Úrsula Oswald Spring
Serena Eréndira Serrano Oswald
Editors

Risks, Violence, Security and Peace in Latin America

40 Years of the Latin American Council of Peace Research (CLAIP)

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The editors dedicate this book with the words of the youngest Nobel Prize Laureate of 2014 Malala Yousafzai (Pakistan/UK) to those "without voice… those who have fought for their rights… their right to live in peace, their right to be treated with dignity, their right to equality of opportunity, their right to be educated."

They also dedicate this book to Rigoberta Menchu (Guatemala) who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize as the first indigenous woman in 1992 "in recognition of her work for social justice and ethno-cultural reconciliation based on respect for the rights of indigenous peoples".

Both Rigoberta Menchu and Malala Yousafzai will remain sources of inspiration and encouragement for future generations and for scholars participating in CLAIP activities in the years to come.

Cuernavaca, 3 November 2017
Úrsula Oswald Spring
Serena Eréndira Serrano Oswald

Photograph during the opening ceremony of the X CLAIP Conference in Mexico City (from left to right) Diana de la Rúa (Argentina), Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico), Alberto Vital (Mexico), Margarita Veláquez (Mexico), S. Eréndira Serrano (Mexico). © The editors

Foreword

The Law, an Unassailable Foundation for Peace

Human beings, under the full load of their complexity, have always strived for peace in a great diversity of ways. In the last few decades, we have seen that a very effective course for this is the International Conference of the Consejo Latinoamericano de Investigación para la Paz (CLAIP)[1]: the path of scientific-humanistic discussion and research. The Conference, which reached its tenth edition in 2017, convened specialists and members of academia from all over Latin America and other regions of the world to deliberate on the problems that have worsened in the new century, *new socioenvironmental risks to peace and human rights in Latin America*. To a large extent, this prologue reproduces the speech I delivered at the inauguration of this academic act. It was an honour for me to be among such distinguished personalities, as indeed it is to write this introductory text. In that gathering, the large number of young participants was noticeable; we hope this will be the case again, now, with young readers of this book.

Already in Úrsula Oswald Spring's inaugural lecture—which referred both to human rights, inequality and development in Latin America and the Caribbean, and to education, communication and interculturalism, without leaving unmentioned the new threats menacing security and social movements as well as emerging groups and civil resistance in Latin America[2]—we can detect not only the thematic

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[1]Latin American Council of Peace Research.

[2]Dr. Úrsula Spring's presentation at the Inaugural Ceremony of the International Conference of the Consejo Latinoamericano de Investigación para la Paz (CLAIP), UNAM, Unity of the Postgraduate-UNAM, 13 March 2017.

abundance that the phenomenon precipitates among scholars but also the wide range of lines of research with which we try to contribute to the visibility and possible solutions of each of these problems. Additionally, this Conference has raised its voice in the face of 'the urgency in defining sustainable lines of development which favour the recovery of public safety, citizen welfare, equality, justice and eco-systemic services requiring fresh ideas'.[3] Thus, I deem it of great importance that young people who have recently become part of the CLAIP community not only share all the concerns that for many decades have taken up all our attention around key issues regarding social life and the search for peace, but also that they begin to convey new ideas and to propose new paths. In this task, I feel certain that they have been positively stimulated by the various activities carried out in the forum: lectures and panels, workshops and discussions and the more inclusive activities such as practical exercises, concrete actions and even network actions; all of these developed into a series of interesting results, among which several considerations and agreements are included. Such a wealth of proposals comes to show that the academic world is effectively fulfilling the task not only of studying and reflecting but also of getting up to date and taking action *in situ* with the goal of finding solutions for the problems that beset our communities.

Even though each of us, in numberless activities throughout our daily life, both personal and institutional, contributes to strengthen peace on a daily basis—perhaps without being fully conscious of it, as happens when we, for instance, greet each other or take turns to speak—our most valuable contributions are to be found in the manner in which we structure conflict resolution inside the different circles in which we interact, both as individuals and as members of our communities. Regarding conflict solution, the role of institutions, which are ultimately formed by individuals, becomes truly of the essence. To mention only a single example, our University's Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias (CRIM)[4] is a working model both institutionally and individually: individual energy results in institutional energy and this fact bestows on CRIM, a sort of generative social surplus value that allows it to attract and involve other people and other institutions—as happened at this Conference—in issues important to us all, independently of the diversity of approaches and social and cultural practices throughout the region.

As I think about the Latin American character that the Conference, now completing a four-decade cycle, has shown since its beginnings, I cannot but recall a phrase of great relevance for Mexicans—and I dare say not only for Mexicans—the famous utterance by Benito Juárez, known as '*Benemeritus* of the Americas': 'Among individuals, as among nations, respect for the rights of others is peace'. I think the idea of peace as bonded to the law, which is the rightful means to protect the rights of individuals, must prevail, for this conjunction radiates hope to individuals and communities: even though it is true that 'peace needs us all', as Diana

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[3] Dr. Margarita Velázquez's presentation at the Inaugural Ceremony of the International Conference of CLAIP, UNAM, Unity of the Postgraduate-UNAM, 13 March 2017.

[4] Regional Centre for Multidisciplinary Research.

de la Rúa pointed out,[5] what better guarantee for any community than the knowledge that it rests on the unassailable basis that is the law?

In this regard, it is convenient to recall the words of someone who has been involved in peace processes and in the resolution of important conflicts, Dr. Luis de la Barreda Solórzano, who affirms that 'the rights we enjoy today are not eternal, have not been obtained once and for all, but are fragile rights which we must defend every day. They are not eternal truths but fundamental advances in our civilising process'.[6] To undertake such defence, it is of the essence to build strong institutions, highly credible and service-orientated; such are our University's Programmes, whose calling and mandate is to work in connection with research and the resolution of specific problems. Thus, the University Programme for Human Rights, which includes a law clinic and is endowed with a very functional structure, has obtained significant results in the mediation and resolution of conflicts, and contributes to the empowering of organisations that defend such rights, as CLAIP does.

On the other hand, Rigoberta Menchú has said more than once: 'Peace is the daughter of coexistence, education, dialogue. Respect for ancient cultures brings about peace in present times'.[7] Doctor Menchú is a clear example of that individual energy which effectively drives institutional mechanisms, bringing about enormous benefits to our whole community; proof of this is her Inter-American Court of Human Rights speech about violations against indigenous women from Guatemala.

One cannot but notice how both quotes, Doctor de la Barreda's and Doctor Menchú's, are intertwined with that of the aforementioned Benito Juárez, the first because of its connection with the law and the second because of the truth and depth enclosed in the words regarding a space we have shared with ancestral cultures throughout the centuries. This is how ideas of very well-known intellectuals and activists belonging to prestigious institutions get involved in shaping societies that either enjoy peace or are involved in a peace-building process. And that is why the CLAIP community has been concerned, from the outset, with Latin American conflicts and has proposed alternatives and theoretical and practical solutions. I do hope you agree with me that the four decades achieved this year by the Consejo Latinoamericano de Investigación para la Paz (1977–2017) provide a greatly relevant framework for the construction of institutional spaces animated by those individual energies that nourish our institutions.

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[5]M.Sc. Diana de la Rúa's presentation at the Inaugural Ceremony of CLAIP, UNAM, Unidad de Posgrado, 13 March 2017.

[6]Dr. Luis de la Barreda Solórzano (2013), *Los derechos humanos. La ley más ambiciosa*, México, Terracota, p. 15.

[7]I quote Dr. Rigoberta Menchú Tum not only because she has won a Nobel Peace Prize but because she is an active member of our University, for she became a Researcher Extraordinaire of the Univesidad Nacional Autónoma de México in 2013. The importance of the aforementioned words is shown in that they are the title of one of her most important lectures: *La paz es hija de la convivencia, de la educación y del diálogo. El respeto a las culturas milenarias del presente*, the inaugural key speech in the V Congreso Internacional de Lenguas y Literaturas Indoamericanas y XVI Jornadas de Lengua y Literatura Mapuche, Universidad de la Frontera, Chile, 22 October 2014.

Finally, it only remains to celebrate the convergence of such important institutions, concerned with seeking and strengthening that intangible and crucially important asset that is peace.[8] In 2017, the Conference returned to Mexico, the country in which it was born in 1977, in Oaxtepec, 'when thousands of distinguished scholars had found political asylum in different Mexican scientific institutions'.[9]

Congratulations!

Photograph after the Opening Session (from left to right), Profesores Nielsen de Paula Pires (Brazil), Miguel Concha (Mexico), Luis Alberto Padilla (Guatemala), María Teresa Muñoz (Argentina), Margarita Veláquez (Mexico), Francisco Rojas (Chile/Costa Rica), Diana de la Rúa (Argentina), Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico), Alberto Vital (Mexico), Hans Günter Brauch (Germany), Howard Richards (USA/Chile), S. Eréndira Serrano (Mexico), Azril Bacal (Peru/Sweden)

Mexico City, Mexico   Domingo Alberto Vital Díaz
November 2017   Coordinator of the Humanities of UNAM

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[8]Participant institutions were: International Peace Research Association (IPRA), Association Answer for Peace (ARP), European Peace and Security Research Association, Peace Justice in Mexico Service and the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) through the Coordination of the Faculty of Humanities, the Regional Centre for Multidisciplinary Research (CRIM), the Postgraduate Studies Unit (Unidad de Posgrado) and CUC.

[9]Dr. Úrsula Spring's presentation at the Inaugural Ceremony, CLAIP, UNAM, Unidad de Posgrado, 13 March 2017.

Preface

With warm and cordial greetings to each of you, on behalf of the Regional Centre for Multidisciplinary Research of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (CRIM-UNAM), and in my capacity as director of the same as well as in my personal one, I am pleased to express to you a very attentive and sincere welcome. This is our Tenth International Congress of the Latin American Council for Peace Research. This congress was co-convened with the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), the Response for Peace (ARP), with Peace Research and European Security Studies (AFES-PRESS), Service for Peace and Justice, Mexico (SERPAJ) together with the UNAM as headquarters through the Coordination of Humanities, the CRIM, the Postgraduate Unit and the University Centre for Culture (CUC), which is a source of joy as it commemorates the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the Latin American Peace Research Council.

Under the general theme 'New socio-environmental risks for peace and human rights in Latin America', academics, students, public officials, members of political or civil organisations, activists, business people and the general public interested in the topics gathered to consider security, peace and human rights. They discussed, from a transversal perspective, five main thematic axes focused on Latin America and the Caribbean: 1. Human rights, inequality and development; 2. Education, communication and interculturality; 3. Territory, extractivism and conflicts; 4. New threats to security; and 5. Social movements, emerging groups and civil resistance.

The history of Latin America during the past four decades since the founding of the Latin American Council for Peace Research has gone through complex phases and has gradually consolidated cultures of peace in different countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. In this process, values, attitudes, behaviours, exchanges and social, political and institutional interactions have promoted agendas

based on the principles of freedom, solidarity and cooperation. In the role of the governments to reduce violence and prevent conflicts, society and academia—especially public universities—have collaborated in order to channel requests and actions through dialogue and negotiation. The goal has been to guarantee citizens, peoples and minority groups the full exercise of their rights.

Nevertheless, Latin America continues to be the region of the greatest internal inequality in the world, which has generated new conflicts and has delayed the agenda of social development, impacting on citizen participation. The generation of effective conditions of free, democratic and peaceful societies requires creative reflections to guarantee the full exercise of human rights, as well as to overcome violence in all its facets, in order to promote the participation of all men and women towards sustainable development. To achieve and consolidate a full democratic life, it is essential to generate cultures of peace aimed at preventing conflicts, promoting education for peace, establishing regional and local strategic alliances, and planning short-, medium- and long-term actions in the Latin American subcontinent.

The region of Latin America and the Caribbean is exposed to various risks: the severe environmental deterioration and the aggravation of poverty, extreme poverty and inequality stand out, as do the spread of pandemics; an imbalance between the welfare of the elite groups and the rest of the people; the exploitation of women and men of different races and ethnicities; the fragility of the State; the low participation of organised civil society; organised violence and crime. Latin America is the region with the greatest violence in the world in terms of the number of homicides; anomie, selfish individualism and the loss of solidarity and coexistence are other challenges. All this has generated conflicts, crisis, vulnerability and misery. The promise of development has not paid off, despite being a highly biodiverse region with vast natural, social, cultural, historical, economic and political resources.

A scourge that has affected a large part of the region is the transnational network of organised drug trafficking. It has generated an illegal economy and intensified violence and public insecurity in most countries in the region, causing tens of thousands of deaths, disappearances and displacement.

The loss or deterioration of natural resources such as water, fertile lands, forests and air, coupled with pollution problems, have influenced the increase in migration, often only to survive in squalor belts in large cities. Traditional productive activities have been abandoned without achieving a coherent productive chain, which has weakened the economies at local level, causing unplanned and unsustainable urban concentrations. Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean and the Andean countries are highly exposed to climate change, flood disasters, hurricanes, drought, rising sea levels, water scarcity and pollution, as well as the spread of vectors.

In order to face these multiple challenges, the Latin American and Caribbean states have experienced innovative initiatives that reduce tensions between neighbouring countries and facilitate cooperation between groups of countries on environmental, economic, commercial, political, social, cultural and security issues. However, innovative ideas are required to face the complexity of the present challenges, existing threats and conflicts and the emerging ones in the subcontinent.

The urgency in defining sustainable lines of development that favour the recovery of public safety, citizen welfare, democratic life and ecosystem services requires fresh ideas and initiatives from civil society and academia to contribute to government efforts. In order to guarantee positive developments in the quality of life for human beings in their communities and regions, it is necessary to go further than the commitments made at the 21st Intergovernmental Summit on Climate Change in Paris and the Mérida Initiative.

The Tenth International Congress of the Latin American Council for Peace Research, in collaboration with the National Autonomous University of Mexico and other regional academic institutions, proposes an interdisciplinary and transversal debate platform to exchange knowledge and experiences that contribute to the consolidation of cultures of peace. These cultures of peace include aspects such as local and community development, equity and inclusion, governance, productive systems, reduction of inequality and violence, improvement of the quality of life among communities and social groups and models of education for peace that involve the whole of society in a sustainable and equality development approach.

With this, esteemed colleagues and friends, I conclude my inaugural address, with the assurance that, with the participation of each one of you, our Tenth Congress will contribute to leave a fruit of the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of CLAIP that is indelible and solid in profit, scientific and fit to tackle the challenges that we face as a nation and as a macro-region. The conceptual and empirical contributions deepened here should be the basis for the generation of public policies that strengthen a sustainable, regional and fair development, consolidating the well-being and peace in the region.

Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico   Margarita Velázquez Gutiérrez
November 2017   Director of the Regional Centre for
                                             Multidisciplinary Studies at National
                                          University of Mexico (CRIM-UNAM)

Acknowledgements

This book is a collective effort over the last four decades, during which a number of researchers and advocates for peace in Latin America have built a utopia: an arena for peace research that will promote a culture of peace in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). To all those involved in this complex collective adventure, we would like to extend our warmest thanks and encourage them not to despair over a less conciliatory and more polluting world, with less solidarity and compassion.

First of all, we would like to express our deep appreciation to the Coordinator of Humanities of UNAM, Prof. Dr. Domingo Alberto Vital Díaz, for inaugurating the Tenth International Congress of the Latin American Research Council for Peace (CLAIP), as well as subsequent support in the dissemination of the complex research task for peace. A special thank you to Prof. Dr. Margarita Velázquez Gutiérrez, Director of the Regional Centre for Multidisciplinary Research, who collaborated in a determined way in the organisation of the CLAIP congress. Thanks to her support, the fortieth anniversary of CLAIP was a great success.

We received a pleasant surprise from M.Sc. Ernesto Takanayagui, who, on his own initiative, organised and assembled an exhibition of the Hiroshima Peace Museum. This creative work emerged from his conviction that only an effort of

peace that includes the arts and photographs would foster a lasting peace. This exhibition was not only admired by the participants of the congress, but also by many visitors who happened to pass through UNAM's postgraduate building.

There are many other people who collaborated during the congress, such as reporters, moderators, drivers and other CRIM-UNAM staff who provided support in administrative tasks. To all of them we extend our sincere thanks for their commitment to a culture of peace in Latin America.

Ernesto Takayanagui García, who organised the exposition of photos about the Museum of Hiroshima

Special recognition goes to the anonymous peer reviewers from Latin America, Europe and the USA who, as members of the Scientific Committee of the Tenth CLAIP International Congress, have dedicated hours to improve the Conference proceedings with their constructive suggestions.

We are particularly grateful to Diana de la Rúa Eugenio from Respuesta para la Paz in Argentina, who for the last four years successfully led CLAIP as Secretary General. In this ongoing dialogue across LAC, the USA and Europe, media and technology have facilitated the intercommunication between our distant countries and shortened the interaction times; thus we continue to use our webpage, www. crim.unam.mx/claip, where you can see videos of key-note presentations and a general panel dealing with the crucial theme of peace in LAC.

We hope that this collective effort will serve as another pillar in the consolidation of CLAIP. Likewise, we hope it represents a stimulus for the young people who face even more complex situations than those which existed when we founded

CLAIP in Oaxtepec, Morelos, 40 years ago after hundreds of refugees expelled by military regimes had found shelter and work in Mexico. Hopefully, the reflections will also help to consolidate our Latin American democracies that are still fragile and where, in addition to socio-political and economic factors, environmental pressures threaten the greatest biodiversity in the world.

Youth group during the CLAIP Congress

This CLAIP book aims to support its different national organisations across LAC and offers systematic reflections to overcome the old impediments such as poverty and social inequality. It also serves to stimulate young researchers and social groups that face conditions of daily violence and threats from organised crime. For all of these concerns, we hope that this text will contribute to promote and consolidate a culture of peace and human, gender and environmental security in which we might recover a healthy environment in the subcontinent and promote a peaceful future characterised by equity, equality and sustainability with a human face.

The editors are grateful to the following reviewers, among them are the present and several former Secretaries General of CLAIP:

- Dr. Laura Balbuena, Peru
- Dr. Luis Alberto Padilla, Director of IRIPAZ, Guatemala
- Dr. Nielsen de Paula Pires, Vice-Rector of the Federal University of Latin American Integration, Brazil
- Dr. Úrsula Oswald Spring, President of X Congreso CLAIP, Secretary General of IPRA, CRIM-UNAM, Mexico
- M.Sc. Diana de la Rúa, Repuesta para la Paz, Argentina
- Dr. S. Eréndira Serrano, present Secretary General of CLAIP, CRIM-UNAM, Mexico

The following colleagues offered additional peer reviewers:

- Dr. Guadalupe Abrego, Autonomous Benemérito University of Puebla, Mexico
- Dr. Pietro Ameglio, Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, UNAM, Mexico
- Dr. Azril Bacal, Founder member of CLAIP, Sweden
- Dr. Amada Benavides de Pérez, Foundation of Peace Schools, Colombia
- Dr. Hans Günter Brauch, AFES-PRESS, Germany
- Dr. Alicia Cabezudo, University of Peace, Costa Rica
- Dr. Beatriz Canabal, Metropolitan Autonomous University, Mexico
- Dr. Tania Galaviz, Autonomous University of Morelos, Mexico
- M.Sc. Isabel Gutiérrez, University of Innsbruck, Austria
- Dr. Miriam Muller, CLAIP, Argentina
- Dr. María Teresa Muñoz, Judge of Peace, Argentina
- B.A. Gustavo A. Normanns Morales, University of Rafael Landívar, Guatemala
- Dr. Maribel Ríos Everardo, CRIM-UNAM, Mexico
- Dr. Lucía Rodríguez McKeon, National Pedagogic University, Mexico
- Dr. Alvany Maria dos Santos Santiago, Federal University of Espirito Santo, Brazil
- Dr. Leticia Ventura Soriano, National Pedagogic University, Mexico
- Dr. Beatriz Zepeda Rivera, FLACSO, Guatemala

At the end of the CLAIP Conference Amb. Luis Alberto Padilla (Guatemala) thanked both the Secretary General of IPRA, Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico), and the new Secretary General of CLAIP, S. Eréndira Serrano (Mexico) for the organisation of this tenth CLAIP Conference, 11–13 January 2017 at UNAM in Mexico City

Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico   Úrsula Oswald Spring
October 2017   Eréndira Serrano Oswald

Lunch after the end of the CLAIP Conference in the garden of the Dominicans in UNAM's University City on 14 January 2017

Oil painting on amate paper, called Zapatistas towards the universe, by © Sara Ríos Everardo about Zapatismo. The painter granted the permission to use this painting in this book

Contents

Abbreviations

AFES-PRESS	Peace Research and European Security Studies
AUMF	Authorisation for the Use of Military Force
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
BTCOE	Billion Tons of Crude Oil Equivalent
CEESTEM	Centre for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World (in Spanish)
CFE	National Commission of Electricity
CISINAH	Centre of Superior Studies of the National Institute of Anthropology and History
CLACSO	Latin American Council of Social Sciences
CLAIP	Latin American Council for Peace Research
CNDH	National Commission on Human Rights (in Spanish)
CO_2	Dioxide of Oxygen
COPRI	Copenhagen Peace Research Institute
CRAC	Regional Coordination of Communitarian Authorities (in Spanish)
CRIM	Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias
CSIS	Center of Strategic and International Studies
CUC	University Centre for Culture
DFG-VK	German Association for Peace (Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft)
DGFK	German Association for Peace Research (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Friedensforschung)
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ECPC	Energy Consumption Per Capita
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ENAH	National School of Anthropology and History
EUPRA	European Peace Research Association
EZLN	Zapatista Military for National Liberation (in Spanish)
FE-UNAM	Faculty of Economics of the UNAM
FLACSO	Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences
FTAA	Free Trade Aare of the Americas

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHG	Greenhouse Gases
GIEI	Interdisciplinary Groups of Independent Experts (in Spanish)
HDI	Human Development Index
HUGE	Human, Gender and Environmental Security
IER-UNAM	Institute of Renewable Energy at the National Autonomous University of Mexico
IGI	General Index of Impunity
IGI-Mex	Mexican Index of Impunity
IPRA	International Peace Research Association
ISDS	Investor-State Dispute Settlement
LA	Latin America
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexuals and Transsexuals
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAICM	New International Airport of Mexico City (in Spanish)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OAS	Organisation of American States
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHCHR	United Nations Commission on Human Rights
PJSA	North America Peace Research Association
SCJN	Supreme Court of the Nation
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute in Sweden
TAPRI	Tampere Peace Research Institute
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Agreement
UAM	Metropolitan Autonomous University
UNAM	National Autonomous University of Mexico
UNEP	United Nations Programme for the Environment
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
UNO	United Nations Organisation
USSR	Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics
WB	World Bank
WEF	World Economic Forum
WSF	World Social Forum

Part I
Latin American Council for Peace Research (CLAIP) on Its 40th Anniversary

From left to right: Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico) and Amb. Luis Alberto Padilla (Guatemala) and S. Eréndira Serrano (Mexico)

Chapter 1
Introductory Remarks. CLAIP in the Face of the Challenges of Peace and Security in the 21st Century

Úrsula Oswald Spring and Serena Eréndira Serrano Oswald

1.1 Introduction

Forty years after its foundation in Oaxtepec, Morelos, Mexico, the *Latin American Peace Research Council* (CLAIP) has witnessed a deep transformation in *Latin America and the Caribbean* (LAC). During the Eighties, the military regimes gradually gave way to democratically elected governments. However, the elites that had initially supported military coups adapted to emerging social and political conditions and kept their economic control in the majority of the countries in LAC. Thus, LAC is still the most unequal region in the world, even if wealth in other regions that opened up to the neoliberal model has also been concentrated into a few hands (USA, China, Russia, and South Korea).From left to right: Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico) and Amb. Luis Alberto Padilla (Guatemala) and S. Eréndira Serrano (Mexico)

At the same time, LAC has become an attractive area for natural resource extraction. At planetary level, it is the richest region in terms of biodiversity in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Ecuador and Peru; however, it is also the subcontinent with the highest proportion of conflicts due to mineral extraction (Composto/ Navarro 2014). The traditional bourgeoisie took advantage of political changes in order to diversify its models of accumulation, first with the model of import substitution, later with hydrocarbon extraction and mining, and more recently with financial speculation (Wallerstein 2011) and organised crime (Calveiro 2012).

Prof. Dr. Úrsula Oswald Spring, research professor, at the Centre for Regional Multidisiciplinary Research (CRIM) in the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). She was President of IPRA (1998–2000) and has been Secretary General of IPRA (2016–2018) and CLAIP (2002–2005). Email: uoswald@gmail.com.

Dr. Serena Eréndira Serrano Oswald, associate professor at the Centre for Regional Multidisiciplinary Research (CRIM) in the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). She is Secretary General of CLAIP (2017–2019) and member of IPRA since 2000. Email: sesohi@hotmail.com.

1.2 Part I: Latin American Peace Research Council (CLAIP) on Its 40th Anniversary

Economic and political change have taken place hand in hand. At the beginning of the new century, LAC turned into an alternative political model, and the southern cone drastically reduced its poverty levels, improving the living conditions of millions of Latin-Americans (CEPAL 2017). Nevertheless, unfinished political processes and political pressures have changed the political scenario. In Argentina Macri won the elections, and in Brazil Dilma Roussef was deposed as president, following a highly controversial parliamentary process (van Dijk 2016). In Ecuador, the right impugned the recent election in April 2017, although the elected president is still pursuing a model of support and income redistribution, as in Bolivia. Cuba has always represented a model of exception that is gradually opening up and integrating into the world market (Díaz Vázquez 2015). All the other governments in LAC have embraced neoliberalism, leading to greater wealth concentration and to extractivism with high socio-environmental damage and conflicts (Latour 2013). Thus, scholars working in peace research have had to widen their focus from physical violence, the State and the military to include new mechanisms of capital accumulation, impoverishment of populations, environmental conflicts, migrations, mega-urbanisations, disasters and different kinds of changes and conflicts.

These transformations have led to the concentration of wealth in a small group of regional oligarchs, at the same time that national capitals are increasingly linked to transnational capitals. Oxfam (2017) noted that just eight men[1] have the same level of wealth as half of the world's entire population. With the exception of a Spaniard and a Mexican, the rest are North American executives, and most of their wealth comes from IT and financial speculative capital (Stiglitz 2002, 2007, 2016). The Swiss bank Crédit Suisse estimated that in 2015 3.386 billion people (75 per cent of the world's population) possessed between them just 3 per cent of global wealth, which was less than US$ 10,000 million. This extremely unequal distribution of wealth has generated conflicts, war and violence in different parts of the world and LAC is no exception.

At the same time, conflicts over land access and use have intensified. Land sale and concessions to transnationals and insurance companies have caused severe opposition in projects such as mega dams, mining and timber extraction. White

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[1]Bill Gates (USA; Microsoft co-founder: US$75,000 million); Amancio Ortega (Spain; Zara founder and Inditex owner: US$67,000 million): Warren Buffett (USA, main shareholder at Berkshire Hathaway: US$60,800 million); Carlos Slim Helú (Mexico, owner of Grupo Carso: US $50,000 million); Jeff Bezos (USA, Amazon founder and executive director: US$45,200 million); Mark Zuckerberg (USA, Facebook co-founder and CEO: US$44,600 million); Larry Ellison (USA, Oracle co-founder and CEO: US$43,600 million); Michael Bloomberg (USA, Bloomberg LP owner: US$40,000 million). Source: Forbes/Oxfam, January 2017. Financial speculation might change the order of the list, but these men are at the top of economic and thus political power.

guards, organised crime and State crime have led to the killing of local activists, although this has also enabled the organisation of resistance beyond local level, forging alliances at continental and global level (Melucci 1996).

All these processes of rapid change in the past four decades since the creation of CLAIP led to a 29.2 per cent reduction in poverty (CEPAL 2016a, b) following progressive policies and rent redistribution in most LAC countries except Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras. In 2015 Guatemala was the most unequal country in the region (Fig. 1.1), followed by Colombia, Brazil, Mexico and Panama. The positive outcomes during 2008–2012 were mostly annulled during the period 2012–2015, due to changes in social policies, thus Latin America has remained the most unequal region on earth. CEPAL (2017) estimated that one in three people that came out of poverty thanks to proactive social policies in Brazil and Argentina, face the risk of falling back into poverty in the face of changing policies. Both countries reorientated towards a neoliberal model without redistribution of income, governmental support for extremely poor people or social security. Besides, LAC is facing
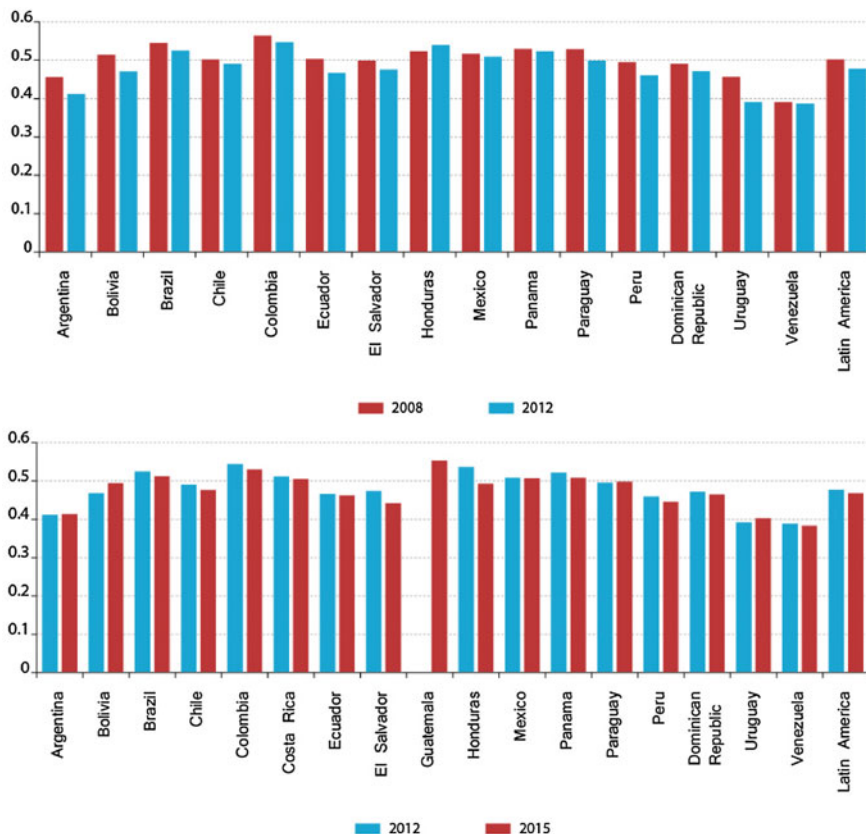
Fig. 1.1 Evolution of Inequality in Latin America. *Source* Cepal (2016a, b: 89)

an even more complex global scenario following the election of Donald Trump in
the USA with a 1.1 per cent economic contraction, which, according to CEPAL
(2017), could rise to 1.3 per cent in 2017. Further, the prices of raw materials have
fallen with the exception of lithium, thus especially the oil-exporting countries had
to reduce their budgets for social policies, such as Ecuador and Venezuela.

In addition, just as in other parts of the world, poverty in LAC has a feminine
face. At global level, 79 per cent of employed women are concentrated in low salary
sectors such as domestic services, retail markets and agriculture. LAC is faced with
four core challenges that mainly discriminate against women: "socio-economic
inequality and poverty; patriarchal, discriminatory and violent cultural patterns
together with the culture of privilege; the sexual division of labour and unjust social
organisation of care; and the concentration of power and hierarchical relations in the
public sphere. In order to overcome them, 74 actions in ten axes of implementation
are established: 1. Normative Framework, 2. Institutionalism, 3. Participation, 4.
Capacity Building and Strengthening, 5. Financing, 6. Communication, 7.
Technology, 8. Cooperation, 9. Information Systems, and 10. Monitoring, evalu-
ation, and accountability" (CEPAL 2016b: 43).

In the face of this complex scenario for LAC, in 2017 CLAIP commemorated its
fortieth anniversary with an international congress with representatives from dif-
ferent countries in the subcontinent. Researchers addressed this complex reality
organised in five agglutinating thematic axes:

1. Human rights, inequality and development in Latin America and the Caribbean
2. Education, communication and interculturality in Latin America and the
   Caribbean
3. Territory, extractivism and conflicts in Latin America and the Caribbean
4. New security challenges in Latin America and the Caribbean
5. Social movements, emerging groups and civil resistance in Latin America and
   the Caribbean.

1.3   Structure of the Book

The opinions written of the authors in the different chapters should not be inter-
preted as representing the views of CLAIP, the editors or the publisher. This book
begins with a historical account of the constitution of the Latin American Peace
Research Council (CLAIP) since 1977. *Úrsula Oswald Spring* explains the
organisational structure of the institution CLAIP and synthesises its consolidation in
four phases. She shows that studies of peace and security have followed parallel
paths linked to the social sciences in LAC in a context where structural, empirical,
critical and constructivist influences have enabled the consolidation of peace
research and conflict resolution.

This book outlines the influences that have shaped CLAIP over four decades, marked by a generalised struggle for peace in the context of a militarised, globalised world controlled by financial capital (Stiglitz 2002, 2007, 2016). LAC is not only the most biodiverse region in the world; it also has vast mineral resources. Thus, the next part of the book deals with emerging socio-environmental conflicts and proposals for nonviolent and sustainable peace with collective or communal property (Ostrom 2009). The next section explores the new challenges to peace and security in LAC where gender and human security have provided alternative paradigms. The advances in human rights and peace education, as well as gender and intercultural equity, document the struggles by different groups, indigenous peoples, social organisations, women and schools to transform violence into social harmony and *convivencia* (living together). In the last section, the book presents some alternatives that would help the inhabitants of LAC to improve their life quality and overcome poverty and environmental degradation, as well as promote an economy of solidarity based on renewable energy and sustainable resource management. No doubt the consolidation of human rights, solidarity and cooperation between diverse groups such as youth, women and indigenous people, will create options for vulnerable social groups exposed to organised crime, State terror, transnational capital accumulation, etc., especially in an epoque where climate and global environmental change pose significant threats in the subcontinent.

1.3.1 *The Struggle for Peace, Against War, in the Global Context*

Pablo González Casanova, former rector of UNAM, from Mexico, links research into peace and war to the immediate past. At the end of communism and anti-communism, with purges and witch-hunts in both sides, capitalism won. The social state gave way to neoliberalism, and in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia, the dominant countries promoted a counterinsurgent war as 'representative wars'. Given the consolidation of China, practices that were formerly implemented against the Soviet Union were used, such as co-optation, destabilisation, corruption, and divisiveness. The radical shift from peace towards corporate capitalism promoted a culture of hatred and violence, in which organised crime boomed. The dependent nation state left the mechanisms of regulation to the market and caused an exceptional concentration of wealth. 'Ecocide' is another legacy of the century, reflected in global environmental change. As an alternative, González Casanova stressed 'the need to research historically and empirically, with the critical theory science of complex, self-regulating and creating systems…[and] the moral world organised as an emancipating force in the struggle, cooperation and sharing'.

Francisco Rojas, rector of the University for Peace in Costa Rica, analyses the relationship between peace and human security as a crucial element that enables

countries to reach the rule of law. In Latin America, the absence of clear development perspectives and the failure to couple political actions with projections of their likely consequences create uncertainty and risk regarding the alternatives for facing a complex international situation, changes in power relations and adjustments to the globalisation processes. Strategic political changes, contends Rojas, have led to the existence of many actors with varying powers that go from microstates to superpowers. Social scientists should make a conceptual map from a holistic perspective and with a multidimensional interpretation which highlights available knowledge in this global perspective. This means incorporating the outlook of old and emerging actors, as well as understanding how decision-making processes are made and implemented. The author concludes that without human security, there will be no development or peace, and without either the rule of law is not possible.

Gilberto López y Rivas from Mexico analyses global state terrorism and asymmetric wars on the planet. He says that the United States represents the hegemonic power of the imperialist system through the imposition of terrorism, whereby the Central Intelligence Agency has undertaken tasks which he identifies as 'dirty war' and 'terrorism'. This type of 'global State terrorism' is characterised by the politics of violence perpetrated by the State apparatus, both at the local and world scale, with some spread of terror, which violated national and international rights norms. The author denounces the practice of using social sciences such as anthropology, geography, and sociology to support counterinsurgent politics and State terrorism, whereby mercenary anthropologists collaborate with the military in imperialist wars, violating the most elemental human rights and the founding principles of the United Nations. *López y Rivas* argues that the current form of neoliberal globalisation tends to exacerbate the contradictions of capitalism, leaving no space for mediation, and becoming the worst enemy of peace and survival both for the human species and the planet.

Luis Holder, from the Institute of High National Defence Studies at the Bolivarian Military University, and *Julio Cárdenas*, from the Bolivarian Military Aviation and Vice Chancellor of the National Experimental Polytechnic University at the Bolivarian National Armed Forces in Venezuela, explored cyberspace security in the theoretical framework of political idealism and defensive realism within IR theory. Through a comparative analysis of the elements of a strategic concept orientated towards a 'comprehensive defence of peace and cybersecurity', they showed that the United States have developed destabilisation and espionage operations against their allies and enemies, as was disclosed by Edward Snowden. They explored the paradigm of 'electronic war', which goes beyond the military camp and is linked to politics in order to limit risks and threats. Controlling cyberspace enables safe operations in land, air, and sea without limiting interference from an adversary. In order to reinforce capacities in the face of powerful adversaries, it is necessary to promote regional alliances in order to improve cybersecurity.

1.3.2 Socio-environmental Conflicts and Sustainable, Equitable, Diverse and Nonviolent Peace

Omar Arach from Argentina focuses on the intrinsic violence of expansionist extractivism, especially epistemic violence, that is to say, the way in which scientific knowledge is used to design, legitimise and implement expansionist extractivism. The term extractivism has become popular, given the efforts of groups and communities that have resisted projects such as mining, dams, hydrocarbon wells, monoculture, and others. These civil resistance movements and the challenges they face led to a political-theoretical reflection about the civilisation crisis of these 'death megaprojects' and the ways in which they are part of 'a war of capital against people and communities'. Different factors converge into this mega-extractivist expansion, such as increasing demand for raw materials; technological developments to explore great depths; political-legal-administrative arrangements that facilitate transnational investments and making the economy increasingly 'financial' in order to open up new 'frontiers of accumulation' through assigning stock-market value to raw materials.

Nathaly Burbano Muñoz, Malely Linares Sánchez and *Fabiola Nava León* from Colombia and Mexico analyse risks and socio-environmental conflicts in Colombia and Mexico. Both countries have had a political and institutional context that historically favoured extractive industries, mining, metallurgies, the chemistry sector, petrol and natural gas. In both countries, local communities have gradually lost their collective land rights; this dispossession affects future generations. The advancing culture of extractivism was juxtaposed to the interests of societies; the life quality of people was not accounted for. Mexico faces multiple mining conflicts, as 19 per cent of its territory, which belongs to native indigenous groups, has been concessioned to transnational multinational enterprises. Conflicts are multi-dimensional given their environmental dimension, breakdown of the social fabric, the destruction of culture and identity, as well as conflicts over the control of territories.

Francisco Sandoval Vázquez examines how *climate change* (CC) represents new risks to human security. Perceptions of CC vary greatly amongst the population in LAC, as does risk perception in the face of risks caused by natural disasters. Through a comparative study between Mexico and Colombia, he exposes the conditions of high socio-environmental vulnerability, although the population has no perception of such risk. Precarious housing conditions increase the risk, and are exacerbated by deficient urban facilities. In both cases, security forces are not in a position to provide support during a disaster, since their training focuses on combat, preventing insurrection and maintaining the existing social order. Nevertheless, nature does not respond to this socio-military order and hydro-meteorological events cause floodings, landslides, and droughts; they constitute a severe human and environmental risk, overlooked by the authorities and underestimated by exposed populations.

Patrick T. Hiller from the USA reflects on peace and nonviolent, grass-roots resistance organisations emerging in the context of the 2016 US Presidential election. These organised groups worked to counter the promotion of 'otherness' that had been expressed in the way of xenophobia, white nationalism, sexism, homophobia, Islamophobia and anti-Mexicanism. The author claims peace education can have a crucial role in social change, educating people to participate more actively as part of civil society. These nonviolent actions targeted apolitical citizens that were surprised, shocked and protested against the negative values promoted during the elections. They included the analysis of power and authority in the US. They generated a collective peaceful transformative vision in which nonviolence became the methodology to seed inclusionary communication means and constructive relations between actors through civic participation. Thus, peace education contributed to the action of novel agents and groups, as well as including older resistance movements and incorporating peace knowledge and practices from America and abroad, such as those promoted by Martin Luther King in the USA, Gandhi in India, and Mandela in South Africa.

1.3.3 New Challenges for Peace and Security in LAC

Abel Barrera Hernández from the Tlachinollan Human Rights Group in Guerrero's mountain area, portrayed the war through the harassment on behalf of the State apparatus of the poorest indigenous and peasant groups in Mexico. His departure point was the 'war against drugs', where military checkpoints and incursions into the indigenous communities of the area led to the rape of women and children, aggression and theft in towns that live in extreme poverty and speak indigenous languages. Since the 'dirty war' in the seventies there had been legal claims due to forced disappearances, police and army killings, as well as corruption and the involvement of public servants in the drug business and money laundering. There was a turning point in the defence of human rights after the disappearance of 43 teaching trainees in Ayotzinapa, where the Tlachinollan Centre offers support to the parents of the missing students. Their daily struggle has united many families seeking their disappeared members. The author attests to the link between organised crime, local authorities, the police and the army, where citizens lose their most basic right, their life.

Miguel Concha is a founder member of CLAIP, President of the Human Rights Centre Fray Francisco de Vitoria, O.P. at CUC-UNAM as well as a committed activist for human and social rights in Mexico. He situates violence in the logic of the capitalist market that, according to him, is unethical and contrary to human rights and peace. Dismantling the State through commercial treaties forced the Permanent People's Tribunal in 2014 to condemn the authorities of different governments for the destruction of human rights and legal guarantees, in

contravention of their constitutions. He emphasised the way in which the power of the State has been sublimated in favour of insatiable private interests affecting the common good. Mass projects and international treaties have subjugated the nation state to the dictates of capital, exacerbating social inequality. In the face of unfinished peace and justice, he proposes a reconceptualisation that centres on human beings and the Earth instead of capital.

Pietro Ameglio, of SERPAJ and UNAM from Mexico, explores peace and violence following a universal catholic initiative to promote 'just peace' with the cry 'Stop just war'! Together with Pope Francis, clergy, laity and church-goers have built a public, political, economic, social and theological definition in order to attain 'positive peace' with justice and dignity. More than 200 international organisations and thousands of people have adhered to the cause that hopes to turn into an invitation to 'God's people', seeking to overcome the atrocities of representative wars in Africa and Asia as well as organised crime and violence in Latin America. With this initiative, the Catholic Church takes a step forward from the concept of 'just war' and through the concept of 'just peace' seeks to encompass all realms of life, protecting the lives of activists and people exposed to the war interests of transnational corporations and hegemonic governments. It is still too soon to know if this process will head towards hope or illusion, but it is up to each person and group to take action in order to overcome the current violence and destruction.

Juan Antonio Le Clercq from UDLAP University in Mexico compares the Global Impunity Index (2015) with results in each Mexican state according to the Mexican Global Impunity Index (IGI-MEX 2016). He has found a high correlation between inequality and impunity. Thus, based on this correlation he suggests an understanding of impunity as a conglomerate of social and institutional relations that generates three social traps: institutional, security, and inequality. He concludes by saying that existing deep social inequalities have eroded the rule of law, while impunity has increased crime and the vulnerability of marginal groups. Impunity is the reflection of a complex web of social and institutional relations that limit the agenda for social change.

Serena Eréndira Serrano Oswald from CRIM-UNAM discussed Mexican past, present and future in relation to its regions, which implies a serious reflection about Mexico's security challenges addressed from a reconceptualised security perspective. The author pointed out that the Mexican security crisis has been as one of the key transversal factors mostly impinging on the current country's development and its very regions. She divided her chapter in two main sections: firstly the theoretical perspective and related debates regarding the reconceptualisation of security, including the widening, deepening and sectorialisation of the security concept. This approach will provide the basis for the second section, which digs into the most important specific security challenges for current Mexico, namely, those concerned with economic, social, gender and environment challenges. To close the chapter she offered a brief concluding reflection about the security challenges.

1.3.4   Human Rights, Peace Education, Gender and Interculturality

Luis Alberto Padilla from IRIPAZ in Guatemala investigated how human rights relate to the theory and practice of democracy. He agreed with Jürgen Habermas that it is necessary to overcome the contradiction between capitalism and democracy to achieve 'radical democracy'. Inspired by the economist Yanis Varoufakis, he delved into the Greek financial and debt crisis – an issue that was not unique to Greece, but also affecting other peripheral European countries and emerging countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Stiglitz (2002, 2010) reinforced this thesis when he analysed the hegemony of Wall Street and an economic war started by the United States. Before the contradictions could worsen, Boaventura de Sousa Santos advocated 'counterhegemonic globalisation' as a way to overcome the current crisis. From Thomas Piketty came the idea of establishing a tax on speculative capital in order to redistribute profits towards development. Finally, Howard Richards explored the potential of an 'economy of solidarity' as an alternative model to the current capitalism. All these alternatives will require a strong and committed State to carry out the necessary reforms.

Maribel Ríos Everardo from CRIM-UNAM in Mexico analyses peace education in the framework of gender and *buen trato* (good treatment), which promotes a harmonious relationship with oneself and others, as well as the environment. She advocates mutual value and recognition through fair treatment. She has researched the processes of teaching and learning in schools and among teachers in the state of Morelos. Analysing the 'hidden curriculum' has shed light on the processes and habits of discrimination and inequality in schools and families. She maintains that an environment of gender equity, peace and *buen trato* is the best prophylactic and therapeutic measure in the face of increasing violence in schools, houses and the streets.

Myriam Fracchia Figueiredo and *Guadalupe Poujol Galván* from Mexico explore the social and educational effects of school violence in a public high school in Morelos. Looking at everyday dynamics at different levels (the classroom, the school, families and the community), they recognised the complexity of violence in a criminal high-risk neighbourhood in the capital city Cuernavaca. 'Social cooperation webs' offer a model to overcome structural and circumstantial particulars, some of which were caused by the school and some overcome by it. The mitigation of violence was based on social relations of *convivencia* (living together) that addressed the roots of violence, lack of trust, fear and even terror through an epistemic challenge, whereby conditions of cooperation were forged and helped to reconstitute the social fabric in the neighbourhood.

Sylvia Marcos, Centre for Psycho-ethnologic Research, Mexico, maintains that understanding indigenous women's human rights can only be accomplished through studying their declarations, proposals and demands. In their documents and discourses, indigenous women recreate their everyday struggle for social justice,

linking civil and political rights to socio-economic and cultural rights. The indigenous women contend that gender cannot be explained based on sex, given that there are multiple social constructions of gender in indigenous cultures. Their epistemic and cosmogonic roots create a symbolic richness of the body-territory fusion, where individual possession has been historically linked to collective usufruct of territories and natural resources. She concludes by showing that *Buen Vivir* ('Live Well') is reconstituted on a daily basis and in the complementarity of men and women, including all other beings that inhabit a territory.

Laura Bensasson, from Tunisia and Mexico, claims that the more recent Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) does not differ much from former educational systems for indigenous peoples in Mexico, since 'formal' or school learning has always been used in order to transmit specific kinds of knowledge and forge certain types of citizens according to the interests of the dominant class, distinguishing between intentional discourses and educational practices. Thus, modern IBE has naturalised racial and social hierarchies in order to reproduce epistemic and territorial relations of domination. Power and symbolic violence has been exercised over students in such a way that these dominated groups have accepted as legitimate their condition of exploitation and subordination. The author insists that IBE should change the current colonisation of minds in the political bourgeoisie and amongst *mestizos* in order to prevent it from becoming another instrument of globalisation serving transnational economic interests.

1.3.5   Perspectives for CLAIP in the 21st Century

Howard Richards, from the USA and Chile, proposes 'an economy of solidarity as key to justice, peace and sustainability'. He systematically analyses the following three theses: '1. In our current epoque, the need to keep favourable conditions for capital accumulation determines social injustice and the pathway towards the collapse of the biosphere. 2. The physical dependency of capital accumulation for human life, and thus, the need for a regime of accumulation, is a necessary consequence of the juridical framework that constitutes the market. 3. It is impossible to achieve an economy with governance that includes social justice, peace, and sustainability without an economy less dominated by the drive to accumulate capital' He synthesises the need to promote an economy of solidarity, as deeper social and economic changes are required. For example, with a transformation in consumption, the model of investment, production and commercialisation can change. This means that change is in our hands as consumers; we can forge an economy with governance that includes social justice, peace and sustainability. This would change laws and promote a just juridical framework that would consolidate human rights for all, including the most marginal groups.

Emmanuel Gómez and *Aida Viridiana Vargas Zavala* present an investment model in renewable energies (RE) in Mexico. Energetic consumption per capita determines a basic life standard threshold and an improvement in the Human

Development Index. Despite generalised knowledge of RE benefits and accessible costs, there is resistance to the replacement of fossil fuels. The economy could reach an equilibrium in terms on resource use through the support of aggregate demand and investments in clean infrastructure. The authors show that countries that have greater energetic efficiency and RE use have greater growth and development rates, lower economic inequalities and fewer environmental externalities. Regionally decentralising RE would facilitate the use of available resources, making energy use more efficient, bridging socio-economic gaps between regions and social groups. This model would expand the labour market to include women, consolidating sustainable development based on RE in the medium term.

Úrsula Oswald Spring and *Serena Eréndira Serrano Oswald* synthesise the presentations and proposals in the discussions of the five thematic axes, in which 232 participants coming from LAC, Italy, Spain, Germany, USA, Canada, Tunisia, and Ghana explored future research perspectives for Latin America and the Caribbean. The richness of the proposals also led to specific denunciations of extractivism and the destruction of social relations, tangible and intangible heritage, and the environment. Proposals of nonviolent peace campaigns, an economy of solidarity, mutual support groups, and renewable energies in order to overcome the violence and destruction of the present neoliberal capitalist model were made. Human rights groups realised that when they support social movements, they have greater impact and they have been effective in forcing the State to respond to their demands and build alternatives. At the same time, the five thematic axes concluded that not everything must change from the top to the bottom. Each person and group can take individual and collective action through consumer power and peaceful and sustainable socio-environmental management, transforming the personal and social environment towards nonviolence and sustainability. As scientists, we have the responsibility to make evident the risks and destructive trends of the current processes of economic and physical violence, but at the same time we must present alternatives to build a more sustainable, just and peaceful life quality. It is precisely this knowledge with a vision of inclusive, just and sustainable peace and security that will enable us to explore and realise desirable futures in favour of both humanity and the planet.

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Úrsula
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Moderadora

Chapter 2
History of Forty Years of Peace Activities Within the Latin American Peace Research Council (CLAIP)

Úrsula Oswald Spring

2.1 Historical Background of the Foundation of CLAIP

The Latin American Council for Peace Research (CLAIP) was founded in Mexico in December 1977 in Oaxtepec, Morelos during the VII International Congress of the *International Peace Research Association* (IPRA). It was conceived as one more regional branch of this worldwide organisation – such as EUPRA in Europe and COPRED in the United States (today *Peace and Justice Studies Association* [PJSA]) – in order to promote studies of peace and nonviolent resolution of conflicts in *Latin America* (LA). The decision was taken unanimously by the Latin American members present at that academic event, since the region urgently needed to reflect on its conflicts and problems. The subcontinent suffered from a lack of democracy, since almost all countries were controlled by military dictatorships with massive disappearances and repression against opponents of those regimes.

CLAIP was integrated by individuals and institutions committed to peace and against violent conflict. The Congress was attended by more than 150 participants from all Latin American countries and a few people from the Caribbean (Santo Domingo, Haiti, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Barbados). Most of the scientists present were critical political intellectuals expelled from their countries by repressive military regimes, who found refuge in Mexico and were hosted at universities and research centres. Thus, Mexico became their second homeland. With the ongoing democratisation in Latin America, most of the expelled returned to their original countries and promoted new peace processes and conciliation of conflicts within their governments, universities and international institutions.

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Just like today, forty years ago in 1977, when CLAIP was created, the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) hosted the international congress. José Luis Ceceña Gamez, then Director of the Faculty of Economics, organised the international congress and participated actively in the foundation of CLAIP. In the Seventies, globally, the conditions of peace were fragile. It is worth remembering that in 1974 there was a global economic crisis and the Watergate scandal led to the resignation of the President of the United States, so that, from 1975 onwards, new tensions arose in the world. By 1975 the Vietcong had defeated the US military after a decade-long war, and in 1976 Vietnam was unified into a single communist nation. In 1978, the Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot, took power in Cambodia and committed a brutal genocide among its citizens.

Five former secretary generals (from left to right): Luis Alberto Padilla (Guatemala), Diana de la Rúa (Argentina), Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico), Laura Balbuena (Peru) and Nielsen de Paula Pires (Brazil)

Faced with the worsening of the Cold War and the conflicts between East and West, war clashes and representative wars also intensified in Mozambique and Angola, where Cuba had sent soldiers to support the armies of liberation. Tension increased in 1979, when Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan and the West – the United States, the non-aligned countries and Europe – strongly condemned the Soviet expansionism. This invasion sharpened the Cold War scenery and the West decided to support with arms and military assistance the Islamic guerrilla that faced the Soviet troops. However, with these actions they laid the foundations for terrorism in the 21st century, represented by Al Qaeda and later ISIS.

In this global violent environment, Latin America did not escape the struggle between the two hegemonic powers, and different governments participated in the multiple representative wars (Korea, Vietnam, Angola, Congo, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, etc.). Conflicts in Central America were directly related to the 'domino theory', whereby the United States was afraid that another country similar to Cuba would fall under Soviet influence at the gates of its empire (Revista de Seguridad Pública 1999). However, not all was foreign intervention, because in

Central America violent conflicts and repression also intruded on internal business with proper interests. The local bourgeoisie defended their privileges, while the impoverished people struggled to improve their survival conditions. Political and trade union freedoms were severely limited and there were permanent abuses of state power (Carreras 2008). El Salvador and Guatemala almost turned into dictatorships, and Nicaragua was freed only in 1979 from the tyranny of three decades of the dictatorship of Somoza and his family. Nevertheless, there were always progressive groups in Central America. To counteract the deterioration of the welfare of the people, guerrilla groups (Leogrande 2001) in different countries of Central America developed armed resistance, which took up popular and ethnic demands.

Similar conditions occurred in Colombia, where peasants had fought for a democratic agrarian reform, but the political polarisation and discrimination of the peasantry and indigenous peoples sharpened the military and governmental repression in order to defend their vested interests. The United States took advantage of the anti-communism of these governments and offered military aid to repress any effort to improve living conditions in Latin America. Across the entire region there emerged revolutionary movements with socialist ideology to improve equity.

In the Caribbean, the United States, Barbados, Jamaica and other members of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States defeated the pro-Soviet government of Austin in Grenada in 1983, in an operation called 'Urgent Fury'. In 1989 27,000 US troops invaded Panama, where the government of Noriega was violently overthrown and accused of drug-trafficking.

In South America, most military dictatorships were linked to the 'School of the Americas', an anti-communist military-ideological stronghold. In the context of the Cold War, trained soldiers and members of the Governments were expected to guarantee loyalty to the United States. There were military coups that displaced elected and progressive governments. The military juntas took power in all Latin America with the exception of Mexico, where a presidential one-party system controlled the opposition and the guerrilla with selective repression. Different military dictatorship controlled their countries for long periods: Paraguay from 1954 to 1989 (General Stroessner); Brazil 1964–1985; Chile: 1973–1990 (Pinochet); Uruguay: 1973–1984; Bolivia: 1971–1978; and Argentina from 1976 to 1983, when the military was weakened after losing the Falklands (Malvinas) War against the United Kingdom. In Peru there was a revolutionary government headed by armed forces between 1968 and 1975, which represented an exception to the anti-Communist ideology in the rest of the South American countries, since they promoted a more just model of development. In all these countries and in Peru later, the military imposed a drastic neoliberal economic model (Strahm/Oswald Spring 1990) and in the face of popular protests, the militaries severely curtailed human rights and free expression among dissenters (Carbonell 2008).

These contexts of violence and repression were imposed and supported financially and militarily by the United States through the Condor Plan. They produced massacres, mass forced disappearances, genocide, persecutions and the intimidation of critical academics, labour leaders and guerrillas. The sole justification was to stop the so-called 'communist threat', although most of the deprived people struggled only for their survival (FLACSO 2016). This combination of a neoliberal economic model

and military-police repression was seriously affecting the development of the region and ECLAC (1990) spoke of the 1980s as the 'loss decade'. At this juncture of physical and economic violence, "CLAIP fundamentally oriented its goals towards the stimulation of peace research in Latin America, promoting a renewing scientific activity and political practice, seeking to make it a renewing channel for scientific activity and political practice to achieve a definitive peace and security in the region. The objectives were to overcome the obstacles that opposed the social coexistence of human beings, and a life without domination or privileges, both internally inside the nations and internationally" (CLAIP 1979: 2). During its founding process forty years ago, CLAIP was enriched by numerous peace scientists who had taken refuge in Mexico, and, although many returned to their countries once military regimes were over, they left in Mexico theories and consolidated institutions.

Without doubt, CLAIP was also enriched by global peace research, which began its theoretical reflections in the 1950s after the Second World War. It was closely linked to scientific centres in Europe (Tampere in Finland, SIPRI in Sweden, COPRI in Denmark, Polemological Institute in the Netherlands, DGFK in Germany, Swisspeace in Switzerland, etc.). IPRA gave outstanding support to the launching of CLAIP by the then General Secretary Väyrynen (1976, 1978) from Finland. In the 1970s, globally peace theories had been further developed from the concept of 'negative peace' and the studies of war towards 'positive peace'. New subjects had been introduced, such as arms control and disarmament. It was Galtung (1971, 1975), inspired by the 'dependency theory' of Latin America, who developed new concepts. He spoke of 'positive peace', 'structural peace' and, finally, 'cultural peace'. These concepts emphasised in peacekeeping, economic development, and international and national mechanisms to find nonviolent solutions to conflicts. They went beyond the concept of 'negative peace' as a simple understanding of the absence of war. In these years, in Latin America the vision of the 'Third World' and the 'Non-Aligned' emerged strongly among governments and researchers. Both concepts analysed deeper development processes with inclusion of the marginal. This approach included the reduction of inequalities within and between countries (WB 2016), especially knowing that Latin America was and still is the most unequal region. The *Centre for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World* (CEESTEM in Spanish) became a leader of this trend and strongly supported the consolidation of CLAIP.

2.2 Organisational Structure of CLAIP

In this context, an Executive Committee of CLAIP was formed under the leadership of its first Secretary General, Herbert de Souza from Brazil – a refugee in the Faculty of Economics of UNAM – with Álvaro Briones from Chile, who also worked at FE-UNAM, designated Executive Secretary. The Committee was further composed of Rafael Roncagliolo from Peru and active in the Latin American Institute of Transnational Studies; Guillermo Boils of Mexico in the IIS-UNAM;

Pedro López Díaz from Mexico at FE-UNAM; Antonio Cavalla, originally from Chile and working at the 'Casa de Chile' in Mexico; Gonzalo Arroyo of Chile, who taught at the University of Paris; Úrsula Oswald Spring from Mexico in the Centre of Superior Studies of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (CISINAH in Spanish); and Oscar René Vargas from Peru, who collaborated in the Centre of Economic and Social Studies of the Third World (CEESTEM in Spanish). This Executive Committee had the "task to represent the Latin American academic community vis-à-vis the international peace research community, grouped in the *International Peace Research Association* (IPRA)" (CLAIP 1979: 28).

As its first task, CLAIP developed an International Directory of Research Institutions on Peace and Conflict in Latin America, supported by UNESCO. It became a complex undertaking because peace and security were concepts which the prevailing military regimes associated with opposition and communism and thus believed must be overthrown. Given the complexity of conflict, economic, cultural and social situations in Latin America, this directory was divided into key research themes and categorised by countries, institutions and researchers devoted to these issues. The directory established a first group of CLAIP, dedicated to peace research in traditional terms of military doctrines and national security.

In this first list of about 150 researchers, the conceptualisation of peace was broadened to include studies on class structure and social groups; State, ideology and repression; national and international economic structures; identity, ethnicity and culture; and environment and natural resources. We also tentatively started a small group on gender, made up of four researchers. The contributions came from different nationalities and, for the first time, there was an idea about peace research in Latin America. This study also served to deepen theories and concepts among academic organisations. Both processes helped several founders of CLAIP to later occupy distinguished positions in their national governments or in international organisations. In the Caribbean, collaborations focused on Haiti, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico.

During its four decades of existence CLAIP has had nine General Secretaries – five men and four women – who have come from Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Guatemala, Peru and Argentina:

1. Herbert de Souza, Brazil: 1977–1981
2. Antonio Cavalla, Chile: 1981–1985
3. Jorge Serrano Moreno, Mexico: 1986–1990
4. Nielsen de Paula Pires, Brazil: 1991–1995
5. Luis Alberto Padilla, Guatemala: 1996–2001
6. Úrsula Oswald Spring, Mexico: 2002–2005
7. Laura Balbuena, Peru: 2006–2010
8. Diana de la Rúa Eugenio, Argentina: 2011–2016
9. Serena Eréndira Serrano Oswald, Mexico: 2017–2019.

2.3   Evolution of CLAIP

The history of the consolidation of CLAIP can be divided into four chronological stages that are not unique to this organisation, but have taken place in other organisational and academic efforts.

Phase 1, the foundational (1977–1978): dealt with the integration of a group of researchers interested in peace research in Latin America. The diagnosis of institutions and individuals working on issues of peace and development in Latin America helped to establish links between countries, research centres and projects that analysed the current situation and the potential of peace research in Latin America. This phase allowed the formation of an 'original scientific heritage', in which existing experiences and knowledge and 'acquired capital' were improved. This phase was anchored in regular meetings and discussions and disseminated though workshops and symposia, as well as training processes. All these efforts created an initial 'core discipline', which soon proved to be insufficient to encompass the complexity of peace and conflict resolution in Latin America.

Phase 2 can be characterised as expansion (1979–1982): and occurred when the initial disciplines were enriched with multi- and interdisciplinary contributions. Given the composition of CLAIP, specialised groups were present at regional level, and universities, The Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), The Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), CEESTEM and other research centres supported the formation of interdisciplinary study groups. These groups were able to address more comprehensive issues and also studied complex processes of peace in the field. Structural and constructive approaches were consolidated and enriched by contributions and international reflections carried out in research centres outside Latin America. In this phase, there were multiple solidarity contributions from institutions such as the Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI), the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI), the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and others, which encouraged young students and researchers to attend courses and diplomas which, in turn, enriched the discussions back in Latin America.

Globally in the 1980s, Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan in the United States promoted a neoliberal economy that limited social and trade union actions in the region. Workers' welfare and income deteriorated in Latin America and government support for poor people was drastically reduced, which prevented governmental counter-cyclical actions to face the periodic economic crises. The purchasing power losses of workers could not be compensated and poverty increased. ECLAC (1990) characterised this era as the 'lost decade', when military regimes imposed this anti popular political economy. There was massive repression in all countries, especially in Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina, where social protests disappeared in the face of fear of disappearance and torture. When the countries of the Southern Cone gradually recovered more democratic conditions through electoral means, the militaries were forced to leave the governments and critical scientific reflections could be discussed more openly. Changes and openness also occurred in the academic sector, in sciences and the political arena, although

economically the neoliberal policy remained in the majority of Latin America countries, with the exception of Cuba.

Phase 3 was characterised by fragmentation and some specialisation (1983–2000): The democratic opening allowed multiple political refugees to return to their countries of origin with their families. The broader groups of peace researchers were further subdivided into smaller disciplinary groups, which focused more on peace research, international relations, political studies and military security studies. In Mexico, during the government of Miguel de la Madrid (1983–1988), CEESTEM's subsidy was eliminated and it had to close its doors, resulting in the loss of a major centre of reflection on Third World problems. Likewise, the national economic crisis limited the hiring of young professors and researchers and, with older researchers holding on to their positions, the younger generation had limited access to academic jobs and sometimes had to accept posts outside their field of specialty in order to survive.

Mexico never recovered from the loss of purchasing power from 1976 on. Although a significant number of refugees had settled permanently in Mexico, the return of other colleagues to their countries of origin reduced the dynamics of peace research in the region. Most universities stopped offering undergraduate courses in peace research and specialties and sporadic courses in related subjects confined peace studies to postgraduate level. Thus, a certain dynamism in peace research got lost, whereas the absence of human rights, lack of transparency in the judicial system, increased government and private corruption, and environmental concerns and conflicts over natural resources (extractivism), demanded new research themes throughout Latin America. In the absence of political responses, the practice of peace centred on public spaces and streets, where electronic networks enabled conscientious citizens to integrate and committed academics to fight against impunity. In 2001, the World Social Forum started in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and social movements, peasant organisations integrated in Via Campesina and the March of Women created new hopes with their motto: 'Another World is possible'.

During these processes of socio-political change and adjustments, the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union with the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact changed the global arena. However, representative wars in Africa and Asia, as well as a complex war in Colombia, mixed drug production, paramilitary groups, and transnational interests and the national bourgeoisie linked to the drug trafficking, impacted on peace research. Conflict negotiation processes in Central America, efforts to make the dirty war transparent and the disappearance of thousands of young people during the military regimes in Latin America reorientated peace efforts. Social campaigns to find the disappeared, including children born during the captivity of young women and lost after childbirth, focused the peace agenda on human rights, state crimes and governmental transparency.

Phase 4, called hybrid and amalgam (2001–present): was characterised by the consolidation of organised crime, which emerged in almost all countries of Latin America. Colombia's large cartels moved to Mexico and, from the Nixon government onwards, the US-imposed a 'war against drug trafficking' on the region, which led to the loss of public security, especially in Colombia and Mexico, but expanded to other countries in Latin America. Poverty, absence of opportunity, wages of misery and lack of social security, as well as increasingly corrupt governments, created a complex breeding

ground for insecurity (Argueta 2016). Along with the drug trade that diversified from the trafficking of marijuana and cocaine to synthetic drugs and heroin, various processes of social decomposition and the destruction of families and communities occurred at local and regional level. The organised crime took also advantage of closed borders for migrants and specialised further in trafficking migrants, women, girls and young boys. These criminal groups also ventured into the trade of threatened species, protected archaeological and colonial pieces, as well as human organs, where the lack of transparency and efficiency in the judicial system and frequently the involvement of the authorities prevented punishments and actions to stop these illegalities. Finally, to unemployed youths who survived in conditions of misery and high violence, organised crime cartels offered income, weapons and local power, which became for these impoverished kids an attractive alternative, though they knew they could soon be killed.

The general crisis in the social sciences produced a loss of the dynamism of peace research, and the regional insecurity obliged researchers to refocus again on studies of military violence and security, due to disappearance, feminicides, homicides, gangs and social insecurity. However, the complexity of organised crime, the pressures of the US government on Latin America, structural problems of inequality (WB 2016) and the impacts of global environmental change (Brauch et al. 2008, 2009, 2011) and climate change (IPCC 2014) with more disasters and the loss of life and heritage, forced academics to integrate and to regain a more interdisciplinary approach. Study groups were created, using environmental, gender, poverty, inequality and violence approaches to better understand the systemic processes of the neoliberal system and corporate globalisation, as well as their mechanisms of exclusion (WEF 2016).

The socio-environmental processes of the deterioration of traditional food systems and communitarian welfare due to urbanisation were analysed in an integral and systemic way. Researchers understood that the development processes in Latin America had often served basically transnational and national corporations, whose only goal was the maximum accumulation of capital (Landa 2017) at the cost of social, political, cultural and environmental welfare. Old and new health problems related to modern diets put health systems at risk in several Latin America countries, and increases in disasters and conflicts, due to organised crime and local crime, as well as global environmental change, led to much more comprehensive reflections on risks and vulnerability. It became clear that the 'war on drug trafficking' could not be managed solely as a problem of public insecurity and physical violence, but must include the laundering of money in the hands of government officials, national and transnational entrepreneurs, international banks and fiscal paradises in the USA. In several countries, the whole State became involved in these illegal activities and a network of complex complicities between transnational and national capital was woven, to which citizens were exposed without adequate governmental protection (García/Cruz 2017).

Despite these violent outcomes, not all peace research in Latin America has been negative. The peace agreements, first in South America, later in Central America and, in 2017, in Colombia have shown the potential of this discipline, especially when the existing problems were investigated in a systemic and interdisciplinary way and alternatives from bottom-up and top-down and within in the reality of the region's own cultures were proposed (FLACSO 2016). The socio-economic and environmental crises

have reached unsustainable levels in different regions (Haiti), where both extractivism and socio-political and economic factors are questioning the legitimacy of Government's authorities (Latinobarómetro 2016). In these four decades of CLAIP, violence has declined in several countries, thanks to a greater process of democratisation and elected governments. However, in other regions the organised crime has increased insecurity and now Latin America is the region with the greatest violence and murder rate, only surpassed by the war in Syria. The impacts of disasters with human and property losses must also be added (Samaniego 2017). There is no doubt that peace research needs to be taken seriously in order to take advantage of the theoretical, conceptual and practical tools that are able to improve the conditions of life in Latin America (ECLAC 2015). The present socio-political and environmental crises can only be addressed through preventative behaviour and human security.

2.4 Theoretical Transformation of Peace Research in Latin America

The four phases of CLAIP also influenced the conceptual and theoretical development of peace research in Latin America. Undoubtedly, during the founding process, the participants were deeply impregnated by the 'theory of dependency' (Dos Santos 1970, 1978; Marini 1973; Fals Borda 1961, 1968), and therefore in the first phase studied the structural elements of conflict and violence in Latin America. Galtung (1971) proposed the 'structural theory of imperialism', and theories of the centre and the periphery predominated in the scientific discussion. The analysis of both the structures of classes and social groups, as well as the studies on inequality, sprouted from this theoretical current.

However, military regimes also required a more detailed analysis of the impacts of their internal repression and its links with the Cold War. The repression in the whole of Latin America was related to the 'Plan Condor' (Pelaez 2016), where military and police were trained in the North American forts and later received the advice of the US Army. However, there were different national repercussions with multiple impacts. While in Mexico 'selective repression' (Rubio 1987) was used to control and disintegrate the guerrilla movements, in Chile and Argentina massive disappearances occurred. These different processes forced researchers to undertake empirical studies on peace and security, in which the relationship between theory and reality was integrated and the relationship in different countries in Latin America was systematically compared. These comparative methodological approaches analysed the atrocities of military dictatorships, torture, and lack of respect for human rights. Through international pressure, the violence was denounced and this dark phase of military government was replaced with democratic elected authorities. However, there were also studies which denounced the North American interference in economic, military and cultural terms in its 'backyard'.

As CLAIP got consolidated and influenced by the 'dependentistas', critical studies on peace and security were promoted and strengthened. These researches

elaborated from a systematic comparison between the empirical reality and the implicit or underlying values and the explicit policies, still dominated by anti-communism. Scientific research not only wanted to understand the reality as a photograph at a given moment, but needed to comprehend the evolution and management of processes, which included the time factors, changes, actors, activities and agendas involved. From this knowledge, peace scientists and activists tried to transform the violent reality and with this approach they were inspired by Marxism. Undoubtedly, in Latin America it was necessary to include in the existing conflicts the history of inequality, colonialism, neocolonialism and the consolidation of local bourgeoisies. In the international context, it was also essential to link the acts of war and repression in Latin society with the Cold War and the 'theory of domino', promoted by the United States. Critical studies profoundly influenced the social pressures for change and a democratisation process started in our subcontinent. Peace studies and actions related theoretical efforts to practical actions, and during the 1980s and 1990s military dictatorships were replaced by elected governments.

From Europe and especially from the Copenhagen School, CLAIP was influenced by the constructivist studies on peace (Wæver 1997), grounded in social processes of socially 'constructed' realities. This theoretical current linked theories to values, which created a new vision of reality, in which values prevailed and helped to redesign theories. In schools for peace, a circular model was proposed to overcome conflicts, asking where the errors were and what the obstacles were to achieve a long-lasting peace. Fisher et al. (2011: 104) then asked what was wrong with the theory. As a third step, they formulated different ways to overcome the conflictive situation and, finally, they proposed the necessary steps to overcome the conflict in practice. The crucial understanding for a durable solution must always take into account a 'win-win' situation for all involved and never an agreement at the expense of one of the parties (see Fig. 2.1).

Through different theoretical approaches, in Latin America peace agreements were negotiated, crimes against humanity were investigated ('Nunca más [Never again]' in Argentina and Guatemala), militaries brought to trial, disappeared people were sought together with babies born in captivity of pregnant mothers, who later were disappeared and then given in adoption to persons related to military regimes (Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo). These regional approaches represented the capacity to constructively transform the tensions between two or more opposing ideas and, instead of choosing one at the expense of the other, imaginatively brought up new ideas, which contained the elements of apparently opposing ideas, but were superior to both. Thus, they were capable of resolving tension and reaching higher and more stable agreements among divided societies that finally led to stable peace agreements, still fragile, but peaceful.

The peace research was also influenced by nonviolence, understood in the sense of *ahimsa* as a moral duty and educational value for any person. According to Buddhists, this constructivist approach includes compassion for all beings. The Quaker reformists, who were very active within IPRA (Boulding 2016), encouraged by Christian practices and the respect and love of others, promoted nonviolent peace education in the West. In Asia and especially in India *ahimsa* was deeply

WHAT IS WRONG WHAT MIGHT BE DONE

Step II. Analysis
Diagnose the problem:
Sort symptoms into
  categories.
Suggest causes.
Observe what is
  lackinging the problem.

Step III. Approaches
What are possible
  strategies
or prescriptions?
What are some theorical
  cures?
Generate broad ideas about
what might be done.

IN
THEORY

Step I. Problem
What's wrong?
What are current
  symptons?
What are disliked
  facts contrasted
  with a preferred
  situation?

Step IV. Action Ideas
What might be done?
What specific steps
  might be taken to
  deal with the
  problem?

IN
THE
REAL
WORLD

Fig. 2.1 Circular chart of conflict resolution. *Source* Fisher et al. (2011: 104)

rooted in Jainism as an active nonviolent practice, where Gandhi insisted that 'There is no path to peace. Peace is the path.'

These theoretical and practical reflections showed that peace has multiple elements and facets, but also complex and sometimes contradictory processes. Peace has become a tool for millions of human beings on the planet, where Latin America plays a special role because of the high physical, structural, cultural and gender violence that still exists on the subcontinent.

2.5 Old and New Challenges for CLAIP in the 21st Century

In the present juncture of a return to a more neoliberal model in Brazil and Argentina, but with social groups more articulated by informal networks of communication, the peace agenda has again to adapt. On the one hand, there is greater transparency on governments and business, but on the other, there is also a greater number of complaints about corruption in formal and informal media and actors. Peace research can take advantage of the openness in these postmodern communications in order to promote a novel agenda of peace activities and research, more in line with the present times that are characterised by multiple contradictions in the scientific, economic, governance and communication systems.

In addition to the old problems of poverty, misery, hunger, under- and unem-
ployment, inequality, truncated education and incipient health care, Latin America
faces new challenges for an integral peace. A deficient practice of democracy
(Latinobarómetro 2016) and conflicts exist, related to corporate extractivism of oil
and mines and to organised crime. Another growing threat is the global environ-
mental change with the loss of the exceptional biodiversity in the subcontinent.
GHG emissions have led to changes in the physicochemical composition of the air
and have caused global climate change with changes in precipitation, a constant
increase in temperature and a rise in sea level. Extreme events have not only
affected the most vulnerable in social and environmental terms, but disasters have
destroyed years of development and generated a failed state in Haiti with a dramatic
increase in misery and hunger. These disasters have also engendered migration,
where once again the poorest have suffered both internally and internationally. They
were confronted by police, armies and walls, which impeded their free transit to
places less exposed to climate change and insecurity, and poor women were again
the most vulnerable (Oswald Spring et al. 2014).

Faced with this complex reality that affects not only Latin America but many
other developing countries, the UN General Assembly has promoted 17
'Sustainable Development Goals' (SDG; see Fig. 2.2) with 169 targets, including
poverty reduction in 2030, eradication of discrimination, gender equality and the
promotion of sustainable development globally. The new agenda includes a plan of
action for people, the planet, prosperity, peace and joint work, where peaceful, just
and inclusive societies are encouraged to participate in building a desirable future
for all. This ambitious agenda proposes a shared economic prosperity, inclusive
social development and environmental protection for all countries. The new agenda
emphasises an issue where peace research has lagged behind: gender equality and

Fig. 2.2 Sustainable Development Goals. *Source* UNGA (2015). This figure is in the public domain

the empowerment of women, due to girls suffering most from poverty, discrimination, migration and violence. Patriarchal practices have been consolidated for thousands of years inside families and in the public space. They have permeated politics and economics, so the UN has directed its efforts to the core of submission and exploitation, the gender discrimination, which includes ethnic, class and race equality. In addition, SDGs show gender-sensitive goals in the other sixteen goals in order to offer women and men a desirable future.

Undoubtedly, peace with a gender perspective or with an 'engendered peace' (Oswald Spring 2016) highlights objective 5 on gender equality, the inequalities between regions, nations and ethnic groups, where gender is transversal. These gender differences impede sustainable development: 'Women play a fundamental role in environmental management and development. Therefore, their full participation is essential to achieving sustainable development.'

This means developing public policies, programmes and projects, institutional structures and procedures that ensure equity and gender equality in salaries, activities, political and economic positions to achieve sustainable and inclusive development. This agenda not only responds to the needs of the present generation, but also ensures that future generations will have the necessary resources to live and develop in peace and security. Women are not only discriminated in terms of income and exploited for longer working hours, but also have disadvantages in inheritance, land ownership and access to public and executive positions, as well as the use of technology. Globally, unpaid domestic work continues to not be visible and female political participation is severely limited to only 13 per cent (WEF 2016). There are also harmful practices such as precocious or forced marriage of girls and female genital mutilation. In order to achieve a comprehensive peace, there is a need for the 'full and effective participation' of women with equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in personal, political and economic life and the total eradication of gender-based violence.

2.6 The Future of Peace and CLAIP in Latin America

The region of Latin America and the Caribbean remains exposed to multiple risks: severe environmental deterioration; worsening poverty; extreme poverty and inequality; the spread of pandemics; an imbalance between the welfare of the elite and the rest of society; the exploitation of women and men of different races and ethnicities; the fragility of the State; high corruption; the low participation of organised civil society; violence and organised crime; anomie, selfish individualism and the loss of solidarity and coexistence. All these factors have generated conflicts, crises, vulnerabilities, misery and lack of confidence in the government and the business community. The promise of development has not paid off, despite being a highly biodiverse region with vast natural, social, cultural, historical, economic and political resources.

Disasters and the loss or deterioration of natural resources such as water, biodiversity, fertile lands, forests, air and pollution problems have increased migration processes. Often people leave their traditional homelands just to end up surviving in

belts of misery in big cities. Traditional productive activities have been abandoned without achieving a coherent productive chain, which has weakened the economy at local level, causing unplanned and unsustainable urban concentrations and slum development. Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, as well as the Andean countries are highly exposed to climate change, floods, landslides, droughts, rising sea levels, scarcity and water pollution, as well as the spread of infection (dengue, chikungunya, zika virus).

A scourge that affects much of the region is the transnational network of organised crime, such as drug trafficking and other illegal activities. It has generated an illegal economy and has intensified violence and public insecurity in most countries of the region, causing tens of thousands of deaths, disappeared and displaced people, and it has also corroded the State and the three levels of government.

In order to address these multiple challenges, Latin American States have experimented with innovative initiatives that reduce tensions between neighbouring countries and enable cooperation between groups of countries on environmental, economic, commercial, political, social, cultural and security issues. However, innovative ideas are required to address the complexity of the present challenges, threats and conflicts existing and emerging in the subcontinent. A crucial issue is the lack of confidence in governmental authorities and deterioration in the perception of medium and large entrepreneurs, due to public and private corruption. For CLAIP a crucial task to safeguard the future is to look towards the youth, the reconstruction of their social relations and the reestablishment of a legitimised governance with full citizen participation and transparency.

Figure 2.3 sets out some ideas for moving forward in this field of participative governance. In the first place, the present arena of corruption, authoritarianism and violence must be transformed into an arena based on scientific knowledge, integral peace, equality and environmental recovery. Once people have agreed at regional, national and local level a 'sustainable and inclusive agenda' for the most significant processes that de-legitimise Government and business, due to privileges, deceptions and neoliberalism, a new agenda can be developed with respect for diversity, support for the most vulnerable, integration of young people and peaceful resolution of conflicts. With a legitimate arena and agenda, it is necessary to change the corrupt, abusive, violent and autocratic actors towards fair, participative and socially committed actors. They should promote solidarity, and women should have access to half of the executive positions. The last step towards a participatory and legitimised governance is to overcome the exploitation of human beings and nature, shifting instead towards sustainable activities and scientifically informed and respectful actions, including traditional knowledge, health, food and education for all, and a redistribution of the present unequal accumulation of wealth by a few through public policies. The transformation of the arena, agenda, actors and activities will gradually allow a sustainable and legitimised peace in Latin America, thus promoting human, gender and environmental (HUGE) security and peace in the subcontinent.

This comprehensive peace in Latin America is more urgent than ever, since it is necessary to include broad citizen participation for sustainable lines of development that favour the recovery of public safety, citizen welfare, democratic life and lost ecosystem services. All these processes will require fresh ideas and initiatives from
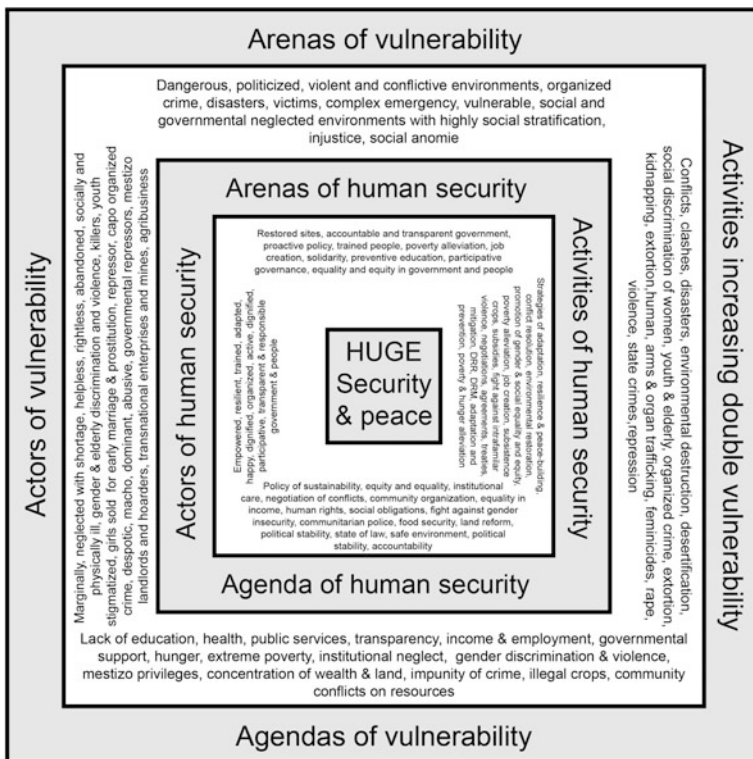
Fig. 2.3 Proposal for a legitimate governance with peace. *Source* The author

civil society and academia to assist government efforts. In order to guarantee conditions of security and development with quality of life for all human beings and their communities and regions, they will need to go further than the commitments made at the 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris and the Merida Initiative agreements against insecurity. The 10th International Congress of CLAIP, in collaboration with the UNAM and other academic institutions such as the University for Peace and regional scientific centres, proposed an interdisciplinary and transversal discussion platform to exchange knowledge and experiences to contribute to the consolidation of cultures of peace in the region. These peace cultures include aspects such as sustainable local and community development, equity and inclusion, governance, productive systems, reduction of inequality and violence, improvement of the quality of life between communities and social groups, and models of peace education. They involve the whole of society with an approach of sustainable and egalitarian development with equity and equality. The conceptual and empirical contributions generated locally and in different countries of Latin America are the basis for the promotion of public policies that consolidate the well-being and peace in our region.

Figure 2.4 describes this integral peace, where harmony prevails among all the citizens of Latin America and security is achieved through nonviolent practices.
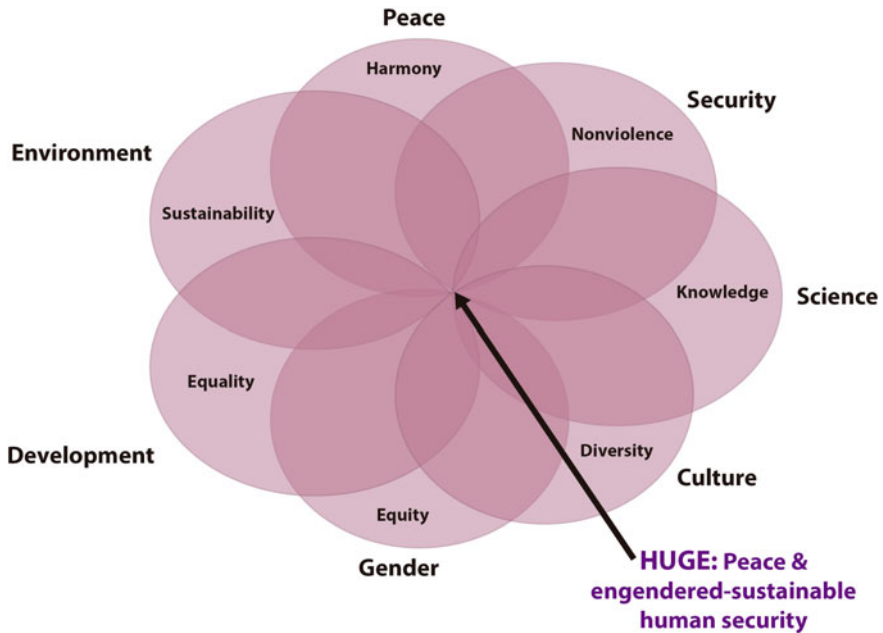
Fig. 2.4 Engendered and sustainable peace and human security. *Source* The author

Traditional wisdom and science will offer feasible alternatives and diverse cultures
will explore and experience development processes with gender equity and equality
in development and economic processes. Undoubtedly, environmental threats
require the sustainable management of natural resources, reduction of GHGs,
elimination of oil, gas, uranium and other mineral extractivism, and limits to the
waste generation. Conversely, the promotion of renewable energy sources so
abundant in Latin America, the recovery of biodiversity and ecosystem services, the
restoration of eroded soils and the cleaning up of polluted air, soils and water will
create a more resilient society able to confront the new challenges of climate
change. All these factors will enable human, gender and environmental peace and
security or a 'HUGE' peace and security throughout the subcontinent.

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Úrsula Oswald Spring introduces the keynote speaker and former Rector of UNAM, Prof. Dr. Pablo González Casanova of UNAM

Part II
Struggles for Peace and Against War in Its Global Context

Prof. Dr. Pablo González Casanova, former Rector of UNAM

Chapter 3
War and Peace in the 21st Century

Pablo González Casanova

3.1 A Vision of War and Peace

To produce an analysis relevant to peace research, we need to clarify what war is like today and how it differs from wars in the immediate past. The international struggle for peace during the post-war period highlighted the dangers of both nuclear and conventional war between the two superpowers. In fact, during the long period of the 'Cold War' between 'democracy' and 'communism', which is when most of the various armed national liberation movements came into being, some were directly or indirectly linked to 'communist' powers and others to the liberation of the 'third world'; these movements culminated in the Bandung conference of non-aligned powers in April 1955.

To the competition for nuclear superiority between the USSR and the United States was added an ideological war. This focused on persuasion and persecution in the cause of communism and in the cause of anti-communism, while there were dramatic advances and reversals in discoveries on both sides. This resulted on one hand in purges and on the other in witch-hunts, ranging from exalting the superiority of socialism or democracy to punishing dissidents publicly as criminals. Perhaps what most distinguished the Cold War from the present was the struggle between the capitalist and the socialist systems. Both had an impact on the struggles of national liberation movements, on the subsequent restoration of capitalism, and on the triumph of capitalism and the so-called 'free world'.

During this period, the old colonial and imperialist countries pursued a range of policies in the war to maintain their domination. Some used counter-insurgency, coups d'état, or open or covert military intervention, others formal and relative decolonisation processes that increasingly stressed 'dependency'. In all cases, both

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superpowers combined policies of co-optation and repression, and the old policy of 'carrot and stick' greatly widened its scope.

At the same time, the centres of the capitalist world promoted the 'Welfare State', a formidable weapon of war that offered peace to most workers, while others wanted war. Keynesianism became the great paradigm, supported by leading economists and social democrats and numerous progressive third world leaders.

The structure of the 'Social' or 'Providentialist State' was based on increasing taxes on capital. In this way the Government was able to increase the purchasing power of the population and to promote consumerism. This policy was supported by a large number of workers, who saw in their daily life how their wages and available services and rights to public health, public education and social security had increased. These were provided by the government and indeed demanded by the growing strength of their trade union and electoral organisations.

The political approach of the 'Welfare' or 'Providentialist State' was a great support for social democracy. It took the form of a peaceful struggle which, between pressure and negotiation, was able to secure important benefits both immediately and over a period of time to the citizens and workers of the 'free world'. It was not only in words but also in fact a powerful argument that could be used during the 'Cold War' against 'communist' dictatorships.

Meanwhile the great powers combined their policies of 'socio-economic development' in the peripheral nations with other interventionist policies and with military coups, which they applied alternatively or simultaneously. At the same time the metropolitan states accumulated experience and technical knowledge of the strategies, tactics and models of counter-insurgency warfare that were more and more dominating Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

More sophisticated counter-insurgency policies not only helped accumulate knowledge directly linked to the combination of social and war policies. They also allowed the great metropolitan states of the West to realise the importance of a long-known fact: in most rebel movements, the majority of the leaders, cadres and clienteles, after the seizure of power, became part of a 'new bourgeoisie' that tended towards 'collusion' and 'corruption'. And so the imperialist powers pursued a new policy of recolonisation and restoration, in which their social concessions and development were successively reduced. In the old colonial, semi-colonial or formally independent countries, a new structure of local bourgeoisies and oligarchies emerged, whose power increased as new groups joined them, including the rebels themselves. Similar tendencies appeared in the countries of 'State Socialism', albeit in more subtle forms. There were denunciations by the revolutionaries themselves and by serious authors; their criticisms were difficult to assess, given the furious 'Cold War' fought by the intellectual media of the West. The supporters of socialism and communism accused their critics of being the agents and champions of imperialism; this offensive was very successful. Later, many were surprised by the open restoration of capitalism in Russia, China and in the larger socialist camp, a phenomenon of the second half of the twentieth century that became obvious and public with Gorbachev in Russia and the so-called Cultural Revolution in China. In both cases—with the appropriate adjustments—the great powers renewed their

policies of co-optation, collusion and corruption, as well as those of divisionism and destabilisation, of individualism, clientelism and populism. But the undoubted responsibility belonged to those who in many cases had transformed the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' into a new tyranny.

The revolutionary process of the nationalist, communist and socialist movements came at a specific moment and was an easy prey for the violence associated with coups, but also for peaceful policies. Both resulted in the neo-colonialism of 'dependency' and promoted and achieved the restoration of capitalism in the 'socialist camp'. The sole exception has been Cuba and its heroic capacity to withstand a blockade and siege over more than half a century. After several decades of the promotion of progressive policies of 'development' to counter those of revolutionary nationalism and socialism, a new policy arose. The triumphant forces in both the metropolitan states and in the peripheries were able to implant a neo-liberal globalisation. The United States and the NATO countries, with Germany and France pre-eminent, took the lead, with the UK as a channel between North America and Western Europe.

3.2 Neo-liberalism and the End of the 'Social State' and of Development Policy

The end of the 'Social State' also corresponded with the end of the policy of 'development', which was replaced by neo-liberal politics. In the dependent countries, neo-liberalism was associated with the de-structuring and destruction of the precarious achievements of the 'Social State', of the extractive, industrial, commercial and service sectors, and of educational institutions, which had made great progress not only in literacy but in education at all levels, as well as in scientific research, progress which had enabled these countries to become leaders in many areas.

While similar and often superior developments had occurred in countries dominated by 'state socialism', then after they had replaced it with 'state capitalism', the principal countries continued to pursue many of their former aims, particularly those useful to the national development of Russia, China and those East European countries that were former members of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, in areas of the peripheral and dependent world, already controlled by the large metropolitan transnational corporations, these would be the beneficiaries and new owners of their resources. The interests of these large corporations were promoted through frequent coups, corruption, increased macro-political repression, and takeovers that led to the consolidation and growth of multinational corporations. They imposed contracts on smaller enterprises which led to the exploitation of workers without checks or balances. This policy saw an end to the social, economic, cultural and political achievements of the previous period.

Thus began the period of war and peace in which we live today. Certain characteristics and trends can be identified. The first is the behaviour of the new bourgeoisie which emerged from the emancipatory movements. As this result more

or less went against neo-liberal globalisation, in many cases it attracted most of the old and new oligarchies and the old 'revolutionary' leaders and their descendants.

There was a huge gap between the ideal that was sought, and what actually resulted from the original course of events: dispossession, opportunism and oppression, often perpetrated by previous leaders, so-called revolutionaries and their successors. While many of them had already behaved in an increasingly contradictory way, repressive and greedy, these policies increased significantly. Recently, many governments have demonstrated increasingly contradictory behaviour in their national policies for achieving levels of sustainable, industrial, cultural, economic and political development. They have been more or less successful, but at the cost of unequal internal development. At the same time, they have increasingly relied on loans they could not repay, and other irregularities have become increasingly evident. Popular reaction and protest has broken out among the middle classes and other sectors in many countries; the protests have been suppressed by the military.

The changes that occurred in the long post-war period prior to neo-liberalism also pointed to the fact that in many of these countries broad middle sectors or 'middle classes' emerged, with levels of educational and cultural attainment that their ancestors had lacked. These structural changes became increasingly costly and unacceptable for national and foreign business executives, since at the same time many of the populist leaders of trade unions, as well as official social organisations, peasants and parties, had highlighted a growing moral and political crisis. These corrupt trade union leaders were called 'charros' in Mexico, and it was the result of a decadent and increasingly contradictory style of government.

3.3   The Countries of 'State Socialism'

What happened in the developing countries of the 'Global South' or the 'Third World' also happened in the countries of 'State Socialism', ruled by communist parties. Revolutionary and counter-revolutionary processes, both heroic and self-destructive, occurred in Russia, China, and in the socialist camp. These processes had caused obstacles and formed stumbling blocks in their countries or in the metropolitan states and peripheral regions. Sometimes, these issues arose because countries had reached high levels of development and were feeling the constraints of state-led socialism controlled by the Russians and Chinese. In other cases, a counter-revolutionary process was launched from the top by the so-called socialist state patrons, and this led to the open restoration of capitalism. This is what finally put an end to the USSR and to the People's Republic of China.

In fact, the restoration of capitalism corresponded to the greater 'original accumulation' in that it led to the greatest dispossession and spoliation in the history of humankind, and opened a new stage in the struggle for peace under conditions that demonstrated the characteristics of a global war. Today, that war between capitalist and socialist states or states with liberation movements that aimed for true socialism no longer exists.

3.4   The Long War of Corporate Capitalism

The tragedy not only involved the great powers of the East that had taken the road to socialism, but also the countries and peoples of the South and of the immense and growing periphery. The triumph of corporate capitalism throughout the world, from Russia to China and from Vietnam to Yugoslavia, with the rare and significant exception of Cuba, radically changed both the meaning of war and the meaning of the struggle for peace.

   In fact, even before the global turn, US intelligence had reached an agreement with China which was related to the new features of the 'long war' that the current policy of the Pentagon is concerned with. Kissinger's meetings with Mao Tse-tung in February 1973 were undoubtedly the origin of the struggles between the pro-Soviet communists and the Maoists. In these struggles the provocateurs were often encouraged to violent action. Their successful destabilising offensives included securing the fall of Salvador Allende and the rise of Pinochet, which meant, on the one hand, the last defeat that the world saw on the peaceful road to socialism and, on the other hand, the global beginning of the new war against the 'Social State', against revolutionary nationalism and its legacies, and even against developmentism, a concept formerly promoted by the great Western powers.

3.5   Global Neo-liberalism and the War Against the Social State

The Pinochet coup was in fact the first bloody rehearsal of neo-liberal globalisation, of denationalisation and of the privatisation of public goods and services, of national, social, communal, financial, economic, cultural and educational property and of the natural resources of countries on the periphery. A few years later, Margaret Thatcher in her role as prime minister of the UK government—and demonstrating her much-praised character as the 'Iron Lady'—launched neo-liberalism in the metropolitan countries. Neo-liberal globalisation was another war or a set of economic political measures that arose from war and unleashed a new war.

   All these facts confirm that was when the new war-peace began in which we still live today. This peace-war is different from the one that existed during the Cold War and in which the capitalist countries obviously triumphed. In this new war financial attacks stand out together and above the military. It is an integral war that has gone on the offensive. This war not only involves the remarkable development of complex self-regulated and goal-oriented systems, but it also involves intelligent, first- and second-generation creators and adapters, aware of the mistakes made by the system and of how to correct the system so that it will achieve its objectives. Not only that, there is an empirically verifiable political economy of war that is used for decision-making. It has all the rigour and strength provided by the 'business-military-political and media complexes', which Eisenhower, in his last

speech as President, considered as the main threat to democracy (within the limitations of his understanding of the concept of 'democracy').

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The use of this military-industrial complex of self-regulated and intelligent systems allows us to set up various war theatres that make it particularly difficult for their victims or opponents or enemies to unravel the meaning of what is happening. They do not know on whose side or against whom they are fighting. Enemies and friends have been supplanted by their true enemy, who pursues the war with them and who distracts them from the real war, and thus entangles and defeats them.

In these diversionary actions and 'wars by the way' the insurgents do not risk their life for what they believe or for whom they believe, but against a false enemy that puts the true enemy in the front line. Their triumphs are actually victories for their real enemy and so in fact defeats.

When the nature of the true theatre of war becomes clear through the facts or through the warnings of fellow-combatants, friends or relatives, angry instincts are awoken. The cold feelings of a killer make that the disillusioned turn their weapons and explosives against those who armed and trained them. They attack the quiet places of summer where men, women, old people, children and young people rest, roam and live their quiet lives, as we have seen happen on the beautiful river Nile, or more recently in Nice and in the big capital cities of Paris and Berlin.

3.6   The Culture of Hate and Terror

Today the culture of hate has replaced the old ideology of liberation. When the metropolitan victims express the pain of their wounds through patriotic songs and empty ceremonial, this acquires a certain air of falsehood when people see how the

victims of the air strikes that distant nations, cities and towns have suffered and are suffering are forgotten. Aware that serious-purposed men have played with them and with their religion and race, terrorists weave enormous networks and make criminal contacts in their own happy world of the metropolitan countries, where quite a few of them were born, grew up and studied. With their papers in order or without papers, they join networks of terrorist radical rebels and commit acts of terrorism like those that others of their religion and race have previously perpetrated against their own families and homelands.

The theatre of terror is made and remade. The media rightly denounce the same terror that in the East encompasses entire cities and towns and which they attribute to the same Frankenstein's monster that their governments and corporations have created, armed and provisioned, but they remain silent about the acts of terror or attribute them to enemy powers and forces. This is how the hell of global lies and wars comes about.

In criticising these wars one can defend neither state terrorism nor rebel terrorism, but one can see that they have both led to the most sophisticated forms of organisation, the concealment of reality, and horror in the face of the minds and hands of so many human beings altered, alienated, bestialised in speaking, watching, acting, torturing, killing and feeling as 'desperate' as in their old human condition. This feeling leads them to commit suicidal acts, in which they destroy their own life with the savagery that they sought to end but did not end. Meanwhile, from high altitudes, seated in fast airplanes, pilots bomb houses and streets and destroy entire towns, cities and countries, from Iraq and Afghanistan to Libya and Syria. And below, on the ground, among the communities and the poor peasants, there is a guerrilla movement of assassins, soldiers and police accomplices, together with big organisations, that take lands, nurseries, huts and animals from the original inhabitants. The war below and in the countryside is waged in many cases by other often trained terrorists, called radical fanatics, and by various contingents armed and supplied by the great powers of NATO and the United States, or by the allies of the Arab Emirates. Specialists or local personnel trained in the handling of drones or in the use of children as suicide bombers, who, calculating things to the exact minute, sow terror in the ranks of the enemy as they blow themselves up.

This is enough to provide an unpleasant and uncomfortable overview of how war occurs today in its military and paramilitary manifestations, and to demonstrate that this twenty-first century war is linked to the project of neo-liberal and unipolar globalisation, whose promoters have already lost their longed-for ideal of dominating the powers, resources and markets of the world, in junior partnership with the powers that dominate the five continents. The American dream, unipolar dominion over the world, and the dream of neo-liberal globalisation sponsored by the business-military-political and media complex, were not even able to win the last election for the presidency of 'America', while two large blocks of countries have emerged that are increasingly confronted with the 'dream', led by two other great powers no less greedy for power, wealth and economic supremacy.

3.7   The Multipolar World in the Global War

There is now enough evidence to show that the original block headed by the United States, whose interests are shared by the European Union, albeit increasingly fragmented since Brexit and the departure of the UK, has no alternative but to conclude a precarious peace agreement with the other blocks or to unleash a war that would undoubtedly lead to the end of the human race.

The new blocks that have formed around Russia and China and are one hundred per cent capitalist are vigorous and inevitable competitors in the struggle for the resources of the earth, the labour markets, the consumer markets and the strategic advantages necessary to continue the game of military threats combined with mercenary intimidation.

Given the impossibility of describing the other human disasters that this global war may lead to, we are compelled to call for another politics of peace which is very different. This in-built war is causing immense damage and suffering, such as the greatest human exodus in human history or the natural and artificial genocidal famines and pandemics, caused by the systematic dispossession of peoples, communities and nations. There is also the spreading of natural and artificial viruses that ravage the world, both the legal and criminal trade in genetically modified seeds, and the destruction of land resources one by one. Stopping to consider them would prevent us from analysing another darker war that is taking place alongside this double war and that is happening in the whole world: the financial and economic war of globalising neo-liberalism.

Raising awareness of this allows us to see to what extent war and peace in the twenty-first century, given the immense power of this other type of war, are different from war and peace in previous centuries, and to leave us in no doubt—the challenge is that fighting for peace necessarily means—whatever ideology one may subscribe to—fighting for a different way of living and working.

3.8   From the Shadow of Neo-liberalism Towards the Struggle for Peace and Life

The term neo-liberalism comes to us from von Hayek (1946, 1994) and Friedman (1962), the teacher of the 'Chicago Boys', among them the chief economic adviser to the tyrant Pinochet. Both economists dismissed Ricardo's law of value (1815 [2005]) and other classics such as Smith (1776). They advocated minimising taxes for the rich and services for the poor. Friedman (1970) wrote a Puritan article entitled "The duty of businessmen is to do business", in which his aim was to show that they have no other duty. That was his morality. His thinking—like Hayek's— was taken up with excited enthusiasm by corporations and multimillionaires, who used it to derive the new policies of 'thinning the state' and the 'invisible hand of the free market'.

The mathematical formulas they employed, and whose rigour they were proud of, had direct and indirect side effects, central and collateral, sought after and not sought after, which necessarily led to the colossal enrichment of the super-rich and super-powerful. Both theorists of the 'rich and the powerful' obtained monetarist and poor mathematical 'results', thinking and affirming that they corresponded to the most advanced scientific knowledge, and that to apply them well was going to implant the 'American millennium' and in the process solve the problems of the world.

The main actors of neo-liberal globalisation reinforced the close union of all its promoters and arranged that the 'business-military-political and media complex' was the symbiotic nucleus for decision-making and the implementation of the project that would 'make America great again' and place it above all others as the supreme world power. A vast range of companies and financial, banking, political, military and media institutions from the countries that were active participants in the project would form the nodes of a global framework that would open its doors to the free market and take advantage of 'tax-free investments' and 'unrepayable loans' to create an immense global network. They allied themselves with governments that would make free trade treaties their 'new and true constitution', whose aim would be to legitimise and legalise all kinds of accumulation of big capital. Of course, they were willing to let it so happen. To the neo-liberal governments and organised business was added from above the 'power in the shadows' of 'the richest of the rich', and from below 'the force of organised crime', in which many of these blood-suckers, graduates of Harvard and other universities, were already 'family'. All of this happened, while in the world of light, businessmen, administrators, engineers and elite technicians, and the rulers, diplomats and charismatic politicians are defended by the excellent military command of the greatest army in the world and by security services superior to the famous English. All of them were helped by high-level officials and employees and by the political elites of democratic and neo-liberal power, with their links to the different regions and activities at national and international level, beneath the power in the shadow and in the light. For the efficient and effective realisation of their objectives many of their assistants would be highly trained to handle techniques of communication, information, message manipulation and organisation, and others would be trained in electronic warfare, in virtual reality, in the publicity techniques of American-style democracy, applied as a global model with local adjustments, with the aim that people should think that the solution to their problems was to fight for that type of democracy and its 'representation'.

The dual techno-scientific management of power in the shadow and of power in the light by the business-military-political and media complex and its multiple agencies would allow the domination of both 'reality' and 'theatre', of both truth and delusion in its classic and contemporary manifestations. At the helm of the institutional project —open or 'reserved' for security reasons—the business-military-political-and-media complex would of course be found.

The 'power in the shadow' would not only be applied by those who are actually in control, led by the great billionaires of the old knowledge and new entrants into theorising and technology, but would also arrange for the hire and invitation of advisers and experts at the highest level, as well as of potential candidates for the top public posts, the President of the Republic or just below.

In the shadow, from the top to the bottom, organised crime would, along with prominent bankers, be in charge of money laundering, of clandestine trade, and of the administration of tax havens, located mainly in London and New York, but also in Switzerland, the Bahamas, Panama and other countries. Their contributions would be of utmost importance for those linking activities that would be visible to all, and those others that would remain in the dark. Through these, not only would the giant sums accruing from tax evasion be handled, which would reach the maximum with the neo-liberal reforms to the fiscal laws, but fabulous sums would also circulate from the arms trade and the supply of arms to 'moderate' terrorists who are destroying the infrastructures and structures of the Middle East and South Asia, from Afghanistan to Syria through Iraq and Libya. This is carried out not only for economic reasons, but is also related to the possession of oil resources; and the multimillion-dollar arms and ammunition industry; these are the driving forces of the entire economy. The other reason is strategic: control of the Middle East between by and Russia, or at the other end of the world with the China Sea, or, just as has occurred before, control of Eastern Europe and the dependencies of the ex-USSR and of the countries invaded by the former Soviet Union such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, or that confronted it, like Yugoslavia.

Also in the shadow, but involving those below the surface, organised crime, in the guise of corporations, would extend its networks and would have the resources to organise wars in the style of the 'freedom fighters' in Yugoslavia or 'the Arab Spring' in North Africa, where those of Egypt and Libya stand out. Organised crime would also undertake as a permanent activity, with or without the help of civilian and military forces, the wars involving terrorists and drug trafficking. In addition, it would carry out the expulsion of communities, small and medium-range farmers and owners of historical sites, lands, territories, forests and water resources from whose soils and subsoils corporations needed to pursue their policies of basic land-grabbing, dispossession and spoliation. Under free trade agreements, they will have been legitimised, tolerated or aided, in legal activities as well as in legal-and-criminal activities where they can hide behind the government and organised crime.

3.9   Soft Wars and Military Interventions

In this respect we must realise that the previous activities of the neo-liberal war of globalisation are complemented by other two activities of the greatest importance: one that we might call soft warfare, and another, the traditional one of coups d'état and military intervention, which when necessary accompanies or supplants the first. The hegemonic soft war takes place in a historical process of deconstruction of the metropolitan or dependent nation state as far as its centralised, decentralised and autonomous public institutions, organisations and enterprises are concerned. The increasingly used weapons and ammunition of soft warfare are fundamentally financial, made up of various combinations of policies of collusion, co-optation and corruption, and of legal and illegal action. It involves those responsible for

detachments of organised crime and even groups of rulers and assassins who implement structural reforms through all kinds of violence against the goods and people of the poor, who are dispossessed.

In the states of the South or the periphery of the world, such as Mexico, and even in some developed states, the process of de-structuring the State tends to follow the following pattern:

1. A tax reform reduces the tax burden on high-income sectors and is complemented by various mechanisms for tax exemption and for legal and illegal tax evasion.
2. The reduction of subsidies for poor people. This destroys food sovereignty, increases misery, and limits national production, while supporting corporations and the agro-export business; this is all accompanied by support that focuses on the fight against poverty, in which hegemonic political electoral interests prevail.
3. A free trade agreement with different commitments that tends to favour corporations against small and medium-sized domestic producers.
4. The disappearance of the Central Bank and the loss of control of the monetary and credit policy that stops stimulating the national entrepreneurs and controlling the value of foreign exchange. This provides corporations with a new object of plunder: that the currency is devalued at the time of purchase and revalued at the time of payment. Together with other types of speculation, this leads to spectacular financial crises such as the European sovereign debt crisis and, in Latin America, the economic crisis in Venezuela.
5. The slow or abrupt disappearance of government-run industrial development banks.
6. The reduction or cancellation of incentives for cooperatives and socio-economic enterprises.
7. Privatisation and denationalisation of health services, education and social security.
8. Privatisation and denationalisation of the sources and energy industries of oil and electricity, as well as mining and port companies.
9. The growing imbalance in public spending and the consequent external indebtedness of the federal government and the governments of states, municipalities and cities to the point where interest and principal are unpayable.
10. At that point or a little earlier, lenders acquire the right to supervise the provision and use of the national budget, and the budgets of the different levels of government.
11. The provision of credits to purchase consumer goods (excluding production), in a double business policy in which lenders offer their products for purchase with what they lend again.
12. The growing handover to foreign mining, agricultural, industrial and commercial corporations of natural resources from the soil and subsoil, from aquifers, beaches and tourist sites, as well as to their branches and concessions.
13. The application of 'vulture' loans to pay off accrued unpaid interest.
14. The successive and growing financial and monetary crises that provoke leaks of national capital which exceed the total amount of external indebtedness to lending countries.

15. The freezing or reduction of direct and indirect wages through the privatisation of public services, through the fixing of minimum wages at levels of calculated impoverishment, and through uncontrolled inflationary processes. As a result of all these neo-liberal and policy measures, the vast majority of the population become victims: some are dispossessed of their lands and natural resources, while others see their wages reduced or cancelled.

16. This results in a sustained increase in the proportion of the population below the poverty line; in addition, there is an increase in morbidity and a decrease in life expectancy.

17. There is a consequent growth in repression and a rise in corruption, as well as in the inequalities between the rich (who become richer) and the poor (who become poorer). These facts are pointed out time and again in academia and in the media, but no attention is paid by the local rulers. Their only comment is "That's life", or "That's capitalism"; they claim that such a situation is due to "excess population", or that it is an effect of the global crisis (thus absolving the national government of guilt), or because there are those who are born to win and others to lose; or because there are those who only see the bad because they are unsuccessful or lost out in the budget, and do not see the good in life.

18. Neo-liberal globalisation policies lead to the repeal of acts, or the passing of illegal acts that appear legal, by which people are deprived of their constitutional, social, and internationally agreed individual human rights, such as the right not to die of hunger.

19. The increasing involvement of organised (or disorganised) government with organised or mafia crime is denounced and proven by national and international judges without this having the slightest effect in the form of sanctions, restraints or policy changes.

20. The growth of accumulation by dispossession and the theft of communal lands and the lands of small farmers, together with the absence of credit for the countryside and the continued free import of genetically modified seeds, is a global legal crime permitted by national and international law. It forces peasants to become permanent clients of corporations, because the seeds they sell cannot reproduce, so that the peasants lose control of their own agriculture and can only come into contact with the land if they become clients of the corporation.

21. Deterioration and disappearance of public services for health, education, social security, etc.

22. Growing unemployment among unskilled, qualified and specialised personnel, and the emergence of a generation with no education, no job, and no future.

23. Proliferation of drug trafficking and other crimes against property and against the person, together with the open and even ostentatious impunity of high officials who openly commit crimes.

24. The destruction or weakening of old populist organisations and the criminalisation of those who genuinely represent citizens, employees, workers and peasants.

25. The political, moral, social, cultural, and economic warping of political parties that change from bodies promoting organised and ideological struggle to become mere resources for obtaining jobs through popular elections. Political

parties are faced with the alternative of promising to solve social and national problems or not offering anything that they are not authorised to ask, thereby losing even the role that they originally had from the state of being mediators of the demands of the citizenship, and of collaborating in policies of conflict and consensus. Nor do they make any representations about intellectual, political and moral de-structuring. This is the greatest damage that the components of the financial war of globalising neo-liberalism cause for a huge section of the population, with its protestations and problems. The parties are not driven by a political and social ideology and guided by a programme of national and international public action. Their members live and strive thinking about what will get them something for themselves and what won't, about when, where, with whom to act or not to act, in order that they can obtain positions in the party or in government, and recognition and subsidies for the party.

The depredations affect the opposition on both left and right and mean that their members' only aim is to obtain positions or jobs. Again and again this leads to ideological, planning and ethical de-structuring. Nevertheless, some of their members show ample signs of courage, of not stealing, of not having stolen anything, and of being faithful to their old ideologies. The phenomenon gives rise to what has been called 'violent immediacy'; it resembles the defeat of countries, parties and citizens, landless peasants and unions, foodless workers and the trade unions that defend them, young people missing their youth and with no life—these are the people who put up the most resistance, and it is among these people that the new freedom movements will emerge. Like the movements of 1968, like those of 26 July in Cuba, like those of the Mayan Zapatistas in the Mexican South-East, they bring new values and goals to the revolutionary and radical movements for emancipation under the banner of freedom, for democracy with the people's sovereignty, for personal and social justice, for the autonomy of regions within nation states, for respect for all races and religions or secular beliefs. These movements promote democracy under the sovereign power of the people and workers, they promote goals and values that in the West come from the prophets of Israel and the Christian faith, where liberation theology has endorsed the goals of socialism and a non-state communism—rather than classic Marxism. There is solidarity of communities and communes which are struggling in a society considerably different in its fears and in the relationship between production and emancipation.

3.10 Intellectuals Facing the Present System of Dominance and Accumulation

Meanwhile, in the current system of dominance and accumulation, there is zero development, zero democracy, and something very similar to the situation of the countries that previously lost the war on the battlefields and are now also losing

battles on the financial field. The former limits of corruption and repression, with their very serious consequences in the form of very low public morale, have been shattered by the corruption and structural repression that accompanies this model of different ways of waging war. To start with, this only provokes a response from small movements, but it leads to an exponential growth in resistance movements, where a new morality of struggle, cooperation, sharing, freedom and democracy will emerge.

While there are opposition movements in the vast majority of countries on earth, two emerging regions can be highlighted. One is the countries of the crisis of globalisation itself, where a new extreme right has emerged that combines the authoritarianism of Mussolini with the organisation of support bases and something not dissimilar to his Blackshirts. The other is in the metropolitan countries themselves, where a large proportion of an impoverished working class is rebelling. This phenomenon is happening more and more in Europe and has recently also been seen in the United States. It leads to the reappearance of old hostilities, where dependent countries are declared as failed or as rogue states, and people demand the repeal of free trade agreements. Industrial capital returns to its place of origin, and its owners say that they will use it to employ their national workers. While industrial companies may abandon dependent countries while saying this, the oil and mining corporations and the many others that exploit renewable and non-renewable natural resources are not expected to leave.

Under these conditions, it is particularly difficult to map trends and make predictions, although at the moment both neo-liberal capitalism and state capitalism are in crisis or heading inevitably towards a crisis. To analyse this crisis in terms of alternatives useful for a new struggle for peace in the twenty-first century, it will be necessary to take into account several disagreeable, even uncomfortable, facts that we tend to disqualify or deny consciously or unconsciously.

3.11   A New Struggle for Peace in the Twenty-First Century

In this last section, I mention some of the key processes, active knowledge of which is needed by the international organised or not-so-organised scientific community in its struggle for peace.

Today the struggle for peace must be linked to the struggle for knowledge to understand the serious crisis through which the system is passing and whose main cause is the goal of the maximisation of power, wealth and profit. Profound analysis of necessary and possible solutions will have to precede the recognition and denunciation of the serious problems of ecocide that threaten all human beings and in which stand out:

Firstly, the danger of a nuclear war in a situation where conditions resemble those of the Cold War, with the United States and NATO carrying out a military mobilisation on the borders of Poland with Russia, as well as in the sea adjacent to North

Korea, together with a lack of understanding by the US president of China's territorial unity. The new US administration should cease both policies as soon as possible, subject to agreeing more lasting measures with the nuclear powers to replace the strategy of mutually assured destruction. Today this is several times more dangerous than it was when it was defined during the second half of the last century.

Secondly, it is necessary to emphasise that the dangers of climate change and other phenomena of destruction of the earth and the biosphere, far from being a 'belief' with its faithful and with unbelievers, are a consequence of a phenomenon that can be solved neither by the military nor by a system whose main goal is the maximisation of profits, wealth and power.

Thirdly, it is imperative to raise as a central scientific problem the organisation of a world in which democracy and respect for differences in religion, sex, age and race prevail, and in which the sovereignty of peoples, workers, communities and citizens was an objective that emerged in the West with the French Revolution. In Latin America we not only have the praxis or practice of historical creation in Cuba and the Lacandona of the Mayan Zapatistas, but we have also the best organisational networks and nodes of communities, nations and regions in the whole world.

Fourthly, the struggle for peace today means not ending the great battle for liberation that Prometheus initiated in the myth. We should remember another myth: the one in which Pandora opened the box and let out all the ills of the world, but nevertheless hope still remained, that holy virtue can move mountains.

Fifthly, alongside the appeal to the emotions, it will be necessary to add to the struggle the need to use critical theory to investigate historically and empirically the science of complex, self-regulated and creative systems, and together with this, the moral world organised as an emancipatory force for the struggle, for cooperation, and for sharing.

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Chapter 4
Peace and Security in Latin America: New Challenges, New Directions

Francisco Rojas Aravena

4.1 Introduction

The new international scenario is replete with uncertainty. Moreover, as 2017 got under way the nuclear situation took the front row in international developments. This lack of certainty, the absence of clear outlooks for developments and stakeholder actions and their projected future, leads to uncertainties and doubts over how to deal with the international complexities of changing power relations and significant adjustments in the processes of globalisation.

In the face of this, the United Nations and the group of countries comprising the United Nations came up with the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. In September 2016, the United Nations agreed on an action plan focused on achieving 17 goals aimed at surmounting humanity's greatest challenges. That is, the countries committed to working towards specific universal goals on issues affecting people and the planet. This set of goals seeks to universalise respect for human rights and human dignity, aiming for inclusive growth and, at the same time, protection of the planet. The proposed goals are interdependent; that is, the 2030 Agenda's 17 goals relate to people, the planet, prosperity, and peace and promote global alliances for such purposes, providing a guideline for the next 15 years. The essence of Goal 16 is how to promote peaceful, fair, inclusive societies that are free from fear and violence. Without development, peace is impossible. Peace does not exist without sustainable development. And Peace University's motto says it clearly: 'If you want peace, work for peace.' Nowadays, this means working towards that set of goals in order to resolve the most pressing problems for the

Prof. Dr. Francisco Rojas Aravena, Rector of the Peace University in Costa Rica. Email: frojas@upeace.org. I am grateful for the invitation to participate in this meaningful anniversary of the Latin American Council for Peace Research (CLAIP). My congratulations go to CLAIP and to the congress president, Úrsula Oswald, for their work towards achieving peace in the region. This paper highlights the key aspects of my recent work on international security and the right to peace in Latin America and the Caribbean.

planet and the lives of its people, promoting prosperity in a context of peace and international cooperation.

4.2 Peace: A Crucial Goal

Goal 16 is crucial for today's world: 'promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.' It is essential for achieving, as best and as efficiently as possible, each of the other goals. Without peace there is no possibility of exercising any rights, without peace there is no development, and without peace there is no possibility of democracy. Without peace, anomie and anarchy replace democratic governance and stable inter-state relationships. How Goal 16 will be evaluated is defined with a focus on progress in specific areas, particularly on reducing violence and the mortality rate that seriously affects a large portion of humanity. How to put an end to the evils of mistreatment, exploitation, trafficking and torture afflicting huge segments, not only of vulnerable populations but far beyond this to substantial segments of the global population, is an urgent problem throughout the world – particularly gender-related and domestic mistreatment.

Keynote speaker Prof. Dr. Francisco Rojas Aravena and moderator Dr. Lucía Elena Rodríguez Mckeon

With the current refugee crisis, exploitation and trafficking are significantly manifest in different parts of the world. Those seeking refuge today number in the millions. Essential for making headway on resolving these two points is the

promotion of human rights as a whole, including political as well as economic and social rights. It is imperative to develop, affirm, and reinforce the rule of law. The state's role in imposing the rule of law is fundamental, requiring daily efforts in many different spheres of state action. The state needs to have a national presence throughout each nation's territory in order to promote effective enforcement of the law. At the same time, for the rule of law to be effective the conditions need to be generated for better access to the rights of citizens, including widespread access to justice as a guarantee of citizen equality. This means that an essential role of the state is to exercise control over the national territory along with a monopoly on violence. Illegal arms trafficking and money laundering, and the corruption that enables and facilitates these transnational criminal acts, must therefore be reduced. This is fundamental for the rule of law. To do so requires the creation of effective institutions that assume the responsibility of promoting rights and generating inclusion at all levels. That is to say, violence, terrorism and crime need to be prevented, and policies are needed to reduce the opportunities for illegal activity and the actions of actors who use those opportunities to expand their criminal acts. The rule of law is fundamental, then, as an essential basis for the development of democratic societies, which use the culture of peace as a cornerstone for democratic coexistence.

Alberto Three premises are indispensable, and politics do matter. The state's actions are defined in the political realm. Security is a concern; it is one of the things citizens are most anxious about and demand the most. Violence blocks development; where there is violence, all transaction costs increase. Pro-development activity is curtailed, and with it the society's opportunities for progress are reduced.

Thus peace will be best achieved to the extent human security is promoted. This should be understood as a complement to state security. It is based on cooperation and is comprehensive by nature. It puts the spotlight on people and non-traditional vulnerabilities and is linked to the development agenda.

4.3   Major Shifts in the Global System

In the last sixty-five years the international system has experienced major changes. The Cold War occupied a fairly extensive period, from 1949 to 1989, ending with the fall of the Berlin Wall. It was a period in which two superpowers – the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – had hegemony over change, continuities, and developments in the international system. They set the rules and defined the way multilateralism was going to work and the manner in which areas of influence were created in the different world regions. The fall of the Berlin Wall gave rise to the post-Cold War era. This was supposed to be a prolonged era of peace and stability, when the United States would throw its weight into a new form of *Pax Americana*, which would have a lasting impact on the international system. But that was not how it was. In 2001, terrorist attacks began on a global scale,

initially affecting New York, Washington D.C. and Pennsylvania and later targeting Madrid, Moscow, and Indonesia, and especially southern countries, changing the direction of the post-Cold War period and creating and opening up a new era in the international system. We have called this the era of 'radical unilateralism'.

This era lasted from 2001 to 2008, corresponding to the period when the US presidency was in the hands of George W. Bush. His unilateral decision-making on different world situations impacted international relations, first, by breaking the consensus in the United Nations, violating UN resolutions, and leading to intervention and invasion in Iraq and Afghanistan. Both wars have had a high human and material cost in the United States and the intervened countries, with long-term consequences in addition to a surge of instability in their respective regions. Unilateral policies were prolonged until once again the direction of the international system's complex transition was changed in 2008 by a new crisis, the global financial crisis, which started with the collapse of Lehman Brothers in New York. The United States was forced to turn its attention to its domestic economic and financial crisis and the serious repercussions of this crisis on the world system. Beginning in 2008, the new era had a serious impact on the US economy but also extended to the rest of the world, affecting Europe in particular. A negative cycle was generated in the European economy, upsetting global financial stability for a period of at least six years. Latin America, in particular, suffered the negative repercussions of this, since it closed the cycle in which raw materials played a leading role in the region's economic growth. A decade of sustained growth, based on the export of commodities, came to an end. With it came an end to the sub-region's economic boom, social and political stability, and escape from poverty for major portions of the population.

The year 2014 saw the rise of what has been called new geopolitics; that is, geopolitics where uncertainty is one of the core aspects defining the international system's situation. A new era opened that is full of uncertainty and lacking in clear directions, in which the actions of the different stakeholders are largely unpredictable. In this new geopolitics, 'hybrid wars' – conventional wars with simultaneous development of asymmetric confrontations – led to a much more complex security situation, with many more variables and intervening actors.

If we look back at this complex transition in the international system, we can see that each of these eras has corresponded to an organising concept. The core concept during the Cold War was that of contention and areas of influence. In the post-Cold War era, an essential aspect was the emergence of cooperative security and inter-state cooperation. During radical unilateralism, what took precedence was the US's unilateral decision of how to impose its policies on the international system. The global financial crisis was met through the development of new forms of association among the more developed countries – the G-20 – although progress has not been as great as expected. And with the current new geopolitics, what we have is greater uncertainty, more confusion, a crisis of multilateralism, and a lack of policy coordination by the different states. This is expressed in new challenges to peace. The characteristics of this new geopolitics of hybrid wars, then, show that the wars are the traditional ones with new wars superimposed on them. Human security

is notably violated in different regions of the world, where concepts such as the 'responsibility to protect' crop up but lack significant scope and weight in the international system as a whole; they have been applied selectively, affecting a more general notion of 'human security' as a global interlinking concept of the multilateral system, especially in the United Nations.

The strategic political changes entail recognition of a multi-actor world, with a growing number of states with differentiated powers, from micro-states to super-powers. In this world, in this new global setting, there are fewer wars but more violence and greater insecurity. In this setting, Latin America and the Caribbean appear as the world's most violent area. It is worth noting that the use of force has been shown incapable of solving the serious problems we wish to solve. This was made clear in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, in the Middle East crises, especially, and in the threats of major conflicts such as that of a nuclear conflict in Korea.

In this scenario, transnational issues emerge as the most significant questions affecting all of humanity. Of particular importance is the effect of climate change and environmental issues. Peace reemerges with greater meaning, along with the impacts of globalisation, especially in the developed world. Together with these are the issues of new technologies, robotics and artificial intelligence, which are having an impact today and will have even greater weight in the medium and long terms. Similarly, aspects of democratic governance, inequality, and violence have also come up. New power forms need to be built in both the various political systems and the multilateral sphere, with greater legal strength and legitimacy that is both stronger and democratic. In the current international system, no actor, not even the superpowers, can solve the global issues 'all by themselves', since these issues are transnational. Cooperation is the only option, then, for tackling the new transnational global agenda and providing governance of globalisation. The 2030 Agenda thus plays an essential role by pointing out the importance of achieving the 17 goals – 'without leaving anyone behind' and acting on the full set of goals, which are interdependent – for tackling the transnational agenda and providing governance of globalisation, which has both positive and negative impacts on all parts of the globe.

4.4 Transnational Tensions and Problems

Transnational problems comprise the priority agenda the different countries, their regions, and the planet as a whole need to tackle at the present time. Transnational issues correspond to simultaneously international and domestic phenomena – 'in-termestic' phenomena – and concern global, regional, and local governance capacity. Some of the phenomena accompanying power relations in today's world include the environmental crisis, the climate change crisis, the food crisis, the energy crisis, the international financial crisis, and the gravity of instant global communications. Added to this are global offences, the impact of organised crime, and what several years ago Moisés Naim (2012) called the 'globalisation wars'.

Apart from these, global health issues and pandemics add to the transnational phenomena that states are forced to address.

Part of the problem is that the capacities of the states to resolve transnational issues with local or even regional resources are extremely limited, and this has a significant impact on changing power relations. This is crucial to understanding the uncertainties produced in the international system. Insecurity is increased by the rapid impact of these 'intermestic' phenomena and the demand for decisions in highly unpredictable settings, causing the courses of action of different actors to fluctuate and leading to more complex decision-making. A significant observation is that capitalism is global, but the forms in which it has developed in the context of each political system are particular and specific, though delimited by global directions.

National and local courses of action are affected and determined by the over-riding trends arising from the global system. On the other hand, elections and the political offerings in democracy are local. The consequence of this is that the distance between the global phenomena of development, global capitalist produc-tion, and transnational phenomena – such as those related to communications, climate change, or the energy crisis – within the framework of democracy, reduce the manoeuvering room for decision-makers. It makes it impossible to develop courses of action that go against the overriding trends. It impacts the leadership manifested locally. It generates increased distrust of leaders and political institu-tions and their capacity to tackle these new phenomena, and at the same time generates a gap between the political elite and their capacity to resolve global issues. Up to now, no viable global proposal has emerged to deal with these international system transformations. The responses continue to be based on the national level, but they lack the force and capacity to tackle these transnational issues. International cooperation and multilateralism therefore take on growing importance for dealing with the phenomena, even though they are on a downward cycle. There is no other viable option.

Another aspect making consensual solutions difficult is the lack of a shared reading of the shift in global power relations and the mechanisms and actions needed to democratise global power structures. This is neither expressed nor given space in the multilateral sphere, particularly in the United Nations. Nor is it expressed in the new global institutions created to address the new transnational situations, such as the G-20 – which had appeared to be an option, but progress has not been as significant as expected in order to govern and generate greater control over the prevailing phenomena of globalisation and achieve greater stability and international predictability.

The global system is shifting to a post-hegemonic system and bipolar and unipolar power structures have reached their end. This does not mean that the superpowers are unable to act globally, but they no longer carry the weight they had in the second post-war era after World War II, during the long Cold War period. This forces us to reconsider multilateralism. Multilateralism must be reconstructed. It requires new global institutions for generating planetary governance capabilities, since the institutions that emerged after World War II were under pressure and

unable to act effectively for the changes demanded by new power relations and the pressures and crises caused by transnational phenomena. This was seen in the United Nations, in the Security Council and the relations with the General Assembly, and in the International Monetary Fund and World Bank's ability to deal with the financial crisis, above and beyond their later recovery, and in the American hemisphere with the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty).

In particular, newly created entities such as the G-20 have not been able to solve the problem; if anything, they demonstrate the difficulties of reaching a consensus. In the G-20, for example, three Latin American countries participate: Mexico, Brazil and Argentina. However, these three do not represent the entire Latin American region; nor have they been able to coordinate their actions in this global forum. Regional organisations have weakened, so there are no shared designs for the new international architecture, an essential factor for addressing the contradictions posed to security in today's world.

The challenges to security require a broad vision, but with a capacity for specific, pinpointed action for each challenge. There is a need to integrate the different levels requiring responses and to associate different actors to achieve greater efficiency. The bases need to be defined, and there needs to be an understanding that security goes beyond the military component, that security nowadays is transnational and interdependent. This becomes more and more significant, given technological developments and the impacts of globalisation. Security is the responsibility of a broad range of social and political actors; there is therefore a need to associate them for both diagnostics and responses. Security thus requires greater cooperation and greater national and international association. It requires a better assessment of the impacts of governance – global as well as regional and local governance – and of the interrelationships between these. In today's world it is true that there are fewer wars, but there is more violence. The different political systems are characterised today by international crises and democratic governance crises. So there is an urgent need for multilateral institutions capable of tackling crises on the basis of prevention. This is the core aspect requiring work, internationally. And domestically, the core aspect is the reaffirmation of democracy.

These are global trends, though their impacts differ in the various regions of the world. In the particular case of Latin America, we need to visualise the transformations produced in the region to see how the association with the international system has generated spaces that have increased conflict in some areas and led to greater crises or provided opportunities, on the other hand, for the region to take part in designing the solution to transnational problems.

4.5 Key Changes and Transformations in Latin America

Latin America has undergone major shifts and transformations in recent decades, in correlation with international changes. The whole set of transformations has brought about structural changes in the region. The main one is that Latin America,

from the standpoint of interstate relations, is a 'peace zone'. Militarily speaking, the Latin American and Caribbean region is an effective interstate peace zone. In effect, it is also a denuclearised region without arms of mass destruction. Moreover, it is also working on banning weapons such as anti-personnel mines.

A second key aspect of the changes in Latin America in the last thirty years is democracy. Democracy is now the norm in Latin America and the Caribbean. All the countries have developed a system based on effective electoral democracy. Whenever the system has faced problems, the region as a whole has pointed it out as an anomaly. Latin American democracy is firmly based on democratic elections. In each nation, whoever wins the elections is recognised by all participants in the respective political system and assumes leadership. Nevertheless, as I point out below, public satisfaction with democracy is diminishing more and more in the region. Disaffection has increased with a consequent impact on democratic coexistence.

A third key aspect is Latin America's economic boom at the onset of the twenty-first century. The changes in the international system, especially in the realm of trade, have made for significant economic growth in Latin America from 2003 to 2009, leading to breakthroughs in the reduction of poverty and, especially, of extreme poverty. This was seen in the growth of the middle classes. But despite all of the above, in the second decade of the twenty-first century there has been a slowdown and major obstacles have arisen as the growth of commodities comes to an end. Since 2010, the region has grown at a much slower pace, and in recent years poverty has even increased (see Fig. 4.1).

Heterogeneity is one of Latin America's primary features. Our region is highly heterogeneous, both regionally and within each country. We have large states together with micro-states. At the same time, major differences can be seen within the countries in terms of development, economic income, access to new technologies, and even access to justice at national level.

Linked to the idea of an emerging peace zone and an explicit recognition of interstate continuity in the region is the lack of acceptance of state fragmentation. This was expressed clearly and manifestly in the case of Bolivia when several provinces tried to propose an 'autonomisation' perspective that Mercosur shot
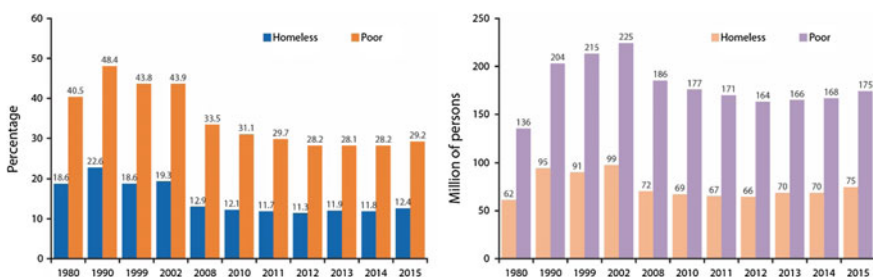
Fig. 4.1 Evolution of poverty and homelessness in Latin America (1980–2015). *Source* ECLAC (2017: 26)

Table 4.1 Judicialisation of Border Disputes in Latin America (2008–2016)

Cases of Conflicts Involving Latin American Countries, Taken to the ICJ 2008–2016		
Countries involved	Dispute	Date Filed at the ICJ
Peru against Chile	Maritime dispute	2008
Ecuador against Colombia	Aerial spraying of herbicides	2008
Mexico against the USA	Request for interpretation of the March 31, 2004 ruling in the case of Avena and other Mexican nationals	2008
Costa Rica against Nicaragua	Certain activities carried out by Nicaragua in the border area	2010
Nicaragua against Costa Rica	Highway construction in Costa Rica along the San Juan River	2011
Bolivia against Chile	Obligation to negotiate access to the Pacific Ocean	2013
Nicaragua against Colombia	Continental shelf delimitation between the two countries	2013
Nicaragua against Colombia	Alleged violations of sovereign rights and maritime space in the Caribbean Sea	2013
Costa Rica versus Nicaragua	Maritime delimitation in the Caribbean Sea and Pacific Ocean	2014
Chile against Bolivia	Dispute over the status and use of Silala River water	2016

Source Author's compilation

down in no uncertain terms. It should be pointed out that there has been judicialisation of these border disagreements. Thus the problems expressed between the different Latin American countries, in both Central and South America, have been judicialised and the disputes have been taken to the International Court of Justice. Table 4.1 shows the progress made on the Court's decisions and the cases that are still pending.

Another feature of Latin America and its transformations is the highly diverse nature of regional integration processes. The region has seen numerous regional integration initiatives, but they have had insufficient force to give the region a single clear voice. This includes the Community of the States of Latin America and the Caribbean (CELAC). The problem is that the wide array of integration options impedes the creation of a single process with substantial force for tackling the most pressing issues. These options have to do with political integration and the decisions taken in that integration, which have to guide economic, social, cultural, and other types of processes. The difficulties are seen today, even in the most basic discussions.

Another key aspect of growing significance for Latin America is the expanding presence of organised crime. Although Latin America is a region of peace, organised crime today is threatening the stability of many governments, both large

and small, with a high incidence of violence that poses governance problems in all our countries. It is worth noting that the term 'failed state' has been applied more than once to different countries in the region. I do not agree with the use of this term for Latin American and Caribbean states. There are no 'failed states' in this region. What is clear is that there are failed *areas* in all countries in the region – areas where the state lacks a presence, where there is no rule of law. The rule of law is absent. There is no police presence, and organised crime has emerged in these areas with renewed force; these areas are not controlled by the state, so other types of leadership have arisen – legitimacies other than democratic legitimacy. At the same time, violence and homicide rates have increased due to the struggle between different factions for control of these areas. The impact of this is obvious, because today Latin America is the world's most violent region.

A final key aspect in Latin America is corruption, which has been shown to have a structural perspective that has significantly weakened every single political system in the region, from Mexico to Chile and Argentina. Corruption has eaten away at the democratic systems, opening opportunities for more organised crime, which is always looking for impunity. Corruption, in symbiosis with organised crime, is quite probably the biggest threat to the region's democratic systems.

4.6 Contradictory Trends in Latin America and the Caribbean

Based on the changes described above, we could say that the Latin American and Caribbean region has at least five fundamental contradictions. These are, to wit:

1. Latin America and the Caribbean is a peace zone, but it is also a region with a high incidence of violence; we are the world's most violent region.
2. Latin America is a denuclearised zone; however, the states have very weak control over light arms, which are linked to organised crime and add to the levels of violence in every single country in the region.
3. Thirdly, the Latin American region has been free of terrorism. This does not mean that there have been no terrorist acts of significance in Buenos Aires or in a specific era linked to drug trafficking, particularly in Colombia, but in general we can state that Latin America and the Caribbean is a region lacking terrorism on a global scale. However, high levels of transnational violence linked to organised crime have affected all countries indiscriminately. And this situation could, under specific circumstances, provide opportunities for terrorism.
4. Fourthly, the region has developed a meaningful conceptual framework, particularly with the agreements reached in the *Declaration on Security in the Americas* (OAS 2003). Operationalisation of these concepts, however, is quite weak. The region lacks the capacity for joint action, which would provide a multidimensional and multilevel perspective for taking these concepts and applying them to the different situations.

5. The fifth aspect refers to institutionality. Security institutions are weak in Latin America and the Caribbean, aside from the Minister of Defence or Minister of Public Security Summits. In general, the institutions for dealing with security and violence and for coming up with policies in this field are weak. Likewise, hemisphere mechanisms – particularly the *Organisation of American States* (OAS) – lack sufficient strength to come up with effective policies in this field. Other Latin American and Caribbean institutions, such as CELAC, have similarly failed to significantly address this field. Where the most progress is foreseen is in sub-regional systems such as the Regional Security System in the Caribbean or a few similar areas in UNASUR.

On another note, one of the biggest challenges being faced by our region is the issue of border disputes inherited from the nineteenth century, which have not been resolved through direct negotiation or conciliation by the states but have, for the most part, been judicialised. On the positive side, it is highly unlikely their resolution will involve militarisation and the use of force. Military spending in this region is low compared to other regions, but it can be significant in a peace zone context.

The region does not accept the use of force, not only because it is a peace zone but also because democratic processes inhibit the use and threat of force for resolving any dispute.
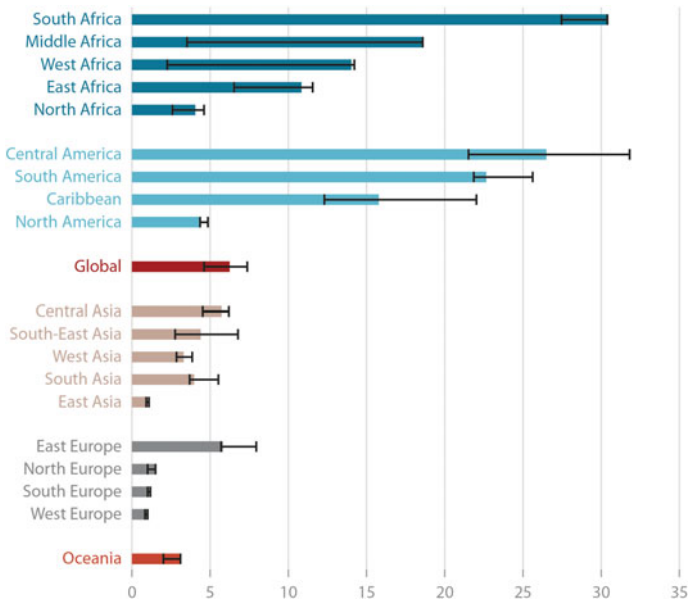
Fig. 4.2 Homicide Rate by Sub-region (2012 or most recent data, per 100,000 inhabitants). *Source* UNODC (2014)

With respect to this, interstate confidence is at a notably very low level. Mutual *confidence- and security-building measures* (CSBMs) have little sway and are mostly just protocol. The follow-up given to them is not enough to generate incentives for making headway along this path. The exceptions to this are perhaps the relations between Argentina and Brazil on the nuclear issue, and in particular the relations between Argentina and Chile, in which there have been major breakthroughs since the resolution of border conflicts in the Nineties and the creation of the Permanent Security Committee, which even led to the creation of a joint binational unit, the Star of the South, placed at the disposition of the United Nations.

Due to its reduced capacity for joint action, there are very few international demands on the region for meaningful action and participation in operations for maintaining the peace. Of note in this regard was the action taken in Haiti, where some nine countries in Latin America and the Caribbean played a significant role, but at present few of the region's countries are permanently active in the United Nations' peace operations.

Violence is the region's biggest problem. Nowadays, the violence is not one of insurgency. Indeed, the last significant conflict was the Colombian conflict, which
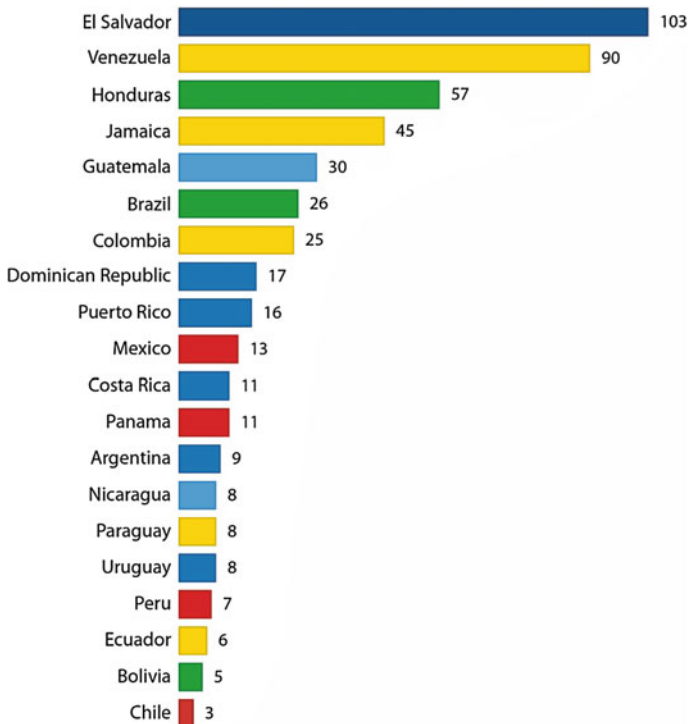
Fig. 4.3 Homicide Rate (per 100,000 inhabitants) in Latin American and Caribbean Countries (2015). *Source* InSight Crime (2016)
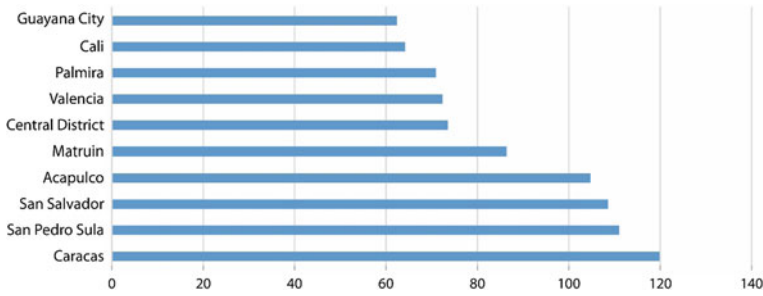
Fig. 4.4 The Ten Latin American Cities with the Highest Homicide Rates (2015). *Source* Author's compilation based on data from the Citizen's Council on Public Security and Criminal Justice (2015)

has been overcome with a peace agreement. Today's violence is linked to murders that are increasingly tied to organised crime and the growing presence of light arms in the region. This is a pandemic, as defined by the World Health Organisation, and it has an enormous impact on the cost of living in all Latin American countries.

The following graphs show homicide rates in the region compared to other regions of the world and homicide rates in 2015 for every one hundred thousand inhabitants in Latin American countries (Figs. 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4). Likewise, Fig. 4.4 shows how the ten Latin American cities with the highest homicide rates affected the global perception of the region in terms of its ability to establish effective peace and effective governance in every single one of our countries.

4.7   Declaration on Security in the Americas

The *Declaration on Security in the Americas* (2003) established a conceptual framework for assessing the new security challenges in Latin America and the hemisphere in general as the twenty-first century got under way. The fundamental concept governing this declaration is multidimensional security, the underlying principles of which were established in the *Declaration of Bridgetown* in 2002. All the accumulated work from the end of the Cold War to 2003 changed the parameters used for visualising security. The approach to security as being linked to military threats, primarily extra-continental or of a regional scope, shifted to one centred on new perspectives, weighted more on non-military threats. The assessment of new, non-traditional threats included political, economic, social, and environmental factors.

This meant that the new threats and concerns were seen as having complex features, giving security a multidimensional nature. And this causes the value of peace and the very principle of peace to be based on democracy, justice, and respect for human rights, solidarity, and international law. That is, the concept of peace was

directly linked to a set of supporting values, and therefore the promotion of those values in the development of democracy, access to justice, full respect for human rights, solidarity within and between nations, and respect for international law provided the foundations for a new way of looking at security in the region.

A second aspect highlighted by the *Declaration on Security in the Americas* is that representative democracy was an indispensable condition for the stability, peace and development of states. This was grounds for arguing that the main reason for security was the protection of the individual, so security is reinforced when we 'strengthen its human dimensions'. That is, the concept of human security was placed at the heart of the protection of individuals. The declaration stated that the conditions of human security improved through full respect for the dignity, human rights, and fundamental freedoms of individuals, economic and social development, socially inclusive education, and the fight against poverty, disease and hunger. This was better expressed as social justice and human development for the stability of each of the states.

The new threats defined by the *Declaration on Security in the Americas* referred to seven basic aspects:

The first was terrorism, organised crime, drugs, corruption, money laundering and arms trafficking and the connections between them. These threats were linked to the use of a new type of force in the region – organised crime – especially because of the preponderance it had already acquired at that time. And this constituted the biggest challenge for the region as a whole, with the possibility of being tied to terrorism.

The second was extreme poverty and social exclusion, which affected stability and democracy, eroding social cohesion and threatening security. Acting to reduce extreme poverty and exclusion was therefore a major way to generate cohesion and obtain a better outlook for security. Insecurity is escalated by the absence of palliative measures for reducing the extreme poverty that leads to greater social exclusion. This can be seen in the rising violence in all of the countries, a violence linked to inequality – primarily in the economic and social spheres.

The third dimension given by the Declaration as a threat was natural and human-caused disasters, pandemics, health risks and environment deterioration – that is, the impact of climate change and natural disasters generated by decisions affecting urban settings and watersheds, in addition to others that affect people's lives.

The fourth aspect – one that has fundamental significance for the region – was human trafficking. Today organised crime has found opportunities to profit from this trafficking, stemming from the interest of individuals to escape from extreme violence or the impoverishment caused by extreme poverty. With large numbers of people seeking a better destination, the countries of origin and transit are vulnerable to criminals and organised crime, which transform these routes into hunting grounds for the capture of human beings for modern-day slavery.

The fifth threat referred to cyber-security attacks. Advances in communications, with the development of instant electronic communication, have created enormous

vulnerabilities for both institutions and individuals. The visualisation and design of state policies for cybersecurity was essential, not only nationally but also regionally.

A sixth aspect involved accidents or incidents connected to the transport of hazardous materials, particularly toxic waste, radioactive material or nuclear material transported through the region over water or land. At the time that the Declaration on Security in the Americas was developed, this was very directly tied to the transport of atomic material from nuclear power plants in Japan to France for recharging, generating a hazard along the entire route.

Finally, the seventh aspect involved the possibility of the possession or use of weapons of mass destruction by terrorists. This particularly affected the protection and capacity for prevention that all countries in the region should have.

4.8   Shortcomings for Tackling the New Challenges

The new threats defined in the *Declaration on Security in the Americas* face three major shortcomings in the region at present. To tackle them, we need to come up with policies and develop actions to reduce these weaknesses.

The first refers to democracy. Support for democracy has fluctuated around 50 per cent since it was first measured in 1995. This support dipped to a low of 48 per cent in 2001, with a peak in recent years at 61 per cent in 2010. From 2010 to the present, support for democracy has declined to 54 per cent, showing a significant trend of discontent with democracy that merits careful attention (Fig. 4.5). In particular, when we analyse a second aspect – that of the measurement of degree of satisfaction with democracy – the figures become even more worrisome (Fig. 4.6), because at present 62 per cent of Latin Americans are dissatisfied with democracy.
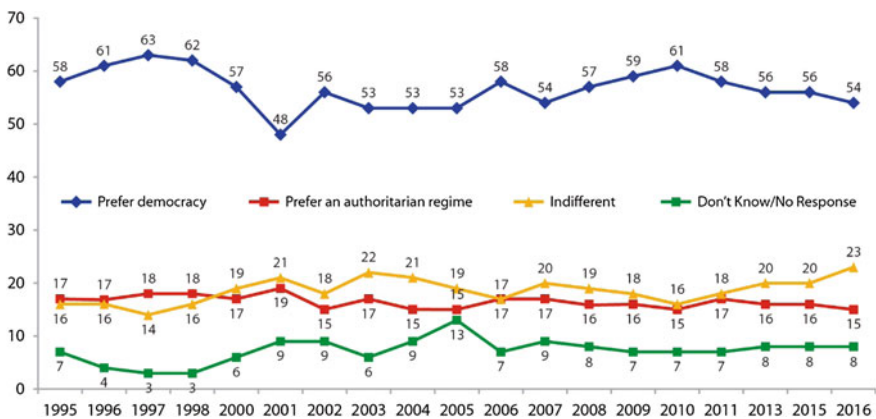
Fig. 4.5 Support for Democracy in Latin America (2016). *Source* Latinobarómetro (2017)
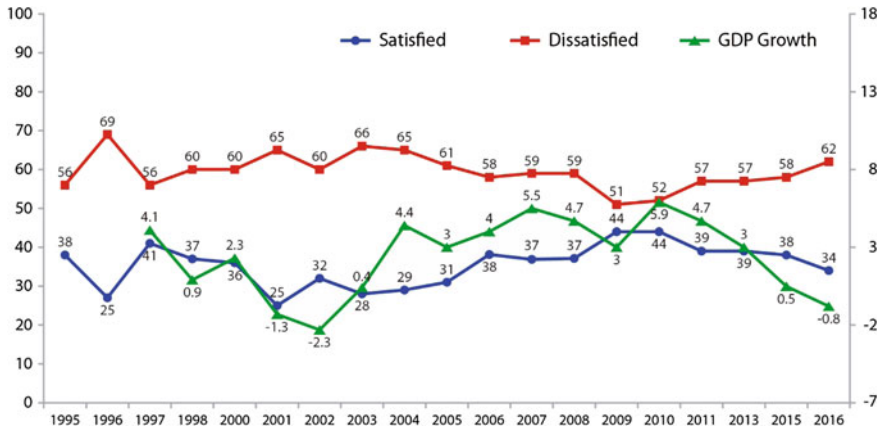
Fig. 4.6 Degree of Satisfaction with Democracy in Latin America (2016). *Source* Latinobarómetro (2017)

Table 4.2 Ranking of Latin America on the Corruption Perceptions Index (2015)

1–33	34–79	80–130	131–179
Uruguay (21)	Costa Rica (40)	Colombia (83)	Haiti (158)
Chile (23)	Jamaica (69)	Peru (88)	Venezuela (158)
	El Salvador (72)	Mexico (95)	
	Panama (72)	Bolivia (99)	
	Trinidad and Tobago (72)	Dominican Republic (103)	
	Brazil (76)	Argentina (107)	
		Ecuador (107)	
		Honduras (112)	
		Guyana (119)	
		Guatemala (123)	
		Nicaragua (130)	
		Paraguay (130)	

Source Transparency International (2015) is licensed under CC-BY-ND 4.0

And this dissatisfaction has risen by ten points – to 62 per cent in 2016 – since 2010, when it was at 52 per cent.

To this we should add that throughout the historical period from 1990 to the present, numerous crises have affected the political systems, bringing about the resignation of some twenty of the region's presidents. Evidence of these trends is

seen in the next set of figures given here, and Table 4.2 shows the heads of state who have had to resign before completing their terms.

A second substantial shortcoming is found in the evolution of the region's poverty and homelessness, linked to economic development in Latin America and the Caribbean (Fig. 4.1). At 1990, almost 50 per cent of the Latin American population (48.4 per cent) lived in poverty, of which 22.6 per cent corresponded to extreme poverty. This figure fell substantially until 2013, with poverty at 28.1 per cent and homelessness at 11.9 per cent. However, in 2014 this figure once again began a slow ascent to 28.2 per cent and 29.2 per cent in 2015. But if we look at it in terms of numbers of people, it means going from 166 million poor people to 175 million poor people. That is, ten million people have fallen back into poverty. This has posed one of the main threats to political systems, as it has generated pressures, increased the demands on the State, and given rise to ungovernability and social conflict.

The third shortcoming has to do with corruption. This is a key aspect because corruption has expanded in the entire region and no country, even those at the top of the international transparency list, is corruption-free. This was shown in the case of Chile, not to mention the cases at the lower end of the list where most Latin American countries are ranked (Table 4.2). The main problem with corruption is that it has created opportunities for impunity, making it possible for organised crime to expand its spheres of action and areas of lawlessness.

These weaknesses, then, together with the violence we've already noted, mark a new kind of violence in the region, one that is urban in essence and prefers the scenario of cities. This is where local efforts – by municipal and local governments – are essential for combating this phenomenon and generating preventative policies. These local efforts are crucial for tackling subcultures such as the drug subculture, gangs, or those particular subcultures that started in the jails and later have expressed themselves territorially in the 'hoods'. It is in the cities and neighbourhoods where territorial disputes have found their expression and where it is the youths – including children – who have been doing the killing and dying. A look at the statistics shows that the ones doing the killing and dying have been between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. This has taken a high toll, particularly in the countries of the northern Central American triangle, but also in Mexico and Brazil.

The growing costs of this new violence have involved the perception of insecurity, rising hospital costs, increased state spending on prevention, and higher social spending on private security, to name a few. Thus, the problem of security has magnified inequality, leading to inequality-related problems that have found expression in the economic and social spheres in all Latin American and Caribbean countries. Fear and distrust have become widespread, with a concomitant erosion of democracy and weakening of the rule of law, creating problems of governance and democratic coexistence in many of the region's countries.

A holistic approach is needed for this, so that the response can be global. That is, the structural causes should be analysed but the response should address the situational problems generating the violence in each of the countries and cities. A comprehensive approach and a policy capable of integrating prevention, repression, and rehabilitation are needed, and for this there must be effective institutional designs where political reform plays an essential role in re-fortifying democracy, reducing the disaffection for it, and conceiving new perspectives for integrated human development. Imperative for this is a reform of the judicial branch, ensuring access to justice that is more adequate and suitable for the entire population, especially the most vulnerable sectors.

In the designs of political structures, the role of local governments has a tendency to grow, and quite often they find themselves with a limited ability to act due to both budgetary reasons and leadership capacity. A more seamless coordination is needed between the national political elite and local governments so that state policies are produced that allow for public policy-building, bringing public assets and access to those assets to the population as a whole.

This means the effective participation of society, incorporating the different civil society organisations in the decision-making or consultations, and this should be a fundamental aspect of the reinforcement of the rule of law.

4.9 A New Security Paradigm

In the context described above, with the serious violence affecting all of Latin America and the Caribbean, there needs to be progress towards building a new security paradigm. An important observation is that the State is not adequately fulfilling its role as fundamental provider of security. The concept of human security indicates that the essential aspects of peoples' lives should be protected, but the State is in no condition to ensure either of the two basic principles of human security: keeping people from fear, due to the widespread violence in their lives; and creating opportunities for people to live a hardship-free life. That is, giving them adequate access to the goods and services indicated in the Declaration of Human Rights with regard to economic and social aspects. We need to come up with a way to promote, materialise, and implement a concept of human security that will include the search and desire for a world free of fear, a world free of need, a world where human individuals are dignified by the State as the primary provider of security. This means we need to come up with a new security paradigm.

The holistic, interdependent, multidimensional and multifocal nature of this new security paradigm should be affirmed in its design. This means there needs to be a global perspective where we can see the different relationships between the many

variables each level and the way very different aspects form a multidimensional whole with a wide variety of factors that affect security. We need to recognise the multicausal nature that leads to violence and insecurity, and at the same time note the many actors – both public and private – appearing on the scene today, and all with international ties.

The new concept should be comprehensive; it should cover all the aspects described above and develop a perspective and complementary convergence of state security and human security. It is imperative to be able to focus and transform this new paradigm into courses of action on the main challenges facing Latin America.

As we have mentioned, these challenges primarily correspond to effective control over the national territory. Without control over the national territory, the lawless spaces will expand, making room for powers other than the State that can exercise their control and acquire a certain degree of legitimacy among the population, affecting state capacities as a whole.

A second matter of special importance in our region is the need to generate universal public policy and focalised policies aimed at overcoming inequalities and poverty. This is especially necessary for mitigating the huge differences between rich and poor that add to the unequal access to public goods. Poverty-reduction policies are essential, as are those for protecting the new middle classes. These tasks must also seek inclusion. Democratic coexistence should be promoted on the basis of widespread citizen participation.

Thirdly, a new concept of security is indispensable for this new paradigm; it needs to be able to build a citizen democracy capable of designing and managing core aspects affecting security, such as the challenges posed by illegal non-state actors in different parts of the territory or the State's weakness in dealing with these new actors and situations. This will be achieved by building state policy, that is, by generating effective public goods through government, opposition, and civil society participation in mapping a route for agreeing on long-term policies that go beyond any specific administration. This will also be essential in building a common voice for the region in the international system. The region will be empowered to exert direct influence over international regulations; otherwise, it will continue to be subject to rules imposed by others.

In the realm of international trade, a major issue for Latin America is the way natural resources are exploited and the 'reprimarisation' of many economies that have suffered ups and downs from volatile commodities trading on international markets. This has had a direct impact on poverty and equality, and has quite often led to conflicts between communities and transnational enterprises or foreign investment and capital with regard to water rights, mining, or environmental stewardship in areas surrounding national parks and special protection for forests, water and ice, among other things.

From the perspective of the major problems faced by the collective security today, according to the broad outlines set out by the United Nations more than a decade ago, we need to look at four major issues:

The first is that all transnational threats are 'intermestic', and any response by a single state is insufficient to overcome them. No state, by itself, has the ability to respond adequately to transnational challenges, transnational threats, or challenges that arise out of the international system and are linked to major global changes, shifting power relations, or specific regional situations. A coalition of states – a concerted effort – would be needed to deal with these threats.

A second issue is that none of the major threats respects national borders. This has been shown very clearly with climate change. Likewise, national borders have meant nothing to financial crises, and much less to pandemics or organised crime.

A third issue is that all the new risks and threats are interrelated. That is to say, the impact of organised crime manifests itself and ties in with actions taken in specific areas that might affect the environment, upset the civil population, or disturb particularly sensitive border areas. These problems have to be faced globally as well as regionally and nationally; they therefore require joint state action, and this is achieved through the institutions created for this purpose. Governance and security are reinforced to the extent that we have more and better democracy, and to the extent that democracy is consolidated as an essential good. The transnational issues should be recognised in their more global perspective by their multidimensional nature. They express themselves at different levels and essentially affect democracies locally but have an impact on the State as a whole. The connection between democratic governance and security as the key to dealing with major transnational issues merits close scrutiny. It requires a coordinated response, the building of more robust institutions, and the creation of effective regional associations.

4.10 Crises as Basic Factors of Regional Conflicts

When we analysed the global trends of armed conflicts over the last 50 or 60 years, we saw that the number of interstate wars had declined since the end of the Cold War, but the number of 'inter-societal' wars and conflicts had risen, and this led to a different kind of conflictive situation to that experienced during the Cold War. At present, the main characteristic of Latin American conflicts is what we might call 'crisis'.

What do we understand by crisis? According to Ury (1985), a crisis is a situation where there is a high involved risk with regard to the conflicting issues at the root of the conflict and the adversaries in those issues, usually linked to power. A second feature is that there is little time to decide on crucial interests and issues, and this

urgency and lack of information creates a dangerously high level of uncertainty. Finally, there is a sense of few usable options to choose from.

When analysing the Latin American political context, we see that potential defence crises exist, but that ways to solve them have been found. In the domestic political field, however, the crises have been manifesting themselves with force since 1990, with *coups d'état* concentrated especially in the first five years of this period, although there were also political crises later in different countries, some involving a questioning of elections, serious international tensions between countries, and, in particular, the removal or resignation of presidents. These were linked to what we mentioned earlier: disaffection and dissatisfaction with democracy, the growing level of corruption leading to greater impunity, and the high degree of inequality found in Latin America, producing pressures in the various countries that manifested themselves in high levels of violence.

4.11   Organised Crime

The biggest crisis faced by all countries in the region, though particularly those in the northern part of Latin America, Mexico, and Central America – and, it could be added, Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil – is linked to drug trafficking and organised crime. Organised crime is a transnational, violent and non-ideological threat that corrupts, seeks impunity, and disposes of massive resources that it uses to wield power to create impunity. With globalisation and interdependence, the prospects for organised crime are reinforced.

International cooperation is needed to tackle it; without such cooperation, the possibilities of dealing with it adequately at national or transnational level are nil. Secondly, diagnostics and shared assessments are needed by the countries in the region if they hope to take on this phenomenon, which is linked to interdependence and globalisation and contributes strongly to eroding democracy and the rule of law. To reinforce the culture of legality, consolidate democratic governance, and coordinate a variety of international actions to limit the power of these criminal groups, we have to build a broader base of cooperation. That means recovering state presence in all corners of the national territory, recovering its monopoly on violence, and limiting and controlling corruption while increasing transparency.

All of this entails building preventative capacity based on coordinated local, national and regional intelligence and simultaneously strengthening police and court capacities. At the heart of this is judicial reform and the rule of law. We need to build a culture of peace and a culture of legality, which will serve as a basis for recovering public spaces, strengthening opportunities for citizen participation, and generating a more democratic coexistence.

Certain basic errors should be avoided when looking at security issues in Latin America. First, not all problems in Latin America refer to insecurity. Security is a big issue, but it is not the only major issue on the Latin American and Caribbean agenda. Thirdly, the concept of 'multidimensionality' in the political or social realm could disorientate the kind of public policy needed to take on security issues. And finally, superimposing the functions of the police and the armed forces to tackle organised crime could lead to a de-professionalisation of both, especially when their roles and mandates for dealing with this growing phenomenon are not clear in the region as a whole.

4.12 Conceptual Challenges in the Field of Security

From both the academic viewpoint and that of public policy-makers, there is clearly a dearth of knowledge about security issues and the problems and situations that have to be faced, particularly concerning organised crime. Continual updating and an effective systematisation of background data will be needed, given the different forms and evolution of organised crime and its rapidly changing actions in the region's different countries.

The first task is to build more knowledge in this field. Academic studies of these matters are greatly lacking, and the level of systematisation is quite low. We will only be able to formulate better public policy if we can achieve better diagnostics and more knowledge.

If there is no consensus among the different national actors or international actors on how to diagnose, prevent and tackle this transnational phenomenon, there cannot be effective public policy and the necessary consensus and agreements will not be reached regionally and internationally for dealing with it. We need better social science on this matter. We need social science that can overcome the dichotomous views that crop up especially at election time or in the public debate of repression versus prevention and between 'guaranteeism' and 'a firm hand'. We need to adopt a comprehensive view, from a shared analysis perspective, capable of systematising both good and bad practices, with the assessments we need in order to formulate effective public policy.

We need to be able to define state policies rather than administrative policies in this field. To deal with this major challenge to democracy posed by organised crime, we need long-term state policies that go beyond the interests of the moment and seek ways to build effective public policy. A multifactorial and multilevel analysis is essential for this, as is planning for state presence throughout the territory, eliminating lawless spaces, so that the rule of law and coordinated regional actions can be implemented in the territory as a whole.

And to do this, we need to develop new conceptual maps. Our inherited maps – the ones that served as a basis for analysis in the Cold War era – are of no use today. They do not reflect the shift in power relations in the international system and within the countries.

The concept of power has changed; heavy-handed military power is no longer effective and the policy of 'iron fist' is inadequate in the face of such phenomena as organised crime. We need to use different kinds of power, including both 'hard,' focused power clearly defined by democratic civil authorities and 'soft' power. Soft power has different impacts, depending on the way the problem is addressed, from the economic, social and cultural standpoints.

One basic problem is that our existing knowledge is highly scattered, highly specialised, and highly fragmented. We need to develop a holistic view in order to build a conceptual map that puts the different bits of knowledge into a global perspective for better understanding and learning about the phenomenon, giving it a multidimensional interpretation. We will need to incorporate the views of both old and new actors on how to involve them in the making and implementing of decisions.

Finally, based on all the foregoing, we can reconfirm our conclusion:

Without human security there is no development, without development there can be no peace, and without peace we cannot exercise any kind of right. 'If you want peace, prepare yourself for peace.' So if we want peace we need to educate for peace and understand the phenomena at the root of peace-building. And this means thinking about the relationship between human security, human development and human rights, such as the basic right to peace.

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Plenary panel Dr. Laura Balbuena (Peru), Dr. Medardo Tapia Uribe (Mexico), Dr. Gilberto López y Rivas (Mexico)

Chapter 5
Global State Terrorism and Asymmetric Wars

Gilberto López y Rivas

Over the years I have described how the United States, as the hegemonic power of the imperialist system, "imposes terrorism on the ranks of global state politics, making it a far more dangerous threat to humanity because it is dominated by a specialised and diversified apparatus of subversion and backed by the military machinery of the largest capitalist state. Most notably since its founding in 1947, the *Central Intelligence Agency* (CIA) has served as the prime task force of the US government, executing the actions of a 'dirty war' that can only be called 'terrorism' based on the definition of the US *Federal Bureau of Investigation* (FBI), which describes it as "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (López y Rivas 2005).

Notable analysts, including Noam Chomsky and William Schulz (director of Amnesty International USA) claim the existence of a form of state terrorism when the State uses its own apparatuses for its operations. Schulz points to three fundamental levels of repression of the social class system: at the first level, repression unfolds through an economic structure; at the second level, the State exercises 'ordinary' systemic repression; and at the third level, the State perpetrates structural repression in violation of national and international rule of law (Schulz 1990: 28; Laquear 2003). State terrorism transgresses the ideological and political frameworks of 'legal' repression (justified by the traditional legal framework) and appeals to 'unconventional' methods, both extensive and intensive, to annihilate armed or unarmed political opposition and social protest.

Based on this view, I have put forth the concept of 'global State terrorism' to describe the policy of violence perpetrated by both local and global State apparatuses against peoples and governments for the purpose of instilling terror in violation of the norms of national and international law. I maintain that emphasis has been placed on individual terrorism and secret terrorist groups across the political spectrum in the study and analysis of terrorism, while ignoring or side-lining state

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terrorism and the role of US imperialism and capitalist states in the organisation of internal and international terrorism.

Calveiro (2012) has asserted that the 'dirty wars' of the twentieth century foreshadowed certain repressive modes of the current global world, led by the United States, which imposed a state of emergency that articulates a *legal* repressive network with an *illegal* repressive network, allowing for the formation of a 'criminal state'. She also expounds on a current 'global hegemonic reorganisation' based on State violence deployed primarily through two major battlefields defined as 'wars against terrorism' and 'against crime'. Both enable the war scenarios required by authoritarian dominations, allowing for the most radical forms of repressive violence. The anti-terrorist war helps preserve and expand the new global order, while the so-called war against crime: "recasts a legal and penitentiary reorganisation that leads to the increased confinement of people, especially the young and poor, for the sake of the internal security of the States. Both wars are interwoven, constructed, and dictated by the central powers – be they nation states or supranational State bodies, and are useful tools for global reorganisation" (Calveiro 2012: 15–16).

William Robinson identifies militarised accumulation as one of the mechanisms used by the transnational capitalist elite to sustain global accumulation in the face of the current crisis: "Making wars and undertaking interventions unleash cycles of destruction and reconstruction, and generate immense profits for an ever-expanding military-prison-industrial-security-financial complex. We are now living in a global war economy that goes beyond the 'hot' wars as in Iraq and Afghanistan. For instance, the war on immigrants in the United States and elsewhere, and more generally, the repression of social movements and vulnerable populations, becomes an accumulation strategy, independent of any political objectives." (Robinson 2013: 8).

I have also denounced the use of the social sciences such as anthropology, geography and psychology in this implementation of counterinsurgency policy and State terrorism. Specifically, American mercenary anthropology justifies close collaboration with the military in imperialist wars, violating the most basic human rights and founding principles of the United Nations. One of its most vocal advocates is American anthropologist Montgomery McFate, who undertook the task of 'educating' the military and whose mission in recent years has been to convince counterinsurgency strategists that 'anthropology can be a more effective weapon than artillery'. McFate is one of the authors of the most recent counterinsurgency manuals and creator of the Pentagon-initiated programme *Human Operating System on the Field* and an adviser for the Office of the Secretary of Defence.

The *Counterinsurgency Manual 3-24* must be read to understand the minds of the policy-makers and thought leaders behind the 'war against terrorism'. The Forward, signed by General Petraeus (who was in charge of the US expeditionary forces in Iraq and later ousted after an extramarital affair scandal) and General James F. Amos of the Marine Corps, states that "The Army and Marine Corps recognize that every insurgency is contextual and presents its own set of challenges." (DOA 2006: 1). Therefore, a counterinsurgency campaign requires

Soldiers and Marines to employ a mix of familiar combat tasks and skills more often associated with non-military agencies. … Soldiers and Marines are expected to be nation builders as well as warriors. They must be prepared to help re-establish institutions and local security forces and assist in rebuilding infrastructure and basic services. They must be able to facilitate establishing local governance and the rule of law. The list of such tasks is long; performing them involves extensive coordination and cooperation with many inter-governmental, host-nation, and international agencies. … Conducting a successful counterinsurgency campaign requires a flexible, adaptive force led by agile, well-informed, culturally astute leaders (DOA 2006: 1).

The neocolonial occupation of Iraq exposed how these 'builders of nations' executed a war without any justification, violating the international legal framework of an independent State and a member of the United Nations, causing the death of more than 1.5 million Iraqis, the destruction of the basic infrastructure of public services, the exodus of millions of people, the looting and destruction of their cultural heritage, and the premeditated murder of their writers, teachers, doctors and lawyers. The occupying power established a collaborationist government that it euphemistically calls the 'host-nation government', which is sustained only by the lethal cultural cunning of Soldiers and Marines and the rule of law of the United States.

A basic assumption of the *Counterinsurgency Manual 3-24* is that the United States has the right to intervene militarily anywhere in the world, which is in complete contradiction to the principles and the international legal framework of non-intervention in internal affairs that gave rise to and constitute the foundation of the Organisation of the United Nations. The *Manual* states that its doctrine

by definition is broad in scope and involves principles, tactics, techniques, and procedures applicable worldwide '… The purpose of this publication is to help prepare Army and Marine Corps leaders to conduct COIN (counterinsurgency) operations' anywhere in the world (DOA 2006: 9).

To justify this military extraterritoriality, strategists use a legal entelechy called 'host nation', whereby a government 'invites' the United States to carry out counterinsurgency against its own people, even though 'authority' is imposed after the overthrow of the legally constituted government and the military occupation of the country by the expeditionary forces of the United States.

Another of the *idée-force* of the *Manual* is that the United States possesses an overwhelming conventional military superiority and therefore its enemies struggle through an unconventional war:

mixing modern technology with ancient techniques of insurgency and terrorism … In COIN, the side that learns faster and adapts more rapidly – the better learning organisation – usually wins. Counterinsurgencies have been called learning competitions. Thus, this publication identifies 'Learn and Adapt' as a modern COIN imperative for US Forces (DOA 2006: 9).

Based on this premise, the biggest 'discovery' of the *Manual* is its anthropological tint:

Cultural knowledge is essential to waging a successful counterinsurgency. American ideas of what is 'normal' or 'rational' are not universal. To the contrary, members of other

societies often have different notions of rationality, appropriate behaviour, level of religious devotion, and norms concerning gender (DOA 2006: 115).

As the anthropologist David Price maintains, the First World War was known as the 'chemical war' (with the introduction of toxic gases), and the Second World War as 'the physicists' war' (with the use of atomic energy for military purposes); the cultural knowledge required today for counterinsurgency and the occupation of countries in neocolonial wars has led many Pentagon strategists to think of contemporary wars as the 'wars of anthropologists'.

The true acculturation process of American soldiers reaches far beyond the scope of the manuals, according to one veteran of the Iraq war:

> I have been a psychopathic killer because I was trained to kill. I was not born with that mentality. It was the Marine Corps that educated me to be a 'gangster' of US corporations, a delinquent. I was trained to blindly obey the order of the President of the United States and bring him home what he asked, without regard for any moral considerations. I was a psychopath because we were taught to shoot first and then ask, as would a sick man and not a professional soldier who should only face another soldier. If we had to kill women and children, we would. Therefore, we were not soldiers, but mercenaries (Massey 2007: 1).

If intelligence work in any type of war is crucial, counterinsurgency is particularly so, points out the US military. For this reason, the central chapter of the *Counterinsurgency Manual 3-24* deals precisely with the characteristics of intelligence in this 'asymmetric' war. What is more, because the conflagrations waged by the United States take place in culturally 'alien' spaces, a military 'discovery' has been the collaboration of social scientists in the imperialist campaigns against revolutionary and national resistance movements. Counter-insurgent anthropologist McFate (2005: 24) explains it this way:

> In a conflict between symmetric adversaries, in which both are evenly matched and using similar technology, understanding the adversary's culture is largely irrelevant. The Cold War, for all its complexity, pitted two powers of European heritage against each other. In a counterinsurgency operation against a non-Western adversary, however, culture matters.

Since military commanders and planners 'require insight into cultures, perceptions, values, beliefs, interests and decision-making processes of individuals and groups,' the Pentagon has assembled teams of experts in economics, anthropology, and political science who take part in what is technically called the 'Intelligence Preparation of the Battlefield'. This process consists of a continuous and systematic analysis of possible threats from the enemy and the environment in a specific geographic region. Yet the social scientists are no more than an instrument of war, since the final decisions are made by military personnel.

It would matter little, however, if the military adopted more diligent conceptual frameworks of anthropology rather than reducing it to a psychological theory full of ethnocentric stereotypes. The objective of the United States, with its armed forces in the role of the hegemonic power of imperialist countries, would be precisely the same: to protect its own geostrategic interests and those of its transnational corporations through military, police and permanent intelligence intervention in all regions of the world; support like-minded dictators or rulers; form coup

counterparts in their counterinsurgency schools; continue to train national armies to become occupying forces in their service and to control insurgencies and dissidents of all kinds; to torture, disappear, kidnap, execute, infiltrate, or co-opt through state transcultural operations of global terrorism carried out by the 'rambos' of the Special Forces who tinker with polite words in Spanish or Arabic while their Esperanto pickaxes slice through bodies and their weapons of universal destruction annihilate entire peoples.

The core crude message of the *Guide* does not require any anthropological interpretation:

> [Special Forces] advisors must keep in mind that their primary aim is to forward US policy … major responsibilities include area defence, counterinsurgency, and the procurement and employment of US support … maintaining liaison with police and intelligence agencies responsible for countersubversion. … Assisting in the establishment of an adequate security program to safeguard against subversion, espionage, and sabotage (US Special Forces Advisor Guide, Headquarters, Department of the Army, Training Circular, 31–73, July 2008, www.us.mil).

Meanwhile, in the field of the counter-insurgent use of geography, one of the most important 'theoretical' assumptions, a *raison d'être* of the so-called Bowman expeditions, came from Lieutenant Colonel Geoffrey B. Demarest, who, before forming part of the 'Mexico Indígena Project' and being denounced in 2006 as one of its main analysts, had a 'very distinguished' service sheet in favour of the counterinsurgency efforts of US imperialism in Latin America. Demarest was trained at the Army's School of the Americas in his country, a centre for torturers and coup leaders in the region, and served as military attaché to the United States Embassy in Guatemala between 1988 and 1991, precisely during the rise of the dirty war, infamous for the terrible massacres against indigenous populations. The lieutenant colonel also put into practice his 'specialised' knowledge in Colombia, and wrote an essay published by the Office of Military Studies Abroad, with the title of *Mapping Colombia: geographic information and strategy*, in which he openly correlates its geographic studies with the development of a successful counterinsurgency war.

This military expert maintains as his main working hypothesis that communal property is the matrix of criminality and insurgency; moreover, Demarest points out that 'informally owned and unregulated land ownership encourages illicit land use and violence' and, hence, he proposes privatisation as 'the only path to progress and security in Latin America'. In short, for this researcher assigned by the *Foreign Military Studies Office* (FMSO) to the Bowman Expeditions, the disappearance of forms of collective ownership that underpin the autonomous processes of indigenous peoples is fundamental, since "strategic power becomes the ability to retain and acquire rights of property around the world" (DOA 2006).

The *Field Manual* (DOA 2006) shows tactics, techniques and internal defence procedures for Special Forces abroad. It is the third manual in a series produced by the US Department of Defence to instruct and guide its soldiers in meddling and repressive tasks at global level, under the propagandist cover of 'helping' other governments to free and protect their societies from subversion, disorder and insurgency.

This *Manual* states that:

A basic premise of our foreign policy is that the security of the United States, its funda-
mental values and institutions (read: capitalism) will be best preserved and enhanced as part
of a community of truly free and independent nations. (Read: subject to the imperial orbit).
In this regard, the United States strives to encourage other countries to do their part in the
preservation of this freedom and independence (read: authoritarian regime and renouncing
sovereignty). The objective is to support US interests by means of a common effort. Where
significant US national interests are involved (read: corporations, oil, geostrategic territo-
ries), the United States may provide economic and military assistance to supplement the
efforts of such governments (read: to maintain the established order) (Field Manual
31-20-3: 1 and 2).

In short, the political purpose of the manual is to defend the interests of US
imperialism through counterinsurgency consulting and training of troops of sepoys
of the host nation.

Based on this 'essential proposition', the manual covers in detail all facets of the
counterinsurgency war, monitored by the US military, including: activities prior to
the interventionist mission, preliminary analyses, training permits, deployment in
the host nation, troop training programmes, tactical operations, population control,
joint operations, post-mission activities, as well as annexes ranging from legal
considerations, intelligence operations, civil self-defence forces (paramilitary),
establishment of bases, mining techniques, etc.

Another aspect to be highlighted in the *Manual* is the importance it attaches to
the recruitment and integration of 'paramilitary or irregular forces' as an integral
part of the counterinsurgency battle, a clandestine component that has been
denounced on several occasions for the Mexican case, which continues to play a
strategic role with the activities of drug trafficking groups acting as paramilitaries.

Furthermore, the manual is very clear as to the direct involvement of US combat
forces if the status of the host nation's government deteriorates to the point where
the vital interests of the United States are in danger and to ensure a decisive change
in the conflict, which may be not only counterinsurgent but also caused by drug
trafficking. This aspect must be taken very seriously for a more responsible analysis
of the Mexican situation.

The activities of 'death squads' or thug groups is approved in the text and even
described with precision:

Hunter-killer. Friendly forces can use this technique in consolidation operations … They
use this technique to hunt down and destroy small, isolated enemies. The hunter-killer team
consists of two elements: the hunters and the killers. The hunter element is lightly equipped
and highly mobile. Its mission is to track down enemy forces while maintaining constant
communication with the killer element, that is on the alert and ready for action. When the
hunter element makes contact, it notifies the killer element (Field Manual 31-20-3, 'Tactics,
Techniques, and Procedures of Inner Defence for Special Forces Abroad', page C-3).

The military branch of the US government employs about half a million soldiers,
spies, technicians and civil contractors in other nations. In addition to monitoring
what people in the world, including US citizens themselves, are talking and
emailing about, these secret facilities benefit industries that design and supply
weapons to their armies. Moreover, entire sectors of the economy have come to rely

on the military. During the war of conquest of Iraq, for example, the Department of Defence, while ordering an extra ration of cruise missiles and tanks with depleted uranium ammunition, also purchased 273,000 bottles of a sun block that benefited the manufacturers of those products located in Oklahoma and Florida.

In addition, US imperialism has steadily pursued an alleged battle against the illicit drug business, whose real purpose is to allow the United States to intervene where it wishes, where it has interests, or where its interests may be affected. Stopping drug consumption could hardly be further from its intention. This policy is consubstantial to the overall control plans. This is the policy that has provided the US Government with a weapon of political-military domination. In fact, the alleged fight against drug trafficking is in reality the staging of a bloody theatrical production. It is a frontal combat against the organised rural popular movements, in which the oligarchies and their governments, in Colombia and now Mexico, for example, have dutifully subordinated themselves to the strategies of the United States to serve as a platform for counterinsurgency, criminalisation of the resistance, and the militarisation and paramilitarisation of Latin America. What is more, the induced drug use, particularly among youth, is central to the maintenance of the capitalist system, much as is the war.

In the case of Mexico, a new mode of dirty war is currently being imposed; it is the modality of the so-called 'war against drug trafficking'. It uses the term 'dirty war' to define a type of State crime that – on the fringes of the Constitution and laws – is intended to annihilate the so-called 'internal enemies' by locating, tracking, capturing, interrogating through torture, maintenance of secret prisons or 'black sites', forced disappearances and extrajudicial executions, all carried out by members of the armed forces, police and intelligence agents, paramilitary groups (acting under the orders – usually – of the 2nd Military Intelligence Battalion), or gangs of organised crime that constitutes the illegal, secret, supplementary and complementary face of capitalist accumulation in Mexico. Furthermore, the counterinsurgency missions of the armed forces in Chiapas and other states in Mexico have been extended and expanded in the modality that sets off the so-called 'war against drug trafficking and terrorism'.

In the current form of neoliberal globalisation concomitant contradictions of capitalism become aggravated, side-lining any mediation and any of the relatively peaceful forms on which capitalism has stood upon to extend its hegemony. The neocolonial preventative war, which includes the territorial occupation of countries, the criminalisation of all opposition through the battle against 'terrorism' and drug trafficking, state terrorism, and the rupture of the international legal order, are characteristic of this new stage of capitalism, which Donald Trump will undoubtedly continue to support as commander-in-chief of the enormous destructive machine at his disposal. The most terrible enemy of peace and the very survival of the human species is capitalism and the concentration of wealth in a small minority (Oxfam 2017). This enemy is powerful, but not invincible, and no matter how terrible the repression of State terrorism, it has never been able to stop the revolutionary efforts of the people.

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Participants during the 10th CLAIP Conference

Chapter 6
Strategic Concepts for Training in Integrated Defence of Peace and Security in Cyberspace

Luis Holder and Julio Cárdenas

6.1 Introduction

The IT technician Edward Snowden denounced the United States for formulating and executing governmental policies which damage the safety of cyberspace or cybersafety, with the leading support of universities and jointly with transnational corporations from the IT and telecommunications sectors and other disciplines of the applied sciences. Such a denunciation caused great confusion in the majority of the citizens across the world, who think that such conduct constitutes a flagrant violation of the human rights of privacy and freedom of thought (Thiber 2016).

It is necessary to add that Edward Snowden's confidences are not new, because the United States has always led operations of destabilisation and espionage against its enemies and allies. Interfering or intercepting the flow of information is a recurring behavior of the United States, both against its enemies and its allies. In May 1942, a few months after the assault of the Japanese on Pearl Harbor, the *Military Intelligence Service* (MY) of the United States created a special section dedicated to coordinating the intelligence of signs or SIGINT (derived from the English phrase 'Signal Intelligence') to accelerate progress in the nascent 'electronic warfare' (Fojón Chamorro 2013), defined later in the classic work of Fitts (1980: 1) as: "The electronic war is a military action that involves the use of

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electromagnetic energy in order to determine, to exploit, to reduce or to prevent the hostile use of the electromagnetic spectrum and to preserve the electromagnetic spectrum for friendly use."

In the context of the incipient paradigm of 'electronic warfare', the Brigadier General Carter Clarke, founder responsible for SIGINT's section, postulated the following corollary: 'Our allies today will be tomorrow's enemies. Let us learn by any means all we can of them until the enmity appears.' There is no doubt that cyberspace, which also includes the electromagnetic spectrum, as conceived by the United States in the twentieth century, is and will be ontologically insecure in the light of the Clarke corollary (Fojón Chamorro 2013).

In linguistic terms, cyberspace is defined by the *Dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy* (DRAE) as the 'artificial environment created by computer means'. However, the DRAE does not define the terms 'cybersecurity' or 'cyberdefence'. In any case, the prefix 'cyber-' is associated with the cybernetic world. Cybernetics comprises the 'study of analogies between the systems of control and communication of living beings and those of machines; and in a narrow sense the applications of biological regulation mechanisms'. Etymologically, that word has its origin in 'κυβερνητικ' from the Greek, which means the 'art of governing a ship'. We could therefore assume that cybersecurity refers to the security of cyberspace, while cyber-defence would be understood as the defence of cyberspace and the people present in it.

From the point of view of Information and Communication Technologies, cyberspace would be defined as a set of communication networks, information systems and controls that are interconnected directly or indirectly. Cyberspace conceived in this way is subject to vulnerabilities inherent to its use and threats from within or from the environment, which can be caused by the human factor or technological devices. Consequently, people who access cyberspace, with their different cultures and motivations in a globalised world like the present, require the necessary security for the normal functioning of our modern society.

Edward Snowden provided experiential elements to more accurately characterise the synergistic cooperation between the National Security Agency, universities, industry and the banking-financial sector to ensure the United States hegemony over its enemies and allies. In such a scenario of permanent threats or planned insecurity for cyberspace, it inevitably indicates the necessity for a strategic concept to educate in favour of the 'integral defence of peace and security in cyberspace'.

Universities, as institutions of the world, are called on to educate citizens to act in the comprehensive defence of multidimensional security and peace in cyberspace. This task is essential, given that, in the perspective of Kuhn (1995), we are witnessing a scientific revolution in continuous development, characterised by connectivity and transformation in the mode of production through the collaborative work that is allowed in cyberspace (Gershenfeld 2012). In a situation of peace, cyberspace structures facilitate social networks for all purposes, ranging from the socialisation of labour through global manufacturing processes and regionalised as allowed by 'Fab-Lab' technology (Holder/Inkinen 2016), to the genesis of entrepreneurs and investors of any dimension, impacting the cultural patterns of society

in general. Because of the dissimilar interests of those who live in or for cyberspace, the probability of conflict is always latent, and in extreme cases such a holistic space can become a theatre for limited or total wars.

In this section, we intend to conduct a comparative analysis of the strategic concepts of the United States and Venezuela to identify the formative processes from an integral and multidimensional approach of security in cyberspace. The comparative analysis considers as fundamental the paradigm of *Defensa Integral* (Integral Defence), through which Venezuela has travelled for more than a decade, as opposed to the Comprehensive Defence approach, established in the context of the United States global war against terrorism after 2001. This comparison serves the purpose of formulating a model to educate in favour of the integral defence of peace and cybersecurity.

6.2 Strategic Concept

6.2.1 Conceptualisation from the Perspective of the United States

According to a report produced in December 2008 by the *Center for Strategic and International Cooperation* (CSIS), cyber warfare is considered to be the 'hidden battle', similar to that of signal intelligence in World War II. That report concludes that "the failure of the United States to protect cyberspace is one of the most important national security problems" (Lewis et al. 2008: 11).

Even with such vulnerability detected by the CSIS, it is no less true that the United States is recognised in contemporary history as the country that funded research and development to create the technologies that allowed cyberspace to exist in the way it is conceived today. This cyberspace has seen a rapid growth in the geopolitical dimension, with its vulnerabilities and threats, which prompted President Barack Obama to enact in 2009 what is known as the *Comprehensive National Cybersecurity Initiative* to defend and guarantee the security of the 'America's digital infrastructure'.

'Strengthening cyber education' is the strategic guideline numbered as the eighth ordinal of the 'national cybersecurity integral initiative'. This strategic guideline directs public policy so that the United States invests more and more in education and research to effectively ensure the technical competitiveness and future cyber-security of the United States. This line of reasoning led to the formulation of the *National Strategic Plan for Education in Cybersecurity* by the National Institute of Standards and Technology, which aims to create a 'digital economy enabled by a knowledgeable and skilled cybersecurity workforce', that is, a digital economy driven by a trained and knowledgeable cybersecurity workforce.

The above information confirms that, for the United States, cybersecurity is of vital importance and is always associated with conflict. Recall that in the classic

doctrine of war seven principles are identified, among which safety is one of them. After World War II, the United States erected its power over the theory and ideology of 'national security'. In this regard, the US Department of Defence's *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (quoted in Holder 2014: 172) states how the United States understands in theory and praxis the term 'national security':

> It is a complex term which encompasses the national defence and the foreign relations of the United States, with the purpose of obtaining military and defensive advantages over any nation or group of foreign nations; a favourable position in foreign relations, a defence capable of successfully resisting hostile or destructive action from within or from outside, open or covert.

> In the light of the above definition, it is inferred that cybersecurity is something that we must locate in the political and military context for analysis in order to elaborate strategic concepts that allow us to develop downstream project planning and design processes, in any of the areas of power. In line with the above, we are required to know and take into account the definition of fundamental concepts of terminology for joint operations in cyberspace promulgated from the office of the sub-chief of the joint staff of the system (Joint Terminology for Cyberspace Operations 2010).

> A. *Cyberspace* (NSM-CO): Domain characterised by the use of electronics and the electromagnetic spectrum to store, modify, and exchange data via networked systems and associated physical infrastructures.
>
> B. *Cyber Defence*: The integrated application of DoD or US Government cyberspace capabilities and processes to synchronise in real-time the ability to detect, analyse and mitigate threats and vulnerabilities, and outmanoeuvre adversaries, in order to defend designated networks, protect critical missions, and enable US freedom of action.
>
> C. *Cyber-Security*: All organisational actions required to ensure freedom from danger and risk to the security of information in all its forms (electronic, physical), and the security of the systems and networks where information is stored, accessed, processed, and transmitted, including precautions taken to guard against crime, attack, sabotage, espionage, accidents, and failures. Cybersecurity risks may include those that damage stakeholder trust and confidence, affect customer retention and growth, violate customer and partner identity and privacy protections, disrupt the ability to conduct or fulfil business transactions, adversely affect health and cause loss of life, and adversely affect the operations of national critical infrastructures.
>
> D. *Cyberspace Superiority*: The degree of dominance in cyberspace by one force that permits the secure, reliable conduct of operations by that force, and its related land, air, sea, and space forces at a given time and sphere of operations without prohibitive interference by an adversary.
>
> E. *Cyber Warfare* (CW): An armed conflict conducted in whole or part by cyber means. Military operations conducted to deny an opposing force the effective use of cyberspace systems and weapons in a conflict. It includes cyber attack, cyber defence, and cyber enabling actions.
>
> F. *Cyber Attack*: A hostile act using computer or related networks or systems, and intended to disrupt and/or destroy an adversary's critical cyber systems, assets, or functions. The intended effects of cyber attack are not necessarily limited to the targeted computer systems or data themselves – for instance, attacks on computer systems which are intended to degrade or destroy infrastructure or C2 capability. A cyber attack may use intermediate delivery vehicles, including peripheral devices, electronic transmitters, embedded code, or human operators. The activation or effect of a cyber attack may be widely separated temporally and geographically from the delivery.

G. *National Military Strategy for Cyberspace Operations* (NMS-CO): The comprehensive strategy of the US Armed Forces to ensure US military superiority in cyberspace. The NMS-CO establishes a common understanding of cyberspace and sets forth a military strategic framework that orients and focuses DOD actions in the areas of military, intelligence, and business operations in and through cyberspace.

From the above it can be concluded that this comprehensive approach of the United States to address the problems associated with cyberspace privileges the participation and exclusive role of the military elite that indirectly governs that country and that is assumed as a power factor of military and even geopolitical power (Petras 2016). "Cyberspace is … as the lords of war have understood very well, a territory occupied by billions of people that must be controlled and militarised with great urgency, and that is why they are replicating the structures of the physical world in the digital universe" (Elizalde 2011: 3).

In short, US cybersecurity policy, conceptualised since 29 May 2009 by President Barack Obama, shows that a focus on the conflagration is favoured instead of seeking cooperation for international peace and security in cyberspace. In addition, the United States considers that the goal of cybersecurity can best be achieved through a State-centred approach, which it is to say the 'State of national security' or 'police state' – as denounced by Edward Snowden – with the fundamental purpose of ensuring the security of their own assets and critical infrastructures of information and communication, leaving aside the guarantee and promotion of 'human security' for US citizens and the rest of the inhabitants of planet earth.

6.2.2 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework in the Vision of Venezuela

In our latitudes, with the refoundation of the Venezuelan homeland as a nation since 1999, the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela was enshrined in the responsibility of the State and citizens as the guiding principle of relations in society, especially for the defence of the nation. It promotes a holistic approach that differs from the comprehensive approach in the so-called Western world, led by the United States, which has war as the fundamental mechanism for its relationship with the world. The integral defence and multidimensional approach to security for Venezuela is based on values and principles, while article one of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela establishes 'international peace' as the most important goal to achieve:

Article 1. The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is irrevocably free and independent and bases its moral heritage and values of freedom, equality, justice and international peace on the doctrine of Simon Bolivar, the Liberator. Independence, freedom, sovereignty, immunity, territorial integrity and national self-determination are inalienable rights of the Nation.

In Venezuela, citizens constitutionally make life in a 'participatory and pro-tagonist democracy' as a system of government, which is a political model that allows citizens to associate and form organisations to make joint decisions in matters related to the traditional conduct of the State and emerging areas such as cybersecurity. In the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 'security of the nation' is an essential responsibility of the State, and the people in co-responsibility with the Venezuelan State must assume the *Defensa Integral de la Nación* [Integral Defence of the Nation].

Because it is a concrete and material responsibility of the State, the security of the nation in Venezuela privileges the objective rather than the subjective dimension (Holder 2014). The 'integral development of the nation' is considered to be an independent variable in relation to the 'security of the nation', which is assumed as an end, but subordinated to internal and international peace, which is a superior principle of the nation (Morgenthau 1963), similar perhaps to the strategic position of some Baltic countries (Finland's Ministry of Defence 2008) but contrary to the 'comprehensive approach' of the United States that draws on warfare through various stratagems such as 'hard power', 'soft power' and 'smart power', known as the 'National Security State' (Raskin 1976).

The constitutional order of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela recognises the public interest in science, technology, innovation and information services in order to achieve the economic, social and political development of the country. For its part, the *Bolivarian National Armed Forces* (FANB) in its strategic military concept raises the intensive use of information and communication technologies, specifically "a telematics system that groups the areas of command, control, communications, intelligence and information technology integrated and interrelated at decision-making levels, allowing interoperability and proper conduct of specific, supportive, joint and combined military operations" (Zavarce/Cárdenas 2009) with cybersecurity.

In Fig. 6.1, it is interpreted that the construct of the 'strategic concept of the Venezuelan nation' is supported by a 'Bolivarianist doctrine' that is evolving in theory and praxis (Fernández Pereira 2013), marked by culture, history and scientific knowledge, with work, education and research being the driving force for the achievement of the goals of the democratic, social, legal and democratic nation-state enshrined in the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. The Strategic Concept to educate in favour of the 'integral defence of peace and security in cyberspace' should also be anchored in political idealism (Angiolillo Fernández 2012) and the defensive realism (Waltz 1979) of the theory of International Relations. The previous proposal derives from the fact that the security dilemma is also inherent in cyberspace.

It was Herz (1950) who introduced the concept of the 'security dilemma' in the context of the current political realism. Such a dilemma concerns the perceived insecurity experienced by certain States, as a result of the intentions of other States armed in the name of security, and in so doing, sets in motion a vicious circle that pressures all States to live with the dilemma of uncertainty regarding security, as a

Fig. 6.1 International peace as *summum bonum* (highest goal) of the strategic concept. *Source* The Authors

product of perceptions or sensations and not concrete reality (Ugarte 2008). This 'security dilemma' is also imbued in the case of cybersecurity.

Because it is its creator, it would be very risky not to recognise that the United States has a competitive advantage in cyberspace, even though it does not necessarily show absolute superiority. Consequently, any strategic conceptualisation should take into account defensive realism as an alter ego to face the security dilemma that is consubstantial with cyberspace. Carl von Clausewitz considered that a ratio of three to one should be sought in favour of defence in a conflict. This scenario means that the one who assumes the offensive will require three units to attack instead of one unit of the adversary to defend their positions.

Faced with such an imbalance of power derived from the real power of the United States, Venezuela from the beginning of the twenty-first century viewed the internet and indirectly cyberspace as a fundamental issue for the security of the nation. Thus, through Decree Law No. 825 of 10 May 2000, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela declares access to and use of the Internet as a priority policy for the economic, social, political and cultural development of the country. To defend itself against offensive actions in cyberspace, since 2007 Venezuela has used the *National System of Incident Management Telematics* (better known in the World Wide Web by the acronym VenCERT), whose mission is prevention, detection and management of the incidents generated in the Internet information systems of the national public administration and organisations responsible for critical infrastructures (VenCERT 2008). The actions that Venezuela plans or develops from the defensive realism paradigm of cyberspace aim to promote the materialisation of 'international peace' as one of the fundamental values enshrined

in the preamble and the first article of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic from Venezuela.

Our proposal is in favour of peace and cooperation in 'integral defence', in discord with the currents of thought that consider defensive realism to be an invalid option to face the real or self-induced threats by the nation states of imperialist tradition. Some authors point out that the foreign policy of the Russian Federation in the twenty-first century is part of defensive realism (Pignatari Silva 2010) and its results could be considered to be relatively successful in favour of that country of the BRICS multi-polar block (Arroyo Belmonte 2016).

Elizalde (2011: 3) is convinced that

> cyberwar – in the military or social sense of the term if preferred – can only be opposed to active cyber defence…without rhetoric and without ingenuity, with the certainty to overcome the imperial model in these new circumstances from ignorance or prejudice. Only knowledge will give us the alternatives and the liberating instruments in scenarios that must be studied in order to understand them [and] know how they work. It is in [cyberspace] and not elsewhere that we must develop a revolutionary thought that reinforces the bonds of interaction and collaboration with those who are already there [for] different ways [to oppose] the postmodern madness of the remote control conscience and digital evangelisation that pretends to make us believe that software is a social network.

Figure 6.2 illustrates the differentiating elements and their interrelation for the formulation of the 'strategic concept of the Venezuelan nation', which privileges science for peace in cyberspace, which guarantees the security of all citizens within an axiological framework of equality and freedom, as opposed to the hegemonic model that privileges the territorial expansion of nation states like the United States, which is nourished by the 'Monroe Doctrine' and projected with the geopolitical
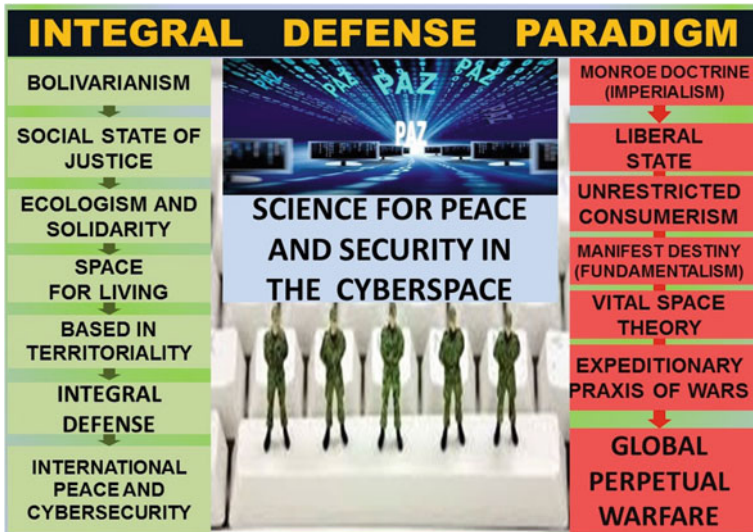
Fig. 6.2 Differentiating elements that support the strategic concepts. *Source* The Authors

theory of living space, adopted by Adolf Hitler in his invasive adventures during the first half of the twentieth century, and in a similar way in contemporary times to justify cyberwarfare and the indiscriminate espionage of all the inhabitants of the planet and the 'perpetual global war' (Barnes 1953) as a just cause, causing the massive violation of human rights by a police state as George Orwell prophesied in the novel *1984*.

The illustrious Venezuelan Brigadier Victor Maldonado Michelena was the intellectual who for the first time developed the theoretical and conceptual construct for the category 'integral defence of the nation' (Maldonado Michelena 1962). The theoretical-conceptual construct of Maldonado Michelena has full validity and applicability in the context of the unconventional war paradigm of the twenty-first century. This contribution of Maldonado Michelena to the military arts and sciences is enshrined in the constitutional text and the National Security Law of the Nation (LOSN), defining the integral defence of the nation as:

> Article 3 of the LOSN: Comprehensive Defence, for the purposes of this Law, is the set of systems, methods, measures and actions of Defence, whatever their nature and intensity, that actively formulates, coordinates and executes the State with the participation of public and private institutions, and natural and legal persons, national or foreign, in order to safeguard the independence, freedom, democracy, sovereignty, territorial integrity and integral development of the Nation.

Since its creation in 1999, a curriculum has been developed at the *National Polytechnic Experimental University of the Bolivarian National Armed Forces* (UNEFA), which includes cross-curricular scientific knowledge and the arts for the 'integral defence of the nation', which is planned and administered by the Vice Rectorate of integral defence of the nation. The comprehensive defence education programmes of the nation that are taught in each semester of the courses offered by UNEFA, guide the educational process towards the formation of a citizen with an adequate performance for the protection of the integrity of the Republic and preservation of the goods and social life of Venezuelans through scientific, philosophical, technological, humanistic and ethical knowledge, as well as every day and ancestral knowledge, which provides them with competences for the responsible fulfilment of the integral defence of security, military security, political security, geospatial security, cultural security, social security, environmental security, and citizen security, among a broader set.

Up to now, the implementation of the above-mentioned educational programme has contributed to the solid and integrated academic training of students in order to achieve the ultimate objectives of their proficiency profiles to ensure responsible compliance with the 'integral defence of the nation'. This is also in accordance with the principles and values of the UNEFA community, such as solidarity, independence, sovereignty, democracy, equality, peace, freedom, justice, environmental promotion and conservation, affirmation of human rights, the sponsorship of democratic participation and the involvement of citizens in the decision-making process that enables the individual and collective needs of the Venezuelan population to be satisfied.

Currently, curricula are being finalised so that the academic offer of UNEFA in 2017 contemplates a programme of diploma and postgraduate programmes (specialisation, masters and doctorate) in 'Integral Defence of the Nation', with cybersecurity and cyber-defence as fundamental curricular axes, open to the national and international community. In joint responsibility, the Vice Rectorate for Research, Development and Innovation of UNEFA will be responsible for formulating and administering a curricular unit common to all graduate and postgraduate programmes. This curricular unit will deal with the 'Science and Technology Applied to the Integral Defence of the Nation'. The research lines of the future 'Doctoral Programme in Defence of the Nation', in epistemological terms will seek to achieve the legitimacy of a scientific and philosophical knowledge that supports computer technologies, tangible (hardware) or not (software and firmware). At the end of each day it will contribute through applied science to the transformation of cyberspace into a dimension of peace and security.

Beyond the effort made by UNEFA within the framework of its powers to investigate and educate in the integral defence of the Venezuelan nation, it is necessary to note that, with the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in 1999, it broke with the counter-natural paradigm of 'national security' and 'defence', which some countries have been promoting in Latin America and the Caribbean since the late 1940s. This so-called 'national security' in Latin America and the Caribbean has been a concept impregnated particularly with the ideology of liberal democracy.

In liberal democracy, 'defence' is action to achieve state security. For the elites and organic intellectuals, 'national' means nothing more than the adjectival interest of security to guarantee legitimacy. Certainly, for the ruling classes, the State is the hegemonic apparatus that defends and safeguards its class interests. For those same ruling classes, the nation will never be the primordial impulse for peace, progress, freedom, equality, common good, solidarity and ultimately for the life of the nation state and society as an indissoluble unity. Contrary to this, the Venezuelan Charter enshrines that the security of the nation, which includes human security from a critical and revolutionary perspective, is the primary and essential responsibility of the nation state.

As for the 'international peace', the defence and the strategic concept of the nation, Articles 322, 323 and 324 of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela consecrate:

Article 322. The security of the Nation is an essential competence and responsibility of the State, based on the integral development of this and its Defence is the responsibility of Venezuelans and also of natural and legal persons, whether in public or private law, who are in the national geographic space.

Article 323. The Defence Council of the Nation is the maximum consultation body for the planning and advising of the Public Power in matters related to the Integral Defence of the Nation, its sovereignty and the integrity of its geographical space. To that end, it is also up to it to establish the strategic concept of the Nation. Presided over by the President, the Executive Vice President, the President of the National Assembly, the President of the Supreme Court of Justice, the President of the Republican Moral Council and Ministers of

Defence, internal security, foreign affairs and planning, and others whose participation is considered relevant. The respective organic law shall determine its organisation and powers.

Article 324. Only the State may own and use weapons of war, and all that exist, are manufactured or introduced in the country will become the property of the Republic without compensation or process. The National Armed Forces shall be the competent to regulate and control, in accordance with the respective law, the manufacture, import, export, storage, transit, registration, control, inspection, trade, possession and use of other weapons, ammunition and explosives.

According to the comparative analysis that has been carried out, it is considered that the strategic conceptualisation from the Venezuelan perspective should project four guidelines:

(A) Permanent strategic-operational assessment of threats and vulnerabilities in cyberspace;
(B) Strategic alliances for analysis and design of systems to guarantee cybersecurity;
(C) Permanent campaign not to turn cyberspace into the fifth arena of War according to the American vision;
(D) Promote a curricular change in all levels of education, to raise awareness regarding the integral defence of peace and security in cyberspace, supported theoretically in defensive realism and Bolivarianism (Fernández Pereira 2013) as a revolutionary dialectic of political idealism (Pividal 2006).

6.3   Conclusions

The e-war that reached its apogee in the late 1980s gave way in the twenty-first century to the concepts of cyberwarfare and cyber-defence – in the context of cyberspace and cybersecurity – as an epistemological contribution of science and military arts.

Faced with this reality, universities, as fundamental institutions of nation states, should strategically design training programmes which strengthen research and education processes – from a social, political, military, economic and geospatial perspective – in order to contribute to the genesis of an epistemic construct of the 'integral defence of peace and security in cyberspace', with the purpose of undertaking a re-education crusade in response to the militaristic vision of the United States on the one hand, and on the other, to the reductionist stance of some developing countries that regard cybersecurity as circumscribed only by the sphere of technology.

With the promulgation of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in 1999, Bolivarianism is rescued as a cement of political idealism, jointly claiming international peace and security of the nation in environmental, social, cultural, political, economic, geographical and military spheres. In the

approach that we adopt from the political idealism and defensive realism in the present investigation, cyberspace is assumed to be a transcendent dimension projected from human and social factors, with the desideratum of international peace as immanent value, in contrast to the model of perpetual war inspired by the thought and praxis of James Monroe, which has been established in the world since 1945 by the US military-industrial complex.

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Part III
Socio-environmental Conflicts and Sustainable, Equal, Diverse and Nonviolent Peace

Youth network explaining the plenary their obtained results

Chapter 7
'Like an Army in Enemy Territory'. Epistemic Violence in Megaextractivist Expansion

Omar Arach

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will reflect upon the violence intrinsic to extractivist expansion, and particularly on epistemic violence, that is, the way in which scientific knowledge is used to design, legitimate and implement these undertakings. I have used in the title a passage written by Ernst Bloch in his *The Principle of Hope*, because extractivist enterprises express better than any other the military modulation impregnating modern technology.[1] This provides plenty of arguments to those who describe these undertakings as 'megaprojects of death', which are part and parcel of 'a war of capital against people'.

7.2 Megaextractivism

The term extractivism has become popular lately, basically due to the efforts of those who try to resist projects which come under the umbrella of this denomination (mines, dams, hydro and oil perforations, monocultures, etc.). This is further proof of the creative nature of resistance movements and the challenges they pose to theoretical and political reflection in these times of crisis for civilisation, of

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[1]The actual words are: "Modern technique has settled in nature like an army in enemy territory", quoted by Duch (2011: 61).

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megacrisis, or, in the words of Gunther Anders, in these times of endgame (which, of course, does not mean the end of time) (Anders 2011).[2]

The popularisation of the term 'extractivism' has been very useful in favouring the convergence of many localised exertions, enabling the emergence of a horizon of sense in the framework of which these efforts could be understood as plural responses to a general trend powered from the command centres of the 'World System' (Wallerstein 2011). But it is worthwhile reminding ourselves that the notion of extractivism had, in the past, another connotation, thanks again to popular movements. We only have to remember the struggle of the 'seringueiros' in the Brazilian Amazon, under the leadership of Chico Mendes, when they stood against a 'megaproject for development' (the Trans-Amazon highway and plans for agricultural colonisation) in the 1980s (Porto Goncalvez 2001). The emerging notion of 'extractivist reserve' was a conceptual (and legal) figure which sought to preserve the livelihood of the peoples who made a living out of the forest, opposing not only the megaproject but also the conservationist projects attached to it under the myth of 'untouched Nature' (Diegues 2000), which were, after all, another form of pillage against the forest peoples. Really, the notion of extractivism, thus extended, is also useful for reminding us that human beings cannot live without being extractive of their environment, and that the dangerous idea of an autonomous and self-sufficient human being is, paradoxically, the underpinning that sustains that other connotation of extractivism which I am calling 'megaextractivism', to avoid confusion.

I define megaextractivism as a certain form of extractivism typified by the material magnitudes mobilised and by the violent and predatory way in which it is developed. From the point of view of political ecology which, I believe, coincides with that of the actors of resistance, we can understand megaextractivism as a fundamental metabolic function of global capitalism, in which all 'resources' are extracted from the Earth, which will later be transformed and valued in the great global accumulation machinery.

Megaextractivism works on the basis of an inter-regional chain of ecological exploitation, which reproduces the different forms of colonialism and coloniality which underpin the World System (modern, capitalist, industrialist, patriarchal and colonial). It takes for granted, therefore, a linkage that distinguishes two poles and moments of the same sequence and defines similarly polarised landscapes: the landscape of pillage, and the landscape of accumulation. This is to say, those despoiled territories in which the extraction took place, and those opulent landscapes in which accumulation is manifest.

This chain of ecological exploitation is intensified by a propensity towards the permanent expansion of a civilisation which tends to transform live work into dead work, and which seems to carry the curse of Midas: all it touches is converted into gold, dead matter. Such expansion is built upon a logic that Schumpeter described as the dialectics of destructive creation and creative destruction (Schumpeter 1984),

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[2]For a reflection on Anders' thought concerning the present crisis, see Latour (2013).

where a thanatological trend seems to predominate and is leading us toward a dangerous impoverishment of life (of which the mega extinction of species we are witnessing is an eloquent indicator).

We are now experiencing an expansive wave of megaextractive activities, due to the catastrophic coming together of a series of factors: (a) the increase in the demand for raw materials (fuelled by the globalisation of the market, the evolution in consumption habits by large sectors of the population, and in particular the entrance of China into the capitalist orbit, among others); (b) technological developments which enable companies to undertake exploration, prospection and exploitation in previously inaccessible regions of the Earth's surface; (c) the political-legal-administrative arrangements that allow transnational investments and enterprises; and (d) the 'financialisation' of the economy, which has been very useful for opening 'new frontiers of accumulation', attracting large volumes of capital as a result of the market valuation of raw materials.

This has triggered the redesign of Latin American territories, partly due – among other factors – to the shift of the centre of gravity of the World System from the North Atlantic to the Pacific. Infrastructure plans on a national or regional scale[3] which try to link extraction zones, processing points and embarkation sites are generating considerable pressure on territories once considered 'marginal' (like certain regions of the Andes, the Amazon, the Colombian Pacific, the Darien region and the Mexican South-East). But this is only the escalation of a series of long-standing processes which answer to the founding logic of the World System. Colonial order was built upon the bleeding of many American territories. If we take into account that the extraction of raw materials during the last forty years has surpassed in volume what was extracted during the whole colonial period (about 300 years), we must assume that the open veins of Latin America are still bleeding – more intensely every day that passes.

7.3 Megaprojects

Megaextractivism is undertaken by means of megaprojects, that is, great projects of spatial transformation. This includes the megaextractive projects themselves (mines, hydrocarbons, monocultures, dams) as well as the attending infrastructure (roads, railways, ports, airports, etc.). All this, taken as a whole, and after a century of being applied on a global scale, is provoking an acute transformation of the Earth's crust or, rather, a Kafkaesque metamorphosis of the face of the Earth, which is expressed, too, in discussions among scientists on the characteristics of the planet and the phase it would be going through in its evolutionary history (the notion of the Anthropocene, for instance, is one of the battlefields where this discussion is

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[3]Such as the Initiative for the *Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America* (IIIRSA, in Spanish) and the *Mesoamerican Plan*.

staged).[4] If, as we said, megaextractivism is part and parcel of the organisation of the World System, undertaking megaprojects became consolidated in its industrial phase. This does not mean that grand-scale projects didn't exist before the industrial age (see, for example, the Roman aqueducts and the Mesoamerican Pyramids), but they have certainly acquired an especially central role in a type of society that has constructed its *raison d'être* around productivism, accumulation and unlimited expansion.

We can propose three reasons why megaprojects are functional to the expansion of the World System: (a) because they provide spatial adaptations favourable to the dynamics of global markets; (b) because they require great investments of capital and labour; (c) because they globalise 'modes of resource management' (human, natural, financial, etc.) and normalise (by means of their glorification) the grand scale, the objectification of nature, and expansion.

Gustavo Lins Ribeiro, under the guidance of Eric Wolf, compiled a very suggestive history of the great projects in the World System, seeking to identify their principal traits by means of the recurrent features he found in them. The first great work of this type was the Suez Canal in the mid-nineteenth century (inaugurated in 1859). Towards the end of the century construction started on another inter-oceanic canal in Panama. Between those two dates, the construction of the planetary rail network accelerated the interconnection of distant geographical zones, globalised by a system which included production, circulation and consumption. Starting towards the end of the nineteenth century, but really picking up speed in the twentieth, we observe the construction of great dams, giving form to a 'circuit of great works' which would end up serving as one of the 'locomotives' of the global economy (Ribeiro 1987).

The first to carry out these great works were military engineers, who were part of a group of specialists belonging to institutions traditionally trained in the management of large contingents of people, and in 'geographising' space for the purpose of conquest. Over time, 'civil engineers' started to appear, in the measure that a market for megaprojects started to emerge that favoured the creation of large corporations (public and private) in charge of their undertaking. As in many other areas of modern production, these great works were expressing the application in civilian projects of techniques and technologies designed for military use, including the arguments and values brought into play for their successful accomplishment: great works are usually presented as a heroic epic, carried out by exceptional individuals, who succeed in dominating the forces of nature and rescuing a region from backwardness and marginalisation.

We could say, paraphrasing Clausewitz, that megaprojects are the continuation of war by other means. Certainly, far from being a merely technical matter of 'engineering design', it is a political process in which power relationships are brought into play to wrench a portion of space from its inhabitants, carry out gigantic interventions (blowing up mountains, changing the course of rivers, drying

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[4]For an interesting discussion on this point, see Latour (2013).

out lakes, displacing large masses of population, etc.) which metamorphose the territory for powerful and distant geographical, economic, and geopolitical interests.

This process of territorial requisition is carried out by means of multiple mechanisms which, taken as a whole, constitute what Composto/Navarro (2014) called 'expropriatory devices': a battery of measures that range from the construction of a local consensus in favour of the enterprise, proceeding to the legalisation of expropriatory actions, and even the criminalisation and ultimate murder of those who are opposed to them. This expropriatory violence has an epistemic dimension which leads us to the way in which a sort of common sense is created which normalises the exercise of power, provides a sort of meaning to the sufferings caused (and/or renders inaudible the clamour of the victims), and confers an appearance of rational control over all the consequences generated by the enterprise.

7.4 Epistemic Violence

Carrying out a megaproject implies a process which requires important quantities of energy and the implementation of industrial technologies in which creation and destruction are two faces of the same coin. Building a dam across a great river to generate electricity, blowing up a mountain to obtain gold, perforating the planetary crust to unimaginable depths to extract hydrocarbons or any other substance, cannot be achieved with what Illich (2015) would have called 'convivial' technologies.

On the contrary, what is required is another sort of 'expertise', developed over generations in scientific/technical universities and other institutions, both public and private. Either for designing and executing the work, or administering the consequences of its accomplishment, successive 'layers' of specialists have been coming together over time. From those who have the specific technical knowledge (civil and industrial engineers, mechanics) to those who possess other forms of knowledge which are in increasing demand (economists, financial officers, specialists in law, marketing and lobbying), and also those whose mission is to deal with the 'impact issues' (environmental, social, cultural, etc.). From here on, I'd like to concentrate my attention on the latter group, in other words, the role played by scientific knowledge in the treatment of the 'damage'. Or, to express it differently, in what way the reality wreaked by a megaproject can be defined and limited, and how to treat the consequences of the transformation operated on that reality.

Zhouri/Oliveira (2012), who studied the role played by anthropologists in the process of environmental licensing of great hydroelectric projects in Brazil, point out that there is an 'institutionalised definition of environment' which is fundamental for legitimising and legalising great projects by means of licenses extended by scientific authority. This definition is based on a generalised representation of space and resources which is supposed to be applicable to all groups concerned. The knowledge developed here tends to consider space as an inert object,

measurable, quantifiable, exchangeable and totally separate from particular practices and senses.

This description is predicated on a vision of nature as something external, objective and which behaves according to regularities which can be expressed in rules of universal function, totally independent of any kind of external will. The affected territory is considered to be a geographic polygon submitted to a state authority which represents public interest. Damage is defined and registered (together with populations), and generally expressed in terms of 'impact', in the face of which a series of measures are proposed with the stated intention of preventing it (the impact), repairing it, mitigating it, or simply becoming resigned to it. Given that the approach to this reality is accomplished by means of assessments carried out by different specialists, the facts seem to be parcelled according to the specialty of each one of them (hydrology, biology, economy, sociology, anthropology, etc.). The result is what Zhouri and Oliveira call a partition of discourse, which punches out reality in different constitutive dimensions, although the people who live in it experience in an integrated way all the factors which assessors try to divide.

Affected reality is represented by means of the production of reports and assessments, while the voice of those (and that) truly affected is mediated by the experts and their technical procedures. Impact comes across as a matter that must be managed according to the 'adaptation paradigm', in which the social model underlying megaenterprises is never questioned, even while the inhabitants of the affected territories are trying to do precisely that. Seeking consensus under the guiding idea of 'legitimate solutions', and administering dissent as 'reasonable opposition', the voices of steadfast opposition can be discredited as intolerant, irrational and politically motivated.

The work of the experts must be carried out within the strict time limits of the project's chronogram, so that the outcome is a sort of routine application of investigative practice, with predominance of a certain methodological formalism at the service of accumulating information for the production of reports, punctually and correctly framed, in place of an interpretative and critical activity designed to give 'voice to that which is affected'. This is preceded by the acceptance of the epistemological suppositions underlying the conception of the megaproject, alongside the subordination of professional activity to political decisions (it is not uncommon to hear professionals involved in megaprojects accepting the disasters the enterprises have caused, but justifying their own participation by saying that 'it was a decision already taken', or 'it was going to be done anyway').

Certainly, the production of knowledge in the power field of a megaproject is carried out in an atmosphere controlled by large economic and political interests, which is considerably different to the academic-scientific domain that provides the authority that legitimates the role of experts. In the measure in which megaprojects have become a determinant factor in state agendas, a decidedly profitable labour market has emerged, which has attracted a considerable part of the 'cognitariat' (Gouldner 1980). In this marshy ground, in which scientific knowledge, economic interests and political links cover for each other, a new form of organisation has emerged, which Bastin/Morris (2003) have called 'knowledge corporations'

(consulting firms are the best known examples, and of special importance in megaprojects).

They are groupings of specialists who try to articulate institutionally validated knowledge with the decision-making process within the great projects, and they move in a highly conflictive terrain, a veritable battlefield for clashing loyalties (the community of peers, the victims of the enterprises, the interests of employers, diffuse interests, public benefit, etc.). They generate knowledge with a dynamic that contrives to combine the spirit of free enterprise with scientific tenets and procedures, so that production is riddled with oscillations between the obligations required by the truth criteria of the respective disciplines involved, and the concessions towards which they are pushed by the need to continue operating with some degree of expectations on the labour market. Under these 'production conditions' there are serious risks that the mediation by 'expert knowledge' in the decision-making process will be engulfed by the power of the megaprojects and will end up as just another cog in the legitimation process of these same projects.

It must be said that the incorporation of specialists into the treatment of the impact issue has been a step forward in the world of megaprojects. In the past, they were carried out without concern for the problems they generated, under the concept that nature was a collection of inexhaustible resources, and with the idea that the damage done to the resident populations could be compensated by a sacrifice which was very minor compared with the general interest, the nation, progress, or some other analogous entity. It took a long process of struggle, conducted by social organisations which were able to express politically the experiences of the victims of megaprojects, in which there was also internal criticism by professionals involved in their construction, to produce an institutional mutation that opened the possibility of considering the matter of impact within the decision-making process of a megaproject. Additionally, this became part of a general process of 'environmentalisation' of society, with the creation of a series of institutions (and experts) specialising in studying environmental matters as a new public issue (Leite Lopez 2006).

So, a double demand seems to arise against the movements that resist megaprojects (and extractivism in general), a demand which seems to contain some paradoxical traits. On one side, we are witnessing a growing trend in state administrations towards eliminating mechanisms which represent obstacles to the accumulation process. With this, the feeble institutional devices created to 'respond' to the negative impacts generated by megaprojects come under threat, and it is necessary to struggle to defend them. On the other hand, at the same time, it is imperative to maintain a constant and firm critique of the capture of institutions by promoters of megaprojects, who have 'functionalised' scientific knowledge as part of the machinery set up to legitimise megaprojects. This critique should not concentrate exclusively on advocating the correct application of existing norms and procedures. Also, and of utmost importance, it must aim to discuss the basic categories on which the discursive project legitimation procedure is predicated

(impacts, environment, affected population, participation), including the way in which this knowledge is produced and the fashion in which it is articulated with decision-making. This is something the movements against megaextractivism have been doing, in their own way.

7.5   Cosmopolitical Insurgencies

The movements which oppose megaextractive expansion are also environments in which knowledge is generated, but it is a type of knowledge that amalgamates scientific enunciations with community wisdom in which ethical and political issues are interwoven into scientific facts. These issues imply a series of critical questions for theoretical and political consideration, which shake the very epistemic foundations on which megaextractivism is based, and a range of challenges to critical thinking which may help renovate our political imagination in a time of crisis for the civilising process.

On the one hand, these movements have recovered the conception of territory as a space for the lives of communities; this is something very different from the idea that territory is simply a geographical polygon, in which some authority has jurisdiction. By all means, these movements have an uphill struggle against a legal framework that is pitted against them, because it has been constantly adjusted in favour of large public and private corporations, which consider it as simply a collection of quantifiable resources, usable according to accounting schema lodged in the administrative logic of the State and the business logic of corporations. In other words, movements brandish a critique of the de-territorialised conception of the environment, which has been the principal underpinning that guarantees megaextractive expansion.

This de-territorialised conception of environment, which aspires to present itself as a universal and univocal reality, is in consonance with the modernist mindset based on the radical distinction between culture and nature, which portrays the latter as an objective, external reality, governed by inexorable laws which, however, are pliable to manipulation according to the whims of human beings. The resistance movements, on the contrary, bring to the table a variety of differing visions (as differing as the territories and peoples who give rise to them), but coincide in considering human beings to be part of a network of inter-subjective relationships with different components of that which we call nature, some of which have the performing capacity to indicate reactions and trigger collective actions.

Peasants in Southern Peru opposed megamining intervention in the Ausangate Mountain, because the mountain could get angry and unleash death and devastation (De la Cadena 2009). Fondly remembered Berta Caceres, from the Lenca people in Honduras, said once that she had to struggle against hydroelectric projects 'because the river told me to do it'. Yanomani leader and shaman Davi Kopenawa reminisces about his communication with bees to alert the 'white man' to the urgency of stopping the deforestation of the Amazon:

You often claim to love what you call nature. Then do not settle for making speeches, truly defend it! You must help us to protect what still remains of the forest. All its inhabitants already speak to us with the fear of disappearing. You do not see their images dance and you not hear their songs in your dreams. Yet we shamans, we know how to listen to the bees' distress, and they are asking us to speak to you so your people will stop eating the forest (Kopenawa/Albert 2013: 323).

All these expressions – which continue to multiply as more and more movements against destructive expansion come into being – are usually treated with derision by politicians and investors linked to this expansion. And when the experts approach the subject, they are usually relegated as items in an impact matrix, a sort of poetic local version of undisputable and universal realities, like nature and the environment. They are not taken up by the expert discourse as perspectives from which to build different 'impact matrices', from which would emerge, no doubt, a new generation of entities, relationships and assessments, that are a major part of what is now under threat by megaprojects and is being swept under the carpet.

These movements also harbour a critique of the monolinear idea of human development that underlies the conception of and the information about megaprojects, usually expressed in the language of progress and development. This idea conditions the predominant vision of the affected populations and their lives, which are usually represented in terms of their deprivations, usually expressed with reference to previously established indicators which measure the 'degree of development' of a society (schooling, income, sanitation, concrete infrastructure, etc.) and not to substantive features related to their own form of experiencing the world and imagining other possible historical options. It is certainly significant that, in the present megaextractive offensive, knowledge re-created in communities, such as we have mentioned above, should be ridiculed as atavisms, and their promoters constantly harassed by official institutions (from leaders criminalised by the forces of law, to shamans persecuted by the medical corporation).

This is particularly critical at a moment in which destructive expansion is intensifying, in the face of an emerging global consensus that it must be curtailed. The question of establishing limits that express resistance against extractivism, coincide and are in perfect resonance with the need to establish restrictions on a global scale, derived from the urgency generated by the issues of climate change and the general deterioration of the global environment. The establishment of limits is the predominant issue in all global meetings dedicated to environmental topics, although there is no clear limit to what, to whom and by whom. This lack of definition is probably linked to the difficulty of thinking in terms of limits in the framework of a society nurtured by the idea of limitless growth and by the very same rationale that generated the problem.

It seems odd that, in these 'summit' meetings called to establish the aforementioned limits, the resistance movements against destructive expansion play a marginal role. For example, the need to curb the use of fossil fuels was the predominant topic at the Convention on Climate Change, but the presence of movements opposed to hydrocarbon expansion in their territories was marginal at these meetings (whereas they are persecuted in their own countries). This political

exclusion seems to correlate with an epistemic exclusion, which prioritises a universal univocal vision of the environment, susceptible to be 'managed' by key global institutions, rather than a 'multinaturalism' linked to multiple worlds of life which permanently update and recreate different environments (and, in so doing, produce different names with which to define these experiences: Nature, Earth, Gaia, Pachamama, etc.). Is it possible that the dominant thought still thinks that limits can be established once and for all by the clairvoyant intervention of a group of experts functioning within self-styled global institutions? Is it possible that the dominant thought believes that limits can be established to protect something without first becoming more sensitive to that which we aim to protect?

The movements against megaextractivism aim to establish limits. These are spatial limits (no to the dam, no the mine), that bounce off as disturbances in the process of accumulation. They also seem to be compelling us to rethink dominant historicism, that has permeated the political language, even of the left. (Can we still be talking about 'the development of productive forces', when we now know that they are also destructive?) Looking at it in a Benjaminian way, these movements seem to suggest that revolution is not really the locomotive of history, but rather the emergency brake, to stop moving and change direction (Benjamin 2008). And, precisely, those worlds that are being threatened today by megaextractivism represent some of the possible directions to which we might turn to avoid that which Anders called 'an apocalypse without a millennium' (Anders 2011).

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Preparation for the discussion during the last session on 14 January 2017

Two participants from Argentina: Diana de la Rúa and Marité Muñoz in the last session

Chapter 8
Socio-environmental Risks and Conflicts in Colombia and Mexico

Nathaly Burbano Muñoz, Malely Linares Sánchez and Fabiola Nava León

8.1 Introduction

The existing economic development model in most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries – with the exception of Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay and Cuba – prioritised economic growth over some other notions of multidimensional development, such as environmental sustainability, social justice, pluralism and respect for human rights, among others. This perspective has caused a huge strain on natural resources through cross-border projects[1] that require the States to open their territories to fulfil the deeply extractivist international economy conception.

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[1]Most of the big mining companies come from North America, in particular from Canada, as well as several oil and gas extraction companies currently operating in the region, which come from Europe. International financial institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the International Finance Corporation have provided export credits and investment guarantees to enable these companies to operate. European banks have also played a significant role in financing mining operations (CIDSE 2009).

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It is well known that in Latin America and the Caribbean the exploitation of natural resources dates back to the colonial period. Since the beginning of the 1990s there has been a significant increase in foreign investment in the extraction and exploitation of resources. After Canada and Australia, the destinations of investments in exploration have been Peru, Mexico, Chile, Brazil and, more recently, Colombia (Cuadros 2014; Fig. 8.1).

Fig. 8.1 Extractive industries in Latin America. *Source* FHB (2016). © Inter-American Development Bank

Due to the dynamic nature of mobilisations and social resistance for the defence of resources, it is not easy to establish a precise quantification. However, the mapping of conflicts over resources has become a fundamental tool for research and activism in this matter. It is important to acknowledge the mapping made by the *Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Latin America* (in Spanish OCMAL) and the *Atlas of Conflicts of the Environmental Justice Project* (EJAtlas). These are cooperative tools upgraded by researchers and activists from different institutions and non-profit organisations, linked to the study and defence of natural resources around the world.

Therefore, the map in this document is chiefly based on OCMAL and EJAtlas, but also takes into account relevant academic and institutional information. The purpose of the document is to quantify and spatially locate the current socio-environmental conflicts in Mexico and Colombia, as well as expose the institutional political context in which the extractive industries in these two countries are consolidated, in order to obtain a multidimensional view of how they handle the socio-environmental conflicts that show the limitations of State intervention in the protection of the rights of the population affected by extractivist megaprojects.

8.2 Critical and Transdisciplinary Thinking in the Analysis of Socio-environmental Conflicts

In a context of global socio-environmental uncertainty, characterised by multiple crises (food, migration, energy, socio-environmental, financial and socio-community), the contemporary debate on knowledge and ways of thinking about those aspects is a priority and an urgent call to rethink the perspectives, the frames of action and analysis that seek to change the world based on the multiple knowledges and ways of conceiving the human relationship with the environment and life itself (Meza 2014: 11).

The urgency of this call is because extractive activity is increasing and consolidating, but not without resistance and opposition, usually on the basis of legal expropriation or illegal dispossession. There are three main reasons why megaextraction gives cause for concern: the dispossession of common goods; disregard for the public good of a large part of the population and even entire peoples; and the gradual spoliation of the coming generation's future, because a healthy environment is not necessarily assured, nor is the survival of peoples who depend heavily on their natural environment (Delgado 2013).

In terms of social mobilisations, resistance and their spectrums of action, it is important to note that they are a central element in the dispute over natural resources in Latin America, because, through regular participation in the construction of alternatives to the dominating development model, they have gradually achieved a capacity for pressure that goes beyond protest. This type of positive action has occurred, for example, in the case of the national development plans of

Brazil, Bolivia and Ecuador, as well as in isolated local contexts in Colombia and Mexico, where new paradigms of rational and sustainable development are being built and accomplished from the social base.

Many of the tensions in Latin America can be explained by the connection between territory and conflict. This subject has generated research in various fields and disciplines that inquire into the relevance of the local in the global era, and different analytical frameworks have been developed. Socio-territorial studies, local (Escobar 2010), local policies (Garzón 2008), and political ecology (Robbins 2012), are among the disciplines that deal with conflicts of power deriving from unequal distribution of wealth and appropriation of territory.

In these reflections, the 'place' acquires relevance for political action. According to Escobar (2010), 'place-based political actions' are characterised by the identity-culture-territory bond. Considering the place as a social construction in which collective projects are involved is to understand it as constituted by relations of power and antagonisms. In this sense, the practices that surface in the place and direct its construction acquire a political character (Garzón 2008: 100).

Assumed in this way, place and territory are considered to be 'arenas of political action' where different actors emerge with heterogeneous repertoires that reflect personal or collective projects that often lead to disputes. The reason for this is the constant interaction characterised by the presence of conflicts, negotiations, paradoxes and resistances (Burbano 2016: 4).

Existing studies of territory and place as 'arenas of political action' (Escobar 2010; Hincapié 2015) have intensified the main role of social actors who open up innovative collective action strategies characterised

> by new forms of connection with the main power, of renewal in territorial planning forms and territorial governance that emerge from below, even taking advantage of and upgrading the structures of opportunity implanted from high spots by the central governments in the state reform processes of the last decades and from the outside in the international legislation and the Human Rights Conventions (Hincapié 2015: 148).

As a result, territory cannot be defined only by physical limits but by the way social interaction takes place within it, and how that shapes the institutions as well as the empirical study of actors and their organisations becomes crucial to understanding localised and specific situations. Territory is the result of the way that societies organise themselves to use natural systems to support their reproduction, as well as the social bonds that exist when the territories are originally formed (Abramovay 2006: 53).

With this complicated focus (understood as plurality) on the relationship between territory and conflict, the next step is to map the risks and conflicts in Colombia and Mexico, as well as approximate the institutional and social context of the extractivist boom in these two countries. The objective is to identify the areas of conflict, some of them related to the use of natural resources, in order to provide useful information in the quest to harmonise through dialogue different expectations and life projects and transform the complicated scenarios of contentious interaction so widespread in the extractivist regional context (FAO 2005).

8.3 Risks and Socio-environmental Conflicts in Colombia and Mexico

According to the Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Latin America, more than 200 mining conflicts are active in the region, of which 37 are registered in Mexico and 13 in Colombia (OCMAL 2016). The *Environmental Justice Project,* however, identifies more than 600 environmental conflicts in the region, 42 in Mexico and 122 in Colombia (EJAtlas 2016).

8.3.1 Colombia

Colombia, just like Mexico, is one of the 10 countries with the greatest biodiversity on a planetary scale with around 10 per cent of the world's flora and fauna (FAO w.d.). Colombia has the largest coal reserves in Latin America, is the world's largest producer of emeralds, has large amounts of gold and nickel, and produces natural gas, copper, iron ore and bauxite. This country has become one of the favourites for concessions of mining titles to transnational companies and exploration projects, which now total about 40 per cent of the national territory.

The official response to this boom in mining industries was related to the implementation of the National Development Plan 2014–2018, sanctioned under Law 1753 of 2015, called 'All for a new country' (*Todos por un Nuevo País*), which has three main pillars: peace, equity and education. It also proposes six transversal strategies: (1) security and justice for peace, (2) strategic competitiveness and infrastructure, (3) green growth, (4) social mobility, (5) transformation of the countryside, (6) good governance. In addition, it is divided by territorial approaches like: (1) Caribbean: prosperous and without extreme poverty; (2) Coffee Triangle and Antioquia: innovative human talent in inclusive territories; (3) Middle East: connectivity for integration; (4) Pacific: equity, integration and sustainable use of markets; (5) Eastern Plains: environment, agribusiness sector and human development; (6) Centre-South: countryside development and environmental conservation.

The thrust where the national government places priority on attracting more private investment is in strategic competitiveness and infrastructure, including mining-energy development and exploitation of both renewable and non-renewable resources, as well as the exploration and production of non-conventional energy. For the national government, the mining-energy sector is one of the driving forces behind the country's development because the GDP increased from 9.7 per cent in the four-year period 2006–2009 to 11.2 per cent in the period 2010–2013.

In Colombia, 16 per cent or 18.2 million hectares of the 114 million that configure the territory are given in concession for mineral exploration (Ponce Muriel 2014), and more than 37 million hectares are allocated to exploration of hydrocarbons (Indepaz 2011). In 2001, titles were issued for 20,000 exploration and

mining concessions. That same year, 9,000 titles were granted that did not respect the areas of moors, natural water producers' reserves, natural parks or indigenous reservations. In addition, in Colombia, agriculture occupies only 5.3 million hectares (IGAC 2016).

The World Bank has more than 200 projects in Colombia, among them one named *Implementation of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative*, whose objective is to strengthen transparency in the extractive sector's chain of value. However, the priority is to generate investor confidence in this sector, which has been achieved through the current legal framework. Another of the projects carried out by the World Bank is *Forest Conservation and Sustainability in the Heart of the Colombian Amazon*, which, among other guidelines, supports the development of extractive industries in the Amazon.

During the last week of October 2016, the Sinchi Institute and National Parks published a new map of the Colombian Amazon which reports that Colombia has destroyed the equivalent of five million soccer fields during the last hundred years. Environmental organisations have warned that it is the result of oil exploitation causing loss of biodiversity.

It is important to note that the company *Carbones del Cerrejón* has begun to divert the Bruno stream in the Guajira for the extraction of 35 million tons of coal.

In this context, it is imperative to point out that Colombia promotes the implementation of extractive mega projects, which include the export of non-renewable resources (gold, oil and coal), and have been very profitable for the Government, but they have not offered the same guarantees of economic distribution of income to the inhabitants of the zones of influence of these extractivist megaprojects who face diverse risk factors, such as forced displacement and usurpation of the land by different actors, including paramilitary groups in the dispute over control of trade routes and resources using violent mechanisms that trigger multiple conflicts like socio-environmental crisis and the unequal conditions of small-scale mining or small-scale miners who are criminalised by the mining emporiums.

The 'mining locomotive', boosted by the current government to stimulate the country's economy (Fig. 8.2), affects the production and survival modes of peasants, indigenous and Afro-descendant communities, who have demanded these activities be stopped because they undermine the sovereignty of the country and despoil its natural goods. Because of those facts, Colombia's Constitutional Court has issued a judicial ruling to prevent mining exploitation in moorland areas, to mention just one of the examples that provide evidence of the tensions caused by the on-going policy of mining energy development.

However, on 30 March 2015, the Canadian multinational Eco Oro Minerals Corp (formerly Gray Star)[2] stated its intention of suing the Colombian State for

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[2]In 2011 the multinational corporation changed its name to stay in the national territory, after the demand of social groups who managed to have the environmental licence removed because of environmental damage.
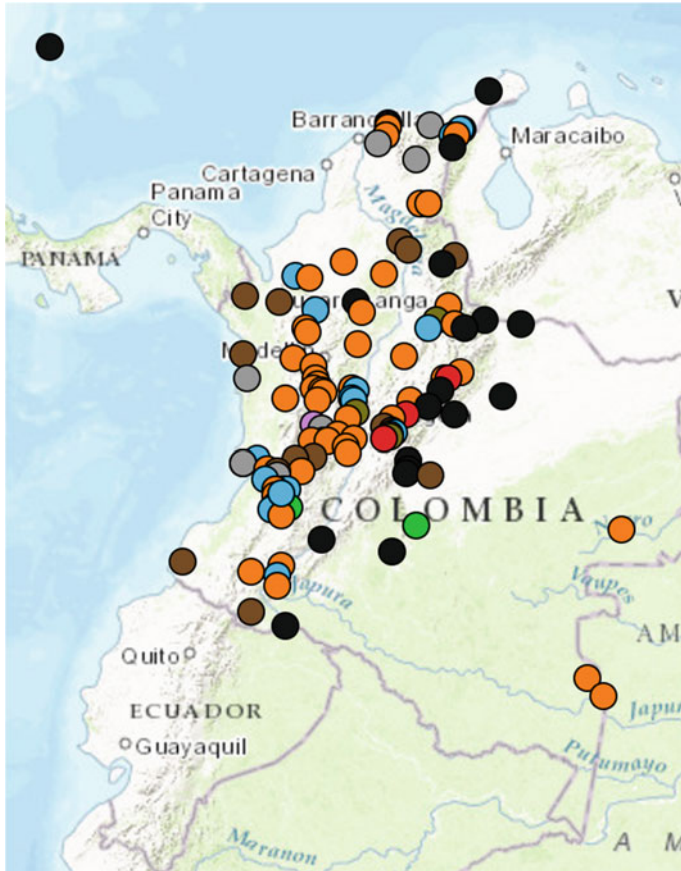
Project Type	Number		Project Type	Number
☢ Nuclear	-		🔵 Water handling	15
🟠 Extraction of minerals and building materials	54		⬜ Infrastructure and construction of the environment	9
🟢 Waste handling	4		🟣 Tourism and recreation	2
🟤 Biomass and land conflicts	14		🟢 Conservation of biodiversity	2
⚫ Fossil fuels and climate justice	19		🔴 Industrial and utilitarian conflicts	3

Fig. 8.2 Map of risks and conflicts Colombia. *Source* OCMAL (2016) and EJAtlas (2016). Which is made available under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported license; at: http://ejatlas.org/country/colombia

breaching the agreements made in the investment chapter of the Canada-Colombia Free Trade Agreement. Another similar event happened last February, when the Colombian State was notified of a claim by the multinational Tobie Mining Inc. for a figure of 16 billion dollars, this time by the Free Trade Agreement signed with the United States.

The social panorama and the daily life in Colombia is a serious humanitarian crisis that is concentrated in the areas of the periphery of the country, as can be seen in the situation of the department of Guajira, where more than 700 mining concessions have been granted, such as the transnational Cerrejón, which has the support of companies like BHP Billiton of Australia, Anglo American of South Africa and Glencore of Switzerland. Cerrejón has tried to divert the Ranchería River, one of the most important rivers for the department, making the situation more complicated because it uses 17,000 million litres for exploitations. In May 2016 an environmental licence was granted for this purpose, which has led to the indigenous community Wayuú receiving threats. By September 2016 corruption and state abandonment had left 57 children dead due to malnutrition[3] because of the lack of basic services in much of the territory (De la Hoz 2016).

Moreover, it is no coincidence that a high number of human rights violations increase in mining areas, as well as the threats and murders of social leaders and human rights defenders, who remain in a situation of constant and daily risk. During the two presidential periods of Álvaro Uribe Vélez (2002–2010) the victims of armed conflict in the country amounted to 3,374,270 people, and it is important to say that during the period of Juan Manuel Santos (2010–2016) the number was 1,140,175 (Unity of Victims 2016), which indicates that harassment has not ceased. During the first semester of 2016, 314 leaders were victims of aggression and violence and 35 activists have been murdered. The indigenous, Afro, communal, peasant and community sectors have been the common target of paramilitary forces, especially in the departments of Cauca and Antioquia (Somos Defensores 2016).

8.3.2   Mexico

According to the National Commission for the Knowledge and Use of Biodiversity (*Comisión Nacional para el Conocimiento y Uso de la Biodiversidad: Conabio*), Mexico has between 10 and 12 per cent of the species of flora and fauna that exist on the planet and, along with Colombia and the United States, is one of the three megadiverse countries that have coastal areas in the Atlantic and Pacific (Conabio 2013).

The characteristics and location of the national territory have a geostrategic position that is used to promote commercial policies at international level, as well as relations with the international community. Based on that, through the National

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[3]Information received from Javier Rojas, leader of the Shipia Wayuu Association.

Development Plan, the guidelines of the internal and external policies are dictated every six years.

During the six-year period 2013–2018 five national goals were established – (1) Mexico at peace, (2) Mexico inclusive, (3) Mexico with quality education, (4) Prosperous Mexico and (5) Mexico with global responsibility – as well as three transversal strategies: (a) to democratise productivity; (b) near and modern government and; (c) gender perspective, with the general objective of 'taking Mexico to its highest potential' (Government of the Republic 2013).

The fourth goal, 'Prosperous Mexico', establishes the need to increase productivity through the elimination of obstacles that limit the productive potential of Mexico. This means promoting economic growth linked to social equity and guided by the full enjoyment of fundamental rights of the entire population (Government of the Republic 2013).

In this goal, the objectives were: (1) macroeconomic stability, (2) access to financing, (3) employment, (4) sustainable development, (5) access to telecommunications services, (6) energy, (7) economic development, sectoral and regional policy, (8) transport and logistics infrastructure, (9) mining, (10) food and agriculture, (11) tourism, and (12) regional development.

It is possible to see in those objectives that in formal terms the Mexican government identified the need for multidimensional treatment among the requirements of globalisation and dynamics of global markets and with basic requirements for a decent life for the population, but, in fact there is still a social debt about this matter.

From the decade of 1980 on, Mexico has promoted an open commercial policy through the negotiation and signing of several free trade agreements. That means that 'the unilateral opening is combined with an active program in terms of multilateral negotiations of the WTO, the conclusion of preferential trade agreements with strategic partners, greater promotion and diversification of exports, and the attraction of foreign investments' (Leycegui 2012: 31).

But it has not been that easy. Laxity in laws that regulate investment, not considering the world views of original peoples, those places where the resources are and the need for quick access to them have led to an increase in conflicts related to land owning and violation of the fundamental rights of rural populations in Mexico.

Since the colonial period, mining has occupied an important place in the national economy. Today, the mining-metallurgical sector contributes 4 per cent of the GDP according to information from the Economic Secretary (SE 2014). This is how Mexico is in the top 10 of different mineral[4] producers, and it is the world's leading silver producer (SE 2014).

The richness of Mexican territory plus the business environment have made Mexico an attractive destination for foreign investment and, in particular, the mining sector. Mexico is fifth in the ranking of countries with the best conditions

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[4]These minerals are: silver, bismuth, fluorite, celestite, wollastonite, cadmium, molybdenum, lead, zinc, dynamite, salt, barite, graphite, gypsum, gold and copper.

for deals and mining agreements, after Canada, Australia, the United States and Chile (Dolbear 2015: 3); that 'privilege' makes Mexico the first country to receive monetary resources for mining exploration in Latin America and fourth in the world (SE 2014).

Among the major foreign investors in mining is Canada. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) boosted Canadian investment in Mexico by positioning it as the fourth source of FDI below the United States, the Netherlands and Spain, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Canadian investment covers several sectors, but mining is the main one (41.3 per cent) (SRE 2013).[5]

The law in Mexico that regulates mining, extraction, profit and closure activities is the Mining Law and its Regulations; but also The Manual of Public Service in Mining Matter; The Foreign Investment Law and its Regulations; and the General Law of Ecological Equilibrium and Protection to the Environment are all joined to the country's trade liberalisation policy.

The link between the Mexican people and the extraction process has been promoted by the importance of mining to the national economy. SE said that, "by July 2015 [this sector] generated 352,666 direct jobs and more than 1.6 million indirect jobs, according to the report of the Mexican Institute of Social Security" (SE 2014).

However, the official numbers contrast with the increase in mining conflicts in Mexico. According to the Observatory of Mining Conflicts of Latin America (2016), there are 42 active conflicts in Mexican territory related to this sector. Additionally, ECLAC argues that 14.2 per cent of the Mexican population lives in extreme poverty, even though social spending has increased from 1990 to date (FHB 2016).

The places where the biggest silver exploitations are concentrated are Zacatecas, Durango and Chihuahua.[6] For example, according to the Durango government, mining property in the state has reached 3,803 titles with a total area of 2,662,807,9435 ha; that means that Durango is in the third position nationwide in silver production, yielding 727,505 kg per year (SE 2014: 9–10).

Despite what the above numbers may reflect, Durango is still one of the most lagging areas. According to the National Council for Evaluation of Social Development Policy (Coneval), "the state of Durango regarding the rest of the country is number 11 in percentage of population in poverty and 16 in extreme poverty population" (Coneval 2012: 11), so that foreign investment, despite macroeconomic data, has not had a direct spill in relation to the quality of life of the inhabitants of Durango.

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[5]The other sectors of Canadian investment are: manufacturing (24.4 per cent); accommodation services (5.9 per cent); trade (5.3 per cent); financial services (4.7 per cent); real estate services (4.4 per cent); professional, scientific and technological services (3.7 per cent); business support services (3.9 per cent) (SRE 2013).

[6]This means, '74.6 per cent of silver extraction and profit was concentrated in these three states: Zacatecas with 47.4 per cent; Chihuahua with 14.4 per cent, and Durango with 12.8 per cent' (Clausell 2010).

These figures reveal the national reality: the opening of the trade policy does not have a full vision or comprehension that promotes an equitable economy. The existence of 42 conflicts related to the mining sector in national territory (Baja California, Baja California Sur, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Durango, Zacatecas, Colima, Jalisco, Oaxaca, Morelos, Michoacán, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Guerrero, Guanajuato, Chiapas, Veracruz and Puebla) is intimately linked with the privileged position of transnational corporations that sweep away the cosmovision of the communities settled in those territories.

This suggests that Mexican law is encouraging the expansion of extractivism, particularly mining (Azamar/Ponce 2014), through the promotion of a trade policy more open day by day that does not have a beneficial impact on national development. So there is not a tangible link between the boost of commercial openness and development in the population's quality of life.

Project Type	Number	Project Type	Number
☢ Nuclear	1	🌀 Water handling	9
🔶 Extraction of minerals and building materials	13	⚪ Infrastructure and construction of the environment	1
⬤ Waste handling	5	🌀 Tourism and recreation	
⬤ Biomass and land conflicts	5	🟢 Conservation of biodiversity	1
⬤ Fossil fuels and climate justice	6	🔴 Industrial and utilitarian conflicts	1

Fig. 8.3 Map of risks and conflicts Mexico. *Source* OCMAL (2016) and EJAtlas (2016). Which is made available under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported license; at: http://ejatlas.org/country/mexico

Inexistence of this bond has created an evident and bigger gap between the few beneficiaries of the increase in productivity and the bulk of the population suffering from it. In this group, the people who live in the areas where mines are located have to face multidimensional conflicts like environmental devastation, social fabric rupture and the murder of people who have defended land, water and indigenous rights (Ramírez 2013).

According to the *Environmental Justice Project*, in addition to the socio-environmental conflicts associated with mining, there are others related to: nuclear energy, waste management, biomass, land conflicts, fossil fuels, water management, infrastructure and destruction of the environment, conservation of biodiversity, and industrialists and utilities, who promote their interests throughout the national territory (see Fig. 8.3).

8.4 Conclusions

The extraction of natural resources has grown with the quick insertion of Latin America in the global system, and it should develop better economic, political and social conditions. At the same time, the result has been tensions related to natural resources, distribution and use of income. This tension is one more reason to see Latin America as a group of countries with major issues in poverty, inequality and insufficient care of the environment (De Castro et al. 2015: 14).

In this scenario of socio-environmental uncertainty and the need to propose new paradigms of development, we consider that one of the urgent responses is the valorisation of the processes of construction of the notions of desirable societies by the collectives and peoples. This implies a repositioning of the State over purely extractive interests.

In this sense, it is recognised that in a context of globalisation, trade liberalisation was imposed as a state strategy to encourage the economic growth of nations. However, the existence of lax regulations has meant that growth in macroeconomic terms does not translate into welfare for the bulk of populations in Colombia and Mexico.

Social discontent was seen in the increasing number of socio-environmental conflicts in the region. Particularly in Mexico and Colombia, there are new forms of resistance that intend to cover those areas where the State is not present, especially in rural areas and the peripheries of these countries.

We are in the middle of a context where big corporations have replaced the State as one of the main actors in important conflicts. Social deprivation coupled with the climate of repression and the lack of government support, has worsened the conflicts. This is why, due to the lack of dialogue between those involved and the repression of social protests, alternative mechanisms for the settlement of disputes, such as mediation, arbitration and conciliation, have been positioned in Mexico as

strategic avenues of action in which the intervention of a third party is a useful mechanism to define a solution or solve various types of conflict.

It is also why it is imperative to find creative answers that go beyond win-lose. That means it is necessary to build ways that balance the interests promoted by the opening of the commercial policies of the region with the values of the rural populations and the assurance of respect for their human rights and fundamental freedoms. The State should strengthen the regulations related to the extraction of natural resources, including basic themes in the development agenda, providing them with a multidimensional character that is based on the real agreement in order to promote a comprehensive development of communities living in areas full of natural resources.

In the context of trade economies, it is essential to protect the vulnerable, those who may be victims and not beneficiaries of the promises of the global economy. For that, they must be empowered by education, access to health programmes and social security. So it is urgent to work on their humanity to fulfil their opportunities in multiple spheres: social, environmental, economic, politic, just like Amartya Sen proposed (2000).

For this, it is imperative to stop conceiving peace as only the absence of conflict or war, because if we do so, we will leave equally important social actors out of the framework. Given that state decision-making is given by the ruling elites, through the 'construction' of agreements, which may even be directed towards cooperation through international bodies, citizens who are directly affected and seen as victims or part of the collateral damage, have not so far been taken into account.

This scenario of common and shared interests widens and diversifies the process of peace construction understood as a concept in which complex notions and representations are linked. So what do we understand by peace? It is about the differentiation between peace defined in the positive sense and peace defined in the negative sense. In the first sense it is an individual or collective welfare state, in the negative sense peace is defined as the absence of violence.

From this perspective, to speak of peace means to realise the process of collective construction of points of agreement for conciliation between diverse interests, according to a clear and implicit agreement of inclusion and recognition of differences, orientated to establish basic conditions and structural aspects of multidimensional equilibrium that consider all the actors involved.

This process of collective construction of agreement should be based on a rights perspective, considering that peace rather than representing a scenario of nonviolent social interaction, is a situation of realisation and guarantee of fundamental rights that are expressed in a concrete way in the living conditions of people and within a complex social, economic, cultural and political context.

That is why a different concept of peace should be based on a framework of legality, in which the pursuit of justice has an important place and where respect and inclusion are the guiding axes that finally result in disarmament and respect for otherness. Thus, we conceive peace as a state of harmony, respect and inclusion. Legality must play a fundamental role in the consolidation and access to justice of all members of society. Cooperation (national and international) should be directed towards attending the problems of people development.

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Chapter 9
Climate Change as a New Challenge to Human Security

Francisco Rubén Sandoval Vázquez

9.1 Introduction

Global risk society (Beck 2007) is the result of accelerated economic and industrial growth processes in the last half of the twentieth century, as outlined in the sociology studies of risk (Beck 2007; Luhmann 1992). From the process of economic growth and through a logic of accumulation of profit that drove overconsumption (Leff 2002; Löwy 2014), the economic model sought to expand production, as well as consumption, indefinitely. This, combined with the process of industrialisation that linked science, technology and capital, resulted in an entropic economy (Georgescu-Roege 1996) based on the exploitation of people and nature. Thus, the market, industry, techno-science and capital have endangered the balance of ecosystems and exhausted many forms of life and even put mankind at risk, especially the survival of peripheral communities.

The relationship between society and nature in the global risk framework is extremely complex. However, the need to explore such relationships was in particular due to the effects of pollution and environmental deterioration that impacted people's health and quality of life, as well as the effects of environmental risk on human security. At present, most people live in conditions of environmental vulnerability because climate change has increased the risk exposure due to environmental catastrophes associated, among other things, with radical climatic variations such as torrential rains, hurricanes, droughts, floods, rising sea levels in coastal areas (GIESCC 2013). It exposes the Latin American population, which is located in the hurricane zone of the Pacific Ocean, the Caribbean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, to high levels of risk, making Latin America an area of high environmental vulnerability.

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The perception of environmental risk depends to a great extent on the vulnerability conditions in which populations are found, so vulnerability is a variable that influences the perception of risk and the way strategies are generated to overcome the catastrophe (Calderon 2011). The vulnerability of the Latin American population was increased by the process of exogenous development induced in the region, being an agricultural and mining export mode that generated foreign exchange earnings by exporting mainly raw materials with a high socio-environmental cost. Linking the subsistence economy to the world market has increased the socio-economic vulnerability of the low-income population. Climate change creates situations of greater environmental risk that are aggravated by the vulnerability conditions in which the population in the Latin American and Caribbean region is differentiated by the social context of each of the sub-regions of the hemisphere, leading to greater socio-economic vulnerability and greater environmental risk (see Haiti). The risk of facing an environmental catastrophe increases as socio-economic vulnerability increases.

The vulnerability faced by Latin American humans is exacerbated when the global climate system undergoes human-induced transformations. Even without considering the implications of climate change, disaster risk has increased as more and more people and their assets are exposed to risk because of their social vulnerability. Thus, extreme climatic events have a greater social impact, since the number of people living in conditions of socio-economic vulnerability increases, regardless of climate change.

Given these conditions of social vulnerability, aggravated by the global environmental crisis, the present investigation was carried out. It started with the objective of identifying resilient behaviours due to environmental catastrophes (floods), which have become more acute as a result of climate change in Central and South America, as well as their relation with the perception of risk and stress in populations exposed to high levels of socio-environmental vulnerability. The study was carried out in the basins of the Magdalena River in Colombia and in the basin of the Balsas River in Mexico, in populations that shared similar socio-economic levels. Data were collected in the department of Antioquia on the outskirts of the city of Medellin in Colombia, as well as in the colonies of the municipality of Chilpancingo in the state of Guerrero in Mexico.

Faced with these conditions of social vulnerability aggravated by the environmental crisis, the following question was asked: what are the meanings of the environmental crisis to a given social group which allow them to predict risks of flood and design strategies to deal with an environmental disaster? The primary concern was to find out how the perception of risk affects the actions taken to reduce environmental vulnerability and increase human security. We also want to know how a threat can be prevented if it cannot be observed. How can we predict the risk to human and environmental security of an invisible 'enemy'? Which are the security forces that can face the challenge of climate change?

The research aims to identify resilient behaviours in the face of environmental catastrophes (floods) that have intensified in the region as a result of climate change, as well as both their relationship to the perception of risk and the stress of people

exposed to high levels of socio-environmental vulnerability. In addition, we would like to understand the social mechanisms for dealing with an environmental catastrophe that allow the surviving population to generate the conditions of human and socio-environmental security, to reduce the risk to which they are exposed, as well as the strategies for facing and overcoming the environmental crisise.

In order to support the arguments of this research report, a qualitative study was carried out through a semi-structured questionnaire, in addition to a quantitative analysis in which a risk scale, a stress scale and a resilience scale were applied to more than 900 people living in conditions of socio-economic vulnerability in the selected basins. The methodology contemplated a comparative analysis between communities that live in similar conditions, that is to say between the head and the mouth of a river. The respondents, selected in a simple randomised manner, were individuals older than 17 years, flood survivors being a representative sample with a 95 per cent confidence level and a sampling error of 5 per cent. According to the formula $n = \frac{(p*q)*Z^2}{e^2}$ Pearson's correlation showed that there is an important relationship between stress level and environmental risk perception.

9.2 Latin America in the Eye of the Hurricane (The Polluter Does Not Pay)

The environmental effects associated with the increase in temperatures has led to complex environmental risk scenarios by modifying the dynamics of wind gusts as well as ocean currents, as well as changes in atmospheric humidity and waves in the seas at a planetary level (UNEP 2002). The climatic variations have an effect on the dynamics of the atmosphere, where there has been climatic variation for at least the last four decades.

Recognising that since the 1970s the average temperature in the first 8 km of the atmosphere has changed, it can be said that there is a significant variation in the global climate system, regardless of whether that change has an anthropogenic or natural origin (GIESCC 2013), which exposes the Latin American population to high levels of risk, particularly in coastal areas and places near the upper parts or headwaters of the watersheds. As is well-known, Latin America is also vulnerable because it is located in the midst of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, in the hurricane zone.[1]

Given the correlation between the increase in CO_2 emissions and the increase in temperature at the surface of the oceans, it was recognised that such climatic variations have an anthropogenic origin. Irrespective of the discussion about the origin of the climate change, it is a fact that this phenomenon is present on the surface of the planet. It is also a fact that since the industrial revolution the increase

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[1]GIESCC defines the climate system as '… the totality of the atmosphere, the hydrosphere, the biosphere and the geosphere and their interactions' (GIESCC 2013).

in CO_2 has been constant due to GHG emissions. In addition, the increase of CO_2 maintains a parallelism with the increase in the average temperature of the planet (GIESCC 2013). Thus, the globalisation of markets and finances, and the consolidation of large industrial consortiums, capable of overcoming geographical, political or cultural boundaries through instant communication, have simultaneously impelled an environmental crisis that is framed by climate change.

These climatic variations are important, since they have generated a change in the climate system, mainly in tropical zones, where its adverse effects also impact with more frequency and intensity. Measurements made from the atmosphere in the first 8 km showed that the global temperature has changed between +0.05 $\pm$ 0.10 °C for each decade (UNEP 2002). This increase in temperature is linked to a higher presence of GHG – mainly CO_2 – since in the last 20 years emissions have increased. In 2002, for instance, CO_2 emissions were 3 per cent higher than those estimated in 1990 (GIECC 2001).

Poor and disadvantaged populations are the most vulnerable to the negative consequences of climate change. More recent reports indicate that Latin America and the Caribbean emits 4.3 per cent of total global CO_2 emissions as a result of its industrial activities, in addition to 48.3 per cent of GHGs caused by land use change and deforestation. Thus, the average per capita CO_2 emissions in 1995 were 2.55 tonnes (below 11.9 t/cap in developed countries) and rose by 2.86 to 6.47 t/cap in 2016. The largest emitters in Latin America are Brazil, with an increase from 0.647 in 1960 to 2.466 t/cap in 2016, and Mexico, with an increase from 1,653 to 3,949 t/cap in the same period (World Bank 2016). These emissions are below 19.93 t/cap in the USA and Canada, 7.93 t/cap in Europe and 7.35 t/cap in Central Asia, and also below the world average of 4 t/cap (CDIAC 1998). However, the Latin American region faces annual hydrometeorological phenomena associated with the Niño/Niña cycle (ENSO), such as hurricanes and droughts.[2] The region is one of the most vulnerable to the potential impacts of climate.[3]

If it is recognised that there is a correlation between climate change and GHGs, in particular CO_2, whose presence is linked to emissions from industrial combustion processes, there is an ethical problem for the countries with less economic development that contribute few CO_2 emissions but that suffer the greatest impacts. It is assumed that CO_2 levels have varied by slightly less than 10 per cent during the 10,000 years that preceded the industrial era, but never exceeded 300 ppm. It is from the nineteenth century (1800) that CO_2 levels have risen slightly, and since 1970 that they have risen by more than 30 per cent, despite absorption by the oceans and forests on a world scale. In 2017, according to NOAA data, CO_2 is already 410 ppm and the increase in atmospheric levels is more than 10 per cent every 20 years.

Atmospheric dynamics present important variations, but not all regions face the same climatic problems in their environmental impacts. While in the southern areas

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[2]Proper measurement of atmospheric temperature through meteorological balloons began at the end of the Fifties. Thus, it has been documented that the average global temperature increase in the lower 8 km of the atmosphere has varied on average about 0.1 °C per decade (GIESCC 2013).

[3]According to the 2002 IPCC Report, in the last 100 to 140 years, GHGs and temperature have increased. The best estimate indicates that the global average surface temperature has increased by 0.6 $\pm$ 0.2 °C (UNEP 2002).

there is melting of glaciers, in the tropics there is higher humidity in the atmosphere, associated with torrential rains, while on an overall scale there is an increase in mean sea level. As there is climatic variation on the surface of the earth, there is also variation in the temperature of the surface of the seas, generating higher levels of evaporation and therefore greater humidity in the atmosphere.

The dissipative qualities of marine waters give oceans the ability to maintain an average temperature more stable than the surface of the earth or the atmosphere. Despite this, quality also changes the temperature of the surface of the oceans. When considering all the oceans including the different depths, an average temperature of oceanic water of 4 °C was set that goes from −2 °C to 32 °C, with increases in all these average values (GIECC 2013). Thus scientists at the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 2013) have projected an increase in ocean temperatures above 1.5 °C by the end of the twenty-first century, compared with the average of the measurements recorded between 1850 and 1900. In these measurements the IPCC scientists made different models and constructed possible future scenarios. Based on the RCP4.5, RCP6.0 and RCP8.5 scenarios, there is a high level of confidence (UNEP 2002) that significant increases in ocean water temperature of ±1.5 °C are likely. Even in the RPC6.0 and RPC8.5 scenarios, an increase in ocean surface temperature up to 2 °C is considered, due to a higher incidence of hot extremes (UNEP 2002).

Ocean warming dominates the increase in energy stored in the climate system and represents more than 90 per cent of the energy accumulated between 1971 and 2010, so it is almost certain that the upper layer of the ocean (0–700 m) has heated up between 1971 and 2010 (scenario RRP.3), and is likely to have also warmed between the 1870s and 1971 (GIECC 2013). As a result, the increase in the temperature of oceanic waters has become a trend throughout the twentieth century, and in the first decades of the twenty-first century, even projections indicate a significant increase throughout the present century. NOAA estimates in 2017 that at depths of 2000 m there are 10^{22} accumulated heat joules.

Particularly in tropical waters, the minimum temperature is 20 °C with a maximum of 30 °C and an average of 27 °C. In the subtropics a minimum temperature of 16 °C, a maximum temperature of 27 °C and an average of 22 °C is recorded. In spite of having non-extreme mean temperatures, there are variations in the temperature of the tropical waters of around 2 °C at both the equator and the poles, although increases of over 18 °C have also been recorded in the North Atlantic, as well as in the North Pacific. The rising temperature of tropical and subtropical waters shows a trend that changes the flow of tides and global currents.

9.3 Vulnerability of Latin America

The vulnerability faced by human beings is aggravated in the context of climate change, in which the global climate system undergoes human-induced transformations. Even without taking into account the implications of climate change, the risk of extreme events increases as more and more people and their assets are

exposed, due to the social vulnerability of their situation. Extreme climatic events have a greater social impact among people living in conditions of socio-economic vulnerability, regardless of climate change.

In the context of climate change, human security is in crisis, as socially induced disasters endanger entire populations by floods and droughts closely related to the phenomenon of the Niño/Niña, among other hydrometeorological factors. They expose large population groups to floods or famines, putting their survival at risk. The Latin American territory is particularly vulnerable to environmental risk from hurricanes, as well as torrential rains such as Paulina (1997), Mitch (1998), Stan (2005), Wilma (2010), Ingrid/Manuel (2013) and Patricia (2015), among other extreme events generated by atmospheric meteors.

On the other hand, the organisation of modern societies in large cities or megapolises increases the conditions of socio-economic vulnerability, which is aggravated by climate change. The urbanisation of the megalopolis of Mexico City, Bogota, Santiago and Sao Paulo, among others, has large irregular settlements, which put the structural integrity of the people at greater risk. Also less urbanised areas such as Chilpancingo, Acapulco, La Paz, Tijuana, Guatemala, San Salvador, Tegucigalpa, San José, Panama, Medellín, Quito and Caracas, among others, present a disorderly population growth, where people stay in places of high environmental risk. These conditions increase the hazards due to natural disasters (floods, landslides) associated with climate change.

These vulnerability scenarios are aggravated when the reality of Latin American cities is observed, since the irregular settlements of the large cities of the region, observed in both Medellín and Acapulco, occur in areas of greater environmental risk associated with greater vulnerability (Calderón 2011). Poor populations are the most vulnerable because of the negative consequences of climate change. Those living in extreme poverty suffer from higher levels of vulnerability.

Between 1975 and 2004 the per capita GDP of Latin Americans increased from US $5,000 to just over US $7,000, based on the purchasing power parity of 2000, while in the countries of the *Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development* (OECD) GDP increased from approximately US $15,000 to US $26,000 (ECLAC 2008: 13). If GDP growth is observed over the same period, it is noted that while the OECD countries grew by one percentage point of GDP, the Latin American region was very unstable, since there were years that grew up to 4 per cent while others years also declined by 4 per cent. Low GDP growth and periods of decline, coupled with economic instability, have contributed to the decline in the assets of the poor, especially access to employment and financing (ECLAC 2008: 13).[4]

Thus, in reviewing other studies on vulnerability (Calderón 2011), it is corroborated that the people most affected by a catastrophe are those who, even before the event, lived in conditions of socio-economic vulnerability. It can also be

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[4]'Carbon dioxide is currently responsible for more than 60 per cent of the "extended greenhouse effect", i.e. the added effect of human activity' (UNEP 2002).

observed that people who suffered more emotional effects, particularly greater stress, are those who lived in places with weak infrastructure and urban equipment, as will be revealed by survivors of the 2013 floods in Mexico (Sandoval 2015).

People in Latin America are exposed to greater environmental risk due to their socio-economic vulnerability conditions, but also because they are exposed to climatic variations associated with the increase in surface temperature of ocean waters, as well as the higher frequency and intensity of hurricanes in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Being bordered by both oceans keeps a large number of people in the region at environmental risk. Given that Latin America shows a higher level of poverty than would correspond to its degree of economic development, its vulnerability is aggravated by having the most regressive income distribution in the world, one whose average clearly exceeds 0.50 of the Gini index (ECLAC 2008: 14).

9.4   Criteria for the Selection of Places of Study

The selected areas were due to similarity factors, in principle at national level and later at local level. From the point of view of their national geography, Colombia and Mexico share many aspects in common: coastlines on both the Pacific and Atlantic oceans; altitudinal variants (thermal floors) from humid tropical climates to cold climates and rugged terrain; dry forest; great biodiversity; and a great wealth of water, expressed in the enormous amount of hydrological basins.

In terms of economic development, both countries also share similarities, having a medium degree of development, as well as a high HDI. Colombia is ranked 97th in the UNDP Human Development Index (HDI), while Mexico is located in 74th place in the same report (UNDP 2015: 209). A large part of the population of both countries lives below the poverty line; in Colombia 30.6 per cent of the population lives in this condition, while in Mexico 52.3 per cent (UNDP 2015: 228). From a socio-economic point of view, similarities between the populations of both countries can be found, taking into account the HDI indicators, such as 'life expectancy at birth' of 74.0 years and 'expectation of years of schooling' of 13.5 years in Colombia, while in Mexico 'life expectancy at birth' is 76.8 years and the 'expectation of school years' is 13.1 years (UNDP 2015: 209).

In the short, medium and long term, there is an increase in hydrometeorological phenomena associated with floods and natural disasters. The vulnerability in which Latin Americans live is a permanent risk, since the lack of equipment, infrastructure and institutions capable of carrying out adequate environmental risk management are absent in the region. The security forces have been militarised and despite giving support and protection to the affected population, Latin Americans are still far from having a social security system capable of responding effectively to extreme environmental events.

9.5   Security, Risk and Stress Bodies in Latin America

The perception of risk varies from one society to another, since each society generates a differentiated culture that appreciates in a dissimilar way the reality in which it lives. This societal perception defines forms of interaction with and action on the environment in which it lives, so it accepts conditions of latent risk, which may or may not arise in the future (Luhmann 1992). It is in this sense that it is valid to affirm that there is a cultural relativity of the perception of risk (Beck 2007).

The category of risk refers to the debatable reality of a possibility of physical or emotional harm that is not mere speculation, but an effective possibility. The catastrophe is the moment that the risks become reality, as happened in Armero, Colombia, when the volcano Nevado de Ruiz erupted and melted part of the glacier, which generated a mud avalanche that buried the populations of Armero, Chinchiná and Villamaría in the departments of Caldas and Tolima (Colombia 1985); when the Mississippi River flooded the city of New Orleans because of the rains caused by Hurricane Katrina (US 2005); and when Hurricane Wilma hit the tourist resort of Cancun (Mexico 2005) among others. In these examples, risk becomes catastrophes because of the vulnerability of people (Calderón 2011). Risks represent a threat, guide the actions of social agents and thus can become a force of social action and therefore, a transforming political decision (Dimas 2004: 83).[5]

Social reality is the result of human activity in general, it is a product of the social being of human beings, since the human being is determined by its social being (Berger/Luckmann 2006). Social reality is a reality that originates in the thinking and actions of social actors in their daily lives. Social reality is something that is socially constructed, since the real as an object is mediated by the consciousness of social agents within a defined socio-cultural context, where people regard the same event in a different way (Flores 2010).

The perception of risk is a subjective condition that has the same logic as the social construction of reality. In order to know empirically the way in which the perception of reality is evidenced through actions and thoughts, the scale of risk perception was constructed as well as the scale of stress (Sandoval 2015). They show how risk perception and stress influence the strategies through which it is possible to face a crisis in social terms.

Therefore a risk perception scale was designed with a battery of 15 closed questions with a Leiker scale that was piloted in 2012 (Sandoval 2015) with a reliability of 95 per cent and a margin of error of ±3.8 per cent. It yielded a Cronbach alpha of 0.882, so it was considered a valid instrument for providing a clear indication of the perception of risk. The stress scale obtained the same methodological criteria as the irrigation perception scale, differentiated in the fact that the stress scale was integrated by 27 closed-ended questions with the Leiker

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[5]It was during the nineteenth century that the economies of the so-called G-5 began their industrialisation process, with the exception of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, which began its process in the eighteenth century.

scale, which was validated simultaneously with the scales of risk and resilience, accepted as valid when obtaining a Cronbach alpha of 0.955.

The perception of risk among Mexican and Colombian populations is close to normal parameters. Finding that the study populations maintained a normal distribution and the samples were obtained at random, it was viable to estimate the perception of risk. In this case, we performed parametric tests that allowed us to glimpse the processes of adaptation to climate change through strategies designed by rescue bodies for coping and overcoming an environmental catastrophe.

Five hundred surveys were carried out in the Juan XIII neighbourhood in Medellín, Colombia, and another 500 in the Petaquillas and Quechultenango communities in Guerrero, Mexico. Respondents were residents who had been living in the communities mentioned above for at least five years, were over seventeen years old and who voluntarily wanted to answer the questions. The sample collection teams moved to the localities and collected the data at the respondents' addresses. Those who were under seventeen years of age or who had a cognitive or linguistic inability to answer the instrument were excluded. Also discarded were people who had lived in the communities for less than four years and eleven months, as well as the floating population that was found in the region. Only people who had settled in the study areas and were able to answer the questionnaires were selected.[6]

The survey was conducted in parallel by two research teams, one in Medellín, Antioquia, Colombia and the other in Chilpancingo, Guerrero, Mexico in July and August 2015. Once the field teams were in the areas previously selected, the survey questions were asked face to face, house by house and in the villages described. In order to provide greater clarity regarding the perception of risk in the most vulnerable households, the survey was not carried out in markets, public squares or concentrated areas of population. Incomplete or damaged questionnaires, as well as those presenting amendments, were discarded and not included in the database.

In each of the countries where the surveys were undertaken, two teams of surveyors were created. Each field team was composed of a field supervisor and four enumerators. Subsequently, the work teams were divided into two field data capture teams in each country. Each team captured 500 surveys, discarding those that had inconsistencies when comparing the recordings and reviewing the corresponding questionnaires.

The objective was to reach 400 questionnaires completely answered and without inconsistencies in order to obtain a database with a sample population equal to or greater than 800 individuals (being n = 802) with a reliability level of 97 per cent and a sampling error margin of 3.8 per cent for infinite populations in accordance

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[6]As noted by UNDP (2014), 'Despite recent progress in poverty reduction, there are still more than 2.2 billion people living in multidimensional poverty or very close to it. That means that more than 15 per cent of the world's population remains vulnerable to multidimensional poverty. At the same time, almost 80 per cent of the world's population lacks comprehensive social protection. About 12 per cent (842 million) suffer from chronic hunger, and almost half of all workers – more than 1.5 billion – have informal or precarious jobs.'

with the formula n = (p * q) * z2e2, so that the results obtained were considered valid, in order to support the assumption that stress is associated with vulnerability (Sandoval 2015).

Since a correlation was sought between the 'perception of risk and stress', as well as between the 'perception of risk and perception of safety' scales, the Pearson correlation was used. To differentiate the populations of the selected country states, the T test was applied.

As for the measures of central tendency, it was observed that the average of the scale of perception of the risk was lodged at 11.89 points out of a maximum of 30 points in the scale. In terms of distribution, most cases were within $\pm 2\delta$, so a normal distribution is observed in the scale of perception of stress, that is to say there is a typical behaviour in the sample population.

As for the affinity between the 'risk perception' scale and the 'stress scale', it was observed that there was a strong correlation between both, which corroborated the assumption that the greater the perception of risk, the greater the actual risk, with more people in both Colombia and Mexico living in rainy seasons or in the presence of continuous rainfall, as shown in Table 9.1.

In contrast to the studies conducted in the Balsas basin in Mexico in 2013 (Sandoval 2015), the study developed in 2015 in the Magdalena and Balsas watersheds found on the scale of perceived risk that people were not mentally prepared to face an environmental crisis before actually experiencing one. Differentiating the correlations between the scales showed that there is a different behaviour by basin. In the Magdalena basin there was a correlation between the risk perception scale and the stress scale. This correlation was not found in the Balsas basin, since the perception of flood-risk among the inhabitants of the municipality of Chilpancingo was smaller than that held by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood Juan XXIII in Medellín. Even in the 2013 study in the Balsas basin, no correlation was found between the risk perception scale and the resilience scale (Sandoval 2015), as can be seen in Table 9.2.

On the other hand, the T-test was significant in having a value lower than 0.05, showing that the variables of perception of risk, stress and with the safety bodies exhibited different behaviour in each of the study samples, that is, the way in which the risk, stress and ability of the security forces were perceived was different among the inhabitants of the Magdalena basin in relation to the inhabitants of the Balsas basin. Having a different value in the populations confirmed the assumption that

Table 9.1 Correlation of stress scale

		PerRisk	Stress
PerRisk	Pearson correlation	1	0.766**
	Sig. (bilateral)		0
	N	802	802
Stress	Pearson correlation	0.766**	1
	Sig. (bilateral)	0	
	N	802	802

**Correlation was significant at p $\leq$ 0.01 (bilateral)
Source Own research data

Table 9.2 Risk, Stress and Resilience from independent sample tests. *Source* Research data

| | | Leuvene test for equality of variance | | T test for equality of measurement | | | | | 95 per cent Confidence interval for the difference | |
		F	Sig.	t	gl	Bilateral significance	Differences of the measurement	Typical error of difference	Low	Superior
PerRisk	Equal variances were assumed	72.091	0.000	65.622	800	0.000	8.20200	0.12499	7.95665	8.44734
	Equal variances were not assumed			65.622	746.002	0.000	8.20200	0.12499	7.95662	8.44737
Stress	Equal variances were assumed	468.593	0.000	41.865	800	0.000	37.38653	0.89302	35.63359	39.13948
	Equal variances were not assumed			41.865	441.220	0.000	37.38653	0.89302	35.63142	39.14164
Resilience	Equal variances were assumed	126.321	0.000	12.292	800	0.000	14.61596	1.18903	12.28197	16.94995
	Equal variances were not assumed			12.292	402.182	0.000	14.61596	1.18903	12.27846	16.95346

socio-economic vulnerability had a significant impact on the perception of risk, stress and attitudes faced by an environmental catastrophe, as can be seen in Table 9.2.

Finally, the analysis of security forces is revealing. The security bodies most accepted by the respondents were those of Civil Protection in 38.8 per cent and the Federal/National Police with 31.2 per cent. Most people said that in the face of an environmental catastrophe, it would be preferable for these security forces to help them, although it was very different in each country. While in Colombia 59.9 per cent of people preferred the National Police, in Mexico only 2.5 per cent preferred to the Federal Police. In contrast, in Colombia 20.2 per cent chose Civil Protection, while in Mexico it was 49.4 per cent who selected this security body for their rescue.

The third option is equally controversial, as well as differentiated. In Colombia in third place they chose the Red Cross (20 per cent), while in Mexico it was the Army, selected by 16.2 per cent. The data is important, as people imagined different forms of action by each body of security that the governments of the selected countries have organised to provide assistance in the event of a disaster. This could explain the correlation between the scale of risk perception and the variable 'aid in case of disasters'. The sample in general did not exhibit a Pearson's correlation, but when differentiating it by country there was a positive correlation between the perception of the risk and the security bodies in Colombia, as indicated in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3 Pearson's correlation between Colombia and Mexico

Country			P10	PerRisk
Colombia	P10	Pearson's correlation	1	−0.314**
		Sig. (bilateral)		0
		N	401	401
	PerRisk	Pearson's correlation	−0.314**	1
		Sig. (bilateral)	0	
		N	401	401
Mexico	P10	Pearson's correlation	1	−0.03
		Sig. (bilateral)		0.55
		N	401	401
	PerRisk	Pearson's correlation	−0.03	1
		Sig. (bilateral)	0.55	
		N	401	401

**Correlation was significant at $p \leq 0.01$ (bilateral)
Source Research data

9.6   Conclusions

The perception of climate change is very diffuse among the population of Latin America, as is the perception of risk in general, but in particular the risk caused by natural events. The people who participated in this study voluntarily lived in conditions of high socio-environmental vulnerability, but they felt safe enough, so they did not perceive the risk they were in. It was revealing that housing conditions put their dwellers at risk, given the vulnerability of both urban equipment (lack of storm drainage) and the poverty of the materials and structures themselves from which the houses were made. However, their occupants did not perceive them to be especially vulnerable.

Although risk perception triggered stress or there was a relationship between risk perception and stress scales, which revealed that there was indeed a concern about the conditions in which they were living, the perception of risk was moderate, consequently people performed few actions aimed at improving their human and environmental security conditions. It was observed that the perception of risk was not a determinant in the daily life of the people surveyed. They even carried out activities that increased their vulnerability, such as throwing waste into ravines and troughs, which could cause an accumulation of water liable to generate greater damage if it overflowed.

The way they perceived the state security bodies and non-governmental bodies was also revealing. In principle, each country showed different conditions, just as the idea of the army, police, civil protection or Red Cross differed significantly. In Colombia, the National Police is a more prestigious body than its Mexican counterpart, since in Colombia the National Police faces the most diverse contingencies, providing citizen security, not just the public safety of the police forces. Something similar happens with the army, since in Mexico the army enjoyed prestige in the matter of rescue from disasters while in Colombia the army has other functions and connotations.

In neither case were the security forces in a position to provide the support people needed in a disaster. The security forces are trained to attend to other emergencies of insecurity linked to internal or external 'enemies' and through forceful actions of cancellation, in order to maintain social order. However, nature does not respond to this social order, and the hydrometeorological phenomena that cause floods, avalanches and droughts constitute a risk to human and environmental safety. Despite having a security body capable of mitigating vulnerability and having a positive impact on human security, their training did not facilitate the task of disaster risk reduction.

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Chapter 10
The 2016 US Presidential Elections and Beyond – Peace Education for Nonviolent Resistance

Patrick T. Hiller

10.1 Introduction

It is not uncommon for many people in the United States to apologise for the outcome of the 2016 presidential election. Honestly, I do not think I should do that, since that would mean that I somehow accept the results as part of some failure or error, when in fact we have had warning signs of socio-political developments all along. I will admit that, although I did not expect the result, instead of apologising, I have committed myself to resist and not allow the Trump agenda to be normalised. Trump has made multiple campaign promises – promises that, if kept, will harm the planet, Muslims, Blacks, immigrants, women, the poor, etc. As an educated white male with a job, I can buffer a lot of that – except for the consequences of climate change and nuclear war. If I remain silent, I will be complicit. So, I will not. What I am offering are some reflections on the connection of the notion of resistance to peace education. The context of these comments is the election and the aftermath. I have reviewed a lot of new literature that came out of the realm of peace education. I want to highlight a few, where I think we can meaningfully merge peace education and resistance.

10.2 The Election and the Outcry

We experienced one of the most intentionally divisive election campaigns in United States political history. A reality TV celebrity going against the political system was elected President. He is more than that. He ran on a platform of explicit and covert appeals to alterity – xenophobia, white nationalism, sexism, homophobia, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and all other markers of identity where there is social inequity.

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On the macro level, there are tremendous concerns about Trump's access to the nuclear codes, his disdain for the Iran Nuclear Deal, his temperament coupled with the *Authorization for the Use of Military Force* (AUMF), his denial of climate change, etc. These are very real fears and challenges which may, to some extent, be abstract and not immediately personal but require constant vigilant and sustained action to prevent our worst imaginations coming true.

Closer to home, many people in our communities have fears that do not affect people of certain privileged identities. Will immigrant families be torn apart? Will Muslims be oppressed and persecuted? Will already existing racism become more acceptable and institutional through emboldened white nationalism? Will we turn back the clock on women's roles in our society and punish them for choices over their own bodies? The *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual und Transgender* (LGBT) community fears the Republican Party's political control to make discrimination institutional again. These fears are real, immediate and traumatising.

Many have begun to develop genuine community partnerships and collaborations to effectively counter the results of the divisive ideas heightened in the time leading up to the election and beyond; to recognise our areas of privilege and intentionally engage in solidarity with those who might be adversely impacted. Groups are still seeking avenues of sustained and sustainable actions with imaginative strategy and systemic awareness. We must also find ways to positively engage with those who would disagree and seek to rationalise policies and ideas which negatively impact marginalised groups and foment hate. Simply making them the subject of *ad hominem* insults and dismissing their concerns have proven to be counterproductive. This is the context within which I am offering my remarks.

10.3 The Movement Moment

Many organisations recognised that they cannot continue their business as usual. Key terms floating around are, as mentioned, 'resistance', but also 'direct action', 'emergency' and 'crisis'. In a joint assessment of the current movement landscape, I and a group of other academics and philanthropists have determined that we are indeed in a movement moment. What do I mean by that?

The initial mobilisation right after the elections showed an interesting phenomenon: the expected taking to the streets by established activists, but also the opportunity for millions of new activists to get involved. The latter group is one with tremendous potential. They are upset not only about the election outcome, but about what it stands for in so many areas of hate and fear. One can say that they have been activated and are willing to act. The opportunity comes with some challenges. First, they have no experience and training with principles of activism, more specifically nonviolent activism as a strategy for social change. Second, that inexperience might undermine existing efforts. Third, the immediate outcry will inevitably soften and lose momentum. These are challenges, but ones that can be overcome. I will briefly outline some practical efforts that are already happening and then offer some thoughts as to how principles of peace education can contribute to resistance practices.

10.4   Building on the Movement Moment

Many of us recognised the movement moment. A movement moment means that the way politics are shaped and will shape the United States is driven by forces beyond traditional institutions and infrastructure. This movement moment helped bring Trump into power, but it also created a lot of energy of progressives without a strong infrastructure.

One of the key requirements to build on the movement moment is, and will continue to be, to organise and train activists, in particular newcomers. It is about training and networking against Trump's agenda. I would like to mention that there were also many people who were dissatisfied with the election outcome, but simply considered it was time to move on. "We lost; now we must put politics aside and help our President elect succeed." This is a defeatist and a very privileged position that needs to be challenged. Those of us who take a silent 'let's move on' perspective are complicit. Another troubling perspective is the whole notion of 'oh, it's not as bad as it seems and it's all talk'. I remind people that they should not look at Nazi Germany during World War II, but in the 1930s. Nazi Germany did not emerge out of a social vacuum. That is why I think it is so important to broaden our understanding of resistance to offer space for as many individuals and groups as possible.

I now want to briefly describe some of the groups that are doing wonderful work and who fully have recognised the movement moment.[1]

Beautiful Trouble: network of activist/artist trainers, strategists and organisers whose mission is to make grass-roots movements more creative, and consequently, more effective. They aim to mobilise successful resistance against the Trump agenda and slide towards authoritarianism.

Beyond the Choir: supports other organisations with training and curriculum development to address the political crisis.

Cosecha: immigrant rights effort that has organised massive student walk-outs demanding universities declare themselves sanctuary cities.

Neighbourhoods Organising for Change: people doing resistance work around sanctuary cities, and safe community meet-ups.

Our Walmart: organising multiracial corporate campaigning.

Pantsuit Nation: to harness the power of collective storytelling.

Then there are more institutional-based organisations:

People's Action: wants to be a new force for democracy and economic fairness.

Black Lives Matter: to improve the situation of the African American community.

#NODAPL: an indigenous movement to stop the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline.

Color of Change: a civil rights advocacy organisation.

Win Without War: a public education and advocacy coalition dedicated to advancing progressive national security solutions.

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[1]I want to give credit to Dini Maerz, who has compiled this list based on conversations among organisations, including my own.

Auburn Seminary: organising within the faith community and supporting progressive leaders across denominations.

Global Progressive Hub: aims to get positive US engagement and militarism issues on the table of major progressive organisations not traditionally connected with peace.

Friends Committee on National Legislation: Washington lobbying now focusing intensively on Trump administration.

350.org: additional campaign now 'Resist Trump's Climate Agenda'.

Campaign Nonviolence: a long-term movement to build a culture of peace and nonviolence free from war, poverty, racism, the climate crisis, and the epidemic of violence and injustice.

CodePink: Creative and disruptive public actions; *Rise, Love, Resist* was their new campaign for the inauguration of the new President and they are planning several other campaigns moving forward.

What did I learn from these movement organisations?

1. The recognition of a unique time – what I call the 'movement moment'.
2. Multiple sectors and priorities – here a challenge is how to create synergy between multiple sectors.

I argue that peace education has a role to play, a role that only a few peace educators, movement participants and organisers have fully recognised. Some peace education scholars, however, have tied together peace education concepts, resistance and social movements. My attempt is to bring those ideas specifically into the current US socio-political context.

10.5   Peace Education as Resistance

Peace education, generally speaking, teaches alternatives to violence, builds positive peace, and teaches students conflict resolution skills, negotiation, and mediation. That is, however, a rather superficial description and one that scholars and practitioners in the field have transcended.

We need to adopt peace education as a form of resistance in the current socio-political context. This is not a particularly new idea. I have reviewed some of the most recent perspectives in peace education, admittedly limited to the English-language context. I will now discuss four peace education perspectives that stood out and which I consider valuable contributions to considering peace education as form of resistance.

In her article 'Pedagogies of Resistance', Bajaj (2015) used the examples of indigenous Zapatista education programmes in Mexico, early childhood education in Dalit communities in India, and Freedom Schools during the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. These three examples of critical peace education were chosen because they all focused on challenging dominant cultural, economic and/or political narratives that contributed to marginalisation. Although they differed by participation, these programmes were structured around educating people about systems of inequality, pride in one's own background or heritage and the

importance of participating for social change. One key conclusion of this research was that peace education programmes which are adjusted to their context can connect analysis, education, and action for social change.

The next peace education as resistance perspective picks up on the notion of programmes adjusted to suit the context. A lot of peace education theory and practice evolves around the idea of 'encounters'. That is, bringing together two groups from conflicting parties, and broadening their understanding of 'the other' based on dialogue and storytelling. According to Ross (2015), so-called 'quality peace education programmes' should help participants identify existing inequalities and provide them with the tools and encouragement to address these issues once the programme has ended. They should also help participants critically question their environment during and after the programme. Dominant groups of society have a greater opportunity to examine their role in a conflict and how their beliefs and actions affect the more marginalised groups. Finally, quality encounter programmes increase the likelihood of participants becoming advocates for social change. Interestingly, we tend to look at such programmes in the context of the manifest social conflicts like Israel-Palestine or previously in Ireland. I suggest that a deeply divided US society needs to adopt such programmes widely.

Amster (2014) discusses how peace educators at all levels can help address today's important social and environmental issues by creating a sense of 'grounded optimism' that will help address these issues at both an individual level and as a society. Peace educators are already concerned with society's most pressing issues and in many ways inclined toward the type of systemic thinking and analysis needed to (a) draw the connections between challenges of climate change and militarism, while (b) using their tools as educators to promote constructive engagement with these issues.

What connects his examples of peace education are not only the topics being discussed, but more importantly the methods used by the educator. "Peace educators have long made the connection between *what* we teach and *how* we teach it, indicating that the processes utilised are in and of themselves part of the substance of any course" (Amster 2014: 273). Connected to the current social context, that means that, as a field already accustomed to addressing difficult issues in proactive ways, peace education can address even the most contracted problems. Peace educators at all levels can help address contemporary important social and environmental issues by creating a sense of 'grounded optimism'.

The final concept, by Dutta et al. (2016), is 'everyday peace' as a peace education framework. This concept is co-developed with participants and includes values on the individual and structural levels. The research connects peace education to everyday violence in people's lives. As such, it becomes an important vehicle to move beyond limited understandings of direct, physical violence, to include societal norms and structures which can be violent. If these structures are violent, one can point to negative peace. In positive peace, social and political equity, access to quality health care, access to economic opportunities, freedom of expression without fear and equal opportunity for development are among the key factors. It is a concept that is actively created, not passively handed down. Positive peace is sought at local level while at the same time embedded in global and transnational dynamics. Everyday peace is dynamic and changing, in that different

communities might develop a different understanding of what it entails. Members of different groups develop and negotiate the meanings of everyday peace.

Everyday peace is important, because many of the forms of policies by Trump are clear manifestations of structural violence, and, if left unchallenged, they become re-normalised. Re-normalised, because, despite the long path toward a more just and peaceful world ahead of us, we cannot neglect the tremendous advances that have already taken place in the areas of social change, constructive conflict transformation and global collaboration. We can talk about the existence of a Global Peace System. And I will note that history has shown that those advances were primarily driven by social movements, with political leaders only stepping into the space already created by movements. Why does this matter today? Popular and mainstream understandings of conflict focus on direct, physical violence. In that view, violence prevention only addresses the tip of the iceberg – manifest conflict and violence. The everyday peace concept integrates understandings of everyday violence by those who experience it. These understandings are crucial to avoid destructive conflict patterns where dehumanisation, demonising and polarisation take place.

10.6 Toward a Theoretical Framework of Peace Education Resistance to Rising Authoritarianism

In the following I offer my modest proposal of a peace education framework to resist rising authoritarianism. The principles of peace education in the contemporary US socio-political context go beyond formal elements, and the research I have examined clearly suggests its relevance in the broader socio-political context. I suggest considering the following elements, based on the work of Cabezudo and Haavelsrud (2007), in a framework of peace education resistance to rising authoritarianism: the analysis of power and authority, recognition of the interrelatedness of movements, a collective vision of nonviolent transformative development, nonviolence as a methodology of struggle, inclusive communication forms, the development of constructive relationships between actors, the building of institutional capacity and civic participation.

The analysis of power and authority – What we are currently experiencing can only be described as a shift in power relations. The established political class is losing power, although by no means to the extent that Trump promised during his campaign with the widely popular 'drain the swamp' motto. We are looking at a shift of power from the established wealthy political class to a group of 'super-wealthy', several of whom have had no ties to government or government experience. Power is not absolute, but constantly exercised and re-negotiated in all societies through our interactions as humans. Peace education should tie in Foucault's concept of power, where power and the social structure determine what knowledge is, while knowledge is the basis of power. We then can start broadening our understanding of resistance, legitimacy, and truths.

Recognition of the interrelatedness of movements – This point might not sound innovative and may seem obvious to many. However, over the years that I have been involved in efforts of movement building, I have noticed one thing: almost everyone

recognised the interconnected nature of issues and movements; almost nobody acted strongly upon the knowledge. I have shared examples from movement organisations that focus on racial justice, social justice, the environment, foreign policy and militarism, consumer behaviour and faith. Now, more than ever, we have the opportunity to broaden the network in the face of a commonly recognised challenge, even with different priorities. The different priorities are fine; it is important that individuals and groups can maintain their identities. But when it matters, there need to be strategies where all groups and social movement organisations can come together under a common theme with an achievable defined goal to build synergy.

A collective vision of nonviolent transformative development – This vision aims at a more deep-structural system transformation. Occupy Wall Street brought systemic issues into the public light most visibly. The campaign by Bernie Sanders resembled many aspirational but also tangible elements. It has yet to be determined how 'Our Revolution', which aims to harness the energy of Sanders's 'political revolution', will revitalise democracy, empower progressive leaders and elevate political consciousness. What stands out is the language of 'revolution' in a clear context of nonviolence.

Nonviolence as a methodology or struggle – Within critical circles, this seems so obvious that it does not even have to be mentioned. But in the context of peace education, it is important to inform and educate new constituencies about the actual efficacy of nonviolence. If one thing is certain to me in these uncertain times, it is that a Trump administration will not be able to wage a struggle successfully on this level. If done strategically, with discipline, with the whole playbook of established and new nonviolent methods, and communicated effectively to newcomers, nonviolence will indeed be a force more powerful.

Inclusive communication forms – This is another highly important element. As noted earlier, we are experiencing high levels of social polarisation. Every possible negative argument has been thrown at Trump and often at his supporters. But calling people homophobes and racists did not have the expected effect. Communication needs to be deliberate and adapted to context and audience. Communication needs to reach committed activists, people on the fence and adversaries alike. Strategically I would emphasise trying to communicate effectively with those in the so-called contested grey area on a continuum of social relations (Fig. 10.1). This is more effective than trying to convince those far on the other side and allows for an incremental growth, which makes the outlying ideology less socially acceptable. My non-empirical observation is that in times like these, those of us who are fully convinced of our perspective will try to out-argue those most opposed to us. I do not consider that very strategic. This does not mean 'others' should be neglected and further alienated. Peace education provides some of the most powerful approaches to creating inclusivity, humanising 'the other' and de-constructing presumptions, biases, stereotypes and reified understandings of 'otherness'. In my own research, I have learned that it is important not to deny differences, but to embrace the notion of otherness as a fuller sense of our human experience.

The development of constructive relationships between actors – The notion of constructive relationships ties into the need of going beyond an understood sense of solidarity towards building relationships in which individuals and groups recognise the importance of interaction. To develop these relationships different movement

Fig. 10.1 Continuum of social relations. *Source* Author, based on Lederach (2011)

organisations and convening organisers need to consider different demographics, interests, needs, values, leaders and gatekeepers, key issues, communication methods and channels and the ways to connect agendas. Such relationships imply coming together to strengthen efforts, but also recognising that alliances can be temporary and that there are times of simple solidarity with the other.

The building of institutional capacity – As mentioned earlier, initial outcries will fade away. Many groups are still struggling to find ways to build institutional capacity. This is the biggest challenge in terms of resources, 'the most important cause', the 'best approach' and many umbrella organisations or those that want to be. Competition over resources in terms of funding and ideas is the biggest impediment right now.

Civic participation – Peace education principles are based on critical thinking and analysis, empathy and solidarity, conflict transformation skills, ongoing reflective practice and, of course, participatory and democratic engagement. Peace education makes this form of participating in democracy the norm and not the exception. With broad civic participation under a theme of resistance, the incoming destructive agenda can be challenged. Civic participation means contacting elected officials, running for local offices, adjusting consumer behaviour (e.g. boycott anything related to the Trump brand), making cities sanctuary cities, writing letters to newspaper editors, using social media, contributing to or participating in some of the groups mentioned and making resistance visible (bumper stickers). All these are a form of resistance, and there is a place for everyone who wishes to join.

10.7 Conclusion

We are in an age of resistance. It is a form of resistance that must not be alienating to sympathisers, but inclusive of those who are in the contested grey area on a continuum of social relations and understanding of those at the other end of the spectrum. We must offer education and entry points into the movements for those who are ready rather than alienating them by being self-righteous or not accepting them because they are only just now feeling ready for social activism.

From what I have seen, I am optimistic that the whole notion of resistance is already far more acceptable to mainstream audiences than at other times. Multiple news stories and nationwide commentaries have picked up the theme of resistance. I would like to believe that it is not due to the popularity of the *Star Wars* movies and the resistance to the Imperial Forces, but to the genuine concern over the direction our nation has taken.

I will end with a last notion, that of 'authentic hope' (Nelson-Pallmeyer 2012). This is hope based on the idea that we are living in a difficult transitional period,

where we not only have the opportunity but also the responsibility to shape the yet-to-be determined future. As humans we are constantly evolving, sometimes for the good, sometimes for the bad. At this point, we are at a stage in history where we can talk about a Global Peace System. It is a system that consists of multiple trends in the areas of social change, global collaboration and constructive conflict transformation. Certainly, some of those areas are under threat from the incoming administration. At the same time, I believe they are already strong enough to sustain the pushback. But that will not happen inevitably. It will happen through resistance.

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Presentation of Dr. Patrick Hiller, USA

Private Dinner of Key Conference Participants in Coyoacan, Mexico City, 15 January 2017 (showing from left to right): Luis Alberto Padilla (Guatemala), Hans Günter Brauch (Germany), Francisco Rojas (Chile), Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico), María Teresa Muñoz (Argentina), Nielsen de Paula Pires (Brazil), Daniel and Diana de la Rúa (Argentina), Luis Medina and S. Eréndira Serrano (Mexico), Laura Balbuena (Peru)

Part IV
New Challenges for Peace and Security in Latin America

Prof. Dr. Margarita Velázquez Gutiérrez, Director of the Regional Centre for Multidisciplinary Research (CRIM) welcoming Abel Barrera Hernández, Director of the Human Rights Center of La Montaña 'Tlachinollan', in La Montaña de Guerrero, Mexico with the Coordinator of Humanities of UNAM, Prof. Dr. Domingo Alberto Vital Díaz

Chapter 11
Human Rights, Peace and Security in Mexico and in La Montaña, Guerrero

Abel Barrera Hernández

11.1 Introduction: Guerrero as the Centre of Social Struggle

We, as defenders of La Montaña, want to be faithful to the struggle of indigenous peoples and be inspired by their example. It is certain that they will continue in their struggle; they were born to fight for their children, their life, their land and for their peace. Our role as human rights defenders is to give voice to their cries and hopes. This is the barometer by which we measure our collaboration with their struggles. I would like to share how we experience the daily struggle together with them. We want to share the experiences we live every day, the problems and the hopes.

Mtro. Abel Barrera Hernández, Director of the Human Rights Center of La Montaña 'Tlachinollan', in La Montaña de Guerrero, Mexico. Email: abel.barrera@tlachinollan.org. He is an anthropologist and human rights defender. He founded the Tlachinollan Center in 1994 in Tlapa, La Montaña in Guerrero. He received several awards for the defence and promotion of human rights from Amnesty International, Germany (2011) and the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights (2010).
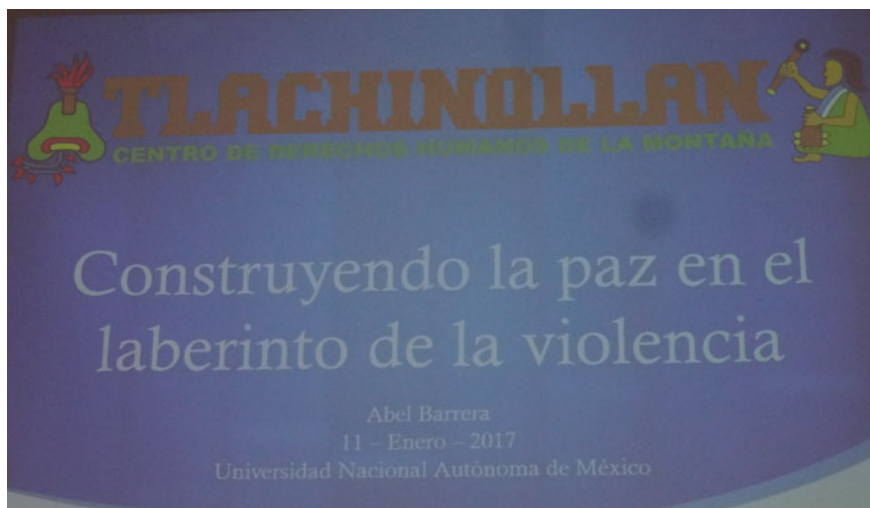
Oral Presentation in Spanish of Mtro. Abel Barrera Hernández, 11 January 2017

When we think about peace, violence and death come to mind. The question arises: How can we use our body to fight for peace in a legal and just way? But it seems that everything is sinking, and we think that everything is lost. As peace researchers, we must think beyond this context, even though violence has increased since President Calderón brought the army to the streets to fight drug trafficking. In Guerrero, we have had the army in the streets for more than forty years, in particular in La Montaña.

The state of Guerrero is divided into seven regions, one of which is La Montaña containing the poorest municipalities of Mexico (Fig. 11.1). There are diverse climate zones and the origins of corn cultivation are believed to be in the Balsas River basin. There are first-class tourist centres and two international ports, Lázaro Cárdenas and Acapulco. Despite this natural wealth and infrastructure development, Guerrero has the poorest municipalities in the country, with Cochoapan and Metlatonoc[1] standing out in La Montaña (Coneval 2015).

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[1]Prior to 2003, Metlatónoc was listed as the municipality with the lowest human development index (HDI) in Mexico. When a decree divided the territory, Cochoapa remained with the towns with the highest poverty levels and became the municipality with the lowest HDI (UNDP 2005), that is, the poorest municipality in the country, while Metlatónoc rose seven places in the list of marginal municipalities. However, it did not stop being the poorest municipality of the country. Administrative action by the state government did not raise the living standards of its population, which is why the social and economic backwardness of its population continues at the same level. The nearest town to reach both municipalities is Tlapa de Comonfort, a municipality that is considered the heart of La Montaña and the political and administrative centre of the whole region where the main commercial activities are carried out. Various municipalities and localities of the region, almost all with very poor infrastructural development, belong to it. Although efforts have
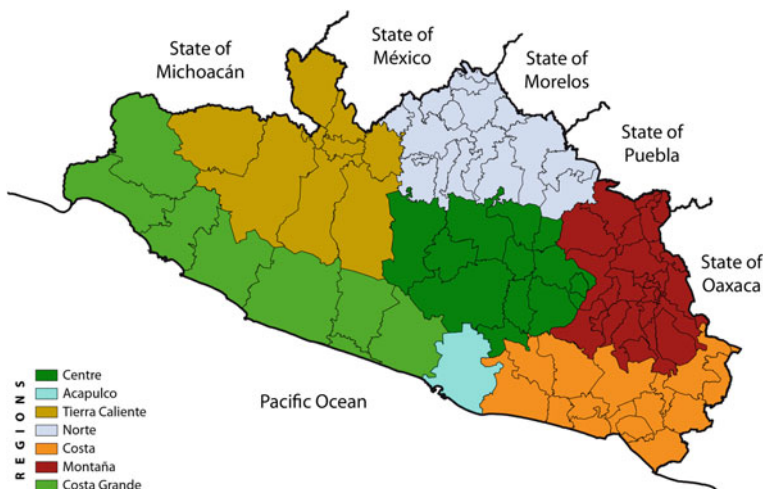
Fig. 11.1 Map of the State of Guerrero. *Source* Government of the State of Guerrero

When we think of the dream of peace, we see the labyrinth of violence. How can we enter through dialogue, legality and human rights? It seems that everything is sadness, cloudiness and fire. But as peace researchers we must look beyond these clouds and hope we can overcome the violence that escalated when the former President Calderón brought the military out of the barracks. Now we see the discussion about the Internal Security Law (approved by the Congress the 30 of November 2017 and brought to the Supreme Court by the National Human Rights Commission and other regional entities), but in Guerrero we have had the army around for more than forty years. Since the 'dirty war' in the early 1970s, the army destroyed the guerrilla movements of Genaro Vázquez and Lucio Cabañas, who fought for a world with greater justice and equality.

11.2   Guerrero Is Mexico's Poorest State

Figure 11.2 shows a comparison of the most important welfare data in relation to the national average. Living conditions in the towns of Cochoapa el Grande and Metlatónoc, despite more than three decades of officially fighting poverty, remain

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been made in recent years to improve the communication channels in this region, they have not been sufficient. In November 2012, the extension of the rural road from Tlacoachistlahuaca to Metlatónoc was inaugurated, which required an investment of 1.5 billion pesos. In 2013, 30 million pesos were used to restore the asphalt in some sections of the road from Tlapa to Metlatónoc. It is an 80-kilometre-long road in pitiful condition. However, the tropical depression Hurricane Manuel destroyed most of the roads and caused numerous deaths and serious damage to the productive and communicative infrastructure that has not yet been repaired.
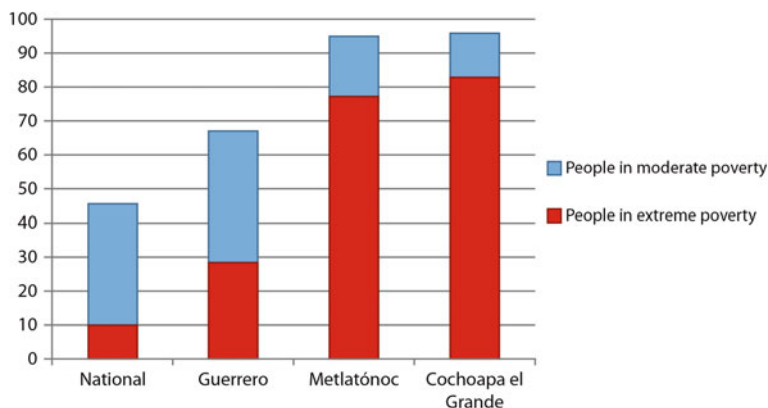
Fig. 11.2 Indicators of poverty in Cochoapa el Grande and Metlatónoc. *Source* Estrada Villanueva (2014) with data from Coneval (2010)

deplorable and all communities in these municipalities have many shortcomings and lags of all kinds.

According to social deprivation indicators (Coneval 2010), the two municipalities show high levels of poverty in nutrition, with about 70 per cent of the population having limited access to food with sufficient minimum nutrients for their daily subsistence. Regarding basic domestic services, it took until 2007 for many of the most marginalised localities of both municipalities to receive electricity. In the same year some others were connected to the water network. Nevertheless, these two basic services are not delivered uninterrupted; there are continuous cuts of energy and the water is supplied once a week when there is connection to the public network. At the same time, no locality has a sewer system, so the domestic waste water is discarded into the streets or inside the home. Although latrines were built to control the sewage, most of them are misplaced, unhealthy, prefabricated out of wood and covered with fabric or plastic. Few latrines are built of concrete and there are no septic tanks (Fig. 11.3).

In 2005, according to the National Population Council (*Conapo*), 98 per cent of the floors in the houses were dirt, but in 2009 many localities benefited from the *Piso Firme* (firm floor) programme by the Ministry of Social Development (*Sedesol*), in adobe and wood houses. However, recent constructions (temporary or permanent) do not have a firm floor. Few homes are finished with concrete material (both walls and ceilings), and some of them are empty, since their owners work in the United States. Having a concrete house in these localities is a sign of income in dollars, since all the construction material must be transported from Tlapa. The trip alone to transport the merchandise is three to five thousand pesos, plus the cost of materials. No construction material is sold in the localities. The adobe houses are constructed from soil produced in the same communities, and the sheets or roof tiles are brought by public transport. Food is prepared with firewood and none of the houses has a stove, since the gas distribution service does not reach the localities
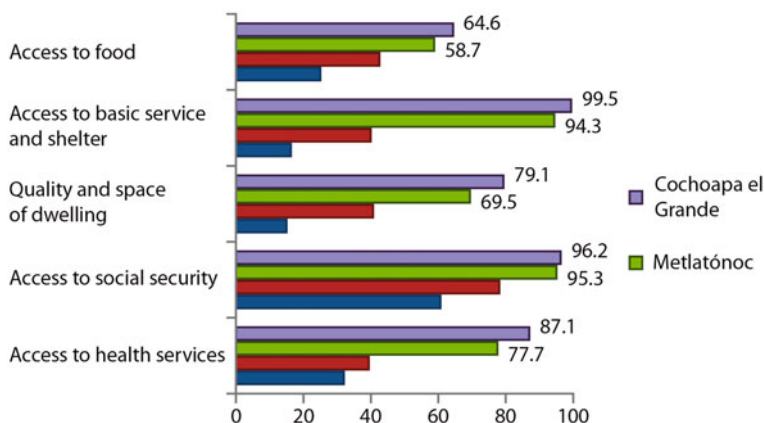
Fig. 11.3 Indicators of lack of basic services. *Source* Estrada Villanueva (2014) based on data from INEGI (2010)

and only supplies Metlatónoc. In 2009 Sedesol provided material for the construction of cooking stoves on the outside and roofs of the houses. However, the stoves are not practical from the point of view of the housewives, since you cannot insert enough firewood or thick wood. Therefore, they are not efficient to cook food, which still is being prepared on stoves at ground level.

This has increased the emissions of haze and contaminants that are absorbed by women during the cooking process and often also by babies lying by the stove. Both processes have led to respiratory diseases, bronchitis and asthma in the case of children. This is aggravated by maternal and child chronic malnutrition, which weakens the immune system and makes them vulnerable to gastrointestinal infections. Regarding access to social security and health services, Coneval mentions that slightly more than 96 per cent of the population in Cochoapa el Grande and 95 per cent in Metlatónoc do not have this right. Only 13 per cent of the population in Cochoapa and 23 per cent in Metlatónoc have apparent access to health services through the Popular Insurance, although it is precarious and deficient, without medicines and with little medical attention. All localities have a Health House, visited by health workers every two months. Outside these dates there is no other medical service, public or private, and people in extreme poverty self-prescribe and buy very expensive drugs in some stores to treat common diseases like flu, diarrhoea and stomach pain. The other option for medical attention in these localities is traditional healers.

While health clinics are in the municipal head offices, they lack emergency services. In case of an emergency, people must go to the hospital in Tlapa. The hospital in Tlapa has thirty-three beds covering nineteen municipalities with more than 600,000 inhabitants. There are no nurses and doctors in La Montaña and there is no medication, since for two years the costs of medicines have not been paid. Moreover, due to the violence, no doctor or nurse dares to work in la Montaña.

There is a lot of talk of recent cases of women who have died in childbirth due to complications or because they were very young and could not survive labour, especially because there are no trained midwives to provide them with the necessary care. In addition, infant mortality is high among babies over a week, who die from diarrhoea and lack of medical care. Likewise, there is a lack of basic health care, such as hygiene or the use of oral serum for diarrhoea, and few women use herbal medicines.

As for alimentation, more than half of the population of La Montaña does not have the basic staples needed for their subsistence, consisting of corn, beans, *quelites* (leaf vegetables) and other vegetables, sometimes with added eggs and occasionally chicken. The consumption of goat, beef or game animal is reserved for holidays. Generally, coffee is consumed by both children and adults, and almost no one consumes milk, regardless of whether it is natural or powder based. Not all localities in La Montaña have grocery stores or community stores of the National Company of Popular Subsistence (*Conasupo*), which is the reason why food is not only scarce but expensive. In one out of ten localities, you can find cheese or dried meat, some vegetables like tomatoes or some seasonal fruits, but all at a very high cost.

Another indicator of lag in this region is education, which is far below the national average. According to information from the last population and housing census (INEGI 2010), 66.5 per cent of Cochoapa el Grande and 52.3 per cent of people over the age of 15 in Metlatónoc, the most marginal municipalities, are illiterate. There is an even greater educational lag for women: in Metlatónoc almost 70 per cent and in Cochoapa 60 per cent of illiterates are women. In this region, there are very few graduates of primary education, due to, among other things, the lack of educational infrastructure in the localities. Generally, there are so-called multi-grade primaries, which are schools with one or two rooms where all grades are mixed. There are few localities where there is the possibility of pre-school education. In the case of wanting to study at a secondary school, the students have to move to the municipal centre, which houses a shelter for child students by the *National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples* (CDI). However, leaving the community is frowned upon, especially for young women, who risk not finding a husband upon their return. There are few women who continue their studies at secondary school, since the majority marry when they are between twelve and fourteen years old. Moreover, culturally, a woman who is going to study far away, has little chance of being chosen as wife by one of the young single men of the community. Thus, marriage options are limited to widowed or older men.

Finally, marginality is reflected in the *Human Rights Index* (HDI), where the state of Guerrero is below the national average, with Coachapa holding the lowest national indicator, followed by Chamula in Chiapas and Susupuato in Michoacán (Table 11.1).

Table 11.1 National and state HDI with the poorest municipalities

	HDI global	HDI health	HDI education	HDI income
HDI national	0.7390	0.8743	0.6779	0.6809
HDI Guerrero	0.6733	0.8492	0.5902	0.6092
HDI Cochoapa	0.362	0.494	0.21	0.456
HDI Chiapas	0.6468	0.828	0.5540	0.5688
HDI Chamula	0.446	0.652	0.286	0.44 (Aldama)
HDI Michoacan	0.6958	0.84	0.584	0.671
HDI Susupuato	0.528	0.602 (Huaniqueo)	0.380	0.508

Source UNDP (2014)

11.3 Cases of Missing Persons and State Crimes

Given that we are facing a very complex problem of poverty, social backwardness, lack of employment and migration of the poor people from la Montaña, planting poppy and marijuana is a forced survival tactic. This illicit activity further threatens communities, due to military and police persecution. It is therefore necessary to discuss in-depth the Internal Security Law that is now approved by the National Congress.

> Although the *Inter-American Court of Human Rights* (IACHR) has issued four judgments ordering the Mexican State to amend the Code of Military Justice, and even though the Supreme Court of the nation itself has pointed out that Article 57 of said code is unconstitutional, legislative reform has not materialised … After accompanying victims of military abuse like Inés Fernández Ortega and Valentina Rosendo Cantú, who have taken their demand for justice to IACHR; to relatives of victims who went to the Supreme Court of the nation, as in the case of the bereaved of Bonfilio Rubio Villegas; and indigenous communities that have suffered from human rights violations committed by the military for decades, Tlachinollan presents some elements that must be satisfied regarding the pending reforms in this publication … For the Human Rights Centre of la Montaña, the restriction of military jurisdiction is a matter that transcends the limits of the legal debate and which is placed, above all, in the scope of the establishment of civil controls of the armed forces. Precisely for this reason, after a six-year term where the Army and Navy carried out the security policy without an adequate framework for accountability, taking advantage of the subordination of the civil authorities, limiting the military jurisdiction is indispensable. It is a debt to the victims that the Mexican state has not paid (Tlachinollan 2013a).

11.3.1 Mines, Conflicts, Pollution and Violence

Another conflict is related to the mining concessions of the Sierra Madre's mineral reserves. The companies obtain fifty-year concessions on the territory, expelling the owners or cultivators of these lands, and in addition they are destroying the sacred indigenous sites. They are no longer landmarks, but grids to open for the extraction of minerals in the sacred mountains. In this territory of concessions there are other gods, the same as those who came from Spain, but now come from Canada, the United States and other countries.

In the northern part, near Iguala and Cocula, the Minera Media Luna is devastating a large dam. This is also the area where the 43 students of Ayotzinapa disappeared. The community of San Miguel filed an *amparo* (a remedy for the protection of constitutional rights) and won it. They were able to free themselves from mining and are now leading the most impoverished indigenous peoples of Mexico to protect themselves against new mining concessions.

Mexcal producers in Carrizalillo, a region with Olmec archaeological vestiges, fought against a crater of mining exploitation. In addition, they had to fight against organised crime groups, especially the *Guerreros Unidos*, who took the opium gum from La Montaña. These criminals extorted the mining company, the employees and the workers. Also, a struggle over the control of extortion of the mine between the 'Rojas' and the *Guerreros Unidos* began in this area. In several other mines people have been kidnapped; the government and companies have had to fight and negotiate with the criminals, in addition to paying them extortion fees to work.

11.3.2   Ayotzinapa and the 43 Students Disappeared from the Normal School Raúl Isidro Burgos

On 26 September 2014, dozens of student activists from the Normal Rural School of Ayotzinapa were arrested and loaded into police and military vehicles in Iguala, in the state of Guerrero. Since then, none of the students – 43 in total – has been seen again. Prior to that, Jorge and Gabriel Echeverría were murdered by police, when all they wanted were resources to study at the Normal School of Ayotzinapa. Previously, there had never been any persecution of students, and this occurrence showed what would happen next with the 43 students in Iguala who are missing and were handed over by the police and military in civil to organised crime. All of them were young indigenous people. Three students and three civilians have also been killed.

Ayotzinapa is the only place where poor young people can eat and sleep while studying to become teachers. Only protests allowed them to maintain enrolment and state and federal support. By means of marches and blockades they have fought to guarantee the survival of the Normal School. For that reason, on 26 September 2014 they took buses to join a march due to take place in Mexico City on 2 October 2014. Local Iguala police forces, federal police, army and cartel members mobilised against the students and the students have not been seen by their families since then. The government invented a historical 'truth', but all independent and scientific experts showed that it was impossible for these young men to be burned in the garbage dump of Cocula and that their ashes were thrown into the river going by the same name. However, the corruption and cover-up of these events have forced the government to defend this false truth.

> The disappearance of the 43 students, attributed to corrupt interests among local politicians, drug traffickers and police, unleashed protests throughout the country, due to the frustration caused by impunity. This atrocity became a symbol of Mexico's inability to protect its

citizens from homicides and disappearances, as well as to investigate and punish the guilty. *Failed Justice in the State of Guerrero* analyses the factors underlying that disability, and offers recommendations to change the situation. The result of more than two years of research and analysis by national and international experts is condensed in this report, which offers the most comprehensive analysis to date of the structural deficiencies of Guerrero's justice system; failures that have allowed perpetrators of violence to act with almost total impunity … highlights the profound lack of political will to curb abuses and bring those state agents involved in extrajudicial executions, torture and enforced disappearances to justice. It also proposes a plan of reforms that lay the foundations for the recovery of trust in the justice system and the rule of law in Guerrero. (*Failed Justice in the State of Guerrero*; Tlachinollan 2015).

The Interdisciplinary Group of Independent Experts (GIEI) noted in its two reports on the night of 26–27 September 2014 in Iguala that there was collusion between police, army and civil authorities with organised crime (the *Guerreros Unidos*) to disappear the 43 students of the Normal School of Ayotzinapa. This case shows the merger between authorities with organised crime to generate terror in society through counterinsurgency strategies. Its goal is to prevent community policing and armed civilian insurgency (guerrilla) from taking the failed justice of the government into their hands.

It is not only in Ayotzinapa that thousands of relatives of 'picked up' people are searching for their missing relations through human rights groups and increasingly count on international technical advice. The 43 missing have become the national and international benchmark drawing on human rights groups to help. The governmental inconsistencies regarding the events of Ayotzinapa and the intervention of the GIEI opened a path to investigate and reverse the existing system of impunity. Today the faces of the parents, mothers and relatives of the 29,000 disappeared are contributing their many actions to bring about changes in the corrupt justice system. At Tlachinollan we have:

21 years of working for human rights in La Montaña, Guerrero; but along this path, September 26, 2014 has marked us deeply with the sentence that overwhelms the community of Ayotzinapa and in particular the 43 families who since that date have undertaken an arduous battle against the Mexican authorities to demand that their children will be returned alive. We never imagined how bloody and risky this quest would be. Sharing the anguish and suffering of the fathers and mothers who struggle day and night to find their children has been the biggest challenge we have faced as human rights defenders in the name of justice and truth … It is essential to recover that intangible memory and that tenacious and unique struggle that the students and families of Ayotzinapa have felt in the flesh.

For this, Tlachinollan gave us the task of recording the events of the last eleven months that have marked a new course for the struggle of human rights in Mexico … They were taken alive, we want them back alive! That is the generalised clamour that is shrouding our country today, a month away from the one-year commemoration of the terrible events of September 26 and 27. Today in Mexico we are missing 43 students from Ayotzinapa and tens of thousands more. All the pains and tears of the more than 26,000 disappeared and the more than 100,000 executions in Mexico have found a channel in this unprecedented movement of the 43 mothers and fathers. With the support of society, we will continue to

exclaim that 'We all are Ayotzinapa!' We will continue denouncing all the violence and impunity and we will walk under the guidance of the 43 families that are the light of hope today, so that our country will change and be a country without victims in the future (Open Society Foundations 2015).

11.4 'Dirty War', 'War Against Drug Trafficking' and Organised Crime in Guerrero

Guerrero is also the state where military checkpoints have been located since the 1970s in its seven regions. This includes military bases in Acapulco, Chilpancingo and Iguala. These are precisely the municipalities with the greatest violence in Guerrero, and after forty years of military control it has not been possible to bring tranquillity to the regions. On the contrary, violence has overflowed.

The army has been in the streets of Guerrero for more than four decades, in La Montaña and in the cities, since the 'dirty war' that started in the early 1970s when the guerrilla movement emerged. The army dedicated itself to destroying an alternative project of life and well-being and more than 600 victims continue to demand justice. This is the case of the brave Tita Radilla, who seeks her father Rosendo Radilla Pacheco, from Atoyac de Álvarez on the Costa Grande. He was 'disappeared' illegally in 1974 at a military checkpoint, when the army took him off a truck. Rosendo had composed *corridos* (folk songs) that denounced the injustice and the conditions of poverty in Guerrero. He sang about the struggle of the people, which included the ideas of overcoming misery proposed by teachers Genaro Vázquez and Lucio Cabañas. The army has denied his detention and enforced disappearance. His daughter, Tita Radilla, faced a lack of response from the Mexican government to the *Inter-American Court of Human Rights* (IACHR), where the Mexican state was sued following a complaint filed in 2001 for his enforced disappearance in August 1974 (Argüello Cabrera 2016). In 2005, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights accepted the complaint of Rosendo Radilla Pacheco's next of kin, and when he officially requested information on his father's whereabouts, the Mexican government replied that they did not know where he was.

Tita Radilla became an Executive Member of the *Latin American Federation of Relatives of the Disappeared* (Fedefam). After forty-one years and several recommendations of the IACHR, this organisation demanded veridical data from the judiciary, and the Supreme Court ruled that the sentences of the IACHR 'are obligatory for all the Mexican authorities', and that military judges could not prosecute military personnel accused of human rights violations.

The *National Commission on Human Rights* (CNDH) had previously issued Recommendation 26/2001, and gathered and supplemented the information that associations of relatives of missing persons had provided since the 1970s where they were able to document 532 cases of more than 600 complaints made at

national level, whose number increased to 708 documented cases in September 2008.

The situation in Guerrero was further complicated in 2006, when President Calderón took the army to the streets to fight drug trafficking. This militarisation in Guerrero has impeded the state's socio-economic development. The first critics of the militarisation to fight drug trafficking appeared in June 2007, when 1,500 were dead after seven months of military action without having detained any drug traffickers. In Guerrero, this situation was more complex, since in the poorer towns of the state like Sierra de Tlacotepec and elsewhere, the extremely poor peasants, who only eat tortillas with salt, were forced by their poverty to plant poppy in isolated ravines. Every day at dawn they had to water the crop and were always exposed to the army stopping them.

This opium gum ends up in Manhattan, New York, Chicago and Atlanta, where prices reach levels a thousand times higher than in La Montaña. This war nourishes the international macro-crime, where the weakest link is located in depleted La Montaña. In the absence of corn-growing opportunities and crops that do not cover basic subsistence needs, inhabitants, especially men and young people, are forced to emigrate. After Acapulco, Chicago has the most inhabitants from Guerrero, and usually they are without documents.

The *Interdisciplinary Group of Independent Experts* (GIEI) has insisted that the more than 28,000 people missing due to the 'drug war' show the complex inter-relation with macro-crime. As human rights defenders, we must therefore place the problem in its proper dimension. This war was imposed on Mexico by US President Nixon, but deaths and violence have been reported in Mexico, Colombia and other Latin American countries, while large profits are being laundered in international banks, tax havens and US stock markets.

These deaths of social fighters and those involved at the lowest level of macro-crime force human rights defenders to locate the past struggles of the 'dirty war' within the present 'war against drug trafficking'. Without understanding the conditions under which drugs are produced and how they are consumed in the cities of the United States, it is difficult to develop a fair judgement. Above all, it is necessary to understand that the corroded state and national powers protect the greater perpetrators. How are we to believe in justice and the rule of law when we do not know from whom we are defending the indigenous poor? We do not know the relationships between the authorities and the cartels who subsidise the political parties, buy local and state elections and corrupt those who oppose their business with their economic power.

Undoubtedly, the cartels that promote the cultivation of marijuana and poppy are found in La Montaña. Despite producing for the world's most lucrative illegal business, poor people frequently have to pay for violence with their lives. This violence is traversed by the corruption of the rulers and their links to crime. That is why caciquism, the rule of local chiefs or bosses, emerged and is still present. To obtain the position of police commander, one must belong to families such as the Añorve, the Figueroa, the Aguirre, etc. This relationship involves complicities ranging from the local to the national level and prevents the progress of justice.

Mexico is drenched in blood, and crime has infiltrated political campaigns, subsidises public officials and therefore crime is deep-rooted in government. To deal with inequality, it is important to carry this awareness. Guerrero is in conflict with the most important criminal groups, those who know where the best heroin and marijuana come from.

GIEI understands how corruption and the corrupt use of power to protect criminals is working. We believe and fight for peace and human rights, even if we do not know to which cartel a specific official is linked and what interests he really stands for. Today we can not only link politicians to political groups, but to criminal groups. The PRD is linked to the 'Ardillas' and the PRI to the 'Rojos'. This began with Acosta Chaparro who started the 'dirty war', not understanding the complexity of the whole process of interwoven government, organised crime and indigenous drug producers.

11.5   Migration: An Escape from Poverty and Disasters

Due to their precarious and miserable conditions, the indigenous population seeks to support their families through migration and income as agricultural day labourers. When more resources are present, they are generated by transnational networks from emigration to the United States. In Guerreo 46 per cent of the indigenous people aged fifteen years and older do not have work. This leads to the state being in first national place in internal migration and fifth in international migration. About 128,000 labourers leave to the north of the country during summer, basically to the states of Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua and Baja California to pick vegetables, cotton and fruit. Approximately 950,000 United States orientated migrants are concentrated in Oregon, California, Arizona, Mississippi, Florida, New York, Virginia and North Carolina, where they can rely on existing family networks. A quarter or even a third of Guerrero's emigrants go to Chicago, where there are about 300,000 people from Guerrero.

Although international migration is not a common practice in the two poorest municipalities, especially in the more distant and poorer localities, the increase in this practice was observed among the population of the municipal centre Metlatónoc. Thanks to the networks that have been developed, these are also used by people from other locations. The most common type of migration in both municipalities is internal, with entire families preferably migrating to the north or to the state of Morelos (*El Pañuelo*). They migrate from their place of origin for four to five months and return in March and November to attend the Holy Week and All Saints Day celebrations, respectively, in addition to planting the *milpa* (cultivated field, commonly corn). Internal migration has not been a guarantee of improvement in the lives of the families in La Montaña, and religious festivals require a significant part of the saved money. Migration is only a temporary remedy for survival in extreme conditions of poverty and lagging to avoid starving in their remote locations.

11.5.1 Migration of Women

Although migration has always existed in Mexico, especially towards the United States, in the internal rural context recent decades have outlined routes that have gained strength. The rural-rural migration flows have been increasing, mainly among the indigenous population that lives in La Montaña. The state of Guerrero occupies the fifth place of external migration and the first national place in internal migration. In addition, Central American migrants have settled recently in parts of La Montaña.

Guerrero is a land of migrants, where indigenous women facing a five-fold discrimination are almost never mentioned: because they are women, poor, indigenous, uneducated and migrants (Estrada Álvarez 2014). These women carry experiences that have accumulated over more than several decades, where they have travelled to places beyond their place of origin. They have known and identified other cultures, other languages, other customs and identities and their experiences are crossed by pain, forgetfulness and longing. Their life histories have been consumed by the hope of someday progressing to a standard of life different from the one that they have known since they were little. These women have been forging their lives, their feelings and their self-perception from their paths through cultivation furrows, covered by palatial ones which not only blur their faces, but silence them.

> The testimonies were organised from a series of interviews that were conducted in some agricultural areas of Sinaloa and Sonora between April and May 2013. They are complemented by an analysis that seeks to identify the gaps in the standards and public policies in Mexico, mainly in relation to two social programs aimed at the care of our country's day labourers. In this section, we have complemented the analysis with about 100 requests for access to public information, to deepen the scrutiny of these programs. Finally, the publication concludes with a series of recommendations on human rights… This effort helps give voice to those who make up an invisible link of labour exploitation in Mexico and the migration agenda. We express our sincere thanks (Tlachinollan 2013b: 12).

11.5.2 Discrimination and Gender Violence

According to the narrative of one of the interviewees, violence towards women is common, both from their husbands and the husband's family. Arranged marriages exist in all of La Montaña's localities, and the dowry for the bride's family consists of delivery of animals like goats or cattle and the payment of money. As recounted, brides' families have increased the amount of money for their daughters with talk about cases where 60,000.00 pesos were paid for a young girl.

There are many stories of girls and young women going through pain and tragedy. In twenty-three years at Tlachinollan, we have documented that the rule of law has been broken. We documented the case of a girl raped by the ministerial

police while she was carrying a packet of opium gum with her aunt to sell in Acapulco. The state judicial police stopped them, demanded 20,000 pesos to release them and the relatives paid. Nevertheless, the commander moved them to Chilpancingo to cite them for crimes against public health. When the family intervened, the commander threatened to imprison them. Tlachinollan and a sister went to see the commander asking him for the 20,000 pesos he had received. "Yes, carrying opium gum is a serious crime, but we are defending a girl who was arrested and we know that you have no right to ask for money." The commander then threatened Tlachinollan. The dialogue became harsh, but the sister, despite the threat by gun, never backed down in her statement: "I saw the 20,000 pesos and the community had gathered the money. Now we demand that the money is returned." Nevertheless, the commander flatly denied it. Subsequently, we learned that they had raped the girl in the police station. We denounced her violation and the ministerial police officer went to jail, while the girl was released for being a minor.

At the Human Rights Centre in Tlachinollan we were able to litigate two more abuse cases by the army. Valentina Rosete was raped in a stream when she washed her clothes in Barranca de Bejuco in February 2001. The army also entered Barranca de Tejuani and raped Inés, an indigenous Me'phaa who did not speak Spanish. Although the allegations are dangerous, when both women went to the Public Prosecutor's office, they were informed that only the army could prosecute soldiers. Nevertheless, they continued with the denunciation and the army came to Tejuani and threatened all the inhabitants if the accusation was not withdrawn. But the women held their ground, although Valentina had to leave the state of Guerrero for personal security reasons. The violating soldiers were punished by the civil authorities. Given all these arbitrations, how can we then trust these authorities?

11.6 La Montaña of Guerrero: The Heart of Resistance and Flash of Hope

In Guerrero, not everything is violence and poverty. This state also has been and is the heart of resistance, and human rights are a key to generating greater transparency between authorities and the army.

11.6.1 Community Police

The towns and communities of La Montaña realised that when they provide evidence to the Public Ministry, the criminals disappear and women are raped. Therefore, these authorities are of no use. Our grandparents had their own community justice, so we started with community policing. The towns organised themselves and made *rondines* (vigilance patrols) to guarantee the security of their

community. They were able to confront the criminal groups, whereas the army and the government had not done this and had likewise failed to stop the injustice. In one community, the *rondine* arrested five individuals who had caused conflicts in the region with 600 kg of marijuana. It was not possible to dismiss the community policing effort. The criminals were arrested with all the drugs and when they arrived in the community, the Assembly collectively determined that the criminals should be prosecuted and the marijuana burned. The State Secretary of Security arrived with multiple gifts for the community police and asked to take over the detainees and the drugs. However, the Assembly had decided what to do and burned the drugs.

11.6.2   Assemblies and Struggles Against Miners

Assemblies gradually achieved order in La Montaña and the most complex subjects were addressed. Internal controls were established and community policemen who did not comply with the ethical code were dismissed. The struggles helped restore traditions, where the Mixtecs identified themselves in the territory of fire. The Me'phaa venerated the water god, where the shrines of San Marcos represent the god of rain and thunder. When these hills became concessions of a Canadian mining company, the indigenous fought against the mine in favour of the archaeological remains, the shrine of San Marcos as well as the spring. The federal authorities had granted the concession without warning the community, since the Mining Law allows for occupation of lands if it serves national interests.

Nevertheless, the community received an *amparo* (a preliminary certificate issued to a claimant of land as a protection for the claim) and the Supreme Court was evaluating the legality of the Mining Law. Upon winning the *amparo*, the Ministry of Economy and two companies withdrew their concession so that they did not get to the bottom of the discussion of the Mining Law. Today the concession of the same mountain is once again open for another fifty years. But now regional Assemblies are in place to observe the progress of the concessions and the agrarian authorities have to review the communal statutes. In this region, the indigenous people will not allow another mining extraction and the community statutes were handed over to the agrarian authorities to prevent the granting of new concessions. However, the federal government wants new development projects in tourism, mining and the Lázaro Cárdenas-Zihuatanejo region was defined as 'Special Development Zones'. The government is not interested in the welfare of the poorest and their ancestral culture in any of these projects.

11.6.3 Resistance to the La Parota Dam

In 2013, the Council of *Ejidos* (an area of communal land used for agriculture) and Opposing Communities to the *La Parota Dam* (CECOP) completed ten years of struggle against the hydroelectric project promoted by the Federal Electricity Commission in the Papagayo River, located a few kilometres from Acapulco and in one of the country's seismic areas where the Los Cocos and the North American plates meet. The federation had budgeted two billion pesos for the work, and in turn had offered the handling of the material haul to the state. In the fight against the La Parota dam, Marco Antonio Suástegui Muñoz was taken to the high security prison in Nayarit. With all the organised towns, the project could be stopped and the assemblies rigged by the government and inaccessible to community members were taken down. The five demands were achieved and the dam on the Papagaya could not be built. After the impact of Hurricanes Manuel and Ingrid in 2014, and the lack of support from the municipality of Acapulco, CECOP agreed to start a legal struggle to become independent from Acapulco and convert the forty-seven villages and the annex of Cacahuatepec into Guerrero's newest municipality (82) with an honest mayor who will work for the people.

11.6.4 La Montaña: A Bastion for Popular Education

Guerrero is also a bastion of popular education and the place where the fight against educational reform began. Personal interests have divided this movement. The movement Council of the Communities of La Montaña, which fights against hunger and poverty, emerged in la Montaña. Between 300 and 500 kg of corn can be harvested in a so-called *tlacolol* planting system on steep slopes. This is insufficient for survival, so families or men must emigrate. Given the existing shortcomings, the organised communities demanded the right to food. In 2015, Tlachinollan summarised that

> defence for education and life of the children of the people … is a small contribution to the gigantic work of students and parents who have built a national movement to contain this delinquency avalanche generated by the higher spheres of power. This report in no way seeks to present the truth about the events that occurred in September 2014, on the contrary, its objective is to give voice to the rural Normal School community and to families who are victims of impunity and state collusion. … Since it was created in 1926, the Normal School Rural 'Raúl Isidro Burgos' of Ayotzinapa has been able to understand the process of constructing an educational project conceived by the community base to train young rural people and to transform them into agents of change; a reality that is not alien to the one that the indigenous peoples live in La Montaña of Guerrero (Tlachinollan 2015).

Not only Ayotzinapa, but thousands of relatives of missing persons are seeking their missing people through human rights groups with access to international technical advice. Tlachinollan is a national and international benchmark of how a human rights advisory group can help. Starting with the inconsistencies of

Ayotzinapa and GIEI, there is a route to begin to investigate and reverse the system of impunity. Today the faces of 29,000 parents are contributing to bring about changes to the corrupt justice system.

We will live with those affected, march with them and accompany them. It is necessary to reconcile all the movements of struggle and to construct an international agenda so that these atrocities become known in Mexico and abroad. Their caravans visit places of resistance against mining, hydroelectric and the missing. GIEI has been a light, the movement of fathers and mothers is another light. It is the social and moral capital to build a more just country, where human rights are recognised.

11.7 Conclusions

In Tlachinollan we will live with the affected people and their families. We accompany them in this unequal struggle.

> The fathers and mothers of the 43 disappeared students were denied entry through the main door and the plenary hall to deliver their message to the High Tribunal in the San Lázaro precinct, where the alleged representatives of the people legislate. The offense to them was equally grave in the basilica of Guadalupe. The fathers and mothers of the 43 were prevented from being in the central nave to attend the mass presided over by bishops Carlos Garfias and Raul Vera at the main altar. They were relegated or rather cornered into one of the chapels that is in the upper part of the sanctuary. They never imagined that it would be the federal police who would control the entrance and prevent the passage to the same priests that accompanied them to concelebrate the mass together with the bishops … The bishops' messages were the culmination of an extremely dense moment that brought tears to the parents.

> They felt the proximity of the virgin of Guadalupe, but above all they remembered the passages of Juan Diego, through the message of the bishops, that the virgin saw in him one of his favourite children … [Archbishop Carlos recalled that] the tragedy of Iguala has left a deep imprint in the state of Guerrero, and throughout the country, more so in the whole world. Firstly, because of the tragic disappearance of the 43, because of the pain and anguish they have left in their families and friends. But also, because they have allowed us to glimpse at the fragile structures surrounding issues of security … All processes of forgiveness, reconciliation, peace and justice will depart from the truth of the facts. Not knowing the truth, hiding it or evading it harms people and society. It is proven that concealing or evading truth generates more violence. Let us jointly seek to offer objective results and truthfulness, to answer the questions of the victims and society, and to help the families of the disappeared in their search … May Christ our peace be our strength, comfort and hope (Barrier 2017).

Bishop Raúl's message centred on the figure of Saint Juan Diego:

> Thank you for the unshakable and tenacious search for your missing children. For your tireless struggle for justice, not only for you, but for all Mexicans. You are not only fighting for those young people who are your missing children, your struggle is for all the young people and their families of our country. Yes, all over the country … Just as San Juan Diego was sent by the virgin of Guadalupe to the bishop, to build his little house, in the same way,

today the virgin sends you to warn us, the bishops and political leaders of this nation, that this house, which is Mexico, which is also the house where Mary wants to be together with the Mexicans, must remain intact, through justice, truth and peace … The virgin entrusts you that you will not tire or cease in your struggle! … Because it gives us hope, and all of us, that Mexico can be different. Just like Juan Diego's obedience to the virgin immediately began to bear fruit 500 years ago, your persevering struggle for truth and justice is already bearing fruit among Mexicans; what you are writing so that the truth comes out and justice is possible. Please do not give up, we need you, do not abandon us to the misery that leads to despair and cowardice! … Please continue to teach us, showing us the only way to reach truth and justice is: Going out to seek it, to demand it, to proclaim it, to promote it! In the streets and squares, as you do in front of the big and the small, in front of the women and men, in front of the young and the old, in front of the political and ecclesiastical authorities (Barrera Hernández 2017).

The disappearance of the 43 in Ayotzinapa has presented us with challenges previously unknown at Tlachinollan. We cannot sit in our office in Tlapa and deal with this problem by phone and online. Since the events in Iguala, three of our people have gone to live in the Normal School of Ayotzinapa. We had never experienced such a challenge. What to do in the face of this tragedy? We must be with them, with the parents, as well as with the students, eating with them, marching with them, obviously sharing their struggle to demand that they do not lower their guard. You cannot maintain a fight without the body present. They have understood that faced with this serious problem in the country, they must build alliances with other resistance movements, but above all they must build an international agenda to force Mexico to account for these atrocities. It has been a very important movement and now we realise that peace and justice is still being built from the oppressed peripheries. That is why the GIEI, the movement of fathers and mothers, the fight against mines and dams have been a light. All these resistance movements have been the social capital to continue building the peace that we long for in Mexico and in La Montaña, Guerrero.

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Keynote address of Anthropologist Abel Barrera during the 10th CLAIP Congress

Chapter 12
Violence, Free Trade Agreements, Corporations and Human Rights

Miguel Concha Malo

12.1 Violence and Free Trade

Since the *Latin American Council for Peace Research* (CLAIP) initiated activities, collective violence has been conceptualised not only as material and physical, which is more than evident in most cases, but also as structural and economic, in which many of our peoples are immersed. It is widely known that this economic violence manifests in a refunctionalised State which favours private and exclusive interests, causes serious violations of human rights, amputates integrity and disrupts fundamental social and cultural aspects of the life of individuals and communities. This makes people live in constant fear, enduring not only inequity and inequality, but also impunity, corruption and a spiral of violence characterised by its institutionalisation and aggressiveness as well as being reactive and repressive. This structural violence is, in this sense, also the cause and effect of other types of violence. Violence is not univocal or equivocal but analogue. Thus, it is multiple and diverse, interacting with different dimensions of the economic, social, political and cultural life of peoples and persons.

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The violence that grows from capitalist market logic, that is, the economic violence we endure nowadays, intends to legitimise and legalise what in fact is anti-ethic and contrary to human rights and peace. Based on Frei Betto, we can ironically affirm that the structure of this violence is characterised by its capacity to pervert some conceptions and ways in which people relate to others. This violence is "always practiced as if it were an act of justice, validated by a higher reasoning, either that of the God of the Crusades or that of the fundamentalists; perhaps that of the defenders of the private property, the market liberalism, or the principles of a good education, etc." (Frei Betto 2012). In brief, it is the defence of private property to the death as a superior and unique right at the expense of the people.

12.1.1 Dismantling Rights and Free Trade Agreements (FTAs)

The advance of neoliberal policies in Latin America has maintained, generated and reproduced a state of a violence spiral in its various forms that currently spread over the region. Mexico has faced this violence for more than three decades; nowadays, this signifies crises in economy, human rights, national security, and the persistent environmental degradation.

In recent years, we have seen how the State has lost its role as a guarantor of the people in their right to have a decent living, and fails to enforce the effective observance of their human rights. The institutions designed to preserve people's well-being, protect the environment and respect human rights have declined such endeavours in order to freely advocate in the service of the great corporations.

This has gradually resulted in legal reforms specially tailored to cater to those interests, and, in doing so, caused significant cultural changes which establish conceptions of social life which denote the constant influence of the market and consumerist logic. The State refunctionalises itself in order to conveniently

guarantee voters who are at the same time consumers who adhere to the excluding and violent logic of the market, already internalised and little rationalised. This will grab people to the culture of discarding people, as Pope Francis claims from his Church. He fears the culture of discarding, the policy of depriving people of their rights, and the anti-culture of disdaining and consequently consolidating the winning and governing power of corporatism.

The People's Permanent Tribunal ruled at the Final Hearing on 15 November 2014 that

> it is confirmed that authorities of different governments are responsible for dismantling legal guarantees by implementing successive and continuous constitutional reforms which have resulted in depriving the peoples of their rights while transnational corporations and economic elites have their powers increased. The political decisions that compromise the future of people are taken by elected authorities but, being corrupted, serve their own interests under their own criteria; many of them are, in fact, actors in the transnational corporations' policies seeking to maximize their benefits at the expense of the younger generations (The People's Permanent Tribunal 2014: 29).

The ruling continues:

> these policies and practices have been presented as pretended policies of development, being in fact hidden actions of dispossessing people within the legal coverage. Thus, the Right loses its protective role and becomes a way to deviate and expropriate the powers of the Mexican people to finally deliver it to the redaction of international trade agreements (NAFTA), the pressure of transnational companies and the interests of the economic elites (The People's Permanent Tribunal 2014: 29).

Deviation of Power: according to The People's Permanent Tribunal after three years of sessions, the judgement issued between 12 and 15 November 2014 upholds claims that economic, political, juridical and state capacities exercised by governments, political representatives, authorities and the *de facto* power were used to satisfy or benefit private and particular interests, either local or foreign at the expense and to the detriment of the people's public and general interest; consequently, the minimal conditions of reproduction and development of social life were neglected and the exercise of individual and collective rights was subordinated to individuals and economic dynamics far beyond the people's interests (The People's Permanent Tribunal 2014: 59).

12.1.2   Current Trade Agreements and Human Rights

Based on experience, we have to consider the fact that the competitive international trade referred to in agreements like the *North American Free Trade Agreement* (NAFTA) and the *Free Trade Area of the Americas* (FTAA) does not uphold human rights. On the contrary, it works against them. Special Rapporteurs and Experts of the United Nations ask the same question and publicly have stated that

"if we want to make progress in human rights terms, and not just in dollars, and euros, we must stop considering trade and the growth of trade as an end in itself."[1] They also recommend the urgent change of the paradigm that economic growth is infinite, and that the capitalist model of development is limitless. This argument raises the dilemma of a crisis of our civilisation to which we must commit ethically and politically. And in doing so, we reaffirm our opposition to that rampant logic of market and capital. In opposing the commercial war on us, the construction of peace undoubtedly transcends that economic model based on the exclusive accumulation of wealth and the uncontrolled growth of capital, which seriously violates the planet and all forms of social and natural life in it.

The 'mega-regional trade agreements' seek for the uncontrolled enrichment of very few at the expense of the respect and dignity of individuals and the human rights that enable people to access an integral development. This practice causes the nation states to be relegated within their own policies and juridical framework and set apart from the regulation processes of commerce, income distribution and the protection of human rights of individuals and peoples. The kind of agreements like those of Trans-Pacific Partnership and Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership intend to force the State to submit to the interests of large corporations. These agreements would entitle foreign investors to sue the governments based on the fact that the judicial system of certain nations undermines their profit. Joseph Stiglitz considers that the Trans-Pacific Partnership "would limit the capabilities of member countries like Mexico to protect public health, national security and environment among many other aspect of the public good" (Concha 2015).

Thus, the State would abjure its obligation to respect, promote, guarantee and protect the human rights of its people against external agents. This violence is the result of legal practices that degrade the sovereignty of peoples and nations. These 'last generation agreements' would establish measures that enable corporations to sue the local government due to actions that affect the investments within the country. The nations would not have access to any Inter-State dispute resolution mechanisms or Investor-to-State dispute settlements; this incapability of the government would favour private investors' positions despite governments, including that of Mexico, signing international conventions in order to protect human rights. The State would be relegated to a passive role, being unable to act against any corporations if the legislation prevents the State from suing private investors; consequently, institutions and public policies would not have the capacity to protect the well-being and dignity of individuals but, on the contrary, would serve the interests of corporations as a validated means of economic benefits for those accumulating wealth despite the social inequalities.

Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, the UN Independent Expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order, has claimed in this respect that 'A

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[1]http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16915&LangID=E.

government that jeopardises its own faculty to defend and protect the interests of individuals living under its jurisdiction, betrays its own *raison d'être* at the time it loses its democratic legitimacy'. De Zayas claimed in his last report in 2015 that "The extended corpus of treaties, protocols and statements on human rights already existing creates a constitutional framework that must be considered as long as a State signs an agreement with other nations and/or agents of the private sector, including the financial institutions and transnational corporations" (De Zayas 2015).

12.2   Business and Human Rights Accountability

One of the most obvious responsible agents in the generation of this economic violence is transnational corporations that perpetrate serious violations of human rights, which have been highlighted even by international mechanisms of the United Nations, such as the Working Group on the issue of human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises, who in their last official visit to Mexico (September 2016) expressed the following: "It was clear to us that the main concerns about human rights violations linked to the companies are related to an inadequate exercise of due diligences by the government and the companies in the design and implementation of large-scale projects. It is mainly projects in the mining, energy, construction and tourism sectors that often affect indigenous communities" (Declaración Del Grupo de Trabajo de Naciones Unidas 2016). See also the report of more scientific organisations of Mexico presented to the expert group on business and human rights.[2]

Thus, it is now necessary to reflect on the importance of denouncing and punishing companies seeking enrichment at the expense of human rights violations. Mexico is a paradigmatic case because, in the context of complaints against transnational corporations that commit human rights violations, at least sixty cases have been documented; these cases are examples of total impunity that offend communities and people that relate to the business activities that affect them.

It is clear that companies are also an important part of the crisis of human rights and violence that Mexican people live with today. These companies are involved in some aspects that the People's Permanent tribunal has already indicated in the cited declaration:

> The charges that are imputed to companies as authors, accomplices, inductors, concealers or instigators in the commission of crimes against humanity, are specified in the following: murder; extermination, deportation or forced displacement of population, imprisonment or

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[2]See at: http://redtdt.org.mx/?p=6900.

other serious deprivation of physical freedom; violation of fundamental norms of interna-
tional law, torture, violation, persecution of a group or collective with its own identity based
on political and ethnic relations and connection with other crimes mentioned, and enforced
disappearance. In addition, serious and massive violations of labour rights and specifically
of union freedom and fraud against shareholders and consumers by not assuming social
responsibility and commitments are flagrantly reneged in Mexico. The sentence continues
affirming the undeniable involvement of these agents in the degradation of the environment
in Mexico, violation of collective rights to land, natural resources, self-government, the
rights of participation and the development of indigenous people.

And it is worth nothing that, without prejudice to the foregoing, individual criminal
responsibility of the leaders of these companies must also be clarified (Tribunal Permanente
de los Pueblos 2014: 84–85).

In this way the ruling in question makes clear that there is a link between
violence against people and communities in Mexico and the companies, concen-
trating their responsibility even on the extraterritorial and extra jurisdictional levels.

12.3 Peace with Justice and Dignity

In the framework of this International Congress, I would like to recall its origins,
when in fact, we faced military dictatorships of the so-called national security
doctrine and at international level the perverse doctrine of nuclear deterrence. Since
then, the peace-building process has seen the struggles of peoples, communities,
organisations and social and critical academia that can find alternatives to actions
and discourses that dehumanise and oppress the world around us.

Today we still face unfinished, erroneous and false conceptions of peace. For
example, they want to impose fear and terror among us, and then sell us the ideas of
the supposed 'security' and 'peace', in accordance with the economic interests of
large companies, or the 'stability' of the weakened nation states, which are, as has
already been said, refunctionalised to ensure profit and accumulation. From my
experience in CLAIP, and my participation in some social movements that day by
day seek peace, here I am with some ideas to share and attempt to discuss and
consider collaboratively, and ultimately continue our work for genuine peace.

One of them is that, with the passage of time, we have learned that peace is not
simply the absence of conflict. That is, the absence of war is not necessarily peace.
Contrary to conceiving it, there is a risk of hiding the structural causes that give rise
to conflicts, and it is necessary to consider them in depth. Nowadays, when in
different societies we hear anyone say 'the peace we all wish', it is pertinent to
question what kind of peace we are referring to: an authentic and transforming
peace, or a superficial and ineffectual one?

Peace is not only a negotiated agreement between the powerful; since it is inequitable it pretends under a false consensus to impose forms of peace that are also partial. Deep in this scenario, this kind of peace safeguards the interests of a few, and denies their intrinsic relationship with justice and dignity.

In fact, we have thought that peace, the most complete and authentic peace, is that which is the fruit of justice and dignity; the product of exercise and respect for integral and universal human rights; that in which societies learn to live together free from any form of patriarchal, capitalist and neocolonial oppression. That in which we all *are* and do not cease *to be*.

In its search and construction, this authentic peace leads us to seek new paradigms of co-existence, as Leonardo Boff states, "a new paradigm of coexistence that founds a relationship more charitable with the Earth [and among people being a part of it] and inaugurates a new social pact among peoples in terms of respect for and preservation of all that exists and lives. Only based on this mutation does it make sense to think of alternatives that represent a new hope" (Boff 2002: 18–18).

Genuine peace opposes the commercial war and faces corporate power. This peace does not avoid siding with groups that have historically been excluded, and on the contrary, it works for liberation from all forms of oppression. True peace, as Pietro Ameglio has rightly said, is deeply radical and transformative. It is conflictive in that the conflict is an opportunity for structural change; it is the opportunity to search for alternatives to the logics of death and predation. That peace is what summons us in the midst of a situation of war and multidimensional crisis.

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Dr. Miguel Concha, in a working groups

Chapter 13
Peace and Nonviolence. Enough of 'Just Wars'! A Universal Catholic Initiative for a 'Just Peace'

Pietro Ameglio

13.1 Introduction

History constantly places us in original and unexpected situations, sometimes to build hope but, on occasions, precisely the opposite. In April 2016 one of those events occurred which, we believe, could trigger something important – if it prospers in the long process of humanisation of our species – in which churches, one way or another, will have played a positive part… Or maybe not so positive.

Following an initiative by a socially involved international group of religious and lay Catholics, apart from social activists for peace with the support from the president of the Pontifical Counsel for Justice and Peace (Ghanaian cardinal Peter Tukson), the Vatican – as part of its Extraordinary Jubilee of Mercy – hosted the First Conference on Nonviolence and Just Peace: 'A Catholic contribution to comprehension and commitment to nonviolence'. It was a possible point of departure for a long process, as all processes are in churches, but which could wind up with a major public, political, economic, social and theological definition towards the construction of a true 'positive peace' with justice and dignity. It is still premature to know if this process will gravitate towards hope or wishful thinking, but it will depend on many of us, based on the action we take; for this reason it is necessary to make it known as widely as possible.

As many theoreticians in peace studies claim (Muñoz 2001), the need to build ideas and searches of peace as something real and socially pre-eminent in history has emerged when levels of violence and war are particularly severe, as is happening in most of the world within a 'context of normalised and systemic violence' (Conference 2016). In contrast, peace has been, and will be, 'socially unobservable

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or unobserved', without any specific content or 'reality principal' (Conference 2016).

During those days about eighty-five people with varied social identities, and belonging to very diverse organisations within this religious tradition, such as laypeople, bishops, priests, theologians, and social activists from all continents – especially Europe, Africa and the US – became embroiled in complex collective reflections and discussions on this challenge which we wish to restate as members of the Catholic Church, within the framework of a public and explicit world commitment. A final document was produced for this nonviolent initiative: "a call to the Catholic Church to become involved again with the nonviolence which is central in the Gospel" (Conference 2016).

At present, nearly 200 international organisations and thousands of individuals have embraced this call. Although it is an initiative which emerged from the upper echelons of the Church, with considerable pre-eminence of priestly contributions, it must become transformed into an invitation to the 'people of God' to convert their hierarchy towards 'a just and nonviolent peace'; in other words, the principal victims of war and violence[1] – the civilian population – should defy the practice and theology of the higher ecclesiastical authority, which has many times been, in different ways, an accomplice of war. History teaches us how the poor have been the principal promoters of nonviolence.

13.2 A Resolute and Committed 'Moral Reserve' Against War

We feel it is important not to restrict this topic to the approach grounded in the tradition of a millenarian religious faith, but rather broaden the approach towards a more universal field in the construction of peace and the humanisation of the human species, towards which instilling an ever greater culture of nonviolence and the rejection of all forms of 'just war' will be a major contribution. Thus, a central tenet of this initiative is to exhort a major portion of – sometimes – the 'moral reserve'[2] of society and world history, to become active and physically involved (institutionally, as groups and individually), openly and publicly, against those who promote 'just wars'. It is time to say 'enough!'.[3]

Among the ensuing issues and social and political processes, we can observe how the so called moral reserve has been an important 'nonviolent and moral

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[1]A Ugandan bishop correctly pointed out: 'When two elephants fight, it's bad for the grass (population).'

[2]Part of a text recovered from Ameglio (2011). The concept of 'moral reserve' and its contents were drawn from Juan C. Marin and I. Wallerstein (2010). They called it 'moral hegemony'.

[3]EZLN (*Zapatista Army for National Liberation*). *I Lacandona Jungle Declaration*. 1 January 1994.

weapon' (Marin 1995: 25–48), which is sometimes expressed by means of 'cries of moral indignation', which may be massive, from small groups or individuals. This moral reserve, present in all society but which does not always express itself or act publicly with the necessary radicalism, can be constituted in two ways: masses, or bodies with considerable 'social force'. Concerning the first expression, we can consider as an 'observable social parameter' that, in the phase of situations of extreme injustice and inhumanity, a massive part of society has taken to the streets to demand a 'halt to inhumanity!', united beyond differences in identities or values that may exist between these people in other aspects of their social life. For a moment, given the gravity and violence of the situation, they set aside their differences and an important sector of society becomes a 'common body' on the street to place a compact and resolute 'moral wall' or 'frontier', before the advance of such inhumanity which undermines our essential social values which we are not prepared to surrender nor 'normalise'. It is a massive social 'enough!'.

These actions can be undertaken, for example, in the face of risks to survival – physical, cultural or economic, national, tribal or ethnical – and they acquire decisive force in the social process, due to their magnitude and collective radicalisation, which is proportional to the danger they face. The decision becomes a central value of nonviolence which could be expressed by the sentence 'we are not budging until this threat ceases'. In Brazil this has been called 'permanent firmness' (Barbe 1977).

At the root of this public action by the moral social reserve, we also find two great values of nonviolent struggle, which are, simultaneously, its two major degrees of action: non-cooperation and civil disobedience. The culture which is at the root of this tactic is based, simultaneously, on a central principle of nonviolence and the humanisation of our species: "We must be capable of sensitising ourselves in the face of any act of inhumanity, and strive that due disobedience should be the response of our entire people: a morality of autonomy is shaped when it is learned and understood that we must disobey any order implying inhumanity" (Marin 2007: 34; amplified from Marin 1995).[4]

On the other hand, the moral reserve is not simply a matter of large quantities of people and masses, because there are also bodies (hierarchies of all churches, university chancellors, intellectuals and artists, political leaders, peasants, and workers…) which exert, due to their social identity, more moral 'social force' than others, and historically their nonviolent actions have been decisive in stopping wars and high levels of social violence to protect the victims. But their silences have also been complicit in the growth of inhumanity. When speaking of actions, we are not referring to declarations aimed at the media, or to conventional political and

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[4]Suggested by Juan Carlos Marin himself and his social research team, in the Final Declaration of the Twenty-Second Congress of the *Latin American Sociology Association* (ALAS) in Concepcion, Chile, October 1999, it was stated: 'We affirm the urgency of collaborating in the construction of a moral understanding that should enable a possible rupture with all forms of uncritical obedience to authority, thus making observable – and promoting due disobedience to – all inhuman orders.'

institutional representation, but to other degrees of nonviolent action proportional in scale to those violent acts.[5] In certain situations it is no longer sufficient to be critical of the social order or of certain authorities in public forums, sermons, or round-tables, or to make indictments in the media or the courts, but it is necessary to commit one's own body – 'interpose the body with indeterminate temporality' before the forces of violence (Ameglio 2016).

The moral reserve mobilised so far is not yet of the massive sort, but of the type of certain social identities with particular 'social force', and aims primarily to convince the institutional hierarchy, starting with the Pope, to speak out in favour of a 'just peace', perhaps including the issue in an encyclical on the matter.

13.3   (Un)Just War

From the beginning of the conference, members stated resolutely that 'there is no just war' (Conference 2016). Thus, in the first part, the central topic under discussion entailed a critique of the Catholic doctrine of a 'just war', initiated by Saint Augustin in the fifth century and perfected in the thirteenth century by Saint Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica*, accepting war as a 'last resort', legitimised only by political authority. The fusion of the Catholic Church with the Roman Empire triggered a growing process towards the theological and social justification of the *Pax Romana*, founded on war for the maintenance of the *status quo*.

A rereading of the tradition initiated 1500 years ago of the interpretation of the life of Christ, who "proclaimed a new nonviolent order…actively resisted systemic dehumanisation…[promoted] nonviolent resistance against he who practices evil… defied the Sabbath law…confronted the powerful in the Temple…ordered Peter not to use his sword. The nonviolence of Jesus, which was neither passive nor weak, was the power of love in action…the incarnation of a nonviolent God" (Conference 2016). In concordance and at the same time, certain historic practices of the Church were recovered.

Many of the participants from Asia and Africa had spent many years in the midst of devastating wars, whether civil, interethnic or between nations, which have caused millions of victims of all types through death, displacement, refuge, hunger or torture… The pain, hopelessness and total lack of resources of the civilian population is appalling in these regions, therefore the Conference (2016) emphasised the drastic critical questioning of the idea of a 'just war', which inevitably entails greater injustice and violence. Participants express not only a crisis in the approach to the conception of war as a builder of peace, but also the total saturation

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[5]This 'proportion in scale' between our actions and those of our adversaries, clearly considering the multiplicity and complexity of the factors involved, is one of the most important measures of our moral radicalism and strategy in social struggle. It is one of the principal 'unobserved factors' in the degree of willpower of the parties in contention.

of a very large sector of humanity which lives and suffers the inhumanity of war (in all its dimensions) during its entire life without wishing it, or being consulted about it, and without being able to escape from its effects.

In the words of a priest from South Sudan: "My family and I grew up and lived only in wartime. If I were able to draw, I could only create images of violence". Before I travelled here, a little girl asked me, "Where is Jesus?" I answered, "You can see him in me and in yourself. I too am in crisis." A nun from Iraq remarked with great precision how "War is the mother of ignorance. We won the war against Iran, and against Kuwait; then we were invaded by the US, and now by the Islamic army; we suffered thirteen years of economic boycott. Just war does not exist. We do not control our destiny."

At the beginning of the conference a letter from the Pope was read which defined, at least partly, the axis of our work, in which we emphasise the urgency of finding solutions to the terrible wars which, directly or indirectly, affect the entire population of the world. In 2013 the Pope already stated in a Vatican mass that 'faith and violence are incompatible'. In his letter he reminded us that "the principal challenge to the human community, stated since Vatican II, is: abolish the wars of the world, face conflicts, and do not ignore them". In this sense, added the Pope, "A principal obstacle is the need to move the ramparts of indifference, not only towards our fellow beings but also towards nature, creation, social peace."

Continuing with this proposal, the Pontifical Commission of Justice and Peace stated that "the objective of disarmament is to clear the way for the practice of dialogue, accepting our differences and the fact that we are not always right. In this Jubilee year the Church must seek the abolition of the death penalty and the foreign debt of poor countries."

Cardinal Tukson, president of this commission, called to mind another quote from the Pope during an interview in Geneva, when he said, "When there is an unjust aggression it is licit to stop the aggressor." But, he commented, the great powers have abused this. And he stated the central epistemic-moral challenge to those who work in the construction of peace or the humanisation of the species: what does 'stop the aggressor' mean? On the other hand, we still have to cope with a challenge in this process which is barely beginning: a more profound analysis of the new types of war (Gonzalez Rodriguez 2014; Segato 2014), which the world is facing. Some of these wars are called 'asymmetrical', because they do not occur between similar scales of power and because they are waged against enemies which are nor clearly defined, such as terrorism or organised crime. From this point of view, the incorporation of more Latin American participants will be very helpful, because many of these countries are facing, on their own soil, brutal wars of plunder of their natural, cultural and human resources[6]; they also face a misnamed – by official power – 'war against drugs', when in reality it is a transnational inter-capitalist war over the monopoly of a new illegal merchandise, as well as

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[6]As was the case of Honduran social activist Berta Caceres, recently murdered, and to whom we refer in the last part of this text.

many other crimes (Bourbaki Team 2011). In this war, as in all others, there are sides, and on each side there are representatives of the organised crime of state power bureaucracy on all its levels, of armed forces, legal or not, of businessmen, and of different sectors of civilian society directly or indirectly involved.

As a consequence of all this, a culture has been spread in the whole world which confuses the idea of peace with that of 'security', a military term and a great capitalist business deal pushing peace further away from the ideas of justice and dignity. This has been achieved thanks to the previous 'seeding of insecurity' in all the population, which has grown into an ever increasing amount of terrorised – no longer simply fearful – societies, creating in the population a 'siege culture' with militarisation of civilian life, and the acceptance of "due obedience to any inhuman order from authority" (Marin 2014).

This culture is based upon the construction of a premise which is an epistemic trap, in which it is claimed that 'peace equals security'. This same premise has been instilled massively into us by the political and economic powers and, from this point, all forms of 'normalisation of war', social violence, indiscriminate use of weapons, the 'inevitability of armed peace', have increased. Thus, if we do not 'lay bare the truth', as Gandhi would say, concerning this long process of normalisation, business deals and state-crime complicity, it would be difficult to advance much more towards any forms of peace other than the armed kind.

13.4   Just Peace and Nonviolent Actions

In the second part of the Conference participants embarked on a broad and ever-deeper analysis, centred especially on the conceptualisation and practice of a 'just peace'[7] based on the nonviolence of the Gospel, an ethical stance that incorporates a commitment to human dignity. "We recognise that peace demands justice and that justice demands the construction of peace" (Conference 2016). They also approached the challenge to the Church, as an institution, to assign resources and staff to peace-building, peacekeeping and peacemaking, as well as to the education and the culture of peace: "Let our Church be a living witness of active nonviolence, and invest greater financial and human resources to promote its spirituality and its practice" (Conference 2016).

To build these reflections-actions, four discussion groups were established: experiences of nonviolence, Jesus' path in nonviolence, nonviolence and just peace, and advancing towards the end of wars. The principal base comprised the practical experiences of the participants and peoples resisting wars. Theoretical research by Chenoweth/Stephan (2011), in which they analyse 326 violent and nonviolent campaigns between 1900 and 2006, was proposed as a source. They determined, according to the variables selected, that among nonviolent campaigns the success

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[7]Peace is a very abstract word, so it is better to begin with justice.

rate was 57 per cent, while among the violent ones it was only 26 per cent. According to Maria Stephan, present at the Conference: "The nonviolent movements were progressing towards a society with a little more democracy and civil harmony, while the violent campaigns were more likely to regress toward war, so that nonviolence appears to be not only morally but also politically effective." Thus, in the Final Document it is stated that "the strategies of nonviolent resistance are twice as effective as violent strategies" (Conference 2016).

The experiences narrated of nonviolent actions by certain sectors of the Church in various parts of the world were very rich and varied, although they shared some common conceptions in the sense that the institutional Church should show itself publicly in violent conflicts, know how to interpret them from their origins, anticipate them and create intervention groups. It was agreed that the first aim in any armed conflict is to bring about a ceasefire. The types of actions discussed[8] covered a vast range of interventions, from aiding victims, mediation, denunciation, popular diplomacy and inter-religious gatherings to nonviolent interposition of bodies, non-cooperation and civil disobedience.

It is not a minor topic, because it reflects the current form of intervention and struggle against social violence, and on a greater scale against war and genocide, by a historically fundamental social actor like the Catholic Church. Of course, it is only a sample, but it is varied and geographically interesting (Europe, Asia, Africa, the US and Latin America), as it represents a downsised photograph of the nonviolent identity of a sector of the Church vis-à-vis this type of global inhumanity.

Let us explore some significant examples, defiant and inspirational, of the type of peace that the Catholic Church, as an institution, starting with the Papacy, should embrace more closely, according to the participants and organisations present at the Conference. We will group them according to certain affinities in the typology of their nonviolent actions: non-cooperation, zones-territories of peace, and nonviolent inter-positioning of bodies, social, inter-cultural and inter-religious mediation, civil disobedience and culture of peace.

In the field of 'non-cooperation', Italian bishop Bettanzi stated that any Christian must be a 'conscientious objector against war', introducing a central line of thinking in nonviolence comprised by different actions of 'non-cooperation', a previous phase to civil disobedience, where people decide to withdraw their bodies and material resources from the wellsprings that give or increase the power of their adversaries or from situations that oppress or reproduce injustice.

Concerning this matter, participants reflected on how the millions of refugees and persons displaced by the wars in the world are also 'builders of peace' because, in the face of the insoluble contradictions of war which would obligate them to take up arms and kill the enemy, they prefer to withdraw their bodies from territories of great violence, searching for a minimum 'peace zone' in which to survive – temporarily or definitely – and reproduce socially and culturally. They prefer to run the risk of

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[8]For more on the typology of nonviolent action, see Ameglio (2001: 118), Randle (1998: 113–131), Sharp (1973).

dying rather killing, in a clear nonviolent position. This is a further reason to support this nonviolent struggle, characterised by conscientious objection to the use of weapons as, for example, is happening in some European parishes with refugees from Syria, Iraq and Kurdistan. There was total awareness that the Catholic Church must be an important international voice to promote the slogan 'no to weapons!'.

There was broad agreement upon how the bishops should develop 'conscientious objections' to military expenditures; the Church should also make available to the people legal teams to promote 'fiscal conscientious objections' and withdraw their money from unethical banks.

Considering actions needed for the construction of 'zones-territories of peace (geographical or bodily)', Jose de Roux, a Colombian Jesuit, informed how, during the armed conflict in his country, nonviolent citizen initiatives were undertaken on the basis of the construction of 'zones of peace' to maintain neutrality on the part of the communities in the face of armies at war, and thus achieve a measure of respect for civilian lives in those places. The example of San Jose de Apartado is the most well-known and painful because, in the midst of atrocious violence, many deaths have been prevented since 2015.

The experience of the Nasa Indians in the Cauca valley in Colombia was mentioned too as an example of a path towards 'community security' by means of 'community guards' armed only with sticks, who have faced down other armed forces on the basis of their moral and material strength in their communities. This is linked to a widespread experience in all Latin American regions, especially among peasants and indigenous groups, to stop war and organised crime in their territories by not increasing the spiral of violence but only defending themselves. In Mexico, for example, the *Coordinadora Regional de Autoridades Comunitarias* (CRAC) [Regional Coordination of Community Authorities] – in the state of Guerrero was founded twenty-one years ago and has offered many examples to the country; it was initiated by a local priest as a reaction against a succession of unpunished crimes and violations (see Chap. 11).

Participants equally stressed the international experiences of the 'peace brigades', members of the Operacion Paloma (Operation Dove) in Colombia: 2000 nonviolent pacifist volunteers who had been in war zones for twenty-four years, and who have lived side by side with the victims in tasks of support, protection, and 'nonviolent interposition of bodies' (it is possible to stop violence without using violent weapons, but rather other instruments such as the body, moral strength, international solidarity and others). Participants insisted that there are many small groups in this line of 'nonviolent direct intervention', which the church should become familiar with, coordinate and lend more support.

There was also much testimony on nonviolent actions in the field of "inter-religious, inter-cultural and social mediation in war". In various examples we could appreciate how, especially in Africa, mediation between forces at war has been achieved in part by the churches or people linked with them, due to their moral ascendant in these societies, which are seriously disintegrated, polarised and divided. The idea was confirmed, too, that social mediation in very violent conflicts requires the precondition of "breaking the asymmetry of power between parties,

building some principle of growing equalisation" (Piaget 1985, Chap. 1); for this reason, nonviolent direct mobilisation seeks to build greater equilibrium.

In Uganda there was a mediation team between government and guerrilla which attempted the construction of a 'bridge of confidence', beginning by approaching the members of both parties who seemed more open to dialogue. In another example, Archbishop Juan Bautista Odama from Gulu, after innumerable killings and wars in Uganda between the government and 'The Army of the Lord', helped in the creation of an inter-religious group that managed to gain the confidence of both sides and was able to mediate until they reached the present cease-fire.

Other experiences of inter or intra community mediation, or creation of peace zones between two parties at war, were, for example, those in Burundi and Lebanon. The African country is in the grip of an ethnic war, fuelled by very violent fundamentalism, where ethnic loyalty is more powerful than Jesus's messages of love. Here, 'mixed ethnic circles' for reflection and community actions have been created, attempting to go beyond revenge. One proposal, as a fundamental objective, was to work towards the formation of 'peace actors' in each village, capable of talking to the people to attempt to dissolve the different hatreds. In Lebanon, on the other hand, the establishment of 'anti-sectarian houses' was attempted, veritable peace territories in the midst of a totally destroyed social weave as a consequence of a brutal civil war.

A bishop from South Sudan, creator of a 'peace village-territory' called Holy Trinity Peace Village, commented how, after thirty years of war, reconciliation between the warring parties, promoted by the Church Counsel of New Sudan, had become indispensable. They worked on the construction of a social axis to build collective experiences of love, forgiveness and reconciliation, which would help to vanquish fear, and even publicly denounce armed action, undertaken in most cases by leaders, trying to be even-handed in the application of justice and reparation. The bishops there have opted to stand by the people, to empower them and build a dialogue among them, because 'to approach the enemy we need to gain his trust; in this sense the Churches have a moral strength which helps them.'

The basic historical importance of participation in the promotion and support of 'civil disobedience', the maximum expression of nonviolent struggle, was also stressed. Here the law is subordinated to conscience. In cases of 'nonviolent mass revolution' against authoritarian government, like the emblematic uprising in the Philippines in 1986, Cardinal Jaime Sin, top authority of the Episcopal conference, called upon the people to support the nonviolent rebellion ('people's power'), originated in basically Catholic communities under the leadership of Corazon Aquino, and requested the army not to suppress the demonstrations, disobeying the orders of dictator Ferdinand Marcos. East Timor is another example of nonviolent popular revolution in the Seventies, against Indonesian occupation, with at least partial support from Bishop Carlos Ximenes Bello.

Finally, in the field of nonviolent action towards a 'culture of peace', 1976 Nobel Peace Prize-winner, Northern Irish peace activist Mairead Maguire, was very insistent on the implementation of 'education for peace' in schools, and closing down institutions of war which promote militarisation. At the same time, in the

Philippines, after the nonviolent revolution of the Eighties, schools were declared 'zones of peace' and dedicated to spread the principles of just peace; education for peace is a subject in Philippine academia, and experiences of 'twinning' between Catholics and Muslims (the latter are a persecuted minority), were extolled as examples of efforts to break the 'them or us' vision.

The creation of an 'ecumenical peace bridge' in the social weave was another highly regarded initiative in the cultural field. In religious experiences, for example, an Indian professor in Afghanistan who undertakes solidarity fasting with Muslims during Ramadan said, 'the direct relationship with people is my way of building peace'. From the viewpoint of the culture of peace, many experiences of construction of peace in the line of prevention of violence have received warm plaudits. This is the case in a very poor neighbourhood in Naples where the religious authority has founded a classical music orchestra with fifty young people.

13.5 Berta Caceres: Truth and Justice, an Example of Where Nonviolence Can Go

Berta Caceres was a Honduran social activist, indigenous leader of the Lenca people and of the *Consejo Civico de Organizaciones Populares de Indigenas de Honduras* (COPINH) [Civic Council of Popular and Indigenous Organisation of Honduras], murdered with great violence and total impunity in her home on 3 March 2016 when she was forty-five years old.[9] She was recognised for her struggle to rescue the culture of her people and to defend water and natural resources against the Agua Zarca hydroelectric dam on the Gualcarque River, which is sacred for the Lencas. This dam was financed by transnational capital, some of it Chinese.

At this Conference – celebrated shortly after the murder of the Honduran activist – several people who knew, loved and worked with Berta in the past in south-south and north-south campaigns carried a very significant photograph in terms of the final aim we tried to give the conference: the Pope is greeting Berta and other Honduran activists affectionately during the meeting of the Vatican with social movements in 2014. We believe that the actions of the Papacy, congruent with this photograph and with the meeting with social movements and the proposal of this nonviolent initiative, should gravitate towards higher forms of nonviolent actions, in proportion with the degree of violence we are facing here. The Vatican surely sent a written protest about this act. However, what would have happened if, apart from the letter, they had sent a real person as a direct envoy with institutional hierarchy to Honduras, who had stayed in the country until the truth was made public, while justice and reparation for Berta's

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[9]Her daughter, who took over the leadership, received death threats in July 2017 if she continued to defend the indigenous rights to territory, culture, self-determination and livelihood.

murder were accomplished? That would be a way of showing 'permanent firmness' and 'interposing the body' capable of building 'just peace' with nonviolence.

Among the commitments listed in the Final Document of the Conference (2016) is: 'Raise the prophetic voice of the Church to defy the unjust power of this world, to advocate and defend nonviolent activists whose work for peace and justice places their lives at risk…encourage nonviolent practices and strategies.' In this way, it would be contributing to the central aim of this process, which consists of the furtherance of a nonviolent 'just peace', resolutely and unambiguously advocating the rejection of the idea of 'just war', from the Pope to the last believer.

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Chapter 14
The Relationship Between Impunity and Inequality Globally and in Mexico

Juan Antonio Le Clercq

14.1 Mexico in the Impunity Index

The *Global Impunity Index* (IGI; Le Clercq/Rodríguez 2015) and the *Global Impunity Index Mexico* (IGI-MEX; Le Clercq/Rodríguez 2016) have the objective to measure levels of impunity within countries and at subnational levels in the case of the thirty-two federal entities of the Mexican republic. These investigations take as their starting point the assumption that impunity is a problem that requires to be explained on its own and not solely as an indirect indicator of other phenomena such as violence, insecurity, corruption and violation of human rights. Similarly, it seeks to understand the way in which the existence of generalised conditions of impunity aggravates the effects of violence and insecurity and contributes to the erosion of citizens' trust in their institutions and authorities, as happens in the Mexican case.

Based on the definition by the *United Nations Commission on Human Rights* (UNHCR) in Diane Orentlicher's inform (UNCHR 2005: 6), we understand impunity as the

> impossibility, *de jure* or de facto, of bringing the perpetrators of violations to account – whether in criminal, civil, administrative or disciplinary proceedings – since they are not subject to any inquiry that might lead to their being accused, arrested, tried and, if found guilty, sentenced to appropriate penalties, and to making reparations to their victims.

In this definition, impunity is more that the simple absence of sanction on someone who has committed crimes, it represents a juridical, political and institutional phenomenon, *de jure* or de facto, of multilevel and pluricausal character,

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and in that sense has an impact on the different stages of the justice processes, damages claim and the victims' protection.

From this perspective, the IGI's methodology proposes to explain and measure the scope of impunity with a set of indicators that focus on the variation of attributes in the design and functioning of the security and justice systems, as well as in the protection to human rights. The IGI 2015 analyses fifty-nine countries through fourteen indicators organised in three sub dimensions (Table 14.1), while IGI-Mex 2016 measures eighteen indicators for the thirty-two federative entities. Those countries that do not report sufficient information to compare levels of impunity are rated as cases of statistical impunity, which represents a problem on its own, since it evidences inability to produce statistics linked to the performance of public policies or the lack of will of states to report data to the international community.

IGI results warn us that Mexico stands out for having one of the worst levels of impunity (Fig. 14.1) among the fifty-nine analysed countries (Le Clercq/Rodríguez 2015). The states with lower levels of impunity are Croatia (27.5), Slovenia (28.2), Czech Republic (34.8), Montenegro (34.9), Bulgaria (37.5), Malta (38), Poland (38.2), Sweden (38.7), Lithuania (39.1) and Serbia (39.3), while the highest levels of impunity are the Philippines (80), Mexico (75.7), Colombia (75.6), Turkey (68.7), Russia (67.3), Nicaragua (65.9), Honduras (64.19), El Salvador (64.1), South Korea (63.3) and Georgia (60.3).

On the other hand, IGI-MEX (Le Clercq/Rodríguez 2016) reveals that federal entities of the Mexican Republic tend to form a cluster of very high levels of impunity, with an impunity average equivalent to 67.42 points, and the result being slightly smaller than the one corresponding to IGI 2015, 75.7, which is a consequence of the impossibility of incorporating local information regarding the situation of human rights violations. As is shown in Table 14.2, federal entities tend to group within a very short distance from each other, which means that Mexico's states have generalised and extended conditions of impunity, shared security and justice problems and a dark figure that in average sums 93 per cent.[1] Taking into account such reduced levels of variation, results are interpreted in four levels of impunity: Very High, High, Medium and Low.

From these results for the Mexican case in IGI 2015 and IGI-MEX 2016, we argue that impunity represents a generalised political pathology (Friedrich 1972) that works as a multiplier effect for insecurity, violence, unequal access to justice, corruption and human rights violation. The very high levels of impunity that characterise the case point to severe problems of political and institutional performance and lack of capabilities, since: (1) there are structural conditions of impunity that mainly affect the structure of the justice system and the functioning of the security system; (2) it is not possible to understand the scope of impunity in Mexico

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[1]Dark figure or 'cifra negra' means unreported crimes. As a result of the difficulties presented to access homogeneous information about the situation of human rights and the uncertainties about the record of serious violations in federal entities in 2013, IGI-MEX 2016 does not incorporate this dimension in the analysis, despite considering it a key element for understanding the magnitude of impunity in Mexico (see Le Clercq/Rodríguez 2016: 36–38).

Table 14.1 Indicators by Dimension and Transverse Axis IGI 2015/IGI-MEX 2016

Dimension/ Transverse axe	Security system	Justice system
Structural	**IGI 2015** Police personnel for every 100,000 inhabitants Number of inmates compared with total penitentiary capacity Number of prison personnel compared with total penitentiary capacity Total number of prison personnel compared with total number of inmates	**IGI 2015** Number of judges and magistrates for every 100,000 inhabitants
	IGI-MEX 2016 Number of attorneys for every 100,000 inhabitants Public Ministry agencies for every 100,000 inhabitants Percentages of Public Ministry Agencies for 1,000 registered crimes Judicial Police for every 100,000 inhabitants Personnel destined to the function of public security for every 100,000 inhabitants (first level, medium level and operative level)	**IGI-MEX 2016** Magistrates and judges for every 100,000 inhabitants Total personnel in the High Court of Justice for every 100,000 habitants Secretaries in the High Court of Justice for every 100,000 inhabitants Number of penitentiary personnel compared with installed capacity Number of prison personnel compared with number of inmates
Functional	**IGI 2015** Number of people against whom charges were presented in tribunals compared with number of people who had formal contact with the police	**IGI 2015** Number of people against whom charges were presented in tribunals compared with number of judges Number of people imprisoned compared with number of people sentenced Percentage of people imprisoned without sentence Number of people imprisoned for homicide compared with total homicides
	IGI-MEX 2016 Alleged offences registered for every 100,000 inhabitants Percentage of people imprisoned for homicide compared with previous homicide inquiries started Percentage of people imprisoned for robbery compared with previous robbery inquiries started	**IGI-MEX 2016** Penalty causes in the first instance compared with total criminal investigation folders People sentenced compared with prison admissions Percentage of inmates without sentence in the first instance
Human rights	**IGI 2015** Extrajudiciary executions Torture	**IGI 2015** Missing people Political prisoners
Dark figure	**IGI-MEX 2016** Percentage of unreported crimes understood as a dimension of indirect impunity	

Source Le Clercq/Rodríguez (2015, 2016)

Fig. 14.1 Results IGI 2015. *Source* Le Clercq/Rodríguez (2015: 44)

without integrating the specific weight of human rights violation[2]; (3) the very high levels of impunity explain inefficient performance of the federal and state institutions; (4) IGI's conclusions identify a correlation between inequality and impunity, both at international level as well in the Mexican case, which warns us about the

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[2]Recent national and international reports clearly demonstrate the importance of understanding the high levels of impunity as an element to explain the crisis of violation to human rights that Mexico faces: *United Nations Human Rights Council* (UNHRC), *Report of the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, Juan E. Méndez,* 28° sessions period, Topic 3 of the agenda, Promotion and protection of all human rights, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development, A/HRC/28/ Add.3, December 29 2014. Analyse especially pp. 8, 9, 18 and 19; *Inter-American Commission on Human Rights* (IACHR), *Organisation of American States* (OAS), *Situation of Human Rights in Mexico,* December 31 2015, OAS/Ser.L/V/II, Doc. 44/15; at: http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/reports/ country.asp, pp. 14 (Consulted 13 June, 2016); Grupo Interdisciplinario de Expertos Independientes. Ayotzinapa (GIE), *Informe Ayotzinapa I,* Mexico September 6, 2015 and *Ayotzinapa II,* México April 24, 2016, pp. 590–590; at: http://prensagieiayotzi.wix.com/giei-ayotzinapa#!informe-/c1ex; United States Department of State, *México 2015 Human Rights Report,* Washington D.C.; at: http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index. htm#wrapper, specially pp. 1, 8–9, (Consulted June 14, 2016); Open Societies Foundations, *Undeniable Atrocities, Confronting Crimes Against Humanity In Mexico,* New York 2016; at: https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/undeniable-atrocities-en-20160602.pdf; International Amnesty., *Annual report 2015/2016*; at: https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/ americas/mexico/report-mexico/ and Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2015: Mexico*; at: https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/mexico. For the sixth year in a row Mexico is defined as partially free by Freedom House; the report *Freedom in the World 2016* points out: 'Mexico's justice system is plagued by delays, unpredictability, and corruption, leading to pervasive impunity', https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2016/mexico (14 June 2016).

Table 14.2 Groups of entities by level of impunity

Levels of impunity	Entity	Impunity index
LOW	Campeche	47.22
	Nayarit	50.42
MEDIUM	San Luis Potosí	56.86
	Sonora	58.41
	Chihuahua	59.94
	Chiapas	59.96
HIGH	Guanajuato	65.15
	Zacatecas	66
	Colima	67.01
	Nacional	67.42
	Jalisco	67.45
	Tlaxcala	67.69
	Hidalgo	67.9
	Aguascalientes	68.37
	Tabasco	69.1
	Puebla	69.19
	Sinaloa	69.34
	Morelos	69.37
VERY HIGH	Baja California Sur	70.74
	Oaxaca	71.63
	Nuevo León	71.63
	Querétaro	72.24
	Veracruz	72.38
	Yucatán	72.8
	Coahuila	72.93
	Guerrero	73.19
	Tamaulipas	73.38
	Durango	73.97
	Baja California	74.92
	México	76.48
	Quintana Roo	76.61
ATYPICAL	Michoacán	67.71

Source Le Clercq/Rodríguez (2016: 49)

higher levels of vulnerability suffered by people in poverty or marginalised conditions.

The former conclusion is vital to the development of the current investigation. The main questions are: (1) Do pathologies of the institutional design and the functioning of laws reproduce pre-existent social inequalities? (2) Do social inequalities produce the conditions for the inefficient performance of the rule of law, unequal access to justice and the extension of impunity among society?

14.2 Does Inequality Affect the Quality and Access to Rule of Law?

Some contemporary perspectives warn us about the relation between attributes of institutional design and levels of performance of the rule of law in contexts characterised by the existence of deep social inequalities. Oxfam (2013) has pointed out that, apart from being economically inefficient, the extreme concentration of wealth and socio-economic inequality that has tended to increase in the last thirty years is ethically unsustainable, corrodes the political fundamentals of democracy, contributes to the destruction of the environment and foments social division through social mobility, unequal access to public goods and the risks of suffering from violence.

According to Acemoglu and Robinson (2012), the existence of excluding and extractive institutions generates conditions that lead to economic failure and reproduce poverty and inequality over time, and at the same time, the conditions of social exclusion produced by the institutional design make it impossible for actors to access institutions or enjoy the benefits of development with equal opportunities.

For North et al. (2009), Natural States are capable of reproducing order and contain violence by protecting privileged interests and excluding specific groups from access to institutions and endowment of public goods. In this sense, the logic of a Natural State implies a context of socio-economic and political inequality, since the rules of the game involve high levels of arbitrariness because they came into existence to protect and reproduce the interests of the dominant coalition to the detriment of other social groups or to limit social conflict and violence through the co-optation of clientele and corporative networks.

Wilkinson and Pickett (2009), in an investigation that integrates the analysis of inequality and its social dimensions beyond economic performance, warn us that the deterioration of living standards that come from the increase of inequality gaps tends to affect societies since it deteriorates trust relations between members of society, reduces the quality of life in a community, increments levels of violence and distorts the process of access to justice.

In the same way, Stiglitz (2012, 2015) points out that the increase on inequality levels threatens democratic life and distorts access to justice, among other things. From this perspective, the extreme concentration of richness results in the possibility for certain privileged groups to have improper influence in decision-making processes, impose their interests' agenda in the law-making process and benefit from privileged treatment limited to power positions in the procurement of justice.

Using the figure of killing fields of inequality, in which inequality leads to systematic and reiterated violations to human dignity, Therborn (2013) argues that processes of social division, fractures, and polarisation end up in lethal levels of violence and crime in Africa and Latin America, where inequality and marginalisation tend to be significantly higher. Those processes are reproduced within and among countries, due to the distortion of political democracy, understood as a 'dictocracy' that imposes the interests of privileged groups on public decisions.

Finally, Enamorado et al. (2014) have demonstrated a causal relation between the increase by a point of the Gini coefficient and an increase by 10 homicides for every 100,000 habitants in Mexico between 2006 and 2010. The previous evidence is that people who are in circumstances of socio-economic inequality are also more vulnerable to the eruption of violence, crime and the general deterioration of security conditions.

We are witnessing a perverse cycle in which the distributive effects of political and economic institutions generate exclusion and inequality, and at the same time, a social context characterised by deep gaps in the access to resources and opportunities, which distorts the democratic process, transforms the meaning of the rule of law and makes it impossible to achieve processes of inclusive institutional changes. In the particular case of generalised impunity, deficiencies in institutional design and lack of capacity combined with high levels of corruption and patrimonial use of public goods produces unequal access to justice and unequal treatment from the law; but at the same time inequality produces a context conducive to distortion of the institutional framework, inadequate use of public resources, privileged access for some to rights and benefits of public life, and, in extreme circumstances, violation of human rights.

14.3   The Inequality-Impunity Correlation

One complementary finding of IGI 2015 is the existence of a positive correlation between levels of inequality and degrees of impunity. This means that those countries with a higher GINI coefficient tend to also have a higher degree of impunity. In the same way, there is a correlation between better levels of human development – measured by the Human Development Index – and lower levels of impunity, which does not happen in the case of the relation with Gross Domestic Product (Fig. 14.2). Countries in Latin America, and specially Mexico, stand out as a region that combines high levels of impunity and inequality (Le Clercq et al. 2016).

This relation of high impunity-high inequality is replicated in Mexican federal entities (Fig. 14.2). Because in this case both impunity and inequality tend to be very high, it is more useful to analyse these situations based on quadrants that make it possible to distinguish a state's performance related to national average levels of impunity (67.42) and inequality (0.4979). In this case we conclude that nine entities belong to the quadrant 'entities above the mean of national impunity and above the national GINI index'.

Nevertheless, the State's position by quadrant reflects that Fig. 14.3 tends to distort the magnitude of the correlation, in the first place because averages of national impunity and inequality are very high *per se*; and in the second place, because an additional group of thirteen states that are located in other quadrants tend to gravitate very close to the average. The dotted line reflects this situation by integrating to the set those states that have high or very high levels of impunity, according to IGI-MEX 2016 or that have a GINI index superior to 0.46.
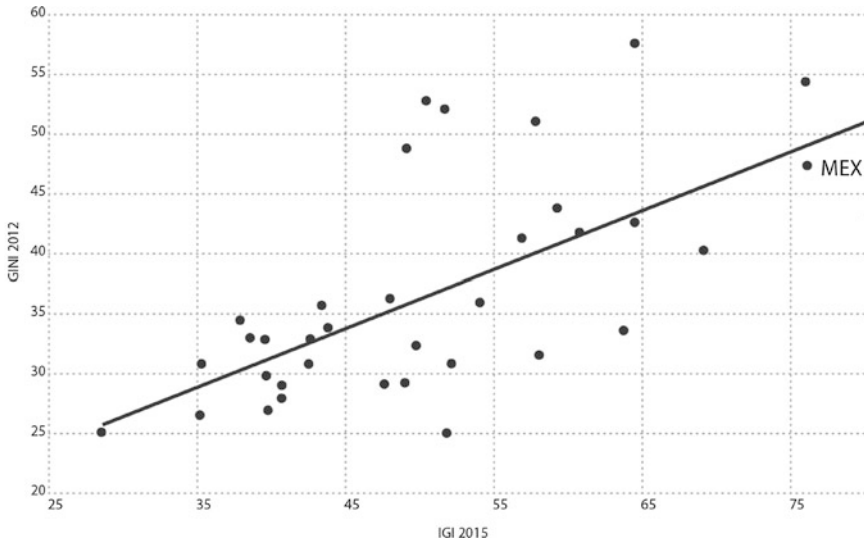
Fig. 14.2 Correlation inequality-impunity. *Source* Le Clercq/Rodríguez (2015: 49)
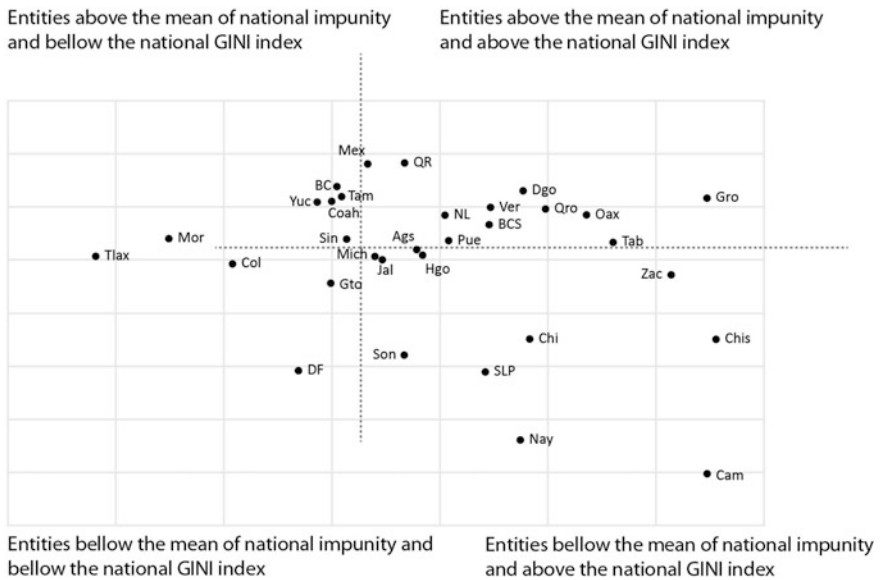
Fig. 14.3 Quadrant of impunity in Mexican states. *Source* Le Clercq/Rodríguez (2016: 59)

The situation of the Mexican case demonstrates the coexistence of high levels of impunity that coincide with high levels of inequality at national level and within federal entities. This means that, firstly, even if this has not resulted in the same levels of violence or unsafety in all cases, the conditions for exogenous factors to lead to the detriment of criminal incidence and violence exist; secondly, inequality allows the reproduction of a generalised impunity context that affects society as a whole and increases the vulnerability of groups that suffer from marginalisation and poverty.

Why is it relevant to understand the relationship between inequality and impunity? In general terms, inequality does not only represent a problem of inefficient economic performance, it also implies a process of social segregation that produces first and second class citizens because of an unequal endowment of public goods and access to institutions. This means:

1. People who are in conditions of socio-economic marginalisation have more difficulty defending their rights through institutional means.
2. People who suffer from inequality have less access to quality public goods, including conditions of security and access to justice.
3. People who benefit from a socially privileged position get preferential treatment in the endowment of public goods and by institutions, particularly in the case of access to justice.
4. Corruption punishes all citizens; nevertheless, it imposes additional life costs on those who have lower levels of income or are in conditions of poverty and marginalisation.
5. Inequality restricts the participation of institutional benefits to people who are in previous conditions of vulnerability due to their economic situation.
6. High levels of inequality and lack of opportunities to access development and public goods facilitate the co-optation and recruitment of people in situations of marginalisation, especially young people, to criminal organisations.
7. Institutional exclusion and the distributive effects of unequal decision-making tend to be reproduced through political processes.

14.4   Conclusion: Impunity as a Complex

Impunity is a social phenomenon, a pathology of public life that goes beyond the simple reference to crimes that don't receive a legal sanction. In cases in which impunity represents a generalised problem it is possible to identify a complex framework of social and institutional relationships that take the form of interaction and feedback between social traps (Fig. 14.4). A 'social trap' is understood as a situation in which social actors, despite identifying superior levels of performance, cannot generate the necessary cooperation or achieve institutional change or are incapable of reaching more efficient, effective or just social results (Rothstein 2005).
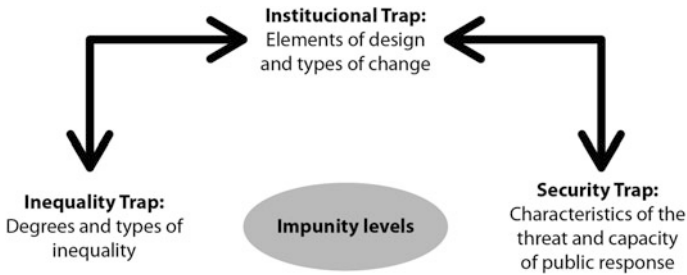
Fig. 14.4 Impunity as a complex. *Source* Author

The impunity complex involves the interaction of three specific types of social trap:

(1) Institutional trap: (a) deficient or insufficient institutional capacities to guarantee security, access to justice and protection of human rights; (b) inexistence of effective accountability, transparency and access to information and prosecution of corruption mechanisms; (c) imbalance in institutional design and attributes, as well as in the implementation of law at national and local levels; (d) deficient institutional reconfiguration and reform, processes that reaffirm exclusion or reproduce path dependency processes.

(2) Inequality trap: (a) dimension of illicit markets and capacities of criminal organisations; (b) characteristics and capacities of security forces; (c) influence of corruption, collusion and violations to human rights.

(3) Inequality trap: (a) poverty levels, socio-economic inequality and discrimination; (b) vulnerability of people who suffer from violence or threats to their security as a result of their economic situation; (c) levels of political, economic and social informality, recognised in the existence of institutional exclusion, clientelism or economic informality.

What is relevant for understanding impunity as a complex is that, in the first place, the existence of deep social inequalities establishes the context that leads to the erosion of the rule of law and generalised impunity. In the second place, once that generalised impunity exists, it potentiates the vulnerability of those who suffer from conditions of marginalisation and poverty. Finally, impunity represents a complex of institutional and social relations that is maintained by insecurity, flawed institutional designs and socio-economic inequality. Facing inequality implies an agenda of institutional policy change that involves redesigning justice and security systems, protecting human rights, and public programmes that reconstruct the social network through redistributive policies and equal opportunities.

Dworkin (2000) pointed out that the legitimacy of a government depends on treating all citizens with equal consideration with the respect to their human rights and access to public goods and resources, and that this consideration does not exist when richness is distributed in a profoundly unequal way within a country. The discussion about the relationship between inequality and impunity is extremely

relevant, especially in cases such as the Mexican in which both are extremely high, since it points out that socio-economic conditions, not only the particularities of a legal framework, are important to guarantee the regularity of justice that Rawls (1971) understood as defining criteria of a democratic affirmation of law's empire.

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Chapter 15
Reconceptualised Security in Mexico

Serena Eréndira Serrano Oswald

15.1 Reconceptualising Security

Discussing some of the main security challenges in Mexico related to regional development implies from the outset placing oneself in the midst of the conceptual debates about security and also deciding one's stance on the various trans-Atlantic security trends in dispute. At one extreme is the so-called narrowed security perspective, which focuses on military and political issues. From the end of the Cold War and the bipolar world, this has typically been associated with the USA's position and has become ever more evident during the war against terrorism launched after the Two Towers attack on 11 September 2001. At the other end of the spectrum is the re-conceptualised security view centred on the wider, deeper and sectorialised position which, though associated with military and political challenges, clearly goes beyond them since it embodies on an equal footing other kinds of challenges, such as economic, environmental, sociocultural, and gender-related issues. This perspective characterises the position of some European and Asian countries, such as Germany and Japan.

As a concept, security is an ambiguous construct, which is under debate scientifically and politically and has had a changeable history. Thus, although the two concepts of peace and security have been interchangeably employed (Wæver 2008a; Albrecht/Brauch 2008) and have guided the actions of human social groups, their meaning is not identical. Some of the main conceptualisation factors are (Serrano Oswald 2004, 2009, 2014):

(i) a 'state of being' (as a kind of mythical concept in pre-scientific societies) which can cover from the individual (the self, e.g. rage) to the collective level, taken as a group or as a whole society (e.g. as a protectorate);

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(ii) the antithesis of the former condition, namely, the shortage or absence of
      vulnerability or invulnerability (something construed anew);
(iii) it embodies a linear temporal framework which moves from preventive
      action (e.g. protection) to corrective measures (rescuing), and which can be
      taken in its turn as processual or teleological in both synchronic and dia-
      chronic terms;
(iv) it cannot be seen in purely objective or institutionalised terms (protection,
      Welfare State), but also as a 'sense of' whose meaning (e.g. tranquilising)
      becomes inter-subjectively constructed;
(v)   it remains bound to a negative conception of freedom ('absence of') fol-
      lowing Isaiah Berlin's terminology (2002) which, in turn, is understood by
      Galtung (1969) as 'positive and negative peace' and which should be con-
      sidered in a wider form in its multi-systemic interrelations.

As said above, security debate exists under two forms, the narrowed traditional
conception within realist doctrines of security, and the widened deepened and
sectorialised view (Brauch 2005a, b, 2008a, b). The first is based on State security,
whereas the second embodies human security, universal rights (UNESCO, ONU)
and contains a horizontal widening (from military and political dimensions to those
which are economic, environmental, sociocultural, and gender-related in character),
plus a vertical deepening (from the individual to the State and global or universal
level), and lastly it becomes sectorialised (e.g. water security, financial security,
food security and so forth). As can be seen, it includes several typical modern or
late modernity traits, such as changing society structures , mass communication, the
risk-society (Beck 1998, 2001; Giddens 1991), and, as a consequence, it becomes
conceptualised along greater axes (e.g. societal security) (Wæver 2008b). But it also
embodies different sorts of pillars (e.g. culture as a pillar for development – always
sustained and based on UNESCO works), and social processes as another plausible
pillar (e.g. social vulnerability), as well as the conceptual debate intersections
(Brauch 2008a; Oswald's HUGE 2011, 2014).

Moreover, such debate contains a structural and directional syncretism, given the
fact that it includes differential power relationships between North and South, with
a plethora of challenges and discussions on security, and several voices moving
from the individual and micro-groups level (e.g. family and communities) to macro
groups and transnational organisations, and indeed taking place in either elite
processes – which usually move downwards – or those moving upwards from
below, trying to reach the summit, yet all framed by an eclectic and fragile world
order (Higgins 2006).

In terms of the socio-political axes that have guided the reconceptualisation of
security, on the one hand we have the Cold War and bipolar world's end (didactic
and frozen-persistent mentalities notwithstanding); on the other a full set of
important variegated facts, such as capitalist and neoliberal consolidation after the
collapse of the socialist-communist model, a scattered scene wherein states appear
evermore vulnerable as they face the growth of globalising dynamics and their
'actors'.

This implies, for example large flows of capital, recurrent macro-regional and global financial/economic crises, high social costs, plus national disarmament and rearmament processes with the proliferation of weapons in populations at large, and the emergence of ever new direct social actors, together with local or regional enemies and wars enacted by somehow improvised or disguised non-State actors. To them should be added, as well as terrorists, organised crime, often within intra and international action frames; and, finally, another sort of 'hecatombic' threat (e.g. the transition from the Holocene to the so called Anthropocene emerging era), besides climatic change and human-induced global climatic change. Thus, we have a rather defensive – not offensive – kind of security which has rapidly become centred in quite a new kind of threat that incorporates multiple scale types, plus a rapidly growing general problem of trust and welfare construction which permeates most of the factors just described.

Within security study analyses, an important role has been allotted to those parts involved in security construction as well as to the processes from which several branches and topics become security priorities. Even though security is really a daily issue impacting everybody, not all people or groups possess the same ability to exert any influence on the security agenda (be it narrowed or widened) or on what is called 'securitisation' (see Wæver's work). However, such an agenda certainly has implications which are in no sense neutral (armamentism may be prioritised, while anthropogenic environment prevention and remediation is often questioned or neglected or even cancelled along with social welfare agendas, and polarisation rather than cooperation is fostered, etc.).

All of this notwithstanding, security conceptualisation in both streams (narrowed and widened) impinges strongly on the way security public policies and their territorial and land relationships are construed; yet there are at least three more related issues: the standpoint from which they operate, the question of whether or not they are strictly monitored, and whether and how several states or supra national bodies allot and distribute their budgets.

Confronted with such an unclear panorama, it is pertinent to consider the experience, credentials, attitudes and motivations of those who analyse and conceptualise public security policies and their outcomes. Further and beyond security policy-makers and executors, the crude fact is that such persons/institutions rarely pay due consideration to analysts' opinions and recommendations – especially if they question or challenge the formers' agendas or if they point towards catastrophic outcomes. However, would it be reasonable to remain silent or to opt for reducing their analyses to just a narrowed security? It is my contention that a broad, deep and sectorialised security implies that challenges will grow in size and proportion, and that arenas and levels might get confused about what should specifically be done by each sector or actor.

Nevertheless, sticking just to a narrowed analysis leads to very simplistic viewpoints which could become fragmented, dispersed, non-transversal and reduced to only immediate and woefully short-term policies, all of which will only

nurture the growth of security issues due to failure to recognise the vast extent of the problem. Yet such short-sided attention will – as previously said – feed a time bomb of security issues, given its structural, transversal and multi-systemic nature. The real dilemma is that, from a reconceptualised security approach and view, risks and threats imply and involve all humanity not only as 'the' cause but also as 'the' solution ("it is 'our' security as human beings and not 'their' security as a group"); the rude fact is that even elite individuals, groups and countries which enjoy better structural conditions to face threats are not – and should certainly never be – exempt from security concerns. Failure to heed potential threats will, far from erasing them, simply allow them to become ever stronger. With this horizon in view, let us specifically consider the Mexican case.

15.2   Mexico: Some Challenges from a Reconceptualised Security Lens

During recent years in Mexico, security has been strongly bound to what the government named 'the war against drug-trafficking', or 'the fight against organised crime', and 'the strategy versus drugs'. Standing upon such proclamations, security public policies mobilised police bodies, the army, and the naval military corps to carry on a relentless armed battle against organised delinquent groups directly linked to diverse illicit actions. The battlefield has been widespread across all regions (urban and rural alike) of the country, and their populations have greatly suffered what the former national president called 'collateral damage'. Thus Mexican women and men primarily associate security challenges with terrifying figures, which vary according to the source, but all of which oscillate between 60,000 and 150,000 killed persons, in addition to an even larger number of people who have disappeared. Regardless of source, all those figures surpass the death total during the entire regrettable Vietnam War, which has been established as 58,000.

Without trying to minimise the importance of this debate, which recurs frequently in current official and unofficial literature, a more complete picture can be obtained by looking at security issues from the discussed reconceptualisation perspective and linking the current Mexican crisis and war to sociocultural, economic and environmental factors while always considering them from the human, individual, community, international and transversal gender perspectives. This approach makes it easier to grasp why the situation has reached this point and which multi-systemic dimensions would be required to provide an answer that incorporates proper security actions and thought relevant to the multi-layered situation troubling Mexico.

Ever since the 'Declaration on Security in the Americas' adopted Mexico City on the 28th of October 2003 by the American States Organization,[1] multi-dimensional

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[1]See at: http://www.oas.org/en/sms/docs/declaration%20security%20americas%20rev%201%20-%2028%20oct%202003%20ce00339.pdf (11 February 2018).

security specialists have officially insisted on facing what, at the time, were relatively minor new military and political threats, as well as threats related to the economy, society, health, technology and the environment. Nowadays the spectrum has broadened to include terrorism, access to weapons of mass destruction and human-trafficking, as well as cybernetic security attacks, accidental maritime damage, natural and human-induced disasters, poverty and social exclusion. So it is from this wide angle and spectrum that we will now take a closer look at the same relevant multi-systemic indicators, since that will allow us to reach a much better understanding of the challenges of multidimensional security in Mexico.

15.3   Economic Security

According to the World Trade Organisation,[2] economic security promotes welfare and is beneficial for the growth and development of countries and their regions. Nevertheless only eight per cent of workers live in countries where it is possible to find favourable conditions with regard to economic security. As a matter of fact, the citizens of many rich and middle income countries face major threats to their economic security (this is reminiscent of recent debates in Mexico about the urgent need to raise the minimum basic salary as well as macroeconomic stability), while, curiously enough, some low-income countries achieve higher salary levels than richer countries. Yet we have also learnt that, as a direct consequence of inequality, economic growth is not automatically translated into welfare. Inequality, is apparent in unequal access to resources in regions, blocs and countries. In the year 2012 one thousand million people – mostly women and children – suffered hunger. The 1996 Food Summit' goal was to reduce that figure by fifty per cent by 2015, yet such a goal has not been met and appears to be no more reachable even by 2030.

In terms of social inequality, based on diverse data and OECD documents,[3] growth disparity of the world's regions between the years 1820 and 2000, expressed in terms of quintiles' GDP per capita (each quintile representing US$5,000), appears to be as follows: In 1820 GDP per capita in all regions was much below US $5000, whereas for the year 2000 the gap between every single region grew in a highly considerable way: GDP per capita in the USA, Canada and Oceania surpassed US$25,000; in Japan it was above US$20,000; in Western Europe it remained between US$15,000 and US$20,000; whereas in Latin America, between 1820 and 2000, it scarcely surpassed the first US$5,000 quintile; and in Africa, even though GDP per capita increased by four between 1820 and 2000, it remained two-thirds below the first US$5,000 quintile.

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[2]Some data for this article taken with permission by the publisher from Serrano Oswald (2016). Available at: https://www.ilo.org/global/lang–es/index.htm (11 February 2018).

[3]Available at: https://www.oecd.org/centrodemexico/laocde/ (11 February 2018).

If we now divide the world population into five blocks between the years 2000 and 2008 and explore resource access of each world block, comparing the richest and poorest, according to UNDP[4] the 20 per cent richest block possesses about 85 per cent of national investment, national savings, international commerce, and GDP, whereas the poorest 20 per cent block has only 0.9 per cent of national investment, 0.7 per cent of national savings, 0.9 per cent of international commerce, and represents 1.4 per cent of GDP.

What is the situation in Mexico? According to available information extracted from the World Bank[5] and UNICEF[6] data, Mexico is located in the 80th position in terms of child poverty, with 28 per cent of its children living in poverty, placing it below South Africa's position of 76th. Looking at Mexico from a slightly different angle, 27.2 per cent of infants less than five years of age suffer anaemia, over half of pre-school children are affected by iron deficiency, 18 per cent are short for their age, and, regarding height, this issue is three times more severe amongst rural children. At the same time, 5.4 per cent of infants are overweight and 18.8 per cent of them surpass the 5 years of age (Chavez et al. 2006). The country is ranked 80th in terms of per capita income, whereas its national income places Mexico as 10th in the world (Serrano Oswald 2015, 2016).

How can such severe contradictions as poverty-richness, malnutrition-overweight etc., be explained? Homer-Dixon talks about a 'structural induced scarcity' whenever and wherever the richest 20 per cent of a country's population accounts for about half of that country's consumption (Homer-Dixon 1998: 351). And according to Mexico's official National Institute for Statistics, Geography and Informatics (INEGI)[7] and Mexico's central bank (Banco de Mexico),[8] in the year 2005, 0.23 per cent of the Mexican population possessed 40.3 per cent of national wealth and 78 per cent of financial savings, whereas the working strata – 52.7 per cent of the population – had only 18.4 per cent of national wealth and 10 per cent of national savings. With regard to internal inequality in saving accounts, 0.07 per cent of the Mexican population (73,481 accounts) enjoyed saving accounts of over one million pesos, representing 63 per cent of national savings, whereas, at the other extreme, 14.2 per cent of the population (15,700,000 accounts) had saving accounts containing less than one thousand pesos.

Beyond poverty multi-dimensionality and focusing now on economic security, let us return to the key deep question: which security and for whom? After reviewing the above data, new questions emerged, associated more with the basic economic model than with the specific form assumed by poverty, growth – or its absence – and inequality. In 2008 we all witnessed the economic and financial global crisis that hit individuals, families, groups, countries, regions and the world economy as a whole. The biggest world banks and insurance companies collapsed,

GDP was sharply reduced, exports fell, emigrants' consignments to their families sharply dropped, tax collecting experienced considerable diminution, unemployment and migration increased with and through counter-cyclic public expending. Following ILO,[9] financial and economic crises between 2008 and 2010 destroyed 27 million work posts. Currently there are 1,530 million people who only have temporary and precarious jobs, 630 million workers (20.7 per cent of total) and their families suffer extreme poverty with daily salaries of US$1.25 or less, and there still are 205 million jobless people in the world. This situation is especially affecting new generations (12.6 per cent of unemployed in 2010) with an average index of 8.5 per cent, even in developed countries. For example, Spain reached 22.8 per cent youth unemployment and Portugal 12.9 per cent, whereas North Africa reached 23.6 per cent. In the Latin American region the youth unemployment rate was 7.2 per cent. Even for those with a job, very scanty economic security is offered in relation to their incomes. According to the Latinobarometro[10] in one of its random samplings, 76 per cent of respondents are worried about losing their job and the majority bluntly expressed that they wouldn't mind having a non-democratic government if this offered a better answer to unemployment and casualisation.

Therefore it can be useful to briefly revisit the global financial model and its structural contradictions, so as to explore the feasibility of putting a tight control upon such kinds of structural economic crises. According to figures published by *Der Spiegel* magazine (*Der Spiegel* 12 December 2011: 42–43), it was estimated that in the global labour market 3.1 billion people are worth US$55 billion, global economic production calculated in 2011 was around US$70 billion, the energy market in 2010 had a total value of $7 billion, and (remembering that initially the 2008 crisis was called a 'real estate crisis') in 2011 the real estate market was estimated at US$0.4 billion. All this totals US$ 132.4 billion. The surprising counter-position to such 'tangible' values is that the assets market in 2010 was US$ 63 billion, the bonus market in 2010 was calculated at US$24 billion, the oil derivatives market in 2011 was estimated at US$708 billion, and the foreign exchange market in 2011 had a total value of around US$ 1,007 billion. Together these assets amount to $1,802 billion compared with the tangible values (labour market, global economic production, energy, and real estate market) of only US $132.4 billion. Therefore the difference amounts to US$1,669.6 billion. Such is the world casino that 'sustains' our economic security.

15.4 Social-Societal Gender Security

Societal security is multilateral and has a direct reference to citizenship welfare, so that in an important ONU's ILO definition it is taken as 'society's protection given to its members via a full public set of measures against economic shortcomings and

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[9]Available for 2012 information at: http://www.ilo.org/global/lang–es/index.htm (11 February 2018).

[10]Available in: http://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp (11 February 2018).

social lacks; measures which, if absent, will result in the disappearance or strong reduction of formidable affectation problems amongst which, general society's income, sickness, maternity, labour accidents, labour diseases, unemployment, invalidity, old age and death, as well as poor protection in terms of medical assistance, and several children family' (Solorio 2001: 9). Such a definition has been accepted by all countries (G5, G7, G20, G77, OECD, including developing countries), and it should be adapted to each territorial type consonant to its own economic and social evolution, taking also into account its groups and sectors which require special protection (infants, youth, ethnic and indigenous minorities, migrants, persons endowed with different capacities, sick people, enforced labour groups, etc.).

Societal security perspective seen from ILO's eyes furthermore implies a world observatory focused on labour and working conditions, while at the same time ILO produces databases and global/regional indicators. Societal security additionally looks for guarantees through laws and multilateral agreements, and by so doing it is taken for granted that it will imply further a democratising potential within globalisation, even though each country and region could have specific and important challenges and goals.

In Mexico, a country with a strong assistantship tradition, some of the institutions in charge of social security have been seriously associated with corruption scandals. This, together with narrowing welfare policies, has prompted the State to receive very serious questioning. The main Mexican social security institutions are: the Social Security and Services Institute for State Workers (ISSSTE), the Social Security Institute for Mexican Armed Forces (ISSFAM), the National Fund Institute for Workers' Housing (INFONAVIT), the Housing Fund of the Social Security and Services Institute for State Workers (FOVISSSTE), and the Mexican Institute of Social Security (IMSS). Currently the State is facing a budget crisis and a massive informal economy – which has already surpassed the formal one representing 54 per cent during the years 2000 to 2010 according to INEGI – so that 62 to 65 per cent of the working population does not enjoy access to the said health and welfare institutions, some of them functioning only thanks to a mixture of an officially imposed regime which includes State, workers and employers, as well as a voluntary regime including a large system composed of workers' relatives, independent private workers (professionals, owners of little shops – grocery type), handicraft artisans, non-salaried voluntary workers, domestic employees, State common land's rural workers, small land owners, individuals, temporal workers for every six years set of each federal administration, and municipalities as well as federative states.

With regard to gender and social security, in Mexico women truly suffer from major insecurity and far more insecurity-types (economic, physical, political, social alimentary and environmental). According to OECD,[11] the salary gap between women and men rose to 40 per cent in 2015. Women also suffered larger food shortages – 24.3 per cent compared to 20.5 per cent of men. With regard to the so-called progress–opportunities–prosper programme ('Programa Oportunidades'–

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[11]Available at: http://www.oecd.org/centrodemexico/estadisticas/ (11 February 2018).

Progresa–Prospera), the basic schooling policy has partly filled the gap – 98 per cent of women received a basic education compared with 96 per cent of men, and 87 per cent attended secondary school compared with 81 per cent of men. Nevertheless, in terms of political power access – official gender quota notwithstanding – women are rather far from equality: in 2015 women constituted only 33.3 per cent of the upper federal camera and 38 per cent of the deputies or lower camera, and out of seventeen State ministries there were only three in female hands, and those just in areas typically considered feminine (Health, Tourism, and Social Development ministries) – yet in 2017 not even those three remained. Out of 31 federative states in Mexico, none had female governors – and in 2017 there is only one; furthermore only 5.5 per cent of municipal mayors are women, and at the same time in local deputy cameras women constitute just 8 per cent.

With regard to domestic chores, women daily devote 373 min to them, while men devote only 113. The majority of informal workers are women, and 15 to 20 per cent of women work without any payment compared with 9 per cent men. Out of the 500 most important transnational corporations, only five are headed by women, and none of them is a Mexican. Within marital/couple relationships, women report the following types of violence: physical 46 per cent, economic 53 per cent, and sexual 16 per cent. In the extreme case of security absence, hate crime against women just for being women, increased the negative reputation of Mexico through its regrettable feminicide record: between 1985 and 2010 36,000 women were violently assassinated, and 6.3 per cent of murdered females were less than five years old (ONU Women-Inmujeres 2010).

Finally, regarding environmental security, during disasters more women die than men. Certainly little data exists due to the nature of emergency situations, yet in after-event studies the data are appalling: 63 to 68 per cent in the notorious Boxing Day tsunami in Asia and 80 per cent in the Pakistan earthquake (Ariyabandu/Fonseka 2009); moreover, in a post disaster study conducted two years after the Philippines typhoon by Anttila-Hughes and Hisang (2013), it was found that the infant death rate was 15 times greater for baby girls than for baby boys. In short, women are major victims in social and political disasters and receive limited and inadequate help in such emergency situations. Besides the fact that, across the world, women constitute 70 per cent of the people living in extreme poverty (Amnesty International 2009). Without endorsing an essentialist posture, women de facto are the main subjects in charge of such key human functions as care and biological, social and cultural reproduction; so their marginalisation unquestionably hurts the whole of society, especially when they face cyclical and highly complicated emergencies.

15.5   Environmental Security

Environmental security includes guidelines, policies and actions to combat and reverse pollution, environmental degradation and scarcity of natural resources, as well as appropriate measures to adapt and mitigate global environmental change, all

framed by biodiversity and sustainability in the short, medium and long term. Environmental security is one of the most pervasive threats of our modern and late modern life system, and it is associated with diverse global environmental change dimensions (GEC) happening in the Ecosphere (atmosphere, hydrosphere, biosphere, lithosphere, pedosphere) as well as in the Anthroposphere (population, economy, transport, social organisation, science and technology, culture and behaviour). The pioneering work of Paul Crutzen – a Chemistry Nobel Prize laureate – documents the transition from the Holocene to what he coined the Anthropocene, namely, an anthropogenically induced epoch shift in the earth's system, starting from the industrial revolution and due mostly to greenhouse gases (GG). In their natural evolution during the millennia since the interglacial cycles they oscillated by about 100 ppm (concretely from 180 ppm to a 280 ppm maximum), but since 1950 they have significantly incremented, with an average growth of 20.8 ppm each decade, so that by 2017 they had surpassed 403.5 ppm. Such an epoch change therefore carries multiple interrelated consequences. These include global warming, the extinction of living species, forestry loss and deforestation, forest fires, and a rise in sea levels.

It is something new to human beings and it is indeed very interesting to realise that never before has such a shift occurred, and that therefore, in the Anthropocene, it is we – all the human beings – who are both the cause and victims of such a global environmental shift. Could we also be its solution? Maybe… yet only in so far as we take environmental security very seriously in a fully integral form; mostly, given that a technological solution has not yet been able to rise to such a challenge, predictions for the future seem to be just overwhelming. Let us see why: Environmental security seen from another angle, namely, that of population growth. During the twentieth century world population grew from two to six thousand million. A conservative population estimation for 2050 forecasts an increase reaching nine thousand million, most of them settled in poor and arid countries inhabited basically by Muslims. Based on current consumption and behaviour models, the ecological impact footprint implies that the equivalent of 1.4 earth planets per year would be required to sustain the population. This means that if there is no change in the population's consumption and related behavioural patterns – business as usual – forecasts maintain that in 2050 we would require 2.5 planets.[12] In the years 1971 to 1980, in Latin America a little more than 200 disasters were detected, having an approximate cost of US$100,000,000, whereas for the years 2001 to 2010 the region's disasters registration ascended to about 1,000 with an approximate cost of US$450,000,000. According to Münchner Rück re-insurance firm (NatCatSEFRVICE@206, GeoRisikoForschung, MunichRe), the number and type of significant catastrophic disasters at world level between 1950 and 2005 would be considerably changed: between 1950 and 1960 the maximum number registered of such types of catastrophic events per year was five, but on average it was three and most of them were

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[12]Available at: https://www.footprintnetwork.org/our-work/ecological-footprint/ (11 February 2018).

tsunami-earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, whereas between 1990 and 2005 registration ascended to fifteen big catastrophes per year, amongst them forest fire devastations and a rising number of floods and cyclones.

In several UNO reports, the twenty-first century has been called 'the water conflicts and wars century'. During the twentieth century, the general population grew by three times but water consumption by six times, which indeed caused scarcity, pollution, water salinisation and overexploited aquifers. If the population continues to grow at its current rate, increased water demand will augment by 55 per cent. In 2025, 2.6 people will face water stress in forty-eight countries (forty in West Asia, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa). Out of 148 countries having water resources in trans-territorial borders, thirty-seven are at risk of water wars, and such countries have a larger population than those which opt for 'hydro-diplomacy'. Among the former, the Middle East, Russia, India, China, Pakistan and Indonesia stand out among others (Waslekar/Futehally 2014).

In the Mexican case, beyond its unleashed controversies for its own causes, the country has opted for the hydro-diplomacy approach regarding its north and south borders. Mexico has 653 aquifers, 105 of which were already overexploited in 2013, according to the official government institution (Conagua 2014). In fact, the most overexploited aquifer in the world is the one in Mexico City due to the population density, and this explains why the country's central region is the most exposed to vulnerability in terms of morbidity and water consumption distress. In terms of predictions, in 2030 it will be Mexico City plus the north-western federative states of Baja California and Sonora which will face a critical situation, whereas simultaneously Sinaloa state and the hydrological Lerma region, which involves five federative states, will experience strong pressure on its water resources. Moreover, even the Yucatan peninsula and the southern part of Mexico, which enjoy the largest natural water supply, will confront mid to strong pressure as well (Oswald 2012).

Climatic change and anthropologically induced disasters – namely, those which do not come from nature and cannot be handled as such – are another key theme in the widened security agenda. Even though predictions vary, following the fifth Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change (IPCC) of 2013 the physical and societal effects should also be taken into account, as well as the respective temperature increase. This can ascend about 1.1 to 6.4 °C to the year 2100. Sea level will rise between 18 cm and 2.4 m, not forgetting, though, that the consensual figure by now states only one metre for such 2100 year. On the other hand there will also occur significant rain precipitation changes, being more irregular, with major draught periods, and more extreme events such as tropical tempests (typhoons, hurricanes, cyclones, and tropical depressions), as well as winter tempests, floods, landslides, polar melting and reduction of glaciers amongst others. All of this is liable to lead to more human, economic and infrastructural effects and damage, not forgetting possible tipping points which could imply complete disruption of the earth's system. Amongst climatic change societal effects, can be considered, for instance, regional conflicts, migrations, diverse kind of plagues and illnesses, vulnerability spirals, significant societal losses, and so forth, so that it

becomes an imperative to design and implement general strategies for prevention, adaptation, and resilience.

Climate change impacts in Mexico are many. Some of the most significant are the increase of warm and cold waves, landslides, hurricanes and cyclones hitting the coastal rim, which is 13,000 km long, severe random rains, frequency of strong winds, and doubled vulnerability. In Mexico poverty coincides with a high degree of exposure to extreme events, in this way generating a heavy vulnerability cycle ever more exacerbated over time, given the precarious structural conditions that become accentuated by such extreme events, which in their turn do not allow the majority of population to develop more resilient conditions. This can be seen in a graphic which compares regions presenting big disasters whose cost is US$500,000 revealing that most of their populations are accustomed to surviving on less than two US dollars per day.

Also in Mexico, from 1985 to 2008, seventy-five disasters caused the deaths of about 10,000 people, several hundred thousand victims with direct injuries whose cost was approximately US$9,600 million – meaning some US$500,000 for each year – plus an additional US$200 million for indirect harm (Conde/Saldaña 2007). Climate change and rising sea levels can result in more frequent and severe geo-hydro-meteorological events, soil problems such as erosion, soil degradation, desertification, draughts, low agricultural productivity, environmental degradation, poor water quality, scarce natural resources, plagues, an increase in diseases, and the loss of biodiversity and environmental services. Since global environmental change is bigger than just climate change, there are plausible social answers to such scenarios.

Fair access to natural resources and resilience consolidation implies that social and economic actors as well as the State, utilise all available scientific and technological knowledge to improve environmental services, and that most vulnerable groups could have structural conditions to mitigate cyclical environmental crises within a global climate change context. Otherwise, failure to adapt to specific and general change will breed socio-environmental conflicts as well as survival dilemmas which, in the frame of globalisation and systemic crisis, plus consequent conditions such as malnutrition, pollution, global warming and environmental disasters, can result in large migrations (Oswald Spring et al. 2014b), societal and domestic crises as well as international conflicts and even a global crisis. The lack of knowledge and response capacity, together with poverty, unemployment, and poor State aid added to the frequent lack and deficiency of prevention and conflict-reduction strategies, breed and generate risk and dangers. Before the most extreme catastrophic scenarios – such as becoming hungry, thirsty or dead – develop, stress arising from the wait for government or foreign aid, which is usually insufficient or through corruption much reduced, is likely to increase the perception that sending relatives to other regions or countries is a reasonable option, enabling those left behind to survive by consignment sending and support networks. Similarly, such situations could lead to the decision that the whole family must migrate, despite knowing in advance the many threats from others competing for

same water, food and land in swelling urban peripheries, and the likelihood of being obliged to settle in marginal zones of the worst life quality, namely being environmental refugees.

15.6   Integrating Closing Reflection

In order to contribute to past, present and future social science studies of Mexico and its regions, this chapter dealt with reflections on security challenges from a reconceptualised security perspective. By revising a series of debates, data and indicators referring to social, economic, gender and environmental security, it has shown the way Mexico is placed in a world that appears inter-crossed by intense recomposition dynamics. At the same time, it has led us to consider how Mexico reacts – or puts reaction aside – in the face of these issues. It has exposed the fact that that in most of those data and explored indicators Mexico frankly underscored. It was possible to offer the hypothesis that, if such recomposition breeds, in some aspects, decomposition, the Mexican situation becomes substantially severe. On the one hand this chapter has highlighted the need for deconstruction-reconstruction to achieve, from a reconceptualised security perspective, a sound recomposition. On the other, it was put forward that such a large and long task should be tackled through a carefully considered study of the ideas herein explored so as to be able to understand that the region's role and regional analysis together need to play a much stronger leading role – the more so considering the following final reflection with which I shall end.

Security processes imply the ability to create, transform and hand over solid information together with respective tools and mechanisms for impacting global and regional dynamics. What is crucial in the face of such tremendous challenges in our professional and human duties is never to lose sight of all that is *essential* and clearly distinguish it from the non-transcendental. To close my reflection on such grounds, let me finish with a metaphor I borrow from Harvard's Beth Simmons at her ISA presidential address:

"A wonderful night in the prairie" or "Homes and Watson Go Camping"– perhaps it is a well-known story for most of you (in 2001 it was considered by scientists as the world's funniest joke). The ultra-famous Sherlock Holmes and his assistant, Watson, decided to spend a night in the British green unspoilt countryside, taking advantage of the excellent meteorological conditions. As we can imagine from such prudent protagonists, they duly arrived at the selected place and, after meticulously checking the ground, proceeded to pitch their tent, organise their equipment fittings perfectly and, as the sunset slowly faded in the orange-pink sky, prepare a succulent dinner. After eating their delightful dishes and delicacies 'seasoned' with various glasses of wine while enjoying lively conversation about last month's adventures, they cleared away the table, chairs and utensils, entered the tent, wished each other a very good night and went to their respective sleeping bags.

Some hours later, when the night was advanced, Sherlock Holmes woke up and called to his faithful friend: "Watson, please look towards the sky and tell me what you see".

Watson woke up startled and half-frightened, being still somnolent, opened his eyes, gazed at the sky and answered: "Well, mmm, OK, I see millions and millions of stars."

Sherlock, far from satisfied with such an answer, looked at Watson and asked him: "But what does that say to you, Watson?"

Watson woke up properly, realised he must give a more precise answer and, wanting to impress with his powers of deduction, answered:

"From an astronomic viewpoint, it says to me that millions of galaxies and therefore billions of planets exist in the firmament. Astrologically speaking, it says that Saturn is in conjunction with Leo. Chronologically, I deduce it is approximately 3.15 and still far from sunrise." Delighting in his own exposition, Watson continued, "Meteorologically, I have the feeling that tomorrow we will have a beautiful sunny day"…

Having arrived at this point, Watson, totally convinced he has given a flawless answer, asked Holmes in turn: "And what does it mean to you, Holmes?"

Holmes continued looking at Watson with knitted brows and, after a short silence, said to him: "Really something quite elementary: that every day you become more and more stupid. Someone's stolen our tent!"

Someone's stolen our tent!…. Perceiving what is essential, if this is put in due context from the viewpoint of security reconceptualisation, is the first step in facing the current societal crisis that troubles Mexico and its regions. We need to be able to confront those challenges that will bring us to new widened, deeper and sectorialised models… Indeed we cannot put aside reflections about what is really the fundamental issue in all of this, namely, what is its essential tent?

Well, it so happens that, in the face of the current security crises that threaten Mexico from all sides, such a task cannot be anything but the uncompromising commitment to the rigorous analysis of the multidisciplinary discipline that *constitutes* regional science!

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Part V
Human Rights, Peace Education, Gender and Indigenous Groups

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Chapter 16
Human Rights and Radical Democracy

Luis Alberto Padilla

16.1 Introduction

As is widely recognised, human rights have an individual dimension (political rights, fundamental freedoms) and a collective one, like the right to self-determination or the cultural rights of indigenous peoples. Nonetheless, the individual rights also have an economic and social dimension that has to do with the right to work, health or education, among others, and that explains why human rights, in their entirety, must be considered in their integrated form and are also strongly related to the human needs theory (Maslow 1982) as well as to the human development paradigm (Neef/Elizalde 1986) and the UNDP Reports on Human Development. Therefore, if every human being has a need for affection, participation, subsistence, protection, understanding, leisure, creativity, freedom, identity and so on, these needs require the implementation of basic satisfiers through public policies implemented by the State, which is the basis of the second generation of social, economic and cultural rights.[1] It is also important to be aware that in order to reach an adequate level of human development[2] that development should also be sustainable in the long term.[3]

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[1]The first generation of human rights is the individual ones. Both generations of rights are officially recognised by governments that have signed and ratified the 1966 UN Conventions on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, among them all Latin American countries.

[2]Human development as it has been defined by the United Nations (see Padilla 2009: 243–251).

[3]As defined by the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the United Nations 2030 agenda.

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In this chapter I am interested in highlighting the way in which human rights are related to the theory and practice of democracy, maintaining as its main thesis that: (1) there is a substantial difference (and a permanent tension and contradiction) between capitalism as an economic system and democracy as a political system of government (Habermas 1987) and (2) that the most appropriate way to overcome this contradiction/tension is through applied ethics and the radicalisation of democracy (Cortina 2012), as well as through a counter-hegemonic globalisation (Sousa Santos 2014). It is from this theoretical framework that I have developed my analysis of the connection between human rights and radical democracy.

On the other hand, it is important to acknowledge that my views are in agreement with peace research authors like Galtung (1985, 1998) and Oswald Spring (2016) thanks to Galtung's holistic approach (and his theory about structural violence and positive/negative peace) as well as with the systemic methodology that integrates the UN's sustainable development goals in a transdisciplinary form including the study of ecology, gender inequality, poverty and all the structural violence issues, which are essential to deal adequately with globalisation and social exclusion. I also agree with a new type of economy with social and solidarity contents as an alternative approach to overcome a crisis that is leading the entire planet towards "the decline of the biosphere" (Richards 2016).

Amb. Luis Alberto Padilla and Dr. Beatriz Zepeda

16.2   The Academic Debate on the Nature of Radical Democracy

I plan to examine the above problematic using the theoretical tools provided by the critical theory, mainly by Habermas (1987a, b), by Adela Cortina's approaches of applied ethics and radical democracy, and by the ideas of counter hegemonic globalisation and ecology of knowledge of Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2009a, b, 2010, 2014, 2016).

16.2.1   Critical Theory

It is obvious that democracy – understood as a political system of government – given its Greek origins, is not only prior, but also much older than capitalism as a mode of production originated in our western modern age. It is also clear that the industrialisation phenomenon as well as the accumulation of capital and the tendency towards the concentration of wealth contradicts the value of equality that, since the French Revolution, constitutes one of the greatest aspirations of humanity. In our contemporary times this value is expressed in the form of the second generation social, economic and cultural human rights. The struggle for the fulfilment of social and economic rights is at the same time a struggle for real (material) equality in democratic terms, not just the formal (abstract) equality established by the constitutional rights and guarantees of fundamental freedoms.

There is also a need to distinguish between capitalism and democracy, not only because they belong to different disciplines, since democracy, as a form of government, is placed in the field of political sciences, while capitalism, as a mode of production, belongs to the science of economics, but also because it is necessary to take into account that democracy has as one of its primary objectives the establishment of governments and policies in order to satisfy the needs and interests of the majority of the population, while capitalism seeks, essentially, to maximise the private accumulation of capital and economic growth, all to the benefit of the owners of capital, not of the social majorities.

Looking at things from this perspective, it is perfectly clear why critical theory and Habermas (1987b) have argued that the tensions between capitalism and democracy arise when the 'system world' (money and power) disregards the 'life world' (perceptions, values, everyday experiences) and fails to 'action areas that depend on social integration' (1987b: 488). This argument implies that, in addition to the tension between democracy and capitalism, we must be aware of the differences between – and differing needs of – capitalism and the 'life world' (civil society) and its various forms of organisation, including culture, religion and democracy.

It should be added that capitalist dynamics 'can only be preserved to the extent that the production process is decoupled from orientations towards the value of use', as Habermas (1987b: 488) pointed out. This is of great importance because people normally use objects due to their value of use and not because of their value of change, therefore 'decoupling' aggravates the tensions between capitalism and democracy, especially if we evaluate the situation from the workers' point of view, not from the view of the interest of capital. Consequently, paraphrasing Habermas, making social relations compatible and, even more, making social integration compatible with the capitalist economic system is a problem aggravated and compromised by two solutions that are logically exclusive, since the differentiation/privatisation of production and, on the other hand, socialisation/politicisation are

faced by these two strategies that 'cross-link and paralyse each other', so that the interaction of these variables explains that the symbolic self-representation of political elites in the sphere of public opinion that is largely disconnected from actual decision-making processes within the political system. Related to this is the 'elector segmentation role', which is what the citizen's political participation is generally reduced to. The decision to vote only influences, in general, the recruitment of the ruling class and, as far as motives are concerned, falls outside the discursive formation scope of the collective will. All of this has as consequence a 'neutralisation of the possibilities' of political participation legally open within the citizen institutionalisation role (Habermas 1987b: 487–490).

What is the best way to find a solution to this problem? It is a subject that Habermas treats in his theory of communicative action. As we know, in this theory the German thinker – in contrast to positivist empiricism and the rationalist approach of modernity – emphasises the importance of postmodern culture and vision by suggesting 'intersubjectivity' as the way to understand it and, therefore, social dialogue to reach consensus as an essential communication process between individuals who consider themselves to be valid interlocutors. Translated into the democratic participation realm, this implies that it is essential to understand the 'life world' as a foundation for the creation of citizens' association networks which are guided by universal interests – of benefit to all – and ventually make it possible to overcome the dynamics of conflict and sectorial interests that characterise the political struggle within the State.

In other words, according to Habermas, there are different fields of action within the State but in the economic field it is an 'economic strategic rationality' that works, while in the political field (public administration) the strategic rationality is essentially political.

However, there is a third field of action that is not based on money or politics, but on the 'communicative action' of the 'life world' that is mediated by a 'communicative rationality' sustained by 'intersubjectivity' and 'solidarity'. This is very different from the strategic rationalities that operate in economics and politics. Consequently, both communicative action and solidarity should guide the way for the deepening of democracy, thus opening up a new form of political action for political parties, especially socialist and social democratic parties, but also, of course, for social movements as defined by Boaventura de Sousa Santos and for Howard Richards's social and solidarity economics, as we will see later.

16.2.2   Adela Cortina's Ideas

The Spanish philosopher Adela Cortina, inspired by the critical theory ideas, maintains that an increase in participatory democracy can help to overcome the shortcomings of representative democracy. For her, the 'depoliticisation of the

public space', or the democratic apathy of considerable segments of the citizenry in both developed and 'developing countries', is a regrettable fact that must be overcome and solved by the deepening of democracy.

She is interested in procedures and actions through which citizens could become aware of their ability to participate meaningfully in public affairs, that is, "in the deliberations and decisions that affect the community in which they live and, therefore, themselves, since the individual interests coincide with those of the community" (Cortina 2012: 91–94). This would have "an educational value and positive psychosocial consequences, which entail the development of other faculties such as the "sense of justice", that is, the capacity to deliberate and decide according to common interests and not only individual and group interests, and the "sense of belonging to the community itself, reinforced by the close relationships which provide opportunities for continuous contact" (Cortina 2012: 92). From this perspective, participatory democracy would then become "a way of life, valuable in itself" that, respecting the "self-legislating character of individuals, enhances the sense of justice in them, considering them capable of being guided by generalisable interests and not only by the individual and group, and is, therefore, a source of self-realisation" (Cortina 2012: 92).

Participatory democracy manifests itself in diverse forms. One of them is set in the 'democratisation of social subsystems', that is, in institutions such as universities, schools, and political parties. The implementation of an effective 'political decentralisation' can also contribute to the participatory democracy. However, it must be borne in mind that "realising the participatory ideal requires changing the concept of civil society connected to the Hegelian inheritance in the hands of the State whose defence of universal interest has endowed it with a moral prestige that it does not deserve, as shown by the achievements, because in fact the State is not the place of universal interests, but of a balance of sectorial interests in conflict" (Cortina 2012: 144). This democratisation of 'social subsystems' must take into account the need to start from a new conception of the subject. Both personal autonomy and the idea of self-realisation are essential to understand that radical democracy goes beyond representative democracy, as it deepens through citizen participation.

In addition, Cortina shows in her work that all radical democracy must also be based on progress or on the evolution of ethics (and individual morality), and this is why the title of her book is *Applied Ethics and Radical Democracy*. In general, the author agrees with the moral development theories inspired by the work of Piaget (1932), Kohlberg (1984) and Gilligan (1977). Cortina (2012) maintains that the differences in the position of Kohlberg (1984) on the person's moral development from the preconventional, conventional and postconventional, and the ideas of a personal evolution process of Gilligan (1977) that refers to compassion and care from a feminist perspective, do not prevent both approaches from being complementary "because there is no justice without compassion for the weak and there is no solidarity if it is not on the basis of justice" (Cortina 2012: 157). She adds that

"the civil society that we need it is not, therefore, the one that is motivated by particularist interests, as authors such as Hayek would have wished, but by family, neighbourhood, friendship, social movements, religious groups, associations driven by 'universalist interests', which are capable of generating solidarity and justice energies that end the suspicions of a selfish and defensive world. Such a society will be impossible without the growing morality of its people, a moral that today is expressed in what, with more or less fortune, is called the rise of 'applied ethics'" (Cortina 2012: 157).

Radical democracy, then, depends more on communicative action and applied ethics than on political action. However, political action also needs to be legitimised and supported by citizens/electors, since the main objective of politicians is the quest for and conservation of power, which can only be achieved in a democracy with the support of the electorate. There is a big difference between strategic rationality and communicative rationality in the 'life world' (civil society). Political economic powers should be constantly reminded of this, since the legitimacy of both public and private sector leaders depends on it.

Even though political legitimacy depends on the fulfilment of 'campaign promises' (or on the party's political programme as in the democracies of developed countries) actions should be determined by universal interests (the 'common good'), or at least prioritise the needs of the majority over those of the elite minority.

> It should not be forgotten that the political leaders' moral conduct (applied ethics) is also fundamental to legitimise political action, which implies that, in order to be legitimate, the State must provide what it can actually offer; for example be the guarantor of the citizens' rights, which means not only protecting civil and political rights, but also to engaging in the task of distributive justice that is fundamental for economic, social and cultural rights, facilitating civil society to carry out its own tasks (Cortina 2012: 153).

The private sector also derives its legitimacy from civil society as evidenced by the discourse on corporate social responsibility.

As for the new way of understanding civil society so that it is able to overcome its original, Hegelian conception to better realise the 'participatory ideal', Cortina affirms – quoting Michel Walzer, with whom she agrees – "man is first and foremost a member of a civil society, reached from the family, friendship or neighbourhood, church, cooperatives or social movements, and all that human association space without coercion" (Walzer 1992).

How can an authentic democracy be achieved without taking into account this merely social being of man? Our author concludes that if it is true that only a democratic state can create a democratic civil society, it is no less true that only a democratic civil society can maintain a democratic state; and this has been largely forgotten by the seekers of an authentic democracy (Walzer 1992: 151). Therefore, both citizen participation and applied ethics are fundamental criteria for the radicalisation and deepening of democracy, and this is also one of the political action main tasks implicit in both critical theory and postmodern philosophy.

16.2.3 Boaventura de Sousa Santos's Ecology of Knowledge and Counter-Hegemonic Globalisation

Boaventura de Sousa Santos has been linked to critical theory although his doctorate is from Yale University with a thesis on the Sociology of Law. He is currently a professor at the universities of Coimbra (Portugal) and Madison-Wisconsin (United States), but this has not made his attitude Eurocentric.

On the contrary, thanks to his vast intellectual production, he is one of the most outstanding and well-known exponents of both Iberoamerican and Latin American critical thinking, because he is closely linked to the subcontinent's social movements, which has led him to study closely the re-founding processes of states in countries like Bolivia and Ecuador. He is also an activist and founder of the *World Social Forum* (WSF), which originated at the beginning of this century in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre. The WSF is seen as an alternative to the world capitalist elite meetings at the *World Economic Forum* (WEF) which gathers every year in the Alpine town of Davos, Switzerland.

Since the beginning of his work in the Eighties, the distinguished Portuguese intellectual presented, in a well-known essay on 'the discourse of sciences' (Sousa Santos 2009a, b: 17–59), a new and extraordinary thesis from the epistemological point of view. He argued that the traditional positivist/rationalist paradigm was bound to be profoundly modified due to the scientific revolution initiated by Einstein at the beginning of the last century and later pursued by quantum physics, which has been giving rise to the blurring of the traditional distinction between natural sciences and social sciences, since:

> The dichotomous distinction between the natural sciences and the social sciences ceased to have meaning and utility. This distinction rests on a conception of the material world and of nature, which is contrasted with presupposed evidence to the conceptions of the human being, culture and society. Recent advances in physics and biology question the distinction between the organic and the inorganic, between living things and inert matter and even between the human and the nonhuman. The characteristics of metabolism self-organisation and self-reproduction, once considered specific to living beings, are now attributed to the precellular systems of molecules. Recognised properties and behaviours previously considered specific to human beings and social relations are attributed to other beings. Prigogine's theory of dissipative structures, Haken's synergetic theory, and also David Bohm's theory of the 'implicate order', Geoffrey Chew's S-matrix theory, and the underlying bootstrap philosophy and even Fritjof Capra's theory of the relationship of contemporary physics with oriental mysticism; all of them of holistic vocation and some specifically oriented to overcome the inconsistencies between quantum mechanics and Einstein's theory of relativity, all these theories introduce the concepts of historicity and of process, freedom, self-determination and even of conscience that in the past man and woman had reserved for themselves. It is as if man and woman had thrown themselves into the adventure of knowing the most distant and different objects of themselves, but once they had arrived there they would find themselves reflected in a mirror (Sousa Santos 2009a, b: 41).

Consequently, if the natural sciences – based on the knowledge provided by the new paradigm of the physical sciences – are those that accept notions such as

historicity, indeterminacy and consciousness[4] applicable to material reality, at the end of that long journey of which Sousa Santos speaks, it turns out that we end up finding our own human reflection, so it is perfectly feasible to discard once and for all the inferiority complex of social sciences in the face of mathematics and natural sciences, inducing a daring epistemological search of new and very diverse modes of knowledge that do not necessarily have the character of 'scientific knowledge' in the way this concept has been understood in the positivist and rationalist epistemology of the modern age.

This is why the epistemological approach of Sousa Santos can be considered postmodern and revolutionary.[5] He is particularly interested in social emancipation and places great importance on the potentialities of the 'sociology of emergencies', which values the most varied ranges of popular knowledge and human experience, as opposed to the 'sociology of absences' that he sees as responsible for the 'blindness' and waste of both popular knowledge and the so called 'unscientific experiences' of the lower classes, indigenous and other subaltern social groups.

Sousa Santos also emphasises the importance of the 'decolonisation of knowledge', which is the reason why he posits the importance of Latin American academic circles (universities, research centres and think tanks) having a new kind of knowledge, able to assume in an egalitarian manner a sort of 'cognitive justice' with – for example– the indigenous peoples, so that both the people's experiences and the ancestral knowledge – the practices of traditional medicine, the legal systems that allow the application of justice or conflict resolution techniques in the communities – are not ignored or placed on the other side of an 'abysmal line', but are assumed by academic institutions and practices to be part of an 'ecology of knowledge' that could go beyond the 'sociology of absences' that characterises the epistemology and rationalism of modern thinking in the West. This new 'epistemology of the south' corresponds to the new type of knowledge that the Portuguese thinker calls 'ecology of knowledge', because it is fundamentally based on the social and environmental context and acquired through experience and direct contact with communities, social

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[4]Which is not strange to Buddhist philosophy, as can be seen by consulting authors such as Wilber (2006), Villalba (2008), Capra (1992), Wallace (2003), Ricard/Trinh Xuan Thuan (2000) and Lama (2005).

[5]Referring to 'his own theoretical position', Sousa Santos argues that we are going through a period of postmodern transition and that he himself is considered in a 'postmodern opposition' because "the modern critical theory is subparadigmatic, that is, it tries to develop the potential of social emancipation within the dominant paradigm itself. On the contrary, the assumption from which the argument of this book starts is that the dominant paradigm has long since exhausted all its potentialities of emancipation, as manifested sufficiently by the voracity with which it transforms them into so many forms of social regulation. Critical thinking must, therefore, adopt a paradigmatic stance proper to a radical critique of the dominant paradigm from the point of view of an imagination, healthy enough to raise a new paradigm with horizons of emancipation. The radicalism of criticism is justified only insofar as it allows the formulation of radical alternatives to the mere repetition of 'realistic' possibilities" (Sousa Santos 2009a, b: 17–18).

groups and exceptional people (priests, shamans, social leaders) and not through classical scientific experimental or rationalist methodology.

In one of his works, Sousa Santos (2009b: 190–191) skilfully illustrates 'the danger of replacing one type of knowledge with another based on abstract hierarchies', proposing as an example what happened on the Indonesian island of Bali when the irrigation methods, which had functioned well for a thousand years were replaced by a so-called 'green revolution modern scientific system', which failed completely. The traditional irrigation system was based on ancestral and religious knowledge led by the priests of a Hindu-Buddhist temple dedicated to the lake's divinity. Agronomic 'experts' branded this superstitious magic and replaced it with a modern system, provoking a reduction of up to 50 per cent in the harvest, which forced them to return to the traditional system.[6]

For Sousa Santos, both social movements and 'popular wisdom' (common sense) are essential for the democratic control of society and for the establishment form of participatory democracy, hence his views on the need for a counter hegemonic globalisation, not only founded on the ecology of knowledge, but also on a deepening of democracy.

This also means that, in order to radicalise or deepen democracy, as proposed by Sousa Santos (in the sense of giving greater and better participatory content and making it 'counter-hegemonic'), there is a need for public policies that are compatible with sustainable development and capable not only of diminishing the influence of neoliberalism as the dominant ideology,[7] but also of to putting into practice economic alternatives that are compatible with sustainable development, such as the social solidarity economy proposed by Howard Richards.

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[6]Citing investigations by Lansing in 1987 and 1991 and Lansing and Kremer in 1993, Sousa Santos (2009b: 190–191) also states that 'This case illustrates the importance of the 'precautionary Principle' in dealing with the question of a possible complementarity or contradiction between different types of knowledge. In the irrigation systems cases in Bali, the incompatibility between two knowledge systems (religious and scientific), both suited in the same intervention (irrigating rice fields) result in an incorrect assessment based on the abstract superiority of scientific knowledge. Thirty years after the disastrous technical-scientific intervention, computer models – an area of the new sciences – showed that the water-maintenance sequences used by the priests of the Dewi-Danu deity were more efficient than any other conceivable system, whether scientific or otherwise' (Lansing/Kremer 1993). "The 'precautionary Principle' consists of the preference in deciding the application of social policies; priority must be given to the form of knowledge that guarantees the highest level of participation to the social groups involved in their design, execution and control, and the greatest benefits of the intervention" (Sousa Santos 2009b: 190–191). Another interesting piece of research about this 'ecology of knowledge' appears in a book by the American social scientist Jared Diamond, who worked in the highlands of the island of Papua New Guinea, where the natives had a vertical system of irrigation which had been in use for thousands of years and was much more efficient than a 'modern' terrace system that some western 'experts' wanted to introduce (Cf.: Diamond 2005: 334–336).

[7]This tension between capitalism and democracy was 'solved' in Latin America and Africa thanks to the neoliberalism boom of the 1980s (somehow still in force), which in many countries led the State to abandon the policies of market regulation, liquidate mechanisms of social redistribution, and opt for what Sousa Santos calls a 'low-intensity, elitist, procedural, and corrupt democracy' (2016: 218).

What is currently being posed, as a radical critique of the dominant paradigm or 'epistemological rupture', as other authors have pointed out, is the need to abandon economic growth as a development measure, which implies not only the reappearance of the tension between capitalism and democracy, but also the increase of contradictions between social movements, the State and political-economic elites as a reaction to the radicalisation of democracy. That is why it is important to coordinate the social movement's policies in a great global alliance of 'counter-hegemonic globalisation' (as the World Social Forum has been promoting), otherwise it will be very difficult to face the reaction of the conservative elites on a global scale, for which the social movement must be prepared.[8]

Therefore, as 'radical democracy' we must understand a political movement against the hegemony of global capitalism that is part of the struggle for a 'high-intensity democracy' that includes other democratic practices and other types of democracy. Unlike what happened during most of the twentieth century, when totalitarian dictatorships opposed to the representative democracy attempted to disguise or conceal their dictatorship under different denominations (as was the case with communism and fascism), it is not a matter of substituting representative democracy for a participatory (or communitarian) democracy considered to be more authentic, but rather of building a genuine democracy based on the articulation of all types of democracy available, including representative multi-party democracy.

For Sousa Santos it is precisely the experience of popular struggles for democracy that allows us to extend the democratic canon in order to obtain a theory of democracy of greater amplitude to the extent that it goes beyond liberal political

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[8]"Radicalising democracy means, above all, intensifying its tension with capitalism. It is a very conflictive process because, as I said before, at the beginning of this century, democracy, by beating its historical opponents, far from eliminating them, changed the terms of the struggle against them. The field of democratic struggle today is much more heterogeneous and, contrary to what happened in the time of Mariátegui, it is in its interior where fascist forces and socialist forces are confronted. Here lies one of the greatest challenges of our time: for how long and to what extent can the democratic struggle contain these antagonistic forces? After the historical defeat of communism, the socialist forces exploited, to the maximum, the possibilities of the democracy, because, certainly, they had no alternative. This cannot be said of fascist forces. It is true that the historical defeat of National Socialism weighs on them, but we cannot forget that, from the point of view of the capitalism reproduction, fascism is always an open alternative. This alternative will be activated when the representative democracy is irremediably considered, and not only temporarily, dysfunctional. That's why I say that the trend of today's progressive democracy is revolutionary. That is to say, the more significant the democratic victories are – the more effective the socialist forces are in the struggle for a greater social redistribution and intercultural inclusion – the greater the probability that the capitalist bloc will resort to the use of undemocratic means, that is, fascists, to regain the state power control. From a certain moment, undoubtedly difficult to determine in general, the democratic forces – pro-capitalist or pro-socialist – if they remain only within the institutional framework of democracy limits, will no longer be able to effectively deal with fascist forces. They will have to resort to direct action – not necessarily legal and possibly violent – against property, because human life is a superior unconditional good, perhaps the only one" (Sousa Santos 2016: 221).

theory to become a social political theory.[9] He concludes by suggesting lines of research on the differentiation of scientific knowledge according to traditional knowledge and the relations among them, including the intercultural translation indispensable to establish an 'intercultural dialogue'; and on the nature and evaluation of interventions in the real world from which important questions arise, ranging from how to identify the perspective of the oppressed and how to translate it into practice, to issues like how to differentiate alternatives within the domination system (reforms) from those alternatives to capitalism that we will review hereinafter.

16.3   Human Rights of Second Generation and Capitalism

Second-generation (economic-social and cultural) rights have always been considered to be perfectly compatible with capitalism, since they are one of the most precious results of progressive social policies of both the European social democratic parties and workers trade unions as well of the democrats at the US since the times of President Roosevelt's *New Deal*. And we must not forget that they were formally agreed by the international community with the signing of the UN Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Convention of 1966 and ratified by almost the entire UN membership (except for the United States).

However, from the times of the neoliberalism ideological rise in the 1980s to the crisis of Wall Street in 2008, through the latter's contagion to Europe, which has caused the endless financial crisis on that continent, the salaried workers and popular sectors have been the main disadvantaged by austerity policies due to cuts in social spending and rising unemployment.

Thanks to the role they play in the world economy, some countries – such as the United States (in the recycling surpluses as the issuer of the dollar, the only international currency[10]) and Germany (because it has the strongest economy in Europe) – have benefited from the crisis instead of suffering it, but in general terms

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[9]For Sousa Santos, the consecration of representative democracy was an important step in the democratisation of the world, although assuming it as the only legitimate form of democracy "… became an easy prey for the dominant social groups that perverted and kidnapped it to better serve their 'interests' and when this happened 'it became an obstacle for democratisation of the world'. Therefore, what is imposed today is to transform political systems so that they combine representative democracy with participatory democracy, including in many cases the cross-cultural reformulation of each one of them, since "Without the most dense and committed participation of citizens and communities in the political life direction, democracy will continue to be hostage to anti-democracy, that is, interests that generate parliamentary majorities in its favour against the majority of citizens" (Sousa Santos 2011: 126–127).

[10]To understand the role played by Wall Street in recycling global financial surpluses by absorbing a very large percentage of the world's demand for manufactured goods, without its huge trade and budget deficits affecting its monetary stability and maintaining the financial crisis, we recommend to read the book by former Greek finance minister, Varoufakis (2015).

the crisis has also hurt the working classes and the middle classes in these countries and not the rich and large corporations or entities of the financial sector, who have benefited from it and increased their wealth.

The financial sector, then, continues to control the world economy, while the popular sectors have seen their purchasing power decline, are unemployed or suffer from wage cuts and the reduction of their quality of life.

And concerning the popular sectors of the developing countries, although there were, in some of them, considerable reductions in poverty rates due to social spending and increases in redistributive policies, it is not possible to say that they have transformed their economies to the point of becoming 'developed countries'. Therefore, in all parts of the world, governments have yet to discharge their obligation to safeguard the economic, social and cultural rights of all citizens.

The economic and social action that the various States must take (mainly in the labour, education and health area) is increasingly hindered by the animosity, rejection and uncompromising opposition of the business elites who wield financial and economic power. In the United States itself, President Donald Trump has already ordered considerable reductions in social spending and is attempting to disassemble the health care programme – known as 'Obamacare' – that President Obama managed to put into action in the face of the shameful situation of about 50 million citizens who lacked health insurance in the richest and most powerful country in the world. If this Presidential decision is ratified by Congress, it will have disastrous consequences for Americans with limited resources.

In the European Union, workers in 'peripheral' countries like Greece, Portugal, Spain, Ireland and even Italy are increasingly affected by Brussel's austerity policies and by the social insensitivity of the richer countries' elites in Germany and France. Workers from other countries equally affected have voted to leave the Union (the UK with *Brexit*) or have considerably increased their support for right-wing populist and nationalist parties as a sign of dissatisfaction and rejection of the governments that have been ruling in recent years. The mass influx in Europe of immigrants and refugees fleeing violence and wars and in the US and of Latin American economic refugees fleeing poverty and violence associated with organised crime, is contributing further to the highly explosive social and political crisis.

In most Latin American countries the economic power has been equally insensitive to social demands or, as has just happened in Brazil, it is capable of 'technically' overthrowing democratic governments that had been implementing redistributive social policies. To this already bad situation must be added the problems caused to planetary health by climate change, which is the result of the kind of industrialisation that burns fossil fuels to provide energy that pollutes the atmosphere with greenhouse gases, deforestation, extractive industries, water pollution or agribusiness, all of which is leading the planet to a huge ecological disaster.

So the question that needs to be asked is not only whether the governments of the United Nations members will be able to carry out the sustainable development goals which they committed to fulfil by 2030 and uphold their own populations' economic and social rights in accordance with the terms of 'radical democracy'

(understood as citizen participation, but at the same time as intensification of contradictions with the economic system), but also whether capitalism itself is compatible with sustainable development. This means that the time has come to open a debate on the global hegemony of capitalism and especially its financial sector.

It is also pertinent to ask the question to what extent national economic models can be reformed so that national governments will be in a position to comply adequately with the populations' demands on economic and social rights, including sustainable development goals in general, as well as the commitments made on climate change at COP21 in Paris. The crucial questions can also be posed as: To what extent do national States and their native elites depend on globalised capitalism? And, precisely because of that dependence, are they able to take sovereign decisions in matters regarding social and environmental policies? The whole problem of counter-hegemonic globalisation and the reform of capitalism is related to these questions.

16.3.1 The Reform of Capitalism

We all know that the economic reforms of various kinds have allowed the survival of capitalism to date. Varoufakis (2015) states that all dynamic societies cemented their success by manufacturing an economic surplus and obtaining the conformity or acceptance of the population for its distribution. However, although under the feudal system the production of surplus and its distribution were quite transparent, since each part depended on a social power and customs that everybody understood, this began to change when the market extended its reign from the rural areas to the craft workshops and fabrics in the cities.

Both land and labour ceased to be inputs and became merchandise. Production processes are under the control of capitalists and entrepreneurs over which the worker has no influence. As a consequence, "everyone feels [that the machinery of production] is beyond their control or understanding" (Varoufakis 2015: 57), and this is exactly what happens with the mysterious and opaque 'market power':

> The process recalls an underground conspiracy, almost ironic, between the success and prophecy paradox: the creation of growth and wealth requires the use of machinery, the development of new technologies and the intensification of labour productivity. Market societies succeed when the merchandising, financing, and technological innovation are booming. The more rationalised and mechanised production becomes, the less important and cheaper is human contribution to its existence. The more product obtained from a given amount of human creative input, the lower the product unit value. If mobile phones and all kinds of gadgets are becoming cheaper, it is because their production is becoming increasingly automated, with almost no human work involved. That is why the profit margins will decrease. When they fall below a certain threshold, the first bankruptcies occur in the same way that light snowflakes can trigger an avalanche. Then the Crisis begins. Once they have trapped society in their iron hold, the system's 'gremlins' (the labour and monetary markets) refuse to allow it to escape before humanity has paid a high price in the

form of a lost generation. As long as human labour resists total commodification, society can produce value; but only under circumstances that also produce crises, and sometimes also Crisis, like the one of 1929 or, in fact, of 2008 (Varoufakis 2015: 56–57).

Varoufakis states that the large-scale Crisis (with capital C) was, fundamentally, the one of 1929, which almost provoked the collapse of capitalism. It was really World War II that allowed the resurgence of capitalism thanks to the war economy. This time the United States became the dominant economic power, with its main base in Wall Street and New York City. The Greek minister thinks that it was thanks to the clairvoyance of John Maynard Keynes, head of the British delegation to the Bretton Woods conference, that the foundations of the 'global plan' that overcame the crisis were formulated, since Keynes was clear from the beginning that capitalism cannot be effectively addressed at national level but requires a global plan and an institutional framework to keep any major new depression under control, and government intervention to monitor those institutions. Therefore the so-called Bretton Woods institutions were created (the IMF and World Bank) and it was decided that Washington would be in charge of them through the American currency (the dollar), with a fixed exchange rate ($35 per ounce of gold). Keynes also proposed a global surplus recycling mechanism to prevent the systematic accumulation of surpluses in just some countries and persistent deficits in others. However, this last Keynes proposal was discarded because the United States was only interested in the idea of turning the dollar into the world currency and exporting its production to a war-torn Europe and Japan, not in the creation of a long-term mechanism to solve the capitalist economic crisis.

Both the Marshall Plan and the Korean War in the 1950s were decisive for the European and Japanese economic recovery. Varoufakis reminds us that the Economic Community of Coal and Steel in France and Germany – the starting point of the European Common Market and of the integration process which led to the establishment of the current European Union – was initiated thanks to Washington's interest in the recovery of war-ravaged Europe. This is remarkable because "Never before in history has a victorious power supported societies defeated by him shortly before [Germany and Japan] in order to increase their own power in the long run, making of them economic giants thanks to the process" (Varoufakis 2015: 114) and giving rise to the golden age of capitalism between 1950 and 1970. What happened afterwards? Why did world capitalism almost collapse during the crisis provoked by Wall Street in 2008? Is capitalism irreplaceable?

For Varoufakis the answer lies in the refusal of the Wall Street barons to establish the global surplus recycling mechanism that Keynes proposed. The formal absence of such a global surplus recycling mechanism – although in practice such a mechanism in fact operated effectively during the immediate post-war period in favour of Germany and Japan – facilitated the crisis outbreak of the 1970s, which was mainly caused by large deficits accumulated by the US treasury due to the Vietnam War. This crisis forced the Republican administration of Richard Nixon to abandon the convertibility of the dollar into gold and led to the collapse of the

global plan conceived by Keynes at the Bretton Woods Conference at the end of World War II.

In order to solve the crisis of the dollar during the Seventies, the president of the Federal Reserve appointed by President Carter in the mid-1970s, Paul Volcker, had the idea that, to attract capital from around the world to Wall Street, the interest rate should be raised, from 6 per cent in 1971 to 11 per cent in 1979, and 21.5 per cent in the 1980s, under Reagan's administration. Thanks to this financial policy:

> A new phase began. Now the United States could bypass a growing trade deficit with impunity, while the new Reagan administration could also fund the huge expansion of its defence budget and its huge tax cuts for the wealthiest sectors of its country. The 1980s ideology of supply-side economics, the mythical trickle-down effect, reckless tax cuts, the prevalence of greed as a form of virtue, etc., all these things were simply manifestations of the new 'exorbitant privilege' of America: the opportunity to expand its double deficit in an almost unlimited way, courtesy of the capital inflow of the rest of the world. American hegemony had taken a new turn. The reign of the Global Minotaur has dawned (Varoufakis 2015: 140).

We cannot detail the reasons that caused the financial crisis of 2008, but someone who saw the crisis looming on the horizon was (again) Paul Volcker, who argued, in an article published by the journal *Washington Post* in 2005, that since what kept the United States economy afloat was the massive inflow of capital from the rest of the world ($2 billion a day), this was unsustainable because the interest rates had already fallen by then. In addition, Wall Street was turning those capitals into toxic money (lending them without sufficient guarantee, as demonstrated by subprime mortgages) that led to the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers in 2008 as well as the Crisis that was only halted when the government intervened with all its financial power to bail out bankrupt banks and institutions (such as the insurer AIG and the three major automakers in Detroit, GM, Chrysler and Ford).

This rescue was initiated by Bush's administration and pursued by Obama, but unfortunately without that policy being translated into effective regulatory power of the federal government over the financial sector, which determined the fact that Wall Street continued the same financial policies responsible for the spread the crisis into Europe and other developed countries, such as Japan.

However, despite the fact that banks continue to rule on Wall Street and in Washington, it has been impossible for Wall Street to regain the world power it had before the 2008 Crisis, because the two deficits (of budget and trade balance) are still gigantic and the United States is no longer able to continue buying the "large amount of goods net imports and a similar volume of capital flows with which they were both balanced". This means that "for the first time since World War II, the United States has lost its ability to recycle the surplus of the planet. Without an alternative mechanism to carry out this recycling, the capacity of the United States (and of the world capitalism) to recover is severely limited" (Varoufakis 2015: 306).

Severely limited? But what does that mean? Can world capitalism recover or not? For Varoufakis, hegemony differs from domination or vulgar exploitation in which any true hegemonic power understands that its power must be replenished

"by not extracting more from its subjects, but by investing in its capacity to generate surpluses. To get something out of their subjects, the hegemonic power must master the art of giving them something in return. To maintain power, it needs to strengthen its surplus, but to do so it must redirect large parts of it among its subordinates" (Varoufakis 2015: *ibid.*).

With the banks and Wall Street being the real 'power behind the throne' in the United States, what are the chances of them assuming responsibility in a responsible way? None, says Varoufakis, and that fact has been demonstrated by the European crisis and, to a lesser extent, by what happened in his own country, Greece (he was forced to resign as finance minister). He points out that "…the US financial sector was spectacularly unable to control its ability, as custodian of world finances, to print 'global money' at will" (Varoufakis 2015: 341).

Since Wall Street's capitalisation was too shallow to attract the tsunami of foreign capital that kept the United States in good shape, and since its banks can no longer recycle world surpluses on their own, it is possible to say that an 'irreversible degeneration' has occurred so that:

> Global capitalism cannot be stabilised by more investments, better devices, faster railways, more intelligent innovations. This is the error of the common Keynesians who believe that all would be well if the state simply spent and prudently invested. Likewise, global capitalism will not regain the lost equilibrium if central banks focus on price stability and the task of rebalancing the world economy is left to the magical machinations of market's supply and demand. This is the most threatening error of libertarians. The stability of global capitalism, but also of regional capitalism, requires a *global surplus recycling mechanism*, a mechanism that markets, however globalised, however free and functioning, cannot provide (Varoufakis 2015: 325).

Even though such a 'global mechanism' could eventually be established by the BRICS or another powerful international actor (such as China), this is unlikely, so those who glimpse on the horizon the death of the minotaur are right and hopeful that his death will inspire "poets and myth-makers to mark its disappearance as the beginning of a new and authentic humanism" (Varoufakis 2015: 329).

Another recent book of great importance was written by the French economist Piketty (2013). Piketty questions the factors that drive the dynamics of accumulation and concentration of wealth as well as the evolution of capitalism in the long historical period that goes from the eighteenth century to the present day. It includes the study of both the phenomenon of inequality and the tendency for wealth to be concentrated in more than twenty countries. Piketty also explains emphatically that although the growth and diffusion of knowledge has helped to avoid inequality on the apocalyptic scale that Marx predicted in his time, it has not been possible to modify the deep structures of capitalism, because the main factor determining the phenomenon of inequality is the tendency of capital gains to exceed the growth rate, creating a new class of capitalist rentiers and generating the extreme inequalities that today threaten and undermine the democratic system in the central developed countries, as well as on its periphery.

In other words, Piketty confirms the existence of this extreme tension between capitalism and democracy referred to by Habermas and Santos, and if it is not solved it threatens the very survival of capitalism as an economic system.

That is why much of Piketty's (2013) text is devoted to the analysis of the inequality structure and has drawn so much attention that the book became a worldwide bestseller. The book makes a study of inequality and of concentration of wealth; of income inequality at work; of inequality in the ownership of capital; and of merit and inheritance in the long run, as well as inequality on a global scale in the twenty-first century so far.

Piketty points out that the market economy – being based on private property – requires market regulation, because if it is allowed to function without regulation "powerful forces of divergence…threaten democratic societies and the social justice values on which they are based" (Piketty 2013: 571).

For Piketty, capitalism's main destabilising force lies in the fact that the private rate of profit can be considerably higher than income growth, which means that the wealth accumulated in the past grows faster than production and income. Such inequality expresses 'a logical contradiction' that inevitably leads entrepreneurs to become rentiers with lack of interest in innovative entrepreneurship. Those in possession of accumulated wealth have become a small and globalised social cosmopolitan strata, very important from the view of the production of luxury goods of all types and recreational activities addressed specially to this little 'market segment' for the very rich.

In consequence, as soon as the capital is in operation, it reproduces itself much faster than the production and therefore 'the past devours the future' and the dynamic of private capital in the long term becomes terrifying, given this brutal concentration of wealth tendency. And as such a divergence occurs on global scale, the problem becomes worse and without any simple solution, because countries at the technological frontier will not be able to grow at the requisite speed to keep pace with advanced economies.

During the twentieth century, two major world wars were necessary to reduce capital's excessive profits, "creating the illusion that the fundamental structural contradiction of capitalism had been overcome". However, given the current average earnings (4 to 5 per cent), it is probable that the same situation will repeat again, becoming "the rule of the twenty-first century as it was throughout its history, from its beginnings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries until World War I" (Piketty 2013: 572).

What are the possibilities of capitalism reform so wealth would not continue to concentrate excessively? For Piketty one possibility could be to establish a special tax for capital income strong enough to reduce the earnings below the growth rate. This tax should be annual and should stop the increase of the inequality, preserving the competition among corporations and providing enough incentives to maintain the investments. Piketty's suggested rates are 0.1 to 0.5 per cent for fortunes below 1 million euros; 1 per cent for capital between 1 and 5 million euros; 2 per cent for 5 to 10 million; and between 5 per cent and 10 per cent for fortunes between several hundred and billions of euros.

According to Piketty, this measure can stop the unlimited growth of inequality in global wealth distribution, which is expanding at an unsustainable rate for the long run and should worry even the most fervent self-regulating market champions. Historical experience also shows that these immense inequalities in the distribution of wealth have very little to do with entrepreneurship and are not even useful in promoting simple economic growth.

However, the problem is that a progressive tax on capital would also require a high level of international cooperation and regional political integration, which is not within reach of the nation states where social policies are negotiated, and many people are worried that moving towards greater political cooperation and integration (within the European Union, for instance) will only subvert the already achieved gains, beginning with the social welfare agreements reached by several European countries. Although the risk for welfare agreements is real, Piketty says that he cannot see any other alternative because "if we are to regain control over capitalism we must bet everything on democracy on a European scale" (Piketty 2013: 37).

For the French economist, larger political communities such as the United States and China may have a wider range of options, but for small European countries, which will soon appear even smaller compared with the global economy, retreating to national borders can only lead to worse frustration and dislike than those that already exist. The nation state is still the appropriate level to modernise any number of social and fiscal policies and develop new forms of governance, as well as shared ownership between the public and the private, which is one of the greatest challenges of this century, but for Piketty "only regional political integration can lead to an effective regulation of the globalised patrimonial capitalism of the twenty-first century" (Piketty 2013: 572–573).

The last paragraph was written by Piketty in 2013, the year of the first edition of his book in French, and, unfortunately, the UK's Brexit vote – among other bad news – had not yet occurred; nor had the immense wave of refugees fleeing the wars unleashed in Iraq and Syria; nor the terrorism of IS-Daesh in European cities; nor the unexpected reaction in xenophobia and racism that terrorism has awakened throughout Europe. Donald Trump's triumph in the US elections was not even imagined by the most pessimistic analyst, and although Emmanuel Macron's triumph in the French presidential and parliamentary elections is undoubtedly a relief (as was the defeat of Geert Wilders in Holland), the uncertain future of capitalism outlined in the books of Varoufakis and Piketty allows us to explore whether there are any alternatives.

16.3.2   Are There Alternatives to Capitalism?

The problem with alternatives to capitalism consists essentially in the fact that the type of socialism (communism) implanted in Eastern European countries, China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba and some other countries in the world thanks to the

Russian revolution of 1917 and the triumph of the Soviet Union – along with its Western allies – in the war against the Nazis and Italian fascism in 1945, failed both economically and politically, in those communist countries, due – among other factors – to the kind of centralised economy imposed by communist bureaucracies and to the absence of representative democracy.

The virtues that this type of authoritarian regimes could have had on the social level (giving priority to satisfying the economic and social rights – health, education and housing – of the majority of its citizens) could not compensate for the economic and political terrain disadvantage. So without a 'revolutionary alternative' it was necessary to implement the reformists' alternative promoted by the European social democracies. This system succeeded in building the so-called 'welfare states', which could satisfy the needs of workers and middle classes in terms of economic and social rights and functioned in a relatively adequately and smooth way, at least until the 2008 crisis.

After the 2008 crisis in Europe the decrease in the implementation of social policies proper of the welfare state, perceived by the working classes as a consequence of a policy mismanagement of the centre-left and centre-right governments that have alternated in power in most European countries during these years, has led to the gradual, but increasing growth of the populist and nationalist rightist groups, which are anti-integrationist and reactionary. This has happened not only in Europe, as we have seen recently with the vote for Brexit in the UK, but also in the United States with the electoral triumph of Donald Trump.

On the other hand, in Latin America the situation does not look any better. With the exception of Cuba (that fits the initially exposed status of the so-called 'real socialism'), the rest of Latin America is characterised by the intent of left parties to reform capitalism. Taking this into consideration, it can be said that although in Chile the alliance of left-wing parties achieved impressive gains in the reduction of poverty since the reinstatement of the representative democracy in the early 1990s and that, in general terms, the political system works quite well, at present Michelle Bachelet's second term has not been particularly successful. In Argentina, Peronism was defeated in elections and Macri has returned to neoliberal policies. In Venezuela, the impasse between an opposition and a government that is characterised by being both particularly clumsy and ideologically motivated, is not solved.[11] In Brazil the right wing managed to overthrow Lula's PT legally during the second term of Dilma Rouseff, and the lack of effective political support for the defenestrated president seems to be caused by the disappointment of the popular

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[11]Even from the point of view of Marxist theory (which I don't share), in Venezuela there is no revolution given the fact that the capitalist mode of production has not been changed. Therefore, the capitalist social structure determines class struggle and the nature of a social opposition movement (which cannot be called 'fascist' or 'terrorist') that conveys the protest against a government with authoritarian tendencies. From my point of view democracy has not been deepened or radicalised in Venezuela and that situation opens the door for human rights violations. In consequence, the lack of participatory democracy is one of the main causes of the ideological polarisation that explains the political crisis in that country.

sector with the way the left-wing PT accommodated and negotiated with the economic elites, without deepening either democracy or implementing a sustainable model of development able to give permanent satisfaction to economic and social demands.[12] Therefore, the growth of the middle classes and the reduction of poverty promoted by Lula's social policies was not able to give the Brazilian ruling party a social majority support capable of mobilising the population to defend its leaders (a fact that could have been considered as particularly 'ungrateful' coming from the popular sector). My own explanation is that the lack of a social majoritarian support for progressive governments results from the fact that if democracy is not radicalised and the citizens are not able to participate in either the political process or the economic structural reforms needed to assure sustainable development, the delegitimisation of the system is inevitable, and the result is that the government lacks widespread social support.

From this point of view, Bolivia and Ecuador are the only countries that do not suffer from this kind of negative political panorama, and it is worth reading Boaventura de Sousa Santos's 2010 book on the refoundation of the State in both countries. Uruguay has also had a good democratic situation, and the 'Frente Amplio' has already won three presidential elections. In Central America, putting aside Costa Rica as an example of democratic development, in countries like Nicaragua (despite some positive improvements in citizens' security and in the social field) democracy is not precisely the main point of interest of President Daniel Ortega, and something like that can also be said about the rest of countries in that region.

We need to examine, briefly, what we might call 'alternatives' to resolve that tension or contradiction between the economic system (capitalism) and the political system (democracy) that we have been examining since the beginning of this text, because, obviously, when there are problems concerning democracy, those problems must be solved with more democracy, with its deepening or radicalisation – as we have seen – and therefore, as far as the democratic political system is concerned, there is no alternative to democracy. Therefore, we will present some economic alternatives at micro level (Richards 2016; Holloway 2005, 2015) because at the macro level of the world capitalist economy we have just seen the views of Varoufakis and Piketty.

16.3.3   The Solidarity-Based Social Economy

In the epilogue of his book, Richards' (2016) asks whether an economy of social solidarity can be considered as an alternative mode of production to capitalism. One question corresponds to the historicity of capitalism, since its origins are relatively

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[12]The social policies of conditional monetary transfers for poor people (as *bolsa escuola*) are not sustainable in the long term.

recent, going back only to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe. It is part of the market's ethical and legal framework in the Modern Age. Before that – as is very well known – in ancient times and the Middle Age's slavery and feudalism existed, not capitalism.

This presupposes that alternatives to capitalism in modern times, such as Richard's economy of social solidarity or even forms of pre-Columbian modes of production – like *sumak kawsay* or 'good living' from the pre-Columbian period – that were registered in the new constitutional norms of Ecuador and Bolivia as a result of the constitutional national assemblies in the years 2008 and 2009, can also be considered as alternatives to capitalism, coming from below the social scale not from above (government).

Richards (2016: 8) points out that, despite the ancient origins of the solidarity concept and that it is still a 'work in progress theory', with influences from various socio political disciplines and perspectives such as cooperativism, socialism, social-Christianism, ecology, fair trade and responsible consumption, education and food sovereignty (among others), its main feature is the idea of an economy controlled by the workers and not by the State or the capitalist elite: "We could summarise the great principles of solidarity economy in which it does not have a permanent and growing logic of profit and income; in the tendency to reinvest the benefits in better working conditions; a democratic management of the company; different ways of working, in which work and (the quality of) living are settled and respected for the environment, although this is a more recent orientation" (Richards 2016). He also adds that solidarity economy 'can restrain the obstacles to change that have thwarted the revolutions and reforms of the twentieth century and of the twenty-first century, because it includes elements of traditional wisdom that are not modern', remarking the fact that it constitutes an epistemological rupture in regard to modern science,[13] among other reasons, because one of its fundamental principles is to share the surplus. He refers to the ideas of Enrique Dussel for whom to overcome capitalism is to overcome modernity. It should be added that the incorporation of the principle of people's traditional wisdom can also be linked to the 'ecology of knowledge' of Boaventura de Sousa Santos.

> Likewise, the fact that the Catholic Church's social doctrine agrees fundamentally with these ideas of a social solidarity economy can be of great help in its diffusion and implantation, independently of the fact that its roots in our subcontinent go back to the pre-Columbian economies, where values of archaic societies such as 'brotherly solidarity' and everyone's right to feel appreciated as a 'child' at home…[means that] the

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[13]Richards says that for him the concept of 'epistemological rupture' (from the French term *coupure epistémologique* proposed by Gaston Bachelard and refering essentially to a rupture inside the theory of knowledge) is a useful comparison with Thomas Kuhn's term of 'paradigmatic change' (2012) because 'a paradigm is always a concrete example of what science is (and should be) according to a particular scientific community.' For Richards – on the contrary – an economy of social solidarity is not a concrete example but 'An invitation to exercise an infinite creativity in the improvement of a great variety of material practices.'

incorporation of archaic norms in the ESS gives ground to another epistemology, another way of doing science, but it does not mean giving up science and embracing superstition (Sousa Santos 2009b: 7).

So it is interesting to see how the principles of an economy of social solidarity (as presented by Richards) coincide with the views of Boaventura de Sousa Santos. Even with regard to such technical and sophisticated approaches as those of Yanis Varoufakis, which have already been discussed, about the mechanism for recycling surpluses, which for him is the key criterion for establishing whether capitalism is going to collapse in the future or can be sustainable. It is obvious that the social solidarity model suggests that this principle addressed to 'recycle surplus' can work at local and community level. In that sense solidarity essentially means that the surplus of capital must be shared within the community, not accumulated for the owners' personal benefit: to become a rentier is neither useful for capital nor for society, as we have seen in Piketty's book. Therefore, for Richards, the social economy of solidarity is a confluence of doctrines of traditional ethics with modern economic sciences such as Ricardian rents, surplus value theory, rent-seeking without social function (Thomas Piketty) and the Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz among others, Alfred Marshall's quasi-rent and rent situation theories, and even the copper revenues in Chile, studied by the former Economy Minister Jorge Leiva.

16.3.4   John Holloway

With the title *Changing the World Without Taking Power: The Meaning of the Revolution Today*, the Irish professor – resident in Mexico – Holloway (2005) published a book in which it is argued that the left-wing struggle against capitalism has failed in both its revolutionary and reformist aspects throughout this century and a half of political struggles, due to an erroneous conception of power and of the supposedly 'instrumental' nature of the state. Indeed, for Holloway – and this was already stated in the 1980s by Claude Lefort in France (1981, 1986) – the State is a nodal point of power relations and therefore of class struggle, but it cannot, and should not, be considered as an 'instrument' or as a kind of tool that, once the power has been conquered – by electoral or revolutionary means – puts itself at the service of the party, party coalition or revolutionary movement that constitutes the leading vanguard of the working class according to orthodox doctrine. According to Holloway:

> The state paradigm, that is to say the assumption that controlling state power is central to radical change, dominated not just theory but also the revolutionary experience throughout most of the twentieth century – and not only experience of the Soviet Union and China, but also the numerous national liberation and guerrilla movements of the 1960s and 1970s. If the state paradigm was the vehicle of hope for much of the century, it became more and more the killer of that hope as the century progressed. The apparent impossibility of revolution at the beginning of the twenty-first century reflects in reality the historical failure of a particular concept of revolution, the concept that identified revolution with control of the state. Both approaches, the 'reformist' and the 'revolutionary', have completely failed to

live up to the expectations of their enthusiastic supporters. 'Communist' governments in the Soviet Union, China and elsewhere may have increased levels of material security and decreased social inequalities in the territories of the states which they controlled, at least temporarily, but they did little to create a self-determined society or to promote the reign of freedom which has always been central to the communist aspiration. In the case of social-democratic or reformist governments, the record is not better: although increases in material security have been achieved in some cases, their record in practice has differed very little from that of overtly pro-capitalism governments, and most social democratic parties have long since abandoned any pretension to be the bearers of radical social reform (Holloway 2005: 16).

Although Holloway (2005) lacks an alternative proposal to capitalism, such as Richards social solidarity economy, his sympathies for the Zapatista movement and the fact of being an University of Puebla professor have led him to present some ideas about what he means by 'change the world without taking the power'. For example, in an interview of the magazine *Herramienta*, questioned about the paths of rupture with capitalism, he answered:

The question of rupture is dominant. We want to break with the logic of capitalism. And we want to do it in thousands of different ways. We will create spaces where we will not reproduce the logic of capital, where we will do something else, have other types of relationships, develop activities that make sense to us. So the problem of the question of revolution, rather to be how we seize power, is: how do we put an end to the logic of capital? For me, the most obvious example is the one of the Zapatistas. From the moment you cross into its territory there is a sign that reads 'Here the people rule and the government obeys'. It is about creating a space with another logic. But if we begin to think about it, we will see that it is not only the Zapatistas, also the community radios, social centres, communities or autonomous municipalities; a series of ruptures that are not necessarily territorial, it can also refer to activities, like the student protests against the introduction of market logic in education or it may also occur in the relationship between husband and wife, or with children, [we must] treat love as an attempt to create a relationship in which the capitalist logic of profit and merchandise is not accepted. The only way to think of revolution is in terms of those moments that can be conceived as breakdown in capitalist domination. The only way to think of revolution is in terms of creation, multiplication and expansion of these breakdowns, because they move, they are dynamic. And this answer is also a question, because there are many problems to solve (Holloway et al. 2015).

And when the interviewer insists on the movement result after so many years of existence and struggle, he responded:

It is clear that the Zapatista uprising changed the world. It changed the world for us who live in Mexico, but also for left-wing people around the world. First, simply because they rose when there seemed to be no more room to rise, but also by rethinking the whole question of the meaning of the revolution, and it seems to me that there is a change in Zapatista subjectivity after 2001 because after the San Andrés accords, in 1996, the campaign and the Zapatista movement aimed at the acceptance and implementation of these agreements, and after 2001, the 'Earth Colour March', after they came to Mexico City and made it clear that the Government was not going to implement the agreements (Holloway et al. 2015), they said, after a silence:

We are going to be the ones who are going to do it. It seems to me that there is a very important change, because they leave behind the policy of demands to the government. Since 2001 they say, we will not ask for anything, we will not demand anything, it does not

make sense to demand anything from the government, we learned that, we are the ones that are going to make the changes, then we will take responsibility, we are going to implement our own system of education, health, etc. That means a rethinking of the Zapatista movement, in the way I understand it: the centre are no longer the commanders but it is in the communities, because they are implementing these changes. And that creates the (false) impression that they are not really doing much, but in fact they are simply doing it, they are no longer demanding it, they are no longer issuing communiqués as before. But it seems to me that, at the same time, the actual process of transformation is quite profound, with all the difficulties of the world. The 'Other Campaign' seeks to stimulate a confluence of many movements in Mexico, it seems to me that the idea was excellent and has had a little success, although not as much as we wanted (Holloway et al. 2015).

Consequently, it is evident that Holloway also has points of contact with Boaventura de Sousa Santos, not only because of his proximity to the social movements (in his case of Chiapa's Zapatistas), but also because of this idea of changing the world without taking power and the rejection of the idea of a party as a leader of the revolution that Sousa Santos presents as a 'Rearguard Theory' in which intellectuals accompany the movement and think 'with' social leaders not 'about' them. The experiences that come from these dialogues with popular leaders are the ones that feed the theoretical formulations, not the opposite.

16.4 Conclusions

I have argued that human rights, especially economic and social rights, require a radicalisation of democracy in order to be implemented in an effective way, which means that they must also be required for the implementation of policies of sustainable development and the fulfilment of its goals as defined by the UN. In order to better understand what we should understand by radical democracy, I referred to the theoretical approaches of thinkers such as Habermas (1989a, b), Adela Cortina (2012) and Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2009a, b, 2010, 2014, 2016) and expressed my agreement with the ideas of communicative action (Habermas); ecology of knowledge and counter hegemonic globalisation (Santos) and also with Cortina's ideas about how to put into practice both applied ethics and radical democracy. This last concept seems to be comparable to Sousa Santos's democratic deepening, because for him the increase of participation and of the indigenous people's communitarian democracy may imply the deepening of it. However, it is important to bear in mind that these types of democracy are not destined to replace the classical representative democracy, which must be preserved and purified – to clean it from corruption – and reformed – to guarantee better representatives coming from the electoral processes.

I also discussed the problem of the tensions and contradiction between democracy and capitalism as posed by Habermas, because I consider it a fundamental issue in solving the problem of social policies that must be implemented to satisfy popular demands in the fields of employment, education health or poverty alleviation in developing countries. A brief review of the widespread application of

economic policies based on neoliberal ideology (the so-called 'Washington Consensus') that has affected both the 'welfare state' in developed countries, as well as the processes of human and sustainable development in developing countries, demonstrates that these policies of so-called structural adjustment, liberalisation and privatisation of public goods have had a negative impact on social investment and social welfare.

Consequently, and concerning the question of how to solve the tensions and contradictions between capitalism and democracy (or between the economic system and political system) I argue that changes in the economic system must be carried out if nations are really committed to the fulfilment of economic, social and cultural rights (that are closely linked to the UN's sustainable development goals of the agenda 2030). I argue that the democratic political system must be reformed through the deepening of democracy, according to the views of Sousa Santos, which includes involving citizens in the practice of various forms of political participation, including those that are orientated towards the full satisfaction of second generation human rights (economic, cultural and social). This last point led me to ask whether it is possible to do this in the framework of a reformed capitalism or whether we need to develop an alternative economic model.

The question of reform of capitalism led to a description of the crises of capitalism as exposed by the former Greek Finance Minister Yanis Varoufakis, who argues that it is indispensable to establish a *global surplus recycling mechanism* to solve the financial crisis provoked in 2008 by Wall Street, which subsequently spread to Europe severely affecting countries like Greece, Spain, Portugal and Ireland. Unfortunately, such a mechanism has not yet been put in place, and in the short term there is no possibility that it will be feasible to design something like Varoufakis's proposal, especially after the departure of the UK from the EU and the arrival of Donald Trump in the White House (it proposes a redistribution of the world surplus to the benefit of poor countries, a proposal that for sure would never be accepted by an American president elected under the slogan of 'America First').

For Piketty (2013), the fundamental problem of capitalism lies in the tendency towards the concentration of capital gains above growth rates and in the excessive increase in inequality in the distribution of wealth to which this gives rise, as well as to the increase the rentier situation of the rich classes that hinders innovation and the development of entrepreneurial habits. For Piketty (2013), the reform of the capitalist system – in order to reduce the concentration of wealth and redistribute it throughout public spending – should be done through a new tax on big amounts of capital. But this new tax, to be successful, would need to be applied globally through regional integration organisations – such as the European Union – which is a difficult decision to carry out, given the growing animosity towards integration processes, as evidenced by *Brexit* and the equally worrying increase in the populist nationalist ideology that conveys attitudes of racism and xenophobia as a reaction to the wave of war refugees spreading in Europe and the flow of economic Latin American migrants to the United States.

Finally, a brief reference to the prevailing conditions in some Latin American countries allows us to conclude that, from the point of view of a radical democracy

(and human rights) and with the exception of countries such as Ecuador and Bolivia, where there have been processes of constitutional reform with broad participation of the indigenous population, or Chile and Uruguay, where representative democracy and the social policies of their respective governments function relatively well, the political panorama for the rest of the subcontinent is rather gloomy.

In such circumstances, the question of an alternative economic model with the possibilities to go beyond the reform of capitalism is fundamental, and it explains my reference to Howard Richards' theory of an economy with contents of 'social solidarity' as well as John Holloway's ideas about the empowerment of civil society (or indigenous communities) as the true actors of future social and political substantial changes, and the perspectives of Boaventura de Sousa Santos about ecology of knowledge and counter-hegemonic globalisation as a mean to promote a self-reliant new type of social development.

My final reflection led me to underline the fact that, although human rights are closely related to political democracy as a system of government, capitalism is not linked in the same way with the political system, which is the reason why, in order to overcome that contradiction, representative democracy must be reformed and deepened through its transformation into a participatory democracy in such a way that the empowerment of citizens and the organisations of civil society could promote not only an economy based on social solidarity but also find appropriate mechanisms for the redistribution of wealth in order to reduce social inequalities on a world scale by means of the *global surplus recycling mechanism* (Varoufakis) or the taxes on big capital (Piketty) that could initiate the transnational civil society movement indispensable to overcome the crisis in which our world is living.

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Chapter 17
Education for Peace, Gender Equality and Good Treatment

Maribel Rios Everardo

17.1 Introduction

The effective practice of gender equality, nonviolence, the encouragement of positive bonds by means of good treatment at school in general and basic education in particular, are actions which must be promoted by authorities, teachers and parents in Mexico, and particularly in the state of Morelos. This is unavoidable because, in the present situation, we need positive, creative and concerted acts to face the problems of violence and mistreatment in the school community.

We understand good treatment as the relationship with self, other people and the environment, promoting a feeling of self-knowledge, apart from mutual recognition and appreciation, by means of fair, egalitarian and respectful interactions, generating well-being, listening, communication, satisfaction and self-esteem among those who interact according to this form of rapport (Fina Sanz 2016).

The 'good treatment pact' arose in 1996 as an alliance established between the Associación Afecto, the Restrepo Barco Foundation, the Rafael Pombo Foundation and the El Tiempo publishing house. These Colombian institutions share the aim of mobilising and concentrating interest on good treatment between men and women, women and men, adults toward children, and particularly of spreading the spirit of togetherness within an environment of coexistence and tolerance; in other words, a culture of 'good treatment' (Restrepo Foundation 2000).

This paper rejects information obtained in workshops and by means of polls, concerning the relationships that occur within some schools during the teaching-learning process, and during socialisation between teachers and pupils, which enables us to understand the present dynamics and state some recommendations

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which could facilitate new relationships predicated on peace, equality and good treatment.

We propose, therefore, to recover some daily experiences in the classroom, in some public schools in the state of Morelos. We focus particularly on those conditions that enable us to detect positive school cultures, which can foster social representations of good treatment in both teachers and students, thus generating links of cooperation, solidarity, equality, creativity, construction and acquisition of knowledge, as well as autonomy, respect and acceptance of self and others at school.

The study of equality in education as part of our research included the analysis of gender issues and meanings in the study of the context, on the basis of the relationships built at school between teachers and students.

The aim is to discuss with educators those teaching-learning processes which are more harmonious, fair and enriching for the social group, and which are reflected in the construction of citizens who are, at once, aware of and respectful towards themselves, other people and the community in which they live and develop.

We define representations as the beliefs and knowledge emanating from common sense, opinions generated and shared by a social group which serve a practical end and which influence the behaviour of subjects (Guimelli 1994; Arruda 2010).

17.2 Objective and Gender Equality

To approach the issue of peace and gender equality in this study implied the recovery from daily experience of those conditions which enabled us to detect positive practices in school, which generate social representations of good treatment among the school community which, in turn, encourage and favour bonds of cooperation, solidarity, creativity, construction and acquisition of knowledge, autonomy, respect, liberty and the acceptance of self and other at school. This is to say, generate construction, practice and culture that seek the recognition of the plurality and diversity of society, a virtuous circle which stimulates and feeds harmony in the classroom.

Gender equality in education is predicated on listening to those who think differently and opening the possibility for dialogue; seeking to understand the adversary instead of defeating him/her. A culture of peace and good treatment can only be based on values of respect, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, fairness and equality between genders.

Violence affects the school environment in a special way; damage to relationships within the same gender, or between genders, impairs the quality of teaching-learning as well as school performance; a violent atmosphere worsens the perception students have of their of their physical milieu, of the gender relationships at school and in the family, apart from the whole teaching institution.

School violence is the product of deliberate and systematic acts which result in damage or threats of damage. From this point of view, violent behaviours within

school are not restricted to events of physical violence, but rather an abuse of power on the part of stronger individuals against weaker ones. This sort of abuse can be verbal, or it can also result from exclusion or discrimination of an individual or a group from the daily activities of the school community (Smith 2004; Mingo 2010).

Nowadays, in Mexico, we are aware that there is considerable progress in terms of access to school within the educational modernisation programme at preschool and primary levels, and parity between boys and girls has been achieved on a national scale. According to information furnished by the *National Institute for the Assessment of Education* (INEE), indicators from 2012 show that there were 2,377,059 boys and 2,320,486 girls in basic education; the situation in the state of Morelos was similar: 34,814 boys and 33,559 girls in basic education; but, strictly speaking, gender equality has not yet been totally achieved. Similarly, there is a long way to go in the eradication of other discriminatory practices, which are becoming more deeply-rooted every day.

From the point of view of gender, it has been observed that social organisation – as viewed through schools – defines generic roles in two spheres: one by means of the curriculum; the other in the interactions generated as part of the teaching-learning process and its accompanying socialisation. There are still sexist practices in learning institutions, which have been related with the transmission of a patriarchal ideology that underpins power and defines the social prestige of the masculine over the feminine (Rios 2010).

In appearance, school curricula are the same for boys and girls; however, a closer examination shows apparently common contents which, however, reproduce mechanisms of inequality, discrimination and violence against women; in education this is known as the hidden curriculum.

Apple (1986), Young (1988) and Eggleston (1980), classic authors in the study of curricula, point out that this hidden curriculum becomes explicit and expresses a type of knowledge which is socially and culturally built and organised. They insist on the importance of asking who decides – consciously or unconsciously – the contents of a curriculum. Who defines and legitimises certain items of knowledge and practice, presented as valid for the whole school institution and for both genders?

An analysis of a curriculum, therefore, must explain how knowledge is stratified and organised, and – by means of the hidden curriculum – what criteria are used to do this. The notion of curriculum implies analysing both the explicit curriculum and the hidden one.

Current interpretation points out that, in general, the distribution and organisation of knowledge in a curriculum is related to the dominant power and values in a given society. This way, the curriculum determines accessibility or restriction of certain items of knowledge considered to be of a superior level. Thus, it defines the field of application and the degree of specialisation of the different areas of knowledge to which the various social groups should have access. It can hardly be a coincidence that certain groups, for example, do not have access to determined items of knowledge for political or ideological reasons. These discriminations are

justified frequently by individual aptitudes, when in reality they are the product of social selection, to which we can also add selection by gender.

The curriculum establishes which contents are available for girls and which for boys, according to social class, prestige, or even brandishing physical or biological arguments, which only serve to mask the true political and ideological interests of an unequal, classist and patriarchal society, based on power and relationships of dominance-submission.

The distribution of knowledge is part of the cultures which are being developed. There are not only curricula for students of different ages, sexes and social classes, but for those to whom an authority ascribes differences in capacity, inclination and tendency to use knowledge. Thus, the curriculum is the instrument that internalises future roles. The curriculum presents experiences which anticipate the adult roles that boys and girls are expected to take on, including the acceptance of differences, and lead them to accept – by means of the internalisation of values – that these distinctions are legitimate within society (Rios 2013).

For a long time, women were excluded from mathematics, as well as from college level studies in general, and they were denied access to all studies of a scientific nature, which were considered suitable only for men (Ursini 2013).

Nowadays, the exclusion and discrimination mechanisms that affect women at school no longer involve access to the system. They are now centred on more subtle features, such as:

(1) Sexist contents in school texts.
(2) Relationships with teachers and/or peers that reproduce stereotyped roles and conceptions which place women at a disadvantage.
(3) Behavioural aspects, involving school activities, which – due to the gender specific social training received by girls emphasising psychomotor passiveness – place women at a disadvantage in activities that require greater hands-on practice, audacity, manual ability and skills, such as the experimental sciences.
(4) The use of social languages from which women are excluded because issues are defined in masculine terms.

Thus, gender studies in education have shown that oppression and subordination are not biologically determined, but are a social construction; it is necessary to exhibit, from a perspective of gender, how these social representations of gender are manufactured. We also need to get to the bottom of why sexual differences in diverse cultures have assigned hierarchical and unequal social roles which encourage gender inequality and violence between sexes, principally to the detriment of women.

> All representation is a form of global and unitary vision of an object, but also of a subject. This representation structures reality in a way that enables an integration of the objective traits of an object, and the previous experiences of the subject and his/her systems of rules and attitudes. This enables us to define a representation as a functional vision of the world

that allows an individual or a group to bestow meaning to his/her/their behaviours and understand reality according to his/her own system of reference, thus adapting and defining a place for him/herself (Abric 2001: 12–13).

Of course, social representations are constructed in social interaction, and two institutions play a primary role in the generation of these patterns, as well as the identity of individuals: family and school.

The teaching-learning process in the classroom is established on the basis of two forms: (a) vertical, from teachers to students, that implicitly conveys certain conditions as a mediator on the part of the teacher, as well as a degree of control and power, due to his/her age, knowledge, experience, and to the very function he/she fulfils, which is legitimised by the institution he/she works for; and (b) horizontal, between girls and boys, boys and boys, girls and girls; in theory, these interactions are symmetrical, and should enable the development of cooperation. However, they depend on the activities which are prioritised in the classroom, which could encourage the development of competition and individualism; similarly, in the daily process of living together, differences might be established which could function as mechanisms of exclusion and discrimination, according to sex, colour of skin, social class and/or ethnic group.

In the classroom, vertical and horizontal relationships are usually established simultaneously. Thus, in a classroom situation, while the teacher develops a lesson, he/she can address a student or a group of students, or maybe the whole class, and at the same time it is possible that other students are interacting among themselves. So we observe different types of interaction which can be analysed according to various theories; for example, Vygotsky considers interactions as a fundamental element in cognitive development, regarding them as a means by which children develop, surrounded by individuals who are defter in the use of intellectual instruments and practices which are essential to their culture (Hernandez 2011).

Accordingly, the teacher acts as a mediator of knowledge and of the ways in which students appropriate that knowledge, as well as the links between them which are encouraged by the teaching-learning relationship. These links can be described as falling into four basic categories: (a) cooperative, (b) competitive, (c) individualist, and (d) dependent.

When we talk about cooperative learning we imply the existence of a group that learns. Group means "a collection of individuals who interact and exert reciprocal influence on each other" (Schmuck/Schmuck 2001: 29). By reciprocal influence we mean the kind of interaction in which language, images, non-verbal expressions, and codes common to the participating individuals are exchanged or can influence behaviour, knowledge, opinions, beliefs and values of others, with the aim of creating autonomous but connected people.

A competitive relationship is still popular today, notwithstanding all the criticism it has received, as it considers each pupil independently from the rest of the group; students are compared with the others, classified or 'labelled', from the best to the worst. Competition implies a constant search for opportunities to stand out. The

individualist relationship strives to reach objectives, departing from the individual's skills and efforts, with little concern for the rest of the group.

The dependent relationship – the model of which is the intergenerational pattern of parents and children, teachers and pupils – is the one most used in the teaching-learning process, in which the teacher decides the contents, defines territories, rules and roles related to the process; these decisions are accepted passively by the pupils.

These competitive, dependent, individualist or cooperative links develop in educational institutions, usually prioritising one of them. Constructivist proposals work principally on cooperation. And it is precisely through cooperation that we can develop an environment of nonviolence, good treatment and peace in the classroom.

Educate for nonviolence and good treatment is not a task that can be undertaken in isolation, nor with a passive attitude; as Bobbio has pointed out, it requires the conscious will of the people to resolve conflicts; it requires a permanent and constructive labour, involving individual and collective responsibility, to create the conditions for a better present and future for all people. The challenge is daunting and violence is still an unfortunate reality in both families and schools. However, when the players involved become aware, when they implement the resolution of conflicts, and lay the groundwork for good treatment, they will have found tools for the construction of peace and harmony in schools.

17.3   Method

The method applied was qualitative, based on participating observation, with selection of key informants. We organised eighteen workshops in 2014, and applied a poll to teachers, school authorities and technical staff. For this poll we circulated ninety-four questionnaires, and the results obtained will be discussed in this paper.

Participants: of the ninety-four individuals who responded to the questionnaires, 25 per cent were authorities and pedagogic technicians, and 75 per cent were teachers at preschool and primary level institutions.

Instruments and materials: The questionnaire is divided into two sections:

Section I: General data on participants, such as gender, age, job, teaching level (grade), etc.

Section II: 1. What does gender equality in school and the classroom mean to you as a mainstay for the improvement of the teaching-learning process? 2. How would you encourage gender equality in school and in the classroom as a mainstay for the improvement of the teaching-learning process?

The questionnaire contains open and closed variables, and each one was administered according to its degree of specificity.

Procedure: The research was undertaken in two phases. In the first phase we applied the questionnaires and processed the data with SPSS, validating the database, elaborating SINTAX, and finally obtaining descriptive statistics.

As we were dealing with qualitative questions, we followed the tabulation procedure for open questions (Hernandez et al. 2000), which were presented in a database in which we captured the codes.

The theories that underpin the work are: reunion therapy, nonviolence theory, constructivist theory, critical theory, and social representations theory; all these have been analysed from the point of view of gender.

17.4 Results

Applying the questionnaires, we were able to detect social representations associated with equality in education among teachers, authorities and administrative staff at preschool and primary levels, which were used as analytical categories in the investigation and were the bases for the information we used later – towards the end of 2016 – in a primary intervention with psychology students from the *Morelos State Autonomous University* (UAEM) in a primary school, and with students from the National Pedagogic University. We cannot report on this work because we are still processing the information.

Tables 17.1 and 17.2 enabled us to know which representations are more frequent, and consequently we believe they are more important for teachers' approach to the issues of gender equality and nonviolence.

Table 17.1 General results

What gender equality means to me	Frequency	Per cent
Work with values	114	39.9
Encourage equality and nonviolence in schools	48	16.7
Apply the concept of equality	44	15.4
Encourage nonviolence in families	20	7.0
Develop interaction and communication in school	19	6.6
Work on the teaching-learning process	11	3.8
Existing social violence	4	1.4
Did not respond	26	9.1
Total	286	100

Source The author

Table 17.2 Processes to achieve equality and nonviolence

How would you encourage equality	Frequency	Per cent
Working on values. We are all equal. Nobody is better than the others. With respect. Accepting others	139	48.6
Undertaking work linking school-family-parents	39	13.6
Initiating teachers-pupils work	24	8.4
Encouraging communication	23	8.1
Instructing teachers. Respectful treatment for all. Listening attentively and respecting human rights	18	6.3
Involving all participants in the schooling process	15	5.3
Proposing diverse recreation activities in the classroom involving entire groups	14	4.9
Promoting a favourable atmosphere for the t − l process Setting examples. Empathy equals comprehension	11	3.8
Showing affection for the children. Make my own day and that of others more pleasant, treat others as I would like to be treated. Give thanks with a smile	3	1.0
Total	**286**	**100**

Source The author

Table 17.1 shows general results and identifies *working with values* as the most important action, with 39.9 per cent. The second most important response was represented by the second (16.7 per cent) and third (15.4 per cent) answers, which are related, as they referred to *the theoretical and practical application of nonviolence*, articulated equality. The fourth answer, concerning nonviolence in the family (7.0 per cent), stresses the importance of the family in the formation of individuals committed to nonviolence. *Communication* received 6.6 per cent of mentions, *work on the teaching-learning process* got 3.8 per cent, and *social violence* 1.4 per cent, showing that teachers still do not link this factor to the teaching-learning process. Although the percentage is minor, it is important that it should be recognised as an element which favours nonviolence in schools.

The poll expressed in Table 17.2 informs on methods proposed by teachers, authorities and administrative staff to promote nonviolence as a way to improve the teaching-learning process. The most frequently mentioned proposal was *working on values*, with 48.6 per cent of mentions, thus coinciding with the top item in Table 17.1, indicating that teachers perceive theoretical and practical work on values as necessary for the promotion of nonviolence; respect is mentioned simply as a value. In second place we observe the *involvement of parents* in the activities of the school, with 13.6 per cent of mentions, from which we can infer that respondents recognise that nonviolence in the family is important for better development of the teaching-learning process. In third place, 8.4 per cent of respondents

recognise the work undertaken by teachers in the development of nonviolence, as well as assigning at least part of the responsibility to students. The following answers can be articulated, as *encouraging communication* (8.1 per cent), *involving all participants in the schooling process* (5.3 per cent), and *the need for recreational situations and activities* (4.9 per cent) are necessary conditions for *promoting a favourable atmosphere* (3.8 per cent) and the *expression of affection* towards boys and girls (1 per cent). The importance and need for training teachers concerning issues of human rights is also recognised (6.2 per cent).

Concerning the opinions of teachers on the measures proposed by colleagues, authorities and administrative staff to promote nonviolence, and how to improve the teaching learning process, we observe considerable coherence in the first three answers with more mentions; these emphasise the importance of working with values, involving school, family and parents in the work of teachers and students.

17.5   Discussion

The creation of a climate of nonviolence and equality requires the incorporation, as part of the values programme, of a more closely personal experience with teachers – as was the case of the tasks undertaken in the workshops – which enables them to reflect upon, experience and appropriate the associated value problems, such as equality, respect, tolerance, good treatment, emotional education and nonviolence in the resolution of conflicts. But, as they pointed out, this would benefit from a greater number of hours. It also requires the application of resolution of conflicts and nonviolence methods, which implies confronting the pupil, facing the individual with his/her wrongdoing or impropriety, triggering a reflection on him/herself, and trying when possible to repair the damage done as soon as it happens, in such a way that ethical behaviour is associated with action. It must be highlighted that this must be a permanent and everyday project in the classroom; not only a unit in the curriculum, as it is approached at present; it can be undertaken in various ways, according to the institutional context in each school, thus necessitating that the entire body of teachers should analyse it and put it into practice. They will adapt it to the particular dynamics of their school, defining which would be best actions and methods, and at the same designing precautions that prevent girls and boys being placed in situations of inequality, humiliation, ridicule or discrimination.

We require a commitment from all those who participate in the educational process – authorities, teachers, students, parents and families – designed to create a culture of equality, good treatment, emotional education, nonviolence, peace and harmony. And, in addition, lay the groundwork for an emotional atmosphere based on listening, communication, respect and calm, so that the student body can take greater advantage of the teaching-learning process in class.

Clarity is necessary in the interpretation of norms, and flexibility in their application, as they define the rights and obligations of all the participants in the educational process. Pedagogic interventions based on participation, reflection, dialogue and responsibility are the conditions which offer the best prophylactic and therapeutic measures to achieve an environment of gender equality, good treatment and peace.

As a precondition for any work in favour of equality, it is important to instil the need to integrate mixed groups in the classroom, as well as stimulating cooperative work between boys and girls, and to abandon competitions between the sexes which only deepen inequality in the classroom. This entails the stimulation of an inclusive language, both for boys and girls, as well as control over emotions.

All this implies the involvement of the entire educational community, taking special care to improve the relationship between teachers and authorities, as well as increase the listening and good treatment capacity vis-à-vis their students and parents.

It is appropriate to keep open all possibilities of reflection and joint participation within the school community concerning the everyday problems which constantly arise.

When making a quick and reliable diagnosis of the problems and their circumstances, it is important to review carefully the factors that generate conflicts, as well as to identify nonviolent solutions to them.

The encouragement of pedagogic action in support of nonviolent resolution of conflicts, gender equality, good treatment and emotional education are all positive contributions towards peace.

When we undertake the training of teachers in matters of values, such as gender equality, good treatment, emotional education, and nonviolent resolution of conflicts, in such a way that teachers can reflect experientially, these topics can be approached in the classroom in a harmonious context.

Finally, we attempt to retrieve and validate some of the practices already adopted in some schools, with the aim of making them known and promoting their application in the classrooms of schools in the state of Morelos.

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Chapter 18
Social and Educational Effects of School Violence in a Public Secondary School in Morelos

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18.1 Introduction

As teachers and researchers we continually and increasingly face demands from basic and secondary education teachers in bachelor and postgraduate studies at the *National Pedagogic University* (UPN) about how to approach and what to do with conflicting relationships, especially among peers. So, we have developed a line of generation and application of knowledge on the subject of *school violence and cooperation pedagogy*, simultaneously with our counselling of theses and our teaching work. In this context we have given an extracurricular course on this topic in a secondary school in one of the areas of greatest insecurity in the state of Morelos in 2016. During this training process we have developed a research protocol with the participation of teachers, students and other members of the educational community concerning the forms of violence that are experienced or expressed in this school, and some of the social and educational effects emerging from them. At the same time we developed an intervention process with the teachers involving 'counselling among peers', which contributed to lower the levels of stress and diminished dropout and educational delay. In this paper we describe some of the results of this experience, and propose a study that would enable the construction of a better social and educational environment.

From the perspective of research for peace (Jimenez 2012), this study examines two angles: violence and peace. It doesn't conceal acts of violence or the links between different types of social and school violence and their effects on the school actors, but it stresses the potential of teachers and students to develop proposals for building peace that employ egalitarian and solidary forms of personal relationships.

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Due to the general situation of violence in this country (Fracchia et al. 2013) "the concern about the problem of different types of violence expressed in school should surprise nobody, given the various forms in which war is being expressed in the entire national territory involving both organised crime and the state, with the aim of achieving control of drug trafficking. Mexican society is the principal victim of this situation which has already accumulated an alarming human cost" (Bourbaki 2011).

This transforms Mexico into one of the most violent and vulnerable territories in the world, together with the ever worsening economic crisis, the growing volume of informal labour vis-à-vis formal work, and the exponential increase of unemployment. The breakdown of those state institutions which should exert a monopoly of physical and symbolic violence is reflected in all ambits, including education. To this we must add that, according to the Citizen's Council for Public Safety and Penal Justice, in 2014 the state of Morelos was the most violent entity in the country, and Cuernavaca was the foremost county in terms of violence.

18.2   Theoretical and Research Background of this Study

We build upon the supposition that existing social relationships in the school environment are part of a greater social weave that involves the relationships of each participant in the various spaces of their everyday life (Elias 1990).

In this sense, Galtung's vision of violence and peace (1985) is pertinent to the situations we observed in the context we studied, because it links these concepts and includes aspects such as needs, rights and social justice. According to this author, peace has two faces: absence of personal violence (negative peace) and absence of structural violence (positive peace).

For Galtung (1985) violence is present when, in their effective somatic and mental accomplishments, human beings fulfil less than their potential. This situation is widespread in our country and is part of school violence, but generally it is concealed.

When poverty, discrimination and exclusion are not recognised as violence, we move into a territory in which structural and symbolic violence become linked. Jimenez (2012) identifies points of contact between both. Structural violence is covered up by a mesh of unfair structures in such a way that the victim does not perceive it as such, because it is mediated by cultural and/or symbolic violence that render it unrecognisable.

Various researchers have shown us the way in which school practices influence inequality and cultural exclusion. Some of these mechanisms, referred to by Poujol (2016), show the decisive influence exerted by them on the manner of learning and other factors such as the cultural chasm between the life of young people and school, the contents and forms of everyday work, the arbitrariness of the rules, the rupture between the juvenile world and school life, the normalisation of mistreatment and violence, the minimal space left for affection, and participation by the students. These are only some of the forms that favour symbolic production of

violent social behaviour in the school environment (Di Napoli 2009), which is a grave situation because violence determines subjectivities.

Both structural and symbolic violence play an important part in school violence, but there is no mechanical correlation between them; we share Kaplan's vision (2009) which proposes that school has a potential role in mediating alternative types of relationships between students and other members of the school community, aimed at solidarity, cooperation and social responsibility.

18.3   Methodological Perspective

Let us consider that some of the ethical, political, and methodological guidelines of research based on participative action (Streck/Jara 2015) are pertinent to this study. One of them comprises the conjunction of three elements: research, action and participation. In participation and reflection, the participants appropriate what is collected; in this process researchers are generators and subjects of knowledge.

Research-participative action leads us to a paradigm of science open to the process, the context, the knowledge of everyday life and reflection-action; it can be described as a form of decolonising knowledge that produces practical intelligence which can be applied beyond a single specific situation, becoming an instrument for future discovery.

We chose a mixed methodology (Onwuegbuzie/Leech 2006), and worked with quantitative and qualitative data, seeking better comprehension of the phenomenon under study and an approach to its complexity.

As part of the quantitative method we designed two questionnaires, one applied to 429 students of three grades in morning and afternoon shifts, and another to fifty-one teachers; both explore acts of violence in different social school environments, as well as the effect of these acts on the respondent; these data are still being processed. The data were downloaded, organised and analysed by means of the SPSS statistical program.

The qualitative method was based on the entries obtained during the extracurricular course, by means of the exercises applied to the thirty-five participating teachers, and to more than fifty educators who were members of two technical councils. Apart from the reflections on literature related to this problem, we also considered the exercises they had applied to their students during the process of 'counselling by peers' and their reflections about them. The data obtained were aimed at exploring the characteristics of school interactions and the general atmosphere, and the experiences of teachers and students both at the time of the diagnosis and during the educational intervention.

The secondary school we selected is in one of the areas with the highest insecurity index in Morelos. Brawls between gangs are frequent in this district; in recent years this rivalry was expressed within the school, and the institution called in the police to guarantee the safety of students and teachers when they left the establishment.

18.4   The Diagnostic and Educational Intervention
Processes at the Secondary School

The questionnaires, which asked about acts of violence identified by teachers and students in different neighbourhoods, in their families (only in the case of students), in school and in the classroom, as well their effects, have enabled us to become familiar with the network of violence in everyday interaction, according to the perception of those directly involved.

The issue of whether students and teachers at the school we studied recognise acts of violence in their everyday environment was based on the supposition of 'the normalisation of violence'. This was widespread among authorities and teachers, though they didn't expect the students to recognise these acts. One of the unexpected results of this research was that, for the majority of the students, acts of violence do exist, and are identified with total clarity in each of the environments considered: in the neighbourhood, in the family, in the school, and in the classroom.

The great majority of teachers and students describe the school as the place where the greatest degree of violence is expressed, then the neighbourhood, the classroom and, finally, the family (students only). The difference we observed between students and teachers was in the intensity of the response. The existence of violent acts at school is noted by nearly nine of every ten students and all the teachers; in the neighbourhood, however, it is the teachers rather than the students who point out these acts, while in the classroom (even when both groups claim it is a venue of less violence than the rest of the school), more students than teachers mention it: seven out of ten students against almost six out of ten teachers.

Concerning the effects that this violence exerts upon them, both groups consider they have not been affected, although those who have been direct victims of violent acts, or have witnessed such acts against members of their family, friends or acquaintances, recognise their effect.

18.5   The Principal Acts of Violence and Their Effects
on Secondary Students and Teachers According
to Their Everyday Environment

In residential neighbourhoods where teachers live. The most reported act of violence was burglary, especially in the home, which has directly affected half the responders. They also mention murders, kidnappings, brawls, and drug retailing, which have affected them directly, generating fear and even terror of leaving or returning to their neighbourhood or their home. They lack peace, they have lost confidence in people, and uncertainty about life has increased, 'because we are all at risk'.

In residential neighbourhoods where students live. According to students, besides the violent acts mentioned by teachers, rape is also a problem, apart from 'snatch' (kidnapping without ransom) and the disappearance of persons. Almost a

third of the students claim that violent acts have affected them directly or indirectly, in this order: fights and/or beatings, robberies and muggings, murders, rape or attempted rape, snatches and kidnapping, mistreatment and unspecified 'problems of violence' and, finally, drug use on the street. Their greatest fears about what might physically happen to them or to their families are, in order of seriousness: to be killed ('I have to take care not to be killed; one of my uncles was killed'; one respondent witnessed a murder; another suffered damage to his home during a shoot-out); to be kidnapped ('the ex-boyfriend of my aunt kidnapped me'; 'once they tried to grab me and now I am very scared to go out'; 'some strangers took photos of me on the street'); to be raped ('somebody must always accompany my cousin who was raped'; 'I am very scared of being raped') or, in the words of one of the students, 'I have been through bad things that still affect me.'

Other acts that also cause nervousness, fright and fear among the students are the fights originated among neighbours in their community, especially when they or their families get hurt ('they attacked my family and me too'; 'my family had a fight with the neighbours and I got hit'; 'I was scared because they had guns or knives'; 'they hurt me'; 'my family got involved in a fight and might have been in serious danger'). Some of them get little rest at night due to the problems caused by drug use on the streets ('they smoke dope and throw what's left away and the smoke reaches us', 'the smell makes me dizzy and is very unpleasant').

Fear and fright contribute to a sense of insecurity concerning the robbery of their material possessions, whether with or without violence, such as burglary in their homes, or the dispossession of their land ('they took six square metres from my family's property'); the theft of their vehicles or holdups ('even in my father's shop') and muggings ('we were very scared; he took all my things and I hated it'; 'I don't want somebody to steal my stuff, which cost me quite a lot of effort'; 'it affects me personally and mentally'; 'they are in the street and I feel unsafe because they can get into my house at any time and I feel unprotected'; 'I feel unsafe in my own house').

The perception of students is that 'the street is more dangerous than before', and they are afraid 'because sometimes I really must go out at night alone' and 'if these type of atrocities continue, then nobody can go out at night because there is no security'.

Thus, students and their families have adopted the important security measure of going out as little as possible, and this impedes one of the principal types of socialisation that students enjoy most ('they don't let us go out the same as before, when it is late'; 'they don't let me go out alone'; 'I never leave my home').

Concerning violent acts within the families of students. Less than half recognise that violence exists within the family group; the most common and recurrent act is fighting, verbally and/or with blows between different members or against the student him/herself. Another act they have considered explicitly as family violence is the rupture of close ties; separation or divorce between parents – almost invariably preceded by blows and fights between the couple – and the departure from home of one of them; especially when it is the mother, the majority of these students consider that these acts affected them, because they hurt their self-esteem,

made them sad, caused depression, fear and an atmosphere of hostility when family members stopped talking to each other. Small groups of these students, on the other hand, claim that these acts do not affect them, because they are conflicts between their parents or other family members who quarrel with each other.

Finally, another series of violent acts mentioned by 5 per cent of students and which takes place in the family environment concerns the relationships between family members and the rest of society: the murder or injury by firearm of a family member, or his/her rape or attempted rape or his/her kidnapping. The immediate effect they recognise in the family group is that of terror.

In the school domain, either in the school itself or in the classroom from the teacher's point of view. For the great majority the most important frequent acts of violence occur between students. They call it bullying. They mention primarily fights and blows; also verbal aggression, sometimes as 'collective verbal fights' or written attacks against a schoolmate under the form of insults, provocations, assignations of nicknames or gossip. Others acts they identified are the stealing or hiding of backpacks.

However, at least some of the teachers mention the coexistence of violent acts in the rest of the school environment: this concerns violence between students and teachers, where the former inflict material damage on school property or against the belongings of teachers, which they even steal. Among teachers, pilfering and material damage to their belongings have been observed, to which must be added the consequent investigations, 'invariably without results' and intimidation. Finally these teachers also mention violent acts by authorities against them as 'an arbitrary way of making them respect the rules' without taking the teacher into account; apart from labour intimidation, this attitude, in all cases, generates mistrust and nervousness between groups of educators.

Concerning the acts of school violence that have most affected teachers, these have been physically aggressive fights between students and attacks by students against teachers, as well as robbery on the part of different individuals within the school organisation. The principal effects of this conglomerate of violence on the educational process, according to the teachers, is the inhibition of the teaching-learning process, especially due to the time they must invest in facing the problem and trying to resolve it, and the deterioration of the collective atmosphere that provokes students into missing classes.

In the case of students. A majority also mentions as predominant acts of violence those which take place between peers: from verbal fights to bouts of blows and school harassment, which many call bullying, or the simultaneity between this and different types of fights, apart from robbery.

However, only three out of ten students who mentioned these events admitted they had been affected personally. When this had been the case, they stated that violence among peers hurts their self-esteem 'because they said bad things about me', 'because they don't like me', 'they make you feel bad and leave you in a bad mood', 'it affects me psychologically', 'when they insult me, they despise and attack me', 'because they make me feel like dirt', 'they insult me and knock my self-esteem'. All this generates anger: 'it affects all of us because some do the

bullying while others look the other way'. Others feel discriminated against: 'They criticise me because of my looks'. It also produces bodily effects: The blows 'hurt me'; when intervening to resolve the violence: 'I took a hit when I try to stop them', 'I wound up injured', 'because one of them (the victims) was my friend', 'because there's no way to stop them'. The theft of money, school materials or food affects their personal belongings: 'they stole my money'; 'I was left without a meal, and then my Mom ticked me off'; 'I was left without any money to buy a meal'.

Some of these students report that in the social interaction with their teachers there is a certain dose of violence. When there is a robbery, 'they blame me for grabbing my classmate's money'; when there are fights and/or harassment: 'the teacher doesn't pay attention'; 'they punish the whole group by cancelling recreation time'; 'they give us a bad mark or call our parents'; 'they blame the entire group'; 'they blame me and make me feel awful'. Students consider that this accumulation of violent events at school has negative effects on learning. The actions taken by teachers can also be damaging: 'they send us out of the classroom and we cannot finish the work in hand'; 'they don't let you concentrate on what you are doing'.

However, when the students were asked if the school acted in response to the violent events that take place there, 65 per cent responded that it did while 26 per cent responded 'nothing at all' (the remaining 9 per cent is divided between those who stated they didn't know or those who didn't respond); when violence takes place in the classroom 52 per cent of students claimed that the teachers intervened while 36 per cent stated that he/she 'does nothing' (the remainder is divided among those who claim that nothing ever happens in the classroom and those who did not respond). Finally, another group of students claim that there are violent acts in school and in the classroom, but that they prefer not to talk about them 'because it would be worse for us'.

From our analysis of the links between acts of violence that affect teachers and students in the secondary school under study, we were able to infer that violence is the mode in which an action materialises which is the result of a social relationship distinguished by a lopsided exercise of power, in which one part exerts domination over the other by means of force. This can adopt different forms and exerts effects, in the first place, on the body of the person who receives the action, considering that "the body is the mediator of social relationships" (Marin 1995), and in the second place on his/her material belongings. Concerning the body of the students and teachers observed and their families, these violent actions are the product of the social relationships between them and others, in the neighbourhood where they live, at school, in the classroom and even among members of the same family; the most intense effects of these events of violence are those which take place in the residential neighbourhood where the subjects live, as they are the acts which generate greater fear or even terror, particularly those directed against their families; but the acts which most injure self-esteem are those which occur within the family and in the classroom, regardless of who initiates them, not only from the action between peers.

Those affected by this mass of social violence experience fear concerning the physical or social loss of life itself (murders, snatches, disappearances); physical and psychological injuries (rapes, fights, beatings, mistreatment); the use of their

bodies as merchandise (kidnapping, effects of the collective use of drugs); the loss of their material belongings (theft or mugging); the development of illegal businesses (like drug retail) on the streets of the neighbourhood; and violence from society towards their families. Within families acts of violence can also cause direct consequences upon the body with physical and/or psychological injuries, apart from the destruction of family ties and an increase in school dropouts. Both in school and in the classroom, the intensity of violent actions which are generated in the context of the social relationships which comprise its weave result in less human cost than that exacted from the bodies and personal belongings of those who are submitted to violence in the neighbourhood where they live, or within some families, although they were mentioned more often than cases registered in the social sphere.

18.6   Characteristics of the Social-School Environment under Study

Students and teachers at school comprise a specific network of social links. They are transformed by this network and, in turn, they transform it (Piaget 1978; Elias 1989), "…because a change… in the structures of personality … can be justifiably considered as a specific aspect of the development of social structures' (Elias 1990: 209), considering "that both concepts (individual and society) are, by nature, processes, like something mutable, something which is in constant flux" (Elias 1990:12).

Contemplated as a whole, in the representations of acts of violence, certain factors stand out, such as simultaneous threats in different spheres of action, and the intensity of the levels of violence generated in community, family, school and classroom. These are caused by the overlapping of violence as a historical product of a given normative order, and that which is exerted repeatedly and intentionally to cause damage, considering that both perspectives of violence are present in the network we studied, and do not exclude one another, particularly stressing this latter approach which is traditionally used to plan much research on school violence (Olweus 1998; Furlan 2010, 2012).

Acts of violence generated at school reproduce, in a certain way, those which are generated in the broader society. The experience of simultaneity in the violence emerging in different ambits produces forms of living together marked by mistrust, power struggles, slights and exclusion, in part as a cause/result of the rupture in these relationships. In a deeper level of the network we observe that the experiences of students and teachers in terms of school and other social spheres are intensified, because they become associated with situations of impunity or the lack of efficacy of the organs responsible for facing acts of social and school violence in a specific way. This is the case with instances of robbery outside and inside the school, acts that remain unpunished so that the experience of loss is added to that of the victim's defencelessness and to indifference on the part of others. In other words, in school we are observing a juxtaposition of new tensions emerging from actions that are

part of Mexican reality, which includes violence and war – murders, disappearances, kidnappings, among others – along with "permanent insecurity, lack of guarantees and the latent possibility that passions and impulses will overflow the limits of reason and justice" (Mondragon 2014: 22), thus broadening the range of factors which underpin groaning social inequality together with the economic crisis, the increase of unemployment and the informal economy, the growth of drug trafficking and other criminal industries related to it, with the consequent rupture of networks of solidarity and cooperation, under new forms that challenge social and educational research. We now have no social and educational environment that guarantees peace, security, and reliable protection of life.

18.7   Psychological, Social and Educational Effects Generated by the Social and School Environment

What impacts more intensely upon the complex experience of teachers and students is the interweaving and simultaneity of the different acts of violence. This is expressed in many ways: in arbitrary power relationships in which the individual is devalued and put down, in feelings of fear, insecurity, uncertainty, isolation, mistrust ('do something, please!' wrote one of the students), and even a sense of surrender before the hostility of the group in the network of social relationships they have formed. This overlap of different types of violence and diverse fears generates transformations that impact upon students and teachers at school, causing them to identify the school as a venue in which more acts of violence occur. Some teachers state that 'violence increases among all members of the institution; this speaks of the deterioration of school atmosphere in terms of the behaviour parameters that are acceptable by all members.' It can be said that, concerning the transformation suffered by individuals who participate in the network of relationships, which comprise a structure of war, the school has not recognised the need to take the lead in improving the school environment, implementing mechanisms to reach agreements on what is acceptable behaviour, and promoting relationships based on respect, cooperation and physical and emotional security for each member of the educational community.

Both teachers and students showed us the meanings they attach to their experiences involving violence in the community, the family, the school and the classroom; in other words, their experiences and the way these experiences affect their roles as students and individuals. In the case of students, to the sadness and fear caused by constant brawls between members of the family and in some cases mistreatment of themselves we must add the experience of disintegration of family ties and the added effects of violence in the classroom and the school, which, in their own words, damage their self-esteem and depress their frame of mind; these situations are accompanied by impotence in the face of arbitrariness in the application of rules, or indifference and injustice in relation to anything which might happened to them.

Students of this age are in a particularly delicate phase due to the adolescent process they are going through, in which they are building their identity and the sense of being members of a community, based in considerable measure on what their peers reflect about them and in which there are developing new forms of socialisation. In the relationships that are generated at school not only the students are building their subjectivity; but the teachers are doing the same, facing academic demands and restrictions to their role as mediators of interactions; to this we must add the challenges posed by students due to the grave conditions of the country, which the teachers generally acknowledge that they lack instruments to modify.

18.8   We Could Still Intervene

We are still dealing with the preliminary results of our research-intervention. Nevertheless, as we mentioned in the methodological perspective, we retrieved important elements from our research-participatory action, because the information we gleaned from this work is aimed at the transformation of reality within the study context, but inserted in a broader framework. Furthermore, practical and theoretical knowledge is produced, which can be applied beyond a specific situation and transformed into an instrument for future knowledge (Streck/Jara 2015).

The knowledge obtained in the diagnosis of different types of violence, and the reflections upon the results on the part of the teachers, was a central axis of the training process that triggered a series of concerns about how to face these different types of violence and associated problems.

The intervention process was closely linked to the inquiry from which the guidelines for the pedagogic work were derived. These guidelines were built after articulating topics, experiences and situations concerning community life, with a formative strategy aimed at involving participants in a process of awareness and organisation. Cooperation actions in favour of learning and living together were undertaken by members of the educational community: teachers, students as represented by their teachers, other educators functioning as coordinators, disciplinary officers and social workers, among others.

These guidelines were:

(1) *Familiarity with the types of violence experienced and originated in the school, the classroom, the family and/or the community.* The formative strategy was to establish a learning community in which the interests of teachers were analysed, the concepts and educational research on violence, community life, and school atmosphere were reviewed, research with students, applications of questionnaires for teachers and students were discussed, and reflections on their experiences as teachers and on the findings of the research were collected.

(2) *Reflections on the links between violent situations outside and inside the school.* Discussions about the effects on teachers and students and on the school environment, as well as possible alternatives vis-à-vis the violent situations they

face as a school community. The formative strategy arose from the results of the questionnaires, a review of the literature and the construction of proposals to face the situations of violence that affect learning and the everyday life of students and teachers.

(3) *The design of the counselling by peers programme*. Adjustments by the teachers to the programme and the methodology of inquiry to document the process. The formative strategy was the pooling of previous experience, the revision of the characteristics of a programme aimed at relationships based on cooperation and the collective construction of the general programme with its methods of documentation and assessment.

(4) *Follow-up*, assessment and analysis of the programme among peers, or some other applicable educational alternative. The formative strategy comprised the pooling of the documentation concerning the programme applied, reflections upon the experience in light of the concept reviewed and the changes procured, identification and attention to emergent situations.

The first two guidelines are part of a process to stimulate awareness in teachers concerning different types of violence in different areas. For Galtung (1998), who examines violence in the context of conflict, it is a *sine qua non* condition to have a conscious and detailed image of the conflict in its deepest aspects and its historical conditioning factors. The process of fomenting awareness prevents the reification of the actors, allowing them to become major participants in the process, capable of conducting the transformation of the conflict, including their own role (Galtung 2003).

Guidelines 3 and 4 represent Galtung's vision at the moment of social organisation and mobilisation when a project is constructed collectively on the basis of knowing and assuming one's own reality (*being*) to project it on a desired reality (*should be*), establishing a set of strategies to achieve it.

The intervention process was documented by the reports on each session of collecting work, the collective exercises, the recovery of readings, and the reports written by the teachers. We chose the most representative fragments of the discourse of the formation process: awareness, organisation, and the social mobilisation that exhibited the richness of propositions of teachers and students.

Next, we present some of the expressions of teachers during the intervention process, which exhibit some changes in the representation of violence, and the reflection on the strategy applied to face the problems of school delay and interactions in the educational establishment.

18.8.1 Expressions of the Awareness Process

'I'm interested in establishing how violence influences the development of kids; in other words, why don't they learn? How much has violence got to do with this?'

'I want to know the reason behind the changes in attitude and behaviour in students.'

'I want to know in what measure I exert violence against them.'

18.8.2 Reflections on the Experience and the Readings

'There is decay in terms of social and economic structure; the rules are used to suit our convenience and this happens within the school. The rules are applied to some, but not to others; this confuses the students.'

'In the different types of violence, situations are generated in which we are all included, even when we try to avoid them.'

'We don't know the causes of the violence and the context in which it is generated.' In other words, 'We are ignorant.'

'There is a lack of communication between generations and between parents and teachers'. 'The school acts as if the violence were not there.'

'The subordinates and the dominant figure have problems with power (not only among peers as happens with teachers).'

'Students do not feel identified with the school.'

'For the students, school is a space to socialise, not to learn, and this hinders the learning process.'

'School doesn't listen much to students.'

'Neither do teachers have a sense of belonging.'

'We are without instruments to face student violence.'

'Violence is exerted by means of administrative rules, by means of curriculums.'

'Violence comes down from top authorities and the victims are the students; how can you develop peace or coexistence in school under those conditions?'

This would be the question: 'Is there really violence and bad relationships between teachers, and must we start there to generate peaceful interactions between students and thus generate a change?'

In this fragment of responses by teachers we observe a process of growing awareness of the complexity of the different types of violence that occur not only in the context of school but also in the broader problematic of the country. Different dimensions of violence are identified: social, cultural, institutional, political and personal. Dilemmas, conflicts and tension are also identified.

The expressions used by teachers when reflecting on the reality of violence in school and social areas represent, according to Galtung (2003), an exercise in honesty because they are touching something elemental, the deep text, which sometimes leads the participants to act without being completely aware of what they are doing, because they are acting out of habit or simply because it seems so obvious, like an expression of what is so normal and natural that it is not necessary to verbalise. This process led to the need to act concerning the detected problem, without omitting the need to build tools for the comprehension and intervention by teachers.

18.8.3   Expressions in the Organisation and Mobilisation Process

18.8.3.1   Let's Get Down to it! (Cooperative Actions)

In the objectives it is important to encourage the students to identify what violence is, because they take it as something 'normal'.

'The counselling or tutoring between peers can help face violent situations and attitudes thus learning and developing educational work.'

'To organise counselling between peers, empathy between tutor and companion is vital.'

'I organise the whole group in tutor pairs; the students selected as tutors were capable of supporting their companions very well, regardless of the history they may have.'

The tutees chose their tutors.

18.8.3.2   Sharing Comments on the Process

There is apathy between tutor and companion.

'The tutee is not willing to listen to suggestions.'

'We have made little progress but we are trying to push forward with the counselling method.'

'In my case the tutor has advanced with his/her companion.'

'Even considering that we are in an exploratory phase, we need support from the teacher for the counselling to be really positive.'

18.8.3.3   Assessing the Results

There have been very positive experiences with tutoring work in pairs; however, the support of the whole collective is necessary.

'The surprise I got was that K herself sought me to ask me if could receive her projects and homework after the deadline, when it was me who should have been asking her to work in class.'

'One of my students, who was a tutor, told me that, apart from helping her companion she was helping herself; learning is mutual.'

In the words of students: 'Being a tutor is something new for me, because I help a companion who has trouble with a subject. I like it because he pays attention to me; if he does well, I feel proud of him.'

'When I started with my tutee she was not very good; she would go to play with her friends, she seemed to have no interest in anything, she would skip classes, she didn't get on well with her schoolmates. I had to find a way to interact with her. With time we began to get on better; now she is more interested in her work.'

'Counselling between peers not only improves attitudes towards work, but also self-esteem and social abilities; but it is not easy, I had to invent a lot.'

In this section on organisation and mobilisation both teachers and students express the diversity of situations they face during the intervention, from frustration at not being able to change – for example the indifference of some tutees towards learning – to a sentiment of surprise at unexpected achievements. The experience of counselling among peers showed teachers and students alike the potential this method has for the attention of delayed students and for young people to feel attended and taken into account by a peer, with consequent improvement in their social relationships. In this phase the creativity of teachers and the mutual help of students were mobilised.

The organisation and mobilisation process came about in the secondary school venue as a process of educational intervention aimed at counselling among peers as a method of favouring cooperation to learn, community interaction and strengthening of the social mesh. Communication among all actors became apparent as a central procedure, originating a dialogue that enabled us to identify traits described by Galtung (2006): empathy, creativity and nonviolence as strategies for the construction of peace, like 'peacemaking', which focuses on attitudes, and 'peacekeeping', which focuses on behaviour. In this effort, both awareness, creativity and determination in the search for strategies or alternatives are mobilised, notwithstanding the difficulties encountered; this attitude aids the construction of peace.

18.9   Outline of a Proposition to Be Studied

In the face of the accumulation of violence that attacks the mesh of relationships at the secondary school under study, affecting it in its development in the teaching and learning process, in the deterioration of the atmosphere of living together and the consequent educational delay and ultimate dropout, we integrated this study on the basis of reflection accumulated along several years of research on the subject of school violence. With the participation of all actors, we identify the need for a school based on a 'social cooperation network' as a way to face structural and ensuing situations that are forced upon the school but which it also generates, and which produce a sense of impotence, of not knowing how to react to the experiences of different members of the school network in their social relationships. In other words, against experiences of living together based on violent social relationships, lack of trust, fear and even terror, we present as an epistemic challenge, the creation of conditions that enable the experience of cooperation and break through the wall constituted by family, school and the rupture of the social mesh in the neighbourhood.

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Chapter 19
Reconceiving Rights: An Analysis on Their Declarations, Proposals and Demands

Sylvia Marcos

19.1 Introduction

When seeking to comprehend the demands of indigenous women regarding their 'rights', it is important to recognise the complex reconceptualisations of the term. This chapter reviews some of the statements and documents produced by indigenous women to discover how the term 'rights,' or the phrase 'my right,' is reconfigured within the declarations made by organised groups of them. Listening to and recording their own voices, facilitates a closer understanding of how the term is recreated and used in their political and social practices. They say, for example, 'It is time to act, and time to grab our right with our hand [*agarrar con nuestra mano el derecho*].'[1]

The movement of indigenous women in the Americas has issued documents containing declarations, plans of action, demands, and proposals to re-configure the traditional concept of human rights, through their organisations and political associations. An analytical reading of some of the key texts that have emerged from the main meetings over the last years reveals this process of reconfiguration. It is based on their understanding of themselves as women in a context of gender relations while at the same time belonging to a collectivity encompassing communal values and practices. Within these notions of *pueblos originarios* [indigenous communities],

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[1]Fragment of the discourse of a female authority of the JBG of the CCRI of EZLN, Caracol of Morelia, 8 March 2009; at: http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/ezln/1469.

women do not stand alone and neither do they perceive themselves as 'individual subjects'.

By the social space that they occupy, indigenous women are placed at the intersection of multiple identities: class, race, ethnicity and gender. They contribute significantly to the reformulation of a new world that is more just, and that critically examines not only their role as poor, indigenous women, but also questions the role and power structures of the neoliberal state. They are gradually transforming the meanings of 'human rights' within their own struggles as indigenous women.

In the analysis that follows, I highlight the voices of organised indigenous women in the Americas by quoting extensively from their key texts and interviews. This will show how the internal logic of their speeches functions and how – though not always explicitly – they transform the language of human rights and redefine it. Analysing this redefinition reveals the main axes around which they formulate their struggle for social justice. Among them, a unique vision of the concept of gender emerges, along with a defence of their indigenous spirituality, and a revision of responsibilities and rights within their communities.

The declaration, 'Building our History' from the National Meeting of Indigenous Women in Oaxaca, states:

> …that indigenous women form an important part in the development of our peoples and of the country;…That the rights of women, and in particular, of indigenous women, are not recognised by the Constitution;…That the right to parity and equity make up part of the demands that we presented at the meeting on Indigenous Rights and Culture in San Andres, Chiapas;…That we seek to change Article 27 of the Constitution to allow women the right to inherit land… (Cuadernos Feministas 1997).

The ideas and practices of gender relations in the indigenous communities began to interact intensively with the proposals that emerged from the Zapatista movement in 1994. For some indigenous people belonging to independent organisations, Zapatismo opened the possibility of new expectations by widening their perspectives, and they expressed their demands and aspirations in the language of rights. It was this language of rights that allowed them to communicate with other organised women through class and ethnic barriers. More recently, a broad movement of indigenous women that is constantly growing has transcended even national boundaries.

It has been organised women themselves who have figured out ways to express their demands in the context of their own communities, seeking to challenge and transform those traditional practices that affect them. They also affirm their wish that indigenous normative systems (*usos y costumbres* [uses and habits]) be recognised as well as the autonomous governance in their communities. In this regard, the women of indigenous communities understandably feel the need to themselves be the ones who make those decisions about their own lives in their own spaces. And it is there where they manage to verbalise their most heartfelt demands regarding participation, equity, and a life free from violence. For these reasons, they

consider it important to discuss their traditions and customs while analysing which of them they seek to nurture and recover and which they seek to discard.

> …the human rights framework expands social justice issues beyond the relatively narrow focus of civil rights, which seek only to punish the guilty. Human rights provide a broader perspective of social justice by combining civil and political rights with social, economic, and cultural rights. A human rights perspective on the problem of domestic violence, for example, considers the right to live free from violence together with the right to health, housing, education, and employment. In addition, the human rights perspective is built at the intersection of gender, race, language, religion, national origin, and a variety of additional factors (Engle 2006: 16).

Human rights, in the opinion of the same author,

> …form a broad framework of social justice based on ideas of equity and dignity, and the aspiration to its universal application. In essence, this is a morality based claim on the idea that equity and dignity are international ideas, shared by others. The universality of this claim provides a very powerful moral attraction. The perspective from a social movement implies that civil and political rights are inseparable from the social, economic, and cultural (Engle 2006: 16).

Importantly, the 'universality' of this claim has been gradually channelled and re-created from below, from women, and from different cultural contexts. These cultural contexts are often based on a "formation of a subject that is not necessarily aligned with the conception of the European Enlightenment's notion of individual empowerment" (Mahmood 2005). Rather, this 'resemantisation' (Hernández 2004: 3) is aligned with specific peculiarities of Mesoamerican cultural universes.

Foucault (1970) and Bakthin (2011) argue that every discursive act implies a dialogical process – an answer to the discursive act that preceded it. In this way, discourse (in our case of human rights) only exists in the context of prior discourses and is in dialogue with them. We can see that, although discourse is influenced by prior discourses, there is simultaneously a re-formulated and new discourse that will serve as a base for those that will come later.

In relation to the discourse of rights, this implies that its origins as 'Western', or as a product of capitalist neoliberal philosophy *does not determine its potentialities* when it is appropriated and used in a dialogical way. Quite often, these new meanings, which arise from the practice of dialogue, question and critique the original discourse that preceded it (Speed 2008).

19.2 A Subversive Redefinition

The appropriation of the dialogic language of 'rights' by indigenous women has produced a profound change in its meanings. The notion of a free, rational, individual, rights-bearing subject that holds conceptualisations of equality and freedom

from the position of globalised urban worlds does not seem to reflect what indigenous women mean when they use the term.

> These alternative perspectives of the rights of women who claim the indigenous cosmo-vision as a space of resistance, are also being transnationalised by a continental movement of indigenous women that has its most visible face in an instantiation of international coordination called Continental Network of Indigenous Women… (Hernández 1995: 3).

In support of this can be cited documents, declarations, and demands from several meetings, such as the Continental Encounter of Indigenous Women, which took place in Quito, Ecuador, in 1995; the First Summit of Indigenous Women of the Americas, in Oaxaca, Mexico, in 2002; the Fourth Conference of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women, in Lima, Peru, in 2004; the Third International Forum of Indigenous Women, 2005; the Encounter of Zapatista Women with Women of the World, in La Garrucha (Zapatista autonomous territory) in December 2007; the Continental Summit of Indigenous Women of Abya Yala in 2009; the Second Continental Summit of Women of Abya Yala, 2013; and the encounter The Zapatistas and the ConSciences for Humanity, 2017.

In these spaces, as is the case with so many others, declarations, proposals, and demands have been issued via collective consensus. This collection of texts is interconnected to and interdependent with a broad indigenous movement's benchmarks. The discourse of human rights endowed it with a new moral language and legal framework to orchestrate their demands.

The Declaration of the Third International Forum of Indigenous Women, which took place in New York City in 2005, states:

> We maintain that the advance of the human rights of indigenous women is tied inextricably to the struggle to protect, to respect, and for the fulfilment of the rights of our peoples as a whole, and our rights as women within our communities at national and international levels. We recommend – in relation to the third report of the UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples – that themes having to do with women be transversal throughout United Nations.

While demanding rights from their own gender specificities, they do not forget that they form part of a larger collective — that of indigenous peoples. This contextualises, in a heightened way, the collective priorities of their demands. As researchers Maria Teresa Sierra (2001) and Ana María Garza (2000) have indicated, the Zapatista project meant, for many indigenous women, an opportunity to question 'bad customs' and to speak about rights: to decide on their own bodies; to be respected; to live a life free of violence; to work and receive fair remuneration; to share in the decision-making of the family, the political organisation, and the community; and to make couples co-responsible for domestic tasks and childcare.

Thus, Tarcila Rivera, a Kichwa leader of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women and current Executive Chairwoman of the *International Forum of Indigenous Women* (FIMI), at the UN said: "We believe that indigenous peoples who keep alive the concept of gender from our own sources must make an effort to ensure that this concept is consistent with the daily reality in our respective societies" (Rivera 2016: 11).

The opposition to structural violence, both institutional and domestic; their rights to health; to education; to be affirmed as co-producers within the household; and to participate in their communities and organisations, are demands that have acquired innovative forms, each step rewording 'rights' or 'democratisation' in the daily relations between genders, finding new edges, consequences, and areas to demand their prerogatives. Today, to speak of rights is common in everyday life.

This same language of 'rights' legitimised women's spaces and opened others inside the indigenous movement more generally. However,

> …we cannot assume that they simply pass through a linear route without conflict, toward the broadening of the rights of indigenous women. […] The path has been complex, full of roads walked and retraced – as well as abandoned – alliances, confrontations, negotiations, and no easy consensus. In an atmosphere permeated by such profound differences, it can hardly be thought that a social movement can eliminate these obstacles so easily. Neither can one think that the aspirations of women are the product of a community of pre-given interests dictated by biological, natural characteristics… (Garza 2000: 139)

Tarcila Rivera (2004) explains

> Currently, it is very difficult to find relations of equity and respect because foreign influence, extreme poverty, marginalisation, and the patriarchal forms of relationship in dominant societies generate violence. Men learned these negative forms very quickly, adopting them for themselves. These attitudes created privileges, individualisms, and domestic violence. Western religion also played an evangelising role, leading us to believe that we came from the rib of man, and thus owe him our obedience (Rivera 2004).

> Our rights as indigenous women find the space for their resolution in the recognition of the autonomy of indigenous peoples, as a most democratic form, starting in our person, from our house to the community to the people, and synthesised in the State… (Garza 2000).

19.3   Women's Critique of Forms and Mechanisms of Exclusion

In the Third National Indigenous Congress in Nurío, Michoacán, with the presence of the Zapatista Comandantas, women from thirty indigenous peoples expressed their demands and interests in guaranteeing gender rights and participation in their communities and tribes (Sierra 2001: 19). In addition to their own demands as women, they proposed indigenous demands as a whole in their role as specifically gendered social actors and simultaenously members of their communities. Their leadership in this Congress left a lasting imprint.

The prominent role of indigenous women provides other examples. Under the violation of indigenous peoples' human rights under dictatorial regimes, Mayan women in Guatemala immediately rallied to denounce to the world these abuses and violations. Quechua women of Peru have also raised their voices to denounce the

disappearance of family members in times of violence in the Andes. Indigenous migrants, located in urban barrios, initiate the organisation of neighbourhoods and give political life to spaces, such as popular eateries. In the case of Nicaragua, the Misquito were present in the revolution to defend the right of indigenous peoples generally, and the struggle for autonomy specifically.

> In the last five years, it has been up to us to clarify things among us. Being certain that fighting for our people also means helping diminish the differences and privileges between members of the indigenous community; making it so that our male leaders understand that it is necessary to recapture a balance in relations between all of us; and that speaking about and working on improving the capacities of indigenous women does not mean dividing the organisation, as has often been said to us, but rather, becoming mutually stronger and uniting the collective struggle (Rivera 2016).

But in another diverse experience, this time in Zapatista territory, Shannon Speed tells of a woman, Rosalía, who answered the classic question confronting feminist struggles on the left: Do men suggest that women's rights must wait because they are a distraction from the main goal of the struggle? Rosalía, belonging to the community of Nicolás Ruiz, was thoughtful and reflective. She paused before answering. "I believe that the opposite is true. It was through the organisation that we began organising ourselves, where we began raising our consciousness of our rights as women…" But she added: "Some men are more conscious than others, but they also know that in a community, to advance, men and women must work collectively and as a group, and that's why they support us."

In Xoxocotla, a Nahua community in the State of Morelos, a young woman, Yoloxóchitl Severiano, an activist in the Council of Thirteen Peoples in Defence of the Earth, Water, and Air, said "…because everyone must do their part. If everyone did the exact same thing, it would not be achieved." In this way, she expressed the constraints and amplifications of a struggle for women's rights when they are immersed in the collective. When both rights and responsibilities are assumed by the community, they will inevitably be crossed and configured by the gender 'difference'.

19.4   From Indigenous Women: Particularities of Gender Concepts

The executive summary on 'Gender from the View of Indigenous Women,' the declaration produced by the First Summit of Indigenous Women of the Americas (2003), demonstrates the search for a necessary bridge between all the diverse types of struggles within the women's movements. Using the concept of human rights, certain commonalities can be recognised, especially those regarding the struggle against gender violence; but certain differences can also be seen. Misunderstandings between feminism and the demands from the broad movement of indigenous women are often interpreted by indigenous women as products of ethnic and class

differences. On the other side, a large fissure is established by the peculiarities of indigenous gender conceptions.

In a letter Tarcila Rivera sent me in April 2004, she asked me to take part in the Fourth Meeting of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women. She believed that my participation would 'help to remove prejudices about this concept of gender, if I spoke "on behalf of our indigenous ways of understanding it". As is well known, multiple theorisations on gender construction have been forwarded largely by the Global North's feminist and intellectual tradition. Some of these theories are not applicable to indigenous peoples.

To begin with, if gender – to put it simply – is defined as the cultural construction built on sexual difference, it would be necessary to include highly sophisticated and variegated theories that present, in great detail, all the cultural domains that modify the particularities of perceptions of human beings, beginning with the body, 'the biological'. The mere division between sex and gender as mutually exclusive categories would be up for debate – and this is only to begin with. It is known than in various communities what defines a being as feminine or masculine is not their genitalia (their sex), but the way in which they interact in their community, social and family milieu (that is, by their gender). So then, in these milieus, the difference and definition between men and women begins with gender and not with anatomy, or sex (Moore 1994).

What I would like to emphasise here is the reason why indigenous women often express some discomfort and sometimes rejection on proposals for 'gender justice'. It is when these demands are made from the philosophical and practical contexts of urban women's gender concepts.

References to the document 'Gender' from the Summit in Oaxaca provide clues to how they locate themselves in their relationships with the men of their communities. This indicates how to respect their priorities and their specificities. Gender, in the indigenous worlds of Mesoamerica, is primarily conceived within the framework of the concept of duality. The entire universe is governed in these terms: male and female are complementary. In claiming, as part of their rights, the right to be guided by how their world view conceives of gender, they reveal the place from which their struggles emanate: "Duality as a theory exists in our cosmovision and in our customs. But sometimes, in practice, there are situations where only the man decides…The media, schools, and many other elements have influenced this principle. Living duality is a bit shaky now." (First Summit on Indigenous Women in America 2002).

This is the symbolic space that they do want to recover and revitalise instead of moving towards the urban women's gender framework in their demands. Indigenous women are very active, re-conceptualising all customs and practices that undermine women's dignity: violence of any kind; the obligation to marry for family arrangements; contempt for their condition as women. "From the moment that we are girls, they [in certain traditional places] believe that we are worthless", defiantly denounced Comandanta Esther at the venue of the Chamber of Deputies in 2001. But this assessment of a lesser valued pole in duality does not correspond to

their ancestors' philosophical background, neither to their contemporary survival. They recognise duality and demand to be placed in complementarity with men.

Here begins another great confrontation with those feminisms in search of a rigid equality. When human rights are conceived from an individualistic philosophy (that is, one that centres itself on the rights of the individual subject), the legal subject is an independent and not interdependent being. By contrast, interdependence is a crucial factor in indigenous villages, where the interconnection exists and is the collective ideal search, not only between a man and a woman, but also among larger groups such as the extended family, the community, and even beyond, with the beings of nature as a whole. "We Zapatista women are exercising our right and freedom to participate in our autonomous government of *mandar obedeciendo* (rule by obeying). We regard it is a space, for us as women, for the construction of a new society" (SCI Galeano 2016).

In the Encounter of Zapatista Women with Women of the World in the Caracol of La Garrucha in December 2007, women spoke of the 'struggle alongside them.' Personal notes taken by the author record such phrases as: 'We can walk together as *compañeros* and *compañeras*'; 'we have respect both for men and women'; 'let us have unity'; 'let us walk together'; 'our struggle is not only for us, the indigenous women, but for all the indigenous and non-indigenous peoples'; 'I, as a little girl, have a right to everything'; 'I turn nine years old on 8 January 2008. As a little girl, I have the right to do what I like.'

For them, gender equity is conceived of and referred to as a 'balance' between two opposites: the feminine and masculine. This 'balance' or equilibrium stabilises the polarities and extremes.

In reviewing these discourses, we are confronted with, above all, a full itinerary of re-conceptualisation of the terms 'human rights' and 'gender relations.' The 'Mandate' of the First Continental Summit of Indigenous Women of Abya Yala (30 May 2009), said: "On the basis of the cosmological principles, and taking as a premise that our cultures are the cradle of values and are based on balance, harmony, reciprocity and complementarity…"

These dimensions and re-elaborations are discernible in this long movement of mentalities that are continually taken over and managed – directed – by the women from indigenous communities. Comandanta Esther expressed, in her words to the movement Via Campesina (Cancún 2003):

> We also want to say to men that they should respect our right as women…But we are not going to ask as a favour, rather, we are going to oblige them to respect us. Because many times the mistreatment that we women receive doesn't only come from the wealthy exploiters…So then we say loud and clear that, when we demand respect for women, it's not only a demand we make of the neoliberals, it is also something we are going to compel from those who struggle against neoliberalism and say they are revolutionaries, but in their house act just like [George W.] 'el Bush'.

One of the final documents of the First Summit of Indigenous Women of the Americas stated: 'It is important to move beyond rhetoric to the practice of our cosmological values, from the personal, the family, the community, and in our own organisations.'

19.5   Defence and Recovery of Indigenous Spirituality

The continent's indigenous peoples are also claiming the right to live and express their spirituality. This claim refers to what have been called in United Nations documents 'cultural rights'. This demand is related to those rights that have come to expand the scope of 'human rights'.

Spirituality has been generally associated with the religious, Christian sphere, and particularly Catholicism, especially in Latin America. The spirituality claimed by the indigenous peoples is spirituality in its 'indigenous' dimension. It is a 'spirituality that is not a religion', as Mexican indigenous women affirmed in their response to the bishops of the Episcopal Commission on Indigenous Peoples, issued during the Summit of Indigenous Women of the Americas. It is a spirituality that frequently dissociates from Catholic beliefs, although sometimes visibly preserves its images, devoid of their original significance and newly re-signified.

Spirituality thus conceived demands the recovery of those sacred spaces destroyed and vandalised by the conquistadors, colonists and violent catechists who arrived in these lands. For example, during the Summit of Indigenous Women of the Americas, in Oaxaca, Mexico, it was demanded that the Summit open with a ceremony in the sacred city of Monte Alban, in the same state of Oaxaca.

> More than sixty indigenous women – Zapotecas, Mixes, Mixtecas, Chontales, Tzotziles, Tzeltales, K'iche's, Kaqchikeles, Q'eqchi's, Poqomames, Tzutujiles, Popti's, Chorti's, Mames, Achi'is, and Q'anjobales – from twenty-eight organisations and several communities of Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Guatemala, united in our diversities, cosmovisions, needs, work experiences, and hopes for justice and dignity, have collectively reflected on our demands. We are recovering and strengthening ancestral practices and the spirituality of our peoples. We are promoting an identity-based development based on the cosmovision of indigenous peoples…'Indigenous spirituality' is not a matter for the church, for personal devotion, or for individual beliefs. It is something that unifies and identifies communities; it is what gives them cohesion. It is what is retrieved from the ancestors; that which gives meaning to their political and social struggles. It is absolutely not institutionalised religion (Primera Cumbre de Mujeres Indígenas de América 2011).

The 'Mandate of Abya Yala' (2009) demands:

> Respect for the sacred places and the administration of them by our peoples; to rescue the people's indigenous cosmovision to keep alive spirituality and culture; we demand that our world view be not turned into folklore by states and corporations.

And in the resolutions of the work committees, Gender from the Perspective of Indigenous Women:

> We urge the organisations of indigenous women to deepen, analyse, and socialise proposals on how to address the gender perspective from the cosmovision of indigenous peoples and to direct our actions across common parameters (First Summit on Indigenous Women in America 2003).

19.6 Demands for Trans-Cultural/Transnational Justice

The demands of indigenous women for their 'rights' refer not only to indigenous norms within indigenous regulatory systems, but aim for access to be assured within the jurisdiction of the State, including official systems of health, education, etc., on the basis of non-discrimination and respect.

This final reflection is an important one. Indigenous women, in their condition as native peoples, appeal to their internal indigenous regulatory systems. These bodies also struggle for the implementation of ILO Convention 169, which concerns the rights of their indigenous communities.

An important, recent contribution is the theorisation that has emerged from their own reflections on the rights to 'Mother Earth' – territory. Indigenous women are frequently tied symbolically to the earth. Groups of Mayan women in Guatemala refer to and struggle for the defence of 'my body, territory', merging their female bodies with the earth, a feminine element that gives life. The symbolic wealth of this merger of body/territory is beyond the scope of this study, but I mention it to point out some of the theoretical re-conceptualisations that the indigenous have reached, inspired by their epistemic and cosmological roots.

Their demand for the right to 'inherit the land' had been a somewhat confusing demand for many years. Was it a demand to inherit the land as an individual subject? What about the demand for collective rights to the land and thus to territory?

A new proposal is elucidated in an interview with Tarcila Rivera at the end of 2016. The indigenous woman from the Cordillera of the Philippines, and member of the Board of Directors of the FIMI, spoke on how to promote the 'empowerment' of indigenous women concerning the possession of the land. She made an important clarification and annotation to the deliberations on the drafting of UN documents on the rights of women, such as the *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW):

> For women, it would be individual rights *over land*, but for us indigenous women, we prefer the recognition of collective rights *to land*, to the territory. And then from there, individual rights *over land* shall be determined…Therefore, it must be about both collective rights to the land, and individual rights over the land…

And she clarifies,

> …through experience of this reality (individual rights over land) this would increase the vulnerability of women to lose their lands. Their husbands can pressure them to relinquish them, and they can easily be harassed to sell them because they are individual landholders. But if land is held under a collective possession regime, where individuals are protected within the collective, then they would, more securely, preserve their rights to land (FIMI 2016).

In addition to the practicality spelled out in the defence of land rights, we discover in her proposal a theoretical contribution implied and inscribed in the concept of the 'simultaneity' of both rights: individual and collective (Marcos 2013). It is a response that combines and does not discard either of the poles, and proposes a solution to interminable discussions in the dialogues confronted between feminist activists and the broad movement of indigenous women. There is a demand for both rights at the same time, as bell hooks has similarly theorised in her methodological proposal of 'positionality' (Marcos 2013).

This Filipino indigenous woman explains how individual rights *over land* and collective rights *to land* are interdependent and go together as a pair. Further, she is able to perfectly adjust the terminology to illuminate their similarities, while at the same time, their differences.

Indigenous women are also creating a new collectivity, and they are reformulating and challenging the State to meet many of its international commitments, such as Inter-American Convention on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women.[2] They join all the women of Mexico and of the world to demand the right to a life free from violence, and that violence against women be considered a human rights violation.

The 'Pronouncement of Women of Chiapas Against Government Repression in San Salvador Atenco' (in the State of Mexico) says:

> …to all women prisoners and to all wounded women, and to all disappeared women, we say: We will not abandon you!…we also want to say that when we women denounce the violence against us, the authorities and those who have power do not help us, or they hide or minimise it, which is why we are not surprised that women who have been detained tell us that they were raped and the authorities deny it. They always do that…Women *compañeras*: We are with you because in Chiapas we know what women suffer when there are killings and repressions…[3]

Thus, they are a facilitating nexus that expands the possible exclusive priorities of indigenous peoples. They build a wide bridge towards multiple societal groups, towards all women, and towards the dispossessed. They are a link and a re-creation of another collectivity that begins in them from below and to the left – where the heart is – to incorporate us all.

In Zapatista speeches, we often hear the inclusion '…to indigenous and non-indigenous women, to indigenous and non-indigenous peoples'. In the fourth National Indigenous Congress, the Mazahua indigenous delegates offered fifty of themselves in exchange for ten women prisoners in the city of Atenco. However, as innovative as is the attitude that emerges from their struggles, they do not cease to emphasise the re-evaluation of their own particularities: "The important thing about the new times", said a Rarámuri woman from the state of Chihuahua, "is that we have begun to appreciate our traditional customs again" (Bellinghausen/Chávez 2006).

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[2]Convención de Belem do Pará, Brasil, June 1994.

[3]http://chiapas.indymedia.org/display.php3?article_id=121813.

I would like to end with a quote from the Declaration of the Second Summit of Women of Abya Yala, which had its final session on 15 November 2013.

> That the exercise of the rights of indigenous women begin by empowering ourselves of our lives and of our bodies, rejecting every form of violence…the realisation of *Buen Vivir* [living well] is based on the reconstruction of complementarity between women and men, and with all the beings that inhabit the territory…That States be held responsible for ensuring individual and collective rights recognised at the national and international levels, while respecting the autonomy and the self-determination of the people.

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Lunch and farewell party of the 10th CLAIP conference in Mexico City, 14 January 2017. The conference organiser with several young student participants

Chapter 20
Peace Education in a Pluricultural and Multilingual Country

Laura Bensasson

> …because one thing is to recognise that there are others and another quite distinct is to respect them (*Tales of Old Antonio*).

20.1 Intercultural Bilingual Education, an Unsuccessful Attempt

Intercultural Bilingual Education (EIB in Spanish) is the most recent version of education for indigenous people in Mexico, but what is it about and what is the difference between this and the previous models? 'Formal' education in school has always had two basic functions: knowledge transmission and the development of citizens, both according to the interests of the ruling class.

When the Spaniards arrived, the Mexica Empire had an educational system that included a school for the rigorous development of the ruling class, who were skilled in war (the *Calmecac*) and another for the common citizens. After the Conquest, the mendicant orders relied on education of the youth to achieve their evangelising mission. They used the existing institutional and educational model of Moctezuma Ilhuicamina because they thought this would induce the defeated people to accept Christianity and colonisation more readily. The education and acculturation of the inhabitants of the New World has been like this from the start, a privileged weapon for conditioning them to the culture of the conquerors.

When Mexico achieved independence, the original inhabitants ceased to have rights and lost the few privileges that they had during the Colony, including the ownership of the lands that belonged to their people.

President Juarez's Reforms established the laicism of education, including mandatory free elementary education for the poor; nevertheless, the achievements

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of the pro-independence governments in education were scarce and favoured the urban middle class, excluding the native people.

The Revolution finally subsumed the 'indigenous' to the liberal concept of 'citizen', with apparently the same rights as the creole and the mestizo, which it considered essential in order to Hispanicise and homogenise the population through peasant literacy. Therefore, to integrate the indigenous in the great educational project, President Cárdenas decided to use their own language as a bridge to introduce the teaching of Spanish, hiring the Summer Linguistic Institute (Instituto Lingüístico de Verano) for that goal. This is how it changed from direct hispanisation to 'bilingual education'. The governments emanating from the Revolution curiously turned to the same strategies that the evangelists used during the Conquest, but without the interest of getting acquainted with the languages or the native cultures and without the linguistic skills that distinguished their precursors.

In both scenarios, affirms Olac Fuentes Molinar (1989), the educational proposal was designed by the ruling class to ease the integration of the indigenous population to the nation. It necessarily affected the life of the communities, because it contributed to dissolve their structures to be integrated to the other material and ideological process of penetration.

In the 1970s and under the impulse of a group of cultural promoters that came from the native people, trained by a group of anthropologists of the *Indigenous National Institute* (INI), education for indigenous people was called 'bilingual bicultural' because it had the intention of transmitting the languages and the cultures of their speakers. Unfortunately, when it was integrated into the curriculum, the promoters lost their laudable purposes, favouring personal interests as part of the union.

This is how, despite its efforts and good intentions, Mexican education, writes Evangelina Arana de Swadesh, "has not accomplished the desired homogeneity; what it has accomplished is that the majority of students do not know what eight million compatriots do, where they live and how they speak, compatriots who were called *indio* and now are called indigenous" (Arana 1982: 272).

With the goal of mutual improvement, the challenge now is to replace assimilation practices with the integration of cultural differences. With that aim, at the end of the twentieth century, 'intercultural bilingual education' (EIB in Spanish) was proposed. It advocates for a change to the educational policies and takes into account ethnic and linguistic diversity and an adjustment to the multicultural reality of the Latin American countries. EIB – affirms Jon Landaburu (2004: 4) – departs "from the utopia of a relationship of mutual respect and reciprocity (…) between the indigenous societies and the western society, at least in the cultural dimension". Its principles involve the participation of the communities in the design and control of education, the usage of the vernacular language at school as a pedagogical requirement, and the integration of the linguistic, historical and cultural resources of the group with the necessary knowledge of the dominant culture in a new 'intercultural curriculum'.

But the reality contradicts these principles and could affirm with Muñoz Cruz that EIB responds to an 'old-school bilingual focus' that attempts to update by taking over an intercultural policy to "justify its stay and the continuation of its project of absorption of cultures and indigenous languages to the national culture" (Muñoz Cruz 2003: 8). As in the previous educational proposals, EIB seems to pursue aims different to the knowledge and needs of the indigenous people, and,

with the imposition of one curriculum for elementary education without considering the multicultural reality of the country, it reveals the continuation of a concealed assimilation policy.[1]

In effect – Elsie Rockwell affirms (2003) – the reform of President Fox establishes that EIB in Mexico does not refer to the indigenous people as such, nor their self-determination rights; it does not define 'intercultural education' clearly; it is not clear about the practices and attitudes that obstruct their accomplishment, the ignorance of and contempt for the languages and costumes of the indigenous people, the economic inequality and the lack of access to the power. It does not mention or value their own ways of education and transmission of culture as an essential part of the intercultural education policy. It does not validate local participation in the selection and ratification of teachers, instead supporting centralism in the definition of the curriculum and the materials.

It is evident that the intercultural model has not been exempt from questioning, and in practice, the educational attention to culturally diverse groups has not moved very far from the initial indigenous model; it has only been updated to fulfill the requirements of the new policies of neoliberal views. Now – Fernando Soberanes warns (2003) – the homogenising discourse of nationalist view does not exist, but is about instilling a lifestyle different to the one indigenous people and peasants have, encouraging other habits, consumption guidelines and models of coexistence. The educational policies are set at an international level and they encourage the participation of enterprises and non-governmental organisations on the periphery of the traditional public education institutions.

With the privatisation of the State and usage of public resources for the private benefit of the rich – the banks above all – "a great part of the education destined to the indigenous and rural towns is financed by the World Bank, by the OAS, by institutions that grant special credits" against the right to education that the State must guarantee through the national budget (Soberanes 2003: 90–91).

According to Salomón Nahmad (2003), this makes it necessary to examine the relationship between the discourse of intention and actual educative practice. It opens the debate to an indigenous education model in comparison to the national model, because the only ethical way forward seems to be the formulation and deployment of an educational project that comes directly from the ethnic groups and surpasses institutions through the participation of the community. To achieve this it is necessary to support the fight for the autonomy of indigenous people.

But, as Bárbara Cifuentes (1980) points out, beyond the respect and integration of native cultures, there exists a fundamental issue with educational policies which are apparently intercultural: the imposition of the ideology of the dominant class. This conceals the exploitation by means of ethnic theories that mask the real problems caused by institutional failure to embrace cultural differences. The definition of the

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[1]Refer to *Lineamientos Generales para la Educación bilingüe intercultural para las niñas y niños indígenas (EIB)* (1999). SEP/DGEI, Mexico, D.F., that mentions 'the requirements of quality, equity and propriety declared in the Educational Development Program' (Programa de Desarrollo Educativo in Spanish) 1995–2000.

indigenous problem as a simple poverty issue and cultural differences has imposed certain characteristics on education that obscure the reality, because indigenous people are not on the periphery of the structure, but oppressed within it.

Literacy – the only subject for which bilingual material exists – relies on symbol-memorising techniques, not awareness, and the aim of the bilingual bicultural materials is still the domestication of the indigenous, because the texts "do not mention hoarders, exploitation, unemployment, recruiters or emigrant day laborers", points out Cifuentes (2002: 49).

In this context – adds Cifuentes – is it possible to consider the elimination of asymmetrical relationships through educational programmes? What should be the educative methodology for the marginalised to be aware of their condition? If the function of formal education is the transmission of the techniques of production, what knowledge and skills should it transmit? And if it takes into account social development, what are the norms and values on which it should be based?

Dr. Laura Bensasson during her intervention

20.2   Symbolic Violence and Decolonisation

So far, the inherent problems of indigenous education, now called 'intercultural', have been pointed out. It presupposes the universality of the schemes, values, consumption habits and knowledge of First World cultures. But this institutional interculture is being judged by a critical approach of the decolonisation movement, which leads to questioning of and deep reflection on the socio-political reality of Latin America and the cognitive and educative schemes set by globalisation and based first on western-capitalistic views and second on imperialism.

The academic knowledge, with its alleged universality, sets interculturality at the service of the dominant culture and often uses a revolutionary discourse, restricting, however, the interculturality to the field of education and leaving intact the power relations. Therefore, the discourse, apparently emancipated from the inclusion and the dialogue, can conceal the asymmetrical and hegemonic structures typical of colonial societies, instead of overcoming them. Hence, the start of the critical focus on interculturality, called 'decolonisation'.

The decolonisation movement appeared at the end of the last century, but its precedents can be traced back to the fight for independence during the Fifties in Asia and Africa, in Freire's literacy campaigns, in the concept of 'internal colonialism' forged by Pablo Gonzales Casanova and in the work of some Mexican thinkers, such as Rodolfo Stavenhagen (2013). According to his proposals, the reality of Latin America is hardly comprehensible through the parameters that rule European historiography, because the peak and prosperity of the modern age in Europe had its opposite (Castro-Gómez 2000) in the subjugation and enslavement of the American people.[2]

Taking up Anibal Quijano, Juan David Gómez Quintero (2010) affirms that a great part of the republics of America achieved their independence thanks to a racist constitution that replaces the classic colonialism with an 'internal republican colonialism'; the new politically independent bourgeoisie was in charge of continuing the colonial order, establishing an asymmetrical interdependence.

To Gómez Quintero (2010), the concepts of civilisation, progress and development were paradigms that articulated the establishment of the modern project in Latin America, but with this type of structure it is not possible to comprehend and analyse the reality of Third World societies because "the approaches that allow [us] to comprehend their social relations, history and culture are conditioned by the premises of a supposed neutral rationality, but internally racist and ethnocentric. These thought structures lead straight to coloniality" (Gómez Quintero 2010: 89).

Gómez Quintero defines coloniality as "an ideological system that, supported by some social sciences like history, anthropology and sociology, justifies the logic of the dominance of some people over others. Dominance that, in most cases, was also

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[2]To testify to the magnitude of the massacres that happened during the conquest, Friar Bartolomé de las Casas accused the 'peacemaker' Pedro de Alvarado of slaughtering more than four million natives between 1524 and 1540 during the conquest of Guatemala, and Adrián Recinos tells in the *Crónicas indígenas de Guatemala* (*Indigenous Chronicles of Guatemala*) that Alvarado's men slaughtered so many natives in Quetzaltenango that the river was named Quiquel (blood) "because all the water became blood" (Reifler Bricker 1989). The episodes of violence that we see nowadays have their predecessors in the conquest and colonial times. Let us remember, for example, the death of Jacinto Canek, the Quisteil rebel (1791), who "before they ended his suffering with a blow to the head, he had to go through the agony of having his arms and legs broken and have his flesh ripped off with pliers while he was still alive". At the same time, eight rebel chiefs were hanged and cut to pieces, and "their pieces were exhibited to the people of their home towns. Even after the Caste War, at the beginning of 1848, the leaders of the indigenous insurrection wrote letters that denounced the breakage of the independentists' promises and the indiscriminate slaughter of the loyal and rebel indigenous people" (Reifler Bricker 1989: 150).

ratified with… altruistic arguments, charitable or beneficial to help the other, primitive and belated, to overcome the different states of inferiority in which they existed in relation to the 'civilisation'" (Gómez Quintero 2010: 89).

This form of hegemonic thinking was spread universally, recreating in the postcolonial societies "the values and beliefs of the western modernity… that classified the colonialised subjects as otherness… silenced from and by the hegemonic discourses of power-knowledge of modernity" (Gómez Quintero 2010: 87).

Therefore, coloniality refers to, in the words of Anibal Quijano, "a 'pattern of power' that operates through the naturalisation of the racial and social hierarchies that make possible the recreation of the relations of territorial and epistemic dominance that not only guarantee the exploitation of the capital of some human beings by others in a world wide scale, but it also subalterns the knowledge, experiences and ways of livings of those who are dominated and exploited" (quoted by Gómez Quintero 2010: 89).

But besides being a way of applying power, coloniality "validated the construction of a history of civilisation as a path that starts in a primitive state and ends in Europe. This historical centrality of Europe (eurocentrism) distorts the other and alters its self-comprehension. The liberal society is transformed this way, not only in the model the rest of the societies must aspire to be, but in the only possible future for all the other cultures or people" (Castro Gómez 2000: 1554).

And it is because of this supposed universal European historical experience that the forms of knowledge developed for its comprehension become the only valid and objective forms of knowledge. This is how cultural and epistemic colonisation is produced and supposes the hegemony of a system of representation and knowledge 'of' Europe and 'from' Europe. It sets the 'coloniality of knowledge' and it contributes to the naturalisation of the relations of dominance between European colonisers and non-European colonised, associating the delay and the underdevelopment with a racial notion (Castro Gómez 2000).

The European knowledge system was consolidated as true and universal from the conquest and construction of the postcolonial Latin American states. It implied the deep yearning to adopt the way of a modern society that felt like a European state.[3] Nowadays and before the decadence of the national states, it is apparent that the forms of knowledge developed for the comprehension of European society are not necessarily the only valid ones and that public education – and not just that destined to the indigenous – participates in a cultural and epistemological colonisation of the consciousness that is set in the coloniality of the knowledge and

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[3]A clear example of the influence of colonial mentality in the purpose of the educational system is provided by the assertions of Justo Sierra, Secretary of Public Instruction and Fine Arts in the last years of Porfirio Diaz's government: "The indigenous, the peasant, will not have the protection of the State when they have acquired the habit of respect over the interests of the landholders and land owners… The indigenous demand rights over the land they work, over their parents' land, over the land they were born on, but the fact that they are not the actual owners of that land implies that they are less competent [and] the victor has the right to have the fruits of his aptitude respected" (Scanlon/Lezama 1982: 61–80).

validates the hegemony of the representation systems and European knowledge (Castro Gómez 2000).

The 'coloniality of knowledge' has been the background of the discourse of development, validating western superiority in technical, scientific, economic and cultural aspects, updating other old discourses like the one about civilisation, modernity and progress (Castro Gómez 2000: 96). The excuse of modernisation and modern rationality was erected in the new collective belief, supporting the destruction of the social order of traditional societies.

According to Josef Estermann (2014), critical reflection on the decolonisation process is an essential facet of interculturality discourse in the Latin American context. Coloniality is the persistence of the colonial order in regions that have been subject of colonisation, because their formal independence has only changed the means of dominance, military and political occupation to a symbolic and mediate occupation that imposes a way of living and thinking, disqualifying others.

This view is related to Pierre Bourdieu's (2000) concept of 'symbolic violence', which he defines as violence that is applied without physical coaction through the same symbolic ways adopted by the dominants to interpret the world, configuring minds and giving meaning to the action.

The exercise of power requires some justification that hides its arbitrary fundamental character and legitimises it as the natural order of things. It resorts to 'a validating power that provokes the consensus of the dominants with the dominated', imposing a determined vision of the world as universal (Fernández 2005). This validating power is established by symbolic violence, but if that fails it is always possible to go back to open coercion and physical violence, because symbolic power is only applied with the collaboration of those who endure it. In other words, symbolic violence is the way the dominated accept their condition as legitimate (Fernández 2005).

Symbolic violence practices are part of the strategies socially constructed by asymmetrical schemes of power, supported by collective expectations socially instilled. Bourdieu (2000) resorts to the concept of symbolic violence to explain the apparently different phenomena such as personal dominance in traditional societies, dominance of class in advanced societies, relations of dominance between nations (such as imperialism or colonialism) and masculine dominance in primitive and modern societies (Fernández 2005).

Bourdieu points out the importance of the dimension of power relations in pre-capitalistic and post-industrial societies, and stresses the production and re-production of social inequalities and the connection between the social structures and cognitive structures that are applied to interpret the world.

Symbolic power imposes some meanings as legitimate and illegitimates others to create an arbitrary world view: that of the dominant class. The reproduction of this cultural arbitrariness is achieved through the creation of the 'habitus' that covers all acts, thoughts and decisions and is generated and reproduced mainly through education. Pedagogic actions collaborate indirectly in the supremacy of the dominant classes and act as concealment instruments of legitimation (Fernández 2005).

Therefore, symbolic violence is present in pedagogic action, conceptualised in a subtle way orientated to the interiorisation of a cultural attitude ('*habitus*') "capable of perpetuating itself and perpetuating in practice the principles of interiorised

cultural arbitrariness" (quoted by Fernández 2005: 17). "If education does not provide the means to appropriate the dominant culture, at least it could instill the recognition of its legitimacy, because the dominated – affirms Bourdieu (2000) – cannot stop giving the dominants their adhesion, when they only have the schemes of perception and evaluation of the dominants" (Fernández 2005:21). But symbolic violence cannot be applied without the active complicity of those who endure it although not willingly, because the *habitus* works in us unconsciously.

20.3   Conclusions

To sum up, the decolonial movement (with Walter Mignolo, Anibal Quijano, Catherine Walsch and others) leads us to question the possibility of generating national projects for respectable and just life if our history is not recovered and the native culture is not integrated into our identity, because beyond the economic liberalism and the class struggle of Marxist conception, colonisation necessarily leads to asymmetry and hegemony, in the economy and the culture, because the colonists – and the neo-liberal imperialism – need to legitimise and justify their control through the alleged inferiority of the indigenous, the Africans and the working class in general, in relation to the political class in power.[4]

This is why intercultural dialogue cannot happen if we do not first embed the issues of asymmetrical economy, politics, culture and linguistics that are characteristic of neocolonial societies which, in order to pursue the model of modernity, development, Western and North American progress, generated a 'fractured identity', a double consciousness that sought the identity of the coloniser and rejected the past of the indigenous, mestizo and black (Gómez Quintero 2010: 99).

The achievement of a real intercultural dialogue in Mexico requires an educational proposal geared to the majority of the mestizo population – one which, if it wishes to avoid being the instrument of supposedly intercultural globalisation at the service of transnational economic forces, reverses the colonisation mindset that the political bourgeoisie is in charge of perpetuating. Otherwise, the discourse of inclusion and dialogue would only serve to make invisible the structures of asymmetry and hegemony that characterise neocolonial societies.

An education for peace in Latin America certainly implies a change of attitude that complements Western knowledge with the traditions and values of the different peoples and cultures that constitute the region, and to achieve it, critical intercultural education can become a privileged instrument. But it entails, above all, overcoming the stigma and mending all the injustices to which these people have been subjected.

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[4]The colonial – or globalised – culture imposes a foreigner lifestyle on the economically privileged classes that occupy the highest ranks of public administration and that Babacar Sine defines as 'bureaucratic, consumerist, parasitic'. This lifestyle, Sine adds, "represents a very high expense to underdeveloped countries because it implies the overspending of budgets… the diversion of public funds, speculation and corruption" (quoted by Varela Barraza 1985: 144–146).

Therefore, I want to conclude with the words of the National Indigenous Congress (Congreso Nacional Indígena in Spanish) on 2 January 2017: "It is time for the people to sow us and rebuild us. It is time to play tough, and this is the accord that appears before our eyes, in individuals, in communities, in the people, in the CNI; it is time for dignity to rule this country and this world and to let democracy, liberty and justice bloom."

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Dr. Úrsula Oswald Spring and M.Sc. Diana de la Rúa Eugenio

Part VI
Perspectives for CLAIP
in the Twenty-First Century

Prof. Dr. Howard Richards during his keynote intervention

Chapter 21
Solidarity Economy: A Key to Justice, Peace, and Sustainability

Howard Richards

21.1 Introduction

I am going to advance three theses. Of course, the truth or falsity of the theses cannot be evaluated without knowing the meanings of the words that compose them. I am going to devote myself mainly to explaining what the theses mean, that is to say to explain the concepts that compose them. Then readers can evaluate each in her or his own way whether the theses are true or false or, as Edward R. Murrow used to say on the radio many years ago, 'somewhere in between'. The three theses are:

1. At the present time what most locks in place social injustice and a tragic march towards the death of the biosphere is the necessity of maintaining favourable conditions for capital accumulation.
2. The physical dependence of human life on the accumulation of capital, and hence the need for a regime of accumulation, is a necessary consequence of the legal framework that constitutes the market.
3. It is impossible to build a governable economy, and therefore social justice, peace and sustainability, without making the economy less dominated by the necessity to accumulate capital.

It goes without saying that without justice there is no peace, and that without the biosphere there is nothing. The third thesis also has a positive form: It is possible to build a governable economy, and therefore social justice, peace and sustainability with an economy less dominated by the need to accumulate capital.

Prof. Dr. Howard Richards, Professor at the University of Santiago de Chile and born in the United States of America. Email: howardrichards8@gmail.com.

21.2   Capital Accumulation Versus People's Economy

Since the concept of 'capital accumulation' appears in all three theses, it is best to begin by explaining what it is about. It can be said, as a first approximation, that it is simply about profit. The accumulation of capital would simply be a feature of normal business. A normal business is profitable. If it is not profitable it is not undertaken, or not continued.

There is a reason, however, for talking about capital accumulation and not just talking about doing business in order to get profits. The reason is that the process is circular. It is repeated. It is a case of positive feedback. Once you sell the products of a business and get a first profit, you can start over again by investing not the same money but the same money increased, and so on. It's like compound interest. Just as one can go deeper and deeper into debt by paying interest and then interest on interest, as you take out new loans to cover your old loans, until you pile up an astronomical debt like the current public debt of the United States or Japan or Greece, you can also accumulate profits on profits, until you have an astronomical fortune.

In his painstakingly researched *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (2015), Thomas Piketty finds that large fortunes are now accumulating at a rate of 6 to 7 per cent annually. Small and medium fortunes grow at lower rates. From the fact that the growth of large fortunes is greater than economic growth, Piketty concludes that inequality will increase.

Now we have to modify the first approximation again. It should be noted that the majority of businesses do not accumulate capital. They are not profitable in the sense of always accumulating greater amounts of money than the annual decline of the value of money because of price inflation. At best, they may serve to pay over time the value of a house or two, but it is not in the case of a typical family business a matter of real estate accumulation. Usually it happens that one has more children than houses, so four children are, for example, each heirs to the fourth part of a house.

This is the phenomenon of what Jose Luis Coraggio (2004a) has called the people's economy. The family has a business, or the individual has a business, but the business is mainly used to make a living, not to accumulate.

In the people's economy business income tends to be similar to the salaries of those who have salaried work. One can have a daughter who owns the greengrocery on the corner and another daughter who is a teacher, and both make about the same income.

In Latin America, the people's economy is the sector that generates the most employment.[1]

However, nevertheless, it can be said that the capitalist sector[2] – that is to say, the sector that accumulates – is the dominant sector. It produces almost all of the

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[1]According to official statistics, it is the small economic sector that generates the most employment. Official statistics do not track Corragio's concept of people's economy.

[2]The word capitalism was coined by Karl Marx. In his works there are at least three definitions of it. I use the one which says that where there is accumulation there is capitalism, and where there is capitalism there is accumulation.

products found in supermarkets, pharmacies and malls. It produces almost all of the surplus, that is to say almost all that is left over after paying the costs of production.

21.3   Favourable Conditions of Accumulation of Capital

Having clarified a bit what is and what is not capital accumulation, I return to the three theses. They are:

1. At the present time, what most locks in place social injustice and a tragic march toward the death of the biosphere is the necessity of maintaining favourable conditions for capital accumulation.
2. The physical dependence of human life on the accumulation of capital, and hence the need for a regime of accumulation, is a necessary consequence of the legal framework that constitutes the market.
3. It is impossible to build a governable economy, and therefore social justice, peace and sustainability without making the economy less dominated by the necessity to accumulate capital.

Now I have to explain the phrase 'maintain favourable conditions for the accumulation of capital'. A recent book by three famous economists lists those conditions (Rodrik 2011). One condition is low taxes on the profits of investments. Another is a skilled and disciplined workforce, but not high wages. A third is good infrastructure, such as roads and ports. A fourth is access to credit to finance operations. A fifth is the ease of withdrawing the accumulated capital from the country and investing it in another country if the other country becomes more profitable.

There are others, but what is said is sufficient to explain the meaning of 'favourable conditions for capital accumulation'. I proceed to explain why those conditions lead to social injustice.

Since in one way or another the State has to be financed, low or zero taxes on investment income lead in most countries to a high *Value Added Tax* (VAT) paid by all consumers, and an income tax paid mainly by the professional middle class. One way or another, the investing class pays low taxes and others have to make up the deficit. Typically, nobody takes up the entire deficit, leading to the indebtedness of the State. We have already observed that capital accumulation requires good infrastructure and a skilled labour force. Both mean public spending. The outcome of large public expenses and low public income is the fiscal crisis of the State (O'Connor 2002). The State cannot comply with social rights, such as the right to health and the right to a decent retirement, due to the high costs of attracting investment, and because of its low income. The low income of the State is the consequence of an insurmountable wall between the wealth of the country, which remains in private hands, and the needs of the people (Galbraith 1958). The wall is

insurmountable because of the need to attract investment and its flip side, the need to avoid capital flight.

Worse than the case of those who, in spite of their miserable salaries, pay VAT, is the case of the excluded. There are always people who fail when the name of the game is buying and selling. The excluded are those who fail to sell at a decent price and on a regular basis either their labour power or some other commodity. Since the fact that one person desperately needs to sell something to make a living does not impose on any other person a duty to hire or to buy, there is no reason to expect that all would-be sellers will find buyers.

21.4   A Tragic March towards the Death of the Biosphere by the Market

Let this be enough to clarify the meaning of the phrase 'locks in place social injustice'. I repeat again the three theses:

1. At the present time, what most locks in place social injustice and a tragic march toward the death of the biosphere is the necessity of maintaining favourable conditions for capital accumulation.
2. The physical dependence of human life on the accumulation of capital, and hence the need for a regime of accumulation, is a necessary consequence of the legal framework that constitutes the market.
3. It is impossible to build a governable economy, and therefore social justice, peace and sustainability without making the economy less dominated by the necessity to accumulate capital.

Now I need to explain why 'the necessity of maintaining favourable conditions for capital accumulation' locks in place 'a tragic march toward the death of the biosphere'.

The reason is that the principle of accumulation is *more*. The principle of ecology is *less*. Accumulation demands more profit. That's why it demands more sales. To have more sales there has to be more production. There has to be more population so that there are more producers and more consumers.

Ecology advises leaving the coal in the earth instead of burning it and raising the level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. Ecology requires less population, less consumption, less production, fewer sales, less accumulation of money and more conservation of nature. It is for these reasons that ecology teaches us that the path of accumulation is the path to the sunset of the biosphere.

The clarification of why accumulation is inconsistent with ecology overlaps with the clarification of the following concept, namely: 'The physical dependence of human life on the accumulation of capital'.

The issue of our physical dependence on the current system leads me to what I most want to say. It is necessary to encourage already existing tendencies, to recover old practices that have fallen into disuse, and to create new social innovations in order to build another economy that can be called solidarity economy. Solidarity economy can be defined as that economy whose goal is to attend to human needs in harmony with nature, and whose means to achieve this goal are solidarity, imagination, and realism.

Another economy is necessary because we cannot simply opt out of accumulation and choose instead social justice, peace and ecology. That option does not exist. The current system, even with all its drawbacks, produces our daily bread. If it stops working we do not have daily bread, as was evident in Chile in 1973, when there were long queues in the streets where one waited three hours to get half a kilo of bread, and as is evident in Venezuela today.

If we want justice, peace, and sustainability we have to build another economy.

A historical perspective agrees: The human species has existed for more than two hundred thousand years. In all this time, except for less the last six thousand years, it has lived in tribes or clans or small groups, collecting and hunting. The human species has organised the work and distribution of food and other goods in many ways. In recent centuries increasing numbers of human beings have lived by exchanging goods and services for money. We get money by selling something. We get what we need and what we want by buying it with money.

I consider it important to emphasise a thesis of Jürgen Habermas. In the modern world, the market is the institution that most defines society. The government is secondary. We do not live in markets that operate within legal frameworks defined by governments. We live under governments operating within markets (Habermas 1975). So, to think about social change we have to think about changing markets.

There is more. Today, not only selling, but also the *production* of goods and services is primarily for profit. The first step is the investment motivated by confidence that the investment will be profitable. The second step is production It is because of production that there is employment for producers, and goods for the consuming public. The third step is the sale. If all goes well, the fourth step is consumption. It is by the fourth step, consumption, that people can eat and life can continue. It all starts with the first step, the investment. Investment begins with confidence. That is why the first and most necessary task of any government is to assure the confidence of the investors. That is why Habermas teaches that the market is primary and the government is secondary.

The accumulation of capital has become a physical necessity. If it stops working, it is necessary to improvise alternatives, as the Argentines did in the economic collapse of 2001. The Argentines in 2001, like the Chileans under the dictatorship, improvised the solidarity economy with neighbourhood assemblies, with soup kitchens and community meals, with recovered industries, with local currencies to facilitate barter, gift economy, freecycling, shared clothing, cooperative work, and a series of other innovations that emerged as immediate responses to the emergency (Coraggio 2004b).

The accumulation of capital may cease to function either because there is no confidence that investment will be profitable, or because powerful interests want to create an economic crisis in order to overthrow the government, or because of a combination of both. In all three cases, bread, meat, diapers, medicines, matches, spare parts for vehicles, and sometimes even electricity, gas and potable water disappear.

21.5 Regime of Accumulation

Because of the fundamental role of accumulation in the production of the necessities of life, we speak of 'a regime of accumulation'. 'Regime of accumulation' means that all the institutions of a society are compatible with accumulation. Education, family, religion, media, wages, taxes, culture, highways, sports and in sum *everything* has to facilitate and not hinder the accumulation of capital. It is said that in the Sixties the most common accumulation regime in Latin America was developmental. Now it's neoliberal. In the future, it may be another. As long as accumulation is the engine of the economy, all other institutions have to fit with that engine.

Let this suffice to clarify our present physical dependence on the accumulation of capital. I repeat that the three theses are:

1. At the present time, what most locks in place social injustice and a tragic march toward the death of the biosphere is the necessity of maintaining favourable conditions for capital accumulation.
2. The physical dependence of human life on the accumulation of capital, and hence the need for a regime of accumulation, is a necessary consequence of the legal framework that constitutes the market.
3. It is impossible to build a governable economy, and therefore social justice, peace and sustainability without making the economy less dominated by the necessity to accumulate capital.

Now I explain why the inevitable, or perhaps just almost inevitable outcome of the legal framework that constitutes the market is the physical dependence of the population on investor confidence. The legal framework constituting the market is as follows:

1. The laws that govern the ownership of property.
2. The laws that define contracts. Purchases and sales are contracts, each sale being a purchase from the point of view of the buyer, and each purchase being a sale from the point of view of the seller.
3. The definition of the person as a juridical subject capable of owning property and entering into contracts, and therefore of buying and selling.

4. The absence in the law of the solidarity obligations typical of families, clans, tribes and traditional life generally, summarised in the Bible as 'love one another' (John 15:12) and summarised in the ideals of the French revolution as 'fraternity'.

With these legal rules, there is a market. Without them there is no market.

Now again a historical review is appropriate. The market, the law, and the accumulation of capital are social and historical constructs connected to each other. The three evolved together. Their logical evolution is at the same time the trend of their historical evolution.

For two thousand centuries, and to this day in some places, the role of markets has been less, and also different, from the role of markets in the modern economy (Godelier 1976).

In a first phase of an evolution destined to lead to modernity, one can think of the early market as a fair to exchange goods. One goes to the fair with grain from one's farm, with the aim of selling the grain and buying a pig to take the pig home again home again jiggety jig in order to eat sausages made from the pig during the winter. That's 'sell to buy'.[3] There follows a commercial stage that can be called 'buy to sell.' You go to the market to buy grain in order to sell the grain in the winter when prices rise, or to take the grain elsewhere where its price is higher.

Then, in another stage that inevitably follows, commerce defined as buy to sell leads to buy-to-produce-to-sell. Instead of simply buying things and then selling the same things, traders, now entrepreneurs, undertake production. They buy inputs for production, including labour, and sell the products. With this platform of production relations capitalism properly so-called develops, calculating from the beginning the profitability of the investments, thinking from the beginning about the initial purchases and the eventual sales with the purpose of accumulating money.

At a still later stage, typical of today, the stage of production is often eliminated. Today strategies of financial speculation bypass the real economy. Money generates money without facilitating the exchange of grain for pigs or the manufacture of sausages or any useful activity (Hudson 2012).

21.6 Law of Substitution or Governable Economy

I suggest[4] that the historical evolution ending with the current social chaos and the current march toward the death of the biosphere is virtually inevitable, given the legal framework of the market and (retracting the second thesis a little) in the absence or weakness of a culture of solidarity. The law constitutes the institutional

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[3]This historical review follows the sequence of 'forms of value' in the first volume of *Capital* by Karl Marx.

[4]The viewpoint here suggested is one I have further developed with several co-authors in several books available on Amazon, Google, and other sites.

framework of the market. The market, and the market-dominated way of life, tend to make it inevitable that the objective of a great deal of human activity is going to be profit. Once it is established that profitability is the goal, there swings into operation a 'law of substitution' (Marshall 1930). The concept of 'law of substitution' refers to the triumph of those innovations, be they financial or technical, that are more efficient. If they are more efficient for achieving greater profitability, they multiply. They grow. They drive out the earlier and less efficient practices. The triumph of more effective forms of accumulation occurs with greater force because life depends physically on accumulation. It occurs with still greater force because there is a constant and perpetual trend towards insufficient investment to maintain desired levels of employment (Keynes 1936). Public policy perpetually strives to strengthen the inducement to invest, often at the expense of other objectives, in a scenario where the inducement to invest perpetually tends to be too weak.

The denouement is that the general public, once mostly peasant farmers more or less locally self-sufficient, more or less exploited by a more or less military or priestly ruling class, comes to depend physically on a system whose engine is investment undertaken for the purpose of capital accumulation.

I move on to the third thesis, discussing it more in its positive form than in its negative form:

It is impossible to build a governable economy, and therefore social justice, peace and sustainability, without making the economy less dominated by the necessity to accumulate capital.

Saying almost the same thing, but in a positive way: It is possible to build a governable economy, and therefore social justice, peace and sustainability with an economy less dominated by the necessity to accumulate capital.

I explain the phrase 'less dominated by the necessity to accumulate capital'.

That necessity is necessary to the extent that to create employment and in general to meet the needs of people such as the need for bread, meat, diapers etc. there is no alternative.

That necessity is no longer necessary, or is less necessary, to the extent that *there are alternatives*.

Thus, the meaning of the third thesis in its positive form is that to the extent that there exist or come into existence alternatives – that is, effective ways to meet human needs in harmony with nature, whose motivation is not the accumulation of capital – then justice, peace, and sustainability become possible.

Now I will explain the phrase: 'It is possible to build a governable economy'.

It is possible because there are already many alternatives that are already working that can be enhanced.

Some of them are: everything mentioned above as a solidarity economy improvised in times of crisis; the public sector, parts of the private sector, the non-profit sector, the cooperative sector, and what Coraggio calls 'the people's

economy'. I repeat that the popular economy is made up of the many self-employed people and small business people who are in business to make a living, but who do not accumulate any considerable amount of capital.

The 'parts of the private sector' that are alternatives to a world driven by capital accumulation domination are the booming field of social entrepreneurship (Kliksberg 2011) and the mission-driven companies committed in a serious way and not simply as propaganda to social responsibility and creating shared value (Prahalad 2005).

An economy built on solidarity and not on accumulation for the sake of accumulation is also made possible by the advance of science. Sustainability and social justice are made easier to achieve by new and forthcoming *green technologies* that make it possible to do more with less (Diamandis/Kotler 2013). Cultures of solidarity are more possible than they were in the past because of advances in the educational and psychological sciences. Education for peace and moral education have become capable of making a difference (Navarro 2012).

21.7   Solidarity Economy

A solidarity economy is possible because there are remedies to overcome the fiscal crisis of the State. One is the capture of rents, not only rents from natural resources but also other kinds of rents. Another is the reassertion of the public roles of banks and of money (Wray 2012; Richards 2017).

A peace and justice counter-culture is possible because there are talented creators of culture whose hearts and minds are independent enough to resist conforming to the norms imposed by a regime of accumulation.

Alternative economies are possible because other legal frameworks are possible. As we speak, there is emerging an updated rule of law whose *Grundnorm* (fundamental principle) is respect for human rights, especially social rights. Starting from declarations and international conventions that already have the force of law, an updated jurisprudence will not defend either an absolute right of property ownership or an absolute freedom of contract when they are incompatible with social rights. It will recognise the legal legitimacy of building institutions to comply with the requirements of ecology and the requirements of social justice (Atria 2013, 2014).

I suggest that when it is no longer necessary to subordinate all ecological and social objectives to the overriding objective of making investors confident that their investments will be profitable, it will be possible to solve many problems that today appear to have no solutions. Accumulation just for the sake of accumulation can become responsible management. The private appropriation of the social surplus can become the commitment of persons with a moral compass to serve the common

good (Felber 2015). Surplus can be prudently recycled, partly to future production and partly to social spending – especially the surplus from the new advanced technologies. Through both public and private channels, resources can be transferred from where they are not needed to where they are needed. The excluded can be included by funding the separation of the right to live from the necessity of selling. Instead of standing around the streets dealing drugs, hustling, hooking, or just wandering around depressed, the formerly excluded can develop their talents (for example musical talent) or do useful work (for example planting trees to reverse global warming) while robots do the grunt work that in earlier times was done by human beings.

With this I finish. I have devoted myself mainly to explaining the meanings of the concepts that compose the three theses, including the third thesis in its positive form. Now it's up to the reader. I ask you to evaluate as best you can in the light of your experience, your readings, and your thinking, to what extent the three theses are true and to what extent they are false.

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Chapter 22
Proposal for a Mexican Model of Investment in Renewable Energy in Mexico, in Response to the Extractivist Model of Fossil Resources

Emmanuel Gomez Morales and Aida Viridiana Vargas Zavala

22.1 International Perspectives. Paradigm Shift in Decision Making on Investment in Sustainable Infrastructure

According to the Global Environment Fund, the world is at a crucial crossroads for the future of energy. As a consequence of climate change, the increase in our addiction to oil and other fossil fuels, the growth of imports and the increasing costs of energy, developing countries are now more vulnerable than ever (Global Environment Found 2012), due to the low price scenarios for fossil resources.

Every day we observe more economies that, under pressure from these factors, are rethinking and questioning their growth models and the decisions on energy taken in recent years. The world financial crisis brought to the fore the need to review the economic growth model, taking a far more critical position against consumerist practices and production. Nowadays, there is an ever growing awareness in the political sphere and among the public in general of the need to reduce the effects of human activities on the environment and, very specially, the *greenhouse gas emissions* (GHG).

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22.1.1   Short- or Long-Term Planning? Why Invest in Renewables with Predictions of Low Prices for Fossil Fuels?

Renewable energy is the most important part of the energy sector due to its potential for reducing emissions of GHGs, other pollutants, and to increase the use of local and decentralised sources of energy. Simultaneously, it reduces conflicts associated with the extraction of fossil hydrocarbons (for example, in the Middle East), and with *fracking*. Renewable sources are immune to the volatility of the markets for fossil fuels and, additionally, they are accompanied by the benefits of stimulating employment, technological development and economic growth. There can be no doubt that renewable energy is a key element for a sustainable future. However, notwithstanding the generalised awareness of its benefits, in an international scenario of low prices for oil and gas, is a real effort being made to achieve a greater advantage from these resources and shift consumption from fossil fuels? Or is this just another rhetorical aim of nations?

In a review and analysis of different policies related to investment in clean energy, we observe that, in countries such as the United Kingdom, the US and Spain, among others, the shift in the energy paradigm is being taken seriously, and their governments have started to change their energy planning mechanisms. They are assessing benefits for the energy infrastructure, as well as for the financing mechanisms, and they are generating approaches and methods to calculate the impact produced by an investment plan in clean energy (renewables and energy efficiency) at different levels of the economy. But they also seek a greater participation by private initiatives in the financing of projects, and this is sending a signal concerning the attractiveness of deals, which might emerge from this sort of investment, with the adequate promotional and regulatory framework. In the following paragraphs we will mention briefly some interesting examples.

Considering the present general situation, in which global emission of CO_2 has been over the 400 ppm threshold since 2013, a new economically and environmentally feasible growth model, capable of responding to the challenges of the twenty-first century, is urgently needed. Countries try to compete with China, Brazil or India, apart from confronting the effects of climate change and an ever-increasing shortage of resources.

Investments in infrastructure should support the transition towards an economy that is efficient in terms of resources and clean – meaning low in carbon emissions – as this could be the cornerstone of a new growth model. These investments have the potential to be economically and environmentally sustainable. They can also provide a short term stimulus and contribute towards resetting the economy to a more investment-friendly attitude, instead of financing debt, setting its sights on long-term growth (Morgan 2013).

In the United Kingdom there is an ambitious plan to implement these investments, and expenditure in clean infrastructure might grow from 1.5 per cent to 2.2

of GDP in the next two years. In the USA, especially in California, efforts are being made to promote clean energy policies in various states, together with the use of electric vehicles.

These policies offer various benefits: they reduce the demand for energy; alleviate the stress of the energy system; mitigate climate change and the deterioration of the environment, apart from stimulating economic development. California is leading this process, along with other American states.[1]

In its Plan for Renewably Energy 2011–2020, Spain expects to promote investments of more than 62 billion euros, of which more than 55 billion are earmarked for the generation of electricity. Apart from quantifiable direct economic effects, such as prevented fuel imports, principally natural gas and gas oil, there is the matter of reduced emissions of CO_2. In terms of averted imports of fuel, it is predicted that the Spanish plan will generate savings of about 25.5 billion euros, and savings due to reduction of CO_2 emissions of about 3,567 million euros; that is, close to 47 per cent of the projected investment. In terms of job creation, in 2010 there were 88,209 jobs linked with renewable energy, and it is expected that by 2020 the number will have reached 302,866.

As can be observed, changes in the energy paradigm, aimed at greater use of clean sources of energy, foster internal growth in countries and regions, with benefits such as the creation of jobs both in the short – during the building of installations – and the long terms, during their operation. Furthermore, constant investment in these technologies feeds the creation of local jobs linked to the manufacture, distribution, sale, installation and maintenance of equipment and technology. Summing up, renewable energy, in the first place, underpins social and environmental care, beyond financial benefits, and in the second, compensates flaws in the energy market. All this translates into income improvement for the population, reduction of poverty and sickness and, for the same reasons, reduces social and environmental conflicts.

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[1]California is studying an initiative for 'one million solar roofs', which, between 2007 and 2016, translated into saved investments in energy generation capacity of 7.1 billion dollars. Another study undertaken in Ohio, a region deeply affected by loss of jobs in the manufacturing sector, showed that gross income from renewable energy projects almost topped 800 million dollars, and the renewable energy industry generated more than 6,600 jobs. Other studies indicated that, for every million dollars invested in wind generation technology, jobs are generated with an average duration of 2.5 years. Furthermore, every million dollars invested in wind or photovoltaic generation creates jobs with an average duration of 5.7 years, compared with 3.9 years' duration of jobs generated in the operation of a coal-powered plant. Another example of the benefits derived from investments in clean energy is that each dollar invested in concentrated solar generation in California results in 1.4 additional dollars in terms of state GDP (US-EPA 2011).

22.1.2 Social and Environmental Sense of Clean Infrastructure, Beyond Financial Returns on Investment

Investments in clean infrastructure must be profitable, but the understanding and forms of assessing profitability are changing, as they include the positive and negative effects beyond sheer cash returns. Apart from economic assessments, technological benefits are taken into account, as well as environmental improvements, such as reduction of pollution and mitigation of climate change. Even if the principal reasons for investing in clean energy are the reduction of pollution associated with the growing energy demand and, particularly, to confront climate change, it is also clear that other benefits linked to conflicts over fossil fuels, which have caused multiple wars, are likely to accrue.

22.1.3 Market Flaws, Imperfections in the Energy Markets, Subsidies and Other Distortions

According to neoclassic economic theory, government intervention in markets is justified when some flaw comes to light. A great majority of environmental regulations are based upon flaws in the market, the externality or the impact on the well-being of people unrelated to the activities. Environmental pollution is one of the clearest examples of an externality; it caused seven million deaths in 2016 from air pollution alone (WHO 2017). There is another justification for intervening in markets. Due to flaws in the financial markets – such as a greater prevention of risk, weak financial institutions, etc. – there could be an under-utilisation of labour and capital, which could be resolved with clean infrastructure. By means of encouragement to aggregate demand in a situation in which demand is weak, investment in clean infrastructure could contribute to leading the economy towards a state of equilibrium in the use of resources available on the market. Morgan (2013) estimates that, for each dollar invested in these technologies, another is generated that benefits the local community.

There can be no doubt that clean energy increases regional economic production, but it is also an attractive deal for investors. According to the report by the United Nations Programme for the Environment (UNEP 2015) world investment in renewable energy gained ground in 2014, with 270 billion dollars that were reflected in 103GW of clean electricity, almost half the aggregate energy capacity in the whole world.

22.2 World Energy Overview… More is Better?

Energy is the principal way to access basic needs such as food and water. At the same time, it generates opportunities for improving the quality of life. However, the type of energy used has a local and global direct impact, both in terms of emissions of GHGs, or by pressure on the energy markets and productive chains. In terms of aggregates, the countries with the greatest consumption of primary energy are highly industrialised or emerging economies in Asia. China is the country with the greatest energy demand, with about 3 *billion tons of crude oil equivalent* (BTCOE) per year, followed by the USA with 2.187 BTCOE per year and India with 0.819 BTCOE per year. The member countries of the European Union, Mexico and Brazil demand between 0.150 and 0.400 BTCOE per year, while the Nordic countries of Europe and the rest of South America range between 0.030 and 0.100 BTCOE per year (ENERDATA 2015).

22.2.1 Worldwide Consumption of Energy Per Capita, Minimum Energy Requirements to Achieve Quality of Life

Energy consumption per capita is a key factor for nations to attain a minimum standard of living, and there is a clear correlation between the *Human Development Index* (HDI) and *energy consumption per capita* (ECPC). It has been estimated that a person living in a warm climate and with energy efficiency requires a minimum of 0.8 tons of crude oil equivalent, while in colder circumstances he/she would require a minimum ECPC of 1.5 (Sheifield 1998). If we examine the global energy situation, we observe that industrialised countries command a much higher ECPC that developing countries. The USA and Canada top the list with 7 ECPC; the Nordic countries of the European Union are between 4.5 and 6.16 ECPC, while Mexico consumes 1.61 ECPC, only slightly above the recommended minimum (Fig. 22.1).

Undoubtedly, ECPC is affected by per capita GDP (Fig. 22.1). Here we observe a direct correlation between greater ECPC and greater GDP. A desired path for Mexico would be to increase ECPC to propel the economic growth of the country, improve quality of life and provide a greater per capita income. This path should result in an ECPC between 2.5 and 3, and a per capita GDP between U$S 20,000 and U$S 30,000 yearly. Contemplating the means necessary to achieve this, we can analyse some development and energy policies in place in Chile, Spain, the United Kingdom and Germany (Fig. 22.2).
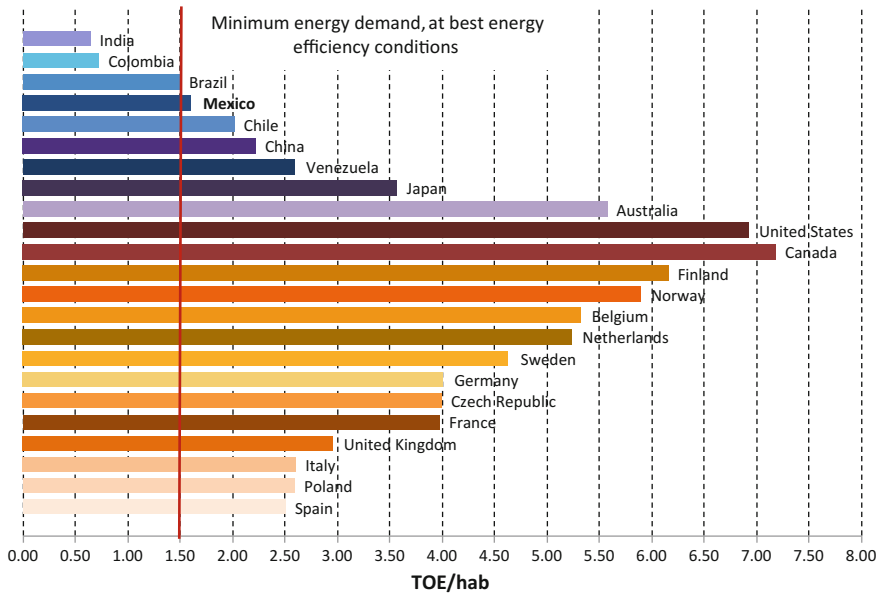
Fig. 22.1 Energy consumption per capita. *Source* The authors with data from ENERDATA (2015)
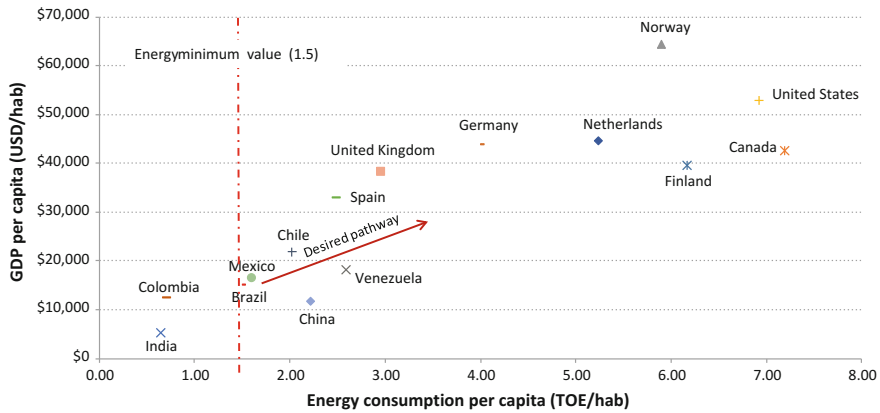
Fig. 22.2 Energy consumption per capita versus GDP per capita. *Source* The authors with data from ENERDATA (2015)

22.2.2 Global Energy Intensity: How Efficient is the Energy System of an Economy?

According to analyses by the International Energy Agency (2008), governments are aware that they must improve the use of energy resources, and consequently the

consumption of energy has increased at a slower rate than economic activity in a majority of countries. The worldwide energy intensity, in terms of final energy used per unit of GDP, was calculated between 1990 and 2005 (Fig. 22.3). This has diminished by 26 per cent, especially in non OECD countries, due to structural changes in productive distribution and greater efficiency. Changes in energy intensity should not affect the growth rate of nations or their industrial development, as we are procuring a decoupling of GDP from energy intensity levels.

To accelerate energy efficiency is a technological challenge which impacts climate policies. In terms of energy intensity, great contrasts are observed.[2] In the stratum of values between 1.5 and 2.0 kWh/USD we find both developed countries like Canada, the US, Australia and Finland, and emerging economies like China and South Korea. Between 1.0 and 1.5, there are highly industrialised countries like Germany and Japan, and emerging economies like Mexico and Chile. In Fig. 22.4 we show the performance of energy intensity in countries, in terms of kWh/USD, at 2013 constant prices.

Analysing the performance of per capita consumption of energy against energy intensity, we observe that the desirable trajectory for Mexico could increase energy consumption efficiently, approaching levels existent in countries like Chile, Spain, the United Kingdom and Germany; these last three exhibit high values of energy consumption, but low intensity (Fig. 22.4).

Considering the impact of per capita energy consumption, we observe that an increase in this indicator results in an improvement in the quality of life and in the HDI, as we can observe in the performances of countries like Chile, Spain, the United Kingdom or Germany (Fig. 22.5).

Finally, comparing per capita energy consumption against the GINI index (an indicator which measures inequality in the distribution of income) we observe that countries with greater per capita energy consumption also have a better distribution of income; in other words, the difference between the poor and the rich is smaller (Fig. 22.6).

From the information analysed in this section, we can glean that a greater energy demand is correlated with greater economic and human development, apart from a better distribution of riches. However, a rationality in the patterns of supply and demand of energy must exist, in such a way that supply is economically efficient, fair and, above all, sustainable; in other words, it must be clean and with a low carbon content.

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[2]Changes in energy intensity are conditioned by three factors: the demand for energy services, GDP and energy efficiency. The IEA has shown that the factor which contributes most to the reduction of energy intensity in member countries of the OECD is the decoupling of the demand for energy from GDP (producing more with less energy). On the other hand, it has been observed that a greater use of renewable sources results in greater energy efficiency (Harmsen et al. 2011).
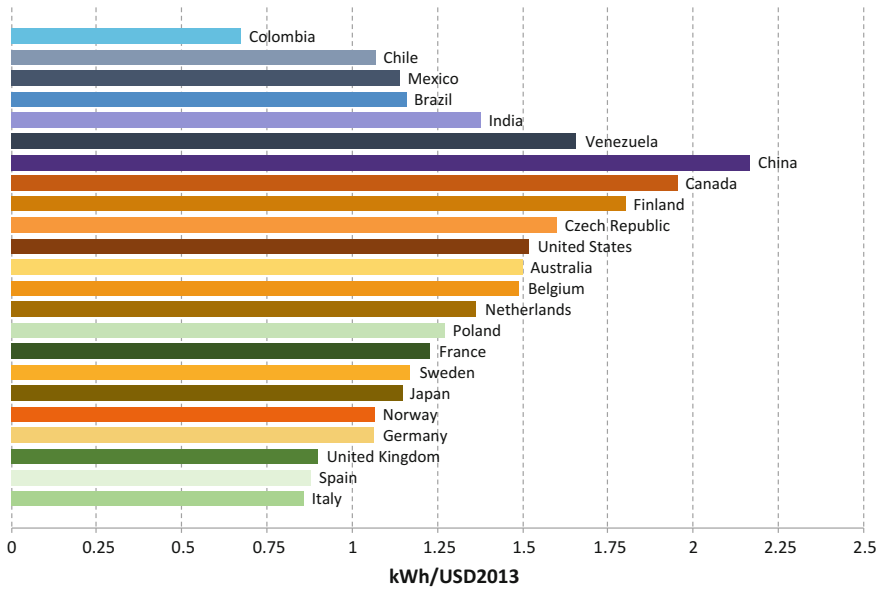
Fig. 22.3 Energy intensity from selected countries (kWh/USD$_{2013}$). *Source* The authors with data from ENERDATA (2015)
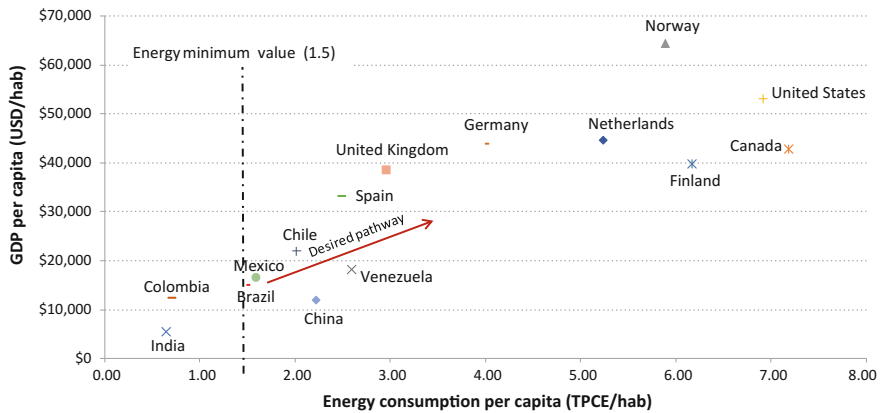
Fig. 22.4 Energy intensity versus Energy consumption per capita. *Source* The authors with data from ENERDATA (2015)

22.2.3 Participation of Renewable Energy in Mixes Used: Implications for Their Use

In India and Brazil the participation of renewable sources in the 'energy basket' goes from 25 per cent to 40 per cent, due, principally, to the great potential of
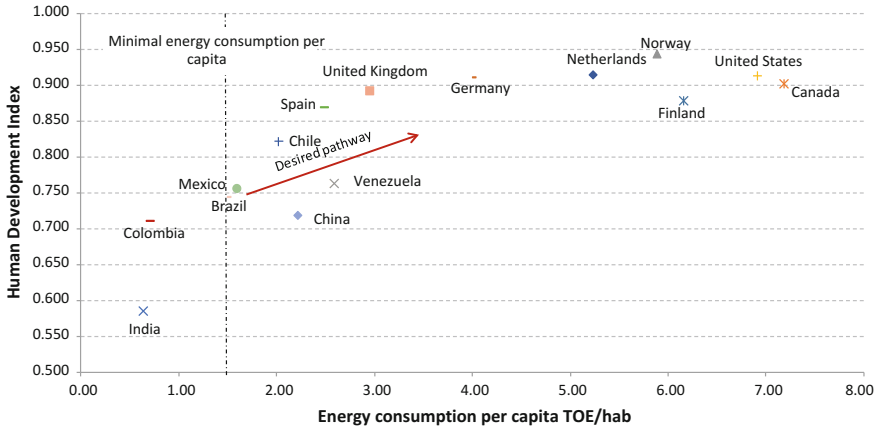
Fig. 22.5 Energy intensity versus Human Development Index. *Source* The authors with data from ENERDATA (2015)
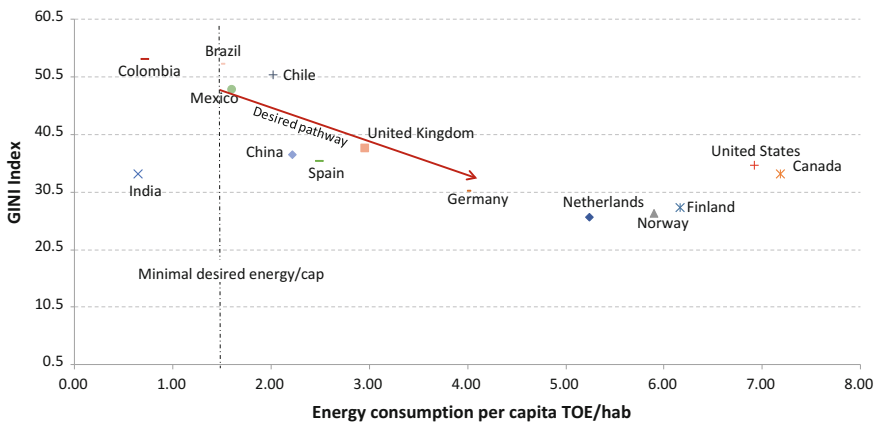
Fig. 22.6 Energy consumption per capita versus GINI Index. *Source* The authors with data from ENERDATA (2015)

technologically undeveloped renewable resources, like water and biomass. At the other extreme, we find developed countries like Finland, Holland and Norway, in which the consumption of renewable energy represents between 27 per cent and 43 per cent, but with a predominance of wind technologies. The United Kingdom, Germany, Spain and the United States, notwithstanding that the participation of renewables in the basic energy 'basket' is under 15 per cent, have in place national commitments and policies to encourage their greater use (Fig. 22.7).

When we link the use of renewable energy to human development, we observe that the higher the use of renewables in a given country, the better conditions of life are observed (Fig. 22.8).
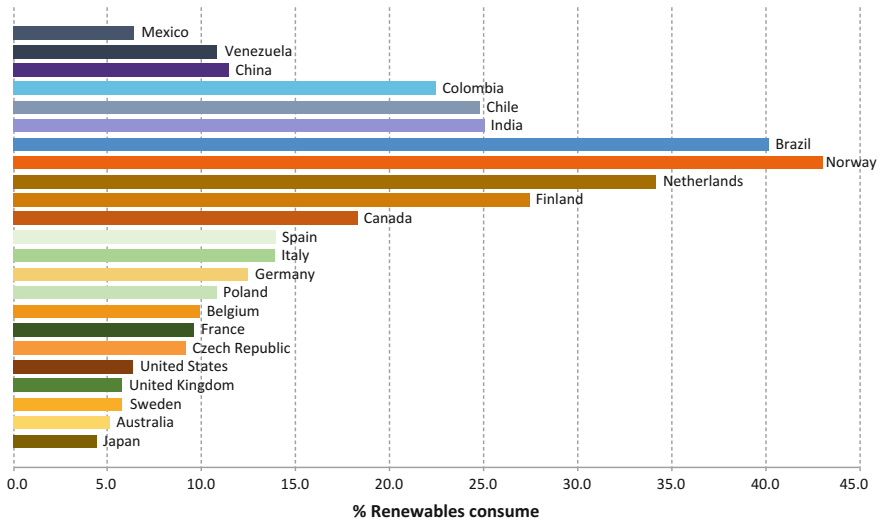
Fig. 22.7 Renewable use in the energy mix (per cent). *Source* The authors with data from ENERDAT (2015)
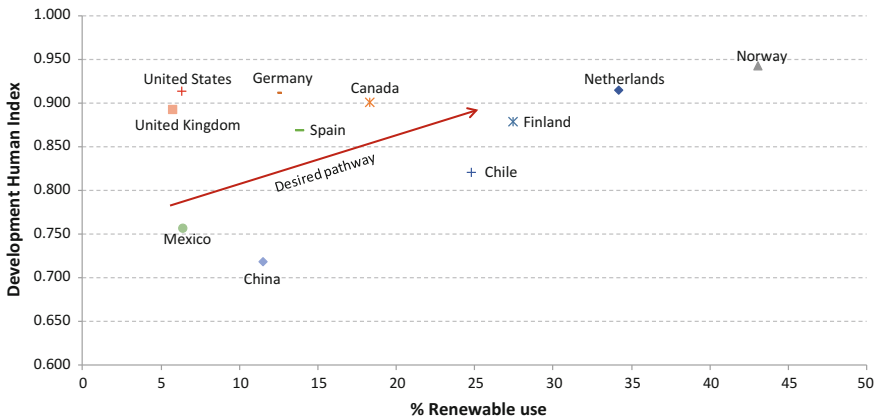
Fig. 22.8 Renewable use versus Human Development Index. *Source* The authors with data from ENERDATA (2015)

Furthermore, renewable energy tends to propagate a better distribution of resources too (Fig. 22.9). To reduce the differences in development within one country helps economic growth and reduces violence within that country (Pickety 2005). According to OECD statistics, during the last two decades, the accumulative
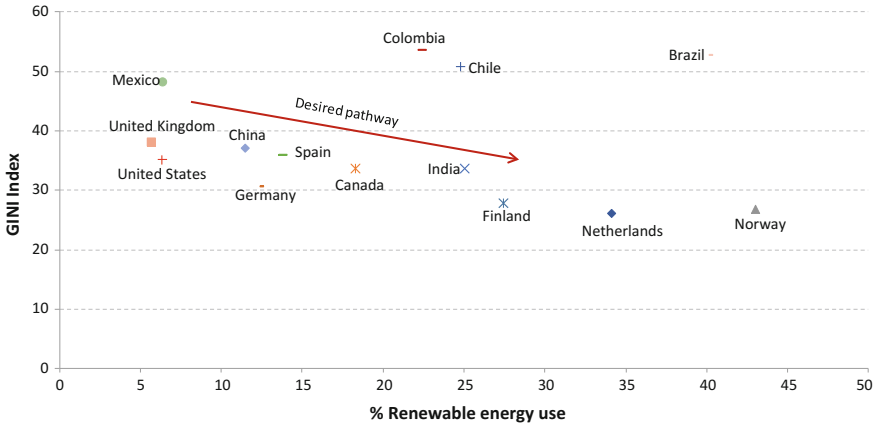
Fig. 22.9 Renewable use versus GINI Index. *Source* The authors with data from ENERDATA (2015)
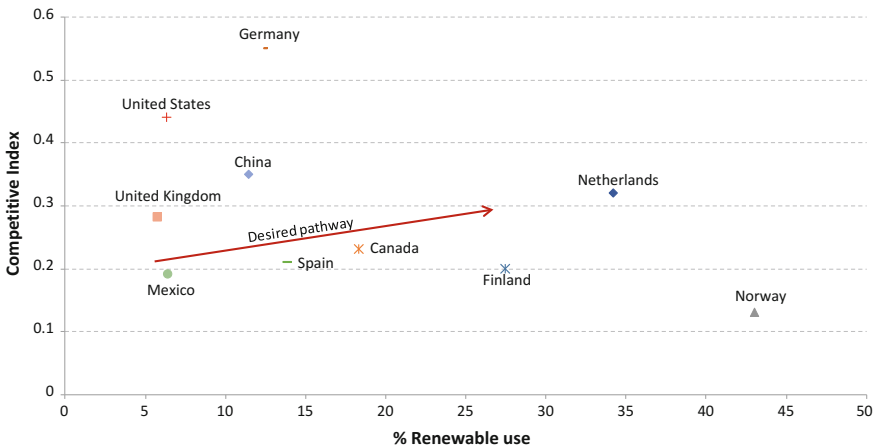
Fig. 22.10 Renewable use versus Competitive Index. *Source* The authors with data from ENERDATA (2015)

growth rate in Italy, the United Kingdom and the USA would have been from 6 to 9 percentage points higher if inequality hadn't grown; in contrast, greater levels of equality help to impel GDP per capita in Spain, France and Ireland in the same period.

Similarly, renewable energy sources also have a positive impact on competitiveness among nations, measured according to the standards of the *United Nations Industrial Development Organization* (UNIDO) (Fig. 22.10).

Briefly, a greater use of renewable sources of energy promotes better development conditions, reduces inequality and enhances competitiveness, as well as caring for the environment.

22.2.4 CO_2 Emissions: Filling in the Carbon Footprint

Although the number of climate change mitigation policies grows daily, between 1970 and 2010 the anthropogenic emissions of GHGs has grown; particularly between 2000 and 2010 they increased, on average, 1.0 gigatons of $GtCO_{2eq}$, or 2 per cent per year. This figure is much higher than the 0.4 $GtCO_{2eq}$ observed between 1970 and 2000. The burning of fossil fuels for the production of energy and for industrial processes are the sectors which fuelled 65 per cent of the increase in the total emissions of GHGs.

There are several different technological options for policies aimed at reducing emissions of GHGs; among these technological options, we have renewable energy. Among the countries that most contribute to CO_2 emissions derived from the burning of fossil fuels, China is at the top of the list, followed by the US, Japan and India, with emission levels between 1,000 and 8,500 million tons of CO_2 in 2010. As mentioned, China is the greatest contributor, but on a per capita basis, the US is still first.

The context of the previous data analysed shows that, given the trend in some countries to exploit their resources intensively, impacts on the environment were generated that will be inherited by future generations.

We have been able to observe that the energy model based on fossil fuels is clearly an extractivist model; in the majority of countries in which this extraction takes place, there are negative impacts and few benefits.

This extractivist model does not generate development in the nations in which the extraction takes place, and this triggers inequality, poverty, and consequently conflicts and violence, particularly among vulnerable groups.

On the other hand, nations which have shifted their energy models towards less intensive systems in the extraction of energy resources have generated greater efficiency in the use of these fuels, and have taken greater advantage of renewable sources of energy; apart from reducing environmental impacts, they have stimulated growth and development, and have abated inequality.

However, it is not enough to change the energy paradigm and steer it towards less intensive sources; it is also necessary to change the way in which the major energy projects are developed; in most cases, according to the present model, these projects cause conflict and displacement of population; projects designed from a

'bottom-up' point of view, in which affected communities are involved from the beginning, and represent an axis for the development of the project, in such a way that they benefit from it, directly and long term.

Considering what we have spelled out so far, we propose the following Mexican model for investments in renewable energy, which contemplates the following aspects:

1. Identify development needs of the community in which a renewable energy project is planned (demand for water, energy, employment, infrastructure, etc.).
2. Identify the capabilities of the local population that could be integrated into the project (qualified labour, training needs).
3. Harmonise the needs of the population with the interests of the developer of the project, in such a way that the design is carried out keeping those needs in mind.
4. Incorporate the population and key actors into the decision-making process of the project from the beginning.
5. Establish strategies according to which the population is capable of taking an active part and even some property rights in the project.
6. Design easily accessible and reproducible tools capable of showing all impacts and benefits that will be generated, in such a way that the population can possess the elements necessary to arrive at an informed decision on the project.
7. Establish mechanisms for negotiating compensation for damages and sharing benefits, from the beginning.

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Lunchtime for participants in the cafeteria

Chapter 23
Future Perspectives for Peace Research in Latin America and the Caribbean: Synthesis of Research and Proposals Presented at the X CLAIP Congress

S. Eréndira Serrano Oswald and Úrsula Oswald Spring

> "*It's not about turning the page but rather reading it again, only this time together*".
>
> —Mandela

23.1   Introduction

The challenges for peace research in Latin America and the Caribbean have transformed over the past forty years since CLAIP was established. Back then, the main concern was the end of military dictatorial regimes and the transition to democracy. Throughout these four decades, the countries of the subcontinent opted for democratic elections, with the challenges of transparent elections limiting the political influence of economic elites.

Nevertheless, electoral democratisation only partially permeated decision-making in favour of a repartition of national rents. Latin America continues to be the most unequal region in the world despite the efforts of governments led by presidents such as Luiz Inácio Lula and Dilma Rousseff in Brazil, Cristina Fernández in Argentina, and the governments of Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela, that had a clear goal to support vulnerable sectors (CEPAL 2015). Recently, electoral and juridical changes in Argentina and Brazil have once gain supported a neoliberal model that mainly benefits national elites and an international oligarchy (Oxfam 2017).

23.2   Tenth International CLAIP Congress: Key Ideas

With the *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs), governments at the UN decided to solve environmental and social challenges, including gender equity. Women are responsible for offering clean water and food to their families, but they are also mainly in charge of producing foodstuffs in their family gardens. At the same time, in war conflicts with disasters (i.e., Haiti) women are more exposed and have fewer personal resources and less government support. However, they still bear

responsibility for solving everyday life survival problems such as water, food, energy and medical care. In the face of new pressures, their workload is exacerbated by violence, social, gender and environmental vulnerability. If migration is an option, frequently these women stay behind in charge of the extended family and productive processes, awaiting remittances that often do not materialise. The triple workload (production, household chores with care of children and elders, political and community work) increases without the support of migrant partners, with multiple physical and emotional consequences (Serrano Oswald 2013; Flores 2014). In 2002, the CLAIP Secretary General was for the first time a woman, and since then gender has been a transversal lens of analysis and an important item in the peace research agenda. At the International Congress in Peru in 2012 a permanent gender study group was formed, encompassing topics such as the trafficking of children and women, the democratisation of the household, women and labour, living conditions and vulnerability, and gender identities.

The second central topic that emerged since the nineties is environmental degradation (Brauch et al. 2008, 2009, 2011), sustainability (Brauch et al. 2016) and sustainable peace (Oswald et al. 2014). Global environmental change and climate change (IPCC 2013, 2014a, b) and the Anthropocene (Crutzen 2002) are
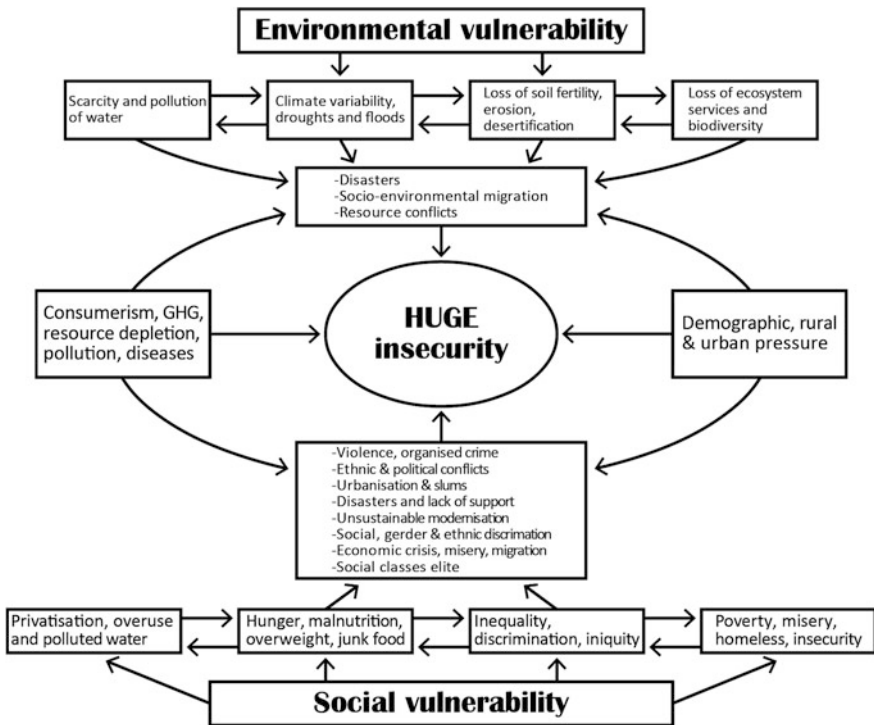
Fig. 23.1 Dual vulnerability: social and environmental. *Source* Oswald (2013a: 21)

challenges with increasing importance for Latin America. For example, the populations of the Caribbean islands, Mexico and the Mesoamerican region, as well as some South American countries (Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Brazil), have been and will be increasingly exposed to extreme hydro-meteorological events. It is in coastal and mountainous areas where social and environmental vulnerability combine with a lack of early alert systems, preventative evacuation and resilience and adaptation policies. We agree with the Earth Charter (2000) that 'we stand at a critical moment in Earth's history, a time when humanity must choose its future'. The concept of double vulnerability integrates in a graph (Fig. 23.1) the complex and negative interrelation between existing and emerging social vulnerability linked to anthropogenic environmental vulnerability, where extractive activities increase risks for exposed populations in Latin America.

Dr. Úrsula Oswald Spring, Dr. S.E. Serrano Oswald and Dr. Francisco Rojas during coffee break

No doubt traditional politics that promoted economic growth with a focalised combat of poverty (BM 2014) and environmental care proved inefficient as they mainly benefited rich people and developed nations. Without a comprehensive policy that links unemployment to social and environmental problems, with a transversal gender and generational perspective, there will be no effective disaster prevention and mitigation, since poor and marginal communities are most affected. This scenario led to a discussion of integrated scenarios for the twenty-first century including wars; social-environmental conflicts; sustainable, equitable, diverse and nonviolent peace; first, second and third generation human rights; peace education, gender equity and inclusion of indigenous and ethnic groups; and new peace and security challenges in Latin America. At each thematic axis, specific proposals were made for CLAIPs mission in the twenty-first century.

23.3   The Struggle for Peace, Against War, in the Global Context

Pablo González Casanova argued that

> the most sophisticated counterinsurgent policies not only accumulated knowledge directly linked to social policies and politics of war. They also enabled the great metropolises in the Occident to become aware of the importance of a long known fact… soft hegemonic war takes place in a historical process of fragmentation of the metropolitan or dependent nation state vis-à-vis its institutions, organisations, and public, centralised, decentralised and autonomous enterprises. The weapons and ammunitions that are increasingly used in soft wars are mainly financial, with different combinations of collusion, co-optation and corruption policies, as well as legal and illegal actions, and those that are in the hands of organised crime groups, as well as local leaders and hit men. They implant structural reforms using all sorts of violence types against poor people and their goods, depriving them.

Gilberto López y Rivas analysed global state terrorism and asymmetric wars on the planet. This calls for a radical democracy with absolute respect for human rights and participatory democracy. *Luis Holder* and *Julio Cárdenas*, two military men from Venezuela, explored cyberspace wars, where information control becomes the modern tool of war and of control of citizens, currently mainly in the hands of the hegemonic superpower. Far from offering greater transparency and democratic citizens' participation, 'the cloud' is becoming a powerful manipulation device of people and governments.

Pietro Ameglio Patella was part of a Catholic world movement against the concept of 'just war', promoting 'just peace' instead. The experiences of nonviolent actions of Church sectors in different parts of the world showed existing violence. Social movements exposed to armed conflicts agreed that the first priority was reaching a ceasefire, assisting victims, mediation, claims and popular diplomacy. Once the minimum conditions of stability were reached, there were divergent examples of significant, inspiring and challenging actions that the Catholic Church could promote, such as interreligious encounters, civil disobedience and non-cooperation, as well as a nonviolent ways of disposing of bodies. Some of the examples of civil disobedience implied people withdrawing their material resources and their presence at the source of their adversaries' and oppressors' power, stopping the reproduction of injustices. Ending violence enabled the construction of a 'peace zone', where affected people and groups could not only survive but also reproduce socially and culturally. The 'conscientious objection', the opposition to arms use and military spending, and the deployment of people and legal teams which favour nonviolent practices, as well as the boycotting of unethical banks helped to reduce physical violence. Thus, together with Pope Francis, churches, religious and laypeople were committed and determined to fulfil the central objective of attaining a 'positive peace' with justice and dignity, without ambiguities and with determination.

23.4 Socio-environmental Conflicts and Sustainable, Equitable, Diverse and Nonviolent Peace

In the face of a threatening future, we have hope. Although the future holds little promise, there has been an emergence of social movements in response to the estrangement and dispossession arising from the expansion of corporate capitalism, which is sustained in a utilitarian vision of geographical space. The threat of the Anthropocene is presented by the media as a crisis of civilisation, almost a war before the end of the world, sustained by images and news of violence, armed conflict, misery, migration, climate change and environmental disasters caused by a civilisation model based on consumerism and money. A kind of political theology that sustained capitalist mega-extractivism emerged, based on the ideology of progress and capital accumulation. A new world system expanded, which has acquired diverse adjectives over time such as 'colonial', 'capitalist', 'industrialist', and 'patriarchal', and in Latin America it has focused on expropriating the region's natural resources. The neoliberal governments in Latin America have promoted these processes of expropriation with physical and symbolic force, institutionally masked as a state of exception that gradually transformed territories and ecosystems.

Political economy advocates that the Earth belongs to us and thus we can dispose of its raw materials and biodiversity for the development of our metropolises and consumption models. Technological advances have been applied for both the destruction and creation of the planet; this is the paradox of creation and destruction posed by the expansionist dynamic of the neoliberal model. As a result, modernity has degraded nature. The emerging question was, in the name of whom or why was it possible to reach the situation that has threatened life in the planet and humanity? Furthermore, what do we mean when we speak of humanity? The conclusion of participants was that mega-extractivism alters and disregards the environment and indigenous or local groups. An important question posed by native communities is whether there can be any form of compensation for the destruction of sacred historical sites linked to giving primacy and furthering extractivist interests.

Maritza Islas Vargas showed that capitalism promotes the proliferation of small and medium-sized producers, although at the same time there is a monopolist control of energy and materials. In extractivism, it is important to know the type of production in order to understand the monopolist structure of concentration and organisation of financial flows of corporations, where capitalism has gone beyond traditional economic history. The term extractivism links to the financial and productive economy in order to be able to exploit and deplete resources. This requires both natural raw materials and the financial economy in order to circulate capital. According to the author, transnational corporations sought profits, and the capitalist dynamic caused the concentration of resources, although this has left the natural and economic systems vulnerable. On the other hand, social movements have emerged, opposing environmental destruction, emphasising that the Earth is not for sale. This led to government repression, and grass-roots organisations have reconceptualised violence as 'defence and resistance'.

Rogelio Hernández Almanza, Marina Inés de la Torre Vázquez and *José Juan Russo Foresto* integrated the extraction of social and human resources with

environmental resources in the face of perverse policies that benefit a minority, harming the majority. The resolution of environmental conflicts is sustained in social scientific tools, where sociology conceives conflict as a motor of change and progress. Geography, especially social geography, has incorporated the spatial and territorial dimension, territoriality and territorialisation, where there are significant local attachments, given identities and cosmovisions, in the struggle for justice. 'Urbicide' is the destruction of the city and of citizenship, and it is expressed through wars in Latin America (against drug cartels), urban wars, and environmental wars in the face of climate change. Some academics have justified these processes under the conceptions of modernity, development, imperfect peace and neutral peace, whereas critics have advocated for sustainable, integrated and gender-inclusive peace in order to overcome structural, physical, environmental, and cultural violence.

Pablo Ortiz from Cuba and Ecuador compared socio-environmental conflicts, deterritorialisation, and extractivism in the Amazon basin in Ecuador and Bolivia. He found the historical role of states in contexts where dependent and extractive capitalism restricted the capacities and competences of states to process the demands of local populations and indigenous groups. The March in defence of the *Indigenous Territory and the Isiboro Sécure National Park* (TIPNIS) was successful in halting the construction of the second stage of the San Ignacio de Moxos-Villa Tunari highway. In the case of Ecuador, the Sarayaku people led the fight to defend their territorial rights through a campaign based on lawsuits and opposing actions in order to stop the extraction of hydrocarbons from their territories. In both cases, the relations between the states – which are constitutionally intercultural and plurinational states which recognise the rights of indigenous groups – underwent a period of disagreements, disputes and schisms. The indigenous Amazonian peoples suffered the impact of economic, cultural and political dynamics that aimed to annihilate difference and promote a unique model of global consumerism. Nevertheless, the epistemological perspective of indigenous peoples is holistic, comprehensive, and systemic, that is to say, it articulates and synthesises their 'life plans'.

Vanessa Suelt Cock and *Nidia Catherine Gonzalez* from Colombia and Italy explored good practices for lasting peace-building and socio-environmental conflict resolution in Colombia. Their reflection centres on the role of communities' territories in the implementation of the Peace Agreement in Colombia; they found three main dilemmas: 1. How to typify environmental governance; 2. How to understand the specificities of the post-conflict period in today's context of global environmental change; 3. How to present alternatives in order to innovate the sustainability of natural resource management in relation to common goods. Extractive industries have triggered a confrontation regarding land rights between the State, businesses and local populations, which in turn has led to a debate surrounding the function of the liberal state. They conclude that decision-making in territories should be based on diverse geographic and human specificities. This could avoid the use of violence in escalating territorial conflicts and tensions.

Ariana Mendoza Fragozo showed that urban extractivism deteriorates aquifers, unleashing a struggle for water and territory, taking as example the area of Los Pedregales south of Mexico City. The authorities reified environmental problems

and limited them to the resource water, opting for water transfer mega-projects as a solution. Through them, important regions of the country became water scarce, exacerbating problems. Overall, there has been no integrated solution to the socio-environmental problem in the area of study. The *Coordinadora de Pueblos y Organizaciones del Oriente del Estado de México en Defensa de la Tierra, el Agua y su Cultura* [Coordination of the Peoples and Organisations of the East of the State of Mexico] defended life and the heritage of the Texcoco Lake, threatened by the construction of the New International Airport for Mexico City, its Aerotropolis (mini city), and related projects. They documented with cartographic and scientific research the environmental destruction and non-viability of the project, given its significant impact on the native communities and indigenous peoples in the Basin of the Valley of Mexico and on the natural resources of the entire central region of the country. In order to stop the social, cultural, and environmental violence in these territories, they have issued a call for peace, especially targeting leaders and traditional owners of the land who have opposed the project.

Andrés Emiliano Sierra Martínez denounced the new scenarios of extractivism in the north of Mexico caused by fracking. Through this activity, through deep perforations and highly contaminant chemicals, gas and hydrocarbon are extracted from tar sands. This activity needs great amounts of water in an arid and semi-arid region, which has led to the 'forced' construction of an aqueduct to transfer water from the Pánuco River to the State of Nuevo León, the area of extraction.

Raúl Romero Gallardo sees capitalism as a threat to human life and the planet. He calls it 'ecocide' and mutual destruction war, where the opposition represents the struggle for life. Based on the term 'Anthropocene', the term 'Capitalocene' was proposed in order to understand the degree of impact that corporations have had on ecosystems and natural resources. The author proposed changing the term 'war against drug trafficking' to 'war against organised crime', where crime on behalf of a criminal form of capitalism uses dispossession, fear and terror as a means of control. The current war in Latin America is a social war, where 'the struggle for life' has caused 250 movements of social resistance in Mexican territory alone. Other social organisations have been established throughout Latin America; they too have struggled for life, when their governments took away their means of survival. Then, the organisations that were in charge of putting forward alternatives became victims of corporate capitalism, since their human rights were massively violated and often their life as well. In order to overcome the problems of extractivism, and given the complexity of the problem, a multidisciplinary outlook is required, as well as an alternative political project that is not based on violence and is able to vindicate peace not only as an absence of war or conflict, but as its transformation.

Additionally, this thematic axis put forward a culture of peace strategy under the heading 'struggles for life in Mexico and Latin America'. It also includes farming and agroforestry. Extensive farming has not led to the development of an environmental conscience. The same thing occurred with the cultivation of palm oil and the production of commercial trees, all foreign species to the original ecosystem.

Over the three days of discussion, the State was criticised for not taxing the use of renewable (commercial forests, extensive farming) and non-renewable resources

(water, hydrocarbons, minerals). It is important to seek mechanisms of economic and environmental compensation that prevent us from going back to a Cold War dynamic or towards total environmental destruction. It is also important to be responsible for our emissions, and to stop generating pollution. Each person should practise a more responsible consumption. As a whole, we need to develop new paradigms and update existing laws that currently favour the interests of extractive industries to the detriment of the well-being of populations.

It is necessary to find creative solutions. We are still consumers and the mode should change; we need to become aware of our consumption patterns, rationalise resource use and develop through dialogue bottom-up alternatives for the common good. Global environmental change and climate change are tangible, it is important to act now. We criticise capitalism yet are fully immersed in it. We are our own enemy and our own predator.

There is no true peace without symmetrical social relations. We should all become empowered and stop being consumerist merchandise. It is crucial to build empathy towards vulnerable groups and towards the people that are most cruelly treated. We are all victims and at the same time aggressors. The concept of peace is based on the legal framework that empowers weak actors and sets respect and dignity as the foundation to relate to others.

23.5 New Challenges for Peace and Security in Latin America

Security challenges in Latin America covered divergent aspects of human life, namely, human and gender security, as well as environmental and socio-political risks. In the face of an increasingly withdrawn state in Latin America, given the predominant neoliberal economic model, affected and marginalised social groups proposed the promotion and strengthening of community organisation, in order to be less dependent of the neoliberal state. Nevertheless, the function of the State is to regulate relations among the three main actors: society, government and private enterprises (Weber 1978) in their three levels and with the State's three powers (executive, judiciary and legislative). However, the collusion of the government with businesses, especially transnational corporations, has undermined human, gender and environmental security, besides giving priority to capital accumulation of monopolies and oligopolies at the expense of citizens' well-being.

Greater awareness, education, promoting alternative energy sources, and changing consumption patterns may shift the current scenario of lack of security and environmental destruction. The working group challenged the dominant assumption of development linked to financial monopolies and structural inequality, suggesting alternatives such as modes of social organisation with integrated healthcare, collective well-being, equality, equity and socio-environmental sustainability. Giving value to an inclusive human security means recovering physical security among vulnerable groups

despite the advances of organised crime and state crimes that have taken place in many Latin America countries (Schedler 2014; CEPAL 2015).

Human security does not only entail absence of fear, military and political security (Brauch et al. 2009), it also includes 'absence of needs', meaning over-coming poverty, decent jobs, eliminating hazards and scarcity, support for indige-nous groups, elders and disabled groups (UNDP-PNUD 2003), together with food security, access to health, justice and well-being. As third pillar of human security (Brauch 2005), in the face of increased threats posed by global environmental change and climate change (Cruz et al. 2015), the State was forced to promote mitigation processes with renewable energies that reduced greenhouse gas emis-sions. It also has a responsibility to prepare citizens and increase their resilience (IPCC 2014a) in the face of more frequent and severe hydrometeorological events (IPCC 2012). Kofi Annan (2005) put forward as fourth security pillar, crucial for Latin America, strengthening the rule of law, the administration of justice, and respect for human rights and gender equality. The fifth pillar relates to culture and the right to diversity and to live with dignity; it has been championed by UNESCO.

Francisco Rojas enumerated the contradictions in Latin America. Despite being a zone without wars and in apparent peace, it is a region of high violence. Although it is a nuclear-free zone, it is full of light weapons. Even if it is not a terrorist area, it suffers from organised crime. It has the 'Declaration of Security on the Americas', but it has limited implementation. It has important security frameworks, but it has weak institutions to enforce them.

José Carlos Nussbaumer Ayala insisted that violence has unleashed due to government neglect and the trendy modern weapon that is used to violate human rights in sweat factories in developing countries. After the Second World War, many scientists have undertaken important efforts to understand human violent conduct, at individual and collective level. That war brutally showed the capacity of human beings to become unnecessarily destructive, beyond the goal of defending themselves ('just war') or of guaranteeing their basic survival needs. In Mexico, and in the world in general, there are multiple social, political, and juridical facts that make evident that despite the existence of a national and international juridical framework to keep peace and security, authorities that are in charge of observing and enforcing norms are systematically and continuously violating them. This translates into a crisis that leads to a state of uncertainty and juridical helplessness for the population. The author asserts that the violent essence of the dominant class, its codes and behaviours, the consequences and effectiveness of their omission, was the official tool systematically used to undermine human rights subtly or openly.

Catalina Vargas Larios and *Fernando Vela López* looked at how colonialism imposed an economic model of life organisation. This model transformed inter-personal relations as well as the natural environment. Some of the consequences are a series of threats called anthropogenic changes, exacerbating extreme climatic events, generating environmental migrations and displacements. Different institu-tions recognise this as one of the main threats to humanity, implying a shift in geological times, with the risk of the extinction of many species including the human species, as we are the source of threat and at the same time the possible solution. Nevertheless, benefiting industries have prevented the establishment of

policies to mitigate this phenomenon. The current politics of the Trump administration lead to predictions of public policies that will become a catalyst for negative impacts and may imply multiple forms of violence such as socio-cultural, environmental, economic-commercial blackmail, and military aggression.

Verónica Patricia Mendiola Arias examined the politics inside the walls of 'national security against humanity'. She asserted that in the logics of war, it is necessary to create enemies and the enemy can be anyone, although often the enemy resides within oneself. This politics defines all that is outside the (physical) wall as a threat to national security, where protection and security outstrip human rights. Physical walls generate polarisation amongst the population as a response to alleged transgressors of the established social order, whereby the government and oligarchies lose legitimacy. In such contexts, not only was there a setback in terms of human rights, but violence was used against civilians and State terrorism was promoted. Nevertheless, it is not enough to blame the government; it is important to mobilise as a civil society, to become aware and adopt the perspective of others in order to seek and generate alternatives.

Omar Ernesto Cano Ramírez attributed the environmental collapse of the 'Anthropocene' to its linkages with the elite 'Capitalocene'. It is the activities of these groups that has generated biodiversity loss and 'climate change deniers'. The author claims that the non-binding character of the COP 21 in Paris made it a fraud. At the same time, natural disasters became a business (for risk speculation and insurance companies). Additionally, there was a militarisation of global environmental change with 'sustainable' strategies and preying resources at local level, at the same time as securing strategic resources. Thus, human and environmental security was affected. The current context of economic, military and environmental crises calls for reflection on how we reached this point. At the same time, it is important to examine the mechanisms that led to the imposition of this elitist, predatory and militarised dynamic on the majority of people. More than seeking comfort in hope or disenchantment in apocalyptic scenarios, it is important to disentangle the current dangers we face as humanity and especially as a region. Latin America is a region that has historically suffered the domination and looting of hegemonic powers. Only if we can recognise these mechanisms will we be able to stop them and build alternatives to current capitalism while simultaneously preventing those who are responsible for the current crisis becoming the same that impose 'outcomes' on us. The current military dangers and the continuation of corporate businesses that ruin the biosphere and climatic system are both part of the integral 'environmental anthropogenic collapse'.

Francisco Sandoval analysed hydrometeorological events in Mexico and Colombia which have caused floods, landslides, and droughts that impaired the life quality and well-being of affected populations, constituting a risk to human and environmental security. Risk perception, vulnerability, together with neglect by authorities, exacerbate risks.

Alvany María dos Santos Santiago from Brazil asserts that ethical and responsible enterprises should be more involved in peace. Sustainable corporate responsibility links to philanthropy or social marketing as window dressing. She proposes a global pact in which companies accept and promote the principles of human

rights, work, environmental care and the fight against corruption. In Brazil, small and medium-sized enterprises participated in these activities, although bid firms and transnational enterprises did not agree to participate in this global pact. According to the author, given business impacts and the current crisis, the global pact should be mandatory and not voluntary, in order to save the planet and humanity.

Ma. Teresa Nicolás Gavilán addressed peace journalism in the case of Colombia, although she has applied the same methodology for studies in Mexico and Jerusalem. Taking Galtung's 3 Rs as a basis (resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation), the ideal proportion after a conflict should be 10 per cent resolution, 40 per cent reconstruction, and 50 per cent reconciliation. Analysing the national and international press sources for Colombia, the balance of reports is that 90 per cent currently address resolution, instead of the ideal 10 per cent, which is an important influence for public opinion. In order to be more congruent with the peace process, the author suggests a series of alternatives to reduce this bias. The press should seek to interview victims or family members of victims; to give voice to common citizens and not only to political actors; to be careful when victimising people or depicting subjects as passive and immersed in a vicious cycle, instead of reflecting their qualities as agents. Regarding the formal aspects, she insists that the information spread by the news should not demonise any side, or dichotomise public opinion. In the case of Mexico, it is important to guarantee the physical integrity of journalists and their economic security. Dehumanising news reporters is as dangerous as partial journalism or its absence.

Omar Franco Cañón from Colombia focused on how toys are an important part of cultural violence in Latin America. For adults, toys are used for fun, whereas for children toys make up their world. Toys are indicators of culture, and currently infants are seen as mere consumers and mass-produced toys as acculturation tools (for example, Barbie dolls, cars, guns). There are new scenarios for toys, where new capacities are built, and where reality is not masked, but instead presented in diverse ways. Toys have an iterative design and integrated designs. Playing is a political act begun during childhood.

Paola Helena Acosta Sierra from Colombia made a proposal for restorative justice based on performing arts. Her departure point was research on the armed conflict in Colombia, where one finds situations of social and political violence over many years, which, as a consequence, have been established as recurrent theme of artistic performances. She showed how the digital performance *Digital Footprints*, created and directed by Daniel Ariza, became an act of restorative justice through mechanisms of symbolic reparation in the context of social violence. Common sense is something that appears at a specific point during the play. It is not a constant for the subject; it constantly updates and in each appearance it is something else. Symbols act in this reality through subjects that interpret them. However, since they are not just a piece of information that can be deciphered in a single sense and with a sole meaning, the impel subjects' reactions in the face of the manifested digital reality. The importance of making sense of events lies in the possibility to understand and signify, and thus communicate, social violence. Symbolisation through arts enables a perturbing way of communicating realities, narratives. It

overflows habitual typologies of everyday symbolic exchanges, which is very helpful in order to reconstruct each subject's lived experience of violence.

Gabriela Villada showed how 'unicist homeopathy' promotes health security through peace and well-being, based on an integrated and wholesome outlook. Health, just like peace, is a state of equilibrium that enables the human spirit to flourish. It enables each of us to take up our own space and to project our being in and eurhythmy. Besides, unicist homeopathy does not use the planet's resources indiscriminately as is the case with allopathic medicine. This school of homeopathy makes the life force as well as true illness visible, that is to say, it works with the traits we inherit from the five previous generations that will be present throughout our lifetime. Thus, this medical practice seeks to work with the root cause and not only with the symptom. The method implies five diagnostic paths, where the body, emotions and spirit are included. It helps us to live and die with dignity.

In the conclusion of this working group, it became clear that widening and deepening the traditional conception from military and political security towards a human, gender, economic, social, and environmental security facilitates an integrated analysis of the new security challenges of Latin America. Finally, health security has become a sectorial security, just like water security and well-being, in order to overcome the limited conception of peace and security as absence of war. This new approach leads to a holistic conception of peace and security that enables the exploration of structural, positive, environmental, engendered, and generational specific peace. As an integrated concept, it enables the exploration of conceptual and practical potentials to understand and build a world with life quality and equity for all, regardless of age.

23.6 Human Rights, Gender and Indigenous Groups

This thematic axis was one of the most popular. In the keynote speech, *Francisco Rojas*, Rector of the University for Peace in Costa Rica, analysed the achievements and setbacks in terms of human rights in Latin America and the Caribbean and the new challenges of human security for the region. *Luis Alberto Padilla* from IRIPAZ in Guatemala deepened this topic with his proposal for a radical democracy. He coincides with Jürgen Habermas in that overcoming the contradiction between capitalism and democracy has meant a 'radicalisation of democracy'. Following Yanis Varoufakis, the financial crisis was not confined to Greece, but also affected other peripheral European countries as well as emerging countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Joseph Stiglitz (2002, 2010) reinforced this thesis when he spoke of Wall Street's hegemony and an economy of war in the USA. In the face of exacerbating contradictions, Boaventura de Sousa Santos advocated counterhegemonic globalisation in order to overcome the current crisis. From Thomas Piketty he takes the idea of establishing a tax on speculative capitals, in order to redistribute

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profits to development, and from Howard Richards he puts forward the potential of an 'economy of solidarity' as an alternative to capitalism. All these alternatives require a strong and committed State, in order to make the necessary reforms.

Ana Paula Hernández Romano stated, 'Mexico is one of the Latin American countries with the highest indexes of violence at all levels of basic education. Both peace education and social responsibility share a vision of the person as an individual who is able to respond to his/her demands and those of his/her community, able to exercise freedom and focus on the common good…and human rights should be the bedrock from which to build individual and collective relations'. Thus, taking into account the violence exercised by the State, words or actions have lethal capacity.

Denisse Michel Vélez and *Monika Meireles Ribeiro de Freitas* showed that in the state of Puebla 'femicides of women between eighteen and twenty-five years of age link to economic violence, since women have an impact on the economy, although economic violence is invisible. In Latin America 66 per cent of women over fifteen years of age have suffered violence and a third of Latin American women have no income of their own', although they work at least a double shift. *Laura Balbuena* from Peru analysed this same topic looking from 'a gender perspective, at the mechanisms that the human rights movement utilises in order to support women, especially those exposed to physical violence'. Examining the movement Not One Less Peru, she reflected on the obstacles faced by social movements defending women.

Jorge Luis Triana and *Javiera Yanina Donoso Jiménez* "analysed discrimination and human rights violations as a bidirectional phenomenon in an exploratory case

study among vulnerable groups in Acapulco (LGBTTTIQA collective; women; Afro-Americans; disabled people; elders; infants; indigenous peoples)…In Acapulco, 48 per cent suffered discrimination, but they in turn also discriminated against other more vulnerable groups". In the face of discrimination and harassment, we can all discriminate against others. *Janeth Hernández Flores* asserted that "education is a human right. We must work on the constitutional human rights in juridical frameworks, making them transversal as State policy and in the specific National Programme for Human Rights in Education programme. Currently, not only is there a lack of political project, but there is also no consensus regarding education for human rights."

Laura Nieto Sanabria emphasised that sustainable development is a dominant concept which implies new modes of looting an imperialism in Latin America. "The 'green economy' project, stemming from sustainable development, seeks to encourage programmes such as REDD+ in developing countries, which robs autonomy from villages and peoples who might get resources from the sales-purchase of resources or payment for environmental services."

Gustavo Adolfo Norman Morales from Guatemala showed how the tragedy of the Fenix mine in Guatemala calls for attention regarding the economic, social, environmental, political and legal impacts of extractive activities. "In the centre of the turmoil we find indigenous peoples that have cared for the environment throughout the centuries. The semantic fields' indigenous-land-nature helps unveil the social problems of Guatemala, especially the relationship between these native groups and the protection of nature". Lacking law enforcement, the Evaluation of Environmental Footprint, in particular, unveils the tensions between the protection of the rights of indigenous peoples and capitalist extractivism.

Lina María Becerra Pedraza and *Alejandro Sanabria Rodelo* showed that "the artistic expression of the victims in the case of the weavers of Mampuján contributed to their own historical and economic restoration. In the case of Colombia, this transformative process went beyond armed conflict and inequality. The women weaved and described their pain, and they were transformed by this activity."

Martha Díaz Padilla asserted that the artistic expression of victims is positive in order to create concrete mechanisms and alternative ways to solve conflicts. Additionally, this improves the chances of avoiding repetition. This leads to a restoring reparation that is essential for the participation of the State and civil society through democratic processes. Psychology as a discipline goes alongside law. "It makes it possible to educate people about the importance of emotions during the process of mediation. Juridical psychology in criminal mediation helps during criminal justice as it humanises justice."

Yamilly Anayad Pérez Cruz made clear that "the radicalisation of political discourses in Mexico became evident during the mandate of Felipe Calderón, where discourse was used as a persuasive tool, leading to fear and intimidation, stigmatising society and encouraging rejection of 'otherness'…An indiscriminate use of State enemies was at play, transforming in each particular situation, albeit generating the same disproportionate State reaction." Through this mechanism of radicalisation, all enemies became antisocial beings, and the target was first their extermination and then their contention. Nevertheless, corruption and impunity did

not enable a rule of law during this mandate, and this in turn took strength and legitimacy from public actions.

The topic of human rights can be addressed from multiple perspectives, where normative and gender analyses, impunity indicators, environmental reflections, and symbolic and artistic exercises offered a wide range of options in order to promote peace cultures in vulnerable societies. Nevertheless, the State should set an example with transparent practices instead of offering radical discourses about human rights. Fulfilling first, second, and third generation human rights implies justice, equity, transparency and citizens' participation.

23.7 Peace Education, Communication and Interculturality

In this thematic axis, through a collective process, public policies for education, communication and interculturality were discussed, analysed, and put forward. Given the modern use of social media, education and technology need not be a problem, but they can be used to support conflict resolution. Designing strategies for adolescent students is crucial for preventing violence, but it is important to have specific strategies and pedagogic designs in order to get their attention.

Isabel Gutiérrez Morales observed that public education policies in Latin America are designed to promote development, and she wonders whether it is possible to attain the levels of development of European countries. She proposes widening the focus to include intellectual, spiritual, and emotional factors in education, both for students and teachers. Promoting spiritual intelligence, students unite their health and intellect in the path to *samadhi*, a perfect balance between emotional and intellectual intelligence. This can only be experienced through the heart, departing from one's own essence or *shakti*. Thus, both relational and socio-emotional learning stop being separated and they can be integrated into spiritual learning, as has been seen in yogi science.

Mónica Elizabeth Acevedo Gallegos, Aarón Andrade Valdivia, Priscilla Diamanda Mendoza Iniestra, Alejandra Monroy Revilla and *Susana Villamares de Jesús* analysed collective peace culture experiences, where collective knowledge processes took place. Through a manual, they shared their methodology that includes first their own learning process as social activists. Then they built tools to favour nonviolence and peace cultures in the social fabric of community spaces, where they explored conceptual axes of peace culture such as fears (being exposed to mockery, making mistakes, getting hurt); prejudice (gender, health media stereotypes such as being alcoholic or drug users, street people, using tattoos); exclusion; assignation and normalisation of roles; beatings; peace values; responsibility; honesty; courage; free expression; dialogue; collaboration and creativity.

Ricardo Adrián Medina Sánchez, Marcela Elizabeth Macías Becerril, Susana Gabriela Gaytán Nájera, Ricardo Adrián Medina Sánchez, Marcela Elizabeth Macías Becerril and *Susana Gabriela Gaytán Nájera* promoted through their research the inclusion of peace cultures as a guiding principle for inmates in

Mexico's penitentiary system. The researchers used the same methodology in schools, working spaces and public places. The method proposed the peaceful solution of ordinary conflicts through individual and collective development of autonomous and sustainable tools and techniques which foster self-control and socially acceptable civic values.

Martha Esthela Gómez Collado and *Dalila García Hernández* asserted that the role of the teacher is fundamental to improve education and promote social change, a scenario where the school and teachers become guides and reproduce peace cultures. This requires tools and skills by the institution that is in charge of educating new members of society and the promotion of peace values. Relationships inside the classroom reproduce the forms of relationships outside it, fostering respect and demonstrating that friendship is important for the healthy development a person, as are cognitive, linguistic and socio-emotional elements. The school-teacher-values triad can provide important learning opportunities from early childhood and throughout basic education and help prevent problems that could appear later on.

Rafael Ugalde Sierra addressed nonviolent conflict resolution through play in educational communities at high school level. He analysed conflict, its structure, solutions and possible alternatives in three stories by Francisco Hinojosa; in the novel *Nothing* by Janne Teller; and in *Romeo and Juliet* by William Shakespeare. By combining literature and play, students and teachers approached conflict in everyday life, both inside and outside the school. From this experience onwards, voluntary groups of students were formed in order to teach and train peers in creative conflict resolution.

Susana Villamares de Jesús analysed school violence in the Masters of Social Harmony Management, looking at human rights and peace cultures in a public institution that had difficulty attaining a healthy and peaceful coexistence. She studied the situations that led to violence, developed specific tools for its analysis and led reflections and strategies to overcome it. The main purpose was transforming everyday and traditional practices at the school and promoting change in teachers' attitudes, as well as relationships of support, feedback, dialogue, and *convivencia* [harmonious coexistence and living together], together with improving administrative processes.

Alfonso Luna Martínez related the project of intervention with the 'professional ethos of teachers' in building relationships at a primary school. His purpose was to reflect on the challenges of school relationships in a primary school in the municipality of Tlalpan in Mexico City. After exchanges and working together sharing their experiences, teachers and students developed new relationships and institutional collective spaces such as the School Technical Council. This council provided an opportunity to forge collective work in order to achieve a peaceful coexistence and relationships at school, although it became clear that the style of these meetings had to change. At first, there was a process of awareness and sharing experiences, followed by the involvement of teachers in planning, implementation and evaluation of strategies to face challenges.

Melina Laura Olivia Martínez Ramírez realised that the school became a source of support for many children who suffered from violence at home and at primary school. Social participation, orientated towards reflection on practices, changed the educational centre, as it became a space of social learning for improving relations

Discussions in smaller groups

and combating violence. The main axes were intervention and a continuous diagnosis, which had an influence on students and motivated them to transform themselves every day. An action research methodology was used in order to make a spiral for each specific problem, which included first a diagnosis then intervention proposals, the implementation of proposals and their evaluation. The results showed that continuous intervention, based on shared responsibility and collegiate work by teachers, was capable of transforming violent conduct among students.

Evangelista Morales conducted a qualitative study of disruptive behaviours in a high school. She worked from the phenomenological perspective of symbolic interactionism and research action. Her research tools were semi-structured in-depth interviews, questionnaires, and participant observation with a field journal, each designed to identify the origin of the main disruptive behaviours presented in two groups of students of the second grade of a federal high school located in the north of the State of Mexico. To diminish the negativity of these disruptive behaviours, a relationship management approach was used which recognised students as subjects with rights and human dignity. In the same way, teachers are subjects with rights as well as professional and ethical responsibilities; there is an interdependent relationship in the educational process. Although it was impossible to solve each disruptive problem that students faced in their family, cultural, economic and personal environment, the fact that students were treated as unique and valued human beings instead of being patronised offered students a different space and this influenced them in their own processes of change. Teachers also learnt a lot from the process.

Gabriela Polo Herrera analysed the process of inhabiting the body from a gender perspective. Based on human rights and peace cultures, she tried to understand the ways in which subjectivities and relationships were constructed in a high school in Mexico City. At different times and with diverse outlooks, students and teachers forged their relations in order to explore the ways in which youngsters exercise their freedom and build autonomy. She proposed an educational platform designed to promote the autonomy of people, taking as its departing point the activities that people most like to do with their bodies. 236 women and 211 men

took part. As a result, she found that the body is a space of personal freedom in which they could exercise their free will. Sleeping was the preferred choice, corresponding to the stage in life that they are living through, which involves physical changes and demands greater sleep. The gendered ways in which young women and men inhabited their bodies was based on dichotomous elements that they received from their context. On the one hand, they got the message that women and men should be different in specific ways that require extra biological time to develop and lots of extra effort to attain. At this stage, their bodies are still developing and they cannot fully know or own their physique yet. If the messages and stereotypes that youngsters receive about 'the ideal woman' and 'man' are not questioned, we will go on reproducing subcultures that jeopardise human rights and healthy relationships. Overall, this research experience made it possible to look into wider and deeper alternatives in terms of peace and human rights in an educational platform to promote people's autonomy with a gender perspective.

José Abraham Romero Borboya reviewed the research that has analysed the use of social media by youngsters in order to communicate, and he criticised that it does not include strategies to educate youngsters on the responsible use of social media. He presented a proposal of intervention for second grade high school students in a private school. Through Facebook, students used his intervention to prevent discrimination at school and improve relationships. *Yaima González Castillo* from Cuba addressed the link between education, communication and interculturality. She analysed the meaning and her results indicate the need to educate based on the changes of the current epoque and considering the characteristics of the twenty-first century. It is important to consider developments in technology, communications, and in the use of social media.

Belen Adoris Hernandez Garcia analysed the cultural practices of a group of youngsters of different nationalities who live in Cuba, as well as their appropriation of cultural elements in intercultural communication. The study was based on theoretical reflection of the sociological perspectives of education, based on multi- and interculturality, including elements such as the conception of educational life, multiple relations among groups, as well as the levels of dialogues in academic, scientific and social contexts. Through documents and in-depth structured interviews, she showed the theoretical deficit in creative education, which limits the reach of the educational curricula. She concludes that with the development of more coherent socialisation processes, the limits of the higher education outlook could be overcome and reach a political and social vision to be expressed through solidary action. Cultural socialisation could achieve unity through embracing diversity.

Ariana Estrada Villanueva analysed dual vulnerability in a municipality in the foothills of the Popopocatépetl volcano. She looks at socio-cultural and environmental vulnerability, when migrants and return migrants transform their environment at the same time as the cultural habits and socio-economic structure of their community. In environmental terms, they promoted changes in land use, leading to deforestation with illegal logging, forest clearance, water and air pollution, and the generation of solid and liquid waste which damage the aquifers, soils and air quality, as well as causing flooding in the lower basin. The results confirmed that demographic pressure caused by population growth and migration affected life

quality and the environment for most of the population. At the *Intercultural University of the State of Mexico* (UIEM) short-, mid- and long-term actions were explored, considering intervention processes to alleviate environmental damage and incorporating youngsters excluded from higher public education. All these activities are crucial for the development of the community.

Overall, peace education alternatives focused on ways to decrease violence, through the work of teachers and students, in the neighbourhood and among different cultural groups. This entails understanding the ways in which teachers work with students, as well as the leadership of directors in an environment of participation. Relations between teachers were analysed and deconstructed based on the collective experience of peace and culture, enabling the development of projects in public schools with infants, centred on their needs and peace. This peace education was transversal, including infants, teachers, directors, administrative staff and families in special training and monitoring. Leadership was promoted as well as the participation of external actors. Activities and play linked to literature were crucial in overcoming functional illiteracy as well as enriching cosmovisions, including examples of other places. Nevertheless, the economic model has hit public education and demoralised teachers, since its focus is competition and not cooperation. When violence is exacerbated, there is a need to change power relations, transform conflicts and promote integration. At the same time, in order to promote peace research it is important to link researchers and people researched, especially in prisons and among violent youngsters.

23.8 Social Movements, Emerging Groups and Civil Resistance in Latin America

In the face of violence, socio-environmental damage, and the lack of a healthy *convivencia*, the social movements thematic strand proposed a transformative peace that enabled participatory democratic processes in order to deliberate and free up a process of participation by concerned citizens.

Esteban A. Ramos Muslera and *Iving Zelaya Perdomo* from Honduras, and *Marta Méndez Juez* from Spain, addressed democracy in the social movement in Honduras' Indignado movement (outraged movement), which constituted a particular example of civil transformation. It resulted from articulated collective action based on inclusive social heterogeneity, which was able to generate alternatives of well-being and *convivencia*. From a 'socio-practical peace transformation' perspective it addressed some of the main challenges facing contemporary democracies. It assumed as a starting point that the citizen is not the object but rather the subject and protagonist of public action. It reflected upon the meanings of politics understood as a process of permanent, open and constantly constructed deliberation that helps to generate models of communal living based on citizens' participation and interaction in order to forge the 'living well' (*vivir bien*). Citizen participation takes place in the face of a poorly socially accepted and illegitimate State, with weak institutions that are unable to care for the needs of citizens. In such cases,

citizens should take the protagonist role, actively participating in the development of an effective 'social and democratic rule of law'. Deliberative democracy deepens this aspect, since it favours agreements in diverse and plural societies. The outraged social movement in Honduras (*Movimiento Indignado*) has successfully integrated heterogeneity, making the difference and complementarity of its groups an advantage, at the same time as favouring citizens' deliberation in the face of an oppressive, corrupt and hierarchical institutional system. The sole aim of this movement was favouring social cohesion and the peaceful *convivencia* of citizens in a framework of collective participation and deliberation. Its long-term success will depend on its ability to retain its identity as a transformative movement and a constructive peaceful opposition that remains on the margin of electoral gains.

Giovanna Gasparello revised community responses to violence and peace-building processes in the indigenous municipality of Cherán in the State of Michoacán. Mexico is in a situation of generalised violence, linked to the conflict between drug cartels, the State and extractive industries that struggle over territorial control and the legal and illegal sectors of the economy. In indigenous territories, old and new forms of violence coexist, threatening peoples' human rights, creating increasing social vulnerability, and affecting the physical and cultural survival of communities. In these contexts, a revival of indigenous organisational processes is under way, aiming at security and justice as a collective right, strengthening solidarity and revitalising cultural roots that favour collective organisation. This ethnographic study of Cherán in the plateau of Michoacán studies the process of citizens' organisation based on participation, strengthening of community structures, and the revitalisation of local Purepecha culture in order to overcome the multiple forms of violence affecting the region and its inhabitants. To understand the organisational process and the success in building positive peace, a series of indicators were analysed. Their evaluation helped to measure life quality. Anthropological methods and an intercultural perspective enabled the creation of an interpretative model which privileged a vision of culturally bound peace. The objective of this peace was widening the focus in the study of indigenous organisational processes: it went from resistance to violence as a 'defensive' interpretation to building peace alternatives, peaceful conflict resolution and active *convivencia*.

Roberto Sánchez Linares, from the Chiananteco ethnic group, was concerned with the vanishing cultural richness among young indigenous generations. He cried 'Indian, raise your voice! Claim what is yours!' His research objective was emphasising the importance of indigenous languages as part of cultural heritage through analysing the active listening of some indigenous voices such as three variants of Chianteco and Mazateco from the region of San Juan Bautista Tuxtepec, Oaxaca. "Indigenous peoples are responsible for the preservation of vast amounts of humanity's cultural history, and spoke a majority of the world's languages". They also "inherited and passed on a wealth of knowledge, artistic forms, and religious and cultural traditions" (Ban Ki-moon 2010). Currently, intervention is commonplace in indigenous communities, without consideration of the specific needs and proposals put forward by community members, considering their roots, history, migration, customs, education, discrimination, etc. This study asked which proposals indigenous peoples put forward in order to vindicate what belongs to them

and reach an interculturality that enriches diverse cultures. What should intellectuals consider, in terms of education, arts and institutions, in order to vindicate, make visible and dignify indigenous peoples? Indigenous native languages are inherited and transmitted to the new generations in an autonomous way; it includes the context, the historical precedents of the language, the autochthonous institutions, and the geographical space where indigenous groups live. Indigenous cosmovisions are interpreted together with nature – vegetation, flora, fauna, climate, mountains and hills. Migration of indigenous populations is caused by reasons such as work, academic goals, family processes, and land dispossession or land grabbing. Each community's customs and traditions are determined by a dominant ideology, making it a normalised practice. The loss or agony of a native indigenous language caused feelings of rage, anger and sadness. They asked for greater tolerance to transmit their language to the new generations if they wished to. Nevertheless, discrimination has become manifest through hurtful remarks, preventing use of indigenous languages in public spaces and negation of public services if people do not speak Spanish. Education also represents a great challenge, since it takes place mainly in Spanish, and without it, it is difficult to access work, communication, training, development, awareness and self-realisation as individuals and collectives.

Ángel Lozada Trinidad diagnosed the impact of crime and violence in the socio-economic context of Zapotlán el Grande in the State of Jalisco. His multi-disciplinary research was based on contextual research followed by direct consultation with the local population. People of the community themselves determined their hierarchical relationship with municipal authorities and organised self-generated initiatives in order to face their common problems of insecurity. The starting point was a previously elaborated municipal diagnosise including factors such as income inequality, lack of opportunities, and municipal economic crises, affecting the possibilities to maintain living standards, create employment and improve income. All this created conflicts, resentment and violence, generating illegal activities and impunity and other social phenomena. The problem is generating concrete participatory actions stemming directly from community actors in order to help prevent crime and violence, as well as tackling triggers, contention and violence risk factors through family and community economic spaces.

The *Coordinadora de Pueblos y Organizaciones del Oriente del Estado de México en Defensa de la Tierra, el Agua y su Cultura CPOOEM* [Coordination of the Peoples and Organisations of the East of the State of Mexico in Defence of Land, Water and Culture] is a collective, horizontal and non-partisan organisation that has been struggling for the autonomy of each of its members since 2012. It forged resistance ties that made visible the different and major impacts that in a generalised and systematic way have been caused by the mega-project construction of the New International Airport of Mexico City, its Aerotropolis (mini city), and related projects. These have been imposed by the three levels of government in favour of transnational enterprises and corporate financial capital. The aviation industry benefited only two per cent of the world's population, used four to five times more fuel than land transport and caused severe environmental and climatic damage to the territories where airports are located. Additionally, since emissions of aerial transportation take place at great atmospheric heights, their climatic effects are particularly severe. Thus, increasing aeroplane use can eliminate any gains in

greenhouse gas emissions' reduction at global level. At local level, the situation of the Texcoco Lake represents a social, cultural and environmental violation, as it seeks to eradicate the local culture. In the face of scientific research to understand the complexity and seek alternatives, government response has been null. The Government has only intervened in the face of road blockades and when the Press covered ecocide in the region. This mega-project destroyed the natural richness and ancestral wisdom inherited from elders that is centred in a deep respect for nature. The CPOOEM demanded a cease to the dirty war against original peoples in the Valley of Mexico, groups that have seen their life and tranquillity menaced, as well as the risk to the futures of their children and grandchildren.

Without doubt, the social, community, ethnic, and religious organisations opened up spaces of collaboration in favour of an integrated peace. This makes it possible to reverse damage and overcome violence of different types, through understanding and acting upon the complex dynamics of inequality, submission, exploitation and discrimination that have developed over centuries and even millennia and are based on patriarchy, slavery, colonisation, capitalism, bureaucratic socialism and unprecedented environmental destruction. In the face of disruptive processes that have altered the deep roots of indigenous cosmovisions and affected solidarity, *convivencia* and compassion, two alternatives were put forward. On the one hand, to reconstruct the social fabric of societies through bottom-up processes. On the other, to look to umbrella organisations and processes, such as the great religions promoting 'just peace' with equity and human rights, while being aware that internal hierarchies and discrimination – for example, gender inequality – remain important obstacles to overcome.

23.9 Perspectives for CLAIP in the Twenty-First Century

New challenges combine with existing problems. Nevertheless, the Mexican State has weakened. This follows from three decades of economic crises and stagnation, with wealth concentration in fewer and fewer hands, increasing violence overall, and making the political arena highly unstable. Malnutrition has increased in rural and urban areas, and it comprises undernourished as well as obese people, who are on the rise. Wage restraint policies have impoverished more than half of the population, and the 'no-no' younger population that has no employment and no education falls easy prey to organised crime.

These processes are similar in Central and South America, where neoliberal models generate growth that is transferred to transnational enterprises and national elites, and governments with high levels of corruption and impunity turn a blind eye to socio-economic and environmental crises. This panorama of instability has augmented poverty, violence and migration in the face of multiple survival dilemmas, where physical violence by organised crime is one of the most visible threats, although there is also State crime and government-crime corruption. However, in the face of increasingly adverse conditions, social and environmental movements have strengthened in order to support vulnerable groups, backed by academics, religious groups, and associations of victims and their families.

Abel Barrera Hernández from the Tlachinollan Human Rights Group in Guerrero's mountain area exemplified the war through the harassment on behalf of the State apparatus against the poorest indigenous and peasant groups in Mexico. Justified by the 'war against drugs', military checkpoints, regional lords and transnational mining capitals have intruded on indigenous communities, causing rape of women and children, aggression and theft in towns whose inhabitants live in extreme poverty and speak indigenous languages. At this Human Rights Centre they have filed legal claims for disappearances by policemen, the military and government authorities, as well corruption and involvement of public servants in the drug business. In a context of impunity and lack of accountability, this human rights group leads a struggle to defend the most vulnerable groups in order to exhibit public and private impartiality and offer indigenous communities a ray of hope.

Miguel Concha relates physical violence to economic violence, where free trade agreements (NAFTA, TPP) have prevented the majority of the Mexican population reaping the benefits of development and well-being, whilst some businesses protected by the State have appropriated the national revenue. These oligarchic groups constantly violate human rights, and through covert and overt threats rob families and communities of resources inherited over generations.

Patrick T. Hiller analysed peace and nonviolent resistance grass-roots organisations emerging in the context of the 2016 Presidential elections in the USA. Through nonviolent practices and resistance, along with peace education, many communities in the USA are coming together to protect illegal immigrants, promote non-discrimination, fight racism, and expose the unjust behaviours of government officials in order to resist the violence of President Trump's campaign discourses and formal actions.

Juan Antonio Le Clercq claims inequality and impunity have exacerbated violence. In order to combat impunity it is important to link justice, security and human rights in a context where impunity becomes visible and corruption indicators exist. "The more inequality, the more impunity; the greater human development, the lower impunity…Inequality produces first and second class citizens."

Howard Richards proposes an 'economy of solidarity' as the key to justice, peace and sustainability for the planet. The dominant model of neoliberal capital accumulation blocks solidarity and compassion among citizens. Therefore, it is important to promote an alternative economic model, where exchanges and cooperation become commonplace for the greater good of society as a whole and not only the top minority.

Emmanuel Gómez Morales and Aida Viridiana Vargas Zavala suggested a model for renewable energies in Mexico in response to an extractivist and fossil fuel based model. Until now, use of fossil or renewable energy resources has come under an extractivist mode, and it is necessary to change this current model in order to use energy resources efficiently. The authors promote a bottom-up approach that integrates the community in order to consolidate long-term local benefits with sustainability, employment generation and improvements to the quality of life. Renewable energies not only cover an energy need, but also promote development, improving health, employment, the environment, etc. Taking advantage of productive linkages with national technologies would boost local production and involve communities as responsible and supportive partners in the project, increasing resilience.

Youth Network presenting their agreements and suggestions.

Alfonso Hernández Gómez promoted a youth network in order to build peace alternatives within CLAIP. Representatives came from the most violent regions in Mexico, Central and South America. These young people gathered every evening in a networking space to discuss a proposal of coordinated work at national and international level. Due to the differences of the problematic, socio-cultural, political and territorial contexts, it was necessary for these young people to join together in a space of dialogue and exchange to discuss and consolidate their strategic vision and elaborate the proposal of a youth network for CLAIP. All young people came from regions with high levels of violence and public insecurity.

The members of the new youth network decided to work directly in their communities or cities, and generate joint regional, national and international advocacy processes for an active construction of peace. In order to face gangs and organised crime, the participants exchanged learning experiences, methods and resources in favour of nonviolent conflict resolution. Their goals were to maintain contact among young activists in a nonviolent way, to create a space for exchange of knowledges and experiences around peace-building from the social initiatives led by young people; to develop contextual characteristics for peace research and action projects that identify common advocacy points and concerns, in order to develop an agenda based on 'nodal points of social action' for youth; to establish work agreements in terms of communication and follow-up for the constitution and maintenance of the network; and to develop a youth action agenda for peace 2017–2020.

Young people are explaining their advances to Congress participants.

Their achievements were: to generate meeting points for young activists from different parts of Mexico and Latin America; to create a space for the exchange of knowledge and experiences surrounding the construction of peace from social initiatives led by young people in sensitive contexts of violence; to map and locate the contextual characteristics of the projects to identify the areas of priority action and incidence; to establish working agreements and operational areas for the consolidation, communication and support of the network; to define the principles, actions and scope of the CLAIP youth network and to establish a dialogue between the members of CLAIP and the youth of the network in order to achieve their inclusion in CLAIP; and to obtain support from the peace researcher academy.

This network reinforced security ties among youth groups that are heavily exposed to physical violence. With their practices of peace cultures, they found alternatives and a message of hope within the most violent regions in Honduras, Colombia, El Salvador and Mexico. After the conference the youth groups continued networking using the internet. In June, the Mexican group went together to the Peasant University in Atlacholoaya in Morelos, where they evaluated their advances and defined a short- and medium-term actions agenda to improve their personal and social security.

23.10   Conclusion

The richness of proposals and debates at the Tenth International Peace Research Congress, which commemorated the fortieth anniversary of CLAIP, opened an important array of topics relating to peace, linking group and community efforts with national and global ones. The first agreement was clear: it is not possible to continue with a limited understanding of negative peace as absence of war and physical violence. In this sense, the proposal of the Catholic Church to abolish 'just war' and promote nonviolence was well taken. The hundreds of interventions clearly showed that a comprehensive understanding of peace is positive, social, structural, sustainable, cultural, engendered, and intercultural. It is supported by a widened conception of security that goes beyond the political and military dimensions and includes economic, social and environmental ones (Buzan et al. 1998). It is linked to a deepened conception of human and gender security (Oswald 2013b), as well as to its sectorialisation, including health, water, food, energy, and urban security together with well-being and *convivencia*, in order to understand and present alternatives to thousands of years of military violence and patriarchy.

Science and scientists have a crucial role to play in order to unveil the destructive trends of the current processes of economic, environmental and physical violence. This includes presenting alternatives in order to forge a more just, sustainable and peaceful quality of life. Scientific knowledge has an ethical responsibility to prevent undesirable futures and to avoid disasters as well as avert the destruction of humanity and the planet.

The UN Sustainable Development Goals 2015–2030 present the challenges and priority areas, where peace research and peace actions are indispensable in the face of

socio-economic inequality, gender discrimination and environmental destruction. In the face of severe socio-environmental emergencies and an increase in the number and magnitude of hydro-meteorological events in Latin America, it is crucial to support government and multilateral efforts to avoid tipping points and socio-political havoc. This means promoting participatory governance, where vulnerability transforms into sustainability, with agents, agendas and activities committed to cultures of peace, solidarity and well-being for all human beings and for the Earth. The sum of efforts is indispensable and nonviolence is the only way to overcome current violence and destruction.

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Pietro Ameglio (Mexico) is chairing a session where Abel Barrera Hernández, (Mexico) was presenting observations of a participant researcher in the Mountains of Guerrero is giving his keynote address

Participants during the X CLAIP Conference

About the Editors

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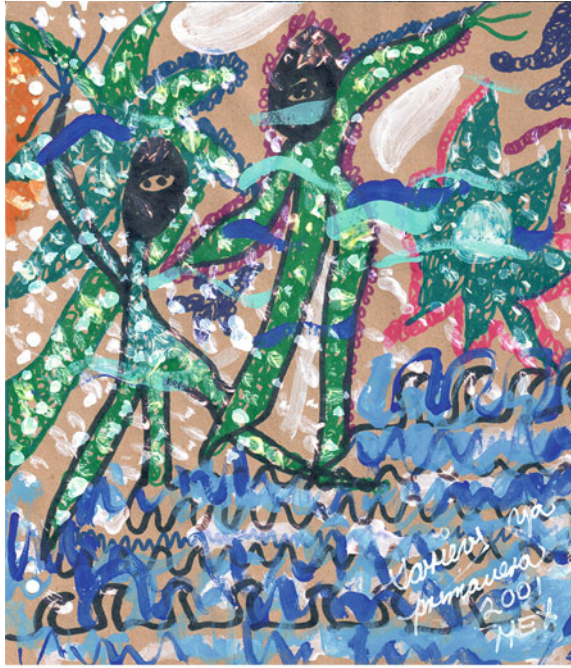
Oil painting on amate paper by © Sara Ríos Everardo about Zapatismo. The painter granted the permission to use this painting in this book

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