makes the exploration of new courses of action and interpretation of the world possible (Barnett et al., 2016).

It is worth identifying this with some examples. First, nowadays there is a greater problematization of the environmental issue, which triggers direct effects in the public and collective sphere, as well as in people's private sphere. The rise of animal rights movements, including the rise of vegetarianism and veganism, which concern people's diets and individual consumption decisions. At the same time, these movements put pressure on the global agri-food industries by demanding changes in production systems and the incorporation of procedures that are environmentally and ecologically sustainable. Thus, environmental performance has become a business discourse that seeks the incorporation of values associated with cleaner production and eco-competitiveness.

The second aspect is related to the State sphere. The environmental issue has also been the object of an innovative set of public policies, directed mainly to the control of climate change. This is mainly oriented to the incorporation of techno-socio-scientific narratives which propose the creation and transfer of green technologies for productive activities. A paradigmatic case, with respect to new policy instruments for climate-smart action, is the adoption of circular economy and bioeconomy strategies, as well as other measures adopted for the decarbonization of the economy, which in recent years have experienced increased interest from Latin American countries.

Third, in the academic sphere, environmental challenges have increased the debate regarding the relationship between society, technoscience, and the environment. The emergence of new approaches and lines of thought, some more critical than others, have in common the problematization of the institutional environments in which formal science is conducted. This is also a reflection of the increasing pressures to establish epistemological and theoretical changes that account for the new crisis scenarios. One of the results of these elaborations is precisely the centrality acquired by the notion of justice within studies on ecology and sustainability (Rauschmayer, Bauler, Schöpke, 2015).

Thus, a recent field of study on sustainable transitions has focused on analyzing the relational, cognitive, and cultural dimensions that contribute to legitimizing particular views of social-technical-ecological systems, and the way in which these systems are articulated in development trajectories that suggest

a change of direction. For Melissa Leach et al. (2018), the main problematic element of this articulation, which can be termed instrumental, is the way in which it informs the political sphere. According to this perspective analyzing the transition trajectories established institutionally through actions planned by central governments is necessary to identify spaces for deliberative interaction between the State and the citizenry, which allow the democratization of the knowledge needed to define inclusive adaptation paths.

Nevertheless, it is also important to take into account that the emphasis on deliberative interaction and the promotion of social participation in the formal spaces of public debate is not an effective solution to solve the real problems of democracy. It being necessary to have adequate mechanisms to favor deliberation with other sets of authors (including non-human ones) and with other forms of knowledge, in particular, ancestral knowledges and worldviews that are inscribed in a different register than that of Western modernity (Virtanen, Siragusa, Guttorm, 2020).

In this sense, beyond the elements of inclusion or visibilization, what is important is to highlight that there is a multiplicity of contexts for transition (Berkhout, Smith, Stirling, 2004), which will identify with other types of discursive and metaphorical languages and representations. At the heart of the debate, then, lies the importance of moving toward new forms of dialogue that recognize the existence of a cognitive plurality that cannot be comprehensively addressed by closed systems from the very first moment.

This brief problematization is intended to point out that the ideology of development associated with the emerging discourses of green economic growth cannot resolve the rhizomatic character of current challenges. In part, because the instrumentalization of the concept of sustainability will appear as being dependent on the continuity of the capitalist modes of production, while an abstraction of the social dimension and of the other complex crises that threaten the planet is produced. The growth of structural inequality and its relation to socio-environmental vulnerability is one such example.

Alternatively, the pandemic revealed the evident inefficiency of the control mechanisms of modern socio-technical regimes. Wisdom Kanda and Paula Kivimaa (2020) argue that many of the responses made by governments during the early stages of the spread of the virus have to do with an approach to the securitization of the nation-state. These alternatives represent partial answers that provide the population with a momentary sense of confidence, but do not resolve long-term expectations.

It must be remembered that the anthropization of natural environments creates conditions for much more frequent encounters between humans and wild species. The effects of human activities on ecosystems increase the risk

that new viruses will pass from one species to another. The loss of forest area caused by deforestation and the increase in urbanization and agricultural land cause changes in landscapes and increase exposure to contagion.

In a recent paper, Leach et al. (2021) wonder how and why Covid-19 requires rethinking development? One of the main ideas brought forward by the authors is the importance of considering the element of uncertainty in dominant science and technology policy narratives. Uncertainty plays a shaping role in the political perception of dangers and threats. Even more important, however, is considering the relationship that this concept has with this imaginary contingency, that is, the existence of phenomena that cannot be of the total understanding and absolute domain of the human being.

At the same time, in these readings a new concern emerges of the importance of making available politics of care, solidarity, and empathy that allow humans to find new ways to inscribe themselves in nature and recover a sense of the sublime (Latour, 2018). In this sense, it is interesting to see how the pandemic can sensitize one to the importance of rethinking an ethics of coexistence between species that puts an end to the systematic wars against life, evoked by the model of limitless growth (Lander, 2016).

How these Elements help Frame the Complex Realities of Latin America

With the purpose of unfolding the possibilities of analysis offered by the new epistemic perspectives, this section mentions two empirical experiences with the intention of problematizing the inadequacy of traditional categories and the need to go beyond the approaches of control, securitization, and planning in contingency scenarios.

The Case of the Riverine People of Baixo Tocantins, PA (Amazon, Brazil), recognizing that environmental problems are real and that in this context social representations are important, attention must be paid to the way these problems are perceived and referred to. Traditional peoples are considered to be peoples of resistance to this context. An understanding must be developed of the environmental issue as a questioning of the representations and forms of social organization and their relations with nature. Effectively, the contradictions present in a society that has commodified man, land, and water (Polanyi, 2000), in which economic rationality expressed in the idea of the "domination" of nature predominates, reveals the *unsustainability* of this hegemonic capitalist

model, which may generate a depletion of global natural resources. Addressing Florit (2000), today the consequences of human intervention in nature are of global character, even if largely unknown. Even "pristine nature" protected areas are human constructs, bounded and governed by humans (Hederich, 1993). Bringing into the debate the question: has man mastered nature, or has man been dominated by the hegemonic capitalist model? This is the basis of financialization and commodification at any cost, at any price, of life itself. Can the value of nature be measured? What is the value of life?

This unsustainability is already generating problems of various spheres such as: environmental conflicts and environmental impacts. According to Andréa Zhouri and Klemens Laschefski (2010), cited by (Fleury, Almeida, Premebida, 2014) "environmental conflicts generally reveal differentiated modes of existence that express the struggle for autonomy of groups that resist the model of modern society" (p. 67). In this context of unsustainability previously discussed, the analysis of environmental conflicts according to the actors leads therefore, to the possibility of recognizing the multiple societal projects that trigger distinct matrices of material and symbolic production and that come up against real asymmetries of power in the social and political dynamics, contributing to the construction of alternatives attentive to the principles of sustainability and environmental justice. According to the same authors, "the questioning of the hegemonic development model often linked to the '[...] struggle of groups not inserted, or only partially inserted, in the urban-industrial-capitalist system against deterritorialization' leads one to reflect on the process of 'coloniality of modern thought'" (Zhouri and Laschefski, 2010, p. 26, cited by Fleury, Almeida, Premebida 2014, p. 67). For Manuela Carneiro da Cunha and Mauro Almeida (2009, p. 300), cited by Fleury, Almeida, Premebida (2014, p. 69) "this analysis is convergent with the contemporary configuration of the environmental issue based on the definition of "traditional populations" as political subjects, willing to negotiate: in exchange for control over the territory, they commit to providing environmental services."

According to Emilio Morán (1990), each society acquires unique criteria that enshrine the way in which resources are to be used and for what purpose. Human beings, like so many other species, generally reproduce and grow to environmental limits, correcting their reproductive behavior and use of environmental resources. These adaptations and interactions include the spatial dimension, territoriality, productive, economic, social and, mainly, adaptability to the environment, expressing dynamics of sustainable use of natural resources (Reis, 2015). Thus, the practices of each territory are founded on the symbolization of its environment, and on the social meaning of resources, which have generated diverse forms of perception and appropriation, rules of use and

access, agroecosystem management practices, and cultural patterns of resource use and consumption (Leff, 2009).

The example of the Riverine people of Baixo Tocantins River (Amazon, Brazil) concerns the identity of a certain region where the crafts and knowledge related to this local productive system appeal to the feelings of belonging of people to that place and to that community, referring to affective and social bonds, to the phenomenon of rootedness of people in a region. The life dynamics, practical knowledge, and sociocultural mechanisms of traditional societies are also included in this identity. Following the example of the riverside communities, it is possible to point out more appropriate ways to use natural resources, based on the sustainable management of the environment. The adaptive strategies of Amazonian societies to the natural environment constitute a wealth to be valued, and may even offer an example of how to balance use and conservation of natural resources in the Amazon (Morán, 1990), from multiple combinations of productive systems, integrating extractivism, fishing, and agriculture, generating balance between available resources and the demand of populations for these resources (Fraxe et al., 2007).

The productive diversity and natural resource management strategies of a given society may be better adapted to the conditions of the physical environment, often possessing sophisticated forms of management derived from long experience with the natural environment that resist changes imposed by external forces (Adams, 2002). Therefore, productive diversity represents the reduction of risks for these populations and the independence from a single way of surviving, giving families the opportunity to adapt and diversify their livelihoods. It becomes an indispensable condition for the survival and sustainability of rural territories to the extent that they guarantee greater autonomy and control over the process of social reproduction (Perondi, 2007; Perondi, Kiyota, Gnoatto, 2009).

In the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, which affects populations differently depending on their territorial conditions, the Riverine people of Baixo Tocantins, PA had to adapt to this "new normality" and thus had to rearrange their social, productive, and economic organization. With this new research protocol in mind, the Socioagro-environmental Diversity in the Amazon Study Group of the Environmental Center of the Federal University of Pará, GEDAF/UFGA conducted interviews (via web video) with residents of some riverside communities in the territory of the lower Tocantins River. They reported in general that they felt several difficulties regarding the lack of information about the pandemic, about social isolation, and how to prevent themselves from contracting the virus. In relation to the social, productive, and economic reorganization, one cannot yet point to an overall picture, because the

research is still in progress. But certainly the dynamics of life, as well as the way of living it were directly affected, because they had always been in the company of family members, relatives, and neighbors. In the face of social isolation this affective and productive socialization was affected.

Another point highlighted is in relation to the appropriation of natural resources by the capitalist mode of production that these communities are facing. Unfortunately, Brazil is experiencing the dismantling of a whole history of political achievements in favor of the conservation of natural resources in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. In this regard "to go passing the herd and changing all the rules and simplifying norms" (Phrase of the Minister of Environment- Ricardo Salles, G1 site, 2020) was the preferable course of action.

The new proposals for modifications in environmental licensing only further reinforce this policy of dismantling natural resources in favor of what can be called this alliance between capital and land – the land here seen not as a means of production, but as a mere physical substrate. As an example of this alliance and appropriation of nature, the deforestation rates of the Amazon presented in the year 2020 a new record, are data from the National Institute for Space Research (INPE, 2021) unit linked to the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovations (MCTI). The consolidated value of the deforested area, by clear cutting, between the period of August 1, 2019 and July 31, 2020 was 10,851 km². This figure represented a 7.13% increase over the deforestation rate ascertained by PRODES in 2019 which was 10,129 km² for the nine states of the Brazilian Legal Amazon (BLA). This rate is calculated annually based on data generated by the Project for Monitoring Deforestation in the Legal Amazon by Satellite (PRODES). This high rate of deforestation has already had several consequences for the environment and for Brazilian traditional peoples: the loss of biodiversity, the expulsion of traditional peoples who provide environmental services¹ (Amazonian indigenous peoples), and climate change with the increase of greenhouse gas emissions, according to Philip Fearnside (2005).

Another factor of concern and tied to the reproduction of these Riverine communities is the non-payment of emergency aid² for Brazilian family farmers. This aid could at least help the food production of these families, since many fairs and places that used to sell food were closed because of preventions and protocols to avoid contagion from the novel coronavirus. Based on José Graziano

1. The Amazon forest provides at least three classes of ecosystem services: biodiversity maintenance, carbon stock, and water cycling (Fearnside, 2005).

2. Emergency aid is a benefit instituted in Brazil by Law No. 13,982/2020 aimed at informal and low-income workers, individual microentrepreneurs, and individual contributors to the National Institute of Social Security (INSS). The objective of the aid was to mitigate the economic impacts caused by the COVID-19 Pandemic in Brazil.

da Silva (1999), who calls attention to a rural development policy that needs to articulate a broad set of other non-agricultural policies that support socially disadvantaged rural workers, including those in more precarious conditions of poverty. By mentioning the severe poverty in Brazil, while Brazilian agribusiness sets an all-time record in grain production (24.3% growth in its GDP by 2020) Brazil is back on the hunger map. Brazilian families are in the grip of hunger (19 million families face the hunger epidemic in 2020 – representing approximately 9% of the Brazilian population) in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic (Brazilian Research Network on Food Sovereignty and Security [PENSSAN Network], 2021).

The Case of Digital Platforms and Farmers in Costa Rica

To what extent can a post-developmental reflection on the Anthropocene contribute to solving the adverse effects of Covid-19? To what extent does the incorporation of securitization approaches during the pandemic pose a threat to the construction of socio-ecological spaces inscribed at the margins of Western modernity?

To postulate a satisfactory answer to these questions it is necessary to understand the emergence of the coronavirus in a context of the representational crisis of modernity that has been widely discussed by authors such as Anthony Giddens (1991) and Beck, Giddens, Lash, (1995). On the one hand, this crisis has manifested itself as a new expression of the worsening of an expansive and unsustainable economic system: capitalism at the end of its growth limits. On the other hand, it contributes to a greater legitimization of scientific practices (Stengers, 2015), which are organized by dominant socio-technical regimes to mobilize a set of knowledge, technologies, and institutional arrangements, and have the function of providing a quick and effective response to the loss of confidence and the growing sense of risk.

This deployment therefore represents the main contradiction of current times and could result in a problematic scenario for the common welfare in the long run if certain analytical precautions are not taken into consideration. To exemplify these issues, focus is drawn to Costa Rica's experience in attending the public policy measures adopted by the Ministry of Agriculture and livestock (MAG) during the pandemic.

First of all, it should be noted that the country's agricultural authorities have celebrated the "outstanding performance" of this set of economic activities during the months of the pandemic, based on a two-percentage point

(2%) increase in the level of exports in 2020 compared with the previous year (Umaña, 2021).

At the same time, there is talk of a reinvention of agriculture (O'Neil, 2020) because of the development of a number of technological applications designed to facilitate product marketing processes and logistical issues. E-commerce has become the main strategy of agricultural organizations (public sector, cooperatives, and producer associations) to adapt to the new restrictions of mobility and social isolation. In the country, in the first six months of 2020, more than 3,000 companies from all sectors of the economy started using these technologies (Castro, 2020) and some researchers are already considering online sales in the agricultural sector as potential business models for entrepreneurs.

In the coffee and livestock sector, expert groups from the Coffee Institute (ICAFE) and the Livestock Corporation (CORFOGA), in technical collaboration with MAG, have created COVID-19 protocols based on the use of technology platforms. The application "La Finca Agropecuaria" (The Agricultural Farm) was conceptualized and developed by MAG, the Promotora de Comercio Exterior (PROCOMER) and the Cámara Costarricense de la Industria Alimentaria (CACIA – The Costa Rican Chamber of Commerce), with the purpose of providing a direct virtual meeting point between producers and consumers.

Although these initiatives represent an important innovation in terms of the shortening of value chains and the fairer distribution of utility margins in favor of producers, it is necessary to recognize that the adoption of these devices benefits those who already have installed technological capacity and who make use of the "smart phones," without distinguishing the diversity of types of agriculture, producers, farming, and learning styles, which will determine the appropriation and adaptation of these devices according to each specific context and social group.

Critics of the adoption and operation of these initiatives argue that the country is going through a crisis of institutional discoordination that affects the transfer of technologies at a time when these inputs are vital. In addition, it is suggested that there are major weaknesses in governance schemes, little political will, and lack of leadership on the part of some public government agencies (Hernández-Sánchez, 2020).

In both cases, the proposed alternative is the same: competitive agriculture guided by technical modernization and following the nature-based priority solutions approach (United Nations Development Programme, 2020). Nevertheless, one of the main limitations of these perspectives is the absence of detailed descriptions of the complexity of rural livelihoods and dynamics that go beyond the agro-productive sphere. In this way, establishing a flow of attraction of

agribusiness investments to guarantee the "absence" of rural development in certain regions has even been proposed.

In principle, the practical functionality of the applications promoted by the Costa Rican farming organizations as a way out of the economic contraction caused by the pandemic is favored by the abstraction that these devices make of the producers and their environment. In this scenario, the intermediation of the market facilitates access to the devices without considering the social legitimization of the technologies in the immediate context of their incorporation and their integration in social relations mediated by multiple knowledges and ways of perceiving nature.

Alternatively, the technical modernization of agriculture is not enough to overcome the environmental crisis, let alone the economic consequences of the health emergency in this sector. The boost of technological applications allows seeing the individualization of institutional responses of the assistance type, at a time when the main challenge is the integrality of public policies. At this point, it is worth drawing attention to two dimensions of the problem. The first is related to the resurgence of sustainability narratives anchored in the instrumental treatment of nature. According to this point of view, sustainability is a dimension of highly competitive productive systems. Thus, it is believed that to ensure the continuity of an economic activity, it will only be necessary to change the operating mechanism to adapt it to the new context. The proposed solutions are still focused on controlling the adverse effects and not on revising the original causes of the main problem. These short-term measures weaken the producers' capacity for political organization and collective action, as they distance them from the public debate about the interconnections between the dominant production models, environmental deterioration, and the emergence of the pandemic. The second dimension has to do with the absence of an analytical reflection that makes visible the implications that science, technology, and innovation have on the daily work of the producers, beyond the simple experimentation with the available technical resources. This is precisely the focus of the inclusive development approach. Thus, the promotion of technological devices takes place in the context characterized by the absence of sociodemographic and population profiles that allow technologies to be adapted to the specific needs and demands of each collective or productive sector (Habiyaemye, Kruss, Booyens, 2020). It is relatively easy to assume that all the people producing will have access to cell phones and will have the intellectual capabilities to make proper use of this technology. The reason this assumption continues to hold without apparent resistance is the same one that makes blind trust in the ideology of progress possible: in the interest of contributing to increasing the profitability of the industry in aggregate terms, individual stories are downplayed.

The contingent character of the new measures establishes itself as an emergency narrative for the planned intervention of the geographic spaces that contain agricultural activity, without asking about aspects of territoriality and landscape that are significant for the populations that inhabit these territories and that intervene decisively in their construction of the sense of place and belonging.

New Epistemic Horizons

Post-developmental approaches deepen the epistemological and socio-political critique with analytical elements that allow for a general characterization of the current system's crisis of unsustainability. In this context, the Covid-19 pandemic is inserted in the world as an unprecedented historical record that makes it possible to problematize linear visions of progress and well-being, commonly based on the assumptions of techno-scientific control.

It is therefore appropriate to add some additional considerations to accompany the further discussion of the topic. The first issue that can be pointed out refers to the new conception of uncertainty that the coronavirus offers (Stirling, Scoones, 2020). With the emergence of environmental and health disasters, crisis scenarios are also established in which it is necessary to rethink the role of human beings in relation to their own actions and the actions of non-human actors (Sousa, Pessoa, 2019).

In this sense it is indicated that to recover the feeling of the sublime in the world (Latour, 2018) humans also need to re-signify the particularity of mystery that nature can awaken in them. To "let oneself be surprised" by the expressions of the natural world is to pay attention to the spontaneous nature of the relationships that arise daily between different species, and which have a direct effect on the preservation of ecosystems. The limits of rationality can be expanded through other sensibilities and ways of feeling-thinking with the Earth (Escobar, 2014). The environmental humanities, for example, acquire greater significance in this context.

For some authors, Covid-19 represents an abstract fissure in the civilizational model (Morea, 2021). Nevertheless, the pandemic also offers an opportunity to reinsert the human "as part" of nature. It is in these terms that the conditions must be sought to achieve a paradigm shift that accounts for the current challenges and latent threats.

On the other hand, recognizing that the pandemic is leading to conceive of the future as a vast "territory of possibility" by opening up spaces of discussion

about the complex interactions between science, politics, and ways of life is positive. Prior to Covid-19 this did not exist or was part of closed dialogue spheres. Without a doubt, the measures of confinement and social distancing have supposed a fertile ground for experimentation with new sensorial realities. Studies on affectivities establish themselves as a rich field for research on the Anthropocene in the post-Covid-19 era, since they can help understand the relationship between experiences of landscape and place, and the construction of new materialities that are meaningful to actors on an existential, spiritual, and intersubjective level. Many of these issues remain unseen and are of greater interest to development anthropology.

The Covid-19 pandemic has shown that the apparent normality in which humans live is marked by a sense of immediacy and the validity of the present. Nevertheless, Covid-19 is forcing people to understand that to build tomorrow humans must go beyond blind trust in technocratic regimes as the exclusive route to human-exclusive achievement.

The idea of disconnection with nature, addressed by thinkers like Donna Haraway and Anna Tsing, is part of a loss of human sensory and emotional capacities with their natural surroundings (Tsing, 2010; Greenhalgh-Spencer, 2019). Gradually, the dominance of utilitarian practices in modern capitalism has reduced coexistence among species to mere commodified relations, which are guided almost exclusively by exchange value. Therefore, it is important to privilege reflections that allow imagining extended vital communities, and that do what is possible to put the values of justice, co-habitability, and reciprocity back at the center of a new ethics of coexistence among species, beyond mere normative principles. Another of the lessons needed to be learned from the pandemic is sustainable transformation, which requires adopting a philosophy that recognizes the rights of nature.

However, it is clear that the changes, in order to be significant, require symbolic and material references that allow bringing all these concerns to the spheres of public discussion. This requires that the recursiveness of this critical thinking be crystallized into a political agenda that has clear content. It is not enough just to change the semantics of the conventional language of economic growth. As has been discussed, capitalism has discursive strategies for adopting narratives of sustainability that are functional to its intrinsic logic of reproduction.

Precisely, one of the main challenges today is related to the loss of social legitimacy associated with the institutions that promote these minor changes, which do not problematize structural power relations, nor the differentiated access to rights that are supposed to be universal. This puts democratic stability at risk, as it coincides with the increased socio-environmental vulnerability of

life communities that also struggle with economic inequality, social exclusion, and marginality.

A Point of Methodological Inversion

The provocations made in this article urge thinking about new analytical categories for understanding the phenomena of development and sustainability, beyond the theoretical and epistemological frameworks focused on the socio-political critique of capitalism.

The search for other referential elements implies recognizing that traditional approaches are limited and do not allow problematizing the complexity of the novel with adequate rigor (Kahlau, Santos, Souza-Lima, 2019). In the current world scenario, the Covid-19 pandemic coincides with the escalation of overlapping crises, and this is not a subtle coincidence.

The main challenge is to think the unthought (Deleuze, 2002), through reflexive concepts that are susceptible to be unfolded according to the particularity of the contexts and the specificity of the situated realities.

In this sense, the conception of the new ethics of coexistence among species can be useful to the extent that it proposes a reflection oriented to the study of the relational repertoires that derive from the connections and interdependencies between society and nature from neither a non-linear nor instrumentalized perspective.

At the methodological level, it is fundamental to advance in overcoming structuralist views that privilege the study of socio-bio-affective links between the human being and his environment. On the contrary, the reinsertion of human beings into nature requires the incorporation of constructivist perspectives that value the centrality of actors in the symbolic, material, recursive, and existential construction of the place they inhabit (Porto-Gonçalves, 2017).

The methodologies to be implemented in studies that seek to identify the evolution of these (counter)narratives (territorially located), must consider the situated context as the space of expression of identity practices and the creators of the sense of belonging. Classical anthropological techniques, such as ethnography and participant observation, have proven useful in identifying shared values and worldviews that play a role in shaping cultural communities. Thus, these techniques also hold potential as tools for recording the relationships of closeness, coexistence, and respect that are established by extended life communities that incorporate concerns for the care and protection of other species and non-human actors, such as rivers and mountains, through post-naturalist and

post-humanist (Castree, Hulme, Proctor 2018), relational (Deleuze, Parnet, 1996; Darnhofer et al. 2016), and non-representational (Lorimer, 2008) paradigms, which at the same time establish interdisciplinary dialogues and dialogues between multiple knowledges.

It is worth noting that in recent years art history has contributed a set of techniques and methodologies that, from a creative perspective, seek to revitalize aesthetic interest in life and nature preserving landscapes in the Anthropocene (Thorsen, 2020). In addition to their artistic vocation, many of the works developed in this direction critique the growing socio-environmental vulnerability and use a broad set of stylistic resources to problematize the need for an ecological turn to prevent the destruction of the planet (Guinard et al., 2020).

Nevertheless, the gradual abandonment of normative horizons in the "definition" of the possible future and tomorrow's alternatives is important. In this sense, it is worth noting that the meaning of "futureability" in these emerging methodologies has been emptied of cosmological conceptions of time/space that has come to be used to express the spatiotemporal displacements that dominant Western modernity has propitiated in other civilizational projects.

Conclusions

This article discussed the importance of generating a critical reflection on the complexity of society-nature relations in the Anthropocene. In particular, these authors sought to highlight the validity of the human being's imaginative and creative capacities to offer alternatives to the processes of appropriation of nature by the capitalist production mode.

The case studies presented helped problematize the limits of conventional approaches and their inability to respond to circumstances of uncertainty characterized by contingency and the unprecedented, even more visible in this context of the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, it is necessary to deepen informed debates about the effects that socio-technical solutions have on worsening socio-environmental crises. Similarly, the incorporation of control and securitization measures into the institutional planning of governments needs further public discussion. It is necessary to determine the complex ways in which narratives of progress and modernization stress and threaten the vitality of the multiple ways of life that coexist on the margins of capitalism.

This highlights the importance of deepening the discussion regarding the linear and often instrumentalized nature of dominant narratives concerning

development and sustainability. For this, constantly reviewing the way in which concepts such as environment and technology are being mobilized by public policies at the national, regional, and local levels is important. Even more significant for analysis is the way in which these narratives are perceived by actors in specific contexts and the kind of interfaces they help to create: their revelations, affinities, and resistances.

Nor should it be forgotten that these reflections as a whole allow for a better understanding of the ways in which science, politics, and nature are articulated in contemporary societies. This knowledge is fundamental in studies of the legitimation processes of democracy, alternative citizenship projects, and the emergence of new territorial identities.

The development practices identified from the case studies also allowed mobilizing a set of theoretical references to problematize the idea of disconnection from nature. In this way, the reflection on a new ethics of coexistence among species is part of the new epistemic horizons to better understand these concerns. Nevertheless, it needs, for its development, the incorporation of adequate methodologies and techniques. A first suggestion in this sense is to make a methodological inversion that allows changing the structuralist and normative cut views, and in this way move toward the application of constructivist approaches.

These considerations merit further empirical and methodological elaboration, which is an important limitation of this study. It is hoped that the questions posed so far will contribute to establishing a research agenda on the trajectory of these (counter)narratives and their incorporation in processes that seek possible futures through the protection of the commons and communities of life.

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The Mining Industry in Latin America*

[English Version]

La industria minera en Latinoamérica

A indústria de mineração na América Latina

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Abstract

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Objective: at the end of the last decade of the 20th century, Latin America witnessed the arrival of an intense flow of foreign investment for exploration and mining activities. This article covers the impact of extractivism on some of the conflicts in Latin America. **Methodology:** the research used the political science comparative method to analyze quantitative and qualitative data, both governmental and non-governmental, to understand the socio-environmental conflicts caused by mining, especially gold mining in Latin America. The results are geo-

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referenced as a way to represent the intensity of conflicts in the geographic space.

Results: the race of corporate, state and hegemonic actors to be lords and masters of natural biomass and mineral reserves has revealed interests in controlling not only how states manage, but also nature itself. **Conclusions:** it is found that large multinationals are negatively impacting social, economic, and political conflicts in South America and the Caribbean. The social license to operate granted to multinationals fails to reduce conflicts in the territories. Governmental policies, despite recognizing social and environmental rights, continue to give free rein to the exploitation of nature: ignoring the objectives of sustainable development, favoring the accumulation of capital of northern countries by dispossessing the environmental and social wealth of the countries of South America and the Caribbean.

Keywords: Extractivism; Mining; State; Latin America.

Resumen

Objetivos: a fines de la última década del siglo XX, América Latina fue testigo de la llegada de un intenso flujo de inversión extranjera para actividades de exploración y minería. Este artículo comprende el impacto de los extractivismos en algunos de los conflictos de América Latina. **Metodología:** la investigación utilizó el método comparativo de la ciencia política para analizar datos cuantitativos y cualitativos, gubernamentales y no gubernamentales, para la comprensión de los conflictos socio ambientales producidos por la minería; especialmente aurífera en América Latina. Los resultados son geo-referenciados como una manera de representar la intensidad de los conflictos en el espacio geográfico. **Resultados:** la carrera de los actores empresariales, estatales y hegemónicos por ser dueños y señores de la biomasa natural y las reservas minerales ha revelado los intereses de controlar no solo la forma en que los Estados administran, sino también la naturaleza misma. **Conclusiones:** se encuentra que grandes multinacionales están impactando negativamente en los conflictos sociales, económicos y políticos de América del Sur y del Caribe. La licencia social de operación entregada a las multinacionales no logra reducir los conflictos en los territorios. Las políticas gubernamentales, pese a reconocer los derechos sociales y ambientales, siguen dando vía libre a la explotación de la naturaleza: desconociendo los objetivos de desarrollo sostenible, favoreciendo la acumulación de capitales de países del norte mediante la desposesión de la riqueza ambiental y social de los países del sur de América y del Caribe.

Palabras-clave: Extractivismos; Minería; Estado; Latinoamérica.

Resumo

Objetivo: no final da última década do século XX, a América Latina testemunhou a chegada de um intenso fluxo de investimentos estrangeiros para atividades de exploração e mineração. Este artigo examina o impacto do extrativismo em alguns dos conflitos na América Latina. **Metodologia:** a pesquisa utilizou o método comparativo da ciência política para analisar dados quantitativos e qualitativos governamentais e não governamentais para entender os conflitos socioambientais produzidos pela mineração, especialmente a mineração de ouro na América Latina. Os resultados são geo-referenciados como uma forma de representar a intensidade dos conflitos no espaço geográfico. **Resultados:** a corrida de atores corporativos, estatais e hegemônicos para possuir e controlar a biomassa natural e as reservas minerais revelou interesses em controlar não apenas a forma como os estados administram, mas também a própria natureza. **Conclusões:** verifica-se que as grandes multinacionais têm um impacto negativo nos conflitos sociais, econômicos e políticos na América do Sul e no Caribe. A licença social para operar concedida às multinacionais não consegue reduzir os conflitos nos territórios. As políticas governamentais, apesar de reconhecerem os direitos sociais e ambientais, continuam a dar livre curso à exploração da natureza: ignorando os objetivos do desenvolvimento sustentável, favorecendo a acumulação de capital nos países do norte, desapossando a riqueza ambiental e social dos países da América do Sul e do Caribe.

Palavras-chave: Extrativismo; Mineração; Estado; América Latina.

Introduction

At the end of the last decade of the 20th century, Latin America witnessed the arrival of an intense flow of foreign investment for mining exploration and exploitation activities. The governments of the southern part of the continent were so captivated by the processes of trade liberalization and economic development that they saw in this dawn the solution to the phenomenon of poverty and very elusive foreign investment. Although Colombia had already been an attractive destination for gold mining companies in the mid-19th century, with the reform of the mining code in 2001 (Law 685 of 2001), Canadian, Peruvian and African capital companies began to explore and mine again. Some of these include: B2Gold, Barrick, Continental Gold, Iam Gold, AngloGold Ashanti (AGA). In addition to the above, the increase in international prices of the main mining export products, especially gold, also had an impact (Toro, Fierro, Coronado, Roa, 2012).

The environment has been utilized by the globalizing model as a means for instrumentalization and exploitation, as Hector Alimonda (2011) refers, both in its biophysical reality and in its territorial configuration. Thus nature appears in the global context as a subaltern space that can be exploited and devastated according to the need for hegemonic accumulation. As one of its objectives, research aims to show the genesis of extractivism in the Latin American context, and how it has permeated state gambles, seeing in this phenomenon the possibility of overcoming poverty and social inequality in the country through economic growth.

According to Eduardo Gudynas (2018):

Extractivism is the appropriation of natural resources in large volumes, and is mainly associated with the exploitation of oil, and minerals such as iron, coal, copper, and gold, among others; it also includes activities of trajectory in the economic development policy of the State. (p.61)

This extractive phenomenon has been present in South American territories since colonial times, when during conquest “precious metals were shipped to the European metropolis. Since then, the exploitation of natural resources has accompanied the Latin American history”. (Gudynas, 2015, p. 23).

The definition makes very clear the dependence of extractivism on globalization. Today, the world market is intensifying this approach, encouraging a mercantile euphoria based on the high prices of raw materials and persistent international demand. Eduardo Gudynas (2018) explains that extractivisms

have diversified and continue to be the central pillars of the development strategies defended by Latin American governments from different political options, and evidence that it is not a new market strategy.

The term extractivism became popular in Latin America because it was associated with the term industry. Indeed, the Extractive Industry label has appeared in some publications since the beginning of the 20th century, and was used by several economists at least since the 1950s, but it became popular after the push from several developed countries, agencies and international banks. Under this perspective, mining or oil extractivism was conceived as just another industry, such as automobile manufacturing (Gudynas, 2015, p. 15).

Under this scenario, international organizations also appear as managers of this model. The World Bank (WB), for example, has had an area of work specialized in “extractive industries” focused specifically on oil, gas, and minerals. They have been credited with enormous potential to overcome poverty, generate jobs, provide tax revenues, and contribute to “sustainable” development (WB, 2014). In addition, the WB facilitates loans for specific projects in different countries, and at the same time evaluates aspects of governance, transparency and environmental management. So far, the United Nations (UN) system continues to launch initiatives that also use the extractive industry label to promote programs such as the Extractive Industries Sustainability and Equity Strategy. (United Nations Environment Programme, 2013).

At the same time, businessmen and governments have been adopting the discourses of international organizations such as the World Bank (2014) for various reasons, including the ability to defend extractivism as an industry that generates development and enables countries to improve their quality of life indexes. Furthermore, they base their argument on the fact that such ventures make essential contributions to overcoming poverty, securing jobs, and generating economic growth.

Currently, the logic of the extractive export model in Latin America sets the tone by consolidating its role as a supplier of raw materials to the global market, with the beginning and development of a new cycle of extractive expansion. This phenomenon refers not only to the system of extraction of natural resources and the essential components for the balance of nature – water, soil nutrients, hydrocarbons, energy, biomass – but also to the implementation of structural reforms that liberalized national markets, opening the doors to large foreign capital that enters with the purpose of dynamizing the sector in several countries of the region (Damonte, 2014). According to the Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Latin America (OCMAL, n.d.) in Latin America there are 266 conflicts and five transboundary conflicts in 283 mining projects involved in the region.

This article analyzes Latin America's extractive economy based on comparative policy research that, through official documents and public policy analysis, traces the exploitation by invitation of multinationals under the auspices of the Latin American state. The research conducted shows a panorama of territorial conflicts produced by the power relations that are unleashed around extractivism in the Latin American territory and its impacts on the loss of biodiversity and contamination of soil, air, and water.

Methodology

How can the understanding of the large-scale structures and processes that transformed the world in the 19th century be improved, along with those processes that are transforming the world today? (Tilly, 1991).

Based on this aspect, the research of which this article is a product enables the hermeneutic analysis of the commodification of nature in Latin America. To address this issue, resorting to comparative politics was necessary using quantitative and qualitative data, to read the similarities and differences between the States that have promoted extractivist policies in Latin America and the Caribbean stimulated by international organizations and multinational companies. The case of gold mining and its socio-environmental impact is particularly well understood. As Monica Ramirez (2012) points out, "Latin America today is of great interest to transnational gold mining."

The theoretical contributions of Hector Alimonda (2011, 2018), Arturo Escobar (2007), Horacio Machado (2010), Eduardo Gudynas (2009, 2015), Stephen Bunker (1996), Maristella Svampa (2012), and David Harvey (2005) are important for the realization of this article. Their work reveals the long duration of the history of the colonization of nature, which has generated a process of accumulation by dispossession that can be seen in what has been known as Dutch disease or Chola disease, and the long duration of the relationship between the State and the market, which is the producer of a territory: "The Third World."

To understand mining practices in Latin America and the Caribbean, primary governmental and non-governmental sources are used, namely: reports from international organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), and databases constructed by the Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Latin America (OCMAL).

Finally, the comparative and geo-referenced problem is presented to make a graphic representation of mining extractivisms, comparing many countries in the Latin American and Caribbean region, especially when addressing conflicts over water in mining territories, and comparing the impact of the presence of multinationals on accumulation by dispossession in mining territories.

Results

Development Policies and Extractivisms

During the 1990s, conditions were created in Latin America for the application of policies that would regain the rhythm of economic growth, and that would reverse the fall in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and initiate a cycle of positive rates. The strategy to achieve this was to resort to the privatization of state companies, which drastically reduced the public sector. Furthermore, the economy was deregulated, by generating incentives for investment and by applying openness policies to global financial trade flows.

All these measures, as indicated by Horacio Machado (2010), are in coherence with the policies promoted by multilateral credit organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and endorsed by the official and academic centers in charge of formulating the public policies that were adopted as their own by the governments of the different countries.

Within this context, the case of mining stands out as destined to become the “development engine” assumed by the governments of Latin America (Machado, 2010). The World Bank assumed the role of manager and promoter of a new regulatory framework for the sector, offering countries advice and loans to undertake what was understood as a necessary modernization. This sought to promote and encourage investment in mining and gave rise to the “Boom” of mineral exploration. Through the conditional credits of the World Bank, countries such as Peru (1991), Bolivia (1991), Argentina (1993), Ecuador (1991), Mexico (1992), and Colombia (2001) introduced modifications in their mining laws. Hence, the reforms were aimed at removing the obstacles that in the past had not made it possible to promote mining as an important line of the economy, and, in this way, allow the region to be channeled into the “natural course of development” as phrased by Eduardo Gudynas (2015).

In addition to the modification of the legislation and the credit guarantees of international organizations, the World Bank (2018) maintains that the model

of exploitation of non-renewable resources or the concentration of large areas of land by dominant capital are qualities that allow economic development¹. In the same perspective, in 2017, the president of Ecuador, Rafael Correa, was proud of the Latin American economic boom of his decade of government, 2007 to 2017. Beliefs that rest on an economic perspective focused on the economic role of extractivisms, such as exports of raw materials, government tax collection, or investment income. Despite the fact that the 2008 Constitution, in Articles 14 and 71, enshrined the rights of the population to live in an ecologically balanced environment and the right of nature to have its existence respected, Ecuador has been threatened by the beginning of one of the most polluting activities on the planet, due to extractivisms.

Putting Latin America in the focus of extractivisms is the strategy of the economic development model, which uses the extraction of natural resources as a defense with the idea of comparing the region to countries such as Canada, Australia, Norway, Finland, and New Zealand, countries with important extractive sectors, but with diversified exports and high quality of life standards. Most of these extractive companies are present in countries with weak environmental laws, which invite people to pay for polluting. These laws do not focus on enforcing real control of the impacts generated by large operations, but on being flexible in the sanctions.

The defense argument used by the extractive economy, at times, is similar to the old ideas of promoting progress through exports of primary goods, but it is clear that Latin American countries are very different from countries like Canada, Norway, and Australia. As Gudynas says, “what is being presented today as an export blessing actually expresses an internal production simplification that generates various economic problems” (2015, p. 45). This is what was termed as the Dutch disease: a consequence of the oil boom in the Netherlands in the 1970s, in which the economic expansion, motivated by the exploitation of a natural resource, had effects on the economy such as the massive inflow of capital, the valuation of the national currency, the loss of export competitiveness, and cheaper imports of consumer goods.

This same pattern is repeated in Latin America, given that the economy has grown due to extractivism, the inflow of foreign exchange due to massive exports of natural resources, and the strengthening of the currency. This has been experienced at different levels in Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Colombia, and Venezuela. In the Peruvian case, a sub-variety of its own has even been described under the name of “Chola disease.”

1. The World Bank report (2018) concluded that, during the last two decades, more than 20 low-income countries became median income countries, partly by investing gains from natural capital, where in 1995 natural capital was the predominant component of general wealth.

This shows that extractivisms, beyond their export successes, can unleash negative effects within national economies. With different nuances, “a distorted and disjointed pattern of national economies emerges, with sectors such as extractivists that have strong global ties, and others focused on the internal market that are articulated among themselves and that sometimes oppose each other” (Gudynas, Alaiza, 2012, p. 53).

To better understand the extractive model, special emphasis must be placed on the different stages of mineral extraction. This begins with an exploratory stage where studies and necessary work are carried out to establish and determine the existence and location of the mineral or minerals. Next, the geometry of the deposit, in economically exploitable quantity and quality, the technical feasibility of extracting the minerals, and the impact that the process may cause the physical and social environments. These initial phases seek to establish and technically calculate the mineral reserves, the location, and characteristics of the deposits. In these phases the development of the mining plan, the means and methods of exploitation, and the scale are defined, along with the feasible duration of expected production in the area that has been identified and allocated. In Colombia, Law 1333 of 2009 establishes the environmental sanctioning procedure to regulate the extraction of minerals in the country, recognizing the State as the holder of the sanctioning power in environmental matters.

For this reason, at the end of the exploration period, the definitive delimitation of the area in the contracted area is presented to the mining authority, which is then linked to the operation, plus the activities necessary for processing, internal transport, support services and the elements of the operation related to the environment. Likewise, the type of mining exploitation that will be carried out at the location is determined, and for the purposes of this research, are categorized as follows: underground exploitation, open pit, and alluvial. According to the Technical Mining Glossary of Colombia (GTMC) (Ministry of Mines and Energy, 2003) and in the National Mining Census (2012) they are understood as follows:

- **Underground Mining:** Refers to mining activities and operations carried out underground (Ministry of Mines and Energy, 2003, p. 108).
- **Open Pit Mining:** Refers to mining activities and operations carried out on the surface (Ministry of Mines and Energy, 2003, p. 108).
- **Alluvial Mining:** Refers to mining activities and operations carried out on river banks or river beds. The extraction of minerals in alluvial

terraces is also being advanced (Ministry of Mines and Energy, 2003, p. 108).

It is important to note that these types of mineral extractions are followed by what in mining jargon is defined as “scales” which, according to (FEDESARROLLO, 2012), depend on those who make use of the resources and their levels of environmental and social impact, and required technification, as well as the working capital and the safety standards in which such work is carried out, and finally, the characteristics that vary depending on the type of mining. In this way, artisanal/ancestral, small/medium and large-scale mining is defined as follows:

Artisanal Mining: In general terms, artisanal mining is related to subsistence mining, which “is developed by individuals who dedicate their efforts to the extraction of a mineral through basic extraction methods and who in association with a family member or other individuals generate subsistence income” (Ministry of Mines and Energy, 2003). It is characterized by extraction with tools such as trays, shovel picks, sieves – that is, non-mechanized equipment. This type of mining exercise is classified as traditional (and is referred to in Law 1382 of 2010, amending the Mining Code of 2001 and enforced by ruling C-366 until May 2013).

Small and Medium Scale Mining: According to Decree 1666 (2016), small and medium scale mining is defined based on the number of hectares granted in the mining title or concession, it must take into account a level of exploitation less than or equal to 150 hectares, and it is also established based on the maximum annual mining production volume (Table 1).

Table 1. Annual Mineral Production

| Mineral | Small | | Medium | | Large scale | |
|---|---------------------|----------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------|------------|
| | Under-ground | Open pit | Under-ground | Open pit | Under-ground | Open pit |
| Coal Tons/ Annual | <60,000 | >45000 | >60000- 650000 | >45000- 850000 | 650000 | >850000 |
| Cons- truction material M3/Year | N/A | <30,000 | N/A | 30,000- 350,000 | N/A | >350,000 |
| Metallic (Ton/Year) | <25,000 | <50,000 | 25,000- 450,000 | 50,000- 750,000 | >400,000 | >750,000 |
| Non me- tallic (Ton/ Year) | <20,000 | | >20000- 300000 | >50000- 1050000 | >300000 | >1050000 |
| Precious metals (gold, silver, platinum) (Ton/year) or (M3/ year) | <15000 Ton/ Year | <250000 | 15,000- 300,000 | 250,000- 1,300,000 | >300,000 | >1,300,000 |
| Precious and se- mi-precious stones (Ton/year) | Up to 20,000 | N/A | 20,000- 50,000 | N/A | >50,000 | N/A |

This type of mining has operations of some degree of technology and personnel training, as well as some standards in labor processes, average productivity, and efficiency in the exploitation and processing of the mineral. It presents a low level of industrial safety and social security for workers and a high environmental impact.

Large Scale Mining: This type of mining, given the size of its operations, has the highest level of formalization and legality. In addition, its productive process is the most technical and demands higher standards of industrial security. It necessitates a skilled workforce, working capital and sources of financing that allow it to function more competitively than mining on smaller scales. It is also characterized by the industrialization of the productive process,

exploitation of mines of relevant size, a skilled workforce, high productivity and greater efficiency in the exploitation and processing of the mineral, formalization of wages and income and social security for workers, its exploitation is contingent on mining titles and the regulation of the environmental authority for the prevention and mitigation of environmental impact. It requires more working capital. Receiving financial investment is easier (FEDESARROLLO 2012).

It is remarkable that from the 141,887 jobs generated by mining in Colombia, the mines without mining titles employ 74,906 people. This means that 53% of the employment provided by mining in Colombia is from illegal mining. The small illegal mining provides 28,992 jobs, which means that 20% of the country's miners are small illegal miners (Güiza, 2013). "Fifty-six percent of the Mining Production Unit (MPU) declare that they do not have any type of mining title, which contrasts with the identification in the field of MPU without a mining title" (Ministry of Mines and Energy, 2012, p. 23).

Mónica Ramírez (2012) states that:

Gold mining can range from artisanal and small-scale exploitation (as happens in towns whose history and social and economic dynamics are linked to this activity), to open-pit mining megaprojects. Both types of mining have severe impacts on the environment and territory, but the magnitude of large-scale open-pit mining generates higher risks of devastation. (p.95)

Mining restructures the territories according to the needs of the existing accumulation regimes, in which the privatization of some natural assets prevails. Thus a territorial fragmentation and restructure of particular ways of understanding nature due to political and cultural conditions develops. In this way, the conditions of support and legitimization of extractivism are constituted. The following section will show how these extractivisms are part of the commitment of Latin American States to an extractive economy that responds to economic growth and, thus, promotes the long-awaited progress to achieve the development goals as ECLAC has proposed in several of its publications.

Stephen Bunker (1996) in his article "Raw Materials and the Global Economy," points out the forgetfulness and distortions of industrial ecology and criticizes the conceptual frameworks for analyzing production, especially in industrialized countries, as production cannot be explained from the internal dynamics of extractive economies for various reasons, such as pointing out that the relevance of the appropriation of natural resources cannot be ignored, or that in that action matter and energy are used or destroyed, the values of which cannot be determined in labor or capital.

Bunker (1996) warns that the economies that provide raw materials differ significantly from industrialized economies in the effects on their natural environment, and in how human populations are distributed for the expansion of infrastructure and in their powers for subsequent developments. In this sense, Bunker proposes to develop the concept of *extraction mode* making it different from the idea of *production mode*, although it inspired the latter idea.

When the extractive economy is examined, the need for categories to analyze the role of mining or oil companies in a context of social relations and institutional frameworks is evident. Thus, it is necessary to assume a valid position and an open approach with respect to the relationships that are generated and reproduced, to focus on how the performance of an economic sector can be considered the appropriation of value with the relationships and social structures that make it possible.

The same author analyzes a category different from the mode of production, this category is that of *modes of appropriation*, thus the author explains the way in which natural resources are extracted and used. These modes are conceived in such a way that they are not trapped within purely economic descriptions, and therefore they include materials, capital flows, labor power, as well as social relations and normative frameworks. Modes of appropriation, as the author explains, describe different ways of organizing the appropriation of different natural resources (such as matter, energy or ecological processes), to be used in human ends in their social and environmental contexts. That is, it includes material actions that take something from the environment, as well as the consensus on what is a resource is or is not, its various valuations, access, and the norms that support that appropriation.

Thus, the key difference in this sense is that the modes of production conflict with human processes, but in the modes of appropriation the key interaction is with nature and its dynamics are not under social regulation. “The rate of photosynthesis of plants cannot be decided collectively, for example, nor does a political consensus allow for the recovery of natural resources depletion” (Alimonda, 2011, p. 245). Hector Alimonda (2011) warns that extractivist modes of appropriation are organized economically and socially to externalize these effects by exercising all their economic and political power in order to hide these impacts and avoid the integration of those costs into their accounts.

The modes of extractivist appropriation are framed in terms of the frontier of the advance of the commodification of the environment, in which market and the economy ideas are imposed on the natural world. Eduardo Gudynas (2015) assures that economic value is a determining factor in the pace of the advance of that border, since, where there are clues about a large exploitable deposit,

the price of that element increases, incentives increase and it is presented as a commodity, it is extracted and dispersed in the production and trade networks.

By becoming product, these elements of nature become known as “*commodities*.” Even the category of natural resource “self-expresses its position of understanding the components of the environment as resources for human purposes” (Svampa, 2012, p. 87). It is in this sense where the conventional formulations of prices rest. The economic valuation is anchored on them as the main way of understanding the environment, but at the same time, it serves to exclude or make invisible the other forms of valuation (Svampa, 2012, p. 89).

Mining Conflicts in Latin America

The extractive economy causes the environment to be fragmented and commodified, as economic valuation displaces other valuations such as culture, tradition or local ideologies, and ecology. Thus, rationality that seeks profitability, efficiency, and competitiveness is imposed. Next, an explanation will be presented as to how extractivism referred to the extraction of mineral resources and market economy, becomes an economic reductionism of nature by presenting the payment of royalties, the payment of taxes and taxes as its great contribution to the development of the territories. In addition, how States justify the extractive apparatus as necessary for “progress” will be explained. Gudynas (2015) has called it the “commodity consensus,” characterized by the expansion of borders toward territories previously considered unproductive, and which are now at the service of foreign capital under the figure of mining concessions.

Figure 1 shows the comparative geological potential of South American and Caribbean countries. Jamaica, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Brazil, and Mexico are the countries with the greatest potential. The expansionist process of the mineral extractive industry around the world has made it such that the economic development policy of the States moves around the promotion of the arrival of foreign capital to Latin American territories. According to a report by ECLAC-Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, between 1994 and 1997 annual exploration budgets in Latin America increased from \$564 million to \$1.17 billion. In 1997, Latin America captured 29% of the exploration expenses incurred by the main mining companies, out of a global sum estimated at 4,030 million dollars (Sánchez, R; Lardé, J; Chauvet, P; Jaimurzina, A, 1999, p.60).

Figure 1. Map of Categorization Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) Countries, Based on the Impact of Mining on the Economy and Geological Potential



Note. Taken from *Minería en América Latina y el Caribe, un enfoque socioambiental* (p.620), por R.V. Ríos, 2018, Actualidad y Divulgación Científica.

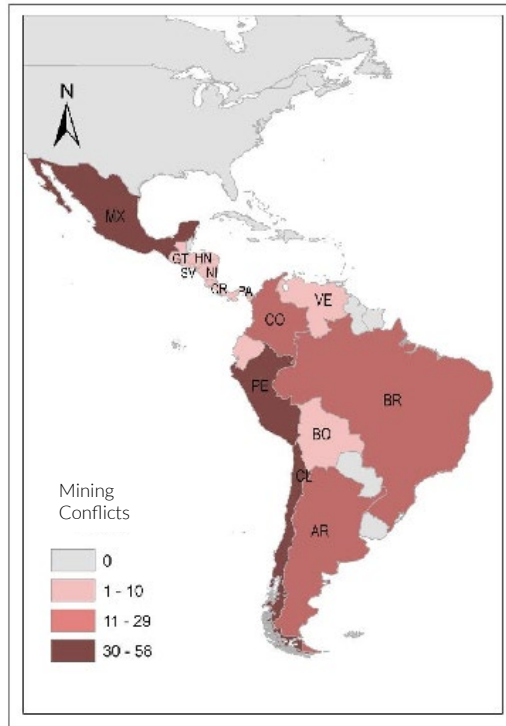
The increase in the price of an ounce of gold from US \$200 to US \$1,200 between 2000 and 2008 fostered the incentive of interest in the extraction and speculation of this metal. Deposits that had once been discarded were reactivated, due to the high cost of their extraction which affected the expected level of profits (Toro, Fierro, Coronado, Roa, 2012).

According to Lina Muñoz (2016) for Latin America and the Caribbean, by 2012 the extractive sector reached a level of profitability higher than that of other economic activities in the continent with a 25% profitability, so she called attention to diversifying their economies. Foreign capital has expanded throughout Latin America and marks a familiar scenario for these regions, in which they are immersed in global relations of extractive economic interest. This phenomenon, oriented to capitalist depredation, continues to benefit supranational states with strong economic developments, “the State becomes one more entity of the global economy that articulates national economies with global interests, by facilitating and creating conditions to access the natural, environmental, intellectual and cultural resources of their territories” (Toro, Fierro, Coronado, Roa, 2012, p. 111).

The desire for development has made Latin America open the door to foreign capital which arrives with the expectation of economic growth. States have made the corresponding legislative adjustments to continue feeding the expansionary cycle of foreign investment by sacrificing territories from the allocation of mining titles and re-victimizing regions that have been hit with waves of violence. In addition, with the argument of employment creation, companies enter the territories with promises of more and better working conditions, which in effect materialize in labor outsourcing (López-Sánchez, López-Sánchez, Medina, 2017, p. 66). For all the above, the efforts for the expansion of mining in Latin America are questioned.

As previously indicated, the greatest geological potential for mining is found in Jamaica, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Brazil, and Mexico (Figure 1). Regarding these indicators, Mexico, Peru, and Chile were established as the countries with the greatest mining conflict, while Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina have an average conflictivity in terms of the number of territorial conflicts. A lower mining conflict is evidenced in countries such as Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, and Panama (Figure 2). A large part of these conflicts occur because mining causes environmental damage, health problems, destruction of biodiversity and coffee landscapes, pollution of rivers, and society especially criticizes large-scale exploitation. Today, companies are concerned with obtaining a social license for their operations in the territory, assuming social license as an essential attribute for success; however, according to the International Council on Mining and Metals (2012) the actions do not offer sustainability for territorial development.

Figure 2. Map of Mining Conflicts over Gold in Latin America and the Caribbean



Note. Map created in the ArGis mapping software, based on the information of the Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Latin America (OCMAL, n.d.) <https://www.ocmal.org/>

Who is responsible for this level of conflict in the Caribbean region and Latin American? The mining projects of multinational companies, especially of Canadian origin, are protagonists of what David Harvey (2005) calls accumulation by dispossession. This is a process in which a strategic alliance between the State and foreign capital emerges, in order to trans-nationalize the territories by depriving the rural population of private property and depriving indigenous

and Afro-descendant populations of collective territories. Table 2 shows the multinational companies responsible for accumulation by dispossession, a new form of colonization by companies from northern countries such as Canada, United States, England, and now, China.

Table 2. Multinational Companies Responsible for Accumulation by Dispossession

| Country | Multinationals Involved in Gold Mining |
|----------------|---|
| Argentina | Andacollo Gold Chilean-Canadian mining company |
| | FMC Lithium Corp from North America |
| | La canadiense Northern Orion |
| | Barrick Gold Corporation |
| | Liex S.A company subsidiary of Neo Lithium from Canada |
| | Orocobre limitet Australian mining group |
| | Toyota Tsusho Corporation (TTC) from Japan |
| Chile | BHP Billiton Company |
| | Barrick Gold from Canada |
| Costa Rica | Norwegian capital practices illicit mining |
| Bolivia | Transnational Korea Resources Corporation (KORES) |
| | Inti Raymi |
| Perú | Bear Creek mining company from Canada |
| | Moterricometals mining company of English origin |
| | Zijin mining company from China |
| Ecuador | Junefield Mineral Resources from China It adopted the name Ecuagoldmining S. A. |
| Brasil | Belo Sun mining project. Belo Sun company from Canada. |

| Country | Multinationals Involved in Gold Mining |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Colombia | Anglo Gold Ashanti |
| | Drummond Company |
| | Murray Energy Corp |
| | BHP Billiton |
| | Glencore |
| | Anglo American |
| | Brazilian multinational MPX |
| | World Bank. Angostura Project: threatens the biodiversity of the Páramo de Santurbán |
| México | Almaden Minerals from Canada. |
| | Teck Cominco company from Canada. |
| | JDC Minerales S.A. from China. |
| | Gold Group Canada company |
| | New Gold company. Canada. |
| | BRigus Gold Corp (formerly Linear Gold) |
| | Southern Peru Copper Corporation |
| | Alamos Gold Inc. |
| | GanBo International Mining Co., Ltd. |
| | Oddisey Marine Exploration |
| | Cambior Inc |
| | Great Panther Resources Limited. Canada |
| | First Majestic Silver Corp. Canada |
| | BlackFire Exploration Ltd. |
| | Minefinders Corporation of Vancouver |
| | Us antimony United States |
| | Arcelor Mittal Corp. United Kingdom. |
| | Minera Real de Angeles SA de CV |
| Continuum Resources. Canada. | |
| Fortuna Silver Mines Inc. Canada. | |

| Country | Multinationals Involved in Gold Mining |
|-------------|---|
| México | Southern Peru Copper Corporation. United States |
| | Teck Cominco Limited. Canada. |
| | Campbell Resources Inc Canada |
| | Exall Resources Ltd |
| | Britannia Gold Corporation |
| | Dowa Mining Co. Ltd Japan |
| | Campbell Resources Inc |
| | Exall Resources Ltd Canada |
| | Britannia Gold Corporation |
| | Continuum Resources |
| Guatemala | Oracle Energy company from Canada |
| El Salvador | |
| Honduras | |
| Nicaragua | B2Gold multinational company from Canada |
| Venezuela | Canadian Transnational Gold Reserve (Company that the Venezuelan State had to compensate with 740.3 million dollars when it was expropriated) |
| Panamá | La Oro Gold from Canada |

Note. Comparative table elaborated based on filters by countries with information from the Observatory of Mining Conflicts, OCMAL (n.d.)<https://www.ocmal.org>

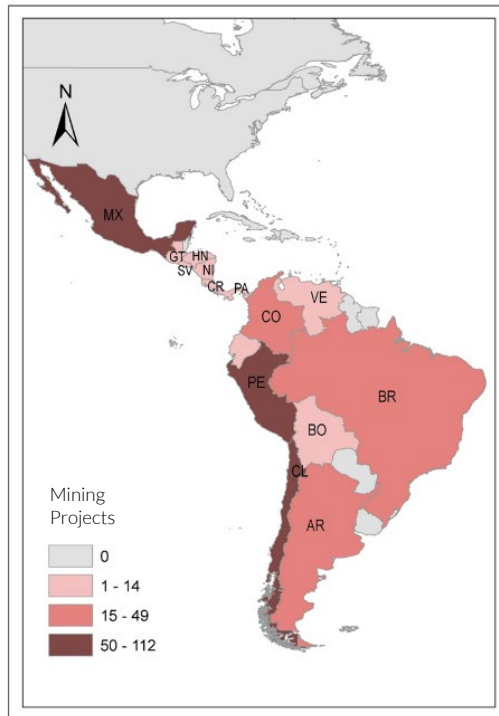
The presence of multinationals in Latin American countries shows a common ground: the negative impact on the sustainable development goals. Poverty and inequality are increasing in Latin America and the Caribbean due to the economic development model that depends on the exploitation of natural resources, where property is privatized and indigenous and Afro-descendant ethnic communities are deprived of land, eliminating their cultural heritage in the long term.

A general view of the mining-energy sector in America and the Caribbean region reflects the pollution and lack of water resulting from mining exploitation, which generates impoverishment of the population and multiple diseases. It also threatens their right to health and life in countries dependent

on a natural resource such as gold. Although we are in the 21st century, a large proportion of Latin American and Caribbean society does not have access to drinking water and energy. Currently, the sea is being privatized. There are more and more advances of multinationals that want to extract mining resources from the bottom of the sea to be used in the production of new technologies. This threatens underwater life as well as terrestrial ecosystems life.

Figure 3 shows the presence of multinationals in the region. The territories with the highest threat due to the presence of mining projects led by companies from the United States, Canada, England, and China are: Mexico, Peru, and Chile. An intermediate range, where countries such as Brazil, Colombia, and Argentina are located, could also be observed. A lower range of foreign presence can be noticed in the national territories of Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Panama. The presence of these mining projects depends on government policies. Brazil has one of the strongest geological potentials in the region, but social movements have limited the presence of multinationals in the territory for several decades. Governments have also sought the nationalization of the exploitation of natural resources. However, there is concern over the growing trend of mining-energy exploitation in Brazil from the government of former President Michel Temer to the present day with President Jair Bolsonaro. Such exploitation is promoted by the current president in the National Energy Plan 2050 that projects the development of nuclear energy (Ministry of Mines and Energy, 2020).

Figure 3. Mining Projects in Latin America and the Caribbean



Note. Map created in the ArGis mapping software, based on the information of the Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Latin America (OCMAL, n.d.) <https://www.ocmal.org>

The case of Colombia is also notorious, given the intensity of territorial conflicts. It is a fact that the presence of extractivism has increased the intensity of the armed conflict. It also hindered the implementation of the peace agreement signed in 2016 between the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia and affected the legitimacy of the State. International organizations have documented links between AngloGold Ashanti's (AGA) and paramilitary structures. During the period 1988-2006, 5,438 people were victims of crimes against humanity and 610,110 people were expelled and deprived of their territories by paramilitaries in places where AGA carries out operations

or intends to do so. The expulsions have intensified between 1999 and 2002 (the year in which AGA enters the country) and between 2004 and 2007. This is reported by the Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Latin America (OCMAL, n.d.).

In the regions of Colombia where AGA has developed or intends to initiate exploration and exploitation work, militarization processes have intensified. The most critical cases have occurred in Tierradentro (Cauca), Remedios and Segovia (Antioquia), Quinchía (Risaralda) and Southern Bolivar. The militarization of these regions as a counterinsurgency strategy has also served to banish natives, small miners and peasants who become a nuisance when the multinationals' looting is privileged. These processes of militarization have been accompanied by food, medicinal and work supplies blockades for the development of agricultural activities (OCMAL, n.d.).

In 2005, the conflict in Marmato (Caldas) was announced; the Minera de Caldas S.A. Company, a subsidiary of the Colombia Goldfields Limited (Canadian multinational), has proceeded with the Marmato Mountain Development Project, which seeks to conduct an open-pit exploitation of the deposit that is located just below the municipality, and whose royalties for the Nation would be only 1%. In addition to reducing costs, this type of exploitation involves the transfer of the town to another sector. The Colombian government has favored this project through new legislative strategies to strengthen large mining by allowing preferential rights for exploitation and expropriation based on the mining businesses of transnational corporations (OCMAL, n.d.).

According to Mónica Ramírez (2012):

Marmato, a population whose history and identity are deeply rooted in small-scale mining, is a unique example of the strained relationships that weave through the implications of an open-pit mining megaproject. (p. 110)

In accordance with Ruth Zarate, Claudia Vélez and José Caballero (2020):

The database of mining conflicts of the OCMAL (n.d.) highlights the negative environmental impacts as the main triggers of socio-environmental conflicts in Latin America, because this world region supports the extractive activities responsible for the pollution of water bodies, land, and air, especially due to the mining industry. This is the result of inappropriate waste and tailing dams management, because companies usually return contaminated water to the original sources without any treatment, thus causing these bodies to be polluted by heavy metals such as lead or mercury and therefore present detrimental consequences for human health. Additionally, there is also the limitation of water

use for agricultural activities and unproductive land increases that directly affects the community's traditional work. (p. 161)

The “extractive industries” concept must be overcome because it does not encompass industrial transformation. Manufacturing is not promoted and raw material is exported. According to Eduardo Gudynas (2018):

The “extractive industries” emphasis is not naïve because of the cultural connotations that appeal to the imagery of factories with many workers in order to gain public support. This denomination must be abandoned not only because of its conceptual rigor but also because of its political implications. (p. 63)

León Valencia and Alexander Riaño (2014) point out that the communities of those territories are greatly concerned about the impact that mining activity has on their right to water and, therefore, to life, due to its impact on ecosystems and protected areas. Most mining titles are granted to companies in Colombia's protected areas with important fauna and flora ecosystems.

Figure 4 shows the water conflicts resulting from mining. The countries on red alert for water quality deterioration are: Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Perú, and México. In a middle range are Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Panamá.

Figure 4. Conflicts Because of Water in Mining



Note. Map created in the ArGis mapping software, based on the information from the Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Latin America (OCMAL, n.d.) <https://www.ocmal.org>

The presence of transnationals in gold mining has dispossessed the population from their ancestral territories. In Peru, the case of Yanacocha, the largest mine in Latin America, owned by the multinational company Newmont Mining, which arrived in Peru in 1999 with the promise of the long-awaited development, is well known. The contamination of water and the effects on agricultural communities have been the greatest impacts of this mining project. Gold Fields-La Cima C.A.A. was also accused of extensive damage to homes and the loss of water and energy services for the population of Hualgayoc in Peru. Argentina, Chile, Perú, and the Dominican Republic also report environmental conflicts. The communities have denounced the damage caused to the rivers by the Canadian company Barrick Gold since 2010. Likewise, in Bolivia and Perú, the gold mining industry is present with the transnational company

Newmont, where social conflicts also arise due to the contamination of rivers (Arana, 2009).

According to, Claudia Vélez and José Caballero (2020):

Bolivia is one of the countries most affected by the impacts of climate on the water resource. 2016 was a critical year to guarantee the right to water due to the lack of such resource. Although the civil society organizations and movements proposed to establish a Water Law (to protect water sources and plan its appropriate use), the State has been indifferent in allowing mining activities in the headwaters of watersheds, rivers, and lakes. (p. 161)

The multinational Glamis Gold is present in Guatemala and New Gold in México. The population's resistance to these companies is mainly due to the water contamination, the damage to health and the difficulty in developing other sectors of the economy such as agriculture and fishing.

In Honduras, the Canadian mining companies Yamana and Aura Gold are responsible for the ecological and environmental damage. In El Salvador, from 2004, the mining company Pacific Rim from Vancouver, drilled in the territory and damaged the populations' environment and quality of life because the water disappeared from the territory with the gold mining industry. In 2013, the Australian-Canadian firm OceanaGold obtained the exploitation rights of the Pacific Rim.

Conclusions

Poor governance in the implementation and enforcement of national mining legislation in Latin American countries has a strong environmental impact on ecosystems and hinders the achievement of sustainable development objectives. Alternatively, conflicts related to the defense of territories and the human rights violation show the conditions and restrictions on social participation for the protection of land and natural resources, which leads to the criminalization of peasant, mining, farming and indigenous communities. Legislation in Latin American countries benefits large companies and reduces the intervention of community collectives, which, under this approach, produce a narrative on economic development.

Against this backdrop, the gold mining sector faces the challenge of reinventing itself and submitting its employability and development gambles for debate, recognizing the complex economic, socio-cultural and environmental realities where it operates and, finally, passing the test of the global economy.

Gold prices have shown a considerable increase over the last decade due to its value as a safe-haven asset in the world economy. This was evident after the 2008 crisis, which exposed the fragility of the economy in relation to raw materials; thus, precious metals such as gold became a safer investment in the face of uncertainty, stock market volatility and fluctuations of the main currencies, and placed as the best commodity for the performance of the economy.

The resource extraction has been an economic practice even before colonization. This has led to socio-spatial transformations from which social and commercial relationships were built and are still in force, such as: bartering, family relationships by castes, and gold as currency. The discovery of gold and silver deposits and the exploitation of the labor force were the main drivers of capitalist labor practices throughout Latin America.

This article has referred to large-scale mining projects as a sector of the global economy that, under the so-called “commodities,” has been expanding and controlling natural goods. Maristella Svampa (2012) has stated it as a new order “sustained by the boom in the international prices of raw materials and consumer goods increasingly demanded by the central countries and emerging powers” (p.31). This expansive dynamic has a determining characteristic in the sense of large scale that refers to the tendency of a productivist and efficiency-based view of development, and in terms of “monoproduction or scarce economic diversification is a clearly destructive logic of occupation of territories” (Svampa, 2012, p. 32). Moreover, the scale of these global ventures warns about the size of the investments, i.e., “these are capital-intensive rather than labor-intensive activities, as well as the nature of the actors involved and the economic concentration of large transnational corporations” (Svampa, 2012, p. 35).

The States in Latin America have been the guarantors of an extractivism wager that has allowed important countries the use and joy of mineral wealth. In countries such as Ecuador, Chile, Colombia, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Argentina, governments have promoted mega-mining as a development engine. In this sense, in 2020 the convulsive interactions of the global system have made States accept a dominant ideology of favoring foreign markets and capital even with the existing environmental crisis from climate change, peak anthropogenic extinction, water scarcity and peak extraction of oil and metals. Joám Evans Pim and Ann Dom (2021, p 17) have stated: “The main driver of environmental destruction, biodiversity extinction and dramatic climate events is overconsumption fueling an extractive economy.” In 2020, António Guterres, the UN Secretary General, declared that “We are waging a suicidal war against nature” (UN, 2020).

Thus, Latin America has lived under the influence of the maximization of resources, including the existing biomass in the continent, which materialized in 1991 with the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Gradually, elements that had not been considered commodities became “goods and services” therefore they had to be “managed,” “profitable,” and “competitive” and traded within the legal frameworks of commerce. New items entering the market had to have owners and express an economic value:

This commodification reached its extreme expansion in relation to nature. For example, methods of economic valuation of biodiversity were devised: a hectare of Amazon rainforest could be worth from a few cents to a few hundred dollars. The concept of “natural capital” was proposed; bioprospecting (a term derived from geological or oil prospecting) was advocated; conservation began to be considered a form of investment; and trade in environmental goods and services even began to be discussed at the WTO. (Gudynas, 2009, p. 56)

This whole panorama serves to conclude that considering the mining-energy sector link as the main engine of development not only ignores the existing society-environment relationships within the territories, but also that the State generates regulatory conditions so that the model can be established.

In this regard, the idea of development currently followed by the States is based on a hegemonic project that prioritizes economic growth. (Escobar, 2007).

To stop this globalizing process that threatens the environment, a cultural and epistemic transformation is required to resolve conflicts over access and control of natural resources, as Arturo Escobar points out and calls them “ecological distribution conflicts” (2011).

“We must stop the wheel of progress; there is no desire to implement a single project as an alternative to the existing model. What is desired is to consolidate a multiplicity of models in which globalized modernity will be questioned” (Escobar, 2010, p. 321). Joam Evans Pim and Ann Dom (2021, p. 62) state: “Things never change by fighting against the existing reality. To change something, build a new model that renders the existing model obsolete.” This demands an institutional social, economic, and political design that stops the ideologies of growth and extractivism.

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Human Rights, Anthropology and Communication: Implications of Research Committed to Indigenous Struggles (Salta, Argentina)*

[English Version]

Derechos humanos, Antropología y Comunicación. Implicancias de una investigación comprometida con las luchas indígenas (Salta, Argentina)

Direitos Humanos, Antropologia e Comunicação. Implicações da pesquisa comprometida com as lutas indígenas (Salta, Argentina)

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Abstract

Objective: this article presents a research case committed to indigenous peoples' organizations

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development paths: a study of community experiences and their articulation with the formulation of public policies." (SECyT-UNC) The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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in the inter-Andean valleys of Salta, Argentina. The objective is to analyze how the research, extension and collaboration plans are articulated, from critical human rights, anthropology and communication perspectives. **Methodology:** the research refers to an interdisciplinary process with an ethnographic perspective, which methodological processes involve a set of academic and collaborative projects with an indigenous group, work with local sources, and participation in assemblies, meetings, and workshops. **Results:** the implications of carrying out committed research are analyzed, taking into account factors such as the economic-political context and political situations, local demands, and the conditions of the research work. **Conclusions:** the different instances of work and their interference in the redefinition of disciplinary fields in the pre-pandemic scenario are recovered, and some current challenges regarding research and collaboration practices are indicated.

Keywords: Committed research; Collaboration; Anthropology; Communication; Indigenous people.

Resumen

Objetivo: este artículo presenta un caso de investigación comprometida con organizaciones de pueblos indígenas en los Valles interandinos de Salta, Argentina. El objetivo es analizar cómo se articulan los planos de la investigación, extensión y colaboración, desde una perspectiva crítica de los derechos humanos, la Antropología y la Comunicación. **Metodología:** la investigación remite a una articulación interdisciplinaria con perspectiva etnográfica, cuyos procesos metodológicos involucran un conjunto de proyectos académicos y colaborativos con un colectivo indígena, el trabajo con fuentes locales, y la participación en asambleas, reuniones y talleres. **Resultados:** se analizan las implicancias de llevar a cabo una investigación comprometida, atendiendo a factores tales como el contexto económico-político y las coyunturas políticas, las demandas locales, y las condiciones del trabajo de investigación. **Conclusiones:** se recuperan las distintas instancias de trabajo y su injerencia sobre la redefinición de los campos disciplinares en el escenario anterior a la pandemia, y se indican algunos desafíos actuales sobre las prácticas de investigación y colaboración.

Palabras-clave: Investigación comprometida; Colaboración; Antropología; Comunicación; Pueblos indígenas.

Resumo

Objetivos: este artigo apresenta um caso de pesquisa realizada com organizações de povos indígenas nos Vales Interandinos de Salta, Argentina. O objetivo é analisar como a pesquisa, a divulgação e a colaboração são articuladas a partir de uma perspectiva crítica dos direitos humanos, da antropologia e da comunicação.

Metodologia: a pesquisa refere-se a uma articulação interdisciplinar com uma perspectiva etnográfica, cujos processos metodológicos envolvem um conjunto de projetos acadêmicos e colaborativos com um coletivo indígena, trabalho com fontes locais e participação em assembléias, reuniões e seminários. **Resultados:** são analisadas as implicações da realização de pesquisas engajadas, levando em conta fatores como o contexto econômico-político e conjunturas políticas, as demandas locais e as condições do trabalho de pesquisa. **Conclusões:** as diferentes instâncias de trabalho e sua influência na redefinição dos campos disciplinares no cenário pré-pandêmico são recuperadas, e são indicados alguns desafios atuais relativos às práticas de pesquisa e colaboração.

Palavras-chave: Pesquisa engajada; Colaboração; Antropologia; Comunicação; Povos Indígenas.

Introduction

For several decades, studies of indigenous alterities have been proposing a critical review of the traditional ways of knowledge construction in social sciences. In Argentina, the challenges demand an ethical review of the production conditions, the research effects and the hegemonic knowledge when considering the scenario established from the constitutional reform and its effects on the human rights of indigenous peoples¹.

Above all, the commitment to deal with the scientific knowledge asymmetries leads to a professional practice. This makes its role within the organizational dynamics explicit and its demands addressed to the State, and assumes precautions regarding the conditions of confidentiality and free, prior, and informed consent (Briones, 2013; Gazotti, 2015). At the same time, it involves the successful analytical adaptation approach to current indigenous demands within the framework of a critical commitment to the struggle for the recognition of their rights. In this sense, the challenge implies a convergence between indigenous concerns and research agendas that will have an impact on state policies and the ways of understanding and managing differences (Briones, Gorosito-Kramer, 2007).

Organizational experiences from certain theoretical-methodological perspectives leading to understand subaltern political processes become important (Manzano, Ramos, 2015). These approaches emphasize the role of indigenous peoples as political actors and subjects of rights who seek to account for the legal implications related to the recognition of difference, as well as the fields of forces in which these collectives are inserted and their relationship with the State (Briones 1998, 2004; Lazzari, Quarleri, 2015). The common interpellation in these studies requires problematizing the approach to the “indigenous question” that has historically been subject to narratives based on the myth of white Argentina, subscribed to in readings in terms of miscegenation (Briones, 2002) and forms of “Indian racism” producing social inequality (Álvarez Leguizamón, 2017). This takes on greater force in the case of the Kolla people who have challenged the criteria established by state and academic validation bodies to certify the authenticity of the indigenous (Espósito, 2017)².

1. In 1994, the National Constitution of Argentina was reformed, incorporating Article 75 paragraph 17 which, in addition to recognizing ethnic and cultural pre-existence, established the duty to recognize “the possession and community property over lands they have traditionally occupied, and to regulate the transfer of other lands adequate and sufficient for human development.”

2. Argentina recognizes the existence of 38 indigenous peoples. In the Province of Salta, where there are at least 14 indigenous peoples - nine recognized by the provincial government and another five in the process

This research addresses the creation of indigenous organizations self-ascribed to the Kolla people since the 1980s in the inter-Andean valleys of Salta, located in the north of the province of Salta, Argentina (departments of Santa Victoria, Iruya, and part of Orán). Both are guided by the ethnographic perspective from a conventional sense (Balbi, 2020) and the “genealogical” perspective in the sense of documenting singular historical contents and “local and discontinuous knowledge” (Foucault, 1996, p.19), and exploring the conditions that have influenced their disqualification or marginalization (Restrepo, 2008). Along with the possibilities of ethnographic fieldwork, genealogy seeks to glimpse “other histories” and spaces of knowledge production that can be thought from difference, thus contributing to build theory from the political praxis of subaltern group movements (Escobar, 2003, p. 61).

From a contemporary perspective of human rights, anthropology and communication, this paper’s authors propose a reading of a research commitment to indigenous organizations. For this purpose, the authors rely on an experience of imbrication of interdisciplinary work with the agendas of the Association of Aboriginal Communities of Nazareno (OCAN) between 2013 and 2021³. The objective is to reflect on the implications of articulating research, extension and collaboration projects in contexts where political situations, local demands, and working conditions determine directions and possibilities. This requires, first, making visible epistemic and methodological alternatives to the modern-eurocentric knowledge model which are contextualized in their enunciation, temporality, and space. Second, it means critically reviewing the conditions that allow carrying out this type of proposal formulated in dialogue with the *struggles*⁴ and demands of the indigenous organization the authors work with.

Methodology

In 2014, the authors’ personal journeys about anthropological and communicational work were in the field, after each of them became involved in the

of recognition - 6.5% of the population, i.e. 79,204 inhabitants, are recognized as indigenous. 21.6% (17,145 people) pertain to the Kolla (National Institute of Statistics and Census [INDEC], 2012). The Kolla people also inhabit the provinces of Jujuy and Catamarca in the northwestern Argentina.

3. Since 1998, this organization has organized 23 Kolla communities in the municipality of Nazareno. To reach this locality, one must cross the city of La Quiaca, in the province of Jujuy, and then travel 100 kilometers east along a winding dirt road that crosses the Abra del Cóndor at 5050 meters above sea level (the border between Salta and Jujuy), until descending to the municipal capital.

4. The native category of *struggle* (particularly the *struggle for territory*) refers to agreed ways of demanding creation and restoration of rights within the current legal framework that supports indigenous peoples.

management of the community radio FM OCAN⁵. In accordance with the commitment assumed and assigned in the “communication topic,”⁶ the authors worked in the formulation and presentation of university extension projects and other state funded projects linked to community media management, content production, and equipment.

This convergence led to modifying the initial objectives of undergraduate and doctoral research of interdisciplinary approach and academic detachment. Thus, the research projects began to focus on reconstructing collective organization processes without neglecting affective, memorial, and territorial aspects.

In this way the authors approached a “committed research” (Katzner, 2011) which, as a situated and singular process, had particular characteristics as the relationship with OCAN referents became stronger. This positioning alludes to a perspective that redefines ethnographic work by linking it to “collaborative” tasks (Rappaport, 2007), in this case, the development and management of projects by the organization with the purpose of contributing to an area of intervention on the fulfillment of rights and local demands⁷.

According to Leticia Katzner (2011), engaged research requires an epistemological and political positioning that addresses what the interlocutors demand or propose, beyond academic interests⁸. Within this framework of action, the authors conceive that the critical human rights perspective allows for a complex analysis of research in a relational manner, in addition to constituting a tool and a hegemonic legal language to manage such demands⁹. In this sense, this paper

5. OCAN FM is the indigenous community radio station coordinated by OCAN since 2016. In addition to guaranteeing the right to communication of indigenous peoples, its communication project focuses on its own ways of building a local information agenda, in line with the territorial struggles of the organization. The authors delved into this topic in other articles (Milana, Villagra, 2018; Villagra, 2020).

6. In the OCAN assemblies, the issues discussed were usually classified into “topics” that allowed for a reflection on different aspects of social life, as well as on proposing different possible courses of action in pursuit of acquiring, recovering, or creating rights as indigenous peoples.

7. The reference to different projects allowed for both university extension and other funding, a territorial and committed articulation between research practices, and the demands of the indigenous organization.

8. The perspective of engaged research raises a set of questions about the role and dialogue of researchers with the interlocutors who are involved in the research process. In the framework of different academic discussions on anthropological work, there is a methodological and epistemological turn that proposes problematizing and discussing the ethnographic practice and method, adjectivizing this turn in terms of “engaged,” “militant,” “activist,” “collaborative,” or “decolonial” research (Rodríguez, 2019). Although, this article does not intend to discuss these notions and their adjectivations, these insist on the need to make political commitments to the people and organizations the authors work with and their unique demands for recognition.

9. This perspective takes up contributions from authors such as Joaquín Herrera Flores and Boaventura de Sousa Santos, and argues that human rights should be described in the unique contexts in which they arise, based on their scope to denounce situations of inequality in access to the necessary goods for a dignified

focuses on the appropriation and re-signification that the interlocutors make of the legal norms, imbricated in the social fabric and struggles (Sánchez Rubio, 2009).

These unique articulations involved theoretical-methodological and analytical choices. In addition to appealing to several qualitative techniques and ethnographic fieldwork with brief and periodic stays in Nazareno, the experience of collaboration and involvement with projects linked to different areas enabled access to other fieldwork and other organizational sources. In turn, to build the conceptual perspective on indigenous organizational processes in the inter-Andean valleys, the authors appealed to three key lines: Cultural Studies (Hall, 1996, 2010; Grossberg, 2006, 2012), the anthropological field of collective politics (Manzano, 2013; Manzano, Ramos, 2015; Lenton, 2015), and studies on popular, alternative, community, and indigenous communication experiences (Mata, 2009; Kejval, 2009; Doyle, 2016). From this framework, historical forms of relationship with the State and practices of resistance were investigated (Milana, 2019; Villagra, Milana, 2020; Villagra, 2020) and a radio experience in the framework of local political processes was analyzed (Milana, Villagra, 2018).

In this context, different styles of national government were deployed whose policies affected the course of research and OCAN projects. During the period between 2007 and 2015, the presidency of the national government, held by Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, held speeches linked to the historical reparation of human rights and an economic redistribution in terms of health, education, and communication, among others. In this situation, the indigenous movement gained visibility in the public and media scene, challenging the State to redefine its horizons of citizen inclusion. Then, between 2015 and 2019, the policies led by the Alianza Cambiemos, under Mauricio Macri's mandate were devastating in their budget cuts to different areas of the State, with effects on previous indigenist policies and on new symbolic borders of the nation around specific conflicts¹⁰.

At the end of 2019, Alberto Fernández supported by Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, assumed the presidency, once again bringing about transformations

life (Gándara, 2019). The proposal emphasizes the importance of making visible different formulations of rights in a context of pluralism (Acosta-Navas, 2019). Then, it is possible to understand them as a hegemonic language that can clearly be used by the subaltern sectors to channel their specific demands and requirements.

10. These disputes became visible from the repressive role of the national security policy of the national gendarmerie enabled to manage conflicts originated from the advance of private companies on the territories of the Mapuche people. This had as a corollary the disappearance and death of Santiago Maldonado and Rafael Nahuel in 2018, through police intervention in Pu Lof in Resistencia, Cushamen, province of Chubut (Briones, Ramos, 2018).

in the approach to the country's social, political and economic problems¹¹. However, the context that has emerged since 2020 as a result of the pandemic by COVID-19 has impacted the social organization of the country; while the national government allocated a large part of the budget to the creation of wards and hospitals for coronavirus patients and, later, to the vaccination campaign¹².

Along the way, investigations and ties to NACO were reconfigured. Different scenarios marked the possibilities of implementing joint projects, sometimes limited by the delay or lack of money, or because the priorities of the organization indicated how and when to execute a certain activity. However, the search to build support and alliances with internal and external actors of the organization allowed signifying the ways of building knowledge and practices collectively. This influenced both the NACO political project and the course of these investigations, which at the end aspire to be constructed as contributions to the visibility of indigenous struggles in the province of Salta.

Convergences between the Fieldwork and the Agendas of the Indigenous Organization

In 2013, Paula Milana began to participate in meetings between different indigenous organizations in the province of Salta as part of her Bachelor's thesis in Anthropology. The research referred to an analysis of the social policies and practices of "work" in the environment of the Kolla Indigenous Council of Iruya¹³ (Milana, 2014; Milana, Ossola, Sabio-Collado, 2016). As a result of the field work in the assemblies, there was a shift toward another dimension that transcended that of work. This was the "land and territory issue," a set of issues that included the demand for community land titles and other demands related to land control. In relation to this struggle, through the Council, an articulation was promoted with the Qullamarka, the Coordination of Organizations and Autonomous Kollas Communities of Salta¹⁴.

11. To delve into the mentioned political situations, the authors suggest reading the contributions of Briones, 2015; Briones, Ramos, 2018; and Soria, 2019a and 2019b.

12. On March 19, 2020, Social, Preventive, and Mandatory Isolation (SPMD) was declared for all the country's inhabitants. Later, the provisions associated with the movement of people were oscillating between ASPO and Social, Preventive and Mandatory Distancing (SPMD), according to the epidemiological situation of each province or municipality.

13. The Iruya Kolla Indigenous Council (IKIC) is an organization formed in 2004 that represents the communities of the department of Iruya in the province of Salta.

14. Currently, the Coordinator brings together six indigenous Kolla organizations from the Inter-Andean Valleys in the province of Salta: Indigenous Community of the Kolla Tinkunaku town (ICKT), Association of

In 2014, Milana obtained a doctoral research grant from the National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (NCSTR), which aimed to investigate the struggle for the Qullamarka territory from its historical present. Along with different contributions or tasks that included writing minutes, attending training, writing notes during the assemblies and subsequent delivery to the offices of the provincial government, the field work was carried out based on the organizational dynamics and the “Qullamarka Tinkunakuy” meetings, which are held every three months in different locations of the inter-Andean Valleys.

The research problem was changing along with the agendas of the Qullamarka, which assigned it a position of “allied.” This implied getting involved with the Social Communication field, given that as a result of the debates and application of the Audiovisual Communication Services Law (ACSL) in 2009, the members of the Coordinadora were working for access to their own radioelectric frequencies.¹⁵ Thus, through an extension project¹⁶, the magazine “Qullamarka-Tinkunakuy” was produced, with a circulation of four hundred copies, whose objective was to make visible the relationship between organizational processes and indigenous communication projects.

Emilia Villagra began her research in 2014 within the framework of the Bachelor of Communication Sciences course at the National University of Salta. She joined the Practice Chairs in Community and Institutional Communication and Popular and Alternative Communication, and joined different research projects¹⁷ and university extension¹⁸. These aimed to reflect, systematize and accompany indigenous organizations that were working on the management and production of radio content during the application of the ACSL. This journey gave rise to her degree thesis (Villagra, 2016), where she addressed the

Aboriginal Communities of Nazarene (ACN), Union of Victoreñas Aboriginal Communities (VAC), Kolla de Iruya Indigenous Council (KIIC), Upper Lipeo River Basin Indigenous Community (ULRBIC) and Union of the Kollas Communities in the lower Yungas-Orán area, Salta (UKCLY).

15. The ACSL recognizes the protection of “authorizations to people of ideal existence of public state law, National Universities, Indigenous towns, and the Catholic Church (...) on demand and directly, in accordance with the availability of the spectrum, when appropriate” (ACSL, article 37, 2009).

16. Extension project “Multiplying Voices: toward autonomous communication in the Qullamarka territory” (2015).

17. Research projects “Popular and alternative communication in border contexts. Part 2. Mapping of actors and experiences in popular sectors of Salta” (2014-2016) and “Popular, alternative and community communication in the province of Salta. Historicization, reconfiguration, and transformation of other communication experiences” (2017-2019).

18. Extension projects “basting networks in community communication. Support workshops for social organizations within the framework of the Popular Communication Management of Salta and Jujuy” (2014), “basting networks in community communication. Part II Support workshops for social organizations in the framework of the Popular Communication of Salta (2015)” and “Nazareno communicates.” Training for the strengthening of a community radio” (2016).

construction of the community radio station FM ACN and its commitment to “autonomous communication” and with “identity” in the period 2014–2016.

Later, in 2017, Villagra obtained a doctoral scholarship also sponsored by NCSTR, initially aimed at analyzing the role of community media from the implementation of the station in Nazareno. Attuned with the field work carried out in the 2014–2019 period, the project was limited to understanding the political-communicational processes of NCSTR in articulation with the demand for land.

During that period, the authors worked on the formulation of “communication with identity” projects, financed by the Competitive Development Fund for Audiovisual Communication Media (CPACM)¹⁹ and the University Extension Secretariat of the National University of Salta (UESNU). These calls constituted the first spaces for the presentation of projects from which the authors collaborated jointly in that the organization obtained financing for the economic, institutional and productive sustainability of the radio project.

From then, a considerable part of the research practices was assembled with the development of university extension projects as well as other state state financing. In this way, the university extension was constituted as a practice that prioritized the authors’ training as undergraduate students and allowed establishing links between the territory and the public university. Likewise, it enriched the authors’ undergraduate and doctoral theses, expanding the epistemological perspectives according to the political commitment to build, systematize and articulate social knowledge with the interests and demands of NCSTR.

Converging on the “communication issue,” the joint inquiry into indigenous demands with a human rights perspective constituted the framework for various meeting instances with NCSTR leaders. In Nazareno, the authors also participated in religious festivities and activities planned by the organization, such as the “cambalache exchange” fair (2016 and 2017), meetings organized with the Undersecretary of Family Farming of the National Ministry of Agroindustry (USFF), the National Institute of Agricultural Technology (NIAT), and radio workshops on “communication with identity.” Additionally, the authors accessed the organization’s archives, including minutes of the assemblies (1999–2018) and records of school inspections that belong to the historical book of the Nazareno primary school (1909–2009).

In this way, after getting involved in the extension projects that each carried out, in 2016 the authors presented the first joint extension project²⁰. Its initial

19. The CPACM was created based on the provisions of article 97, paragraph f of the ACSL, which allocates a percentage of the funds collected by the Federal Authority for Audiovisual Communication Services to community, border and native peoples’ audiovisual communication projects.

20. Extension project “Communication with identity: community media in the Qullamarka territory”

objective was to contribute to the management and production of content for its station called FM OCAN. From a collaborative work with the organization, they intended to create a magazine whose contents would deal with the search for an “own radio,” the generated audiovisual content, and the discussion of how to sustain the medium. At the same time, the authors sought to build a systematization tool for indigenous political and communicational processes, respecting local perspectives and knowledge.

As a result of the consequences of the financial emptying of the Public University during the government of Mauricio Macri since the end of 2015, the project was paid for in 2018. This slowed down its development, not only due to economic limitations, but also because the objectives and interests of the organization at that time were different. For this reason, during a meeting organized with representatives of OCAN, carrying out a workshop to strengthen organizational and institutional ties was suggested, as well as promoting reflection and dissemination of the work done by the organization regarding the “land and territory issue.” Thus, a space for the socialization of stories and knowledge of Nazareno was generated, in order to talk about the different notions of “territory that coexists and thus reconstruct the history of the municipality from the voices and memories of the inhabitants.

Along with these projects, closely linked to the authors’ doctoral theses, they continued participating in the organization’s work. In 2018, they prepared socio-productive proposals financed by the National Ministry of Social Development for the construction of an irrigation system in the community of Santa Cruz del Aguilar and the foundation of a storage shed in Nazareno. In addition, the authors participated in workshops in charge of the Public Defender’s Office in Nazareno for the processing of the OCAN FOMECA registration required in 2019 to present new projects, of which one was the winner (its funds were deposited in 2021). The authors’ role consisted of collaborating with the drafting of the projects, after participating in meetings to redefine objectives and their subsequent execution.

In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic impacted investigations and the projects carried out by OCAN, and the authors had to resort to new forms of relationship such as virtual assemblies and network communication. From this place, they continued to accompany some activities, participating in assemblies and in the reformulation and execution of various projects that were managed between 2019 and 2021.

(2018). It aimed at contributing to the management and production of content for the community radio station FM OCAN.

Finally, at the beginning of 2021 and together with a group of women from Nazareno, the authors presented a project to the Southern Women's Fund, called "Warmis from Nazareno for a good living: strengthening our voices and practices."²¹ In this context, although the epidemiological situation continues to be affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, the authors aim at influencing some economic and social aspects from the support of spaces for women's interaction.

Results

Theoretical, Methodological and Epistemological Perspectives to Address Indigenous People's Political Processes

As mentioned, the anthropological and communicational approach allowed for outlining a theoretical and analytical map in which the ethnographic perspective was central, not only to reformulate the objectives of the research according to the dynamics of the organization, but also to incorporating the theoretical place and protagonist of the interlocutors. In this way, the theoretical-methodological background was modified and built based on fieldwork carried out through brief and periodic stays, whose records on various activities allowed for bringing native points of view to the fore. This approach also allowed for knowing in depth the assembly of the indigenous radio stations of the Qullamarka. In addition to witnessing the construction of these spaces in their political and symbolic aspects, especially FM OCAN, the authors collaborated with their institutional management²².

Although during the authors' disciplinary trajectories they analyzed specific aspects of the demands of organizations in the inter-Andean Valleys, when they began to collaborate they advanced in a new approach. Next, they point out some characteristics of this perspective and its connection with their research.

First, the analytical approach of Cultural Studies was fruitful in epistemological terms to work with indigenous organizational processes, since its proposal consists of building knowledge about places of enunciation and political actions from an interdisciplinary exchange that, without being restricted to a conventional academic work, demands a committed practice (Castro-Gómez, 2003).

21. The project is financed by the Women's Fund from the South, within the framework of the program Leading from the South. This space accompanies organizations that promote the rights of women and LGBTIQ+ people in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.

22. Although the work was focused on the management of the OCAN FM radio station, the authors also participated in meetings and communication workshops in other towns and departments of the Inter-Andean Valleys.

This can be translated into what Stuart Hall (2010) calls “political vocation,” which implies “understanding and intervening” producing a “knowledge-tool” that explores specific conditions of exploitation and domination (Restrepo, 2012, p. 157).

Second, the authors problematized processes of political subjectivation from an anthropological approach to indigenous collective politics. This field can be approached from practices of representation and participation of communities or organizations. It also requires paying attention to individual and collective trajectories, the way in which alliances are forged and negotiations between different actors are settled, without neglecting internal confrontations and disputes waged in those contexts (Lenton, 2015; Ramos, 2011). In dialogue with the proposals on “national and provincial formations of alterity” as configurations of social organization of difference (Briones, 2005), the authors also investigated historical forms of relationship of indigenous groups with the State, government, and resistance, as well as negotiation and articulation (Milana, 2019; Milana, Villagra, 2020).

In this direction, the authors’ approach to the field of force in which the political project of both OCAN and the Qullamarka coordinator is framed, is associated with the genealogical commitment to account for knowledge and practices that, previously relegated, have emerged in current struggles (Foucault, 1996). This lens was achieved through an ethnography of the collective politics of organizations: recording their creative, singular, and unprecedented work of historical reconstruction, which also proposes new rights and policies questioning the hegemonic narratives promoted by academic and/or state spheres.

Finally, Studies on Popular Communication is another opportune field to carry out intervention practices in the territory and produce knowledge. It allowed for placing emphasis on communication processes and on the construction of meanings in everyday life, conceiving the media from mediations (Martín-Barbero, 1987). The authors combined this approach with that of “indigenous communication,” a more recent field whose analysis focuses on the uses and appropriations of audiovisual media by indigenous subjects, the characteristics, possibilities, and limits inscribed in the regulatory frameworks and their articulations with respect to the struggle for territories (Lizondo, 2015; Doyle, 2018; Andrada, 2019). These approaches allowed for relating the communication processes with the political actions of the OCAN, understanding in depth the different edges that constitute its project (Milana, Villagra, 2018; Villagra, 2020).

The articulations between the three approaches entailed theoretical-methodological choices and analytical cuts aimed at understanding long-term processes in local contexts. In this direction, another lens tested with a view

toward identifying and explaining the conditions that made the formation of the Kollas indigenous organizations possible in the inter-Andean valleys consisting of a particular chronology of their struggles. The discernment of the scope of the indigenous organizational process from the eighties allowed for the historical and spatial contextualization of a set of significant events²³.

Based on this theoretical-methodological and epistemological background, the demand for the “communication theme” implied an approach from the field of Communication that was articulated with an anthropological analysis of the historical processes associated with the “land and territory” theme.

In particular, Emilia Villagra’s doctoral research focused on analyzing OCAN’s communication experience from an ethnographic approach, identifying political practices and unraveling how to build networks and alliances between different actors, beyond what happened strictly in terms of audiovisual production. In the case of María Paula, the doctoral thesis reconstructed and analyzed short- and medium-term processes associated with the formation of Kollas organizations in the inter-Andean valleys, paying attention to classifying forms of alterity from the academic and state fields, as well as senses of indigenous belonging.

Together, both investigations allowed for understanding the historical and political scope of the struggle for territory undertaken by OCAN together with other organizations from the inter-Andean valleys of Salta. Similarly, the shared concerns of recording and analyzing the work of organizations led the authors to forming their more complex view of communication processes, from the point of view of the actors, contemporary identity constructions, and territorial disputes in particular contexts. This was possible thanks to a constitutive ethnographic exercise of research intertwined with academic interests and organizational dynamics²⁴.

Next, the authors present how these inquiries developed into “committed investigations” tied to the management and execution of projects within the framework of OCAN demands.

23. It should be clarified that, in Argentina, since the advent of democracy, multiple experiences of indigenous organizations became visible by raising different demands (Milana, Villagra, 2020).

24. The Social Communication and Anthropology careers of the National University of Salta present substantial differences in the ways of promoting the link between professional practice and what is conceived as territory. For instance, the curriculum of Social Communication program includes subjects associated with the management, design, and evaluation of social communication projects or policies; in addition, it considers professional practices with organizations, companies or institutions framed in socio-community interventions. For its part, the Anthropology program promotes a research-oriented profile that, although it insists on active commitment to the struggles of the actors with whom it relates, it does not offer forms of direct link, such as professional practices.

Project Management and its Implication for Collaborative Research: Junctures, Funding and Institutional Articulations

As has been pointed out, research and extension practices were woven together with the collective proposals articulated with OCAN, in a context marked by specific situations and periods of government that influenced actions in the field, in addition to far-reaching processes that also conditioned them.

According to the variable periodicity with which the authors conducted fieldwork, sometimes attending to “be there” (Guber, 2001), according to the ethnographic imperative of direct observation, without any particular activity, and at other times with a premeditated work schedule, our role was seen by the members of the organization in different ways. Sometimes as teachers and sometimes as technicians, but generally the authors’ presence was associated with a figure of “allies,” in their own words. This caused a shift in the horizons of the authors’ professional practice, engaging with the demands of the organization.

Alternatively, the presentation and execution of extension projects was central, as it allowed the research to have a practical and territorial support that, in addition to having an economic contribution to finance activities, supported the design of workshops that promoted other ways of dialoguing and mapping the present.

In the quest to understand this complex plot, the authors are interested in highlighting several aspects that outline the limits and possibilities of collaborative research. In this sense, although the fact of reconfiguring the objectives of the research allows the linking of academic interests with organizational dynamics, the hierarchical reciprocal relationship that occurs in the multiple negotiations in the field defines different positions. In this case, the authors finance the economy by working in CONICET as scholarship holders, which translates into scientific texts and participation in research projects and programs. This also refers to asymmetrical logics of knowledge reproduction, insofar as the authors’ privilege is given by the autonomy of research whose productions are not controlled by indigenous organizations. In the case of OCAN, its knowledge and experience are key tools for defending, demanding and creating new rights. Between both poles, with the intention of orienting the research according to the narratives, interests and concerns of the organization, the authors seek to attenuate those asymmetries between the academic work and the possibility of committing themselves to the political processes by collaborating in the elaboration of diverse materials such as, for example, the projects managed together with different indigenous referents and leaders.

Alternatively, the authors emphasize that both academic and collaborative projects were articulated in connection with funding provided by both the State

and NGOs at that time. In a certain way, it is remarkable how, beyond organizational agendas, the power to articulate projects depends on managing subsidies considered relevant according to criteria formulated by funding agencies. It also depends on the circumstances and the investment in public policies that allow the implementation of programs, both in terms of human rights of indigenous peoples and science and technology.

As mentioned, this research became insufficient at certain times due to the scarce resources available to carry out the work, which, although supported by doctoral grants and extension projects, were not enough to pay for the field work (the money was quickly devalued or took a long time to be paid). Likewise, the pandemic context also had an impact on the inquiries and implied resorting to virtual platforms to continue linking.

Along the way, the authors employed different strategies that allowed combining research, extension, and collaboration practices. The frequency of the trips was made possible by the Secretariat of Family Agriculture (SsAF, for its Spanish acronym) and its “qualified technicians,”²⁵ a state institution that has been coordinating technical and productive aspects of family, peasant, and indigenous agriculture since the early 1990s. Thus, the authors sustained stays of between three and five days, at least until 2019.

Similarly, during 2015-2017, the authors attended the radio training courses given by the Public Defender of Audiovisual Communication Services in Nazareno, combining activities and proposals to strengthen the FM OCAN. However, the institutional articulations were not always harmonious. During the government of the Alianza Cambiemos, the SsAF suffered a brutal budget cut and the national government dismissed almost 400 workers throughout the country, 26 of them belonging to the province of Salta. This had an impact on territorial work and, in Nazareno, led to a decrease in technical assistance and the implementation of productive projects. The same happened with the Ombudsman’s Office, which was affected by the interruption in its work with respect to public hearings, training and promotion of the right to communication.

Also, the authors identified certain limitations related to academic work. They refer to Argentina’s science and technology model which, despite having numerous organizations and institutions that make up the National Science and Technology System, has historically allocated a smaller budget to the area

25. In 1993, the World Bank-financed Social Agricultural Program was created, which belonged to the National Secretariat of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries. In 2007, this program was established as the Undersecretariat of Family Agriculture. That same year, the SsAF incorporated, as a result of a lawsuit filed by the indigenous organizations, territorial technicians belonging to each municipality and/or locality, who would be known as “experts” due to their knowledge and understanding of local problems.

of Social and Human Sciences. In line with the dismantling of the SsAF and the Ombudsman's Office, the scientific system was no exception. From 2016 to the present, the budget reduction paralyzed research projects and deteriorated the salaries of its researchers. Regarding this area in CONICET, a report prepared in 2019 (Instituto de investigaciones en ciencias sociales y humanidades, 2019) by fellows of the Instituto de Investigaciones en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (ICSOH) of the National University of Salta, indicates that of the 450 researchers who entered the Research Career, 17.7% of a total of 2,595 of the applicants, only 38 correspond to the social area: 8.44% of the researchers who actually entered.

Furthermore, CONICET's productive matrix promotes a meritocratic and productivist logic, considering that research is satisfactory according to the number of publications in books or indexed scientific journals. Little evaluation is made of the territorial work or the conditions under which it is carried out. This impacts not only academic work, but also the possibilities of expanding reflective dialogues that promote an "ecology of knowledge" (de Sousa Santos, 2012).

These are some of the limitations encountered when building bridges between academic research and collaborative projects. In this case, the strategies and alliances described throughout this text were built through institutional and organizational articulations, which allowed the research processes not to be separated from extension and collaboration practices committed to indigenous struggles.

Conclusions

In this article a critical reflection on the practices of research, extension and collaboration in articulation with the demands and interests of a Kolla indigenous organization is presented.

Initially, work focused on indigenous communication projects that sought to contribute to the management of FM OCAN. Particularly, the university extension was particularly fruitful in order to combine the perspective of human rights and collaboration, as proposals committed to the indigenous struggles to build autonomous and dignified spaces to live in. In this direction, the authors will focus on reconstructing the organizational processes in the inter-Andean valleys, delving into the historical-political circumstances that operated in the formation of indigenous collectives. Over time, the work evolved into research committed to organizational demands. The way in which the authors combined

different projects modified their research interests in an attempt to understand and explain local political processes.

In this way, participation in the formulation and execution of projects related to various topics gave access to the organization's own sources and to meetings that otherwise would not have been possible to attend. It should be clarified that these sources, little considered by social studies in the region, were taken up again in the research.

However, this experience also denotes certain tensions linked to conventional academic logics, especially those promoted by organizations such as CONICET, which demand scientific standards that must be reflected in the publication of numerous articles in journals categorized as first level. This is paradoxical for proposals committed to social change and that criticize those ways of producing knowledge, even though such proposals are favorably evaluated.

In the case of the tasks required "in the field," and in accordance with Claudia Briones and Ana María Gosorito-Kramer (2007, p. 371), it is contradictory how nowadays, while ethnographic fieldwork is revalued, the deadlines required are more limited and the horizon consists of maintaining or "entering a career" in research. Even so, the authors tried to move away from the modes of knowledge production that characterize the university environment and gambled on linking themselves directly with the often urgent demands of both OCAN and Qullamarka. This shows the need to constantly review and reconfigure research and extension projects, taking into account particular interests, as well as the historical and political context in which they are developed.

Finally, the authors are witnessing an era that evidences the need to formulate proposals and discussions that consider new methodological approaches within the framework of the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic. In this case, the authors were not exempt from thinking and recreating strategies through virtual platforms and network communication that allowed maintaining contact. This required improving material conditions for connectivity, as well as devising new ways of linking research and projects articulated with indigenous organizations.

Currently, the project the authors are implementing with the women of Nazareno has dedicated part of its budget to the purchase of communication and connectivity equipment to strengthen virtual meetings and workshops. The authors also work within the framework of health protocols for outdoor activities, guaranteeing the necessary care.

However, for these projects to become a reality, it is imperative that the State and, especially the country's science and technology organizations,

design encouraging alternatives so that the academic and scientific community can carry out field work with the respective health care or, at least, open the discussion at a general level to share possible disjunctions among their workers. Otherwise, in addition to the economic precariousness in which the authors find themselves, which continues to deepen, they are witnessing a virtualization of academic practices that does not stop in the face of exceptionality and has been called the new normality.

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Investigaciones — en otras temáticas

Research on other topics
Pesquisa sobre outros tópicos

The Persistence of Patronage in Mexico. The Case of Acapulco*

[English Version]

La persistencia del clientelismo en México. El caso de Acapulco

A persistência do clientelismo no México. O caso de Acapulco

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Abstract

Objective: this research is aimed at identifying how patronage erodes the construction of citizenship in the municipality of Acapulco, Guerrero.

Methodology: through semi-structured interviews it was found that the lack of coverage of political, social, and civil rights in the population, motivates the entry of citizens into client networks in the municipality. The descriptive study is novel because it is carried out at the subnational level and allows an in-depth look at the case. **Results:** it was found

* This research is the result of scientific encouragement in the Master's in Political Science at the Universidad Autónoma de Guerrero to promote scientific collaboration between professors, students and graduates. In this context, it is worth mentioning that this work did not have funding, but it did receive institutional support.

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that citizens do not actively participate in democracy because they do not believe in a real change that benefits them through formal institutions. **Conclusions:** the main findings lie in the fact that citizens become passive agents in the face of democracy, due to the lack of trust in institutions.

Keywords: Citizenship; PatronageClientelism; Citizen Participation; Democracy; Citizen Rights.

Resumen

Objetivo: esta investigación está orientada a identificar cómo el clientelismo erosiona la construcción de ciudadanía en el municipio de Acapulco, Guerrero. **Metodología:** mediante entrevistas semiestructuradas se encontró que la falta de cobertura de los derechos políticos, sociales y civiles en la población motiva el ingreso de los ciudadanos a las redes clientelares en el municipio. El estudio de carácter descriptivo es novedoso pues se realiza en el plano subnacional y permite observar a profundidad el caso. **Resultados:** se encontró que los ciudadanos no participan de manera activa en la democracia porque no creen en un cambio real que los beneficie por medio de instituciones formales. **Conclusiones:** los principales hallazgos radican en que los ciudadanos se vuelven agentes pasivos, ante la democracia, a raíz de la falta de confianza en instituciones.

Palabras-clave: Ciudadanía; Clientelismo; Participación ciudadana; Democracia; Derechos ciudadanos.

Resumo

Objetivo: esta pesquisa visa identificar como o clientelismo corrói a construção da cidadania no município de Acapulco, Guerrero. **Metodologia:** através de entrevistas semi-estruturadas, descobriu-se que a falta de cobertura dos direitos políticos, sociais e civis da população motiva os cidadãos a se juntarem a redes de clientelistas no município. O estudo descritivo é novo, pois é realizado em nível subnacional e permite uma observação aprofundada do caso. **Resultados:** constatou-se que os cidadãos não participam ativamente da democracia porque não acreditam em mudanças reais que os beneficiem através de instituições formais. **Conclusões:** as principais conclusões

são que os cidadãos se tornam agentes passivos da democracia como resultado de uma falta de confiança nas instituições.

Palavras-chave: Cidadania; Clientelismo; Participação cidadã; Democracia; Direitos dos cidadãos.

Introduction

Patronage is a phenomenon that has been studied over the years in different contexts. It has been linked to the deterioration of democracy, citizen participation and the full exercise of citizenship. The latter is the premise that frames this study, the erosion caused by political patronage in the construction of citizenship at the subnational level, mainly in the municipality of Acapulco, Guerrero.

The municipality of Acapulco is characterized by replicating dynamics that have been presented at the subnational level in other studies. Such is the case of the study “The other representation: clientelistic ties at the local level in Mexico” by Flavia Freidenberg (2017), which carries out a micro-political analysis of clientelistic practices in Saltillo, Coahuila. It concludes that, in effect, clientelism becomes an alternative for the community’s inhabitants from those formal institutions that do not immediately satisfy their demands, mainly those communities with the highest degree of marginalization and poverty. The closeness that employers and intermediaries present to their clients generates greater confidence in citizens to choose to be part of a network, which results in a kind of manipulation originating from scarcity (Freidenberg, 2017).

The present study confirms that in Acapulco the persistence of patronage shows that the State is absent in marginalized communities, and this allows the exercise of the particularistic policy, of the patronage bond between employers, intermediaries, and clients, thus wearing down citizenship and the full exercise of rights.

The objective of the research is to identify how patronage erodes the construction of citizenship in the municipality of Acapulco. To achieve this, a qualitative methodology was used, using the semi-structured interview as a tool. It was developed in the municipality of Acapulco de Juárez, Guerrero, mainly in the western area in the months of November to December 2019. The sampling was via networks or “snowball” and the Atlas-Ti version 7 program was used as an instrument to process the information.

In summary, the first section identifies the theoretical-conceptual elements of citizenship, clientelism, democracy and citizen participation that lead to establishing the methodology used in the research. Subsequently, the semi-structured interviews that result in four emerging categories were analyzed: 1) asymmetric relationship of power; 2) attitudes of loyalty; 3) economic vulnerability; 4) instrumental reasoning. Conclusions: the main findings lie in the fact that citizens become passive agents in the face of democracy, due to the lack of trust in institutions.

Democracy and Citizen Participation

Democracy is a political regime that comes from the Greek “demos” (people) and “Kratos” (government), translating it as “government of the people.” A government of the people reflects that all the people who belong to it, participate in making decisions (National Electoral Institute [INE], Institute of Legal Research of the Universidad Autónoma de Mexico [IIJ-UNAM], 2020). In this sense, democracy is characterized by holding free and periodic elections, having freedom of expression, free sources of information, and freedom of association (Dahl, 2004).

In a direct democracy citizens vote directly for the actions that would be carried out to best solve the problems of the population. However, in ancient Greece, the characteristics that voting population had to fulfill, left aside the poor, marginalized, women, sick, and foreigners; this generated division between the social classes of the population (Aristotle, 2004; Rosenberg, 2006; Bobbio, 2007).

There is another type of democracy called liberal, where citizens have economic, civil, social, assembly freedoms and the presence of the free market; the State is only in charge of regulating the participation of individuals and the market (Carter, 2005). In contrast, liberal democracy seeks equality in all aspects of the population’s life: economic, political, social, and cultural (Sartori, 2002; Paramio, 1996; Moya-Palencia, 1982).

Currently, a representative democracy allows citizens to choose their rulers freely. This is how it presupposes a control of power by citizens, as they elect their representatives from a group of candidates that arise from political parties and are elected periodically, therefore, popular power translates into electoral power (Sartori, 2008).

Finally, procedural democracy is based on compliance with procedures focused on elections, citizen participation and the set of actions at the time of the elections – such as guaranteeing free and secret voting – as well as freedom of expression, press, and association. This allows for the process to be freely conducted, with political and social equality (Clarke, Foweraker, 2001).

The relationship between democracy and citizen participation is clear, democracy does not exist without participation by the population. Citizen participation is defined as “those legal activities undertaken by citizens that are directly aimed at influencing the selection of rulers and/or the actions taken by them” (Verba, Nie, Kin, 1978). In countries with a democratic political system, citizen participation and political representation go hand in hand, as they are necessary for democracy to function (Merino, 2013). However, there occur

phenomena that distort democratic representation. To understand these phenomena, delving into the concept of citizenship and its implications in democratic life is necessary.

An Approach to the Idea of Citizenship

The notion of citizenship points to the public space as an arena for defining the rights that cover individuals. This public arena, in principle, guarantees the participation of all citizens on equal terms, which means that rights are constantly alluded to, defended, and expanded. However, in everyday life, the equality of citizens does not materialize, especially when individuals face situations where inequality of power is present.

From an analytical perspective, inequality is inherent in citizenship, because society is dynamic and constantly identifies and appropriates causes that it considers should be taken into account in order to become rights. This means that any state of affairs is subject to inquiry of inclusion and equality. On the other hand, inequality has an explanation as a topic in the public arena, understood as the space where politics and the correlation of forces define what is important for a community:

The exercise of citizenship is manifested in the possibility of dialogue that must exist between the different instances of society. The demands must be received by some instance and later discussed, which does not imply that conflicts are resolved by this possibility of speaking and being listened to. The other side of citizenship is exclusion; when there are others who do not belong to a certain community. (Jelin, 1997, p.193)

The rights implied in citizenship are the result of political battles where, both the inclusion and the exclusion of citizenship, has more of a focus of political confrontation mediated by economic, symbolic, gender, communication, knowledge resources, and use of force. In this line, citizenship is framed in a history of appropriation of rights and resistance to grant or expand them, since it implies exercising, according to Elizabeth Jelin (1997) a “conflictive practice linked to power, which reflects the struggles about who could say what in the process of defining what the common social problems are and how they will be addressed” (p. 194). For example, in Mexico, because of the various civil mobilizations brought by the population seeking a change in the system, and the different economic and political crises that put pressure on the political class,

different reforms were carried out, such as the electoral reform of 1977; that opened the way not only to democratization in Mexico, but to the beginning of various constitutional changes and the beginning of citizen construction.

In this sense, María del Carmen Hernández and Nehiby Alcántara (2017) point out that:

It was not until the last decades of the century in question [the C. XX] that citizenship became relevant as a relational and procedural category and began to operate as a tool for empowerment and domination dictated by the social, political, and economic context. (p.100)

Therefore, the rights of citizens are expanded or restricted by economic, cultural, and social states' capacities as effective citizenship is not only the result of the guarantees provided by law, but also of the ability to make those rights effective. For this, recognizing that poverty and inequality restrict the effectiveness of citizenship is necessary (O'Donnell, 1993, p.170). Likewise, the presence of other phenomena also impacts the effectiveness of rights, as O'Donnell (1993) observes "In Norway, people are treated as all members of the same society, who have the same rights. In Brazil, just to mention one country, the lower social classes are treated and seen as inferior, as pseudo citizens" (p. 170).

In this sense, a review of the way in which people of different social classes are treated in Mexico can show the weighting in the treatment and opportunities for social mobility. For example, ethnic origin, skin color, gender, sexual preference, age, and state of health mark unfavorable conditions that affect the recognition of citizenship rights (Soberanes, 2010).

Likewise, the appropriation and effectiveness of citizen rights are also related to the ability to control and submit power to the public. However, the existence of informal institutions, whose relationships are based on personal loyalties and the arbitrary and capricious exercise of power, deteriorate the construction of citizenship. Practices such as favoring perpetuate patron-subject relations, strengthen the practice of corruption as the axis of the relationship between people, and socialize the individualistic idea of political benefits, destroying the formation of social cohesion.

Addressing the issue of citizenship implies assuming the prevalence of what is public, expressed by rights, and the conditions that make them effective. In this framework, citizenship is a cluster of rights, which are deposited in the individual, but where the State is the source and concessionaire (Marshall, 1998).

In this same situation, Thomas Janoski considers citizenship as a "passive and active membership of individuals in a nation-state with certain universal rights and obligations at a given level of equality" (1998, p.9). However, there is

a gap between the conquest of rights and the effective exercise of these. There are conditions that in practice exclude population groups from the enjoyment of these rights. For this reason, recognizing the exclusion of certain sectors of the population, allows starting the struggle to claim them, even if the individual is part of a certain social group that influences not having access to opportunities because they occur within the framework of a relationship of authority/subordination. This is how exclusion develops through various exchanges between institutions and society that deny individuals participation in the social fabric (Buvinic, Mazza, Pungiluppi, 2004; Vargas, 2011).

Given the dynamic nature of the rights incorporated into citizenship, a margin of exclusion perceived by those who demand the incorporation of new recognitions of rights on issues that they consider relevant, from the public point of view, and whose arena of debate and legitimation occurs in politics (Vargas, 2011). Hence, a review of access to the public agenda is necessary in light of emerging needs that arise in the 21st century. Above all, when citizenship is considered an inherent part of democracy (Weintraub, 1992). In contrast, Durand Ponte (2004), points out the difficulties faced by the construction of citizenship in Mexico as a result of authoritarianism, which takes root in citizens and interferes in the development of a political culture that contributes to the consolidation of democracy, which is why patronage and practices such as transporting voters to the polls have survived through the years.

Regarding this, Jorge Alonso Sánchez (2013) mentions that since the period of alternation of power a simulation of democracy was created, the Mexican system only serves the political class. This position is complemented by those that mention that electoral democracy does not have the capacity to solve social problems and focuses on legitimizing State institutions that, through various authoritarian strategies, contribute to the advancement of capitalist logics, leaving aside the substantive part of the regime: the social values and political culture that shape the success or failure of a democracy, and of course, the construction of citizenship (Rocha, 2015).

Despite the fact that the concept of citizenship, since its formation throughout history, has faced various processes in search of its strengthening, in the 21st century in Mexico its consolidation has not been achieved. This was identified in the interviews as a result of this research; there are various obstacles that prevent its proper development. Among these obstacles, primarily, the breach of political, civil, and social rights by the State. With this, strengthening the political culture, as the subject culture which Mexicans cling to as a consequence of the authoritarian practices of the old Priista regime in Mexico still prevails is impossible. In addition this causes an asymmetric relationship of direct power between candidates, leaders/politicians, and citizens.

Furthermore, the adoption of development models expands or restricts citizens' rights. The case of the Welfare State that expanded social rights, compared to the Neoliberal State that minimized its intervention in society and the economy, and ceded the provision of public services such as health and education to private agents is worth mentioning (Kymlicka, Norman, 1997).

Democracy in its full sense implies the extended existence of other citizenships: civil, social, and cultural [...] the democratic regime introduce the vision of a citizen/agent capable of making decisions that can be very relevant to the public good (not just voting but to participate in the making of collectively binding decisions), it is unjustified to ignore (although this is done by a good part of the dominant theoretical currents today) the classic theme of the social conditions of democracy. (O'Donnell, 2008, p. 26)

In the Mexican experience, we must also consider that politics and democracy have acted in parallel with the presence of chiefdoms. Chiefdoms is a central term around which notions such as patronage, intermediation, hierarchy, informality, violence, authoritarianism, leadership, acceptance, paternalism, and corruption are added (Pasterns, 2005, p. 350), all of them harmful to the construction of citizenship.

The personalistic practice of power, its arbitrary and sometimes capricious exercise, its informal institutional context, and the relationship of loyalty that individuals accept (or to which they are obliged), presents a panorama contrary to the rights of which full citizenship is constituted. The existence of the chiefdom has been persistent even in Mexican democratization. The presence of informal institutions, “socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated and applied outside the officially sanctioned channels” (Helmke, Levitsky, 2006, p. 727) allows this practice to be adopted as an option to the allusion and effectiveness of the rights involved in citizenship, and also allows the functioning of institutions that are apparently formal, as are the political parties (Espejel, Díaz, 2020).

One of the most persevering activities within the framework of informal order is clientelism, as it is considered to undermine the performance of formal democratic, market, and state institutions. Clientelism is characterized by being a system of informal politics, a permanent, particularistic and unequal relationship that is composed of three actors: the employer, the client and an intermediary through whom the employer grants material services to customers, goods and services (Acuña, 2009; Audelo, 2004; González, 2019) and where employers have greater power (Audelo, 2004; Schedler, 2004; Cárcar, 2008; Helmke, Levitsky, 2006) and there is an exchange or distribution of economic

or social resources in exchange for political support (Corrochano, 2002; Auyero, Page, Lapegna, 2008).

Clientelism is based on the exchange of favors for votes, where there are authorities that have a political position and regulate the provision of public services and resources, which they have in exchange for electoral support from voters (Auyero, 2001; Trotta, 2003). At the same time, those involved envision this practice as an alternative strategy to cover social security needs that are often not fully covered by the State (Lemarchand, Legg, 1972).

Clientelism can be presented as a mode of subordination and unequal relationship of domination, in which there are informal agreements and promises that may or may not be fulfilled by employers to clients (Audelo, 2004; Schedler, 2004; Cárcar, 2008; Auyero, Page, Lapegna, 2008; Serra, 2016; Eisenstadt, Roniger, 1984). Also as a phenomenon where clients are active, informed agents, who negotiate their support and who choose the highest bidder (Vommaro, Quirós, 2011; Corrochano, 2002; Combes, 2011). Finally, clientelism can be understood as an agreement between two parties. One of them prevails over the other, as they do not maintain an equal social or economic status (Leca, Schemel, 1983).

In this way, clientelism is seen as a means of using power and subordinating a less favored population group. This practice is characterized by unwritten regulations; therefore, people who are in a client network, by not fulfilling their “responsibilities” in the game, will assume the consequences that this act entails (Helmke, Levitsky, 2006). Clientelism moves in the sphere of informal and particularistic order, its presence delays or erodes the formation of citizenship; it generates interactions based on informal rules and promotes values to loyalty rather than to the law. This change has led to a coexistence between informal and formal institutions that contrast clientelism and the construction of citizenship.

Methodology

The methodological approach is qualitative research. Due to the novelty of the research, an exploratory approach is proposed. However, enough information is gathered to propose preliminary explanations about the relationship between client practice and citizenship, as it deepens on perception and experiences regarding clientelism and citizenship of people involved in client activities and repercussions on their perception of citizenship. To do this, information is gathered from direct primary sources through a semi-structured interview. The

design of the interview considers five dimensions: nature of the client network, type of customers, types of loyalties, community networks, and self-perception as a citizen.

The interviews are concentrated in the western area of Acapulco, a region formed by the entire perimeter that covers the foot road from the slope to the Pedregoso neighborhood that constitutes the last colony of Acapulco. In this area there are colonies such as Petaquillas, El Derrumbe, Francisco Villa, Generación 2000, Jardín Mangos, Jardín Palmas, Jardín Azteca, Pie de la Cuesta, Miramar, Playa Luces, Puñalada, Valle de las flores, and San Isidro characterized by being areas with high levels of violence and marginalization in the municipality.

The interviews were applied from November 2019 to February 2020. These interviews were transcribed into a matrix and a thematic analysis was conducted. This involved axial coding of all data prior to the identification and validation of emerging categories. The emerging categories were: 1) asymmetric relationship of power; 2) attitudes of loyalty; 3) economic vulnerability; 4) instrumental reasoning.

The selection of the sample was by nets or snowball sampling. By contacting other participants suggested by the first interviewee, confidence increases and the flow of information is easier; in addition, people who manage a low profile can be found more easily in the context where this phenomenon takes place (Monje, 2013). In this case, the micro-analytical nature of this research demands a limited number of cases in order to observe the details and depth of each of the reflections that underpin this research.

The Atlas Ti version 7 program was used to order the data into codes and categories and interpret the information.

Clientelism and Citizenship in Acapulco

The analysis below is the result of twelve interviews conducted with political leaders and citizens, they were chosen by network or snowball sampling. Six men and six women were interviewed¹. From the information, the answers of the interviewees are described with textual quotations as empirical evidence. The analysis of the research related to each of the categories is presented.

1. At the request of the interviewees, their names have been changed to fictitious names in order to preserve their identity in anonymity.

Asymmetric Power Relationship

For years contexts of social and economic inequality have promoted the prevalence of client relations in small territories, since the economic dependence generated by citizens on informal institutions conditions their full development (Escobar, 2002). Although the responsibility of the State is to guarantee the different social, economic, and civil rights of citizens, empirical evidence highlights a different reality that reflects difficulties in exercising the full right of citizenship.

Among the characteristics previously identified with respect to the concept of citizenship, there is the concession of rights in a balanced way, where differences of diversity are possible, but that guarantee that all the inhabitants of the territory of a nation have the political, social, and civil rights that belong to them. The problem is that some citizens have greater facilities that give them their closeness to the political class that leads the governments, in this case, the municipal government of Acapulco:

Personally, my associate who came to the position in the city council, I have a great relationship with him. And whenever I go to the town hall doors open, I am also the delegate here, the commissioner, so they have to assist me and even I tell them: I am not going to ask anything for me, when I go it is because I request support for the community. But they have never closed the doors to me. (María, personal communication, 2019)

These facilities promote an asymmetrical relationship between the commissioner and citizens who do not have benefits, and between leaders and governors who can take the liberty of assisting, first, their closest relatives with respect to other citizens who are part of long lines to wait to be served. This is a reflection of the rights and benefits that are partially distributed and where social, economic and political security is guaranteed in a particularistic and selective way.

However, asymmetric power relations do not arise unexpectedly. When rights are granted and not recognized and when typical processes of a democracy and benefits to citizens are omitted, they are tipped to one side of the balance. Large sectors of the population are left unprotected and seek a way for their demands to be heard either by formal or informal processes. This is one of the reasons expressed by the interviewees:

In 2018 I did not participate very actively because no candidate suited me, so I decided not to participate. Sometimes you are not satisfied with the things you see in them, because as a citizen you also get tired of seeing all these kinds of situations that have happened. I say, I will not always like the candidate, but the worst is when we want to approach the candidate and they reject us because we look old to them. I think they should be more accessible, especially because they depend on us, on our votes, and when they come to power, they forget. (Jorge, personal communication, 2019)

Being deprived or feeling excluded from the political system — which has political party leaders, candidates, or elected and acting officials as the main processors of demands at the formal level — people turn to informal institutions to make themselves heard.

Loyalty Attitudes

The mistrust generated by the lack of response that citizens have experienced from institutions supported by the government has made people become passive actors regarding the democratic order. It has also led them to develop loyalty attitudes toward social agents or intermediaries that are willing to constantly solve their immediate needs. In this way, interviewees' explanations are that they cannot participate in a government that does not provide immediate and effective responses to their demands, but they are loyal to those agents who support them:

The candidate approaches me, talks to me and one can already see the confidence that he can provide. The first thing I tell them and that I ask most of them is that I don't want money. I don't want things for myself, but I do want them to help people. The one who does it is the one I'm going with and all my people too. With the one who listens to us because he is going to see the problems we have and help us with that. Especially with medicine or something for people who can't walk. Because it was the first thing he was told, we don't want money, we want him to help us. (Susana, personal communication, 2019)

Regardless of the procedural nature of democracy, whether the government complies with reliable electoral institutions or whether the filters are increasingly tightened when voting, the main characteristic of why citizens choose to agree to give their political support is precisely because phenomena such as clientelism and the figures that are part of it have created a whole system that covers the basic needs of the people who are part of a network, for which political favor ends up translated into votes:

Well, I have always liked being able to help society. I believe that helping society without looking at what it does and without expecting anything in return is rewarding. I think that helps one a lot and, in the end, it leaves a good taste indeed. I have already been involved in this for about 30 years and people have always approached me for one thing or another. I want to tell you something broadly. When I arrived here, to my community, I used to go around 1 or 2 in the morning and ask for help for people who needed it. I am a person who sleeps with his cell phone beside the bed and if something happens to someone and needs my support, I do not care about the time or the consequence or anything, I will help people. (Juan, personal communication, 2019)

The prevalence of clientelism, both in Acapulco and throughout Mexico, has a lot to do with this way of reaching citizens, with this fieldwork where political party leaders or social managers weave their networks that go beyond an ephemeral benefit, as they focus on the development of a bond that unites the citizen and the client agent with loyalty; beyond the initial objective of the citizen leaving aside the institutions and their procedures to obtain an immediate benefit.

In addition, with the passage of time, new needs emerge, as well as new demands that have been excluded in this concept of citizenship that encompasses rights and obligations. These new recognitions of rights, that have no place within the system, reflect the inability of the State to transform itself and adapt to the accelerated change of the new generations:

It is very complicated because not all people know about this and they do not have the technology. Right now, if people, farmers want to have fertilizer, everything is by computer, internet, accounts, Facebook, photos. You think peasants are going to have Facebook and take a selfie, upload, and download documents and things like this. That is why managers are very important, because indeed we take political leadership and we must also take advantage of the situation to see for one, if I help them, why won't they return the favor? (Tomasa, personal communication, 2019)

These “gaps” left by the State provide the opportunity for, through its agents, clientelism to strengthen its networks day by day through the use of ties such as friendship, social assistance and, of course, loyalty with the citizens. For this reason, it is essential that citizens begin to work on building a strong social fabric, as the points addressed so far reflect a dependency that does not allow them to empower themselves in the face of the institutions that have a duty to support them. Being a citizen is being an agent of change, which not only demands your rights, but also helps your community to advance continuously in its development.

Economic Vulnerability

The strengthening of client networks in the municipality of Acapulco has been caused by the need of the population to obtain economic, material, and political resources. In one of the interviews, the interviewee points out the following:

Well, the truth is that people ask me for money: “I don't have enough to eat,” “my son doesn't have a way to get to school,” “hey, help me pay my electricity bill,” “hey, help me pay my phone bill,” “hey, I don't have money to pay the gas,” “hey, help me with some plates.” People are in great need. There are also those who ask me for uniforms, soccer and basketball balls, especially when the Virgin's Day comes, also celebrations, the bulls, presents. During the town fair, they ask me to help them with different things. It is endless. More managers are needed to be able to help with people because the need is considerable and I would really like it to be a lie and that they would take me for a fool, but I know they need it. (Juan, personal communication, 2019)

Where there is a weak presence of the State in terms of public policies and services, the opportunity for political leaders to “intercede” or conveniently mediate for the marginalized population is stronger, and later, pass the bill for their “social support.”

As the political leader of the community of San Isidro, Acapulco points out:

We manage property tax payments, driver's licenses at a 50% discount and car loan payments. When payments are very high, we meet with the people in charge to somehow get a discount and a benefit for the owner who wants to make the payment and thus obtaining the license plates, paying vehicle ownership taxes

and all that. If someone dies, we visit the family for the possibility of getting the coffin; otherwise we provide support with a coffin free of charge. (Mario, personal communication, 2019)

Additionally, there is other support, as church improvements, fair celebrations, teacher's, mother's, father's and children's day, medical prescription refills, holdings payments and even efforts to improve the convents or churches in each neighborhood. This does not include the continuous support for food supplies, material resources, wheelchairs and/or productive projects or programs that serve as the main attraction for citizens in vulnerable situations.

Instrumental Reasoning

Reflecting on the elements that contribute for citizenship improvement and their responsibility toward their context is important. Alexis de Tocqueville (n.d.) mentioned that a life of association and social collaboration is essential. This model, according to him, is part of the basis of effective governance, as the collective action sphere functions like the most effective intermediary between the State and the civil society.

The capacity for association and cooperation is evident, since in this context, individuals have established different types of client networks: neighborhood-partisan, neighborhood-community, neighborhood-family, partisan-community, partisan-family, partisan-university, neighborhood-committees, partisan committees, and so on, which can be combined according to the context of each arising network. However, the problem lies in the fact that the organization's objective is mainly to request excessive resources without delving into sustainable solutions that include citizen participation for maintaining the solution of their problems. The following reflects their organizational capacity:

Well, there were committees everywhere (...). Before there were neighborhood committees to improve streets, and they were a problem, because the kindergarten committee asked for a projects, the priest asked for another one, the high school committee for another one, and the transportation committee for another one. Then, in a town, I was asked for five different projects in a year and the resources allocated by the city council were not enough for five projects in a single community, so I told them: We'll get into an agreement on your projects and choose the most urgent one because then they do not even want to paint, if you give them the paint. They want everything to be done by the city council. This

way the agreement is between them, they fight among themselves and do not go around saying that I have favorites to manage one project or another. Right now there is already a committee where everyone is involved, the state commissioner, the community leader, the transportation leader, primary, secondary, high school, and priest leaders, the tortilla committee, and so on, so that they can reach an agreement and decide. I know there are many needs, but there is always one that will be of the highest priority. (Jorge, personal communication, 2019)

The problem with becoming instruments for informal institutions generating votes in exchange for economic or material support is that it prevents society from developing bonds of social cohesion and cooperativism that contribute to the support networks' consolidation for the benefit of the community's sustainable development.

For their part, the most informed citizens are also responsible for this collective situation. Although they assume leadership roles in the different municipality communities, they do not act as agents of social change to socialize democratic values such as selfless support for their neighbors and/or community members.

The way these people operate influences social support in exchange for political favors where subjects who accept the conditions of being part of the network also assume the consequences of not fulfilling their part of the deal. Indeed, the phenomenon of clientelism, in addition to eroding democracy and values such as social capital, fosters conflict and the rupture of the social fabric, which is only strengthened in societies with the freedom given by the full enjoyment of those rights. Unfulfilled promises and offers to improve the quality of life that do not come true are a few forms of deception by employers² at the port of Acapulco:

They committed to one thing and came out with another, as usual. They told us that they were going to pave streets, especially two streets that we do not have well done, but they did not comply. They tricked us in order to give them a hand and now that they are in office they have forgotten about us. (Irma, personal communication, 2019)

Thus, it is evident that citizenship and clientelism, although they are contrary concepts that cannot be imagined within the same contexts, in Mexico,

2. An employer, for example, may be a manager or a public administration official to whom the employees turn to without knowing them to solve their needs. It is clientelism without commitment (Schröter, 2010, p. 148).

and particularly in Acapulco, are categories linked on the same plane. However, the presence of one limits the development of the other.

After analysis of the interviews, the conclusion is that, in the municipality, motivations such as economic, material and even labor resources that encourage citizens to be part of a client network, whether neighborhood, family, party, or committee-based, is the result of a social, economic, and political inequality context that foster the continuance of clientelism.

Finally, there are elements of citizenship that are also the responsibility of individuals, in this case, the political culture of subjects prevails against a weak participating political culture. Citizens do organize themselves to request resources, but the problem lies in the fact that this becomes their main motivation: asking without participating or getting involved erodes their citizenship formation and causes permanent damage.

Conclusion

The present micro politics study shows that there is a resistance on the part of the port of Acapulco inhabitants to actively participate in formal acts of democracy, for example, the fact of requesting a resource through the management of institutions or through formal social programs.

For this reason, the more informal institutions or phenomena such as clientelism continue to be present in the population, the greater the damage to citizenship. Among the main reasons that influence Acapulco's citizens in their decision to become involved in a client network are, on the one hand, the economic vulnerability that serves as a problem of dependence on employers who offer immediate answers to their needs; and on the other hand, the lack of options for their development; therefore, the population is forced to depend on the will of political leaders or to decide on the option that best meets their needs and their material or economic resources.

In addition, the loyalty is developed by both grateful citizens with client agents and political leaders or intermediaries with their direct employers. This situation shows two perspectives. The first is: Why do citizens trust more in an employer than in a Mexican State institution? How can a particularistic policy benefit less favored and vulnerable citizens more than the exercise of social programs through official institutions? What is failing that citizens have to choose more between the employer that "supports" and "attends" them immediately, than a bureaucratic institution that slowly processes their demands?

The utilitarian reasoning or instrumental calculation of political leaders, giving value to the citizens because they represent a vote instead of a full being and agent of change, erode the status of citizenship, as it limits and, in the long term, incapacitates the population by appropriating their rights and contributing to the formation of networks that strengthen social cohesion in Acapulco and in Mexico.

Lastly, although clientelism in Acapulco is met with resistance on the part of its citizens, it is also a phenomenon that hinders the strengthening of citizenship. Citizens still lack a full rule of law. Trustworthy institutions and the certainty that their civil, social, and political rights are guaranteed is still far away. Therefore, this form of political participation might continue in practice.

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Legal Protection of Elderly People in Risaralda (2016-2018) from the Perspective of the Social Rule of Law *

[English version]

Protección jurídica de los adultos mayores en Risaralda (2016-2018) desde la perspectiva del Estado Social de Derecho

Proteção legal dos adultos mais velhos em Risaralda (2016-2018) da perspectiva do Estado de direito social

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Abstract

The main objective of this research article is to analyze the effectiveness of the regulations and

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jurisprudence for the protection of the minimum subsistence of elderly people in the department of Risaralda during the period 2016-2018. Aging is a natural human process in which there is a deterioration of psychomotor and inter-subjective capacities that, in terms of quality of life and dignity, generates a condition of vulnerability and therefore an urgency for care and attention. This reality makes it necessary to demonstrate the fulfillment of objectives by the Colombian State in relation to this challenge. Insofar as it is the guarantor of the rights related to the protection and inclusion of the elderly as a special group in a society that defines itself according to the principles of the social rule of law and redistributive justice, the State must strive to guarantee the minimum level of subsistence requirements of this population. **Objective:** to determine the level of protection of the minimum subsistence of elderly people as subjects of special constitutional protection in relation to public policy for aging and older adults attached to public institutional care centers in the department of Risaralda. **Methodology:** the selected approach was socio-legal with a mixed method. The data collection techniques and instruments were applied based on the analysis and review of documentary sources of the standard and jurisprudence. The initial categories proposed are "minimum subsistence," "fundamental rights" and "social justice." **Results:** it was evidenced throughout the methodological application that, although in the legislation there is a whole regulation of norms in protection of the minimum subsistence and the rights of said population, it is not evident how well they are cared for, since the different statistics show that the best protected older adults, with a good quality of life are those who are part of private homes. **Conclusions:** there is no coverage regarding the guarantee of the minimum subsistence for seniors who are in vulnerable conditions in public homes, as a series of legal and procedural requirements are established for access to government aid, and most do not comply with said required parameters, which in some way evidences an affectation of the constitutional principles and rights on the part of said state function.

Keywords: Elderly people; Minimal standard of living; Minimal subsistence; Human rights; Constitutional protection; Inclusion.

Resumen

El presente artículo de investigación tiene como objetivo principal analizar la efectividad que ha tenido la normativa y jurisprudencia para la protección del mínimo vital de los adultos mayores en el departamento de Risaralda durante el período 2016-2018. El envejecimiento es un proceso natural del ser humano en el que ocurre un deterioro de las capacidades psicomotoras e intersubjetivas que, en términos de calidad de vida y dignidad, genera una condición de vulnerabilidad y por

ende de urgencia de cuidado y atención. Esta realidad hace necesario evidenciar el cumplimiento de objetivos por parte del Estado colombiano en torno a este reto. En la medida en que es el garante de los derechos relacionados con la protección e inclusión de los adultos mayores como grupo especial de una sociedad que se autodefine según los principios del Estado social de Derecho y de una justicia redistributiva, el Estado debe propender por la garantía del mínimo vital de esta población. **Objetivo:** determinar el nivel de protección al mínimo vital de los adultos mayores como sujetos de especial protección constitucional frente a la política pública para el envejecimiento y de los adultos mayores adscritos a los centros de atención institucional públicos en el departamento de Risaralda. **Metodología:** el enfoque seleccionado fue el socio-jurídico con método mixto. Las técnicas e instrumentos de recolección de información se aplicaron a partir del análisis y revisión de fuentes documentales de la norma y jurisprudencias. Las categorías iniciales planteadas son “mínimo vital”, “derechos fundamentales” y “justicia social”. **Resultados:** se evidenció durante toda la aplicación metodológica que, aunque en la legislación se encuentra plasmada toda una regulación de normativa en protección al mínimo vital y los derechos de dicha población, no es evidente su buen cuidado, pues las diferentes estadísticas muestran que los adultos mayores mejor protegidos y con una buena calidad de vida son aquellos que hacen parte de hogares privados. **Conclusiones:** no hay una cobertura a la garantía del mínimo vital para los abuelos que se encuentran en condición de vulnerabilidad en hogares públicos, ya que se establecen una serie de requisitos legales y procedimentales para el acceso a las ayudas gubernamentales, y la mayoría no cumplen con dichos parámetros requeridos, lo que de alguna manera evidencia una afectación a los principios y derechos constitucionales por parte de dicha función estatal.

Palabras-clave: Adultos mayores; Mínimo vital; Derechos humanos; Protección constitucional; Inclusión.

Resumo

O principal objetivo deste artigo de investigação é analisar a eficácia dos regulamentos e jurisprudência para a proteção do mínimo vital dos adultos mais velhos no departamento de Risaralda durante o período 2016-2018. O envelhecimento é um processo natural do ser humano em que há uma deterioração das capacidades psicomotoras e intersubjetivas que, em termos de qualidade de vida e dignidade, gera uma condição de vulnerabilidade e, portanto, uma urgência de cuidado e atenção. Esta realidade torna necessário demonstrar o cumprimento de objetivos por parte do Estado colombiano em relação a este desafio. Na medida em que é o garante dos

direitos relacionados com a proteção e inclusão dos idosos como um grupo especial numa sociedade que se define a si própria de acordo com os princípios do Estado social de direito e da justiça redistributiva, o Estado deve esforçar-se por garantir as necessidades vitais mínimas desta população. **Objetivo:** determinar o nível de proteção do mínimo vital dos adultos idosos como sujeitos de proteção constitucional especial em relação à política pública para o envelhecimento e adultos idosos ligados a centros públicos de cuidados institucionais no departamento de Risaralda. **Metodologia:** a abordagem selecionada foi a sócio-jurídica com um método misto. As técnicas e instrumentos para a recolha de informação foram aplicados com base na análise e revisão de fontes documentais de normas e jurisprudência. As categorias iniciais propostas eram "mínimo vital", "direitos fundamentais" e "justiça social". **Resultados:** Ao longo da aplicação metodológica foi evidente que, embora a legislação contenha todo um conjunto de regulamentos para a proteção do mínimo vital e dos direitos desta população, não é evidente que sejam bem tratados, uma vez que as diferentes estatísticas mostram que os adultos idosos mais bem protegidos e com uma boa qualidade de vida são aqueles que fazem parte de lares privados. **Conclusões:** não há cobertura da garantia do mínimo vital para os avós que se encontram em condições de vulnerabilidade nos lares públicos, uma vez que é estabelecida uma série de requisitos legais e processuais para o acesso às ajudas governamentais, e a maioria deles não preenchem estes parâmetros exigidos, o que, de alguma forma, demonstra uma afetação aos princípios e direitos constitucionais por parte desta função estatal.

Palavras-chave: Idosos; Vital mínimo; Direitos humanos; Proteção constitucional; Inclusão.

Introduction

*"In motion is life and in activity lies happiness."
-Aristotle.*

The main objective of this article, the product of a research project, is to analyze the effectiveness of the regulations and jurisprudence for the protection of elderly people that guarantees the protection of the minimum subsistence in the city of Pereira during the period 2016-2018. The study reflects the importance and effectiveness of legislation for this population, which, due to their physical and psychological situations and state of abandonment, makes them subjects of special constitutional protection, giving them a preferential and legitimate connotation when it comes to asserting their fundamental rights.

In a social state under the rule of law such as Colombia (Heller, 2012), since the 1991 Constitution, it has been essential to have legislative coverage that protects its citizens, especially when they are in a state of dependence and defenselessness. The connotation of special protection will make it possible not only to legitimize the social state, but also to face the challenge of inclusion in a society in the process of legal and social modernization.

For the construction of this text, it was necessary to carry out a state of the art study based on a literature review of several research articles (Cardona et al. 2018), (Correa, Suárez, Rúa, 2017), (Triana, 2016), (Castellanos, 2017), (Lathrop, 2009), (Navarro, 2011). Similarly, the article was normatively based on John Rawls' *La Theory of Justice* (1971), which establishes the importance of inclusion in a democratic society composed of free and equal persons, in which differences are respected and the development of cycles, as much as for subsistence as for a guarantor. The objective of the research was to show the importance of materially guaranteeing the minimum –in constitutional terms – for society to have a political and moral balance. However, in order to satisfy this need, fair principles are required on which the entire legal functioning of a country, in the specific case dealt with, a configuration as a social state under the rule of law, must be based.

The following is a description of the research problem, which is mainly based on official statistics regarding the protection of the elderly, as well as on the most relevant normative theory regarding the phenomenon under study, such as Rawls' theory. This will be followed by a description of the methodology used, an analysis of the results and, finally, reflective and retrospective conclusions.

Approach to the Problem from a Legal Development Point of View

Since the 1991 Constitution, the Colombian State has faced the challenge of guaranteeing the rights of all citizens based on a nation founded on and transforming principles of equality, solidarity, and democracy. The social rule of law aims to eradicate social and economic deprivation in order to improve the quality of life of the Colombian population:

It requires making an effort to build the indispensable conditions to ensure a decent life for all the country's inhabitants within the economic possibilities available to them. The purpose of empowering the individual requires the authorities to act effectively to maintain or improve the standard of living, which includes food, housing, social security and the scarce financial means to function in society. (Constitutional Court, T426, 1992)

Taking into account the above, the Constitutional Court in several of its rulings establishes the need to protect the rights of certain populations due to their conditions of vulnerability in Colombian society. In this regard, since Ruling T-736 of 2013, it is determined as a priority to guarantee the rights of people in a state of defenselessness due to physical, psychological and economic causes, which has caused facts of positive discrimination:

In the case of subjects of special protection, this Corporation has held that the reinforced protection of subjects of special constitutional protection is based on the recognition by the Constituent Assembly of 1991 of the formal and real inequality to which they have historically been subjected. (Constitutional Court, T-736, 2013)

In this same ruling, the court identifies children, mothers who are heads of households, people with disabilities, the displaced population, the elderly, and all those persons who, due to their situation of weakness, are in a position of inequality with respect to other Colombian citizens, as populations of special protection. The identification of differential protection approaches to certain populations, or as they are known, to minorities, can be based on the need for the development of universal law, whose specific objective is the guarantee of human rights, such as human dignity and the minimum subsistence.

The perspective of the subjects of special protection at the international level, is not alien to the considerations of the Court, since the United Nations (UN) in the subcommission for the protection of minorities defines a minority group as:

A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant situation, whose members, subjects of a State, possess from an ethnic, religious, or linguistic point of view a characteristic that differs from those of the rest of the population and even implicitly manifests a feeling of solidarity in order to preserve their culture, traditions, religion or language. (ONU, 2010, p.568)

One of the population groups identified as an object of protection and a minority in Colombia are the elderly. In the Colombian legal system, elderly is understood as a citizen who begins to age at 60 years of age, according to Law 1251 of 2008. The motives for its protection are based on the concept of old age, understood as the process of acquiring needs, disabilities, labor losses, and human strengths, which generates the need to defend and eradicate discrimination and social abandonment.

However, when making a historical review of the concept of old age, it can be seen that since the 17th century, there was a small number of adult or elderly population. A thirty-year-old was already considered to be an elderly person. However, thanks to scientific and technological advances: the creation of medicines, cures for diseases and new types of diet for the entire population, longevity has been increased. Starting in the 19th century, a series of qualities became evident among the elderly, and the old people began to be classified as that conservative, wealthy, and wise population, which generated respect from other citizens. Despite the above, since the emergence of the industrial revolution and the displacement of workers by machines, elderly populations began to become "unproductive" populations, which generated rejection in the working environments. From that moment on, discrimination against the elderly by society and institutions can be identified.

For this reason, at the international level, policies have been generated to strengthen elderly population, and the protection of said population group has been matter of discussion in our context since 1991. In addition, the Organization of American States (OAS) began to speak of the principles of the United Nations in favor of the elderly:

Recognizing the enormous diversity of situations of the elderly, not only among different countries, but also within each country and among people themselves, which requires equally diverse political responses, aware that in all countries it is increasingly greater the number of people who reach an advanced age and in better health than what has been happening up until now. (ONU, 1991, pp.1)

Based on this international recognition, several regulations have been generated that allow the protection of the elderly in all their stages of aging: *the Proclamation on Aging of 1992 (UN, 1992)*, *the Regional Implementation Strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean of the Madrid International Plan of Action on aging (ECLAC, 2004)*, *the Declaration of the Second Intergovernmental Conference on aging in Latin America and the Caribbean – Brasilia Declaration of 2007 (ECLAC, 2007)*, *the Plan of Action of the Pan American Health Organization on the health of the elderly, including active and healthy aging (PAHO, 2018)*, and *the Charter of San José on the rights of the elderly in Latin America and the Caribbean 2012 (ECLAC, 2012)*. All of these are due to a specific motivation, namely, that this population has gradually become one of the most vulnerable in this century, a fact that is evident in its little connection to the labor market, its social rejection, its lack of influence on financial issues, pathologies that arise from poor health and life habits and physical deterioration, among others.

According to data from the 2017 revision of the report *World Population Perspectives* (ECLAC, 2020) the number of elderly population is expected, that is, those aged 60 and older, will double by 2050 and triple by 2100. This population will increase from 962 million in 2017 to 2.1 billion in 2050 and 3.1 billion in 2100. Globally, this population group is growing faster than the youngest group of people:

The world's population is aging rapidly: between 2000 and 2050, the proportion of the planet's inhabitants over 60 years of age will double, from 11% to 22%. In absolute numbers, this age group will grow from 605 million to 2 billion over the course of half a century. Demographic change will be faster and more intense in low- and middle-income countries. For example, it took 100 years for the population of 65 years and over in France to double from 7% to 14%. On the contrary, in countries such as Brazil and China, this doubling will occur in less than 25 years. (World Health Organization [WHO], 2019, Parr. 1-2)

In Colombia, as in other countries, the social phenomenon of aging is found, and the rates of the population over 60 years old have increased significantly:

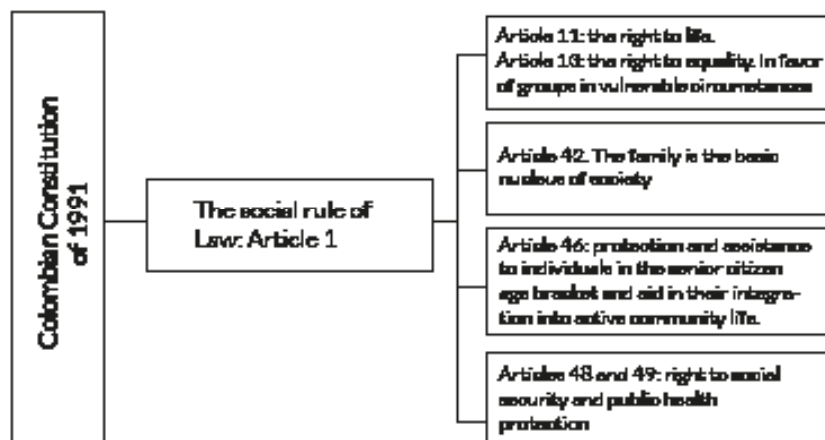
These [indicators] currently represent almost 11% of the Colombian population—some 5.2 million people—and this group is projected to increase to 23%—some 14.1 million by 2050—, with a higher percentage of older women. Additionally, in 1995 the country's aging index was that of 13.7 people over 65 years old for every 100 people between 0 and 14 years old, and it will increase to 42 people over 65 years old for every 100 people between 0 and 14 years old by 2050. (Ministry of Health of Colombia, 2018, pp. 3-4)

Therefore, it is important for the Colombian legislation covering this population to be effective. In addition, the increase in the population index of this group becomes a challenge for the nation from the economic, political and health fields, because the majority of older adults suffer from some pathology, which makes their situation and independence more serious.

From a social point of view, it can be indicated that elderly population is socially active, in the sense that they maintain the expectation of developing their capacities (Sen, 2010). Therefore, the action of the State must be focused on guaranteeing a family environment that would allow them to strengthen and unfold their individual and collective aspirations and goals. This is why, and as an effect of changes at the global and local level, politically and socially, that in Colombia there is a broad legal framework that indicates the regulation and forms of protection for this population.

However, the constant discrimination against this population by various sectors or social spheres is evident, starting with the omission of responsibilities by the State, up to the physical, nutritional and psychological abandonment within the family nucleus; this situation becomes one of the most frequent social phenomena or behaviors. This is the most serious problem in terms of violation of the rights of said population, the evidence lies in the obligation to update the norm and the penalty for those who violate it. Figure 1 illustrates the regulatory outlook since the Constitution of 1991.

Figure 1. Regulatory Outlook since the Constitution of 1991



Likewise, the Colombian legislation determines a series of principles, rights and duties that lead to the protection of the elderly as subjects of rights, and population in condition of vulnerability. Law 1251 of 2008, for instance, establishes the following in its first article:

The purpose of the law is to protect, promote, restore and defend the rights of the elderly, guide policies that take into account the aging process, plans and programs by the State, civil society and the family, and regulate the functioning of institutions that provide comprehensive care and development services for people in their old age, in accordance with Article 46 of the National Constitution, the Declaration of the Human Rights Act of 1948, Plan of Vienna of 1982, Duties of Man of 1948, the World Assembly of Madrid and the various International Treaties and Agreements signed by Colombian Law 1251 of 2008.

When the approach concerning rights or a differential approach is mentioned, as reiteration, it is directed to those population groups that, due to different conditions of ethnicity, race, age, ideologies, or ways of life, should be recognized by the egalitarian policies ensuring they enjoy a more humane society.

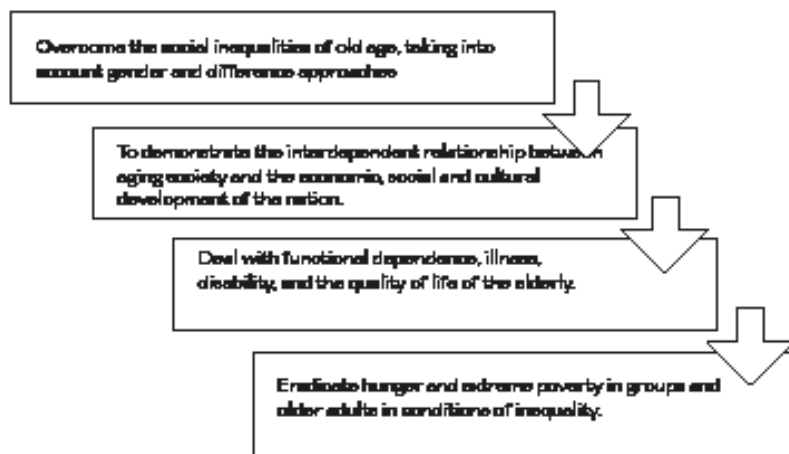
The previous protection directive, Law 1850 of 2017 determines protection measures that penalize actions against the abuse of the elderly, especially, due to

intra-family and abandonment issues. Similarly, this aspect caused some articles of the Colombian Penal Code (Law 599, 2000) to be modified, such as article 229 as follows:

Article 3: Modify article 229 of Law 599 of 2000, which will read as follows:
Article 229. Domestic violence. Anyone who physically or psychologically abuses any member of their family nucleus, will incur, provided that the conduct does not constitute a crime punishable by a greater penalty, imprisonment for four (4) to eight (8) years. The penalty will be increased by half to three-quarters when the conduct falls on a minor, a woman, a person over sixty (60) years of age or someone who is physically, sensory and psychological disabled or impaired or in defenseless state. Paragraph. Whoever, not being a member of the family nucleus, is in charge of the care of one or more members of a family and performs any of the behaviors described in this article, shall be subject to the same penalty. (Law 599 of 2000)

Similarly, article 230 of the Penal Code on abuse by restricting physical freedom is modified, and article 229 A on abuse due to carelessness, negligence, or abandonment of a person over 60 years of age is added. Based on this, the development that the regulation has been having according to the well-being of the elderly as subjects of rights can be evidenced. The truth is that it is not about victimizing the population, but rather simply trying to provide preferential treatment due to their serious state of health and their condition of vulnerability. In this context, it should be noted that the Colombian policy on Human Aging and Old Age 2015-2024 is aimed at recognizing rights and guaranteeing the conditions of comprehensive protection with a differential approach to the elderly population based on social inclusion. Some of the challenges of this policy are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Challenges of the Colombian policy on human aging and old age 2015-2024



The National Public Policy for Human Aging and Old Age from 2015 to 2024 (Department of Health, 2015) requires strategic guidelines to promote the protection of the elderly, by also identifying the family as a basic unit for the development of a society and the importance of caring for people who are in adulthood, a requirement that constitutes a relevant update to related policies. The challenges of this policy consist of improving the quality of old age, and eradicating hunger and poverty, factors that directly affect the legal minimum subsistence.

The department of Risaralda is implementing a Departmental Public Policy that establishes the guidelines for aging and the elderly, and proposes a goal similar to the national policy: ensuring the protection of old age and the people who are in that stage of their lives as special subjects of protection. This policy led the current departmental administration to promote a Development Plan for the years 2016-2019 (Government of Risaralda, 2016), which allows compliance with the program Risaralda: Educated, Innovative, Productive, and Inclusive (Government of Risaralda, 2016), that generates development and inclusion for the entire Risaralda community, including the elderly. To eradicate any type of discrimination and advance in inclusion processes in the country and in the department, an investigation in the specific case of the population of the elderly in Risaralda is intended to be performed. The elderly is a population group that because of ignorance and loss of physical and/or mental capacity has been the victim of constant rights violations.

The initial research question of this analysis was: what is the level of protection for the minimum legal subsistence of older adults as subjects of special constitutional protection against public policy for aging and older people assigned to public institutional care centers in the department of Risaralda? As specific objectives, legally establishing the rights that make up the minimum legal subsistence for the elderly in Colombia was proposed. Additionally intended was to quantitatively identify the number of inhabitants of the department of Risaralda by municipalities according to the official census, in order to identify the centers of public institutional care in charge of the protection of the legal minimum subsistence of the elderly in the municipalities with the largest number of inhabitants in Risaralda. This allowed for determining the possible activities available to the elderly in public institutional care centers charged with their protection.

Methodology

The article is centered in the socio-legal field from a type of exploratory-descriptive research with a qualitative approach. It is developed with a population of elderly population, from a study and analysis of the information about that topic and the review documentary on the entities and care centers that intervene in the Elderly Protection System. A theoretical framework was used that allows identifying the constitutional guarantees reflected in a concept of justice that conforms to principles of the social rule of law, such as those of John Rawls (1971).

The research that gave rise to this article responds to a type of socio-legal inquiry, because it is formulated with the aim of studying the social conditionality of the right related to the minimum legal subsistence of the elderly treated in public care centers in the department of Risaralda as subjects of special constitutional protection. It was decided to carry out a descriptive-explanatory research project, as it seeks to evaluate various components that are presented in the guarantee of the minimum legal subsistence as a fundamental factor in the human dignity of each person, particularly in older adults as citizens frequently in a defenseless state and/or abandonment, in addition to social and political strategies. From a documentary research perspective, a normative, jurisprudential, doctrinal analysis and the development of the guidelines established in the National and Departmental Public Policy on aging and old age was conducted. Finally, the dynamics and procedures carried out in public centers for the elderly

were observed. The population and sample for the normative analysis were older adults assigned to public institutional care centers.

Research Results

Rawls (1971) in the Theory of Justice chapter, dedicated to the "original position," states the following:

Obviously, no one can get everything they want: the pure existence of other people prevents it. The absolutely best thing for anyone is for everyone else to join him in promoting their own conception of the good, whatever it may be; and if not, that everyone else be required to act fairly. (p.135-136)

According to Rawls the specifically rational way of self-realization of the conceptions of the individual good refers to an institutional framework that guarantees the possibility of regulating the distribution of minimums according to principles of freedom and equality. In that respect, the "best for anyone" is to rationally adhere to a society founded on cooperation, individual good and assistance toward those who find themselves in less advantageous conditions vis-a-vis those who can enjoy conditions of equity.

The way in which Rawls thinks that the existence of such a society, that is, a "well-ordered society," can be ensured is through a conception of redistributive justice. If it is assumed that meritocracy is not natural, but each individual life is determined by a "chance of life," for the American philosopher it is imperative to reconfigure the inequalities that are the effect of this chance in the midst of a market economy, and, in this way, propose the need to rebuild the tradition of the social contract from its own foundations. Rawls starts from the classical conception, which conceives of the human being as a rational being who inquires about the best means to achieve his ends, and proposes the hypothesis of a veil of ignorance in which no one knows what his empirical interests may be. In this way he specifies his proposal by affirming the existence of the plurality of properties and goals. In addition, the author submits that the pillars of a society should be the principles of justice:

1. A principle that guarantees freedom for all.
2. A principle that favors the assistance to the least favored. For the purposes of this article, it is not necessary to enter into the debate around the priority of the principles, or in that of their possible internal contradictions (Gargarella, 1999). The truth is that Rawls (1971) argues that the way to distribute these principles is through primary goods, which he defines in this way:

These are things that a rational man is supposed to want regardless of whether he wants something else. It is assumed that, regardless of what an individual's rational plans are in detail, that there are certain things which he would rather have more than less. With more of these goods, it can generally be guaranteed that, whatever the end, it can be fruitfully achieved and its intentions carried out. The primary social good, expressed in general categories are: rights, freedoms, opportunities, powers, income and wealth. A primary good of great importance is the sense of self-worth. (p. 92)

It is these goods — which involve spheres of political, moral, economic, and legal practices — that end up being the object of distribution, that is, it is considered that the guarantee of these goods in a society will allow the possibility of a deployment of each conception of good and of achieving a good life.

For our object of study, this theorization of Rawls is of great relevance, as the empirical evidence and the revised background reports a permanent impossibility to guarantee this type of primary goods in elderly within the context of societies that aspire to realize the idea of a social State of Law (Landinez-Guio, 2020). These goods are also, at the end, the affirmation that dignity is the moral value that ends up as the base of democratic and inclusive societies.

Alternatively, Rawls' analyses allow us to understand the regulative bases of a social state based on the rule of law, and consequently, to analyze policies and institutional designs that tend to respect the ideals that devote its history and structure. Thus, freedom, equality and dignity constitute the fundamentals on which the institutional arrangements that act as means to allow the ends of citizens are sustained. Thus, primary goods and principles of justice are an important analytical tool to determine the degree of concreteness, effectiveness and guarantee that the State's actions represent in the concrete life of subjects of special protection as elderly people.

It is then intended to emphasize that this manuscript wants to make precise the national and international regulations on the subject, to establish to what

extent there is a guarantee of the minimum subsistence in the elderly within the space-time context chosen for the analysis.

Judgment T-581 A of 2011 established that the concept of the minimum subsistence must be evaluated from the satisfaction of the minimum needs of the individual, so it is necessary to carry out an evaluation of the situations of each specific case. However, a more qualitative than quantitative assessment enables perceiving levels of satisfaction of needs such as food, clothing, health, education, housing and recreation. Mechanisms of realization of the right to human dignity. A concept has then been established also by jurisprudence that refers directly to the minimum subsistence of elderly as an identifying criterion of respect for human dignity.

Therefore, it is determined that the minimum subsistence of the elderly is composed of the rights to health, education, housing, social security (wage, allowance and pension) and recreation. This right is devoted as follows in the *Declaration of Human Rights*:

Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence-worthy human dignity and supplemented, if necessary, by any other means of social protection. (1948)

The Article 23 of the *Declaration of Human Rights* establishes how a dignified subsistence should be understood, it is established that:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate ensuring for himself and his family, health, well-being, and mainly but not exclusively, food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services. (1948)

Finally, Article 25 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* states that everyone has the right to "dignified conditions of existence."

International Law, Articles 7 and 11 of the *Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights (1988) in the Field of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights to the Protocol of San Salvador* state that: Everyone has the right to a remuneration which guarantees, as a minimum, to all workers dignified and decent living conditions for them and their families. (Art. 7). It is important to highlight that the minimum subsistence will also be different for each older adult according to their stratum, since the elderly who lives in strata 1, 2, or 3 will not require the same needs with respect to the one who lives in strata 4, 5, or 6 due to the socioeconomic status to which he is adapted to live.

During the research it was necessary to collect statistical information from this population group. Thus, the Statistical information of the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE, 2005a) for the years 2005-2020

was reviewed. From this information, projections of municipal population by area were made and the following data were found for the department of Risaralda. The population of Risaralda for the entire department is projected for 2018 at 967,780, and for 2019 at 972,999

Table 1. Projection of the DANE (2005) for the population of Risaralda by municipality for the years 2018 and 2019

| Municipality | Population 2018 | Population 2019 |
|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Pereira | 476.660 | 478.931 |
| Apia | 19.424 | 19.570 |
| Balboa | 6.330 | 6.330 |
| Belén de Umbría | 27.723 | 27.723 |
| Dosquebradas | 204.737 | 206.693 |
| Guática | 15.176 | 15.119 |
| La Celia | 8.550 | 8.530 |
| La Virginia | 32.261 | 32.328 |
| Marsella | 23.914 | 24.135 |
| Mistrató | 16.595 | 16.747 |
| Pueblo Rico | 13.809 | 13.998 |
| Quinchía | 33.939 | 34.002 |
| Santa Rosa de Cabal | 72.838 | 73.031 |
| Santuario | 15.824 | 15.862 |

From the methodological development of the research based on data gathering and the information collected by the instrument for this specific case, the Secretary of Social and Political Development of the department of Risaralda, reported the following existing households in Risaralda for the benefit of elderly people:

Apia: Ancianato Santa Clara De Asís, **Balboa:** Centro Vida Para El Adulto Mayo, **Belen De Umbria:** Centro Vida Bello Amanecer, **Dosquebradas:** Centro Vida José Argemiro Cárdenas Agudelo, **Guatica:** Asociación Hogar Del Anciano, **La Virginia:** Does not have nursing homes, **La Celia:** Centro Vida Para El Adulto Mayor, **Marsella:** Centro De Bienestar Del Adulto Mayor José María Correa Estrada, **Mistrato:** Centro Día Del Adulto Mayor Es El Hogar, **Pereira:** Centro De Bienestar Ancianos San José and Centro Vida Para El Adulto Mayor,

Pueblo Rico: Hogar Del Adulto Mayor El Buen Samaritano, **Quinchía:** Centro Día, **Santa Rosa de Cabal:** Centro Vida Adulto Mayor, **Santuario:** Centro Vida¹.

In the regulation review on the protection of the elderly in the department of Risaralda, it was also found that the public policy of Risaralda for the protection of senior citizens establishes the following rights necessary to offer in care centers and protection homes: food, psychosocial guidance, health insurance as beneficiaries of the subsidized regime and training in talent activities, sport, culture and recreation, funeral aid, and a minimum monthly wage. Thus, it is necessary that the people in charge of the centers of assistance to the elderly carry out the appropriate procedures access these services and that the whole community benefit. Additionally, that many of these households, especially the ones that are not private, are vulnerable and depend on charity to survive cannot be forgotten. In private households, the situation is different since there are many elderly people who are retired or whose families support them economically.

In addition, since 2002, Ordinance 001 (Departmental Assembly of Risaralda, 2002) has been approved in the department of Risaralda. It establishes the creation or issuance of the Pro-Welfare stamp for the elderly, the proceeds are directed to the households or centers of public assistance of the Department.

The preliminary diagnosis on elderly people, dependency, and social services in Colombia reports that, according to the General Census of Population and Housing (DANE, 2005b), Risaralda is one of the departments that has more elderly people. Likewise, the same source states the tendency for this number to grow, since one of the factors is the lack of job opportunities.

The Secretary of Social and Political Development – in charge of all programs for public policy on aging – was also consulted about census information for elderly people. As a response, it was reported that there was no census for homeless elderly people. For this reason, there is no exact data. However, it is worth mentioning that Centros Vida² is in agreement with the granting of the subsidy for the elderly and allows collecting some approximate data. Specifically, the exact data in the demographic analysis and diagnosis study is 350 homeless elderly people, but it should be kept in mind that in places where Centros Vida does not operate, no information is provided. As such the probability of a lack of knowledge of real data is high (Alcaldía de Pereira, 2016, p.139).

1. After verifying these data, it was determined that from 14 municipalities of Risaralda, and of the aforementioned centers, only La Virginia does not have in operation a center of assistance for the elderly.

2. These are places where protection is provided to elderly people belonging to the lowest socioeconomic strata. After a diagnosis of the degree of vulnerability, in these places it is intended to guarantee fundamental rights: health, education, recreation, etc.

Most of the data used for this analysis were collected from the implementation of a focus group with the directors of the centers, some caregivers and government officials. The different visits evidenced the current conditions of the elderly, and according to Risaralda's public policy for the elderly protection, food, psychosocial orientation, health insurance, insurance to the subsidized system, training in talent, sports, culture and recreational activities, and funeral assistance of a minimum monthly salary in force are guaranteed in the care centers and protection homes.

However, public center representatives always complain about the difficult procedures for applying resources. As a conclusion to the visits, there is always a political interest involved in order to be a beneficiary. The directors constantly struggle to guarantee senior citizens' survival in the care centers, and this struggle represents obstacles due to favoring and corruption of the State's great task of ensuring the rights of the most vulnerable.

When compared to the private care centers in the city of Pereira the elderly who live there are in a much better situation; their living conditions are quite dignified. In some cases, the supporting resources come from family contributions, and in most cases the beneficiaries are pension recipients, therefore, guarantying their rights' does not depend on any state procedure.

Conclusion

The social rule of law, based on its philosophical foundation as a welfare state, has a fundamental role in making the postulates of law – such as, in principle, human dignity – a reality. The elderly are defenseless, not only because of their diminished physical or cognitive state, but also because of stigmatization, abandonment, mistreatment and dependence in the world of work and family. Human dignity as a principle or postulate implies that the person has the capacity for choice and autonomy, in order to be free to choose without intruding on the freedom of others. The State, therefore, plays a role of support and guarantor of these freedoms.

This key issue of peripheral societies such as ours of great importance is to place ourselves in John Rawls' perspective in order to study and criticize the existing normative frameworks concerning the guarantee of dignity in vulnerable groups. According to his conception of justice (there are multiple concepts, but only one conception), primary goods are those on which the initiatives of an egalitarian society should focus when seeking alternatives to protect

the dignity of the most vulnerable population groups. In Colombia, and in particular Risaralda, this liberal initiative seems to be behind the regulatory and constitutional attempts to establish solid basis for guaranteeing the minimum living standard for the elderly.

On the other hand, there is recognition of this population's vulnerability which is reflected when monitoring the general guidelines proposed by the United Nations to guarantee a minimum subsistence right for the elderly.

However, the lack of a structured census in the municipality of Risaralda exhibits an institutional inability for serving the elderly in the best way. "The best way" implies what Rawls stated about primary goods: these are the basic conditions for a life to be fulfilled. However, when each individual's needs, specific problems and limitations are not identified, it is difficult to guarantee a minimum subsistence right.

This research revealed the existence of a regulatory framework structured to guarantee the rights of the elderly, and the problem of a lack of institutionalization of the demands of this population group. It was also identified that favoring dynamics are the ones that end up providing resources and, ultimately, become the exclusive way to guarantee the right to the minimum subsistence level.

Here it may be useful to cite, Amartya Sen (2010) who has stated that it is not just a matter of offering abstract rights, but knowing what people really want to do with their lives. The regulations to guarantee the minimum living standard for the elderly may have the problem of extrapolating a legal framework designed in a global manner to a specific context with its own precariousness and possibilities, without a prior political-social and economic analysis. The primary goods expected to be guaranteed, according to Rawls' theory must have a differentiated approach according to specific demands and needs.

In view of the above, it is established that the Colombian society is made up of different population groups that have rights as defined in the 1991 Constitution. The Constitutional Court has been establishing in its various rulings the need to protect rights driven by diversity and recognition, the importance of all Colombian citizens being recognized as active and political subjects of law. In this particular case, and despite the elderly conditions, there is a latent need to guarantee their minimum level of subsistence right, which will allow, in addition to the legislative evolution, rewarding them for their experience and the transcendence of their actions in history.

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Valuation and Significance of an Asset of Cultural Interest "Torre del Reloj" Cúcuta, Colombia*

[English Version]

Valoración y significación del bien de interés cultural
"Torre del reloj" Cúcuta, Colombia

Avaliação e significado dos bens de interesse cultural
"Torre do Relógio de Cúcuta" Cúcuta, Colômbia

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Abstract

Objective: to appraise the declaration of the Torre del Reloj as an asset of cultural interest in 2003, established by Title II, Article 6 (Decree 763), and the Guidelines on Inventories of Immovable Cultural Assets developed by the Ministry of Culture, Colombia (2005) by designing a criteria evaluation matrix. **Methodology:** a mixed, applied, descriptive and documentary methodology was used and structured from the analytical and synthetic methods. Literature and document review as theoretical support were used as data collection techniques as well as interviews to key actors and field work. **Results:** as a relevant finding, this Asset of Cultural Interest (BIC) exhibited a high compliance with respect to the weighting of the criteria and values under study. The form and appropriation criteria and the aesthetic value scored the highest average values due to the city's influence of Republican style and followed by the socio-cultural context and the symbolic value criteria. **Conclusions:** the importance of the valuation and significance of assets of cultural interest is reassured and it contributes to the city's asset's recognition, conservation and preservation through its meaning transcendence and strengthening of citizen's memory, roots and sociocultural imaginations.

Keywords: Valuation criteria; identity, Memory; Asset, Significance.

Resumen

Objetivo: valorar la declaración de la Torre del reloj como bien de interés cultural del año 2003, según lo establecido en el título II artículo 6 (Decreto 763), y el Manual para Inventarios de Bienes Culturales Inmuebles desarrollado por el Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia (2005), mediante el diseño de una matriz de valoración por criterios. **Metodología:** se utilizó una metodología de investigación mixta, de corte aplicada, descriptiva y documental, estructurada a partir de los métodos analítico y sintético. Como técnicas y herramientas de recolección de información se utilizó la revisión bibliográfica y de documentos como método de apoyo teórico a la investigación, la entrevista a actores claves y el trabajo de campo. **Resultados:** como hallazgo relevante se destaca que este Bien de Interés Cultural (BIC) presentó un cumplimiento alto con respecto a la ponderación de los criterios y valores sometidos a estudio, dentro de los cuales los criterios de la forma, y la apropiación; así como el valor estético, obtuvieron los máximos promedios de valoración, debido a la influencia del estilo Republicano en la ciudad, seguidos del criterio del contexto socio-cultural y el valor simbólico. **Conclusiones:** se reafirma la importancia de la valoración y significación de los Bienes

de Interés Cultural, teniendo en cuenta que esta favorece el reconocimiento, la conservación y preservación del patrimonio de la ciudad logrando que su significado trascienda y fortalezca la memoria, el arraigo y los imaginarios socioculturales de los habitantes de la ciudad.

Palabras-clave: Criterios de valoración; Identidad; Memoria; Patrimonio; Significación.

Resumo

Objetivo: avaliar a declaração da Torre do Relógio como um bem de interesse cultural em 2003, em conformidade com o disposto no Título II, Artigo 6 (Decreto 763), e no Manual de Inventários de Bens Culturais Imóveis desenvolvido pelo Ministério da Cultura colombiano (2005), através da concepção de uma matriz de avaliação baseada em critérios. **Metodologia:** foi utilizada uma metodologia de investigação mista, aplicada, descritiva e documental, estruturada com base em métodos analíticos e sintéticos. As técnicas e ferramentas utilizadas para recolher informação incluíram uma revisão da literatura e documentos como método de apoio teórico à investigação, entrevistas com atores-chave e trabalho de campo. **Resultados:** como conclusão relevante destaca-se que este Bem de Interesse Cultural (BIC) apresentou um elevado cumprimento no que respeita à ponderação dos critérios e valores apresentados para estudo, dentro dos quais os critérios da forma, e apropriação; assim como o valor estético, obteve as mais altas médias de valorização, devido à influência do estilo republicano na cidade, seguido dos critérios do contexto sócio-cultural e do valor simbólico. **Conclusões:** reafirma-se a importância da valorização e significado do Património Cultural, tendo em conta que isto favorece o reconhecimento, conservação e preservação do património da cidade, assegurando que o seu significado transcende e fortalece a memória, as raízes e os imaginários socioculturais dos habitantes da cidade.

Palabras-chave: Critérios de avaliação; Identidade; Memória; Memória; Património; Significado.

Introduction

This article establishes that heritage determines the recognition of a territory, because it allows for the identification of tangible and intangible values that build on the society basis. Thus, words, meanings, habits, traditions, objects, dwelling and social interaction places, knowledge and institutions are part of territorial culture and inhabited context; and, therefore, they foster the development of social beings and determine their way of interaction with surroundings, environment and society (Ministry of Culture, 2005).

UNESCO (1972) defined heritage as a set of movable and immovable property of tangible or intangible nature and outstanding value associated with history, art, science and culture; and thus worthy of preservation. Heritage reveals the context's cultural identity in which it develops, allowing for its historical, cultural or aesthetic establishment value, by means of a documentary, archaeological, artistic, technical-scientific basis, based on authenticity, quality and originality criteria (Garré, 2001).

In this regard, heritage represents a cultural importance that consolidates periods of history, movable and immovable property and cultural characteristics of each territory aiding at strengthening the sense of belonging, rootedness, territoriality and urban-collective memory. According to this consideration, in Colombia, in 1997, the National Council of Cultural Heritage was created with the purpose of defending, protecting and preserving the national heritage. Then, in 2005, the guidelines on Inventory of Movable Cultural Property was established for defining the appraisal and classification of cultural heritage, the methodology for the elaboration of movable cultural property and the classification of the registry of cultural property, by the establishment of appraisal criteria of heritage value and of intervention level of an Asset of Cultural Interest (BIC) (Ministry of Culture, 2005).

This article summarizes relevant aspects of the research "Diagnosis and characterization of an Asset of Cultural Interest called the Torre del Reloj and its importance in the development of the heritage of San José city, Cúcuta". This evidenced that the Torre del Reloj was considered as a BIC in 2003 (Ministry of Culture, 2003), because of its social, cultural and governmental landmark, which is part of the city's polygon of the Sector of Cultural Interest (SIC), and its representativeness as an important historical burden regarding the city's urban-social development.

One of the added values of this research is the study of the appraisal criteria for the Torre del Reloj Cultural Asset in accordance with the Guidelines on the Inventories of Movable Cultural Property by the Ministry of Culture,

Colombia (2005) In 2005, complementary aspects were established for the appraisal process of BIC.

Therefore, in order to comply with this requirement, this research objective focused on valuating the declaration of the Torre del Reloj as an asset of cultural interest established by Title II Article 6 (Decree 763), and the Guidelines on Inventories of Immovable Cultural Assets developed by the Ministry of Culture (Colombia, 2005) by designing a criteria evaluation matrix that aided in the compliance level of the BIC criteria and values. The above mentioned evidenced the importance of cultural assets' valuation and significance with respect to territorial strengthening.

Methodology

This research methodological framework responds to the provisions of the Ministry of Culture Guidelines, Colombia (2005) and Title II, Article 6 (Decree 763, 2009). It was developed under a mixed approach for recognizing, analyzing and interpreting qualitative and quantitative data (Hamui Sutton, 2013), thus allowing for generating and verifying more comprehensive findings, provided with a more complex validation and a better understanding of the results obtained (Ugalde Binda, Balbastre Benavent, 2013). This applied and descriptive research comprised the implementation of an analytical and synthetic method and considered its consistency with the objectives and research's core.

An evaluation matrix was designed for studying the Torre del Reloj cultural asset. Its implementation favored its orientation, attribution and definition of the cultural significance in San José city, Cúcuta. The evaluation matrix consisted of ten criteria and three values (Tables 4 and 6). An independent assessment scale was defined in the matrix which led to the criteria and values establishment in quantitative terms for determining its level of compliance and the Total Average Valuation (PTV) based on the BIC's qualitative analysis resulting from the field work, the interviews with key actors and the documentary search that allowed for the analytical report elaboration for each one of the criteria.

The matrix rating scale was developed according to two dimensions:

- 1) Appraisal criteria: Antiquity, authorship, property constitution, shape, preservation and environmental conditions, urban/physical contexts, sociocultural context, appropriation/representativeness and sociocultural contextualization, meaning and memory/representativeness and

sociocultural contextualization, for assets of cultural interest and the description of their number of attributes of each one of these.

- 2) The three values (historical, aesthetic and symbolic): The estimation of each one of the characteristics or attributes was developed in a score level with a range of 1- 5, being 1 - very low level of appreciation, 2 - low level of appreciation, 3 - medium level of appreciation, 4 - high level of appreciation, 5 - very high level of appreciation. In accordance with the above scoring levels, a qualitative assessment was based on the diagnostic and analysis process carried out for the BIC and the certification of the information presented at the historical and heritage level.

The scale of interpretation of the Total Value Compliance (TVC) corresponds to a range of zero (0) to fifty (50), being the low level ≤ 25 (does not present a significant degree of compliance to the weighting of the ten Values of the attributes of the Cultural Property), medium $> 39,9$ (presents an acceptable degree of compliance to the ten Values of the attributes of the Cultural Property, taking into account that the result of the weighting of the Cultural Property is fulfilled, but not fully) and high ≥ 40 (presents a degree of full or high degree of compliance to the weighting of the ten Values of the attributes of the Cultural Property).

The scale of interpretation of the Total Value Compliance (TVC) corresponds to a range of zero (0) to fifteen (15), being the low level ≤ 4.9 (does not present a significant degree of compliance to the weighting of the three (3) Values of the attributes of the Cultural Property), medium $> 5-7.9$ (presents an acceptable degree of compliance to the three Values of the attributes of the Cultural Property, taking into account that the result of the weighting of the Cultural Property is fulfilled, but not fully) and high ≥ 8 (presents a degree of full or high degree of compliance to the weighting of the three (3) Values of the attributes of the Cultural Property).

This research included the development of a documentary methodological framework, the sources of information were based on the search for primary sources and relevant authors in secondary sources such as books, theses, articles, regulations, bibliographic databases and indexed journals related to the subject matter of this research. In addition to conducting an interview with architect María Teresa Vela Vicini and historian María Yolanda Suarez Plata, as key actors who participated in the process of the declaration of the CIA "Torre del reloj", under the support of the heritage value and the level of intervention.

Finally, field work was carried out to collect, analyze and synthesize relevant data for the completion of the valuation matrix, a process that was supported by

an architectural survey and a photographic record. The categories that guided this study correspond to Asset of Cultural Interest, Criteria of Valuation, Significance, Heritage and Tradition.

In the writing plan for this article, the results are structured under three headings. The first, "Heritage and the importance of its valuation", determines the relationship between heritage, history and territory; the second, "Valuation of Assets according to the Ministry of Culture," establishes the necessary criteria for the valuation of a CIA, according to aspects such as the conservation of the Asset, the significance of its historical and cultural value, its architectural-constructive composition and its authenticity, among others; and the third, "The Cúcuta Clock Tower as a case study", where the results of the criteria for the valuation of the CIA are defined according to those established by the Ministry of Culture of Colombia in 2005 and Decree 763 of 2009.

Heritage and the Importance of its Valuation

The relationship between heritage and history is related to the attributes of architecture in cities, since in the streets and walls of the urban environment the memories of the past are stored, consolidating the history and transformations that have marked the most significant periods of the territory in which it is rooted. Therefore, architecture and urban spaces become scenarios in which, based on everyday life, bonds are built and the foundations of the identity that will accompany the following generations are strengthened (Muñoz-Cosme, 2009).

Thus, the recognition of history acquires a significant value, because through the same it is possible to understand how the traces of the past, the architectural-cultural scenarios and the characters contribute daily to the construction of society. This makes sense from the understanding of the notion of heritage, especially when taking into account that heritage references have a symbolic charge that legitimizes identity by being provided with use values (associated with identity and collective memory) and exchange values (referring to the market) (Arévalo, 2010).

Under this order of ideas, the importance of architectural heritage with respect to the territory should be highlighted, since it is configured as an urban memory full of cultural, aesthetic and immaterial attributes and meanings; necessary to understand the relationship that exists between the territory, the historical, cultural, economic and architectural heritage that give meaning to the essence of living and the connection of human beings with their environment. Therefore, the valuation and significance of heritage and Cultural Interest

Assets (CIA) in cities allow for the establishment of conservation, recovery and sustainability mechanisms for them.

For Freddy Alberto Piñeros Forero (2017), the idea of granting a valuation and a significance to the CIA, has the purpose of conserving the original compositional elements, which allows their easy recovery in case they have been subject to interventions. Their transcendence and significance lies in their historical and cultural value, in their spatial configuration (typology and morphology), in their architectural and constructive elements, in their authenticity (customs and manners of an era) and in the historical testimony they represent (events); whose sum total constitutes essential documents for the configuration of the history and the maintenance of the collective memory of society.

Valuation of Assets According to the Ministry of Culture

According to the Ministry of Culture (2005), the valuation of the BIC corresponds to the elaboration of the inventory of the assets, which is defined based on categories such as: 1) The subject; which refers to the individual or the collective, 2) The object; defined as archaeological, ethnographic, documentary, artistic, utilitarian, scientific or as a monument in the public space, and 3) The context in which the community, the geographical context and the socio-cultural context are related.

The implementation of this valuation and significance generates a positive effect within the territory, since it contributes to the recovery and intervention of movable assets, the strengthening of the historical, aesthetic and symbolic values necessary for the development of society; as well as the generation of regulations for the protection and conservation of the assets and the territories where they are located, promoting the economic, cultural and social development of the territory in which they are implanted.

In accordance with the above, the valuation criteria contained in the Manual for Inventories of Movable Cultural Property of the Ministry of Culture of Colombia are outlined:

- a. Appraisal Criteria:** They constitute the values on which the request for declaration of a specific property is based and are defined as follows

Table 1. Definition of Valuation Criteria

| VALUATION CRITERIA | | |
|----------------------|--|--|
| Criteria number *(C) | Real Estate Inventory Manual/ Decree 763 of 2009 | DESCRIPTION |
| C1 | Age | It is determined by the most relevant facts in their life history, which allow for materials, techniques, ways of life, among others. |
| C2 | Authorship | Identification of the author, authors or group that made up the property, associating it with an era, style or trend. |
| C3 | Constitution of the Asset | It refers to the design, the pros and cons of the materials, the construction techniques with which the property is constituted and how these aspects together manage to build a landmark. |
| C4 | Shape | It refers to the compositional and ornamental elements in the facade as well as in the interior, in relation to its historical origin and architectural style. |
| C5 | State of Conservation (Authenticity) | This refers to the physical condition of the asset with respect to the passage of time, taking into account that the conditions that determine it include the use, care and maintenance of the asset. |
| C6 | Environmental Environmental context | If the construction technique and materials are native to the region, if their exploitation does not imply environmental deterioration, and their use contributes to the construction of the landscape. The property has an adequate implantation in the environmental context where it is located, favoring its integration into the landscape. |
| C7 | Urban Context / Physical Context | Taking into account that the profile, the design, the finishes, the methodology, the organization, the fullness, the emptiness and the color define the urban profiles, the asset can be valued taking into account its successful insertion in the urban context. |
| C8 | Socio-Cultural Context / Representativeness and Socio-Cultural Contextualization | It refers to the moment of its creation and how since that moment, it has been linked to cultural activities of great importance to reveal the sense of belonging for the asset. |
| C9 | Appropriation / Representativeness and Socio-Cultural Contextualization | It is defined as the adoption of it by the community, with the purpose of ensuring its preservation and defense, since it is a depository of values of meaning and memory. |
| C10 | Meaning and Memory / Representativeness and Socio-Cultural Contextualization | When an asset is linked to events specific in the community, it is significant in the memory of the population, since it is considered part of their collective identity and, incorporated in the present, it is part of the culture. |

Note: *(C) Criteria. The criteria referenced in this table are those described in the Manual for Inventory of Cultural Property of the Ministry of Culture and those listed in Title II. Criteria of Valuation of accredited goods of cultural interest -BIC-, article 6. Decree 763 of March 10, 2009.

Note. Ministry of Culture (2005) and Decree 763 (2009).

- b. Measurement of Values:** They make it possible to establish the attributes of the CIA with respect to historical, aesthetic and symbolic values, through the following description:

Table 2. Values Definition

| VALUES | | |
|----------------|------------------------------|---|
| No values (V)* | Real Estate Inventory Manual | (**) Attributes |
| V1 | Historical | The information found constitutes documents for the construction of national, regional or local history and scientific knowledge. |
| | | A number of documents are evident as primary sources, not necessarily written. |
| V2 | Aesthetic | Presents artistic or stylistic quality. |
| | | The inventive idea solved, evidences the way in which they were elaborated, the technique, use in terms of function and time. |
| V3 | Simbólico | The presence of the individual and collective way of seeing and feeling the world is appreciated. |
| | | It has a strong psychological power of identification and social cohesion. |
| | | The symbolic, is maintained and renewed with its power of actualization, aspirations, desires, constructed and internalized ideals, linking time and memory spaces. |

Note: *(V) For this diagnostic study and characterization of the project, values and attributes were identified (**). Attributes, taking those described in the Manual for the Inventory of Cultural Property of the Ministry of Culture.

Note. Ministry of Culture (2005).

The aforementioned criteria and values are presented as a strategy and a significant contribution to culture, strengthening the economy and the socio-political component at the local, departmental and national levels. For this reason, it is necessary that the territorial entities recognize them, use them and generate mechanisms associated with territorial management, as well as their dissemination and permanent socialization with the communities, in order to establish active scenarios of recognition and heritage significance associated with the territory through joint work between the community and specialists in the process.

In this sense, in this research an update of the data for the Casa Torre Reloj CIA is carried out from the year 2003, when it was declared as an Asset of Cultural Interest of national character; highlighting the interventions to which it has been subject and the adoption of the criteria and values guided by the Manual for Inventories of Cultural Assets (2005) and the decree 763 of 2009 of the Presidency of the Republic. It is worth noting that, as an added

value, the results of this research favor the updating of the meaning and historical memory of the city, since it highlights the most representative facts and attributes of this CIA, with the aim of promoting identity, rootedness, and strengthening the architectural legacy, with respect to its management, conservation and sustainability over time.

Cúcuta's Clock Tower as a Case Study

The Clock Tower is located in commune 1, neighborhood "El Centro", block 161, at Calle 13 No. 3-67, between 3rd and 4th avenues in the city of San José de Cúcuta, Norte de Santander, Colombia. With respect to its location, Maria Teresa Vela Vicini assures that it is located in the sector that houses the greatest concentration of services related to the social, economic and political-administrative areas of the city of San José de Cúcuta, and that in addition, it is located in the Sector of Cultural Interest (SIC) next to other Assets of Conservation and Cultural Interest within which stand out: Rudesindo Soto old people's home, the former School of Arts and Crafts (today María Auxiliadora Normal School), the birthplace of Eduardo Cote Lamus, Victoria or Colón Park, the Governor's Office of the Department (Government Palace), the former Colsag Club and the Association of United Artisans and Guilds (Rivera Quintero, Ayala García and Coronel Ruiz, 2019) (See Figure 1).

Figure 1. General location and delimitation of the area declared as Sector of Cultural Interest and of the "El Centro" neighborhood



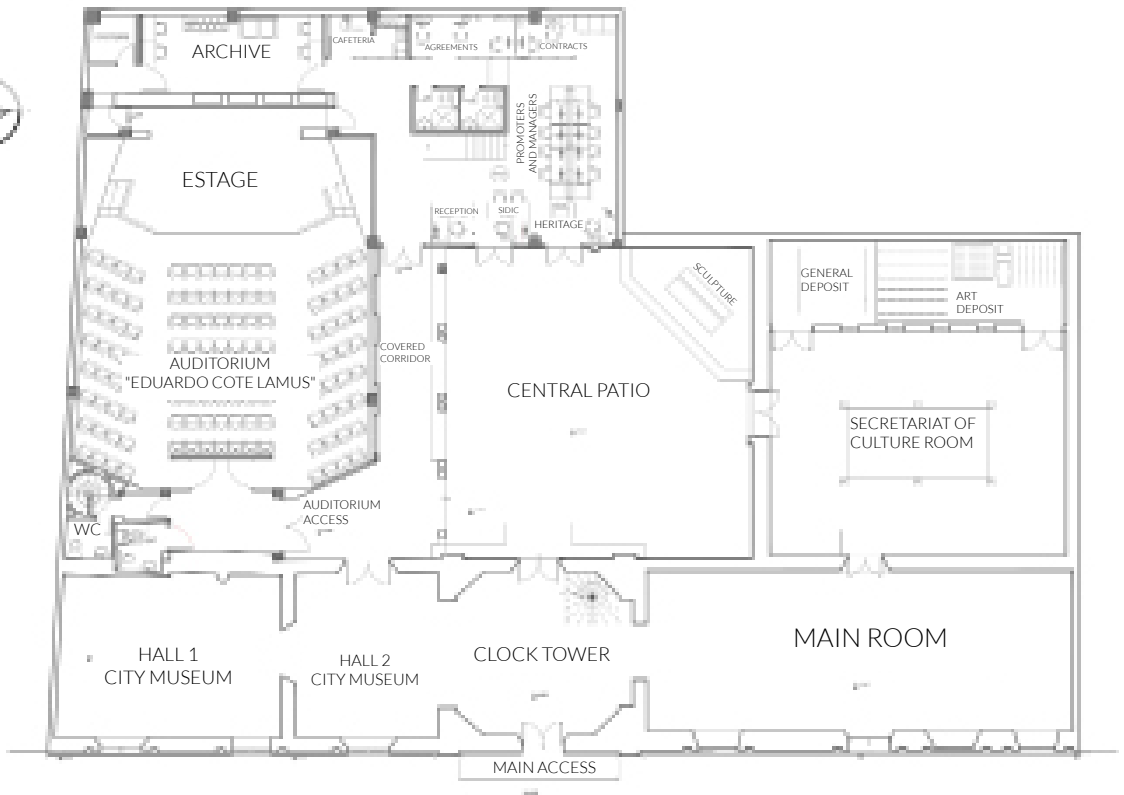
| ASSET OF CULTURAL INTEREST OF NACIONAL IMPORTANCE | ASSET OF CULTURAL INTEREST OF DEPARTAMENTAL IMPORTANCE |
|---|---|
| 1. SAN JUAN DE DIOS HOSPITAL 2. TORRE DEL RELOJ HOUSE 3. GOVERNMENT PALACE 4. QUINTA TERESA | 5. SAN JOSÉ CATHEDRAL 6. SANTANDER PARK |
| ASSET OF CULTURAL INTEREST OF MUNICIPAL IMPORTANCE | |
| 7. OLD PALACE HOTEL 8. COLÓN PARK 9. MUNICIPAL PALACE 10. OLD REPUBLIC BANK BUILDING 11. BIRTH HOUSE OF EDUARDO COTE LAMUS 12. QUINTA COGOLLO 13. QUINTA YESMIN 14. ANDRESSEN ASYLUM HOUSE CHURCH | 15. SENIOR ASYLUM HOUSE CHURCH 16. MIGUEL E. VELEZ HOUSE 17. SANTANDER BREWERY 18. FIRST PUBLIC NOTARY 19. SCHOOL OF ARTS AND CRAFTS 20. UNION'S HOUSE 21. HISTORY MUSEUM OF CÚCUTA 22. FORMER COLSAG CLUB |
| THE CASA DEL RELOJ ASSET OF CULTURAL INTEREST IS LOCATED IN COMMUNE 1 IN THE CITY OF SAN JOSÉ DE CÚCUTA. - - - NEIGHBORHOOD "EL CENTRO". - - - AREA DECLARED AS AN ASSET OF CULTURAL INTEREST. DECREE OF 2001 (TERRITORIAL PLANNING, ARTICLE 180) | |

This property was owned by Mr. Francisco Hernández until 1917, when it was sold to Mr. Rafael Colmenares. Later, in 1923 the "Compañía Eléctrica del Norte SA" acquired it and turned it into the headquarters of the new Electric Power company, representing the growth of the company in favor of the quality of life of the inhabitants, providing well-being and being a source of direct and indirect jobs for the population as reported by Maria Yolanda Suárez Plata.

In 1930, the property underwent a modification after the construction of its tower, becoming an urban reference for the city, and in 1960 it was destined for cultural purposes, being declared a National Monument on May 12, 1982 (Resolution 002) and as a Property of Cultural Interest on August 25, 2003 (Ministry of Culture, 2003). As stated by Maria Teresa Vela Vicini, at present, this BIC houses the offices of the Secretary of Culture of Norte de Santander and brings together the cultural manifestations of the region.

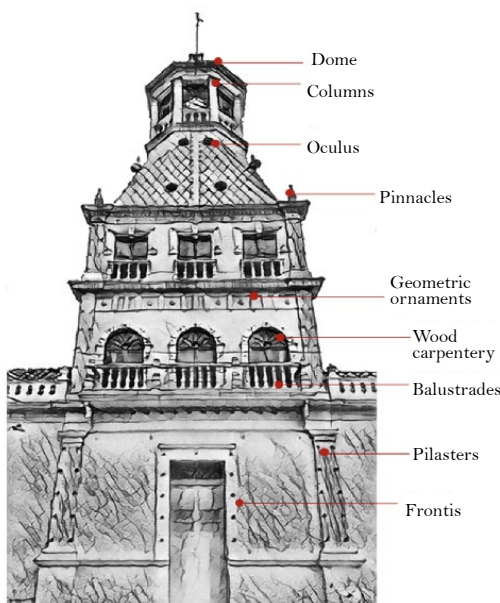
The "Clock Tower" has a Republican architectural style corresponding to the period understood between the years 1850 and 1930 approximately. Among its formal characteristics, it uses elements associated with the classical order, Gothic architecture and Eastern architecture. In addition, it was considered an innovation in Colombia, that transformed domestic architecture from the implementation of typologies inherited from the Colony to produce its own language, with the end of the 19th century being its greatest period of representation (Arteaga Ruiz, 2018).

Figure 2. Clock Tower General Facilities



As can be seen in figure 2, the Clock Tower is located on an L-shaped lot and has a central courtyard with three bodies that surround it. Its floors are double height and its facade implements elements such as columns, balusters and capitals, which characterize the strength of the Republican style, also highlighting the cornices made with neoclassical ornamental elements and the doors framed by moldings, as well as the oculi, the stairs in wood, shutters, floors, and windows (See figure 3).

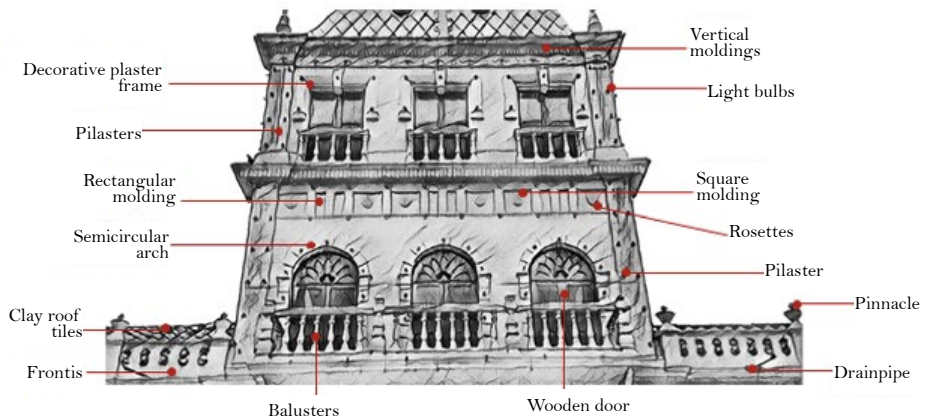
Figure 3. Compositional elements of the Republican architectural style



The design of its facade is sober, symmetrical, white and has Spanish tiles. The building has an approximately 27 meters height tower, which contains six floors separated between them by cornices, which divide it into two bodies arranged horizontally. Each of these bodies has a wooden door carved with geometric figures and a grating at the top. The windows have figures carved in wood, they are topped by a flat lintel and a cornice that protrudes several centimeters.

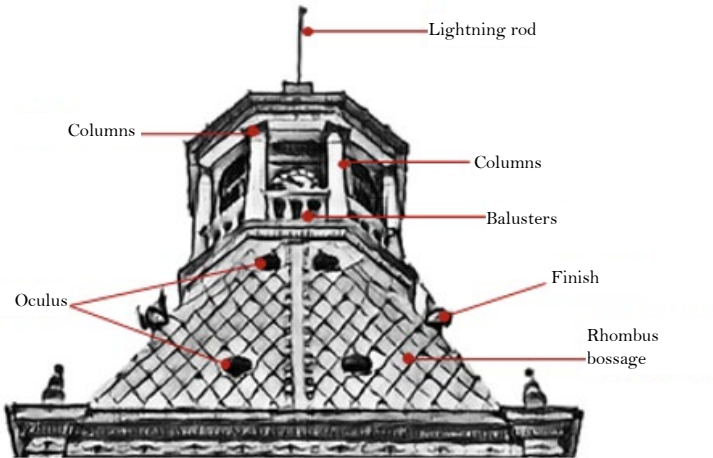
The main access is framed by pilasters and by a cornice that separates the first and second floors of the tower, where the pilasters have continuity up to third floor. On the main facade you can see three rectangular wooden doors within a frame adorned by rectangular moldings arranged in the upper part and on the sides; in addition to an individual balcony made up of balustrades. On the rear facade and on the sides there is a door with similar characteristics to the one implemented on the main facade. The cornice between the second and third floors has small moldings arranged vertically (See figure 4).

Figure 4. Compositional elements second and third floor, Clock Tower



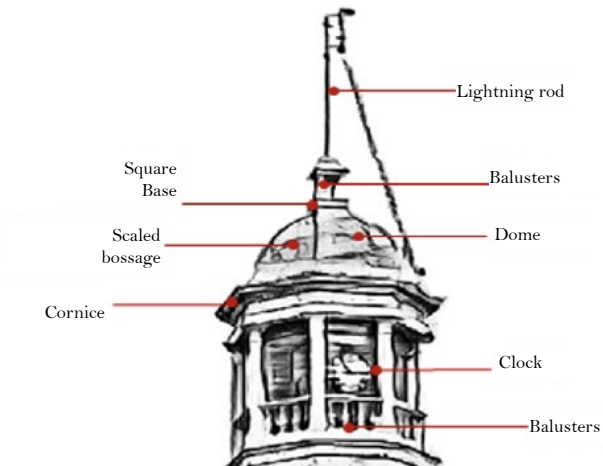
The front face of the project has embedded light bulbs, and the fourth and fifth floors are seen as a unit, since their geometric shape with sloping walls is enhanced by the four oculi arranged in each of their facades (See figure 5).

Figure 5. Compositional elements fourth and fifth floor, Clock Tower



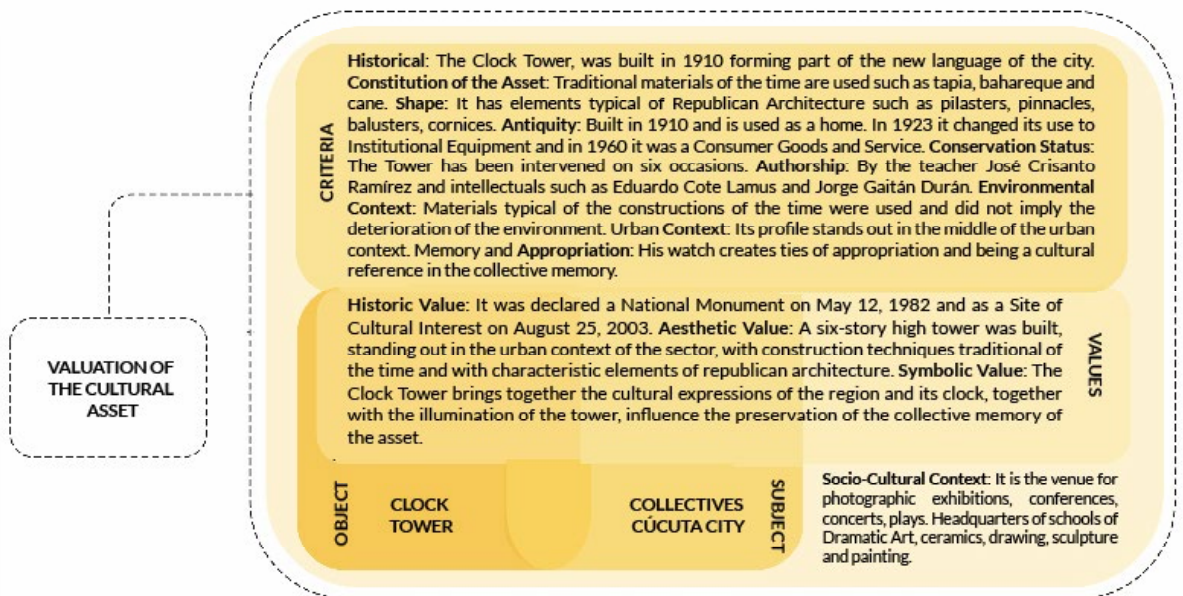
On the sixth floor there is a clock that is visible from the outside. The Tower ends in an octagonal dome supported on a cornice, whose interior structure is composed of wooden beams and a lightning rod on a square base (See figure 6).

Figure 6. Compositional elements sixth floor, Clock Tower



Based on the Manual for the Inventory of Movable Cultural Assets of the Ministry of Culture (2005) and the provisions of Decree 763 of March 10, 2009, the assessment criteria of the BIC Clock Tower were defined, taking into account each one of the specifications below.

Figure 7. Valuation of the Cultural Asset, Clock Tower



From what is described above, the qualitative analysis and the quantitative assessment obtained from the study of this BIC are referenced, in them the assessment arguments obtained through the field work, the interviews and the documentary support carried out in this investigation; as well as the result of the weighted average valuation for each criterion and value, according to the specifications described in Tables 1, 2, 3, 4.5 and 6 of this document.

a. Valuation Criteria

Table 3. Valuation Criteria by Characteristics

| I. VALUATION CRITERIA | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------|---|
| No. (C) | Motivator for Real Asset Inventory (Decrety 708 of 2009) | Character. No. (C*) | Characteristics (C**) |
| C1 | Authenticity | AN1 | The origin is established, with a clear origin, contributing line in the overall context of the city. (The object belongs to a specific historical period: colonial, republican, modernist or existing in the first half of the 19th century, or in the second decade of the 20th century). |
| | | AN2 | There is a relationship with history, especially with historic. |
| | | AN3 | It is evident that the property has remained in line, which constitutes a unique and irreplaceable heritage document that must be preserved in order to recover of country's heritage and way of life, a way of life. |
| | | AN4 | There is a relationship with the formal criterion as the criterion of technical representation. |
| C2 | Authorship | AI1 | Existence of records created or held by a manager and author. |
| | | AI2 | It is observed that the author is representative for the history of architecture, art or any other discipline and has left testimony of his production associated with a time, style or trend. |
| | | AI3 | There is evidence of the multiple periods of representative values in the historical development of the property (architectural, artistic). |
| | | AI4 | The property presents technical proposal or influence of the republican, modernist and colonial or any period. |
| C3 | Contribution of the work | AI5 | The sufficient arguments are provided and described to determine authorship. |
| | | AI6 | Modern materials or exhibition of architectural styles are identified. |
| C4 | Stage | BI1 | It is a work of innovation or technical advances for the period of developing work. |
| | | BI2 | A formal analysis of the property is established with the intention of knowing its conceptual and structural elements in relation to its historical origin type (Colonial, republican, modernist, contemporary). |
| C5 | Conservation status | BC1 | An artistic or stylistic goal is identified, in order to establish a correct interpretation, use and maintenance. |
| | | BC2 | The physical condition of the property is so well maintained for its purpose of use. |
| | | BC3 | The conditions that determine it are well used by the user, care and maintenance that has been provided to the user. |
| | | BC4 | It is in a good state of preservation, with architectural values, although it is a type of use not associated with an important historical event. |
| C6 | Professional content | BC5 | It relates to its original construction and subsequent modifications and interventions, which must be clearly visible. |
| | | BC6 | The interventions are alterations of the original structure and not derived from its character. |
| | | MA1 | Its construction or intervention is consistent with the natural or environmental context where it is located, in such a way that it does not integrate with the landscape. |
| C7 | Urban context/physical context | MA2 | The importance of its structure, technique and materials is evident, as is its use or if they are relative to the region. (Functionality of its design, lighting, ventilation, light, usability and management of urban space.) |
| | | MA3 | The architectural lines or deeply distinctive of its use remain, in use so related to the construction of the landscape. |
| | | MA4 | Professional shot, urban interventions (architectural, engineering or other) that contribute to the construction and maintenance of the structure are identified. |
| C8 | Social, cultural, historical and urban context | CU1 | There is representation as an "architectural" unit within a consolidated urban sector, beyond what performance in the construction of a population are, therefore, presents its cultural value towards its representation as a cultural asset. |
| | | CU2 | The urban conflicts and the elements of the urban fabric, squares, squares, etc., are defined. |
| | | CU3 | Recognizable location in the urban context is observed. |
| | | CU4 | There is a relationship between the use and its place of location. Analyze their contribution to the confirmation and development of a site, population or landscape. If the property is located within a property, it must be analyzed if it was conceived as an integral part of the property and if it has been associated with a new relevant use and function within the user. |
| C9 | Identification characteristics and social/cultural contextualization | CS1 | A sense of belonging of a human group to the good or a function is evidenced, whereby represent subjective connotations of identity. |
| | | CS2 | There are indicators of memory, history and permanence, which remain mainly in its value. |
| | | CS3 | It is noted that the property is linked to events, events or activities of the community and historical importance with the society and culture of the population. |
| C10 | Memory of management characteristics and socio-cultural contextualization | CS4 | It is noted that society gives the good meaning, which results in its appropriation. |
| | | AM1 | There is adoption of its property by its community, with its purpose of creating its own culture and values, since it is the depositary of values of memory and memory. |
| | | SM1 | Professional and groups of the government affirm that the community could be an excellent part of its identity and that involvement in the present, time, culture and future. |
| C11 | Memory of management characteristics and socio-cultural contextualization | SM2 | The presence of emotional use of society towards the specific need to exist or a function is evidenced. |
| | | SM3 | The memory and active activity of the cultural community and its part of the community, whose identity is based on the memory. |

Note: For the present program study and characterization of the project, the total number of criteria were identical, existing the slight modification in the Motivator for Real Asset Inventory of the Ministry of Culture. The ten Assessment Criteria (C*) related to each of its characteristics (C**) from the following categories: C1. Authenticity (AN) and its characteristics (AN1, AN2, AN3, AN4); C2. Authorship (AI) and its characteristics (AI1, AI2, AI3, AI4, AI5); C3. Contribution of the Asset (CA); C4. Stage (BI); C5. Conservation status (BC); C6. Professional content (MA) and its characteristics (MA1, MA2, MA3, MA4); C7. Urban context (CU) and its characteristics (CU1, CU2, CU3, CU4); C8. Social, Cultural, Historical and Urban Context (SC) and its characteristics (CS1), CS2, CS3, CS4); C9. Appropriation (AM) and its characteristics (AM1, AM2, AM3); C10. Memory and memory (SM) and characteristics (SM1, SM2, SM3).

C1. Antiquity:

The BIC Torre del Reloj, built in 1910, had a residential use until 1917; date on which it became the first headquarters of the “Compañía Eléctrica del Norte S.A.” in the city (Ministry of Culture, 2003). In 1930, the Company manager decided to build a six-story tower on the property. This tower was adorned with colored light bulbs representing the national flag and with a clock that played the notes of the national anthem on Sundays, national holidays and on December 31 at noon and at six in the afternoon. In 1960 it was established as a cultural facility, becoming the headquarters of the first cultural expressions, which demarcated the representation of a fruitful time in the culture of the North-Santander region, as mentioned by Maria Yolanda Suárez Plata.

The results obtained from the weighting of the Antiquity Criterion (C1), from the study of its four characteristics, determined that this BIC presented its highest level of score in the characteristics: 1) AN3, evidencing its permanence in time, a fact that constitutes it as a unique and unrepeatable historical document that must be preserved (materials, techniques and ways of life) and 2) AN4, because there is a relationship between formal criteria and that of cultural representativeness (Table 3). The above established a “High” valuation average for this criterion equal to 4.0 (Table 4).

Table 4. Valuation Results Matrix by Criterion "Clock Tower"

| MATRIZ DE RESULTADOS DE VALUACIÓN POR CRITERIO | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|------------|---|---|---|---|---------|
| C1. ANTIGÜEDAD | | | | | | | | | |
| No. BIC | Nombre del BIC | Categoría del BIC | Característica | Evaluación | | | | | Puntaje |
| | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 17 | Torre del Reloj | BIC | AN1 | | 2 | | | | |
| | | | AN2 | | | 3 | | | |
| | | | AN3 | | | | 4 | | |
| Puntaje Promedio (suma de puntajes / 3) | | | | 4.0 | | | | | |
| 18 | Torre del Reloj | BIC | AN4 | | | | 4 | | |
| | | | AN5 | | | | 5 | | |
| | | | AN6 | | | | | 5 | |
| Puntaje Promedio (suma de puntajes / 3) | | | | 4.0 | | | | | |
| Puntaje Promedio por Categoría (C1) | | | | 4.0 | | | | | |
| 19 | Torre del Reloj | BIC | AN7 | | | | | 5 | |
| | | | AN8 | | | | 4 | | |
| | | | AN9 | | | | | 5 | |
| Puntaje Promedio (suma de puntajes / 3) | | | | 4.0 | | | | | |
| Puntaje Promedio por Categoría (C1) | | | | 4.0 | | | | | |

| Criterios de Valoración del Bien Cultural | | | | |
|---|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|
| VALORACIÓN DEL BIC | | | | |
| Criterio | Características | Valoración | Valoración | Valoración |
| C1 | Estado | 1 | | 0 |
| | | 2 | | 0 |
| Promedio: Valoración por Criterio (AVC) | | | (10) = 0 | |
| C2 | Intervención | 1 | | 0 |
| | | 2 | | 0 |
| | | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Promedio: Valoración por Criterio (AVC) | | | (14) = 0 | |
| C3 | Intervención | 1 | | 0 |
| | | 2 | | 0 |
| | | 3 | | 0 |
| Promedio: Valoración por Criterio (AVC) | | | (12) = 0 | |
| C4 | Intervención | 1 | | 0 |
| | | 2 | | 0 |
| | | 3 | | 0 |
| Promedio: Valoración por Criterio (AVC) | | | (12) = 0 | |
| C5 | Intervención | 1 | | 0 |
| | | 2 | | 0 |
| | | 3 | | 0 |
| Promedio: Valoración por Criterio (AVC) | | | (12) = 0 | |
| C6 | Intervención | 1 | | 0 |
| | | 2 | | 0 |
| | | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Promedio: Valoración por Criterio (AVC) | | | (17) = 0 | |
| C7 | Intervención | 1 | | 0 |
| | | 2 | | 0 |
| | | 3 | | 0 |
| Promedio: Valoración por Criterio (AVC) | | | (12) = 0 | |
| C8 | Intervención | 1 | | 0 |
| | | 2 | | 0 |
| | | 3 | | 0 |
| Promedio: Valoración por Criterio (AVC) | | | (12) = 0 | |
| TOTAL (TVC) por cumplimiento (TVC) = | | 0 | | |
| Máximo (Máximo) = (Máximo) = | | 0 | | |

Note: Description of the Valuation Methodology: A total of ten (10) criteria*(C) were identified, which were assessed in quantitative terms in order to determine the level of compliance for the -CIA- object of study.

Step 1: The valuation scale formulated in this matrix was carried out taking into account the assessment criteria defined in the Manual for Cultural Assets Inventory of the Ministry of Culture (2005) and in decree 763 of the Presidency of the Republic (2009). The estimate for each of the characteristics corresponds to the following scoring level from one (1) to five (5), being: One (1) - **VERY LOW** appreciation level, Two (2) - **LOW** appreciation level, Three (3) - **INTERMEDIATE** Appreciation level, Four (4) - **HIGH** appreciation level, Five (5) - **VERY HIGH** appreciation level.

Step 2: Each Criterion presents a valuation defined by the sum of the score obtained in Step 1, divided into the number of characteristics present in each Criterion *(C), through which the Value per Criterion (AVC) is obtained.

Step 3: The Valuc Compliance *(TVC) to the criteria by the real asset -CIA- is defined from the following valuation ranges: (0) to (50), with the **LOW LEVEL** ≤ 25, **INTERMEDIATE** > 25 - 39.99 and **HIGH** ≥ 40. The foregoing in accordance with the results obtained in the diagnosis and analysis process carried out for each criterion in the -CIA-and the certification of the information presented at the historical and patrimonial level.

C2. Autorship:

Andrés B. Fernández Gallo, manager of the company "Compañía Eléctrica del Norte S.A.", in 1930 — after making a trip to Europe — proposed to carry out remodeling works on the property, in order to adapt it to its new use as an electric company allowing the construction of a six-story tower, for which he hired José Crisanto Ramírez, who was a highly sought-after teacher in the construction field and whose work activities had respect and reliability for the construction of the Tower. The style of its constructions was characterized by having two or more floors, double height, use of ornaments, moldings, balustrades in the shape of a balcony, decorated cornices and facades, rectangular doors and large windows. This constructor was in charge of the construction in 1919 of a pedestal and a 13-meter-high column with a beautiful Corinthian-style capital, located in the center of Plaza Victoria or Parque Colón on the occasion of the centenary of the Battle of Boyacá. (Chamber of Commerce of Cúcuta, 2000).

Maria Yolanda Suárez Plata recalls that José Crisanto Ramírez was in charge of the construction of projects such as: the old building of the Hotel Europa, the old building where the Santander de Cúcuta Brewery worked, the Calasanz school, the Francisco de Paula Santander University (first stage), the residence of Mr. José Antonio Hernández in front of the Mercedes Abrego Park, the residence of Mr. Mario García Herreros and the residence of the Vélez family; among others.

On the other hand, Eduardo Cote Lamus and Jorge Gaitán Durán should be considered in this criterion as precursors of culture in the Department, who carried out initiatives aimed at strengthening the cultural front, convinced of its need and the importance of its consolidation, who were also part of the Ateneo del Norte, a group of intellectuals that promoted reading, artistic creation in different areas and who proposed to the departmental government the creation of the house of culture in the BIC under study. This is how in 1960, by Ordinance No. 47 of November 28, the School of Dramatic Art, the Cúcuta School of Painting and the Ocaña Music Room were created (Mantilla, Suárez, 1981).

The Authorship Criterion (C2), within its five characteristics, established its maximum score level related to: 1) AU2, which indicated that the author is representative for the history of the construction and architecture of the BIC, and that he has left testimony of his production associated with a style or time 2) AU3, indicated the participation of representative actors (benefactors, owners), and finally 3) AU4, because the Property presented an architectural proposal

under the influence of the Republican Style (Table 3). The above defined that the average assessment for this criterion is 4.4 established as "High Level" (Table 4).

C3. Constitution of the Asset:

The architect Maria Teresa Vela Vicini, in 2019, highlighted in the interview conducted for this research that the original property was built in the first half of the 20th century, during the Republican historical period. Regarding the traditional construction elements and techniques of the time, the implementation of rammed wall, bahareque, clay tile, round wood and cane stood out. In the same way, he assured that the original floor was in handcrafted squared brick, and that the roof was built with pairs of plump rod, braces carved in wood and clay tile.

The Clock Tower used battered brick with lime plaster for its first and second floors. In the center of the façade, walls were erected that allowed the construction of the tower up to the third floor in battered brick with lime and grift. The fourth and fifth floors were built with wood and cane, and the sixth floor with brick. The mezzanines were built with wooden planks (beams and decking) and an original metallic tensioner was located on the fifth floor. The façade was ornamented with cornices, pilasters, pinnacles and moldings framing the windows, as well as by the balustrades and lintels on the first, second and third floors. The roof of the dome was built of wood and cane.

It is noteworthy that the construction of this tower meant a technological advance for construction in the city of Cúcuta, taking into account the number of floors and the construction system used for the indicated period. The criteria of Constitution of the Good (C3), based on its two characteristics, registered its highest level of score in CB1, for the identification of technical and modern materials (Table 3). The average assessment by criteria obtained a result of 4.5 which corresponds to a "High Level" (Table 4).

C4. Shape:

The property is implanted in a dividing lot and its original property is in the shape of an L. Its origin dates back to a Republican-style construction represented in the ornaments arranged especially on the facade of the tower: the pilasters, its facade decorated with moldings of plaster, the pinnacles, the woodwork that frames the semicircular arches and the frames with rectangular moldings, the balusters, the geometric ornaments under each of the cornices, the oculi arranged along the façade, together with the four Greek columns reinforce this Republican architectural language. It is highlighted for the criterion

of the way that this property acquires importance after the construction of the tower because its development impacted the urban profile in the city center.

The criterion of shape (C4) obtained an average evaluation of 5.0, setting the maximum score in its two characteristics evaluated. 1) F1, which allowed from its historical origin to recognize its compositional and ornamental elements, 2) F2, which identified the artistic or stylistic current, evaluating its correct interpretation, use and aesthetic sense (Table 3). Therefore, the average assessment for this criteria corresponded to 5.0 "Very High Level" (Table 4).

C5. Conservation Status:

According to the physical situation of the property compared with the time it was established that the original property of 1910 suffered a change in land use, from residential to institutional, being officially inaugurated in 1962 as a Cultural centre (Mantilla, Suárez, 1981), later declared a "National Monument" in 1982 and "property of Cultural Interest in 2003 (Ministry of Culture, 2003).

Despite the passage of time, the property has presented a good state of preservation, thanks to its historical importance, and the six interventions that have been carried out there; aiming for the conservation, consolidation and partial or total replacement of the characteristics of its original design, respecting its geometric proportion and construction technology. In addition, remodeling works (1930), refurbishment and expansion works (1962), remodeling works (1972), restoration and reconstruction works (1992) maintenance and reconstruction works (2004) and renovation works have been carried out on the property. adaptation, improvement and maintenance (2015) (Chacón Gelvez, Heredia Abril, Molina Díaz, 1996; Unión Temporal Arkitorre, 2016).

The Clock Tower currently preserves all the structure and the elements of its Republican style such as the pilasters, the balustrades and moldings, the cornices, pinnacles, oculi and its dome. Internally, the Eduardo Cote Lamus auditorium has adequate acoustic conditions, and the internal courtyard allows cultural activities to be carried out. Its facade has a constant maintenance process in charge of the Departmental Culture Secretariat, which currently occupies the property and collect the cultural expressions of the region.

The conservation status criterion (C5), with respect to its five characteristics evaluated presented its highest score in: 1) S1, physical situation of the property for showing over time, 2) S2, which showed the conditions of use, care and maintenance of the BIC 3) S3, which related its original constitution

and its subsequent transformations or interventions (Table 3). In this way, The average assessment for this criteria correspond to 4.8 “High Level”

C6. Environmental Context:

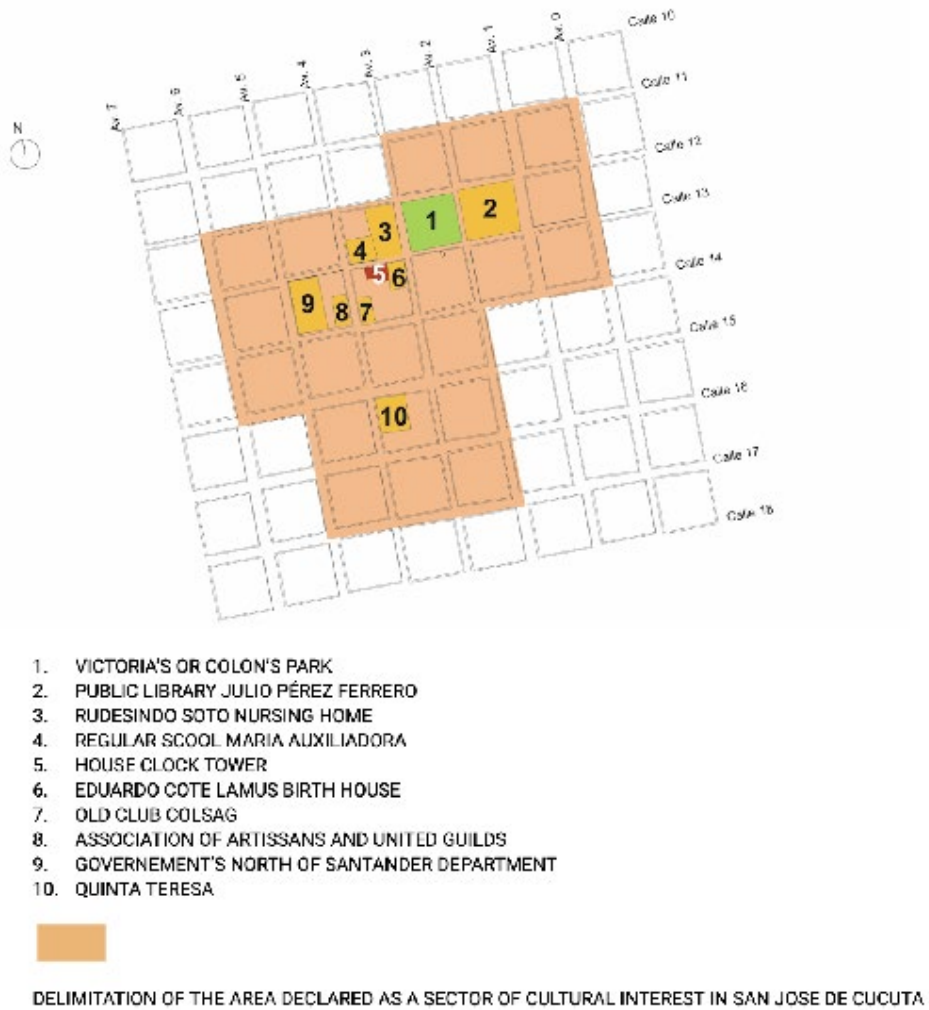
According to what was exposed by Maria Teresa Vela Vicini, the property was built with materials typical of the time, which did not imply the deterioration of the environment. In the field work carried out for this investigation, it was evidenced that the internal spaces of the construction are double height; a fact that gives it internal spaciousness, its two interior patios, windows and doors; promote ventilation and natural lighting of the first floors, while the oculus arranged in the second body of the Tower illuminate the fourth and fifth floors

The environmental context criterion (C6), with respect to its four characteristics, presented its highest score in: 1) MA2, which showed the importance of its construction technique and its materials, design functionality, heights, ventilation, light, spatiality 2) MA3, which defined that its construction did not imply the deterioration of the environment, and that its use contributed to the integration of the landscape (Table 3). In this way, the average assessment for this criteria is 4.75 which corresponds to a “High Level” (Table 4).

C7. Urban Context/Physical Context:

The property stands out from all the constructions in the sector and breaks the monotony of the urban profile of the place It is a landmark that stands out and is impressive compared to the surrounding buildings, which are mostly one or two levels. For Maria Teresa Vela Vicini, the property has a successful insertion in the urban context, since it is located in the Sector of Cultural Interest (SIC) and serves as an articulation with the other BIC that are part of the polygon of the central sector of Cúcuta, such as: the Rudesindo Soto nursing home and the old School of Arts and Crafts (today the María Auxiliadora Normal School), the birthplace of Eduardo Cote Lamus, Victoria or Colón Park, the Julio Pérez Ferrero Public Library, the Department's Government, the old Club Colsag and the Artisans Association and Trade Unions, among others; all developed under the style of Republican architecture (See Figure 8).

Figure 8. Urban context Clock tower



The Criterion urban context/physical context (C7) presented its highest level of score in three of its four characteristics: 1) CU1, which identified its representativeness as an “individual” unit within a consolidated urban sector, thanks to the projection of its cultural value 2) CU3, which determined its successful insertion in the urban context and 3) CU4, which evidenced its relationship with its place of location and its contribution to development according to its use and function (Table 3). The average assessment for this criteria correspond to 4.75 “High Level” (Table 4).

C8. Sociocultural Context/Representativeness and Sociocultural Contextualization:

In 1960 the cultural centre was created and since then the building has been linked to cultural activities such as photographic exhibitions, conferences, musical presentations, theater and puppet shows; and it has hosted schools of dramatic art and plastic arts: sculpture, painting, ceramics and drawing; creating ties of social appropriation and being a cultural reference in the collective memory of the citizen of Cúcuta (Mantilla, Suárez, 1981).

The sociocultural criterion/representativeness and sociocultural contextualization (C8), with respect to its four characteristics, presented its highest score in: 1) CSC2, referring to its collective ties associated with memory, meaning and appropriation, which underpin its symbolic value 2) CSC3, due to its link with events, events or activities of the community and its great importance within social life and culture of the city, and 3) CSC4, taking into account that society has given it a meaning that results in its appropriation (Table 3). The average assessment for this criteria obtained a result of 4.75 which corresponds to a “High Level” (Table 4).

C9. Appropriation/Representativeness and Sociocultural Contextualization:

The property has a clock made in Torino-Italy by the Miroglio family, on its bells is inscribed: “Premiata fonteria de Poli Victorio Veneto Italia. Electricity company from North- Cúcuta MCMXXX”. This clock is a fundamental part of its identity, since on Sundays, national holidays and on December 31 at noon and at six in the afternoon, the clock played the notes of the national anthem, a fact that was established in the memory and strengthened the sense of appropriation vis-à-vis what the property represents.

The Clock Tower has been characterized as a landmark of the city, the epicenter of multiple training and cultural activities, a fact for which its appropriation and recognition by the community has been permanent. Forums, conferences, recitals, dances, concerts, cultural and art exhibitions, discussion spaces, government activities and artistic training regularly take place in the tower. This allows for the achievement of such permanent appropriation.

The criterion of appropriation/representativeness and sociocultural contextualization (C9) registered the highest level of score in its characteristic: 1) AP1, this evidenced the adoption of the asset by the community, with respect to its meaning and memory (Table 3). The average assessment for this criterion corresponds to 5.0 "Very High" (Table 4).

C10. Meaning and Memory/Representativeness and Socio-Cultural Contextualization:

From the 50th founding anniversary of Norte de Santander, the idea of creating a house of culture for the city of Cúcuta was conceived, taking into account that the city did not have adequate spaces for artistic teaching and cultural encounters. The creation of the Ateneo del Norte together with Cúcuta House of Culture, Norte de Santander Institute of Culture, the School of Fine Arts and the theater group consolidated the cultural scene that promoted various manifestations such as: art, poetry and story contests; among others, which had the participation of renowned Colombian painters and sculptors (Mantilla, Suárez, 1981).

From the events and activities that took place in the CIA generating ties with the community, Eduardo Cote Lamus and Jorge Gaitán Durán, through the magazine Mito, made visible the great discussions of the time and served as a scenario to build a bridge towards universality in moments of political darkness and cultural isolation in Colombia (Jurado Valencia, 2005, p. 7). After the death of Gaitán Durán in 1964, the governor of the department named the House of Culture in his honor.

The criterion meaning and memory/representativeness and socio-cultural contextualization (C10), according to its three characteristics evaluated, presented the highest level of score in: 1) SM1, based on the reference to images of the community's past, which links the CIA as an essential part of its identity and culture, 2) SM2, which evidenced the emotional ties of society to the CIA

(Table 3). The average assessment for this criterion obtained a score of 4.6 "High Level" (Table 4).

The Total Value Compliance of the "Clock Tower" CIA from the valuation range established in Table 4: (step 3: from 0 to 50) is 46.5, considered as "High" because it is greater than 40.

b) Values:

Table 5. Identification of attributes associated with the values

| VALUES | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| No valores (V)* | Manual for Real Asset Inventory | No Attribute (***) | (**) Attributes |
| V1 | Historical | II1 | The information found is constituted in documents for the construction of national, regional or local history and scientific knowledge. |
| | | II2 | A number of documents are evidenced as primary sources. They are not only the written ones. |
| V2 | Aesthetic | E1 | It presents artistic or style quality. |
| | | E2 | The resolved inventive idea evidences the way in which they were elaborated, the technique and the use in terms of their function and time. |
| V3 | Symbolic | S1 | The presence of the way of seeing and feeling the individual and collective world is appreciated. |
| | | S2 | It has a strong psychological power of identification and social cohesion. |
| | | S3 | The symbolic is maintained and renewed with its power to update, aspirations, desires, constructed and internalized ideals, linking time and memory spaces. |

Note: For this research, the total number of values was identified, according to what is described in the Manual for Cultural Assets Inventory of the Ministry of Culture. The Three Values *(V), related to each of the attributes (***) correspond to the following acronyms. V1: **Historical** with the initial (H) and the attributes (H1, H2); V2: **Aesthetic** with the initial (E) and the attributes (E1, E2); V3: **Symbolic** with the initial (S) and the attributes (S1, S2, S3).

V1. Historical:

Documented information at the historical level represents an important input for the construction of history and national, regional and local heritage, since such information contributes to the processes of scientific production, provided with primary sources that support its historical value. The foregoing becomes relevant when taking into account its declaration as a National Monument (1982) and Asset of Cultural Interest (2003). In this sense, with respect to the

two attributes of the Historical Value (V1), the H1 presented its highest level of score when evidencing documentary information, which contributed to the construction of regional or local history, as well as the scientific knowledge of the CIA (Table 5). The average established for this value obtained a score of 3.5 "Intermediate Level" on the scoring scale in relation to the established methodology (Table 6).

Table 6. Results Attribute Matrix by values "Clock Tower"

| CULTURAL INTEREST ASSET "CLOCK TOWER" | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|---------------|--------------|---|---|---|---|
| VALUES | | | | | | | |
| No *(V) | Value | ***Attributes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| V1 | Historical | H1 | | | | X | |
| | | H2 | | | X | | |
| **Average of value (AoV) | | | (7/2) = 3,5 | | | | |
| V2 | Aesthetic | E1 | | | | | X |
| | | E2 | | | | | X |
| **Average of value (AoV) | | | (10/2) = 5,0 | | | | |
| V3 | Symbolic | S1 | | | | X | |
| | | S2 | | | | | X |
| | | S3 | | | | | X |
| **Average of value (AoV) | | | (14/3) = 4,6 | | | | |
| **** Total Value Compliance (TVC) = (3,5+5,0+4,6) | | | 13,1 | | | | |

Note: Description of the Valuation Methodology: A total of three (3) Values * (V) were identified, which were analyzed in quantitative terms in order to determine the level of compliance for the -CIA- object of study.

Step 1: The scale of analysis formulated in this matrix was carried out taking into account the Values *(V) defined in the Manual for Cultural Assets Inventory of the Ministry of Culture (2005) and in decree 763 of the Presidency of the Republic (2009). The estimate for each of the characteristics corresponds to the following scoring level from one (1) to five (5), being: One (1) - **VERY LOW** appreciation level, Two (2) - **LOW** appreciation level, Three (3) - **INTERMEDIATE** Appreciation level, Four (4) - **HIGH** Appreciation level, Five (5) - **VERY HIGH** Appreciation level.

Step 2: Each Value presents a score defined by the sum of the results obtained in Step 1, divided by the number of attributes (***) present in each Value * (V), through which the Average of Value (AoV) is obtained.

Step 3: The Total Value Compliance **** (TVC) to the attributes by the Real Estate -CIA- is defined from the following valuation ranges: a range from (0) to (15), being low level $\leq 4,9$, intermediate $> 5-7,9$ and high ≥ 8 . The above in accordance with the results obtained in the diagnosis and analysis process carried out for each criterion in the -CIA- and the certification of the information presented at the historical and patrimonial level.

V2. Aesthetic:

The design attributes of the asset and the characteristics of the Republican style are evident and explicit. It is highlighted that the Clock Tower presents

technological advances in terms of design, construction technique and function. Its location in the Sector of Cultural Interest (SIC) together with other Conservation and Cultural Interest Assets is also a representative characteristic. Regarding the weighting of the Aesthetic Value (V2), its two attributes obtained the highest score, in response to: 1) E1, aesthetic or style clarity, and 2) E2, the resolved inventive idea evidences the technique and use in terms of its function and time (Table 5). The average score for this value was 5.0 "Very High Level" (Table 6).

V3. Symbolic:

The asset is considered a representative landmark of the city that promotes identification and social cohesion. Its function is framed in the socio-cultural field and its remembrance is associated with the cultural expressions that host the meaning of its clock, its lighting and the character of its image, with respect to urban implantation; these position it within the collective memory and the tangible and intangible heritage of the city.

From the three attributes evaluated, the Symbolic Value (V3) obtained its maximum score level established at 5.0 in the attributes: 1) S2, in response to its strong psychological power of identification and social cohesion, and 2) S3, under the consideration that maintains and renews its symbolic character, through aspirations, desires, constructed and internalized ideals and the connection of time and memory spaces (Table 5). The average established for this value obtained a score of 4.6 "High Level" (Table 6).

Total compliance of the three values of the "Clock Tower" CIA, according to the established attributes for their weighting, was established at 13.1 "High"; according to the range from (0) to (15) defined in step 3 (Table 6), as it is greater than or equal to ≥ 8 .

Conclusions

Based on the results obtained in this research process, the relationship among heritage, architecture, history and the sociocultural field is reaffirmed. The above taking into account that heritage is part of the collective interest and promotes the identity of society, through the exaltation of material or intangible cultural wealth. The architecture and history associated with material heritage (Real Estate) are configured as elements that promote the recovery and

preservation of urban, historical, social, cultural and territorial memory over time.

This research allowed for the significance and valuation of the Clock Tower as a National Cultural Interest Asset. This contributes to the recognition of heritage in the city, promotes the conservation and preservation of the Asset from its material and immaterial scope and allows for the transcendence of its meaning and the strengthening of citizen's memory, roots and sociocultural imaginations.

The methodological framework allowed for the provision of inputs for the evaluation of the historical record of the Asset, which favors the updating of its information with respect to the current legal regulations issued by the Ministry of Culture of Colombia and the Presidency of the Republic, through Decree 763 of March 10, 2009. The above is configured as a significant contribution that must be socialized and disseminated to the community, in order to make visible the life history of the Asset and the characteristics of the city through history, by strengthening the sense of belonging and the roots of society.

This asset, that is part of Norte de Santander heritage, constitutes a collective interest and promotes the identity of citizens as a society, since its material and intangible character provides cultural richness. In turn, it has physical and formal characteristics framed by the ten valuation criteria: constitution of the Asset, shape, age, conservation status, authorship, environment, urban context, socio-cultural context, memory and appropriation. These criteria are complemented through historical, aesthetic and symbolic values, which describe the singular and unique attributes that are in synchrony with the essence of Republican architecture in the city of San José de Cúcuta. The foregoing becomes relevant when remembering that the valuation is the most important section of an inventory, since it allows to highlight the relevance, as well as the heritage and cultural significance of the asset at the local and national level.

As relevant findings, it is highlighted that the Clock Tower has a total value compliance in accordance with the provisions of the the Manual for Cultural Assets Inventory (2005) and Decree 763 of 2009 corresponding to 46.5, which is determined as "High" as it is located in valuation range ≥ 40 . Within this assessment, the criteria that obtained the highest average score (5.0) were: the criterion of form (C4) and the criterion of appropriation / representativeness and sociocultural contextualization (C9). In the same way, emphasis is placed on the fact that the criterion of conservation status has favored the criteria of form and appropriation, since it has safeguarded the material and physical composition of the CIA; as well as its relationship with the urban context and the community. Likewise, the weighting of total compliance of the three values indicated in the investigation corresponded to 13.1, defined as "High" ≥ 8

according to the evaluation range from 0 to 15. Of the three values studied, the aesthetic value (V2) obtained the highest score (5.0).

From the fulfillment of its general objective, this research valued the declaration of the Clock Tower as CIA from the weighting of its criteria and values. The foregoing established that this CIA has a "High" degree of significance represented in the social and cultural life of the population of San José de Cúcuta, taking into account that the adoption of the Tower by the community has allowed its preservation, recognition and appropriation over time; strengthening the meaning of memory PAGE and territorial cohesion.

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Human Movement from the Semiotics and the Synechism of Charles S. Peirce*

[*English Version*]

El movimiento humano desde la semiótica y el sinequismo de Charles S. Peirce

O Movimento humano a partir da semiótica e o sinequismo de Charles S. Peirce

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Abstract

Objective: to analyze the theory of “Human Movement as a Complex System” (MHSC-UAM), proposed by the Body Movement academic community of the Universidad Autónoma de

* This manuscript is partially taken from the conceptual framework of the doctoral project: “Working Memory and Motor Control in Adults with Sensorimotor Disorders. A Study of Interactions from the Perspective of Embodied Cognition,” Universidad Autónoma de Manizales (UAM), Doctorate in Cognitive Sciences. In addition, it is based on the contents oriented in the Socio-cultural Consciousness Seminar of the same program. This research is funded by the Universidad Autónoma de Manizales, Colombia.

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Manizales, from the semiotics and the synechism postulated by Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914). **Methodology:** from a conceptual analytical approach, the Body-Movement dyad is analyzed from the continuum theory, as well as the MHSC-UAM model from Peirce's semiotic triangle. **Results:** it is possible to show the triadic relationship between body-mind, world, and movement, in terms of sign, object, and interpretant. The firstness corresponds to the body-mind, the secondness to the world of life, and the thirdness to the human movement. Supported by synechism, it is shown that human movement is a continuum, that body-mind and movement are not discrete phenomena. In this way, there is no measurable difference between movement and posture, between objective and subjective body, between action and activity, between motor control and motor capacity. **Conclusions:** consequent to Peircean theory, the visible and the invisible, it is worth saying, the macroscopic and the microscopic, the contextual and the molecular, the body and the spirit, the world and the mind, movement and cognition, movement and motor control, the objective and the intersubjective body, the firstness and the secondness, the object and the interpretant, among many, are interdependent aspects of a continuous, fluid, changing process, semiotic dyads, never Cartesian dualisms.

Keywords: Human body movement; Semiotics; Synechism; Peirce.

Resumen

Objetivo: analizar la teoría del “Movimiento Humano como Sistema Complejo” (MHSC-UAM), propuesta por la Comunidad Académica Cuerpo Movimiento de la Universidad Autónoma de Manizales, desde la semiótica y el sinequismo postulados por Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914). **Metodología:** desde un enfoque analítico conceptual se analiza la diada Cuerpo-Movimiento desde la teoría del continuum, así como el modelo de MHSC-UAM desde el triángulo semiótico de Peirce. **Resultados:** se logra evidenciar la relación triádica entre cuerpo-mente, mundo y movimiento, en tanto signo, objeto e interpretante. La primeridad corresponde al cuerpo-mente, la segundidad al mundo de la vida, y la terceridad al movimiento humano. Apoyado en el sinequismo, se muestra que el movimiento humano es un continuum, que cuerpo-mente y movimiento, no son fenómenos discretos. De esta manera, no hay diferencia inconmensurable entre movimiento y postura, entre el cuerpo objetivo y el subjetivo, entre acción y actividad, entre control motor y capacidad motora. **Conclusiones:** en consecuencia con la teoría peirceana, lo visible y lo invisible, valga decir, lo macroscópico y lo microscópico, lo contextual y lo molecular, el cuerpo y el espíritu, el mundo y la mente, el movimiento y la cognición, el movimiento y el control motor, el cuerpo objetivo y el intersubjetivo, la primeridad y la segundidad, el objeto

y el interpretante, entre muchos, son aspectos interdependientes de un proceso continuo, fluido, cambiante, díadas semióticas, nunca dualismos cartesianos.

Palabras-clave: Movimiento corporal humano; Semiótica; Sinequismo; Peirce.

Resumo

Objetivo: analisar a teoria do "Movimento Humano como Sistema Complexo" (MHSC-UAM), proposta pelo Organismo do Movimento Comunitário Académico da Universidad Autónoma de Manizales, a partir da semiótica e sinequismo postulado por Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914). **Metodologia:** a partir de uma abordagem analítica conceptual, o díad Movimento Corporal é analisado a partir da teoria do continuum, bem como o modelo MHSC-UAM do triângulo semiótico de Peirce. **Resultados:** é possível mostrar a relação triádica entre corpo-mente, mundo e movimento, como signo, objeto e intérprete. A primeira corresponde ao corpo-mente, a segunda ao mundo da vida, e a terceira ao movimento humano. Com base no sinequismo, mostra-se que o movimento humano é um contínuo, que o corpo-mente e o movimento não são fenómenos discretos. Desse modo, não há diferença incomensurável entre movimento e postura, entre o corpo objetivo e subjetivo, entre ação e atividade, entre controle motor e capacidade motora. **Conclusões:** conseqüentemente com a teoria peirciana, o visível e o invisível, vale dizer, o macroscópico e o microscópico, o contextual e o molecular, o corpo e o espírito, o mundo e a mente, o movimento e cognição, movimento e controle motor, o corpo objetivo e intersubjetivo, o primeiro e o segundo, o objeto e o interpretante, entre muitos, são aspectos interdependentes de um processo contínuo, fluido, em mudança, díades semióticas, nunca dualismos cartesianos.

Palabras-chave: Movimiento corporal humano; Semiótica; Sinequismo; Peirce.

Introduction

Humans, and in general all animals, have only two ways of responding to internal and external stimuli that come from their own body and from the world: secreting substances and moving (Guyton, Hall, 2006; Purves et al, 2018). This premise can be generalized in reference to the plant kingdom and other animal kingdoms (fungi, protista and monera). Plants, as autotrophs, require movement for their processes of nutrition (photosynthesis), respiration and reproduction, among others. In this way, all animal body systems such as digestive, circulatory, endocrine, cardiovascular, genitourinary, musculoskeletal, and nervous systems, are at the body's disposal to produce and optimize movement. Additionally, the secretion of substances is due to the demands of these systems as required inputs or wastes from body movement, meaning, hormones, neurotransmitters, gastric juices, saliva, sweat, urine, sexual lubricants, among others. Sexual activity, a device for maintaining the species, requires body movement.

Even language is an expression of body movement (Baquero, Segovia, 2018), without movement none of the manifestations of language would be possible: speech, gestures, writing, mathematics, and other symbolic expressions. Thought, which in itself can be considered as action, would be innocuous, useless and sterile, without the possibility of expressing it through bodily movement. Other ways of expression – out of the physical order – are not evidenced, such as telepathy or telekinesis. Perhaps in the not-too-distant future, artificial intelligence will promote communication between people without human body movement; engineers predict that this can happen before the end of the 21st century (Urban, 2015). However, eventually, human body movement will be required to develop, program, activate, and control such artificial intelligence, of course, if it does not get out of human control.

It is concluded then, that the human body, and many other animal kingdoms, if not all, are *organisms ready to move*. As Manuel Bedia and Luis Fernando Castillo state: “knowledge is the product of the peculiarities of human design and includes aspects of our body, brain and mind” (2010, p. 118, [Author's translation]).

Everything is done with corporal movement: religion, art, crafts, sports, education, science, technology, professions, occupations, jobs, and any other daily life activities; there is no other way. As Hanne De Jaegher, Ezequiel Di Paolo, and Ralph Adolphs claim: “Interacting is giving the body a voice” (2016, p. 5, [Author's translation]), and interaction is movement. The human cognitive self is literally co-determined in interaction with the other (Di Paolo, 2013).

This highlights the preponderance of body movement in the brain/body-in-the-world system, that is the cognitive sciences' object of study proposed by Alejandra Rossi, Aitana Grasso-Cladera, Nicolas Luarte, Antonella Riillo, and Francisco Parada from the Universidad Diego Portales (Laboratory of Cognitive and Social Neuroscience) and the Università Degli Studi Di Firenze (2019). When talking about body movement, reference is not made to the physical displacement of the body in space, but to *human movement as a complex system*, that is a conceptual model proposed by the Universidad Autónoma de Manizales' (UAM) Body-Movement academic community (Agámez *et al.*, 2002). This model is quite compatible with the object of study proposed by Alejandra Rossi, Aitana Grasso-Cladera, Nicolas Luarte, Antonella Riillo, and Francisco Parada, which, in turn, is based on *the 4E theory in Cognitive Sciences* which postulates that: "Cognition is an Embedded, Extended, Embodied phenomenon and that must be understood within the Enactive position"¹ (Rossi, Grasso-Caldera, Luarte, Riillo, Parada, 2019, p. 377, [Author's translation]).

Methodology

In this conceptual analytical article, the theory of "Human Movement as a Complex System" proposed by the UAM's Body Movement academic community (MHSC-UAM) (Agámez, *et al.*, 2002) is analyzed from the semiotics and the synechism postulated by Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914). First, from the perspective of speculative grammar, speculative criticism, and speculative rhetoric, analyzed according to the Peircian categories expressed in their semiotic triangles (firstness, secondness, and thirdness) (Liszka, 1996). In the second instance, the theory of continuous movement is analyzed from Peircian synechism and its implications for the sciences, additionally the professions of human body movement are established.

In this way, the Body-Movement dyad is analyzed from the continuum theory, as is the MHSC-UAM model from Peirce's semiotic triangle. Reference will also be made to the *4E theory in Cognitive Sciences* (Rossi, Grasso-Caldera, Luarte, Riillo, Parada, 2019). Both theories – MHSC-UAM and 4E – are quite compatible, the latter conceives of the cognitive sciences' object of study as the *brain/body-in-the-world system*. For its part, the UAM community, from a

1. Enaction is a concept coined by Francisco Varela, Eleanor Rosch, and Evan Thompson (1991), which understands the body as a complex and autonomous system, dependent on its experience, and whose operation is constitutive for the emergence of cognition.

phenomenological perspective, addresses the concept of the *body being in the world*. This category gives meaning to the theoretical construct of “movement as a complex system.”

Results

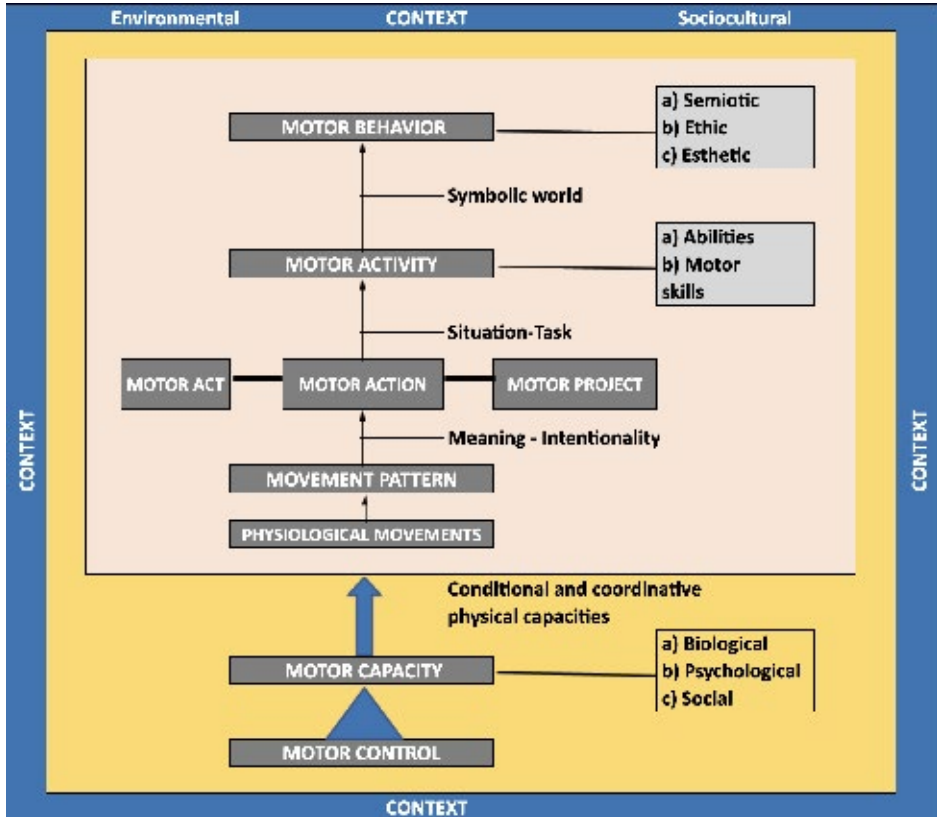
1. Analysis of the “Human Movement as a Complex System” Theory from the Semiotics of Charles Sanders Peirce

Peirce, a pioneer of Semiotics, defined human movement as “the doctrine of the essential nature and the fundamental varieties of possible semiosis” (Peirce, 1973, p. 9, [Author’s translation]).

He maintains that semiotics does not investigate a specific field as a factual extension or empirical domain, but rather a scientific understanding, and that there are no semiotic objects prior to their theoretical determination (Peirce, 1973, p. 11). In this way, the purpose of semiotics is “the analysis of the significant dimension of every fact from the moment its relevance is assigned: the regime of objective determinations that makes the real significant” (Peirce, 1973, p. 12, [Author’s translation]). From this perspective, the semiotic analysis of Human Movement as a Complex System (MHSC) will be carried out, as it has a theoretical determination that aims at a real fact: human body movement.

Figure 1 summarizes the proposal for movement as a complex system of the Body Movement academic community of the Universidad Autónoma de Manizales, Colombia (UAM). The main components of the model, which are presented in three levels of interaction, are: 1) The objectification of the movement; 2) Motor control and motor ability; and 3) The context. The first level includes the motor pattern, motor action, motor activity, and motor behavior; and the third level comprises the social and cultural context.

Figure 1. The Movement as a Complex System According to the UAM's Body-Movement Academic Community



Note. Levels of interaction with their components, Peircean categories: 1. The objectification of the movement, in pink; 2. Control and motor skills, in yellow; and 3. The context, in blue.

Assuming the sign as a triadic unit, the MHSM-UAM model can be considered as a sign, that is, a triadic reality in which the three exposed elements are incorporated. On the one hand, movement is a semiosis that can be analyzed in its components: the body-mind² that performs it (first); the world that determines it (second) and the effect produced (third). Additionally, movement is the interpretant in which the body-mind and the world are intertwined, clarifying that every interpretant can become a sign for another interpretant.

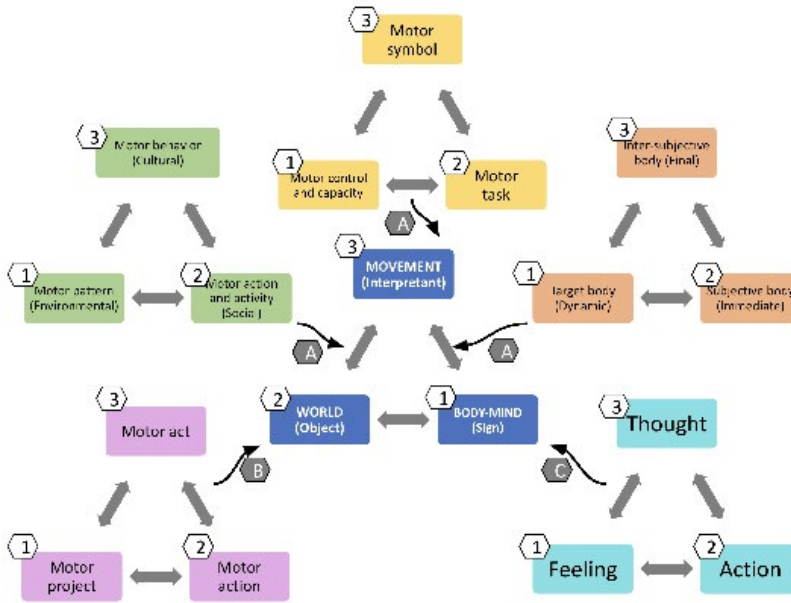
Humans live in the sign and, thanks to its triadic nature, reference is made to the object and interpretants (cognitive, emotional, movement) are produced, but always and inexorably mediated by the sign (Flórez, 2017). “Everything we know or think we know it or think about it through signs and our own knowledge is a sign” (Peirce, 1903a, p. 1, [Author’s translation]), and everything we know and think we express it through movement.

Figure 2 illustrates the analysis of the MHSC-UAM model through the logic or semiotics of Charles S. Peirce to provide a complete general theory of its meaning and its representations³. This work shows the triadic relationship between body-mind, world, and movement. The body-mind (sign) represents the world (object) and produces movement (interpretant). Seen this way, the object is known by its representation in the sign.

2. The term “body” could simply be used, since the mind is implicit in it, but it is preferable to use the term “body-mind” to make explicit, at least for now, its indivisible unity, and to avoid misunderstandings with the Cartesian categories as different dimensions of being.

3. For Peirce, representing is “being in the place of the other, that is, being in such a relationship with another that, for certain purposes, is treated by certain minds as if it were that other [...] When you want to distinguish between what represents and the act or relationship of representing, the first can be called the *representamen* and the second the *representation*” (Peirce, 1973, p. 43, authors’ translation)

Figure 2. Analysis of the “Human Movement as a Complex System” Theory from the Semiotics of Charles Sanders Peirce



Note. Peircian categories in their semiotic triangles: 1: Firstness; 2: Secondness; 3: Thirdness
 A: Analysis from speculative grammar; B: Analysis from speculative criticism; C: Analysis from speculative rhetoric. In blue, the triadic relationship between body-mind, world and movement, in terms of sign, object and interpretant.

From the Peircian categories, this triad or semiotic triangle is expressed from the categories of firstness, secondness and thirdness (Liszka, 1996):

1. **Firstness:** corresponds to the *body-mind*, that is, the *sign* in the triad, thus, it is a category without reference, without antecedents, undetermined, original, present and immediate. “The firstness is completely separate from any conception or reference to something else” (Barrena, Nubiola, 2007, [Author’s translation]). “It is the realm of pure quality, this is nothing more than possibility, since it is not yet in relation to anything; it is a pre-reflective and immediate element” (Mendoza, 2021, [Author’s translation]). In Peircean perspective, the body-mind occurs without any reference to something else, it is the closest and purest thing that one has (the ego).

In the framework of the MHSC-UAM model, the body is assumed as a unified conception between the cognoscente subject and the spatial physical object (instrument body); being as the symbolic self that names and determines what exists in its environment. In this way, the body being in the world is mind and body as a single identity in the world of life, that is, it is the intersubjective, subjective and objective intertwining. “The body is a kinetic expression of consciousness; a normative, ethical, aesthetic expression. The body is language, it is communication, it is a vital expression” (Agámez et al., 2002, p. 83, [Author’s translation]).

- 2. Secondness:** “it is the field of brute facts, that is, of dyadic relationships as typical relational encounters of factual existence” (Mendoza, 2021, [Author’s translation]). “This category always implies an idea of dependence, action and reaction” (Barrena, Nubiola, 2007, [Author’s translation]). It concerns the world of life, the object in the triad, thus, in interaction with the body-mind (sign). The world is that against which the body reacts or confronts (firstness), it appears as that which is not me (the non-ego), it reacts against me, limits or restricts my desires or my actions.

In the MHSC-UAM model, the world is the dwelling of a man and the context that is formed with all the manifestations of being: “construction is always open to all the possibilities of the unveiling of being in the environment” (Agámez et al., 2002, p. 77-78, [Author’s translation]). In this way, the world or context in the model is the “temporal-spatial setting that is determined by social norms and rules. These condition the motor capacity where action, activity, and motor behavior are performed and transformed” (Agámez et al., 2002, p. 90, [Author’s translation]) This world comprises:

- Environment: a natural setting or habitat, a spatiotemporal territory.
- Socio-cultural environment: a setting where an individual interrelates with others in different forms of participation. Symbolic construction of men as a group that is expressed through the historically constructed set of rules and norms, and the social systems that condition and determine motor activity and legitimize such construction as a socially accepted behavior (Agámez et al., 2002, p. 90).

3. **Thirdness:** concerns the “sphere of law and of the general. It is the relationality of objects, but not in the sense of secondness, but in the sense of mediating intelligibility; as a sphere of universality that regulates factual relations” (Mendoza, 2021). It is “the richest, the most complex, and the most important category for the self-creative life and for the developing universe” (Barrena, Nubiola, 2007). This proposal involves *human movement* which is the interpretant in the triadic model. Therefore, body movement mediates between the world and the body-mind, and although depending on these, it cannot be reduced to either of them. The relational force turns the body/being in the world dyad into a higher form of rationality. Thus, movement is a response (mediation, signification and interpretative effect) of the interaction between the body-mind and the world.

The UAM's body and movement community assumes analytically and comprehensively human body movement from a functional and a phenomenological perspective that is a system with levels of interaction, subsystems, and components. A system is understood as “a set of elements maintaining certain relationships among themselves, which are separated from a given environment” (Luckhman, 1996, as cited in Agámez et al., 2002, p. 88 [Author's translation]) and whose main characteristics are the interaction of elements, self-referentiality, auto-poiesis and differentiation. According to these features, this community proposes that:

Human movement does not exist as the sum of physical, motor and cognitive areas. On the contrary, as a complex system, it exists to the extent that it is possible to read the interweaving between the subjective and the objective, the historical and the cultural, the particular and the collective, the qualitative and the quantitative, the analytical and the comprehensive, for which the complex system is self-structured in relation to levels, subsystems and components that establish multiple relationships in different degrees of complexity (Agámez et al., 2002).

Understanding body movement as a semiosis implies recognizing its capacity of mediation and entailing the idea or “representation” of the world of the body-mind; thus, movement is the one favoring the interaction between the body and the world. According to Peirce's definition of semiosis, human movement is through the body-mind for the world.

A sign or representamen is something that stands for something and for someone in some aspect or capacity. It addresses someone, that is, it creates in that person's mind an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. This new sign becomes the first sign interpretant. The sign is there for a purpose: its object (Peirce, 1897).

1.1. Analysis of the MHSC-UAM from Speculative Grammar

Speculative grammar is a branch of semiotics that “studies how an object becomes a sign: its foundation (*ground*)” (Restrepo, 2012, p. 117 [Author's translation]). It is concerned with the logical analysis and classification of non-logical signs (Belluci, 2016), those kinds of signs that: “are absolutely essential for thought to be embodied” (Peirce, 1903b), beyond the conventional signs of language.

Table 1 summarizes the three Peircian categories' perspectives of signs that represent the three components of the semiotic process. The three different ways in which a sign can express itself, the three ways in which a sign relates to its object, and the three ways in which a sign affects an interpretant.

Table 1. Analysis of the MHSC-UAM from Speculative Grammar.

| | Firstness | | Secondness | | Thirdness | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|--|---|---|
| Peircian Categories | Relation of the Sign with Itself | | Relation of the Sign with the Object | | Relation of the Sign with the Interpretant | |
| | Relation of the Movement with Itself | | Relationship of the Movement with the World | | Relation of the Movement with the Body-Mind | |
| Firstness | Qualisign | Motor control and capacity | Icon: | Motor pattern (internal and environmental contexts) | Rhema: | Objective body (dynamic interpretant) |
| Secondness | Sinsign: | Motor task | Index: | Motor activities and actions (social context) | Dicisign: | Subjective body (immediate interpretant) |
| Thirdness | Legisign: | Motor behavior (motor symbol) | Symbol: | Motor behavior | Argument: | Intersubjective body (final interpretant) |

1.1.1 Relation of the Movement with Itself (Relation of the Sign with Itself)

1. **Firstness-Qualisign:** a quality that functions like a sign, but it cannot function as such until it is incarnated (Peirce, 1903c). In the model, it is the quality of body movement and aptitude. It is a mere possibility until it is expressed through an optimal movement performance. Firstness is defined as a potentiality regarding current or existing secondness (motor task). UAM's model corresponds to motor control and motor ability (Table 1).

The first is the regulatory process that allows planning, structuring and reorganizing motor activity, and is necessary and essential for motor capacity to be objectified in motor action (Agámez et al., 2002). Newton (2003) defines it as the “process by which the central nervous system receives, assimilates, and integrates sensory information with experience to plan and perform optimal postural and motor responses” (p. 31) [Author's translation].

Motor capacity is the “potentiality of individuals to bring into play the biological, psychological and social components when performing a motor action. It is a possibility of manifestation of individuals' functional capacity” (Agámez et al., 2002, p. 91. [Author's translation]). Motor capacity includes physical capacity that is understood as “physical-physiological faculties aiding in learning and performing motor actions” (Agámez et al., 2002, p. 105, [Author's translation]).

2. **Secondness-sinsign:** “it is a thing or event of actual existence which is a sign” (Peirce, 1903c). It is a concrete reality, an optimal movement performance, whether static (posture) or dynamic (displacement). In this particular case, it materializes motor control and motor ability (firstness). It concerns *Motor task* (Table 1) that is defined by Agámez, Arenas, Restrepo, Rodríguez, Arenas, and Vidarte as the “organized set of material conditions, of particular and collective needs which determine the objective, the intentions and the motivation that condition the performance of different motor actions” (2002, p. 96) [Author's translation]. It includes motor skill that is assumed as the “acquired ability through learning to achieve previously set results with a maximum of success and often a minimum of time, energy, or both” (Guthrie 1957).

3. **Thirdness-Legisign:** a conventional law or sign that “acquires significance by means of an instance of its application, which may be called a *replica* of it” (Peirce, 1903c). As a generality or law established by humans, they determine the qualities of body movement; thus thirdness or sign referred to the general and integrated system of the MHSC-UAM.

In Table 1, it corresponds to the motor behavior that is also explained as tertiality in the topic of the relation of movement with the world of life, and it is closely related to the concept of *motor symbol* which is a sensorimotor representation of associations between contextual stimuli and concrete motor actions, and between thoughts and motor acts (Landmann, Landi, Grafton, Della-Maggiore, 2011; Mangione, 2016).

The gesture of a military salute can be an example of these categories' analysis from the relation of movement with itself. The gesture has physical-physiological and conditional and coordinative faculties representing the *qualisign* (motor control and motor capacity). The former refers to organic-muscle capacities such as strength, endurance, speed and flexibility; the latter refers to body control and regulation capacities (orientation, balance, differentiation, coupling, and rhythm). In turn, in a military context, this movement refers to a particular motor task (*sinsign*), in this case with the purpose of saluting fellow soldiers. Finally, this culturally accepted motor activity occurs in a specific spatio-temporal context (e.g., a military base) and in a comprehensive explanatory system given by a social group (e.g., a military regiment) to this activity under processes of normality and abnormality. This behavior represents *legisign*.

1.1.2 Relation of the Movement with the World (Relation of the Sign with the Object)

1. Firstness-Icon:

It refers to the object it denotes [...] by virtue of its own characters, which it possesses whether or not that object actually exists. [...] Anything, whether it be a quality, an existing individual or a law, is an icon of something insofar as it resembles that thing and is used as a sign of it. (Peirce, 1903c; Peirce, 1893-1903).

It is related to the internal world of the subject (object and referent of the sign) by its similarity.

In the model, it is the *motor pattern* (Table 1), a biological context in intimate dependence with the environmental context. The motor pattern is largely determined by phylogenic and ontogenetic conditions, and also by conditions of the universe, in particular, gravity and other conditions of the physical environment. It is equated with the world by the movement of things in their environment. It is the biological or organic component of motor action that is considered the structural unit of motor activity.

It is defined as the “combination of controlled movements according to a specific spatio-temporal arrangement, ranging from simple combinations of movements in two segments to highly structured and complex body sequences” (Wickstrom, 1990, p. 19, [Author’s translation]).

It is the observable and is nominated in terms of the physiological movements that compose it. These can be described as selective upper and lower limb patterns, as basic mobility patterns or total movement patterns.

2. Secondness-Index:

“Refers to the object it denotes by virtue of the fact that it is actually affected by that object. [...] Insofar as the index is affected by the object, it must have some quality in common with it. [...] What makes it a sign [...] is [...] the actual modification which the object causes it” (Peirce, 1903c; Peirce, 1893-1903).

It represents the desires, wills and thoughts of individuals immersed in a world (object).

In the model, it corresponds to *motor action and activity* (Table 1), given its intimate relationship with the social context. The first is constituted by the interweaving of different patterns of movement which take on meaning or intentionality. It is the functional unit of motor activity; therefore, it is defined as the “acting or doing of the man in the world of life” (Agámez et al., 2002, p. 127). Unlike movement patterns, motor action is regulated by learning and is presented as the objective manifestation of motor ability (what is observable of human movement). It is

closely related to the motor action and the motor project, as described in item 2.2.

Motor activity is:

The integration of multiple motor actions in a given context and in the function of a task situation that is characterized by motor skill performance. The context is the setting that determines the situation to which the task responds and where the action is performed (Agámez et al., 2002, p. 96). [Author's translation]

Motor task is presented as a sinsign in item 2.1.1

3. Thirdness-Symbol:

Refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of a law. [...] Therefore, it is itself a general type or law, that is, a legisign. As such, it acts through a replica. It is not only the general object, but the object it refers to is also general in nature (Peirce, 1903c; Peirce, 1893-1903).

It is a sign represented by means of an attributed or conventional character (Flórez, 2017), for example, a culturally learned gesture.

“In this case, the symbol corresponds to the *motor behavior* (Table 1) or motor activity that occurs in a specific spatio-temporal context and in a comprehensive explanatory system given by a social group to this activity under processes of normality and abnormality”. (Agámez *et al.*, 2002, p. 98) [Author's translation]. It includes motor behavior that is understood as the motor strategies that humans build “as part of a sensitive maturational process, genetically and environmentally determined as a function of the dynamic interaction of qualitative components of motor control, sensory, cognitive, and emotional aspects” (Rodríguez-Sáez, Moraga-Aguilar, Martín-Peñaillo, Solis-Flóres, 2017 [Author's translation]).

Three components can be distinguished in motor behavior:

- **Semiotic or Communicative Component:** possibility of building meanings in relation to motor activity.

- **Ethical or Moral Component:** norms, rules, and limits that determine what is good, what is bad and what is socially and historically legitimate.
- **Aesthetic or Expressive Component:** a parameter of evaluation of a motor activity according to the systemic harmony among movement – body – environment.

These motor behavior components of the MHSC-UAM model can be pragmatically analyzed from the three normative sciences proposed by Peirce: logic (general theory of signs), ethics (practice), and aesthetics (Peirce, 1903d; Peirce, 1906). These normative sciences are the intermediate and most characteristic part of what Peirce calls cenoscopy inquiry (looking at the commonality of everything perceptible). This author considers logic as the theory of deliberate thought, which implies that it is controlled in order to make it conform to a purpose or ideal. Ethics, also called “practice” by Peirce, is defined as a “theory of the conformity of action to an ideal” (1906). While aesthetics is “the theory of the deliberate formation of habits of feeling.” In short, logic is related to thought, ethics to action, and aesthetics to feeling (Peirce, 1906).

The motor activity of riding a bicycle can be an example of the semiotic analysis of the relation of movement to the lifeworld. This activity is made up of different motor actions, such as pedaling, gripping the handlebars, braking with the hands, changes in ratio, steering the bicycle, and positions of the trunk, neck and head, among others. Together, motor actions and activity as a whole represent the *index* (secondness). The motor patterns that compose the motor actions represent the *icon* (firstness).

To give an example, the pedaling pattern is described as alternating lower limb gestures of ankle, knee, and hip flexion-extension. In other words, this combination of physiological movements, expressed in biomechanical terms, is the first expression of the activity “riding a bicycle”; it is the basics, structurally, and biologically determined. Finally, the *symbol* (thirdness), in the context of motor behavior, conventionally represents the intentions of the subject. For this case there could be intentions of recreation, sport, physical well-being, transportation or work, among others.

1.1.3 Relationship of the Movement with the Body-mind (Relation of the Sign with the Interpretant)

- 1. Firstness-Rhema:** “It is a sign which, for its interpretant, is a sign of qualitative possibility, that is to say that it is understood as representing this or that kind of possible object” (Peirce, 1903c, [Author’s translation]). It is a sign interpreted as a simple one (Flórez, 2017).

It is the target body in the MHSC-UAM model (Table 1), firstness in relation to human movement or a dynamic interpretant. It is conceived as an instrumental body, a biological body, a material substrate, an analogous body of action, a teleological body, a useful body or a means between a motive and a purpose, which is a body being in the world (Agámez et al., 2002). From the firstness, “the body is an object, and the relationship with it and from it is mediated by reflection and sensitive experience” (García-Puello, 2013, [Author’s translation]).

- 2. Secondness-Dicisign (Dicent Sign):** is a sign that, for its interpretant, is a sign of real existence (Peirce, 1903c). “Proposition that is a sign interpreted as a compound” (Flórez, 2017, [Author’s translation]).

It corresponds to the subjective body or person body in the MHSC-UAM model (Table 1), and arises from the need to include the body in social practices (immediate interpretant). The subjective body refers to “the animated body and the living body in terms of affective (the body for the other), communicative (the body between us) and identity (the body for oneself) dimensions” (Vélez, Vidarte, Agámez, Vanegas, 2006, p. 155, [Author’s translation]). It is constituted in the tension between the particular and the collective through an affective process or identification with the appropriate or embodied social and cultural forms (Vélez, Vidarte, Agámez, and Vanegas, 2006).

- 3. Thirdness-Argument:** “It is a sign which, for its interpretant, is a sign of law [...] it is a sign understood as a representation of its object in its character of sign” (Peirce, 1903c, [Author’s translation]). A sign that interprets two previous signs to infer a third proposition (Flórez, 2017).

The model concerns the intersubjective body (Table 1), which is defined by the relationships between the valued body, the socialized body and the culturized body (Vélez, Vidarte, Agámez, Vanegas, 2006).

“Intersubjectivity is built in the relationships that subjects establish, so that several subjects can coincide in their judgments. The relationship between several subjects with a view to knowledge gives rise to what has been called ‘intersubjectivity’ or the ‘intersubjective’. Intersubjectivity is a kind of bridge between subjectivity and ‘objectivity’” (Vélez, Vidarte, Agámez, Vanegas, 2006, p. 141, [Author’s translation]). Hence its thirdness in the relationship between movement and the body-mind (final interpretant).

To exemplify the relationship of the movement with the interpretant (body-mind), envision the scenario of a soccer match. There one can observe the instrumental body, the biological body, the objective body: the subject who runs, stops, rests, hits the ball, gets tired, gets injured, falls and gets up; the one who prepares his material body technically and tactically for the competition and exploits it physically on stage. This instrument body is the firstness (rhema) in relation to the interpretant.

The subjective body (decisign) is the soccer player him or herself, the animated body (secondness) that puts its instrument body into play for a social practice, soccer. That body that becomes a soccer player through its interaction with the other members of the team and the opposing team in the context of a soccer field. It is the person with its affective, communicative and identity dimensions.

Finally, the argument (thirdness) is constituted by intersubjectivity, the result of the values, norms and judgments in which all the actors in this scenario coincide: players, coaches, judges, fans, sponsors, among others. It is the socialized body, immersed in a cultural expression: soccer.

Each of the cases illustrated in this section, i.e., military salute, bicycle riding, and soccer practice, can each be analyzed from the three perspectives of speculative grammar. Alternatively, categories, although they cover specific fields, may be circumstantial; that is, what at one moment is firstness in another circumstance may be secondness and the same for thirdness; which implies that such categories are, more than taxonomic, of a methodological nature (logical path leading to an end) (Mendoza, 2021).

1.2 Analysis from Speculative Criticism

Speculative criticism “studies the ways in which a sign can be related to the object it represents, which is independent of it: the formal conditions of the reality of symbols” (Restrepo, 2012, p. 118, [Author’s translation]). That is, it evaluates the way in which a sign represents its object. Criticism is that part of logic which examines arguments and the different elementary ways of attaining truth (Peirce, 1903b).

Beyond deduction as a method to approach truth, Peirce also proposes induction and abduction (Liszka, 1996). The Peircian categories of *abduction*, *deduction* and *induction* are revealed in the MHSC-UAM model (Table 2) as the motor project (possible inference of movement, motor conjecture), the motor action (necessary inference of movement, motor conclusion) and the motor act (probable inference of movement, motor experience), respectively.

Table 2. Analysis of the MHSC-UAM from Speculative Criticism and Rhetoric.

| Peircian Categories | Speculative criticism | | Speculative rhetoric | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|----------|
| | Truthfulness of movement | | Effectiveness of movement | |
| Firstness | Abduction: | Motor project | Emotional: | Feeling |
| Secondness | Deduction: | Motor action | Energetic: | Acting |
| Thirdness | Induction: | Motor act | Logic: | Thinking |

Motor action was already described in item 1.1.2 as an index in the relation of the sign to its object. This differs from the motor act and project, since the motor action is the execution of the movement in the present time, while the motor act is the lived action, the previous experiences that fill the movement pattern with meaning. The motor project is built on the basis of actions, its essential characteristic is given by its feasibility; tension between expertise and experience that is built in the motor planning process. Thus, there is an intertwining of past, present and future in a given context (Agámez et al., 2002).

1.3 Analysis from Speculative Rhetoric

Speculative rhetoric “studies the way signs communicate their meaning and produce effects on the interpretant” (Flórez, 2017, [Author’s translation]). Peirce defines it as the study of “the essential conditions under which a sign can determine a sign interpreting itself” (Restrepo, 2012, p. 118, [Author’s translation]).

In the MHSC-UAM model, it concerns the emotional, energetic and logical signs of body movement (Table 2), as conditions of feeling, acting and thinking of the interpretant, i.e. human movement, resulting from the interaction between body-mind and world. These conditions summarize motor control,

motor capacity, and the objectivity of movement (motor pattern, action, activity and behavior) charged with emotions, intentionalities and meanings in their interaction with the world of life.

2. Analysis of the Human Movement from the Synechism of Charles Sanders Peirce

Synechism is a term derived from the Greek *sinejes*, means continuity. Peirce introduces this term to signify “the tendency to regard everything as a continuum,” he argues that “continuity governs the whole domain of experience in each of its elements, [...] except when it relates to an unattainable limit of experience” (Peirce, 1893, p. 1, [Author’s translation]).

According to a synechist interpretation, human movement is a continuum, body-mind and movement are not discrete phenomena, therefore, there is a continuum between them, supported by the fact that synechism does not admit a clear division between phenomena and substrates and does not accept dualisms (Peirce, 1893), there is not, nor can there be a sharp distinction between body and mind, between body and movement, between brain and body, between cognition and body, between body and soul. The soul is not a discrete phenomenon that surrounds our body as an external energy halo, it is embodied, biologically possessed.

Synechism rejects that there are incommensurable differences between phenomena, and posits that physical phenomena are not completely different from psychic phenomena, for all phenomena are of one character, “although some are more mental and spontaneous and others more material and regular” (Peirce, 1893, p. 2, [Author’s translation]). In this way, there is no immeasurable difference between movement and posture, between objective and subjective body, between action and activity, between motor control and motor capacity. Posture is an infinitesimal moment in the continuum of movement, and movement represents successive and infinite changes of posture.

Paraphrasing Peirce, one could not affirm that “I am my body and not at all the world,” since the world in a certain way “is myself.” All mind-to-mind communication is through the continuity of being (Peirce, 1893, p. 2, [Author’s translation]).

The Movement Continuum Theory (MCT) has been proposed by different authors. Its pioneers, especially for the movement sciences, are Cheryl Cott, Elspeth Finch, Diane Gasner, Karen Yoshida, Scott Thomas, and Molly Verrier, who in 1995 posited that movement is a continuum from micro (molecular) to macro (context) levels that incorporates physical and pathological aspects of

movement with social and psychological considerations. These authors suggest nine principles for MCT; four of supreme order, shared with all movement sciences; and five particular to physical therapy (Cott et al., 1996, p. 89), namely:

1. Movement is essential to human life.
2. Movement occurs as a continuum from the microscopic level to the level of the individual in society.
3. Movement levels in the continuum are influenced by physical, psychological, social and environmental factors.
4. The levels of motion in the continuum are interdependent.
5. At each level of the continuum there is a maximum achievable movement potential (MAMP), which is influenced by the MAMP of other levels and by physical, social, psychological and environmental factors.
6. Within the limits set by the MAMP, each human has a preferred movement capacity (PMC) and a current movement capacity (CMC) that under usual circumstances are the same.
7. Developmental and pathological factors have the potential to change MAMP and/or create a difference between PMC and CMC.
8. The focus of physical therapy is to minimize the potential and/or existing difference between PMC and CMC.
9. The practice of physical therapy involves therapeutic movements, self-therapeutic modalities, education, technology and environmental modifications.

Assuming motion as a continuum does not mean assuming it as constant, invariable or stable. One of the most outstanding characteristics of human movement is its variability, a quality intrinsic to all biological systems, described as the normal variations that occur in motor performance across multiple repetitions of a task (Stergiou, Decker, 2011). Nikolaj Bernstein argued that each repetition of a motor act involves unique, non-repetitive neural and motor patterns, for which he introduced the concept of “repetition without repetition” (Bernstein, 1967).

Nicholas Stergiou and Leslie Decker (2011) argue that these variations in motion have a deterministic origin, therefore, they are neither random nor independent as argued by traditional linear models. In this framework, the authors recommend the use of nonlinear dynamic system analysis for the study of human behavior, to achieve a better understanding of variability and its relationship under pathokinetic conditions. Thus, such behavior, in terms of variability, should be viewed on a continuum (Stergiou, Decker, 2011, p. 3).

Conclusions

Consequently with the Peircean theory, the visible and the invisible, it is worth saying, the macroscopic and the microscopic, the contextual and the molecular, the body and the spirit, the world and the mind, movement and cognition, movement and motor control, the objective and the intersubjective body, the firstness and the secondness, the object and the interpretant, among many, are interdependent aspects of a continuous, fluid, changing process, semiotic dyads, never Cartesian dualisms.

This work has strengthened the epistemological foundations of a study of interactions in the perspective of embodied cognition. This proposal fully shares the pragmatic and sinequist position of Charles Sanders Peirce. It allows for judging the theory of the MHSC-UAM from its practical effects, as well as articulating it to the theory of continuous movement and providing a perspective that allows for articulating experimental investigations related to movement with the conceptual baggage of Peirce's theoretical proposal. Understanding human movement as a "sign" reaffirms the thesis that movement is the *sine qua non* means by which the body-mind expresses itself in the world, it implies recognizing that it has the capacity of mediation and that it carries an idea or "representation" of the world before the body-mind.

Finally, Peirce teaches not to be afraid of the truth, for if one were, one would necessarily have to be afraid of the search for truth. If this were to happen, scientific research would have to be given up. This reflection goes against those who maintain, even in the immediate environment, that "truth does not exist."

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