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Afro-descendants, racialization and politics of sensibilities in Argentina

Afrodescendientes, racialización y políticas de las sensibilidades en Argentina

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Abstract

This article examines some connections between politics of sensibilities and racialization practices. Taking the problem of afrodescendants in Argentina as a case study, the overall objective is to discuss sensibilities, understood as structures of feeling that translate the plots of social domination into everyday life. From this perspective, we analyze how the sensibilities intercede in the racialization practices that accompany and make capitalist development possible in its neo-colonial aspirations. This theoretical position implies considering that sensibilities regulate, among other aspects, racialized ways of observing / feeling / perceiving the world that subjects have, and that they are radically put into play in intercultural contexts.

To achieve this objective, first, a set of analytical inflections that connect the practices of racialization with the politics of sensibilities is presented. Then, based on document analysis, the racial and social classifications operating in Argentina are explored, investigating the subalternity processes configured around the figure of the "Black" from the emergence of the Nation State until today. We conclude that the "categorical manichaeism" prevailing in racial classifications, and the "negrification" of the subaltern world that has been consolidated since the mid-20th century, makes the discussion on interculturality relevant as an epistemic problem and political project.

Keywords

Afrodescendants, interculturality, racialization, sensibilities, negrification.

Resumen
Este artículo indaga algunas conexiones entre políticas de las sensibilidades y prácticas de racialización. Tomando por caso la problemática de afrodescendientes en Argentina, el propósito general es ofrecer una discusión sobre las sensibilidades, entendidas como estructuras del sentir que traducen las tramas de la dominación social en la vida cotidiana. Desde esta perspectiva, interesa analizar cómo las sensibilidades interceden en las prácticas de racialización que acompañan y hacen posible el desarrollo capitalista en sus aspiraciones neocoloniales. Asumir este posicionamiento teórico supone considerar que las sensibilidades regulan, entre otros aspectos, los modos racializados de observar/sentir/percibir el mundo que tienen los sujetos, y que se ponen en juego en forma radical en contextos interculturales.

Para alcanzar dicho objetivo, en primer lugar, se presenta un conjunto de inflexiones analíticas que conectan las prácticas de racialización con las políticas de las sensibilidades. Seguidamente, con base en un análisis documental, se exploran las clasificaciones raciales y sociales operantes en Argentina, indagando en los procesos de subalternidad configurados en torno a la figura del "negro" desde el surgimiento del Estado-Nación hasta la actualidad. Se concluye que el "maniqueísmo categorial" imperante en las clasificaciones raciales, junto con la "negrificación" del mundo subalterno que se afianza desde mediados del siglo XX, tornan relevante la discusión sobre la interculturalidad como problema epistémico y proyecto político.

Palabras clave
Afrodescendientes, interculturalidad, racialización, sensibilidades, negrificación.

Introduction

Since the 19th century, the question of Afro-descendants in Argentina has been unfolded between the enigma of their "disappearance" until their most recent "re-appearance", the product of important migratory flows from sub-Saharan Africa that begin to occur - with varying intensity— from the end of the 20th century to the present.

As in the rest of the region, the presence of Africans in the country is a consequence of the transatlantic slave trade that takes place between the 16th and 19th centuries. However, several studies have observed an intense underestimation, and consequent invisibility, of the African "component" in Argentine social and cultural life. A problem that, according to these studies, responds to the Nation-State project promoted by the Generation of

the Eighty.[1] Thus, the story of "whiteness", together with the promotion of European immigration as state policy for "population improvement", constitute two main pillars of the "myth of origin" of the Argentine Nation (Reid Andrews, 1989; Frigerio, 2008).

The contempt and rejection for subaltern populations that did not "fit" into the flourishing national ideology (especially indigenous and black peoples) led to postulate the gradual symbolic disappearance of Afro-Argentines.[2] Thus, a sort of original mythology that made the "extinction" of blacks a basal stone for the emergence of the Nation spread (and became common sense), and, in addition, moved to a place of "foreigners" and "strangeness" to everything that was not "white" and "modern."

In this context, the "disappearance" of the Afro in the country can be understood as an analysis of the complex process of dilution of a racial alterity that originates at the end of the 19th century, giving rise to the circulation of a particular scheme of racial categorizations that will delimit the social and political constructions of "whiteness" and "blackness" that, with few nuances, are still valid today (Frigerio, 2006; Geler, 2010; Solomianski, 2003).

The brief considerations presented above, show that Afro-descendants have been subjected to systematic policies that during a good part of the colonial and republican period commodified them, classified, named, "discolored"[3], disappeared and subalternized them, until they became, in recent years, lukewarmly recognized within the framework of a transnational context that claims multiculturalism and ethnic/racial equality, interceding on the agendas of States and international organizations (Agudelo, 2012).

In this context, the concepts of multiculturalism and interculturality gradually become State policies, programs financed by international agencies, slogans and demands assumed by social movements, etc. Particularly, interculturality stands on a "fertile" socio-political and epistemic terrain to rethink

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1   Political and intellectual elite who ruled in Argentina between 1880-1916.
2   This designation includes descendants of: a) enslaved population from the 16th century onwards, b) Cape Verdean migrants who arrived in the country at the end of the 19th century and c) more recent migrants, from African countries (Senegal, Nigeria, Mali, Ghana, Congo etc.) and Latin Americans (Uruguay, Brazil, Peru, Colombia, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, etc.).
3   Metaphorical expression used here to refer to the diverse and complex processes of "whitening" that have operated on Afro-descendants, and that have been functional to the narrative that accompanies the birth and consolidation of the Nation-State. Among the main strategies of invisibility, the generalization of census classifications created to cover up African ancestry stands out (Reid Andrews, 1989; Frigerio, 2006, 2008).

the spaces and conflicts associated with ethnic-racial diversity and differences. An aspect that, in paradigmatic terms, re-positions the "afro" issue as a problem that "deserves" a place in the political and rights agenda in Argentina.

In this article, the considerations of Walsh (2007) regarding interculturality are resumed, recognizing - together with the author - that this concept cannot be thought outside the coloniality of power, as it is experienced by the different subalternized groups, or stay oblivious to the socio-historical constructions of the differences in local key.

From this position, interculturality is a *logic*. A social, cultural, political, ethical and epistemic project built from the colonial *difference* - that is, from the differences originated from the subalternization of peoples, languages, and knowledge - that seeks to reverse and cross the limits of the consecrated as "hegemonic" and "subordinate" by the Eurocentric colonial legacies. Thus, "the logic of interculturality compromises a knowledge and thought that is not isolated from the dominant paradigms or structures; out of necessity (and as a result of the coloniality process) this logic 'knows' these paradigms and structures. And it is through that knowledge that one 'other' knowledge is generated. One thought "other" (Walsh, 2007, p. 51).[4]

In this vein, this paper intends to investigate certain connections between sensitization policies and racialization practices. Assuming this theoretical-epistemic position implies considering that sensitivities are not abstractions but practices that organize everyday experience, regulating, among other aspects, the racialized ways of observing/feeling/perceiving the world that subjects have, and that radically take place in intercultural contexts.

To achieve this objective, first, the theoretical-epistemic approach that guides the analysis is presented, discussing a set of analytical inflections that connect the practices of racialization with the policies of sensitivities. Then, based on a documentary analysis, the racial and social classifications operating in Argentina from the emergence of the Nation-State to the present are explored, and some reflections on the subalternity processes configured around the figure of "black" are proposed.

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4   An additional position on multiculturalism can be found in Tamayo Acosta and Fariñas (2006).

Sensitization policies and racialization practices

Racialization processes, which have become the foundations of the Nation-States (Segato, 2007), have been articulated with the sensitivities that historically have produced and explained racial differences as "natural" while serving to support racial inequalities in the name of white and European "supremacy." Hence, racialization and sensitivity acquire a nodal space for the analysis proposed here.

In general terms, the "policies of sensitivities" are understood as: "The set of cognitive-affective social practices tending towards the production, management, and reproduction of horizons of action, disposition, and cognition. These horizons refer to: i) the organization of daily life (day-to-day, wakefulness/sleep, food/abstinence, etc.); ii) information for ordering preferences and values (adequate/inappropriate; acceptable/ unacceptable; bearable/unbearable); and iii) the parameters for time/space management (displacement/location; walls/bridges; infrastructure for the appreciation of enjoyment)" (Scribano, 2017, p. 244).

As policies, sensitivities organize daily life and ways of ordering the preferences and values of the subjects, while defining the parameters for time-space management in which social interactions take place. From this position, this work starts from the theoretical premise that sensitivities (re)produce the plots of capitalist domination, under the guise of "everyday" practices and sensations. However, the aforementioned structures of feeling cannot "operate", organizing the flow of everyday life, if they are not actively being supported by the performance of concrete "politics of the senses" that perform particular ways of looking, smelling, touching, hearing and liking that (are) displayed (in) societies at a given time, exhibiting a deep intersectional sense between class, gender and race/ethnicity.

Racialization can be understood as a set of production practices and body registration of marks or stigmas derived from the European colonial system. These "body marks" are socially conceived as "inferior" in relation to an "us"; an aspect that justifies the different forms of violence, intolerance, contempt, humiliation, and exploitation to which racialized non-European groups are subjected (Hall, 1991; Tijoux & Palominos Mandiola, 2015). For its part, Mbembe (2016) assumes a critical position with respect to those perspectives that are exclusively limited to the optical effect of race. In addition to the skin color and the possession of a set of phenotypic

traits, for this author, the specificity of race and racialization practices is that they always breed a substitute, a mask or a simulation. "Racism consists, consequently and, above all, in replacing *that which is something else* with *another reality*" (Mbembe, 2016, p. 75).

However, thinking about racialization in a context of coloniality requires considering that these practices are part of (and are inscribed in) a network of epistemological power through which experiential, cognitive, cultural, aesthetic, economic, etc. relations of domination are constructed, circulated and sustained. Such asymmetric relations originated in the contact between "natives" and "Europeans" (Quijano, 2000), which are a constitutive part of the social hierarchies that underlie the phenomena of domination and exploitation known as colonialism. Thus, coloniality is a practice and a discourse that simultaneously postulates the "natural" inferiority of non-European subjects and the exploitation of nature as a raw material. Both principles are based on the idea that a) there are superfluous/surplus lives for the logic of accumulation and b) that nature can only be exploited for the production of goods and their exchange in the market (Mignolo, 2003).

Articulating the previous readings, in this article racialization is defined as a set of practices that produce social effects, based on a *deviation from reality* that are inscribed in the body and emotions of racialized subjects.[5] By raising bodily (escopic) appearances as guarantees of "truth," racialization practices are part of an *episteme* of coloniality that produces bodies and subjectivities, structuring an "objective reality" (allegedly infallible/indisputable) that separates/alienates the subject of the historical, social and cultural totality that defines him as a human being.

In addition, Fanon argues that "black" is a non-being. That is, an *invisible object* to whom the colonial space daily subtracts spaces/times of humanity. They are beings that have not even had the "extraordinary" possibility of descending to hell because hell itself *stages/is* their daily life (Fanon, 2015). The lived experience of colonization is synonymous with war, conflict, cruelty, dispossession. The colonized are in permanent struggle with death (always omnipresent) that surrounds each vertex of life. Hunger, unemployment, disease, rape, inferiority complex and hopelessness

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5   This analysis is part of a theoretical-epistemic positioning that starts from recognizing the unsustainable relationship that exists between bodies and emotions for the understanding of social structuring processes (Scribano, 2013).

are some of the "incomplete deaths" that are experienced daily in the colonial world.

Therefore, the notion of "condemnation" (Fanon, 1972) is key to understanding that "coloniality" is an experience of domination and exploitation that is inaugurated with the conquest of the Americas, and is perpetuated from the various ways in which invisibility and dehumanization is manifested — explicitly or implicitly — in the production of academic knowledge, in common sense, in the organization of work, in the logic of consumption, in urban segregation, in the aspirations of subjects, among other phenomena (Quijano, 2000, 2007; Mignolo, 2003; Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Wacquant, 2007; Harvey, 2007). Hence, the study of the connections between racialization and sensibilities is revealed as an adequate analytical path to investigate the conflicts and experiences imposed by the current colonial situation.

The set of practices (legal, social, political, institutional, ethical and epistemic) that constitute the day-to-day racialization gears could not be possible (much less effective) without the operation of sensitivities that reinforce them in their genesis and consequences. Such sensibilities reproduce, in the daily life (whether by silent and unnoticed paths, or in a public and fierce manner), inequality and contempt for the Other that support, and at the same time promote, structures of domination. In other words, as a constitutive basis of colonial and imperial projects that are updated in the 21st century, racialization - along with gender inequalities and enclassment processes - is a way of living and living together. Therefore, in this work, it is understood as a sensitivity policy that which organizes, categorizes and classifies the values and preferences of the subjects with respect to themselves and in relation to others, based on the "naturalization" of a series of racial stereotypes which, in turn, (re) produce typified, exclusive and antagonistic ways of feeling and perceiving, with significant political, economic and affective consequences for racialized subjects.

In the indicated terms, the policies of sensitivities are at the service of the economic, political, moral, ethical, cultural and epistemological devices that support the accumulation regime and explain the social position that racialized populations have historically had. That is, in their daily occurrence, sensibilities contribute to classify and regulate lives. To do this, they promote a series of stigmatizing and stereotyped perceptions that end up associating certain groups (blacks, poor, indigenous, immigrants, etc.) with cer-

tain "social problems" (poverty, insecurity, crime, unemployment, etc.) that must be reversed, generally, through public interventions.

Within the framework of the problem, the next section explores the racial and social classifications operating in Argentina from the rise of the Nation-State to the present, in its articulations with two types of coexisting blacknesses in the country: racial and of class.

Racial and social classifications in Argentina

During several decades the investigations on racial classifications in Argentina were focused on the colonial and republican periods. It will be towards the end of the 80s and during the 90s of the 20th century when different local studies begin to outline the importance of the race factor - in their articulations with the social class, first, and with gender, later - to analyze social inequality processes (Segato, 2002; Margulis & Urresti, 1999).

Different investigations show how in the 20th century the term "black" ceased to be directly associated with African descent to become subalternity. Consequently, these studies show that in the national context the social class has a racialized dimension that acts permanently at the macro and microsocial level (Frigerio, 2008; Geler, 2016).

Within this framework, Frigerio (2006) develops the historical genesis and social consequences of the typically binary organization that has characterized the racial dimension in Buenos Aires. In line with the process of invisibility of the African legacy in the social and cultural life of the country that accompanies the consolidation of the Nation-State, since the beginning of the 20th century, the "black" was losing its inherent multiplicities to become a category assimilable to the simultaneous possession of a few and very specific body features: black skin, speck hair (or shavings), wide nose and thick lips. This limitation of the "black" to its minimal phenotypic expression, coupled with the high process of miscegenation in the country, has obviously resulted in an extreme reduction in the number of Argentines identifiable as "true blacks."[6]

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6   Due to space issues, state policies and constructed myths (common sense) about the disappearance of Afro-descendants in Argentina are not problematized. For an approach to the issue, Cf. Reid Andrews (1989).

The binomial logic that has characterized the racial classifications in the country from the 19th century onwards has made, even today, the possibility of the mestizo in the context of a social dynamic that tends to "hyper-include" the white as (almost) monolithic classification.[7] From this logic, a "categorical Manichaeism" (white/black) that prescribes the whiteness of the Argentines prevails, while moving people carrying socially consensual phenotypic features as "blacks" to a place of foreigners.

This approach opens a series of questions that, for reasons of space, cannot be addressed here about the "politics of the gaze"[8] that goes through and configures the recognition of the "black" as a racial and social category in the country. Following a reasoning rooted in common sense: *one is black only if socially accepted body markers of blackness are possessed; all that is left out of said classification constitutes the "non-black", and therefore, the "normal"*.

In this way, the invisibility and stigmatization of Afro-descendants in Argentina can be understood in terms of a process of de-naturalization of otherness that occurs through the imposition of the figure of the foreigner. Following Simmel (2014), the foreigner is the one who is "outside" the limits of the community. Its external and strange character makes this figure a central sociological form because, due to his constitutive externality, the foreigner updates/exposes the conflicts of the destination society. In the particular case that concerns this work, Afro-descendants, violently dispossessed of any other characteristic that is not skin color and a set of body features, update racial, gender and class conflicts that socially accumulate as the expansion of capital progresses (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Mbembe, 2016).

Recovering the "classic" work of Ratier (1971) and Frigerio (2006) shows what part of the "whitening"/"disappearance" dynamics of blacks in the country was due to a displacement/impersonation of ethnic/racial factors by class to explain the stratification processes and social differences. In line with this discussion, the author argues that the "blackhead"[9] category,

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7   This is the case of Afro-Argentines who, as a result of miscegenation, have clear skin. In general, this population is socially classified as "white" because of its phenotypic features, radically ignoring their ethnic-cultural belongings.

8   The "politics of the gaze", together with the politics of taste, smell, touch, and hearing are indispensable nodes of the politics of sensibilities that go through and shape the situation of current domination. Cfr. Scribano (2015).

9   Expression taken from the popular denomination of a bird native to South America (spinus magellanicus) that has a black head.

used to designate migrants from the interior of the country (with not very clear skins) that, since the 1940s and 1950s, began to populate the emergence villages and peripheral neighborhoods of Buenos Aires[10], comes from the transposition of the cognitive scheme used to designate the subaltern (blacks) population of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Based on the qualitative analysis of secondary sources of the time, the author states that the "negative image" attributed to blacks at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century corresponds to the traits that, 40 years later, will be assigned to "Blackheads", originating in localities in the north of the country ("poorly educated, unreliable, indolent, poorly inclined to work", etc.).

For these and other pejorative qualifiers, the "heads", like the "blacks", constitute a "threat" to white, modern and Europeanized society. In addition to the bodily features and the alleged possession of personal attitudes disqualified by the hegemonic discourse, the "heads" are perceived as a latent "danger" to the established order, mainly because of their participation in Peronism (Ratier, 1971). This analysis places "black" in the foreground as a figure of the Argentine subaltern since the 19th century, while systematizing the cultural and semantic metamorphosis that went through the category, putting the racial and class designation in tension in an alternative way.

Along the same lines, Geler (2010, 2016) emphasizes the significant symbolic weight that the Afro-descendant population had in Buenos Aires at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. According to the author, this situation was what enabled the Buenos Aires elites to project the same categories used to designate the "Afro-citizens" (the "blacks") on the popular world (the "populace", the "rabble", the "guarangos"), Building, in this way, the historical foundations of local blackness that will be strengthened during the 20th century.

Previous research shows that, even "disappeared" (by the State, by the academy and by the "whitening" strategies operated by Afro-descendants themselves to achieve their inclusion in the Nation), since the 19th century the "black" category has persistently operated as a mechanism to subalter-

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10 Due to the process of industrialization by import substitution (ISI) that unfolds during Peronism, the great Argentine cities begin to experience a growing urbanization process. Thus, waves of internal migrants, and many others from neighboring countries, arrive at the main urban centers in search of work. According to Basualdo (2006), the first stage of the ISI model begins in 1930 and is characterized by the production of consumer goods. The second stage is deployed between 1958 and 1975, and specializes in the production of intermediate and durable consumer goods.

nize and nominate radical alterity in Argentina, combining (in its form and content) the inescapable tensions between race and class that have sustained the colonial project in its successive historical phases (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). In this way, the "negrificación" of alterity has been installed as a norm and social, political, economic, cultural and identity resource, sedimenting - as a device of subjectivation - indifference, contempt and inferiority as unbeatable traits of "black" colonial experience, that is, of whom "has no ontological resistance in front of the white's eyes" (Fanon, 2015, p. 111).[11]

Specifically, in Argentina, the adjective-noun "black" became the most used to refer to the oppressed/excluded groups. Thus, "Indians", "blackheads", "black villeros" and, more recently, the "blacks of the plan"[12] are popular designations that testify, beyond color, the ways of *naming the other* in a period of long duration; all of them unified in the figure of black as an excrescence. In this way, black is the name of an insult; the sign of inferiority and submission; the unfathomable universe of emptiness, absence, defect, and error; the most perfect synthesis of those *superfluous humanities* (Mbembe, 2016), limited to its object existence, that capital indefinitely produces as part of its own reproduction logic. By designating the form and content assumed by the radical alterity in Argentina, from the 19th century until today, the "black" is a productive social category, that is, a signifier that has historically "manufactured" subjects whose lives are played in the plane of expulsion and racial, class and gender exception. On them weighs a substantial trait that erases their character and historical specificities. In other words, as part of a concrete policy of domination, the "black" is a particular that is instituted as universal. Such investment, which annihilates, erases and denies individual and collective stories, is established as a *dictum* of power relations, enabling a wide range of ontological, political, social and cultural disqualifications and erasures.

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11 According to Fanon, black owes its existence to the design and projection (always essential and foreshadowed) that white makes on the basis of an external mark (corporal, epidermal). In dialogue with this postulate, the negrefication of the subaltern world implies thinking about the distance, the difference and the threat that is radically established between the world of the colonist and that of the colonized by and from a concrete material base: the skin. It is in this context that the "epidermization of inferiority" and the "negrification" of alterity weave the limits and densities that the subaltern experience covers by fixing (as a chemical does) to "being", that is, defining what the colonial "other" is as it appears in the reflection of the dominant white eyes.

12 A derogatory term that refers to recipients of subsidies or state plans.

In this key, Memmi (1969) argues that defining the essence of the other (as if such a thing existed as universal) is what makes it possible to legitimize the actions and institutions of the colonizer. Naming, describing, qualifying and disqualifying the oppressed are therefore instituted in practices required to channel the structures of colonial power. In addition, for colonization to be successful, it is essential that the colonizer impose the dehumanization of the colonized. And it does, basically, defining it from what it lacks, that is, from what it doesn't have (and should have): psychological, cognitive, ethical, moral, etc. faults. In this way, the idea of an irresponsible, impulsive subject, subject to improvisation and without economic or family concerns (foundations of the colonial building) arises. Thus, not being a worthy and "resigned parishioner of the capitalist religion", the oppressed are dispossessed from part of his humanity, that is, from that humanity that only confers capitalism, associated with work, saving, responsible consumption and forecasting. In sum, the task of investing the colonized *with substance-traits* that split and feed on preliminary denials, only contributes to their social and human unintelligibility, making it an *almost-object* that only exists according to the needs (material and symbolic) of the colonizer.

This dehumanization process is complemented by total depersonalization of the colonized (Memmi, 1969). His existence is subjected to a universal judgment ruled by the colonizer. As "others", the colonized are immersed in collective anonymity ("They are all the same"). The aspiration of the colonizer is to depersonalize the colonized; turn *you* into an anonymous and uniform *them*. The objective is to win the battle by dehumanizing the other, that is, by alienating him from his historical-social context, his vital trajectory, and his multiple desires and resistance. Within this framework, it can be affirmed that the body/emotion of the colonized is the main field of struggle. Hence the cardinal importance that this article confers on the policies of sensitivities to observe, theoretically and politically, the ways in which societies "manage" ethnic-racial inequalities as an unavoidable structural problem.

Considering the categorical "Manichaeism" that has historically prevailed in Argentina for the definition of racial classifications (black/white), together with the "negrification" of the subaltern world that has been entrenched since the mid-20th century with clear class connotations, the question about interculturality as an epistemic problem and political project becomes essential.

Strictly speaking, interculturality does not pursue the hybridization of practices and forms of knowledge, nor does it promote the simple inclu-

sion of differences in a space that is supposedly "overcoming". On the contrary, it is the product and production of an "oppositional" attitude oriented towards transformation and social emancipation, through the construction of wide-ranging alternatives (education, government, social policies, etc.) in which "the difference is not additive but constitutive" (Walsh, 2007, p. 52). In other words, rather than guaranteeing the interrelation of differences, interculturality is a logic that points to the construction of "other" knowledge, practices and social powers, as a way to contain, respect, dialogue, ponder and imagine new and future differences (Walsh, 2002).

Thus, the logic of interculturality differs radically from the objectives pursued by certain local public policies (Monkevicius, 2015). As an example, the National Plan Against Discrimination (PNcD), created in 2005, constitutes the first "gesture" of the national State in relation to the "Afro issue".[13]

Evaluated by several groups as the "most complete" policy on the matter, the PNcD has some limitations. Thus, although it acknowledges that the native and Afro-descendant peoples are the main victims of racism that has accompanied the development of the Modern State, "(…) relativizes the fundamental racism by noticing that we are currently attending an 'aesthetic' racism, mainly related with economic differences" (DIAFAR, Association Africa and its Diaspora and CONAFRO, 2019, p. 5). Second, the aforementioned organizations evaluate that the PNcD has not been effective in carrying out actions aimed at dismantling the historical denial of the Afro-descendant population in the country. Proof of this is that the National Education Law (26,206), enacted one year after the approval of the PNcD, outright omits the "Afro" population and culture.[14]

Beyond their "good intentions", in general, Argentine public policies[15] tend to conceive of *differences* as a feature that must be "included"/"added" to the current social structure and institutional framework, rather than an

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13 In addition to Afro-descendant populations, the PNcD includes actions in reference to native peoples, anti-Semitism, Arabophobia, Islamophobia, Gypsies, Rohm peoples, Latin American and Asian communities (Villalpando, 2005).

14 To this omission is added the total invisibility in the Magna Carta. Indeed, although the constitutional reform of 1994 considers ethnic and multicultural (non-racial) plurality, it recognizes the preexistence of indigenous peoples but makes no reference to Afro-descendants.

15 For an analysis of the programs and policies for the promotion of ethnic-racial equality in Argentina, with emphasis on the Afro-descendant population Cf. Ottenheimer and Zubrzycki (2011).

"Other" space-time that enables the "germination" of new practical, political and epistemic horizons aimed at decolonization.

As mentioned, racial systems are organized to produce sensitivities that "naturalize" the radically unequal origin that sustains and bases the capitalist regime. But, at the same time, sensibilities are constitutive of the racialization practices on which relations of domination are founded. In this context, policies aimed at promoting ethnic-racial equality are a good "place" (although not exhaustive) where "sociologically" observe the ways in which the societies of the Global South face/resist/reproduce the coloniality of social, political and economic experience.

Conclusions

To conclude, taking up the most substantial considerations of this work, it can be affirmed that:

- The *invisibilization and foreignization* of Afro-descendants are narratives that —availing the State-Nation project, first, and the systemic mechanisms of capitalist colonial exclusion, consequently— have operated in a sustained manner over the past 150 years, organizing large areas of Argentine social life.
- Due to legitimate-dominant explanations, those narratives have progressively become social ways of feeling about the "black", the "white", the "normal", the "exceptional", the "native", the "foreign".
- These sensitivities occupy a central place in public policies aimed at addressing the structural inequalities of which Afro-descendants are "object". Indeed, given that these policies do not intervene merely on the material dimensions of life, but also operate on cognitive-affective aspects of the subjects (De Sena & Cena, 2014), a critical analysis of the public interventions that seek to promote ethnic-racial equality must consider the level of sensitivities that they produce/reproduce/question/emphasize. While there (in what they feel and in what the subjects do with what they feel), a crucial dimension of domination nests in its most common aspect.
- In a country that has made "blackness" the semantic and social reservoir of otherness until it becomes "invisible" (by foreigner or abject), asking about interculturality as a political and epistemic

project implies opening time-spaces to social dialogues that share differences, diversities, and multitudes as constitutive characteristics and not as mere additions to the hegemonic social project. And this is a challenge (not least) for public policies committed to the processes of autonomy, change, and social emancipation.

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Discussion of the multi-scale common from the Territory of the Isolated Peoples

Discusión del común multiescalar a partir del Territorio de los Pueblos Aislados[1]

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Abstract

In the last two decades, the Ecuadorian society has become more aware of the reality of the Tagaeri-Taromenane, the last of the Isolated People living in the Ecuadorian Amazon, and the greatest challenge for the so called plurinational Ecuadorian Constitution. However, the existence of oil reserves in their space has promoted the expansion of the extractivist frontier, which created a networks of roads that promoted its successive agricultural colonization. This paper gets deeper in the history of acknowledgement of these Isolated people's rights and territoriality. Big parts of the Ecuadorian society have been involved in their defense, therefore constructing the Yasuní as a territorial common transcending its scale and spatial barriers.

Keywords
Pluriterritoriality, isolated people, Ecuador, Amazon, ecologism.

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1   This article is a product of the knowledge of the Critical Geography Collective of Ecuador, which integrates more people than ones signing this document, in the interaction with other organizations and struggles for the territories. Knowledge acquired in conversations, collective mappings, journeys, and meetings held since 2012, also linking with our thesis or professional work. That is, this text is the product of the sum of collective reflections.

Resumen

En las dos últimas décadas, la sociedad ecuatoriana ha tomado progresiva conciencia de los Pueblos Indígenas en Aislamiento Tagaeri-Taromenane, los últimos pueblos que hasta el momento habitan en la Amazonía ecuatoriana sin ser asimilados, el mayor reto para la pluriculturalidad y pluriterritorialidad asumida en la Constitución de Ecuador de 2018. Sin embargo, la existencia de yacimientos petroleros en el subsuelo de su territorio ha generado sucesivas ampliaciones de la frontera petrolera, incluyendo la construcción de un entramado de vías que ha propiciado una fuerte colonización agrícola. Este artículo profundiza en la historia del reconocimiento de la territorialidad de los Pueblos en Aislamiento y la defensa de la misma que se ha realizado desde la sociedad ecuatoriana, convirtiendo el Yasuní en un común territorial que ha excedido sus fronteras espaciales.

Palabras clave

Pluriterritorialidad, pueblos en aislamiento, Ecuador, Amazonía, ecologismo.

Introduction: The IPI facing a process of colonization guided by the State

The Isolated Indigenous Peoples (IPI) and the Ecuadorian State are in a conflict whose origin dates back to 500 years of colonization of the Amazon region. The colonization of this area gained special intensity from the 60s of the 20th century when large deposits of oil were found in this space. Until the mid-20th century, these peoples were called *aucas* (wild in Kichwa), due to their fierce resistance to the colonizing expeditions that began trying to contact them in the last decades of the 19th century, although with scarce results (Álvarez, 2017).

The tensions with these peoples have their roots in Spanish colonial history and the attempts at colonization led by the various religious orders that managed to exert a relative influence on the main rivers of the Northern High Amazon, important in the transport of merchandise and in the search of gold, which caused the displacement of other peoples of the Andes to these regions (Wilson, Bayón & Díez, 2015). The rubber boom in the Amazon generated a new cycle of capital expansion linked to the kidnapping and disappearance of entire communities, causing the isolation of numerous groups that persists un-

til the present (Muratorio, 1987). These cycles of expansion and abandonment of extractive activities in the region contributed until the 1950s in the construction of the Amazon as a "myth," according to the words of President Galo Plaza Lasso. This type of statement, so common at the time, showed, at the same time, the lack of territorial control by the State over these areas.

The arrival of transnational oil companies began in 1960 and marked a drastic change in the socio-spatial configuration of the region. The arrival of Texaco to the Waorani territories was facilitated by the contact and re-settlement of many groups of this nationality in a protectorate in charge of the Summer Linguistic Institute, an evangelical organization whose action was devastating in several Latin American countries. This protectorate literally locked up complete clans under strict moral standards that included clothing, housing or work. This is a paradigmatic case of the deterritorialization of an entire group: when they left the protectorate, they found their territories full of roads and oil wells (Almeida & Proaño, 2008).

However, the Tagaeri and Taromenane ethnic groups did not accept this way of linking with Christian missionary orders and continue facing the colonization process started by the State from the first oil concessions that led to the construction of roads, the arrival of settlers (mostly farmers without land), the appearance of the first cities, etc. During the last 50 years, the territory of these peoples has been dramatically reduced, beset by new combinations of oil blocks and a minuscule recognition of their territorial rights by the State (Maldonado & Bayón, 2017).

Concomitantly, the civil society of Ecuador has gradually assumed a role in the protection of these peoples. In 1999, the Tagaeri-Taromenane Intangible Zone (ZITT) for the IPIs was decreed. With its buffer zone being enlarged by 10 km eight years later (De Marchi et al., 2011). Similarly, the emergence of international legislation such as Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization in the 1990s, the Declaration of Indigenous Peoples at the United Nations in 1997 and the explicit recognition of IPIs in The Constitution of Ecuador of 2008 represents the crystallization of protection efforts gestated for years. Also, in 2007, a campaign that sought to leave the oil of block 43 underground in exchange for international compensation began. This initiative was the result of the pressure and work of organized civil society groups that for years had defended biodiversity and respect for the presence of IPIs in this space (CMCTF, 2014).

Map 1
The territory of the IPIs, Waorani, PNY and Oil Blocks
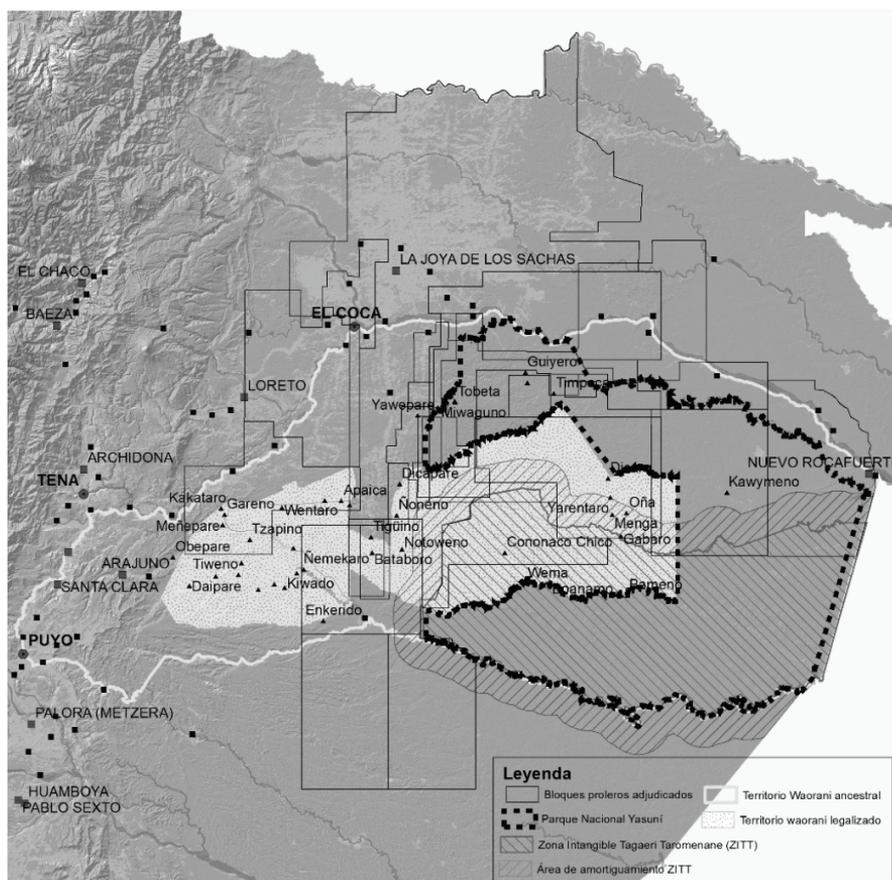
Elaboration by Paola Maldonado (2017)

In 2013, the government repealed the Yasuni-ITT initiative in a televised message by, then, President Rafael Correa, communicating that he opened the area for oil exploitation. This announcement generated a new type of mobilizations in the history of the country, in which groups of urban citizens —especially young people— took center stage in the marches and collecting signatures for the convening of a referendum on the exploitation of oil in the Yasuni Na-

tional Park. In the heat of these mobilizations Yasunidos was born, a paradigmatic group of this new process of ecological awareness in Ecuador. Finally, the referendum was not held because the National Electoral Council invalidated the process, despite numerous allegations of fraud by civil society. Despite this, however, Yasuni has managed to become a global symbol following the Yasuni-ITT initiative at first and later due to Yasunidos national and international activism in its defense (Paredes, 2016). In this way, the Yasuni has been constituted as common that transcends its own spatial limits, as a concrete proposal to reorient the priorities of the economy and not destroy the living spaces of the IPIs (Collective of Critical Geography of Ecuador, 2018).

The disputes over the territory
in Latin America insofar as state monopoly

Historically, the territory was conceived from the modern state that emerged in Europe. The territory is a central element in the constitution of the State since it serves to delimit the exclusive exercise of power by the latter within its domains (Benz, 2010). For Foucault, in the emergence of the modern state:

> The sovereign of the territory had become an architect of the space, disciplined, but also and almost at the same time a regulator of a medium in which it is not so much about setting boundaries and borders or determining locations as, above all and essentially, to allow, guarantee, to ensure different types of circulation. (Foucault, 2006, p. 45)

This marks the way in which capitalism and the territoriality of the State were to feedback in a process that ends up generating the nation-states of mercantile capitalism.

According to Foucault, the process of shaping "governmentality" based on mercantilism had as fundamental ingredients political economy as knowledge, security devices as technical instruments and the group of people located in a territory. This process ended with the formation of the modern State in the 17th century (Foucault, 2007, p. 213). These States arose from homogenizing projects that implied colonization outward and inward, therefore, from Latin American critical theory, they began to be considered as modern-colonial territorial states (Porto Gonçalves, 2009, p. 126).

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The decolonization processes of European metropolises would lead to the creation of nation-states throughout the Americas.

The conflicts between metropolis and colonies, represented by Creole elites, descendants from Europeans, gave rise to a process of self-determination that eventually generated new territorial states during the 19th century. However, these States did not undergo a process of decolonization of the power structures through which they had been configured. Rather, these were adapted to new national contexts. All this implied that the other forms of territoriality, those of indigenous peoples, blacks or peasants were systematically denied until practically the beginning of the 21st century. It is possible to perceive these territorialities from various points of view. From a more symbolic perspective, "territory is appropriated space, space made one's own, ultimately, the territory is instituted by subjects and social groups that are affirmed through it" and, therefore, "there is, always, territory and territoriality, that is, social processes of territorialization" (Porto Gonçalves, 2009, p. 127). Porto Gonçalves theorizes it as a triad "território-territorialidade-territorialização" (2002, p. 230).

From a perspective that conceives the exercise of multiple territorialities, Haesbert considers the territory as the development of those other powers that do not emanate from the State. The approach of this Brazilian geographer is also linked to the symbolic appropriation of the non-articulated space around the State:

> Territory, therefore, in any sense, has to do with power, but not just the traditional 'political power'. It refers both to power in the most concrete sense of domination, and to power in the most symbolic sense of appropriation. Lefebvre distinguishes ownership from domination ('possession', 'property'): the first consists of a much more symbolic process, loaded with the marks of the 'lived', of the use-value; the second most concrete, functional and linked to the exchange value [...]We can then affirm that the territory, immersed in relations of domination and/or society-space appropriation, extends [...] along a continuum that goes from the more 'concrete' and 'functional' political-economic domination to the most subjective and or 'cultural-symbolic' appropriation. (Haesbaert, 2008, p. 20; free translation from the Critical Geography Collective).

In the opinion of this author, the dynamics of appropriation of space are seen as territorialization processes. These processes of (re) territorializa-

tion are diverse and respond to the multiple powers that converge in space from different fields and origins (Haesbaert, 2007, p. 22). Likewise, Haesbert defends the importance of taking into account the enormous historical and geographical variation of these dynamics of spatial appropriation: "obviously territorializing for an indigenous group in the Amazon is not the same as territorializing for the great executives of a transnational corporation" (2007, p. 97).

The claims for the exercise of territoriality by the subaltern groups was configured as the "territorial rights", considered as "the indigenous borders of globalization" (Toledo, 2005, p. 67). During the last two decades of the 20th century, the uprisings of indigenous peoples in Latin America resulted in the recognition of their territorial rights in several countries (Toledo, 2005, p.86). It is paradoxical, however, that the recognition of these rights comes from a nation-state increasingly immersed in the globalization process, characteristic of the evolution of the last stages of capitalism in which the financing of the economy and global cities seems to drastically reconfigure the previous spatial arrangements.

This paradox is best conceived through the intrinsic contradiction of this stage of the territorial development of capitalism. Economic globalization causes a socio-spatial reconfiguration of the accumulation mechanisms that place formidable obstacles when thinking about viable autonomy projects for the peoples that guarantee their territorial rights. This offensive causes a huge wave of resistance against the advance of capital in these spaces through megaprojects, attempts at bioprospecting, mining or hydrocarbon exploitation, etc. (Toledo, 2005).

In the works and reflections as a Collective of Critical Geography, we have found the category of territorial (dis)ordering of great use to understand the role of the State in all these processes. This concept offers a critical look at the much-proposed land planning (ordering) proposal promoted by the State, supposedly the only actor with the legitimacy to perform such a task in the territory. The idea of territorial (dis) ordering is elaborated from the point of view of those most affected by the exploitation of their living spaces and seeks to highlight that the order intended by the State is necessarily linked to its opposite, the disorganization, which it implies the rupture of the other spatial arrangements of peoples and communities due to the imposition of the state territorial grid (Guerra, 2003).

The capitalist disordering
after the plurinational-territorial Constitution

The Constitution of Ecuador was promoted with the electoral triumph of Rafael Correa in 2006. This constitution is part of the legal paradigm known as neo-constitutionalism, based on plural and guarantor approaches that underline the importance of fundamental rights (Prieto Sanchís, 2009). Indigenous rights, including territorial rights, acquire a double dimension, individual and collective, to the umbrella of neo-constitutionalism (Ávila, 2008, p. 44). In turn, pluralism guarantees the recognition of fundamental rights in a non-homogenizing manner. It takes as a starting point several sources of law and not just Roman law. It also identifies three dimensions of these fundamental rights for the peoples: 1) the right to self-government; 2) special right of representation and 3) poly-ethnic rights (Porto Gonçalves, 2009, p. 128).

The Ecuadorian constitutional text has a large mosaic of indigenous territorial rights covered by ILO Convention 169 and the UN Declaration on Indigenous Peoples. In particular, they place the rights of IPIs in their article 57, through which extractive activities are explicitly prohibited and their right to self-government is recognized.

> The territories of the peoples in voluntary isolation are of irreducible and intangible ancestral possession, and in them, all types of extractive activity will be prohibited. The State will adopt measures to guarantee their lives, enforce their self-determination and willingness to remain in isolation, and safeguard the observance of their rights. Violation of these rights will constitute the crime of ethnocide, which will be typified by law. (Art. 57, Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador)

However, the implementation of concrete measures for their effective protection has not been carried out. The process of enclosing the IPI, in recent times, has expanded the territorial conflict of these peoples. Today the conflicts are centered around the northwestern zone of the ZITT, in its outer limits, in the area of progress of the oil extraction of the Armadillo blocks, 14 and 17 (Maldonado & Bayón, 2017). Capital, with the facilitation of the State, imposes the exercise of its territoriality through the advance of the extraction of crude oil while the forms of protection of peoples and nature are subordinated. The right of the Waorani peoples to exercise their territoriality is also relegated and this, together with the recent limitation of the ZITT

by extractive activities, endangers their survival and that of the IPIs. There is already factual evidence that the construction of road infrastructure have caused strong dynamics of colonization (Maldonado & Bayón, 2017).

In the map below one can see the ways in which the territorial (de) ordering does not have effective actions to protect the living space of the IPIs. The map also illustrates the large number of attacks and clashes in the ZITT that evidence this point.

Map 2
Record of incidents with Indigenous Peoples
in isolation and oil infrastructure
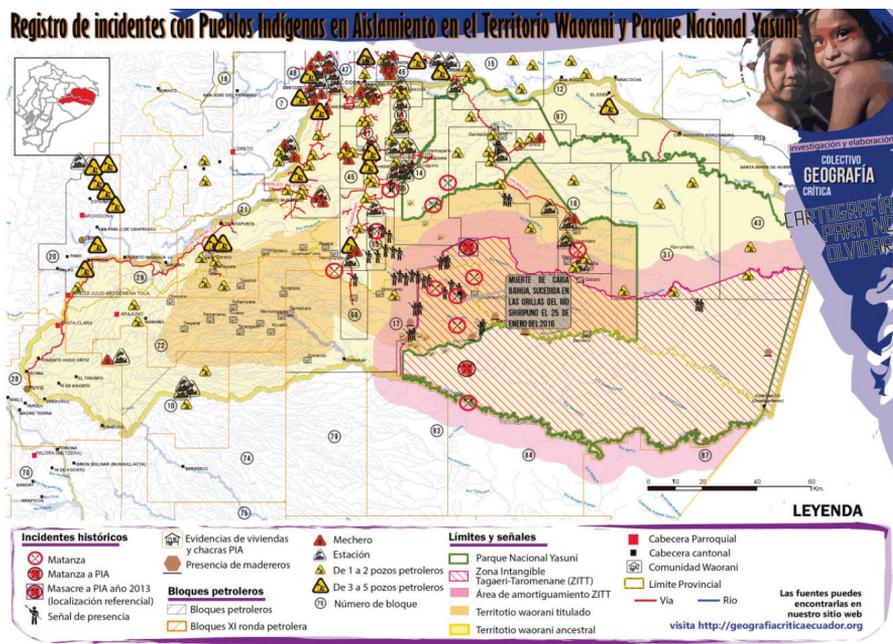
Elaboration: Paola Maldonado and Braulio Gutiérrez (2017)

In August 2014, the cancellation of the Yasuní-ITT Initiative involved generating a new aggression to the northeastern part of the IPI territory within the PNY, where the Ministry of Environment of Ecuador has approved drilling the Ishpingo Platforms A and B, to just 300 meters from the ZITT Bu-

ffer Zone, with proposals to be carried out in the Oil Seismic area, just 5 kilometers from where their houses are documented to be (Bayón et al., 2017).

The oil invasion of Yasuni National Park in Block 43-ITT began in 2018 with the opening of the Tambococha platforms. When the Yasuní-ITT Initiative was canceled, with a promise of territorial exploitation of only 1x1000, the Collective provoked a wide debate on the territory in relation to oil exploitation, denouncing the fallacious argument that only the deforested areas are exploited and contributing scientific and communicative elements to unveil this territorial fallacy of the Government of Ecuador (Collective of Critical Geography of Ecuador, 2014).

The Constitution of Ecuador is clear in its prohibition of promoting new oil spaces in the territory of the IPIs. Neo-constitutional legal guarantees and legal pluralism are not acting as a restraint on a liberal state that claims for itself the subsoil as a nation-state in its eagerness to exploit Yasuni oil. The national good happens to be above the indigenous peoples' rights over their territories and the IPIs disappears from the public policy referring to their territories (CMCTF, 2014).

The Yasuni as a multiscale territorial common in dispute

First, the commons allow us to observe social relations beyond the dichotomy between the State and the market to analyze social wealth: its production, distribution, and reproduction. Therefore, the commons have been a reference for the formulation of new emancipatory paradigms that emerge from said dichotomy (Laval & Dardot, 2015). This boom of the commons has generated the analysis and construction of alternative ways of seeking alternatives to neoliberal dogmas, which throughout their globalization impose competitiveness and the capitalist market as a unique form of social relationship (Collective of Critical Geography, 2018).

Although there are multiple points of view regarding the conception and scope of the commons, we consider, according to Hardt and Negri (2011) as well as Laval and Dardot (2015,) as the first principle, the common as an alternative to think about social relations beyond the concept of ownership in the regulation of the processes of production, redistribution, and reproduction of social wealth. This must be framed in the current conditions of the historical development of late capitalism, not as a transhistorical propo-

sal. Thus, it overcomes the dichotomy between public and private property, which has been an obstacle in emancipatory thinking, by positioning individuals or a diffuse people as pre-existing subjects to the establishment of a way of governing the common. Therefore, this proposal from the commons will not so much enter into the private or public dispute, but rather transform the social relationships that emanate from the practices, norms, and institutions that are at the base of the operation of capital and the state. For example, it does not propose so much to destroy or question the State in its multiplicity of forms, but rather communalize the State, and this can only be done beyond representative liberal democracy and its limits (Hardt & Negri, 2011; Laval & Dardot, 2015).

As a Critical Geography Collective, our point of view seeks to understand the commons from a territorial perspective. To analyze the role of space in the enclosure of it, we must understand the territory not just as a container that assumes the spatial basis of the processes. In addition, the way in which the enclosure of the commons takes place represents a clear deployment in control mechanisms and territorial significance that will be at the center of the dispute, seeking to subordinate social actors and privatize the common (Sevilla Buitrago, 2015). For this reason, the enclosures of the commons are analyzed as an erosion of the mechanisms that seek to create chains of equivalent territories: to deprive the social space of those social relations characteristic of the common in order to convert it to the abstract rationality that offers greater control to the major market mechanisms and also to those linked to the State. On the other hand, the enclosures of the commons are processes that promote concrete forms of commercialization and domain in a purely spatial manner. Sevilla Buitrago emphasizes the mechanisms of domination of space analyzed in the enclosures of the commons that will be linked to the regulatory regimes of a specific space-time. As a result, these mechanisms of domination and the logic they constitute depend on the space-time in which they are installed, inserted into processes of unequal geographical development that will specify different forms (Sevilla Buitrago, 2015).

The Yasuni, as one of the most important and continuing cases in the Collective of Critical Geography of Ecuador, was also part of our booklet "*Territory and commons: Utopia and challenges*", inscribed in "*Geography for Resistance: towards a Critical Atlas of the Ecuador* ", in which the group has analyzed more than thirty territorial conflicts in which we have

had some involvement. We enunciate the Yasuni as a "multi-scale common" because of the way in which it is considered a common and is disputed on multiple scales. The reading of the Yasuni case as a spatial common presented below consists of two main analytical elements. In the first place, we will make an outline of the mechanisms by which the processes of domination and spatial resistance at various scales orbit. Next, we will give an account of the set of meanings and senses put into play in the attempts of exploitation and the associated resistance processes.

Communities guide their strategies to maintain their territory as a fundamental common. The Amazonian communities and peoples present in the conflict over the extraction of crude oil in the Yasuni share the fact that their territory is the basis of their reproduction, both material and symbolic. We also analyze the forms and mechanisms of spatial control that they deploy and are linked to the forms of maintenance of the collective ownership of the space and to the forms through which they decide collectively on the uses of the space, such as, for example, the agreements on entry and exit to their territory or the belonging of the spoils of the hunt. Regarding the IPIs, we do not know their mechanisms in detail, but it is clear that the territory is even more essential in material terms for their reproduction, also in symbolic terms. Multiple studies have shown that at least two IPI groups coexist in the Yasuni, whose manner of occupying the territory takes the form of a large community dwelling or maloka, which has a limited use within semi-nomadic logics, and with a diet which combines hunting, with the collection and cultivation of chakras (Rival, 1992).

As for the actors, within their disparity in their composition, they share the search for strategies to gain control over the territory of these communities. The oil activity entails, for the analyzed case, mechanisms associated with the extraction and distribution of crude oil that involve the construction of military infrastructure and the presence of the army to act quickly in the face of any pushback on the part of the communities. However, there are also less explicit ways of exercising dominance, which are manifested in the expression of communal centers, schools, courts, collection centers, and other State-owned investments. These types of works, together with the promise of generating local employment, are offered to buy the local consensus. Thus, these mechanisms through which oil activity is made viable, provide it with specific socio-spatial forms.

As it has been previously noted, these strategies are developed on scales that go beyond the local: companies and the State play a very active role in trying to present the extraction of oil as legitimate, responsible for the environment and with the IPIs —invoking, among other things, the myth of cutting-edge technology— and as a matter of national interest. On the other hand, environmental groups, both nationally and internationally, have tried to reinforce strategies and interests linked to the non-extraction of crude oil. The Yasuní-ITT Initiative, which allowed oil to be left underground in exchange for international compensation was created between Ecuadorian environmental movements and other countries to later be appropriated and abandoned by the State. The Yasunidos group represents another example of this. This group managed to bring together the sensitivities of a mostly young and urban population against the socio-environmental devastation that the exploitation of crude would entail. The Yasunidos organization was the protagonist in the request for a referendum on the extraction in the Yasuni with collections of signatures and support throughout the country, ultimately truncated by the government (Silveira, Bayón & Moreano, 2019).

Regarding the meanings, the different actors are in a dialectical position where the unequal relations will create forms of resistance, but also agreements. The communities live strong internal and external inequalities that will be concretized in different ways of understanding the response to oil exploitation and agrarian colonization in their territories. But for the IPIs, this disruption of space and the negotiation possibilities of state and capitalist agents will imply an explicit prohibition in the Constitution of Ecuador and all international agreements. Non-contact as part of the right to self-determination, and the manifestation of no entry into their territory through warnings and killings when their territorial commons are infringed upon.

Within the Waorani nationality, there is also a multiplicity of positions that tend to be divided into two; adapt to the oil economy to be able to obtain some benefit from it (companies give jobs and compensation to communities that have to give their approval for oil exploitation), while the minority is against extraction and proposes to boost tourism activities. The divisions caused by the extraction of crude have caused the inter-community associations to be more weakened, where the organization that groups all of them, the NAWE, has become a growing dispute between the communities. However, in both visions of oil and tourism development, the territory is

fundamental as common: the jungle is understood as the element to defend, whether for an oil negotiation or as a source of life for the future.

There have also been strong reconfigurations in the state and market apparatus in oil exploitation, given that the promotion of an Ecuadorian public company, Petroamazonas, has been considered a better strategy for advancing in the new oil enclaves. . This new company has been a fundamental element to co-opt community leaderships throughout the Amazon, also the Waorani nationality, with whom there is a conflictive relationship, but the "oil-gifts" have limited the questioning of oil exploitation in the surrounding communities. We understand that both this company and the State try to construct the Yasuni area, as well as many other areas of oil or mining extraction, such as sacrifice areas (Silveira et al., 2016). This process of signification tries to make tolerable the effects of exploitation —denied or minimized on the other hand— for a broader good, in the interest of the nation. It is a logic that prioritizes the exchange value and that semiotically construct territories —and the beings that inhabit them— in a hierarchy, below a more abstract formal space located on the national scale.

Finally, on the national scale, groups opposed to oil exploitation that come from social environmentalism such as Yasunidos or *Acción Ecológica* construct different meanings and senses on the spaces they try to defend. Throughout the popular mobilization process commented earlier that this group led, it could be seen how the great biodiversity of the Yasuni placed it as a kind of "threatened natural paradise" in the eyes of a large part of the young and urban population that supported its non-exploitation. The range of sensitivities and emotions projected on this space are therefore based on a very different position since it is not an essential living space for its material reproduction, but a common one that projects a way of understanding rights, democracy and the search for a post-capitalist horizon. These differences in the position occupied by communities, activists, and State-market occasionally caused some debate about the legitimacy of the actors who, allies and working for a shared objective, speak in the name of Yasuni.

From the above, we can establish some key elements to think about the Yasuni in its dialectic of enclosure/construction of the multi-scale common. The Yasuni in its material and symbolic dimension is a common for the peoples that inhabit it in their social reproduction. At the local level, there are these communities that entered into complex disputes with the oil companies that, however, hoist their strategies on broader scales. The State, for

its part, proclaiming its legitimacy in the name of the Common Good for the whole nation, tries to make the extraction of crude oil in the Yasuní interpreted by public opinion as necessary and responsible in environmental and social terms. On the transnational scale, environmental groups and movements have also shown their ability to weave alliances and mobilize support for the protection of the eco-socio-system. Therefore, the Yasuni is in dispute as common, and this statement must be observed on multiple scales. In this way, the very meaning of the common is woven into a contradictory multiscale process between the different actors involved in the process of its construction and dispossession.

Conclusions

The colonization promoted by the State and by the capitalist expansion throughout the recent history of the Amazon has configured the territory of the IPIs as a space of strong tensions, in which they have sought to maintain their territory against external aggressions. The post-independence liberalism with which the Ecuadorian nation-state has developed its policy clashes with constitutional principles since 2008 regarding the plurinationality, pluriterritoriality, and exercise of self-determination that has also been recognized in international declarations regarding indigenous territories.

The territorial tensions produced in the Yasuni, home of the IPIs, have generated a conflict of strong social visibility, which has motivated it to become a multiscale territorial common, given that there are different actors in relation; local communities in isolation and with different antiquities in their colonization, state institutions at their different levels, national environmental groups with the support of the international fight against climate change, and a national rentier capital based on international investments of the oil transnationals. These visions dispute the future vision of the Amazonian space.

This multiscale model is not a clearly applicable example to other spaces where the non-presence of IPis implies forms of dialectics of less extreme territorialities: their right to self-determination and non-contact implies very different forms of territorial hegemony for companies and the State. Despite this, this article allows analyzing the collisions of rights through the expansion of the oil frontier as an emblem of the territorialization of capital, which finds limits in the multi-scale dispute of the common, especially the one led by indi-

genous peoples who remain isolated of the most refined mechanisms of companies and the State to subordinate territories to their rationality.

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UNIVERSITAS

The Governorship of Quijos, Sumaco and La Canela Frameworks of the socio-historical production process of the territory in the Ecuadorian High Amazon, sixteenth and nineteenth centuries

La gobernación de los Quijos, Sumaco y La Canela. Marcos del proceso de producción sociohistórica del territorio en la Alta Amazonía ecuatoriana, siglos XVI-XIX

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Abstract

The following article explores the socio-historical production of the territory in La Gobernación de los Quijos, Sumaco and La Canela, Ecuadorian High Amazon. From a historiographic perspective we approach the historical process and the dynamics that motivated various social actors to exercise their power from the 16th to the mid-19th centuries in the Ecuadorian High Amazon. The text suggests three periods of occupation of the territory: the first one addresses the conquest of the Eastern region (Amazon), and problematizes the domination of the Spanish empire, with the support of the church and the imposition of the "reductions" regime; the second one addresses the Spanish sunset and the beginning of religious missions in the Amazon; and the third one approaches the Republican period and the socio-political production of the East.

Keywords

History, territory, Quijos, Napo, Amazon, Ecuador.

Resumen

El presente artículo tiene por objetivo explorar la producción sociohistórica del territorio en la Gobernación de los Quijos, Sumaco y La Canela, Alta Amazonía ecuatoriana. Desde una metodología historiográfica se aborda el proceso histórico y las dinámicas que motivaron a diversos actores sociales a ejercer su poder desde el siglo XVI hasta mediados del siglo XIX en la Alta Amazonía ecuatoriana. El texto sugiere tres períodos de ocupación y producción del territorio: el primero aborda la conquista de la región Oriental (Amazónica), y problematiza la dominación del imperio español, con el apoyo de la iglesia y la imposición del régimen de las "reducciones"; el segundo, aborda el ocaso español y el inicio de las misiones religiosas en la Amazonía; y el tercero se aproxima al período Republicano y la producción sociopolítica del Oriente.

Palabras clave

Historia, territorio, Quijos, Napo, Amazonía, Ecuador.

Introduction

The socio-historical production of the territory is a promising field of study in Ecuadorian historiography. Territory, conceived as an indissociable and contradictory totality of reality, is the space where the dynamics and interactions of social agents, their processes of appropriation and transformation of nature and, therefore, the historical accumulation of human pro-

duction are developed. The territory as a concept expresses existence determinations and configures a category of space analysis. The social being is complex and mutable. The knowledge constructed by the subject about his reality demands multiple approaches, given the high degree of determinations that are characteristic of the societies that enable the categories of the social being to prevail over the natural being. As the society-nature relationship is the environment that metabolizes the production and reproduction of the material and symbolic life of the human being. In the territory, power relations are expressed, in various social, political and economic scales decisions of each sociability materialize. In this sense, the territory is particularly for this article a scenario that allows us to develop and analyze the socio-historical production of the Ecuadorian Amazon region.

This article is part of an extensive study where mixed methods were used, especially of history, geography, and anthropology. Focusing particularly on the study of the current region of the province of Napo, between 1559 and 1563, four cities were founded: Baeza, Ávila, Archidona, and San Juan de los Dos Ríos de Tena. These foundations began the process of socio-historical production of the colonial territory in what was called La Gobernación de los Quijos, Sumaco and La Canela. In the 16th century, this Governorate constituted the territory through the violent domination of indigenous populations and the restructuring of their spaces from the Spanish colonial administration subject to the search for auriferous resources and the domination of the indigenous labor force that fled or died slaughtered by colonizers and epidemics. At the end of this century, the model of plundering of natural resources determined the social production of the territory and the weakening of the regional economy.

In the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, the social production of the territory was associated with the expansion of colonization over the Amazonian territories, characterized by an economy based on the exploitation of resources and the fruitless search for absolute surplus value. This period of time presents a demographic decrease of the indigenous population and the establishment of new production relations with the arrival of the missions, which cause new conflicts with the encomenderos and indigenous peoples, mainly, due to the dispute and dispossession of their territories, the natural resources, and labor. During the Republican period, the Ecuadorian East was a marginal region due to civil wars of independence and institutional weakness. In 1860, the Ecuadorian State took some actions to incorporate the

Amazon into the national dynamic, including the return of the missions for the unification of the territory and the control of the indigenous populations.

The conquest of the Eastern Region[1]: the Spanish Empire and the church

The first steps of the Spanish colonization in the Ecuadorian High Amazon took place during the mid-16th century. Captain Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda was the first Spanish explorer who, following the route of "Hatunquijo, Cosanga, La Canela, Sumaco and the Coca Valley" (Rumazo, 1982, p. 34), established contact in December 1538 with the indigenous people called "Quijos",[2] who lived in this region of the Amazon. The second expedition takes place in 1541, under the captaincy of Gonzalo Pizarro, then governor of Quito, who with 220 Spaniards and about 4000 indigenous people from the mountains entered the Amazon.

The route of entry followed by Pizarro was through Hatunquijo, turning towards Sumaco, where two years before Captain Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda had been. Once in the Sumaco, Pizarro went to the Omagua province, passing through the province of Quema where he reached the confluence of the Coca River with the Napo River. In this place, Francisco de Orellana takes his own path through the Napo River, "discovering" in 1542 the Amazon River, as indicated on map 1.

In 1556, Viceroy Márquez de Cañete appointed Gil Ramírez Dávalos as Governor of Quito, entrusting him with the pacification of the Quijos and the foundation of Spanish cities in the Amazon. The objective of Gil Ramírez Dávalos resided in the distribution of the indigenous population to the few Spaniards who settled in the Quijos region; a strategy that allowed the imposition of the tribute to the natives according to their capacities and resources. With these provisions, the parcel system and unpaid services of the indigenous population were established during the 16th century.

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1   The Eastern region also called the Amazon region from the 70s of the 20th century, when the Ecuadorian State, under the military presidency of Guillermo Rodríguez Lara, incorporates it more effectively into the national territory due to oil exploitation.

2   The ethnogenesis process to which numerous Amazonian groups have been exposed constitutes a starting point to explain the current process of self-naming of the indigenous people who inhabit the Napo region. They call themselves Napo Runa. Napo, in recognition of the Napo River, and Runa, a word that means being human.

The pacification campaign of the Quijo region began on March 6, 1559. Led by Gil Ramírez Dávalos with 39 soldiers, the Franciscan religious Fray Martín de Plasencia and the chief of Latacunga Sancho Hacho de Velasco. The pacification strategy of the Quijos region was accompanied by political negotiation actions with the chiefs of Hatunquijos, Coca, Sumaco, Ceño, Pachamama, Oyacachi, and Cosanga among others. The strategy of Governor Gil Ramírez Dávalos allowed his entry into the Amazon without further resistance by the "Indian friends", with whom he founded in 1559 the city of Baeza in the valley of the Cosanga River.

Map 1
Access routes to the Eastern Region
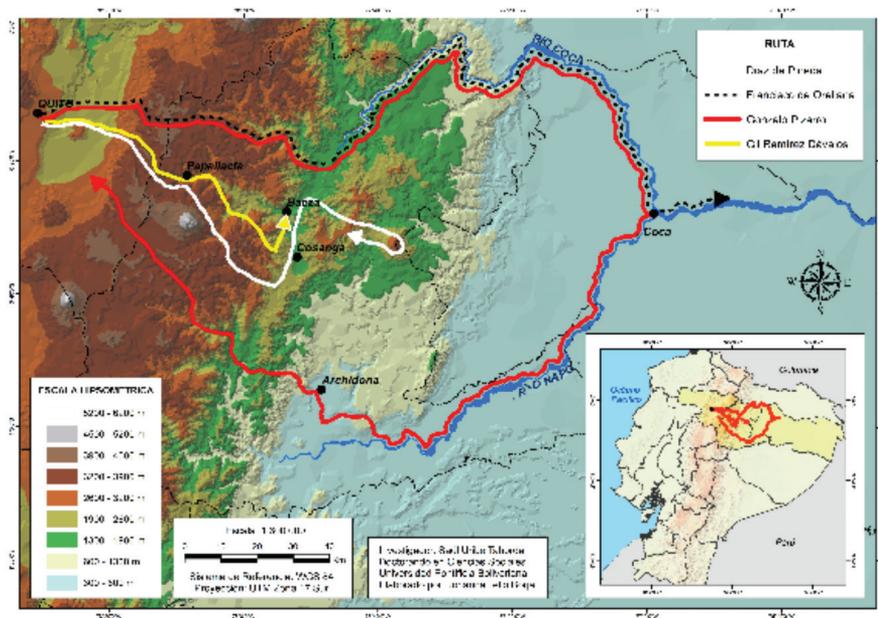
Source: Own elaboration, 2019

The expeditionaries were motivated, not only by the search for the land of gold, the myth of El Dorado and cinnamon, but the Spanish Crown intended to grant land to those conquistadores who were not benefited in the con-

quest of the Inca Empire. From these first conquest expeditions, "the Amazon region was virtually divided into five governorates or administrative political spaces, whose territories were largely unexplored. From north to south these governorates were: Mocoa-Sucumbíos (1557), Quijos (1551), Macas (1548), Yahuarzongo (1548) and Jaén (1548)" (Dávila, 1992, p. 54). In the current region of Napo, between 1559 and 1563, four cities were founded: "Baeza, Ávila, Archidona and San Juan de los Dos Ríos de Tena. These foundations began the process of colonial administration in what was called Governorate of the Quijos, Sumaco and La Canela" (Muratorio, 1998, p. 18).

The governorates were under the political and economic administration of the Royal Audience of Quito and its Bishopric. Thus, for each region, doctrinal priests were requested for the evangelization of the created population centers. Some of the founded provinces were, in 1558, that of the Quijos made by Captain Don Gil Ramírez Dávalos in the company of the Franciscan father, Fray Martín de Plasencia. In 1550, they also founded the New Baeza of the Holy Spirit (García, 1999). Later, in 1576 the Dominican convent of Our Lady of the Rosary would be created in this province. These foundations were given under the Spanish regulation that stipulated evangelization as one of the main aspects of the conquest. "Evangelization was precisely the main instrument of cultural change and justification of the system of exploitation and submission of native peoples" (Padilla, 2008, p. 31).

Exploration and conquest in the Amazon highlands was not easy; "The failure of Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition put an end to the legend about the existence of great towns and riches in the east, where, although there was cinnamon, its exploitation was not profitable" (Garcés, 1992, p. 60), because the trees were very scattered in swampy terrain preventing their access. Other factors that influenced the failures of the conquest were the shortage of food, earthquakes, conflicts between the crown and the conquistadores that gave rise to the civil wars of 1540, and the priority that the Spaniards gave to the "reduction" of the indigenous peoples of the highlands and the coast, but not of the Amazon (Landázuri, 1989).

From 1542 to 1556, the Spaniards returned in their eagerness to conquer the Amazonian lowlands and the Baeza, Archidona and Ávila groups. Blanca Muratorio points out, considering the ethnographic writings of the chronicler Diego de Ortegón made in 1557, that the natives of Baeza and Ávila showed a clear connection with the groups of the Highlands, while those of Archidona had a "more defined jungle culture" which complicated their domination (Mu-

ratorio, 1998). In 1559 Gil Ramírez Dávalos, governor of Quito, was entrusted with the reconquest of the Quijos Indians in the lower Amazon. Ramírez directs "peaceful" conquest strategies through the exchange of gifts and begins the application of the encomienda (parcel) system that was already taking place in the highlands. The encomienda included a system of feudal domination and accumulation planned by the Spanish, in which, from granting military protection services, indigenous populations had to pay tribute.

In 1568, Viceroy Toledo creates, then, the indigenous "doctrines" and "reductions" throughout the Amazon region. Both models of accumulation imposed that the natives should be grouped into larger towns, while they were assigned a priest for evangelization tasks, changing the patterns of space occupation and disarticulating the social organization of the indigenous people. The reductions made the work of the priests easier and facilitated "strict population and territorial control by the civil authorities, especially for the collection of taxes that the natives were obliged to pay for the simple fact of being born in America" (Padilla, 2008, p. 32). Oberem (1980) describes that the conquest of the natives was in charge of both the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church:

> [...] The objective of the Crown was to achieve the submission of the population and establish control over the territory; the objective of the Church was the Christianization of the population, and for merchants and settlers, the objective was the private interest of exploiting human and natural resources for personal gain. (Reeve, 2002, p. 334)

This second moment of colonization forced the Amazonian indigenous people to work on "the exploitation of mines and the laundering of gold, the collection of cinnamon, the cultivation of cotton, the manufacture of textiles and the transport of food and people to Quito" (Garcés, 1992, p. 70). To pay their taxes to the encomiendas granted to the Spanish by the Crown, the natives became slaves, and they were denied freedom by reducing them to sedentary domestic groups.

> In 1580 a large part of the indigenous population of Quijos and Macas had already been organized in encomiendas around the newly founded villages. By 1582, only the area of Zamora already had about 26 villages with 1,500 indigenous tributaries of the Spanish Crown, who paid through the gold that was extracted from local mines. (Reeve, 2002, p. 73)

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In addition, many of them were brought from distant places like the middle course of the Pastaza River. In reaction to this imposition, Taylor points out that three types of response to the colonial model emerged: 1) the isolation of inland jungle groups and their readjustment to the new environment; 2) the escape and individual transculturation, where conglomerates of people were formed without a defined identity; and 3) neocolonial tribes forged within the reductions or in the surrounding areas (Taylor, 1994, p. 32).

At the end of the 16th century, the conqueror's greed was responsible for looting the natural wealth: wild cocoa, cinnamon, sarsaparilla, copal, quinine, gold, cotton, among others; which began a weakening of the regional economic structure. "This purely plunderous approach to nature considering it as an enemy has characterized the relationship of whites and Hispanicized mestizos with the jungle environment" (Taylor, 1994, p. 25). In addition, the colonization process was not prolonged due to the disorderly system of colonizing control, the weak organization of local indigenous populations, the depletion of gold resources and the disappearance of indigenous labor fleeing or dying massacred by the colonizers and epidemics.

The Spanish twilight and the beginning of religious missions in the Amazon

The overexploitation that reign during the encomiendas against the indigenous population, led to an uprising in 1578, which resulted in the destruction of two Spanish cities: Archidona and Ávila, in the current province of Napo. This uprising was confederative and led by "pendes": wise men, shamans, and healers. The term "pende" referred to the category of wise-sorcerers and did not include the chiefs (Ruiz, 1992). The main pende figures of the uprising, according to the chronicle of Toribio de Ortiguera (Muratorio, 1998), were those of Beto, from the encomienda of Diego de Montalbán in Archidona, and Guami, from the encomienda of Sebastián Díaz de Pineda in Ávila.

The uprising began in the indigenous communities of the areas of Ávila and Archidona, who achieved alliances with the chiefs of the nearby Andean region and with the Omagua Indians (Revee, 2002). After obtaining alliances, they retired to the Sumaco Valley in search of Jumandi, one of the most prestigious chiefs among the pendes, in order to increase the forces of the rebels and be better prepared for the attack on Baeza (Ruiz, 1992). Jumandi was a Christianized

chieftain, who knew the world of the Spaniards closely. The three leaders Beto, Guami and Jumandi planned the attack, but despite the entire organizational process, the assault on Baeza failed. Federico González Suárez reports:

> Baeza was preserved, thanks to the warning that those of Archidona managed to send him on time: from Baeza, the news came to Quito, and from this city, a relief force left with great diligence of more than three hundred armed individuals, under the command of Rodrigo Núñez de Bonilla, son of the conquistador: they carried harquebuses, bullets, and gunpowder, the only equipment with which it was possible to deal with the barbarians, whose crowds were innumerable. (González Suárez, 1901, p. 65)

The Spanish army quickly defeated the rebels. The precursors of the uprising escaped to the jungle and hid for four months until they were captured and sent to Quito. Despite the defeat, the mythical figure of Jumandi as a hero in the Quijos community today is still remembered. In 2011, the National Assembly declared him a National Hero for his anti-colonial struggle in the Amazon.

The expansive processes of colonization were characterized by a deteriorated economy and the fruitless pursuit of absolute surplus value by the Spanish Crown. There is then the territorial advance of the Jesuit mission front as part of the Crown's mandate to mark its limits and regulate the escalation of violence between encomenderos and indigenous people. Peter Downes explains that the missions of the Jesuits in the Amazon, both in Spain and Portugal, were a response to the conflicts between the natives and European settlers, and to the instability that remained in that territory throughout the colonial era. The missionaries worked loyally for God and for the King, and their contribution to the pacification of the Iberian colonial borders in the Amazon was vital for the security and expansion of both empires (Downes, 2005).

In 1619 the city of San Francisco de Borja was officially founded at the hands of Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who in 1620 would also create four indigenous reductions: "the Moronas, Pastazas, Jeveros, and Maynas. He divided the Indians among the main expedition partners and established the encomienda system in that territory that was called Governorate of the Maynas" (García, 1999, p. 117). Precisely because of the pressure exerted by the encomenderos of the region, the uprising of the indigenous Jeveros and Maynas in San Francisco de Borja took place. At that time Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, founder of the city, who held the position of Governor of Maynas, ordered

the establishment of Jesuit Missions as a form of "appeasement" of the rebellious Indians. The Maynas Mission was one of the most controversial due to its geographical dimension, its impacts generated in the indigenous world, the imposition of administrative models and for associating with the settlers for the exploration and exploitation of resources, applying indigenous reduction methods. It also led to the opening of new colonization fronts and founded new missions in the Ecuadorian High Amazon, in what is now Pastaza and Napo to expand their cruel evangelizing work (Moreno, 2012).

Although the breadth of the contacted territory was vast (See map 2), the missions that survived were few, mainly due to the depletion of the tools for the exchange, the multitude of languages and dialects that existed, the difficulty to achieve an effective evangelization, the sedentarization of the peoples, the continuous inter-tribal conflicts, the total isolation of the missionary and the diseases that affected them (Downes, 2005). On the other hand, Taylor states that they never had more than nominal support from the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchy of Quito. Nor could they develop stable trade routes, as foreign religious groups, mostly Germans, who exported cocoa managed to do it in the east in the lower Amazon (Taylor, 1994).

The Jesuits were expelled in 1767 from across the region and deported to Italy and Portugal as a result of the promulgation of the *Pragmatic Sanction of 1767 by Carlos III*. This led to the Franciscans trying to replace them in 1778; nevertheless, in 1784 Spain disapproves that the place of the Jesuits was occupied by the Franciscans, and they are replaced by diocesan clergy (García, 1999).

Esvertit notes that:

> [...] during the stage of Spanish domination, the Audience of Quito held sovereignty over the vast Amazonian territories of its eastern borders(...) [where] it was limited exclusively to the formal and there was no real incorporation of the region to the colonial administration. Under these conditions, the administrative and religious control exercised from the Audiencia of Quito was, in fact, extremely fragile and the Amazon remained outside the socio-economic and political dynamics of the Spanish empire. (Esvertit, 2008, p. 20)

However, while Crown control was fragile, the consequences on indigenous and regional populations were drastic. "[…] It can be said, then, that the process of conquest and first evangelization originated an "ethnocidal simplification" of the rich ethnic panorama of the Amazon that, to some extent, is not yet over" (Muratorio, 1998, p. 81).

Map 2
The Quito Jesuit Missions of the Spanish Marañón 1638-1768
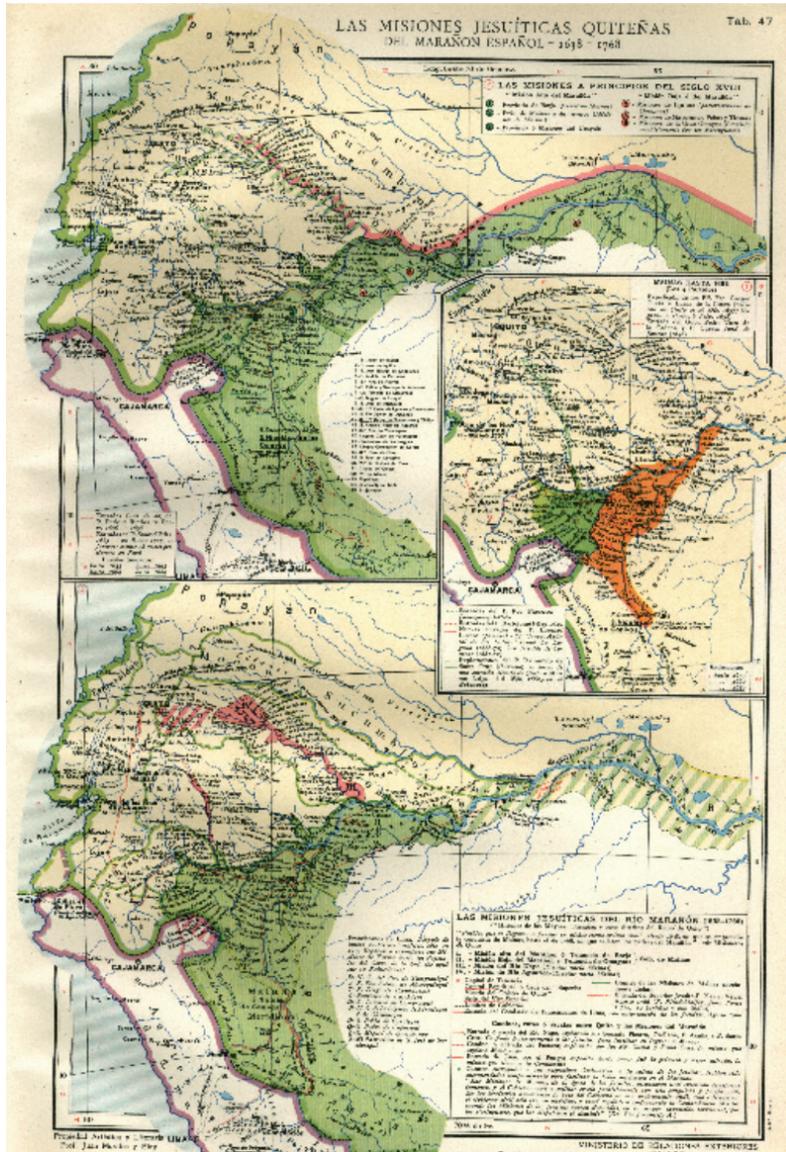
Source: Juan Morales and Eloy, 1942.

The Republican Period and the socio-political production of the East

By the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century[3], two-thirds of the "non-Indian" population in the Amazon region have been lost and the indigenous populations have reoccupied the riverine areas, which they had not inhabited since the 16th century (Taylor, 1994). Muratorio affirms that, due to the internal and external conflicts of the new State, even "the weak controls of the Royal bureaucracy" were lost (1998, p. 123); and merchants, soldiers, looking for fortunes, some priests and all kinds of adventurers began to chaotically occupy the land. There is a decline in colonial rule and, although in 1822 the Republic of Ecuador becomes independent, the lack of interest in this area is evident. "For the Quijos, the passing of the Spanish era to the Republican meant nothing in the course of its history" (Oberem, 1980, p. 111).

During the first stage of the Republican period, 1830-1860, Ecuador was regionalized by large landowners on the coast and the highlands. This was seen in the population distribution, which according to Deler (1994), 80% of the national population were grouped in four of the seven provinces. The Quijos area, which had long been considered "pacified" and "reduced"[4], was within the national border as dominated territory, unlike southern Pastaza, where its exploitation was "much more intense, and above all more effective, and with the strongest missionary framework" (Taylor, 1994, p. 37).

> [...] the "distributions" were made in Archidona twice a year, but generally, it is done in such a way that on Sundays, when the Governor or one of his delegates comes to Mass, he gives the Indians a package with some objects such as mirrors, knives, crosses, etc. And he tells them that within a certain time they have to deliver the counter value of those objects in the form of a certain amount of pita or gold powder. (Oberem, 1980, p. 112)

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3   "The long nineteenth-century" is a term coined by the famous historian Eric Hosbawm, to refer to the historical period between 1789 and 1914. Martínez Sastre speaks of the "long Ecuadorian nineteenth-century " which is used by numerous historians (Martínez Sastre, 2015, p .91).

4   There is a whole ethnohistorical discussion, which extends to recent works in the region, where it is studied whether the Quijos (Napo Runa), have developed or not strategies of resistance to the advance of Western culture, and mainly in the religious sphere regarding evangelization. "The absence of open and collective resistance in this period does not mean - as it is suggested in most historical sources - that the Napo Runa were already fully subjected, or that they were not aware of their exploitation (...) the flight to the jungle in search of freedom (...) and the lack of interest in being converted to Christianity were their survival strategies" (Muratorio, 1998, p. 125).

To pay their forced debts, the indigenous people went several months in search of materials, and therefore the authorities were also absent much of the year residing in Quito, and only returned to collect. "In reality, in the East, the charges were prebent and there was no differentiation of duties between authorities and merchants, which deprived the indigenous people of all legal protection" (Muratorio, 1998, p. 124). The "forced distribution" and the indigenous tribute were eliminated by the president Vicente Ramón Roca in 1846, due to the denunciations of the excesses to which the natives were subjected (Esvertit, 2008, p. 23). As Oberem points out "[…] after almost 300 years of life under the white regime, one of the greatest evils of the Quijos became legally extinct" (Oberem, 1980, p. 112).

In 1854, under the presidency of José María Urbina, the eastern Ecuadorian territory is divided again. The cantons of Quijos, Canelos and Macas are formed, with their respective parishes: Santa Rosa, Archidona and Ávila for the former; Canelos and Zarayaco for the second; and Macas and Zuñac for the third. There were many projects from the first period of the Ecuadorian Republic with regards to the amazon: in 1843, through Interior Minister Benigno Malo, the territory was sought to be populated with "private companies that promised to move in Catholic and European settlers" (Esvertit, 2008, p. 28).

In 1846, through a law passed by Congress, prisoners, lazy, and banished, are transferred to the amazon as a punishment mechanism. In 1853, the free navigation of the Amazon was decreed, so that European and American merchants have autonomy in the communication and transfer of Amazonian products. Finally, an agreement for the payment of external debt with England is signed through the allocation of land in the Amazon region.

These laws issued during the Republic show how the Ecuadorian State saw the Amazon region: an inhospitable, backward, immense and conquerable territory, where it was intended, under the "modernizing" discourse of the time, to populate the Amazonian areas of the country with foreign people. Thus, the expansion of international capital begins to accentuate in the higher Amazon, which saw in the region a source of natural resources and the possibility of rapidly expanding and reproducing capital.

External debt appears as a key factor in the internationalization of capital. According to the historian Juan Paz y Miño after the independence of Gran Colombia, Ecuador assumes a debt of 21.5% of the Colombian debt. In 1854, under the Espinel-Mocattase agreement, the debt was recognized in £ 1,824,000 and mining income and tolls were given in the form of payment

to holders of bonds and lands (Paz and Miño, 2015). Then, "in 1857, the Ica-zza-Pritchett Agreement specified the concessions of land on the Coast and in the Amazon so that would be used to pay the debt" (Esvertit, 2008, p. 32).

Throughout the Republican period, Peru exerted constant pressure on Amazonian territories. In 1853, Peru would form the department of Loreto in the Amazon until that moment Ecuadorian, which was perceived as a usurpation to the sovereign territory (Stanfield, 2009). In 1857, Peru protested against Ecuador because of the concessions that "comprised extensive territories in the Amazon region yet to be delimited" (Esvertit, 2008, pp. 297-298). Before the transfer of land to foreigners, the marked political regionalization and free navigation through the Amazon, the Peruvian Government declared war on Ecuador and blocked the port of Guayaquil. With the rise of Gabriel García Moreno to the presidency of Ecuador, the Peruvian army was pushed back.

The main manifestation of concern for the Amazon region of the country is recorded in the Government periods of Gabriel García Moreno (1860-1865, 1869-1875), who again gave entry to religious missions for the maintenance of national sovereignty against the advance of the Peruvian border. This period was mainly characterized by mediation in the church for the unification of the territory. Measures were taken to guarantee the maintenance of the Society of Jesus in the East, from regulations for income collection, such as the approval of the National Convention of the Institution of Propagation of the Faith, to the formal restoration of the income of the Society of Jesus in Ecuador. However, the financial contributions from the State were always in question, which is why one of the main sources of income for the Jesuit Mission was the indigenous labor force, its contributions in food, but mainly in gold dust, pita and canvas (Moreno Tejada, 2012).

In the "modernizing era of the Ecuadorian State", after a Catholic liberalism, in 1870, García Moreno handed over powers to the Jesuits who settled in the Ecuadorian Amazon, authorizing them to "take the necessary measures in the order and good civil and ecclesiastical government of this province" (Jouanen, 1977, pp. 33-34). They were assigned "[…] the role of legitimate representatives of the State in Napo […] which involved naming and taking out authorities, punishing crimes, opening schools and enacting laws" (Muratorio, 1998, pp. 129-130). The same year, even with a small number of missionaries going to the Amazon, the establishment of four mission centers was dedicated to the Society of Jesus: Napo, based in Archidona; Macas, centered on the homonymous population; and Gualaquiza/Zamora based in Guelaguetza" (López, 1894, pp. 9-10).

Map 3
Religious Missions in the Ecuadorian Amazon 1869-1886

Source: Juan Morales and Eloy, 1942.

The Society of Jesus in the Amazon sought to establish the order and control of the indigenous population through the "moralization of the savages" and the schooling of children. As it had been recorded in previous centuries, religion, arts, and crafts were taught in both Quichua and Spanish. This work was divided between boys and girls where they had the help of the Mothers of the Good Shepherd exclusively for working with women (Moreno Tejada, 2012). This was totally in tune with the interests of the central government of García Moreno to establish a national sentiment from the educational work in colleges and universities throughout the country. The establishment of discipline through recurring physical punishment is a distinctive aspect of the type of Jesuit education.

On the other hand, García Moreno, through the missions, also sought the sedentarization and the implantation of agriculture, to open roads and means of communication between the central mountain region and the east of the country, with a view to transporting the products to be exploited, consolidating trade routes based on them. He also sought control of the exploitation of quina, pita and gold.

The indigenous population of Napo was once again dominated by merchants through debts that had to be paid for life-long work.[5] In this context, the existence of the system called "licenses" allowed the indigenous people to enter the jungle to collect products. The licensing system, in a way, gave "freedom" to the Napo Runa Indians, as it enabled them to depart and integrate into the jungle away from the methods of violence to which they were subjected by merchants and missionaries (Muratorio, 1998). However, this was a matter of dispute between merchants and Jesuit missionaries, as the constant "licenses" made it difficult to control and supply indigenous labor in the missions.

Given this, and the opposition of interests between the merchants who maintained the extractive model of gold, pita and quina, and the missionaries who sought to implant agriculture; the natives "ally" with the merchants against the Jesuits and achieve their expulsion for the second time in 1896, approximately twenty years after the assassination of President García Moreno.

However, Muratorio notes that:

> [...] the final resolution of this conflict (...) was strongly influenced by the indigenous resistance to settle more or less permanently in villages and to become peasants or semi-proletarianized labor force. The other factor was the invasion of the entire Amazon by industrial capitalism in search of rubber. (Muratorio, 1998, pp. 131-132)

García Jordán (2002) points out that it is necessary to consider two fundamental points that would hinder the objective of the unification of the East to the national State in the Republican era: on the one hand, the lack of funding destined from the State to the missions of the Amazon; and on the other, indigenous resistance to religious missions. During this period, the Amazonian territory was again divided into a province called Oriente, with two cantons: Napo to the north and Canelos to the south.

Conclusions

The social production of the territory in the Ecuadorian Amazon is a process that historically has been carried out by different social actors with dis-

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5   As we saw above, the system of "forced distribution" has already been banned since 1846, but the logic of indebtedness continued to function as an exploitation mechanism for the Amazonian indigenous peoples.

tinctive characteristics and diverse interests, but with a common objective: to control the territory and submit the indigenous population as a labor force to exploit the natural resources. Motivated by the search for el Dorado and cinnamon, an unbridled process of exploration took place, in which social actors such as the Church played a leading role in the conquest of the Region and the pacification of the Government of Quijos, Sumaco and La Canela.

Since the 16thth century, a process was consolidated in which settlement patterns were imposed as strategies aimed at dismantling the processes and social organization of the indigenous population. Reducing and dominating the population was the main objective of the Royal Audience of Quito and its Bishopric, a task assigned to Don Gil Ramírez Dávalos and Fray Martín de Plasencia, who in 1550 founded the city of Baeza del Espiritu Santo. The foundation of this city, like others in the East, was carried out to strengthen the model of accumulation and exploitation of natural resources and found new mission centers to catechize and train indigenous labor for the economic purposes of the Spanish Crown.

The exploration and conquest processes of the eastern region were carried out for economic purposes; however, the strategies used for population reduction and pacification were no less important. Diego de Ortegón and Gil Ramírez Dávalos mention that the exchange of gifts allowed a less violent relationship between the Crown and the indigenous people, establishing a dependency relationship that facilitated their concentration in one place, which was markedly different from the dispersed settlement pattern that the natives had. Also, reduction systems such as encomienda, *mita* and force distribution led to a series of indigenous rebellions and uprisings aimed at combating the yoke of the Crown. However, the power of evangelization helped reduce the rebellions that the indigenous population undertook, facilitating the foundation of more than 16 cities in 20 years, 1534 to 1560.

It is emphasized that during the seventeenth century a relationship of tension between the Crown, the encomenderos and the Jesuits originated, triggering a conflict of interest motivated by population control. The encomenderos considered it necessary to increase the workforce and expand their exploration areas, and the missionaries sought to incorporate the natives into their agricultural enclaves. A situation that was the breaking point for the missions, especially Jesuits who were unable to control and confront the indigenous population to exercise total control over it.

During the Republican period, the main feature in the Ecuadorian East was political instability; causing a process of resettlement of the indigenous population in areas from which they had been expelled. It is remarkable the origin of a new process of colonial expansion that, through the system of peonage and indebtedness of the hacienda, established agricultural enclaves in which the indigenous population was the favorite workforce. This new phase of accumulation driven by large landowners of the coast and the highlands would establish new settlement patterns that concentrated the indigenous population and new settlers in intermediate cities in the Ecuadorian East.

In this Republican period, it was also decreed that lazy, criminals and banished should be sent to the East, political instruments were created for the expansion of the agricultural colonization border, and the arrival of Catholic and European settlers, who arrived with new religious missions was approved, all with the purpose of unifying the nascent nation-state. It was also characterized by the establishment of commercial relations that encouraged navigation on the Amazon River, and the allocation of large areas of "empty lands" to foreign capital as a form of payment of the foreign debt acquired with England. However, it should not be forgotten that during everything described above, the indigenous population stipulated forms and practices of social resistance that were almost always imperceptible and incomprehensible to actors outside the Amazon. These practices sought to resist Eurocentric logics and colonial control of the church and the State. Thus, the socio-historical production of the territory in the province of Napo, Ecuadorian High Amazon is charged with the excessive use of violence and the dispute between indigenous territories and imperialist interests and their eagerness to control the territory.

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Contested territories. The fishermen, the riverside, the urbanism and the Parana River's Aquarium (Rosario, Argentina)

Territorios en disputa. Los pescadores, la ribera, el urbanismo y el acuario del Paraná (Rosario, Argentina)

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Abstract

The article analyzes the territorial disputes around the coast between fishermen, urbanism and the new Aquarium of Paraná in Rosario, Argentina. It addresses the inclusion processes of artisanal fishermen in the public space, the scientific, pedagogical and recreational device of the Aquarium of Paraná. This project contemplated the construction of a Fishermen's Port for the integration of the fishing territory into the riverside space of the Aquarium Park. After reviewing the interventions of urban planning in the revitalization process of the Rosario's waterfront, considering with particular interest the deterritorialization of fishermen, the analysis focuses on the differences, disagreements and disputes generated around these constructions. The case under study is one of the few freshwater aquariums in Argentina, whose project proposes the integration the fishermen's work and knowledge. The methodology used has been fundamentally qualitative and guided by an ethnographic exploration, which included participant observation and interviews with different agents and groups involved. The study shows the different ways of thinking about the relationship between the coast and the river of fishermen, urban planners and agents dedicated to the recreational practice. It also proposes the integration of the native territorial knowledge of fishermen in the design of new fishing spaces.

Keywords
City, fishing, territory, river, coastal zone, urban planning.

Resumen

El artículo analiza las disputas territoriales alrededor de la costa entre los pescadores, el urbanismo y el nuevo Acuario del Paraná, en Rosario, Argentina. Asimismo, aborda los procesos de inclusión de los pescadores artesanales en el espacio público, el dispositivo científico, pedagógico y recreativo del Acuario del Paraná. Este proyecto contemplaba la construcción de un Puerto de Pescadores para la integración del territorio pesquero al espacio ribereño del Parque del Acuario. Luego de repasar las intervenciones de la planificación urbana en el proceso de reordenamiento de la franja costera, considerando con particular interés el proceso de desterritorialización de los pescadores, el análisis se enfoca sobre las diferencias, los desacuerdos y las disputas generados alrededor de esas construcciones. El caso bajo estudio es el de uno de los pocos acuarios de agua dulce en la Argentina, cuyo proyecto se propone la integración tanto del trabajo como de los saberes de los pescadores artesanales de la zona. La metodología utilizada ha sido fundamentalmente cualitativa y guiada por una exploración etnográfica, que incluyó observación participante y entrevistas a distintos agentes y grupos involucrados. El estudio muestra las diversas formas de concebir la relación costa-río de los pescadores, urbanistas y los agentes dedicados a las actividades recreativas. Asimismo, propone la integración del conocimiento territorial de los pescadores artesanales para el diseño de nuevos espacios pesqueros.

Palabras clave

Ciudad, pesca, territorio, río, zona costera, planificación urbana.

Introduction

The Deleuzian notion (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994) of deterritorialization, as a process of uprooting subjects and objects, has been applied to the flows of capital, companies and hegemonic groups in the context of globalization (De Mattos, 1989). Some analysts said that deregulation of markets and the withdrawal of states would conclude with the end of territories (Virilio, 2006). Harvey (2004) highlighted the link between this movement of acceleration of time and contraction of space with the processes of accumulation by dispossession. Companies, capitals, and neoliberalism appear to be responsible for the de-territorialization processes, although their "downward" reach has also deserved consideration (Houghton, 2008). Some theoretical inquiries have rethought deterritorialization in correlation with reterritorialization and multiterritoriality. Haesbaert (2007) has explored two different territorialization modalities based on their effects and subjects: one hegemo-

nic carried out "from above" by the dominant classes and another counter-hegemonic, developed "from below" by subordinate subjects. The latter do not fight only for land and housing, but they fight for the definition of alternative territories, which do not involve territorial strategies and/or planning but respond to a collective pragmatism that reconfigures the territory in tension and negotiation with the forces and hegemonic projects (Scott, 2009).

Many of these experiences involve open resistance, but also a practice of persistence, deviation and appropriation of the territory (De Certeau, 1999). In these interactions, the territory is not a simple container or support, but configures a set of relationships-meanings that inform identities and ways of life. Disputes over appropriation and dispossession, rooting and eradication, for installation and relocation, affect subaltern subjects in a traumatic way: losing the territory implies starting to disappear (Bonnemaison, & Cambrèzy, 1996). Thus, the forces of accumulation by dispossession not only wear out the territory and reconfigure it according to the need of the flows that cross them, but they also erode the communal subjectivities that formed in a long interaction with and in that territory.

The concept of deterritorialization applies to subjects and subaltern territorializations, given that they entail a marked precariousness. However, this weakness in territorialization (material roots) is offset by a power of territoriality (symbolic roots), since subaltern identity is linked to the territory in a significantly more powerful way than the hegemonic one. Consequently, it can be affirmed that, although subaltern territorialization is precarious compared to hegemonic, hegemonic territoriality is usually volatile and weak, while the subaltern has a more persistent link (Beverly, 2003). It is necessary to reflect on the territory from the knowledge and subaltern cultures, in the interior and in the reconstruction of their own local dynamics, in correlation with political power and analyzing their ambivalences and contradictions. Subaltern struggles question limited recognition, subordinate inclusion, the demarcation that the State or hegemonic groups develop over their collective territories. In these dynamics, it is not only sought to resist but also to negotiate the modes of inclusion and their degrees of subordination (Scott, 2000).

The structure of the article deals, initially, with the transformation cycle of the north bank of the city of Rosario. In this context, it is shown how between 1977 and 1998 artisanal fishermen had to resign part of their living spaces, fish marketing and berthing of vessels due to road infrastructure, landscaping, and territorial reorganization work. Subsequently, it is analyzed how

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these processes were exacerbated from the real estate and recreational value of the coastal landscape. Finally, the work proposes a critical counterpoint between the forms of design and production of the Paraná Aquarium and the Fishermen's Port, to show the cultural clash of two differentiated ways of thinking about the production of space at the urban frontier.

Materials and methods

The coastal edge of Rosario has been affected by the construction of a chain of public spaces. The advance of urban planning collides with prior territorialization processes developed by artisanal fishermen. The work shows the disputes between these forms of territorialization, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization. The analytical core addresses the processes of inclusion of artisanal fishermen in the public space of the Paraná Aquarium. This project contemplated the construction of a Fisherman's Port for the integration of the fishing territory into the Aquarium's research and exhibition apparatus. The problem focuses on the differences and disagreements generated around these constructions. The case under study is one of the few freshwater aquariums, whose project proposes the integration of both the work and the knowledge of artisanal fishermen in the area. The methodology used has been qualitative and guided by an ethnography developed through fieldwork that involved numerous instances of participant observation consisting of periodic visits to the site, where the constructions were developed and where artisanal fishermen work. There were in-depth interviews, tours aboard the boats and observations of the coastal area and fishing days. Likewise, we conducted some interviews with key informants in their homes to collect complementary data. The names of our interviewees have been modified to protect their identity. With less intensity, we conducted interviews with officials and members of sports clubs. Finally, we review secondary sources composed of official publications and newspapers from the city to triangulate the interviews.

From a historical-anthropological perspective, the article reconstructs the process of deterritorialization of fishermen on the north coast of Rosario. Starting from the first episodes recorded at the end of the 1970s, we reviewed a deterritorialization that is recorded in three planes: housing, landing points, and spaces for commercialization. The process was developed based on the pres-

sure exerted by the municipality that sought to establish territorial planning criteria, produce public space and increase the recreational use of the riverside, favoring the proliferation of nautical clubs and recreational ports. The last part analyzes the interactions and disputes between artisanal fishermen, public authorities and the developers of the Paraná Aquarium.

Urban interventions on the north coast: discontinuous developments

Within the framework of contemporary urbanism, areas near water ways have received much attention. In part, this phenomenon is due to the real estate valuation of closed residential developments (Ríos, 2017), but also of the open configuration of waterfronts (Marshall, 2004). In Rosario, the second port city of Argentina, these types of transformations produced high urban capital gains from the change in the land use regime and the design of landscape environments, specific public and environmental spaces (Cuenya, 2009). At the same time, they made available to the wider public access to the coast and the Paraná River (Levin, 2012). This recovery of the riverbank was driven by the construction of a chain of parks, conceived as "river balconies" that replaced the old railway facilities (Galimberti, 2014). Between 1992 and 2005, this process was particularly successful on the central coast. The northern zone received a different treatment, due to its less bulky preexistence and topography with beaches that differs from the canyons of the central coast.

Since the years 1920-1930, the northern area of Rosario has been occupied by yacht and sports clubs. In 1932 a public beach was built: the "La Florida" watering-place (Roldán, 2012). During the last decades, the recreational use of the riverbank intensified due to the recovery of the coast from its port uses. The area was intervened early, although by designs that were isolated from the narrative recapitulated by urban planning in Rosario (Rigotti, 2014). On the occasion of the preparations for the XI Argentine Football World Cup 1978, the last military dictatorship (1976-1983) developed a Riverwalk and, in 1977, the area surrounding the Alem Park and the Rosario Central Stadium was reconditioned. There, the breakwater Maciel was built, a tourist viewpoint, the route of Costanera Avenue was extended and paths that emulate those of Copacabana in Rio de Janeiro were placed. These works involved the eradication of some fishermen's homes located near the coast and of fish unloading and commercialization spaces.

In the fishermen's memory, these coastal remodeling experiences are associated with violent episodes of deterritorialization. In 1977 there was a forced eradication that marked the loss of numerous spaces. The context of the military dictatorship limited the possibilities of resistance.

> In 1977, with the World Cup, when they made the Costanera and the Paseo Ribereño they eradicated a large community that was in the Bajada Puccio and what is today Carrasco Avenue. Many ranches were demolished. The military expanded the park, came over to the coast ... and fishermen elsewhere. (Fermin, 2018a)

Deterritorialization, too, was associated with commercialization and affected the local fish stalls. First, this operation took place in a circumscribed area and then expanded. The extension of Costanera Avenue and the construction of the Bajada Escariza promoted the eviction of the stalls located near the "La Florida" watering-place. The fishermen remember that the arguments of the officials weren't different from those of the dictatorship. The biggest difference was that the demolitions were not carried out on homes, but on the stalls and that the procedure did not involve tanks but bulldozers.

> In 1985 they put some small stalls. And a short time later, they told us: get everything out of here. Those stalls were by to the coast ... they took everything out of us with the bulldozer ... like the army, but in democracy, softer ... they took the stalls to the Ludueña Stream. (Fermin, 2018b)

Shortly after, the municipality's policy was nuanced by a willingness to integrate. The center of this procedure was an induced cooperativization of artisanal fisheries, complemented by the granting of subsidies for the acquisition of equipment. The latter involved two financing lines, on the one hand, the purchase of fishing tools (boats, engines, nets, etc.) and, on the other, the acquisition of equipment for cooling and conservation of fish (rooms and freezers). In spite of the selective inclusion, the objective of the first policies persisted: to clear the area of the coast from the fish stalls that affected the aesthetics of the riverside landscape and made the environment for recreation less conducive.

> They threw us into Alem Park (...) We kept selling from the canoe on the tables. You could resist, before it was more difficult, with the army you had to have ... in the long run they took us out and threw us inside the Stream. They concentrated us all there and isolated us from the city. (Fermin, 2018a)

Through these interventions, it can be seen how territorial displacement has three faces. The first consists of the eradication and restriction of the fishermen's housing settlement near the coast. The second is the relocation of the stalls for reasons of hygiene and land use. This deterritorialization of trade causes the loss of fisherman's contact with merchants. The third is the restriction of the places to embark, unload the fish and store canoes and tools. In summary, the deterritorialization of the trade disrupts the social ties of exchange with the city. For fishermen, the city is a direct selling market and a way to avoid fish collectors, who buy at differential prices and establish paternalistic relationships with fishermen (Mascheroni, 2012).

However, the coast reconstruction process was not only linked to public entities. The clubs have also slowly appropriated the riverbank and made modifications to its edge. Most of these transformations are the construction of slopes and retaining walls for horizontal ports of small and medium-sized vessels. In addition, fishermen report that the towpath was appropriated and unstructured by the clubs. The legal representatives of the clubs argue that the original towpath has is behind their facilities, exactly where Avenida de la Costa runs and that, therefore, it has a public character. In this line of thought, the location areas of the clubs would constitute a "gained" land, construction of the clubs and their private property (Yacht Club, 2016). However, fishermen dispute with these assessments.

> If we enforced our rights here, we would have the towpath ... From the Sorrento Usina to the north, everything they gain from the river. Those clubs would have to go to trial and they would have to be evicted, like us. And they should be forced to take back everything they did to the river and to normalize the watercourse. (Sergio, 2016)

In the last two decades, recreational activities grew and new users of the river appeared. The park of small (kayaks and canoes) and medium-sized boats (boats and sailboats) increased along with the need to build storage places.

> The fishermen, historically, in the Bajada Escajada stopped a lot and even sold (fish). Then came a port, río Marrón, full of dugouts, and ran them. (...) The fisherman is losing space, with modernity, with the changes that the coast has had. (Sergio, 2016)

The problem of the loss of territory and the difficulties that fishermen encounter in conserving it shows how certain community strengths can also be

weaknesses. The long-term roots in coastal areas made them assume that the land belonged to them and that the places they occupy lacked interest for other actors. At the beginning of the coast renewal process, they assumed that their territorialization was a definitive fact. However, this began to change with the precarious fishing activity that resulted from a convergence of forces and phenomena. In terms of commercialization, the loss of commercial contact of fishermen with the city, the escalation of the unemployment rate and the drop in consumption resulting from the economic crisis of the second half of the 1990s were fundamental. In the field of production, the introduction of large-scale fisheries for export from 1998, and the imposition of a three-month protectionist closed seasons, between 2007 and 2013, was decisive. This set of factors in addition to weakening artisanal fisheries made fishermen and their organizations more willing to accept short-term and tangible monetary subsidies than to embark on uncertain and long-term territorial struggles.

> They went after the subsidy, instead of going after the earth. You had to go for the land. There were other urgencies. (...) real estate and sports ventures were winning. The clubs of the coast occupied all the spaces. (Fermin, 2018a)

What remains is what fishermen call "El Espigón". In that area, the remodeling of the Aquarium was projected. When the plans of the Paraná Aquarium were formulated, the fishermen participated in the preliminary discussions and achieved the inclusion of a Fishermen's Port.

The Aquarium and the fishing port

The project began to be considered in 2008, covering 2.5 hectares, whose urban front was bounded to the south and west by Costanera Avenue and Alem Park. Its realization meant the removal of the Old Aquarium. The New Aquarium of Paraná was developed in four phases between 2010 and 2018. It was announced as a theme park, but its design turned to scientific research, training, and dissemination of knowledge about the water system of Paraná and its fauna. Thus, the Aquarium became a dual-purpose apparatus. On the one hand, it should serve as a field for innovation, experimentation and scientific development. On the other, it needed to be a public space with pedagogical and recreational functions.

Image 1
North zone of Rosario where the Paraná Aquarium was built

Google Maps

Image 2
Aquarium building of the Paraná River

Capture of the authors 10/26/2019

The project accompanies the slope of the land. One portion contains an open park and, another, *a theme park*. In the route of the experiences of the central coast, the park offers the visitor direct contact with the river. The Autochthonous Park of the Wetland recreates, in scale and under certain conditions, the flora of the Paraná ecosystem and includes viewing the fish fauna of the aquarium. Despite its large volumes, the building does not block the view of the river. It has been conceived as an elevated concrete prism on a set that is assembled with glass, the different mirrors-courses of water, the park's vegetation and urban furnishings. The building seems to be suspended in a hollow over the horizon of the coast. Achieving that weightlessness

effect was complex. To solve the tension of the large concrete plates, the building was placed on elastic supports. Thus, the absorption of contraction, dilation and oscillation movements was favored. The greater complexity of the Aquarium, however, lies not in its implementation, but in the systems of circulation, filtering, conditioning, and recovery of water both for living spaces of the exhibition (fish tanks and sinks) and for areas of scientific experimentation (laboratories and hatcheries). In fact, a lagoon located in the Wetland Park, in addition to recreating the lake and forest flora, seeks to recover the water used in laboratories through remediation and stabilization systems. An artificial riverbank was planned on the coast, with a consolidated edge of articulated concrete pieces and a more rugged natural riverbank that preserves the native vegetation. Also, the construction of a public promenade and a pier on the river was planned. In the final versions, these liminal parts of the project underwent modifications.

The building generated a modern architectural-scientific piece and the park produced a harmonious resolution with the riverbank. The whole set implies the creation of a public space without preexistence. On the coast of the Park, the beach-landing area was replaced by a sturdy cabin-lookout with a retaining wall of steel-paved mobile cobblestones, suitable for absorbing the energy of the water dynamics of the Paraná.

The biggest debt of the project is the Fishing Port. This site was advertised as a social collaborative workspace, where artisanal fishermen communities and scientists could interact, exchange knowledge of the species and their ecosystem through encounter and mutual respect. In addition, the Fishermen's Port would boost the development of artisanal fisheries and strengthen food sovereignty. Del Gerbo engineer of the company Dinale SA was responsible for directing the integral execution of the project. Its description of the "really existing" Fishing Port is enlightening.

> On the south side, a building was made to integrate the fishermen that were there. These *people were also preserved so that they would not be excluded from the place because it was their place. The municipality integrated them making them a building that is a little hidden, with cool storage to make them progress.* (Del Gerbo, 2019, italics were introduced by us).

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Image 3
Fisherman's Port

Capture of the authors 10/26/2019

The paragraph is symptomatic. It elaborates on the roots of a historical territorialization of fishermen in "El Espigón", making clear the limits of the Aquarium project to exclude this population from the area. However, it also shows the hidden and/or invisible location that defines the fishermen's workspace. It also manifests the good intentions of inclusion-progress through the construction and provision of cooling equipment. However, in the precariousness of the Fishing Port, the failed integration of fishermen to the Aquarium Park becomes visible. The fishermen demanded 100 meters from the coast of the Aquarium and an entrance to the Ludueña Stream. This would involve committing almost the entire front of the Park to the fishing port. They wanted to store a hundred boats and work tools. This propo-

sal was rejected by the executors of the work and the fishermen left it aside when they observed the progress of the park on the front of the aquarium. The idea involved the construction of sheds for boats and a possible cool storage room to conserve fish. One of the referents clarified that the storage was a complement, the most important was the port and the place of storage for the boats.

> In the Aquarium we have been fighting for they to give us entrance to the Ludueña Stream. We want 100 meters in front of the aquarium to make shed-storage of fishermen's tools and if they wanted to put us some cool storage rooms so that we could keep the fish well and if not, we would not settle for less. (Sergio, 2016)

This design was centered on a port for fishermen. Other referents privileged the pier, without emphasizing the storage of vessels, and added the possibility of building a place for the commercialization of fish.

> We wanted to do a pilot test here, a Fisherman's Market. We put it forward to the provincial government. If we have a model place that works, it can be copied elsewhere. (Fermin, 2018a)

This proposal was more open to negotiation and sought in the Aquarium a place to promote the visibility of artisanal fishing. From the construction of a port and a market, fishermen would reestablish the commercial relationship with the city. This link had been fractured by the entry of refrigerators into fishing activity, the privilege of cooling and collection systems over the sale of fresh fish. In addition, the successive advances in the territorial planning of the coastal area favored the recreational uses of the riverbank over the productive ones.

> We wanted a space where a door to the river could be opened, where there was an empirical-scientific confluence. If it is an Aquarium, who better than fishermen to help make something better, something broader (…) Many things were done behind our backs, they did not consult us. With the port, the idea was to raise an income for the people of the island … (Fermín, 2018a)

One of the most effective lines of approach between artisanal fishers and the Aquarium project outlined a meeting between two orders of knowledge: one built through experience and practicality and the other through research

and scientific logic. Although this articulation promoted recognition of artisanal fishermen and their ecological knowledge, it proved to be very complex to establish the link between the knowledge of fishermen and scientists at the level of a non-hierarchical difference.

On the part of the Aquarium, there is a need to promote attractive exhibits to encourage visits, given its dual purpose (recreational-pedagogical and scientific). On the one hand, Argentina's inexperience in the construction, operation and maintenance of freshwater aquariums boosted consultancies with Australia. On the other, the still incipient articulation between scholarly knowledge and practical knowledge about the river was conducive to generating instances of training of interns in which some fishermen intervened. This favored the recognition of fishermen's knowledge, which improved the relationship of some long-standing fishermen with the institution.

However, the Aquarian-Fishermen link expressed disagreements regarding the way in which the Fishermen's Port materialized. The testimonies highlight an *inverted planning* process that privileged the industrial aspects of fishing over artisanal and configured cold storage chambers as the heart of the fishing port.

According to artisanal fishermen, the planning process for the fishing port began from the *end to the start*, but halfway it lost momentum. The design advances from the cold storage room to the shelter, through the toilets and meeting room, but is interrupted when it reaches the coast. Thus, the port is reduced to a fisherman's house.

> The design of the building that is there was not what we wanted. They have an obsession with the cold storage room. What we wanted was an improvement of the coast, that is to say that we could be land without breaking the boats. A gallery or fair type of construction. With a roof, so you can stay on rainy days, in the open, with a roof, but without walls. A table to gut the fish, two or three sinks to wash and two electronic scales. Make a place for the collectors to come and as the last thing a cold chamber and a space where the fisherman can take refuge, in case of inclement weather, take a bath if you have to ... But first you have to make a port, that's why called fishing port, a place where we could leave the boats charging a minimum fee to fishermen to pay someone to care for it. (Fermin, 2019)

In disagreement with what was executed, the fishermen insist that the priority for them is what was not done: coast infrastructure to embark, a pier, a place to dock, lower the fish, store the boats and tools and as a complement a space to protect and preserve the fruit of their work. The fisherman prefers a port and a market and not the refrigeration delivered to a, rather, uncertain and conflicting community management.

> They did everything backwards. The cold storage first, they fight over the storage, to see who stores the fish and who does not, whose fish is saved. (Vivi, 2019)

The process of building fishermen's space operates in the opposite direction to the planning of public spaces. The conception of fishermen marks an extension direction in the river-city direction, while urban planning is oriented in the opposite direction city-river. The planners want to extend the urban over the coast, fishermen want to take the river and its islands to the same place.

The historical territorial roots of the fishermen in "El Espigón" made them immovable. While moving them was no longer possible, as was the tonic in previous moments, it is still feasible to stablish a perimeter aroud their space with the objective of preserving it against the deterritorializing forces. But this implies restrictively reterritorialization, that is, accumulating territory in the form of public space at the expense of the territorial dispossession of the fishing production-reproduction space. Within this framework, a certain desire for exclusion can be realized, linked to the aesthetics of the landscape and the hegemonically recreational use of the river. This trend can be subverted without losing effectiveness through concealment, segregation and invisibility strategies. As stated by Gerbo, the Fishing Port in relation to the large structure of the Aquarium and the Parks is a bit hidden, and *we would add that it is a bit small and is very neglected*.

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Image 4
Location of the Fishing Port
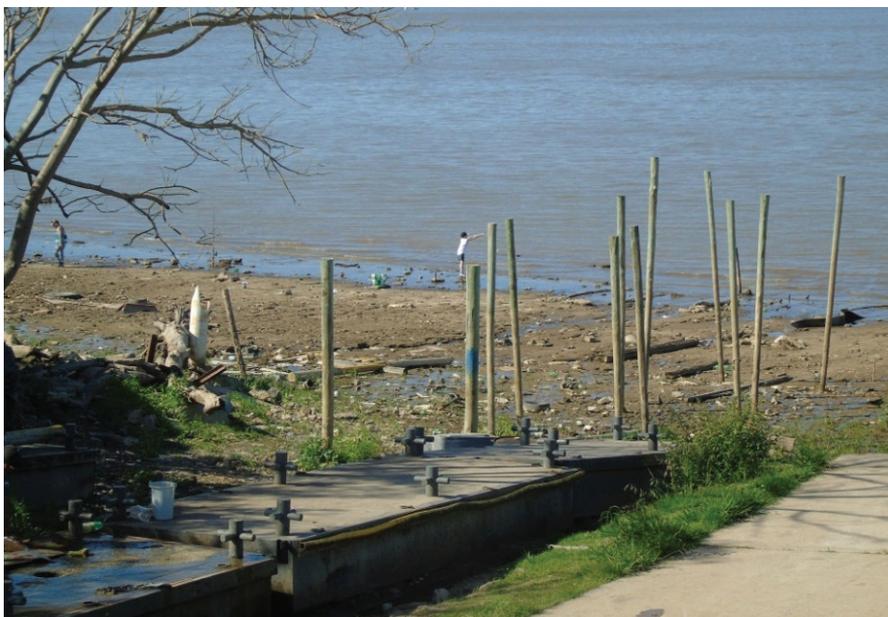
Capture of the authors 10/26/2019

In the architectural-scientific-pedagogical-recreational apparatus of the Aquarium, artisanal fishing has been subject to subordinate inclusion. It is reduced to the technological modernization of economic orientation, from the construction of a minimal, although multipurpose, cabin and the placement of a cold storage room inside. The installation of the cold storage, in theory, would provide a competitive advantage to the fisherman, who would have greater room for negotiation on the price of fresh fish from the possibility of storing it. However, the social relations woven between fishermen make the collective use of the chamber succumb to high levels of under-usage. The modernization of the infrastructure for the conservation and more favorable intervention of fishermen in the value chain becomes a socially conflicting and economically dysfunctional factor.

In the case of fishermen, not any procedure can be adopted to build penetration structures on the river. The urban-architectural formulas that try to

take the city to the river are not quite suitable to make a reverse path. In the city-river and river-city links, the order of the factors alters the product: the same type of infrastructure is not useful for enjoying the riverside landscape and to enter with boats loaded with fish to the city.

Discussion and conclusions

The article reconstructs some key moments in the history of the relationship between development in urban planning, territorial planning, and small-scale fishing activities. A first finding has been that fishing activities collided with urban planning that sought the production of riparian public spaces. Most of these advances in coastal planning have had a clear direction: to intervene in the river from the city, to integrate the river into the city, this being the most important. Only in the port areas and in the clubs, the river enters the city or the city goes out to the river (materially and not only landscape), but in both cases, it is the river that imposes the conditions of that exchange. In public spaces, on the other hand, the city transformed into a domestic viewpoint to the river turning it into a landscape. Through the landscaping, urbanism transforms the river and the coast into an aesthetic-symbolic landscape and, therefore, freezes it as a flat image, without depth, without conflicts and without other uses other than aesthetic or recreational (Cosgrove, 1998). Evading environmental and productive issues, the river appears as a fluid continuation of the play-grounds. The urban planning of the public space and the landscape extends the city over the river and colonizes its coasts, the urban grid will attempt to stretch over the river's edge.

Secondly, we can observe some asymmetrical relations of public entities regarding the various occupants of the coast. While public developments often involve the perimetration and shrinking of the spaces available for artisanal fishing, it can be seen that the irregularities committed by the clubs are barely noticed and do not affect their concessions. We attend a selective regulation of the uses-practices and users-subjects of the river that tends to favor some interests over others. Clubs and sports-recreational practices are favored, while fishermen and their productive-trade activities have weak support.

The construction of the Paraná Aquarium was a condition for a participatory exchange. However, proposals to modernize and include the fishing activity redeployed recipes whose failure had been made patent (Maschero-

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ni, 2012). Although they did not propose a cooperative structure, the construction process of the fishermen's refuge was similar to those experiences. The biggest equipment provided to the fishermen is a community cold storage room that generated serious difficulties for its collective administration and remains underutilized. All in all, this architecture advanced in the construction of bathroom space with showers so that fishermen could stay in hygienic conditions and a refuge from bad weather conditions. The fishermen demand that another type of intervention be carried out in the area: the construction of a fishermen's port with a berth for berthing and storage of vessels and a space with the necessary infrastructure for the cleaning and the sale of fish to collectors and direct consumers. This type of construction is the reverse of the planning stablished for the coast. They propose a relationship with the river similar to that of the port, although expressed on a smaller scale, but that privileges the entry of vessels and the fruits of fishing into the city and the arrival of the inhabitants to that space in the form of not only of walkers but also of potential consumers.

The construction of the pier, the cabin, the stalls for the sale of fish could form a territorial relationship where fishermen are integrated based on their knowledge, their culture, and their needs. Thus, its precarious territorialization could be attenuated. Even when such a project still suspends the residential issue and the possibilities of building a fishing district.

Both the concept of deterritorialization (Haesbaert, 2007) and the concept of disputed territory (Janoschka, 2019) represent violence generated from the processes of accumulation by dispossession. These processes involve residential displacements (accumulation by habitat removal), of practiced spaces (accumulation by inhibition of popular uses and appropriations of space), of aesthetic-environmental situations (accumulation by neo-hygienist, environmental and aesthetic landscape criteria) and of forms of practical knowledge (accumulation by eradication of traditional cultural forms). Artisanal fishermen have historically suffered the effects of the violence of these forms of accumulation and territorial dispossession on their residences and their production, commercialization, and logistics activities. More recently, the Paraná River Aquarium proposed the possibility of generating a non-hierarchical confluence of scientific and artisanal knowledge and practices. Every encounter to be possible needs space. While the Aquarium appears firmly located, its counterpart, the Fishermen's Port has been postponed. Artisanal fishermen expect works that would restore a place and territory where they can, with ad-

vantages, deploy they daily lives. Those who live in the river and know it in such a profound way as a practice yearn for the formation of that territory of artisanal production and knowledge collaboration.

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Territory and territoriality:
Theories in confluence and refutation

Territorio y territorialidad: Teorías en confluencia y refutación

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Abstract

In Ecuador, themes regarding territory and territoriality are nowadays key theoretical and socio-political issues. Nonetheless, whilst they are already considered a priority in a number of institutional management and administration projects, their philosophical and socio-anthropological significance has not been sufficiently pondered. Government entities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been working on territorial planning for more than two decades; conversely, the theoretical production on the topics, with adequate scientific usefulness and practicality, is barely in its early stages of development. In such a context, the aim of this paper is to explore a number of epistemological approaches on the issues of territory and territoriality, employing hermeneutical, relational thinking and reflexivity methodologies. The overall picture and the outcomes of the study reveal both confluences and discrepancies between theories which have major epistemological relevance in social matters: marxism, poststructuralism, interculturality. As a general conclusion, it could be contended that while territory is mainly structural, territoriality refers to processes of societal transformation, metamorphosis and socio-natural tuning.

Keyword

Territory, territoriality, interculturality, practices, community and transformation.

Resumen

En Ecuador, las temáticas relativas a territorio y territorialidad constituyen, en los actuales momentos, importantes ejes de interés teórico y sociopolítico. No obstante, y a pesar de ser un asunto prioritario en la gestión y administración de proyectos de índole institucional, su relevancia en los ámbitos filosóficos y socio-antropológicos no ha sido suficientemente considerada. Diversas instancias de gobierno y organismos no gubernamentales (ONG) llevan más de dos décadas trabajando en torno al ordenamiento territorial. En cambio, la reflexión teórica, de utilidad científica, es incipiente y está apenas en sus primeras fases de desarrollo. En tal contexto, el objetivo del presente artículo es explorar contribuciones teóricas y enfoques epistémicos, utilizando para ello metodologías hermenéuticas, de pensamiento relacional y de reflexividad. Los contenidos expuestos como resultados dan cuenta de confluencias y discrepancias entre teorías que tienen mayor relevancia epistemológica en materia social: el marxismo, el posestructuralismo y la interculturalidad En calidad de conclusión se puede sostener que mientras el territorio es principalmente estructural, la territorialidad refiere a procesos de transformación societal, de metamorfosis y sintonía socio-natural.

Palabras clave

Territorio, territorialidad, interculturalidad, prácticas, comunidad y transformación.

Introduction

Frequently, and this is the case in Ecuador, the approaches in relation to the territorial issue have been linked to the political management of territories. Hence, the analysis has focused primarily on practical, rather than theoretical, needs and their specificity has fundamentally been of technical nature. However, it should be noted that, as a result of this tendency towards practice, we have in Ecuador an important political-legal path that responds to processes of resistance to global capitalism, processes generated by social movements, mainly indigenous. It has thus been possible to institute various regulations, both at the constitutional level and specific laws.[1] However, in

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1   In the 2008 Constitution there is a chapter focused on the Territorial Organization that establishes an arrangement by regions, provinces, cantons and rural parishes, and contemplates that, for environmental, ethnic-cultural and population reasons, special regimes may be constituted. The spirit

theoretical matters, the task is still pending; even, in terms of laws, despite the conquests, capitalism has ended up imposing itself in the institutional exercise, often reducing the proposals of social movements, based on plurinationality, interculturality, and good living, to suggestive paradigmatic rhetoric and utopias.

There is no denying that there are valuable contributions such as those of the Critical Geography Collective (2018)[2] and the contributions contained in the o*ther Territorialities compilation. Alternative visions of land and territory from Ecuador*, edited by Waldmüller and Altmann (2018). However, these reflections do not always warn that, given the overwhelming presence of capitalist globalization and control of life and intimacy (Deleuze, 1991), the political struggle of social movements must unfold beyond strictly local spheres. Regional, national and local processes cannot be understood as disjointed with globalization (Harvey, 2007), since the global presence of capitalism, mainly financial-extractivist, has planetary power. In this regard, Saskia Sassen (2007) shows that extractivism does not only imply the dispossession of natural resources but is also exercised on the diversity of human beings through intensive urbanization processes, the massification of technological capital and monopolistic financial accumulation.

The problem, in the specific case of Ecuador, lies in how to consolidate counter-hegemonic processes and promote theoretical perspectives for the strengthening of political reflection under the principles of plurinationality, good living, decentralization and democratic participation in the social management of the territory. The indigenous movements in the 90s of the 20th century, after a process that began in the 70s, had the opportunity to develop innovative institutional arrangements through electoral triumphs and reelections; however, their sustainability strategies were weak. The management capacity of the institutional structures was diluted in a series of functional logics to the capitalist system, and the incidence in the new generations en-

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of institutional functioning is inspired by the strengthening of administrative decentralization processes; those that are called local governments in Ecuador, under the constitutional parameters, Decentralized Autonomous Governments are instituted. This constitutional framework subsequently generated the specific legal frameworks: the Organic Code of Territorial Organization, the Organic Land Use and Land Management Law and the Organic Law of Ancestral Lands and Territories.

2   A group that has worked on alternative geographies for the counter-hegemonic struggle regarding racism, colonialism and patriarchal feminicide.

ded up being a challenge with setbacks due to the undeniable hegemonic exercise of global capitalism.

In this context, it is not our intention to propose a manifesto for the application of strategies. Our goal is to undertake a theoretical approach that reinforces the complex nature of the territorial issue. To do this, we began our reflection by retaking the contributions of Martínez (2012), who addresses the structured-structuring condition of the territory based on the concepts of habitus and field proposed by Bourdieu. The reflection on social transformation leads us, on the other hand, to recognize the importance of post-structural epistemic contributions and, in particular, of the concept of the rhizome of Deleuze and Guatarri (2007), a concept that characterizes tissues, where the structural destructures itself in exit points, also causing complex processes of territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization. In this regard, the reflections of Houtart and Herrera (2018) offer us useful references for theoretical analysis in our country. On the other hand, we recognize and recover the valuable reflection that arises from the experiences and practices of political struggle of social movements in Ecuador; This reflection revolves fundamentally around the concept of territoriality and is based on contents focused on the social transformation of spatialities configured and structured by centuries of capital/colonial domination (Zeas et al., 2004).[3] Regarding the territoriality concept, we recognize the quality of epistemic support of the works of Prada (2008) and Saquet (2015).

The purpose is to draw an epistemic route between these perspectives in order to facilitate the philosophical understanding of praxis as a complex need for interconnected multiplicities: we prioritize Latin American production regarding territoriality, but without denying the validity of dialogue with theoretical productions of the West. For Bourdieu and Wacquant (2008) such a proposal should lead to the construction of theory; which implies emphatically challenging the fracture between research theory and practice. On the other hand, we also do not intend to fall into dual perspectives that oppose the West-Indigenism, global-local and theory-practice. The theoretical is essential to analyze the practical, from an epistemic approach that integrates different frameworks of counterhegemonic interpretation.

Thus, in methodological terms, our contribution not only proposes routes of epistemic political dialogue, but also an exercise in transdisciplinarity

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3   Publication of the indigenous movement while CODENPE existed.

between popular political culture, Bourdieu's sociological thinking and rhizomatic post-structural philosophy. Morin (1999) underlines this concept of trans-disciplinarity to explain perspectives that exceed the disciplinary specificity of the dominant academy of modernity, but also to overcome interdisciplinary approaches, which do not recognize epistemes outside the academic and scientific production fields.

With transdiciplinarity it is not intended to ignore science but to put it in dialogue, both among its specialties, and with social knowledge of different backgrounds and trajectories. In this sense, our methodology was cartographic, but referred to a cartography that does not involve practical fieldwork, but a strictly theoretical approach to the territory and territoriality. In the words of Deleuze and Guattari (2007), the book itself is a map, so it has been possible for us to map without resorting to geographical or georeference areas. The analysis we do is a map of epistemic articulation between *habitus*, rhizome and intercultural territoriality.

The text is a journey through structural circuits, post-structural exit points and re-articulations in intercultural postulates, as an integrative delineation of multiplicities. Obviously, the analogy of the book as a map can be reproduced in relation to articles, and this is what we try in this text.

In terms of the procedure, it was useful to reflect in a relational and differential way simultaneously. All the texts, from the conceptions that we have prioritized, have as their axis the power relations and the need to transform social reality, mainly from resistances that promote new structures or multiplicities that draw lines of difference or new articulations through ethical and intercultural agreements and practices to share power.

Territory and territoriality: conceptual routes

The territory is defined, in the first instance, by its population, based on confluences and disputes. It involves populations that are built and transformed within a geographical space and that interact, moved by diverse needs, both biological and social. In the sociocultural field, the territory cannot be understood as a defined perimeter on a plane or as a site with an address and under a specific property, whether private or collective. The territory is fundamentally diversity of spaces and settlements, whose fundamental characteristic is the rich mobility of its actors. Although it is important to map

territories for planning processes, as indeed happens in modernity, it is not possible to replace, with these maps, the territorial presence of the diverse cultures that inhabit them, and whose privileged route of expression is in the multiplicity of their practices.

Nor can we ignore the fact that the territory, in its condition of existence and concretion, makes sense in its materiality. This does not, of course, validate materialistic mechanistic conceptions that conceive the existence of reality exclusively in terms of sensitive verification; but neither privilege rationality as a priority dimension of the real. Without ignoring the physical materiality of any territory, the conceptual path that we present here conceives, both territory and territoriality, on the basis of a space/spatiality that responds to social interactions: it exists because of its actors and their interrelations, which are multiple in nature, that are specified in terms of differences and that simultaneously promote encounters and disagreements (Massey, 2005). They are, therefore, entities open to becoming. Hence the need to understand that the social relations that characterize a territory are explained by power relations because they are political spaces, which have led to the imposition of dynamics of violent expropriation of territories and the submission of populations that have lost control over that which was once their cultural identity scenario.

With regard to the notion of territory, Luciano Martínez (2012), taking up Bourdieu's ideas, points out that, when talking about the social construction of the territory, the "relational" dimension of the actors who deploy specific strategies according to interests related to their location in the social field. In *Practical Reason* (1991), Bourdieu proposes the concept of *habitus* to account for articulations and contradictions that direct social behaviors within what he, in turn, calls the social field. As a structured and structuring entity, the *habitus* is constituted as a multiplicity of systemic practices. They do not imply, therefore, the reconciliation of two principles that generally appear as antithetical: structure and action. We believe that Bourdieu does not assume dichotomous positions that tend to synthesize these opposite principles. It is also important to understand that in his proposal neither field nor *habitus* are reduced to abstract structures.

On the contrary, they are located as guiding and generating entities of practical meaning, that is, of action and of relationship and, therefore, of reality. From a historical perspective, the social field is constituted as a space in dispute, this is one of conflict and competition: a field is constituted by

forces, and by struggles to transform or maintain the relations of forces that exist at a given time (Bourdieu, 2002). But the behaviors and actions that are carried out within a field do not respond to universal laws or to the rationality of the involved actors, but to predispositions for action and schemes of perception and assessment of social reality, typical of *habitus* that comes into play. The *habitus* is constituted as a set of dispositions, within which experiences are perpetuated or transposed. If the social habitus is homologous to the individual, the practices of domination span both the class as a whole and its individuals. The essence of *habitus* is, therefore, to make everlasting the ways of being, speaking, walking, feeling, thinking; maintain submission to the social order (Nordmann, 2010). As a process, in the *habitus* past, present and future are woven (Wacquant, 2008).

In this line of reflection, we would like to go beyond the analogy that Martínez establishes between the territory and the social field, proposed by Bourdieu as a field in dispute, conflict, and competition. In this sense, we would like to relate the notion of territory with that of habitus, since the territory exceeds the scope of the spatial to become a structured and structuring practice, which defines both the possibilities of action and the - physical, social and symbolic - fields in which the action is concretized, it is materialized; that is, it becomes reality. Bourdieu's Marxist contribution allows us to avoid naive and voluntary positions framed in the legitimate desire for societal transformation. Destructuring territories, imposed by the hegemonic order and incorporated by social actors, is an extremely complex practice, which goes beyond its simple understanding and explanation. Overcoming the global capitalist order and establishing a new civilizational system is not a simple task. The proposals for de-structuring have been persistently refunctionalized and articulated within the capital-labor logic, and the socialisms, far from instituting an alternative order, ended up canceling that same logic at the *glocal* level. It is a fact that globalization exercises a clear hegemony in the territorial structuring of the planet. In this sense, the habitus, and in its structured and structuring condition tends to unify the multiplicity of the real.

And yet, reality is presented at the same time unstructured and unstructuring, according to complex metamorphosis processes; that is, deep processes of integral transformation in one incessant becoming (Braidotti, 2005). Reality emerges, becomes a process and has a clearly ontological condition and openness and expansion, not only of the human but of any vital existence that

transits it. Within this logic that places the vital as the axis of territorial construction lies the proposal of the rhizome-root of Deleuze and Guattari (2007).

The authors argue that the rhizome is explained as non-structure, and is opposed to arboreal conformations. With this they do not argue the absence of structures, but rather underline their incessant decomposition in deterritorialization processes. In this line of reflection, the territory results from a constant and inexhaustible movement of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. It is a fabric that is made up of exit points and mutations, where relationships are uninhabited and re-inhabited as much as they are deterritorialized and reterritorialized. We know that the original human communities lived between tissues and exit points, in an intimate relationship with the processes of nature. The territories were structured and unstructured by their nomadic status. Mobility qualified natural and social survival, which also required a constant deterritorialization, but not as an absolute, since the settlement of a new territory always involved reterritorialization processes.

On the other hand, territorializing a space invariably implies compromise and dispute with other species; hence, coexistence is carried out in communion and tension, simultaneously. Rosi Braidotti (2009), based on her Deleuze readings, understands territorialization as differences in mobility, which produce in transit emerging subjectivizations, as a power of multiplicities in motion, that territorialize, deterritorialize and reterritorialize in their trajectories.

In sedentary societies, although their territorial survival was assumed to be limited, mobility persisted, not only in spaces specific to the social group but through expansions of imperial domination to other social groups. Thus, even in full sedentary life, the subjects are nomads and, therefore, live territorialization-de-territorialization-re-territorialization processes (Deleuze & Guattari, 2007). The rhizome proposals are not discourse for the "must be" or the utopian prospect of a new world. The rhizome can also establish perverse or ignominious results. Domination, in this case, can also be rhizome, but not from perennial conditions, but also from incessant destructuring. Thus, territories determined by a logic of domination end up being chaotic by that same logic.

Towards an intercultural territoriality

The current process of territorial globalization has placed the society-nature relationship in a dangerous imbalance because of the imposition of

logic that fractures the weighted process of development of the human species as part of the natural world. Capitalist modernity has generated an oversizing of social aspects, emphasizing the reduction of nature to a category of mere bearer of use values and raw materials for industrial-post-industrial and scientific-technical production; consolidating on a global scale the supposed supremacy of the human being over all other types of existence, and also placing a great diversity of species - even our own - at risk of extinction. If we take into account irrefutable social evidence, contemporary civilization is in crisis, whether due to the excessive and monopolistic use of natural resources, by the almost irreversible global warming or by the presence of devastating wars and the substantial expenditure on weapons of mass destruction. Given this excessive and polluting predominance of the social over the natural, and in the face of the situation of civilizational and territorial crisis that we face, initiatives arise that propose to conceive and materialize territories through proposals for territoriality or alternative territorialities.

The very notion of territoriality places us directly in non-anthropocentric conceptions of the territory (Waldmüller & Altmann, 2018), starting even from the realization that the place, as such, exists before the human presence on the planet: it is not strange a territorial conformation that precedes us and the symbolic aspects, typical of our species, have expression in their materiality and are part of a vital environment that surpasses us. The materiality of human territoriality makes sense in very diverse social productions: cities, roads, means of transport, machines, handicrafts, books, paintings, songs, and a vast number of others impossible to enumerate. Hence, the concept of territoriality articulates the abstract and the concrete, without dual interpretations, but on the contrary in richly interwoven and merged interrelations.

In this regard, Saquet (2015) proposes a significant interconnection between three important domains of the territories and human territorialities: sociability, animality, and spirituality, "highlighting the first dimension while still considering the others" (p. 17). In the Ecuadorian case, the theoretical formulation of territoriality is mainly the product of the joint work of various groups belonging to the indigenous movement. Territoriality, it is affirmed in the text prepared by CODENPE (Development Council of Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador), integrates synergistically five dimensions: "socio-cultural, ecological-territorial, spatial physical, economic-productive and political-administrative" (Zeas et al., 2004, p. 13). In the CODENPE text, a

reflection on spirituality is also offered, which gives a perspective of totality to the proposal of territoriality and governance for the indigenous peoples of Ecuador. Spirituality conceives in synergy the culture-nature relationship, through a worldview that closely links the spiritual with the sacred, and where the four substantial elements (water, fire, air, and earth) constitute axes of the ritual processes. From understanding life as spirituality, the indigenous peoples of Ecuador have built philosophies of praxis, which articulate cosmos, community, and individual, facilitating the preservation of their identities as peoples and, currently, as nationalities. In this way, it has been possible that their ancestral knowledge, their community family organization, and principles of solidarity-reciprocity survive.

In the context of the proposal of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement, the concept of territoriality cannot ignore community perspectives on the construction of the territory that arise from the legacies of collective resistance to the onslaught of capitalist modernity. Territoriality is, therefore, deeply linked to the ability to maintain practices of peoples that have resisted the colonizing territorial system (Prada, 2008). Thus, although we have insisted on the differentiation of the concepts of territory and territoriality, they do not constitute antagonistic concepts in any way. In fact, we could say that territoriality includes the territory: it is territory with resistance and transformation contents, and, therefore, implies processes in constant movement and metamorphosis. Affirming territoriality implies assuming concretions of societal change in the territory; alter structures that direct internalized practices of domination, in common sense, and staged in territories in terms of social ordering and hierarchies.

Territoriality implies, consequently, uninhabiting and re-inhabiting territories. From the societal transformation that it entails, its meaning is counter-order, counter-hegemony, counter-*habitus*, as long as it defines structuring conformations under capitalist logic. The act of uninhabiting and reinhabiting implies other consciences and capacities to act and perform changes in the territories, from logics of societal participation, which implies actions of cooperation, solidarity, and union (Saquet, 2015). In line with this, the indigenous communities of America are not defined on the basis of structures of reproduction of an order of domination, and their presence, although very weakened, is antagonistic regarding subjectivizations of individualism and capitalist privatization. However, it is important not to overlook that the community is located in fields, understood as spatiality in

dispute, in conflict with capitalist territorial hegemony. Undoubtedly, in these fields of conflict, communities are in a state of deep vulnerability and, in certain cases, even at risk. Therefore, they cannot limit themselves to seeking changes that adhere to their internal condition; they must generate processes of alliance and diverse reproduction in the contemporary world, and enroll in broader proposals and manifestos of emancipatory and post-capitalist political struggle (Houtart & Herrera, 2018). Hence the absolute relevance of concretizing processes that settle in intercultural relations.

However, the notion of community is not exclusive to indigenous peoples. Already in ancient Greece, Aristotle (2000) defines the common in direct relation to citizens and their habitat. At that time, the community corresponded to a unitary perspective, and did not oppose the fact of possessing riches and honors, nor of marking hierarchies as a condition of citizenship - from which barbarian-foreigners, women, children and, obviously, slaves were excluded -. Today, the notion of community refers to new meanings. Francois Houtart (2013) defines it as a set of processes that are directed towards the common good of humanity, based on the recovery of communism, as an egalitarian society, without predominance of class privileges. Houtart, however, does not exclude plural perspectives - as common goods of humanity, in legitimate recognition of resistance and political diversity - but considers a post-capitalist stance that implies the universal right to the common good as a political struggle with unitary perspectives a priority.

Alfonso Torres (2013), on the other hand, combines the holistic overview of the community concept with emerging subjectivation processes. In his proposal he rescues the contributions of Esposito and Nancy, and, in this sense, also emphasizes plural approaches to the concept. In his analysis, a community can be produced through multiple associations, framed in community action from relationships of solidarity and reciprocity.

Under a similar epistemic stance, Roberto Esposito (2012) considers that the most widespread use of the community concept tends to associate the idea of one's own, whether from the ethnic identity or from the common ownership of a given territory. Esposito, however, proposes a way of interpretation that differs from this dominant use: from his argument, the commons refers to the public, so that it differs from any type of domain or property. The common would be precisely that which is not owned. Esposito defines the community on the basis of relations of reciprocity and not possession-ownership-domain. The public is understood, then, as a *donum* or

gift, what is given to the other. Strictly speaking, the common is more related to the fact of detachment and not of accumulating. The community, therefore, assumes provisions of gratitude and commitment to the other as long as there is a debt acquired for what has been received; a relationship that differs from the commercial activity of selling and buying.

Raúl Prada (2008) takes up Esposito's approaches to highlight the centrality of the gift and of giving, of exchange and reciprocity, in the constitution of the community. As indicated in its text, the community is interesting not only as a social institution but above all as an ethical substrate and as a reference for society in the current context of the global expansion of capitalism (p. 32). The gift, based on extravagance and generosity, opposes the value of the capitalist economy and becomes the fundamental axis of the framework that constitutes the community. In this context, Prada emphasizes the historical thickness of the community: semantic displacements, the change of meaning of inherited reminiscences, are explained only in terms of new historical contexts. Hence, Prada is interested in "working on a form of present in which dynamic and bustling forms of community emerge, resistant and rebellious, that rescue the collective principle against the principle of individuation, prevalent throughout modernity" (p. 37).

In line with the above, Prada conceives *ayllu* as a territoriality, an Andean archipelago, "which combines both the union of territories through alliances, and the use of multi-ethnic residential areas, occupied by different *ayllus*" (p. 42). The territoriality of *ayllu* cannot be understood without referring it to its initial matrix, to its pre-Columbian archaic architecture, from where it is erected and has always been erected as a form of social organization of resistance to the state conformation of the territory. In *ayllu*, Prada argues, the earth is space and, at the same time, memory and vitality. We could say, in short, that the territoriality of the Andean ayllu contains what the colonizing domain looked down upon, all that complex wealth of diversities articulated in the peoples, between peoples and of these with nature.

On the basis of the above, it is important to note that in the indigenous world communities have been and are always plural and heterogeneous. There was never a single and/or unified community, much less a homogeneous community. Nancy (2000), in her line of post-structural argumentation, analyzes the inoperative community to affirm the importance of singularity - which does not imply any instance of individualization. Nancy argues that "singularity never possesses the nature, or structure, of indivi-

duality" (2000, p. 18). The community, unlike the individual, is singular and indivisible: it is what makes bodies, voices, and scriptures communicate. In her perspective, an exclusive and exclusionary future horizon, such as that which communism promotes, ignores the value of singularity; the community, on the contrary, always involves the plural encounter of singularities.

In Latin America, these contemporary approaches to what constitutes the community have a preponderant weight in the fact that any future project that tends to the construction of "other" communities can only be built on the basis of the unity of the diverse and the diversification of the singular units (Herrera & Torres, 2017), prioritizing the vital and highlighting the issue within proposals and manifestos of emancipatory and post-capitalist political struggle (Houtart & Herrera, 2018). In advocating territoriality all those demands and proposals that project social transformations, based on principles of social equality, the inclusion of differences and dissent, ethical indispensableness in the formulation of political praxis are incorporated. It is an indisputable fact that, in the contemporary neoliberal context, the situation of coloniality and neocoloniality that our countries have suffered places women, children, young people, elderly, as well as other ethnicities, cultures, and peoples affected by global capitalist domination in even more vulnerability and disadvantages. In such a condition of impairment, territoriality is distinguished from the proposals whose axis constitutes the territory because it privileges the challenge of those classist, colonial and oligarchic territorial ordinances (Wilson & Bayón 2017), manifestly exclusive and denigrating, that accentuate situations of marginality, poverty and extreme poverty. It must be clear, therefore, that territoriality cannot be constructed without taking political practice into account from intercultural approaches.

Regarding Ecuador, as territoriality is a construction shared by the peoples and nationalities that make up the indigenous movement of CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), it has close links with the issue of interculturality, which favors decolonization processes from a plurality of variables. Only within an intercultural logic, territoriality articulates material praxis with symbolic praxis and offers the opportunity to update ancestral legacies and project them into the future. Political decolonization requires epistemic decolonization, and vice versa, and a territoriality proposal without decolonization of territory would be out of place. Consequently, territoriality must imply that diversity of peoples that respond to community logic, but without excluding those who, for one rea-

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son or another, have had to reproduce the logic of capitalist individualism. Interculturality, as cultural diversities sharing power and living respectfully with nature, becomes an inescapable need in the construction of territorialities; It also constitutes a powerful recovery of the rhizome, as alternative tissues and exit points to degradation and capitalist crisis. Territoriality can be understood as a dignifying process of territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

Fidel Tubino (2004), who defines interculturality as a practice and not as a theory, proposes its application in a new civilizational pact that privileges action based on ethics. Unlike Tubino, we consider that the intercultural proposal, in addition to being practical, is theoretical. We even think that, in our country, the theoretical component is possibly the most obvious shortcoming in the actions of political movements with clear manifests and projects of societal transformation. However, our proposal does not consist of deploying a theoretical academicism detached from the processes of struggle. On the contrary, we propose a theoretical task that is not only strictly linked to these processes but also arises as a product of them. Theoretical practice (theory as a constitutive part of the practice) is essential for the increasingly complex development of political practice.

An additional component, which is a priority in an intercultural proposal and which, however, tends to be overlooked, lies in the diversity of beings and actors that integrate territoriality, beyond its human component. Fornet-Betancourt (2009) contributions on interculturality are relevant in this case. As he explains, the sociocultural cannot be disconnected from the natural: living in harmony with nature is part of an intercultural proposal that detracts from any anthropocentric vision of coexistence and coexistence with otherness, Fornet-Betancourt proposes a broad subjectivation that is built in relation to vital diversity, and not only social. Prada reinforces this statement by conceiving that living beings are also subjects and, therefore, the very fact of living, and not only the fact of knowing, already implies subjectivation. In summary, interculturality as a respectful and affirmative coexistence between different peoples, in an organization by communities or, in any case, by experiences of imposed individuality, requires conceiving and making their reality from other consciousnesses of being; this from territoriality projects or alternative territorialities.

Conclusions

Throughout this text, the importance of theoretical contributions that address the complexity of the territorial issue and allow the strengthening of struggle processes based on principles of equity, justice, respect for ethnic-cultural differences and harmonious coexistence between society and nature has been recognized. We have followed a route of various authors and perspectives that have allowed us, in the first instance, to establish a clear difference between the concepts of territory and territoriality. Without necessarily being antagonistic, since both understand each other about the materiality of space/spatiality that responds to social interactions, the first is explained in terms of power relations that have led to the imposition of expropriation dynamics, the submission of some populations by others.

In this sense, the territory is primarily materiality that implies the reproduction of class structures. The concept of habitus takes up sense and relevance, with which Bourdieu builds a theoretical bridge for a more comprehensive understanding of domination as a social complexity. Hence, reality is understood as structured and structuring territory on various scales. This aspect is often neglected in political reflection, preventing the identification of core issues regarding global capitalist hegemony. From the habitus, the territory becomes a complex and systemic reality; a scenario that involves interdependent and contradictory processes, and that has dynamically characterized the exercises of colonial power of capitalism in Latin America.

To address the issue of territoriality we started from the fact that capitalist colonial domination is not unwavering, despite its characteristics as complex structural processes. For this, it was essential to understand territorial dynamics also from the perspective of praxis in the sense of emancipation and social transformation, which led us to recognize the importance of post-structural epistemic contributions and, in particular, of the concept of rhizome of Deleuze's and Guatarri. From the notion of rhizome we understand territorial complexity as instances where the structured/structuring is also unstructured in exit points and mutations. Plurality, the multiplicity of the real, understood as rhizome, is constructed and reconstructed in a constant and inexhaustible movement of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Hence, domination can also be rhizomatic, but not from perennial conditions, but also from incessant destructuring.

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It is then that the notion of territoriality acquires relevance as a proposal for societal transformation, where class and colonial domination does not fit. It supposes deterritorialization and reterritorialization, but always from the alternative; promoting multiplicities as relationships that become processes of equity and emancipation, dignified tissues and exit points. Territoriality is aligned in the areas of resistance, based on territorial processes created from communities. Hence, the proposal of intercultural territoriality acquires special importance as it is articulated to social movements and philosophies that integrate elements of popular experience. Also, in territoriality, anthropocentric positions lose meaning and territorial organization becomes relevant as sequences and disputes from nature: the priority axis of order and counterorder is strictly life. In summary, territoriality is the renovating alternative of the social as a constant emancipation, that is, with territories in strict intercultural vocation of respect for the different; where the struggles for decolonization are relentlessly recreated, in tune not only with visions and social perspectives but with clear connections with nature; that is to say in a continuous metamorphosis of the sociocultural in the sociovital.

Finally, in methodological terms, we draw a map between territory and territoriality, between the reality we live in and by the reality that one wishes to live. We proposed a route between epistemic contributions such as *habitus*, rhizome, and interculturality. In this exercise, it was possible to demonstrate aspects of confluences, but also refutations. The work was a theoretical mapping from structural aspects, post-structural processes, and statements of intercultural political reunion.

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MISCELLANEOUS

MISCELÁNEA

Violence, ¿is a persistent reality of XXIth century adolescence?

La violencia, ¿es una realidad persistente de la adolescencia del siglo XXI?

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Abstract
The persistence of interpersonal violence among adolescents deserves more attention from an approach that avoids the biases of pathologization of this population and take into account various manifestations of this violence. In this text we try to describe this phenomenon from the detailed study of the case of the population between 12 and 14 years old in the city of Huelva (Spain). The analysis reveals a complex interrelation between these manifestations, but also the way in which the contexts of violence change and evolve when we contemplate key variables such as the age and gender of the protagonists.

Keywords
Violence, adolescence, family, bullying, cyberbullying, social representations.

Resumen

El fenómeno de la persistencia de la violencia interpersonal entre los y las adolescentes merece más atención, desde un enfoque que rehúya los sesgos de la patologización de esta población y recoja fielmente diversas manifestaciones de esta violencia. En este texto intentamos dar cuenta de este fenómeno a partir del estudio detallado del caso de la población entre 12 y 14 años de la ciudad de Huelva (España), revelando la compleja interrelación entre estas manifestaciones, pero también la manera en que cambian y evolucionan los escenarios de la violencia cuando contemplamos variables clave como la edad y el género de los protagonistas.

Palabras clave

Violencia, adolescencia, familia, acoso escolar, cyberbullying, representaciones sociales.

Introduction

Few population groups suffer from such a distorted view in the whole of public opinion as that of adolescents. As Casas (2010) has pointed out, sometimes this distortion does not seem so much the casual fruit of an arbitrary representation but of the construction of a differentiating discourse between endo and exogroup in which the adult population prefers to think of the adolescent from a pathological perspective and attaching them attributes of a deviant subject. The empirical data tell a very different story that supports the hypothesis of bias in the representation of the collective: in Spain, for example, according to the Central Registry for the Protection of Victims of Domestic and Gender Violence in their 2017 statistics (INE, 2018) of the 6909 victims of domestic violence registered more than 1500 were minors.

For its part, WHO (2002) defines violence in general as:

> The intentional use of force or physical power, de facto, or as a threat, against oneself, another person or a group or community, that causes or is likely to cause injury, death, psychological damage, developmental disorders or deprivation.

In this text one of the components of this global definition is investigated: interpersonal violence understood as the forms of physical, psychological or verbal aggression that occur in the relational or inter-individual sphere and in intra-family and community spaces in which the aggressors can be both other teenagers and adults. From the Spanish context, the longitudinal vision provided by the ANAR Foundation stands out; In its latest report dedicated to the evolution of violence since 2009 (ANAR Foundation, 2018) it is noted that violence has not only increased but also has diversified and also included new digital media and, even more significantly, the decrease in the average age of the victims who come to this phone, which in 2009 was 12.6 years and in 2016 11.5. The data fit well with the diagnosis for the same context pointed out by other reports, such as the one made by the Save the Children organization together with the Santander Department of Law and Minors (2015), in which the extent of the phenomenon and, above all, of the lack of integral institutional responses in our environment to stop it is emphasized. Already in the global context, UNICEF also warns that the majority of adolescent deaths are due, in higher proportion, to interpersonal violence rather than to collective violence, showing that violence, more broadly defined, in 2015 alone cost the lives of about 82,000 adolescents worldwide (UNICEF, 2017). A recent meta-analysis not only confirmed the global scope of the phenomenon but concludes that the actual figures of victimization are much greater than the data included in the statistical records of the phenomenon (Hillis, Mercy, Amobi & Kress, 2016).

These data should be contextualized in relation to the two large institutional spaces in which, even today, much of the adolescent population's life is spent: the family and the education system, not being unreasonable to point out that violence "far from being a phenomenon isolated and proper to a particular cultural situation, it is intimately linked to the sociocultural destructuring of postmodernism" (Dupret, 2012, p. 18). The adolescence itself is today longer but also more diffuse and of an uncertain ending that tends to be confused with the beginnings of adult life with which it collides, producing in individuals an insecurity of status that can be traced even in terms of their evolutionary development and cognitive maturity (Hurrelmann & Quenzel, 2015).

Regarding the family, teenagers of the 21st-century experience, inscribed in their own maturity process, a broad process of family changes that have crystallized, following Silverstein and Giarrusso (2010) in greater fa-

mily diversity and more fluid and less predictable intergenerational contexts. The western family model, on the other hand, built around the ideal of privacy and suffering from a notable normative ambiguity regarding behaviors such as physical punishment, has been insistently pointed out, for at least three decades, as a scenario particularly susceptible to the appearance of violence against children and adolescents (Gelles, 1983).

Likewise, interpersonal violence that occurs within or is connected with educational centers is a fact that many adolescents live today even in very diverse societies. Particularly through one of its main manifestations: bullying[1] (Musil, Tement, Bakracevic & Sostaric, 2014; Fleming & Jacobsen, 2010). We do not have a precise quantification of its magnitude, which is extremely fluctuating according to studies, contexts or measurement criteria and can easily range between 10 and more than 35% (Due & Holstein, 2011; Moore, Norman, Suetani, Thomas, Sly & Scott, 2017; Hillis et al., 2016) but we can assume it occurs frequently enough to mark the lives of adolescents. A recent study on its consequences warns about the connection of this type of interpersonal violence with the development of substance abuse, anxiety problems, depression, suicidal tendencies and other mental disorders (Moore et al., 2017). For example, according to Nocito (2017) in the Spanish context, there is a growing interest in the phenomenon and it is estimated, based on research led by Save the Children (Sastre, 2016), that it may be affecting around 9, 3% of the population between 12 and 16 years old (more than 111 000 children) and 6.9% if we talk about cyberbullying. More recently Sánchez-Queija, García-Moya, and Moreno (2017) estimate a consolidated trend since 2006 in the presence of peer abuse in the educational field, depending on whether it is reported by the individual or through an "objective" estimate, would range between 4.4% or more than 21% affected.

On the other hand, it is not strange to find situations where domestic violence can promote aggressive behavior in children and whose results can be evidenced at the school level, pointing out a strong interrelation between both contexts. In this line, it is worth highlighting the study carried out by Gracia (2002) as it demonstrates the relationship between the risk of intrafamily abuse and the violent behavior that some children carry out in

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1   Defined in general terms as intentional physical or psychological victimization, including the dissemination of rumors, beatings or kicks, insults, intimidation or social exclusion within the framework of an unequal balance of power (Olweus, 1980; Pedreira, Cuesta & Bonet, 2011; Carlyle & Steinman, 2007).

educational institutions. Other studies, such as the research carried out by Zambrano (2017) in Ecuador, conclude that the different forms of domestic violence affect the most vulnerable population and influence, in a very decisive manner, the behavior of schoolchildren. The appearance of the new digital scenario has not improved this landscape. In this sense, social networks have revealed themselves as a dangerous scenario that paradoxically feeds both peer support and insults, threats and other painful experiences for children and adolescents in many parts of the world (Byrne, Kardefelt-Winther, Livingstone & Stoilova, 2016).

Objectives

The objective of this text is to reconstruct an integral vision of the place of violence in the lives of contemporary adolescents from the study of a concrete urban reality: that of the adolescent population of Huelva Capital. Focusing both on the victims themselves of such violence and on the broad group of adolescents, we propose to determine: a) the frequency and extent of violence in the daily life of these adolescents in the main environments in which it develops (the family, the educational center and the public space); b) its connection with the vital satisfaction and subjective well-being of this population, as well as with other variables related to self-esteem; c) the interrelation between the presence of the phenomenon in the spaces and contexts in which adolescent life unfolds: including the digital space.

Through a statistical analysis based on a representative survey of boys and girls between 12 and 18 years[2] we will try to discern, the keys that allow not only to analyze but also to act on the phenomenon from a respectful approach with the complexity of the social life of the teenagers.

Method

The data used in this text have been collected through a survey of 789 cases carried out in eleven educational centers for the population between the ages of 12 and 18 in the city of Huelva (Spain). The city is an urban nu-

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2   The survey was part of the preparatory diagnostic work necessary for the participation of the city of Huelva in the 2018 UNICEF Call in the "Child-Friendly Cities" program.

cleus of the Spanish southwest coast of 145,000 inhabitants. In it lived, at the time of the study, 28 700 minors (19.7% of the total population). Children and adolescents from all their urban districts have participated in this survey, which ensures high variability in geographical and socioeconomic terms; specifically, 388 girls and 400 boys were interviewed, with 5% of these participants being children and adolescents born outside Spain. The bulk of the sample, 60.5%, was composed of students of Compulsory Secondary Education (CSE) and 62% were between 15 and 18 years old, also having students from various Vocational Training cycles and the first two High school courses. This is a representative survey proportionally affixed to the distribution of said population in the six Basic Social Work Zones (ZTS) into which it is divided. The educational centers included in each of these areas have been taken as sampling points, so that the resulting sample is diverse and representative of the different realities that make up the experience of being a teenager in the city. The margin of error of the survey is also satisfactory since with these parameters and for p=q=0.5 it is ± 3.2%. An added value of the design is the wide range of ages that it contemplates, from the beginning of adolescence itself until coming of age.

The explicit permission of both the corresponding Territorial Delegation of Education and the Ministry of Education of the Autonomous Community of Andalusia (maximum competent body) was acquired from the beginning of the investigation. The students were informed through a strategy of "informed consent" (Cocks, 2006) of their right to participate voluntarily and to withdraw at any time during the investigation without this having any consequences, as well as the guarantee of anonymity and statistical secrecy regarding the collected data.

On the other hand, the main limitation of the study is that, since a view broad and accessible for informants of various ages of the phenomenon was sought, complex psychometric instruments have been dispensed with and a global measurement has been chosen. This has produced a more general impression of the phenomenon of violence; more respectful of the diversity of contexts in which adolescent life occurs, but also less precise within each of these contexts. An additional limitation is that of not having been able to triangulate quantitative information with a qualitative research path. The project team is currently working on the latter in the face of future research results.

A core of items related to different manifestations of interpersonal violence has been worked on. Ways of verbal aggression have been studied in

the public space, in the educational environment and harassment and non-face to face aggression in digital environments. Except for the first one, where the possible response options were three, the rest could be answered through a 5-point scale, as described in detail below in Chart 1.

We have not renounced to more complex aggregated measures since, in addition to an independent descriptive analysis for each variable, a composite index has been calculated for all the reviewed items, as well as a counter of forms that classifies individuals depending on their exposure to the variants of interpersonal violence to which each item relates to. Next, we break down the main results of the analysis.

Results

Chart 1 describes information referring to the different manifestations of interpersonal violence among the adolescent population. Almost three-quarters of the consulted population claims that they never receive threatening or offensive messages on social networks, in the same way, physical aggression in educational settings or insults in public spaces are also relatively rare with $68,6\%$ and 66.8% of teenagers who claim never to experience them. On the contrary, verbal violence in domestic and educational environments seems much more frequent and more than a third of the interviewees say they have experienced it and 10% say they suffer it every day or almost every day. We find it equally striking that a form of violence such as physical punishment by adults responsible for the domestic sphere, although a minority, is still so present in the lives of these subjects: just over 36% of them have experienced some time and more than 5% suffer it almost daily.

Chart 1
Descriptive statistics and frequency distribution
of the items used in the measurement of violence

Items	Statistical			Answer	Frequency Distribution (%)				
	N	Median	Typical D.	Values	1	2	3	4	5
In the street, someone has insulted me or made fun of me for my looks or for the clothes I wear	782	1,40	0,615	1-3 (1 never, 3 many times)	66,8	26,3	6,9		

They insulted or ridiculed me telling things about me (in school)	783	1,85	0,965	1-5 (1 never, 5 every day)	44,6	35,2	11,4	8,2	,7
Someone hit me with the intention of harming me (in the school)	784	1,44	0,765	1-5 (1 never, 5 every day)	68,6	22,4	5,7	3,0	,4
They have sent me offensive or threatening messages on WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram.	778	1,37	0,738	1-5 (1 never, 5 every day)	74,7	17,4	4,6	2,9	,4
My mother or father insulted or yelled at me	777	2,13	1,052	1-5 (1 never, 5 every day)	31,9	38,5	17,4	9,3	2,8
I have received a slap or other blows from any of the adults with whom I live	783	1,69	0,855	1-5 (1 never, 5 every day)	50,5	36,1	8,3	4,3	,8

Source: Own elaboration.

What is the relationship between this incidence and key variables such as the age and sex of adolescents?

A logical hypothesis for the issue of violence suffered by adolescents is that it is related to key sociodemographic variables and, more specifically, to the age and sex of the subjects. Based on the information provided by the interviewed subjects, a counter has been constructed whose objective is to identify the times that each of the subjects declares to have suffered, at least once, each of the forms of violence described in the research questionnaire.

Specifically, Figure 1 already shows a lower incidence of violence among girls (58% say they never suffered it) than among boys (47.9%). This disproportion will fluctuate as we move to the extreme and find individuals who claim to suffer different manifestations of violence (to accumulate the 6 possible forms described in the study) but in almost all cases the men seem to be more exposed to it, with the caveat (which actually includes very few individuals) of the most extreme point of distribution.

Figure 1
Count of forms of violence experienced by sex
(% of those who have experienced them at least once)
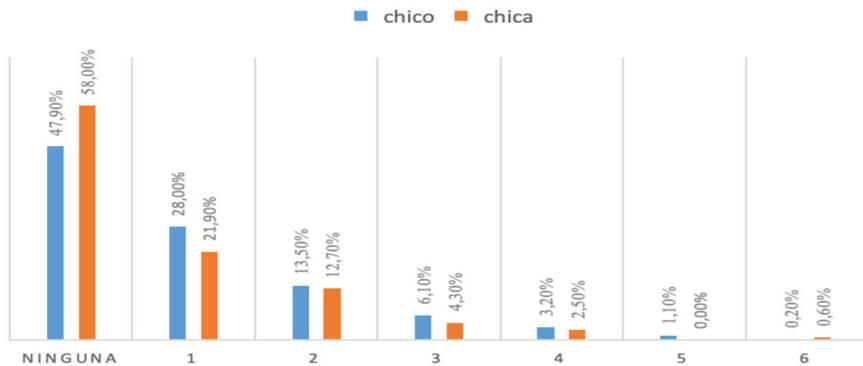
Source: Own elaboration.

We have resorted to a statistical contrast whose results are summarized in the following chart. We contrast the hypothesis that there is a statistically significant difference between the average score in these forms of violence of both boys and girls and two age groups that divide the sample between individuals under 14 and those between 15 and 18 years of age. A look at the different average scores shows how they are always lower for girls, although in some cases the difference is marginal. In the case of age, however, it seems to be an increase in exposure to violence as adolescents grow, in at least 4 of the 6 studied cases (verbal violence in the street, threats in social networks and also the two forms of violence related to the domestic and family space); on the other hand, the score identified with physical aggressions in the educational space decreases. We have slightly shaded in Chart 3 those scores whose difference has proven to be statistically significant (p <0.05) (also indicating whether the contrast has needed to assume that the variances of the two studied groups are not equal).

Chart 2
Contrast T for independent samples by sex and age

Items	Differences by sex				Differences by age			
	(Boys) median of item	(Girls) median of item	Dif.	Sig. T (p)	(10-14) median of item	(15-18) median of item	Dif.	Sig.T (p)
In the street, someone has insulted me or made fun of me for my looks or for the clothes I wear	1,40	1,39	0,010	N.S.	1,35	1,43	-0,076	0,041
They insulted or ridiculed me telling things about me (in school)	1,91	1,78	0,129	0,027 (*)	1,87	1,82	0,048	N.S.
Someone hit me with the intention of harming me (in the school)	1,69	1,32	0,372	0,000	1,60	1,42	0,182	0,000
They have sent me offensive or threatening messages on WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram.	1,35	1,28	0,077	N.S.	1,25	1,40	-0,150	0,001
My mother or father insulted or yelled at me	2,04	2,01	0,026	N.S.	1,91	2,15	-0,245	0,000
I have received a slap or other blows from any of the adults with whom I live	1,79	1,57	0,226	0,000	1,65	1,72	-0,066	N.S.

Source: Own elaboration.
N.S. = p> 0.05; The difference is not statistically significant.
(*) According to the Levene test, no equal variances have been assumed.

Some of the shaded contrasts are in a marginal sense because the p-value closest to 0.05 is found: the case of the small difference regarding sex in the score of boys and girls when responding about verbal aggressions in their educational center, but also of the difference found between the two age groups in relation to verbal aggressions in the public space. From the rest, we can understand that the great differences are concentrated in understanding that boys seem to be significantly more exposed to various forms of physical violence and also that exposure to this physical violence decreases as age increases. With age, however, other types of aggression are also more present. We have introduced in the analysis new explanatory variables that can account for both relevant aspects of the subjective well-being of adolescents (Satisfaction with life, with family and with their life in the educational center) as indicators of their socioeconomic and social capital and cultural situation and other values that describe their state of health and self-esteem.

Chart 3
Descriptive statistics of explanatory variables

Variable	Description	Median	Typical D.	Values
Satisfaction with life (*)	Perception of general satisfaction with life	5,71	1,566	1-7 (1 very dissatisfied, 7 completely satisfied)
Satisfaction with family life (*)	Perception of satisfaction with family life	5,92	1,543	1-7 (1 very dissatisfied, 7 completely satisfied)
Satisfaction with life the educational center (*)	Perception of satisfaction with school	4,89	1,650	1-7 (1 very dissatisfied, 7 completely satisfied)
Socioeconomic status	How often do you worry that your family doesn't have enough money?	2,25	1,038	1-4 (1 never, 4 always)
Cultural capital	How many books would you say are in your house, in addition to the ones you use to go to school?	2,76	,906	1-4 (1 there are no books, 4 more than 100)
Health condition	How good would you say your health status is, in general?	3,95	,871	1-5 (1 bad, 5 excellent)
Perceived sadness	How often have you felt sad?	2,74	,924	1-5 (1 never, 5 every day)
Social capital (peer support group)	If I needed it I think I could easily get help from my friends	3,50	,727	1-4 (1 disagree, totally agree)

Source: Own elaboration.
(*) Items belonging to the abbreviated version of the Huebner life satisfaction scale (1991).

To analyze the mutual influence of these variables in a global, synthetic and accessible way we have preferred to resort to an analysis of bivariate correlations. These correlations (measured through Pearson's r statistic) range between 0 (no correlation between the studied variables) and 1 (total correlation) and can be negative (when the score of one variable increases, the other decreases) or positive (both scores increase). For the sake of clarity and accessibility of the text, the complete correlation matrix has been deleted and only those statistically significant and of greater magnitude are indicated.

In this sense, the study of these correlations reveals a clear pattern. The more forms of violence the adolescent person experiences (Violence In-

dex[3]), the lower scores on the variables that measure their satisfaction with the family (-0.271), their school or institute (-0.210) and also their life in general (-0.266); the coefficient that yields the highest score is the one related to the measurement of the frequency with which the same person feels sad (0.319), in this case, with positive sign since this frequency increases at the same time as the exposure to the violence. In the same way, an increase in exposure to violence seems to also increase the cases in which adolescents describe a worsening of their health (-0.252).

It is reflected in moderately high correlation coefficients, how the different forms of described violence are clustered in certain contexts with which subjects, most likely, experience them in an overlapping manner. For example, in the domestic sphere, the two forms of violence pointed out (insults and other verbal aggressions and the use of physical force) are clearly correlated (0.431). However, they do not seem to have such a clear linear relationship with other expressions of violence (except for verbal aggression in the street). In this same logic, we have found more intense relationships between those forms of violence related to bullying and abuse (either among equals or by adults) in schools. Thus, the correlation between receiving verbal and physical aggression in schools is particularly intense and with positive sing (0.521). The forms of physical and verbal aggression also have a fairly intense relationship with verbal violence suffered in the street (with a coefficient of 0.451 in the case of insults and humiliations) but also with exposure to violence in the digital space of social networks (0.434), which reveals an important pattern of violence transfer from "analog" to virtual spaces and vice versa.

Discussion

Regarding interpersonal violence, its scope and ramifications, the analyzed data lead to several significant findings. From the outset, the word "violence" conceals a diversity of experiences and manifestations whose preva-

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3   We have proceeded to calculate an index of violence against adolescents by adding the score of each individual (6 possible values, in total) in each of the items in Chart 2. The result of adding the variables that measure different manifestations of the Violence against adolescents is an index or sum that has a minimum value of 6 and a maximum of 28 points (although the range of responses ranges from 6 to 25 points and less than 10% of respondents score above 14 points). Each individual in the sample has a score in this index (valid after excluding missing values: 758 cases).

lence and scope in the lives of individuals is highly variable. Some of them have a very low presence, although others - as is the case with verbal aggression and humiliating behaviors in schools - are not only present but seem to be frequent for a not insignificant proportion of adolescents. Other data point to an important normalization of bodily violence against minors, even among those adults called to protect them in the private space (practically 1 in 2 adolescents interviewed said they had been hit at home sometime and more a third say they are frequently insulted by their parents). Comparatively, the growing adult concern about the extension of violence to digital environments seems overdetermined according to the results, if we take into account that almost 3/4 of the studied population said they had never experienced it.

On the other hand, the analysis has found the hypothesis that there is an important relationship between the types of violence that the adolescent subject experiences and variables that allude to both maturation (age) and the construction of gender identities (sex). Specifically, a) boys seem to be significantly more exposed to various forms of physical violence in both educational and domestic spaces and also b) exposure to this physical violence, particularly in schools, decreases as age increases: a transnational pattern coincident with that indicated by other studies (Inchley et al., 2016). According to our data, it is equally true that as adolescents approach the age adulthood, other types of aggressions that occur both in the digital spaces of social networks and in the family and domestic environment become more present.

What is the relationship between interpersonal violence and the variables that measure the subjective well-being and self-esteem of adolescents? The exposure to violence does not seem to have an easily interpretable relationship with the socio-economic position of the subjects, nor with other variables such as social capital (measured through peer support) or cultural capital.

The variables that measure the relationship between violence and its different manifestations and the measurement of the subjective well-being of adolescents, as well as the self-perception of their state of health, seem to contribute more analytical value. It has been found that the scores related to the well-being of the interviewed individuals decrease - modestly, although sensibly - as the index score that aggregates the different forms of violence grows, pointing to a remarkable impact on the personal well-being of the respondents.

The data have also revealed the importance of the scenarios and contexts of interpersonal violence and very particularly how the different forms of violence are clustered in certain contexts, with which subjects most likely expe-

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rience them in an overlapping manner. The two contexts where a good part of life takes place at these ages, the domestic or family and educational centers, are also - paradoxically - the main risk scenarios, acknowledging, as has been set out in the theoretical framework of this text, that they are also changing contexts subject to important transformations. Findings that coincides with those of recent national studies (Moreno, Ramos, Rivera, et al., 2019) and transnational studies (Bello, Martínez, Rodríguez & Palacios, 2019).

Conclusions

What this study shows is that interpersonal violence, with not being an experience shared by most adolescents, is also not an anecdotal or occasional phenomenon in the contemporary teenage experience as a whole. Most likely, we are talking about a pre-existing and persistent phenomenon that will accompany many teenagers along their path to adulthood and that has become increasingly complex with the irruption of the digital space and the uncertainties caused by the continuous transformation of two crucial institutional spaces: the familiar and the educational.

We have tried to provide an integrated vision, even if it is only a first step, of what a diversified set of manifestations of violence entails in this experience that starts from the story of the adolescent population and has them as main informants. From the experience of a specific geographical framework, both causes in context and features of interpersonal violence have been identified that coincide with the global reality of adolescence in the 21st century and seem to follow broad and persistent patterns. With all the caveats that can be made to a study that has a local character, we believe that this has contributed an interrelated vision that presents relevant findings in the understanding of the phenomenon that invites, at the same time, to rethink the ways of acting on it. It is equally evident that a more attentive and respectful look at adolescent reality demands greater balance in the representation (methodological and analytical) that the adult population has, so far, made of the phenomenon, as has been evidenced.

In this context, it is very likely that acting on the violence against the adolescent population - preventing it as much as fighting it in the different contexts in which it appears - is more a matter of avoiding risk narratives and the criminalization of subjects, instead betting on an important work of

empowerment and accompaniment to be carried out by the adult society, more specifically from the public policies and institutions of the welfare system, but also educational ones. For this, it is essential to build participatory channels that allow the construction of intervention routes *with* children and adolescents, rather than on them. Knowing the manifestations of interpersonal violence from their experience should be part of a first diagnosis that does not over-determine the agenda of concerns and fears of adults versus those of minors, allowing the approach to this phenomenon to be better adjusted to the complexity of being a teenager today.

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Corporatism and political representation in Ecuador: the National Council on Work and Salaries

Corporativismo y representación política en Ecuador: el Consejo Nacional de Trabajo y Salarios

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present the results of the research carried out to explore the dynamics of a corporate institution in Ecuador: The National Council on Salaries during the period 2007-2017. It was approached from two dimensions: its institutional design and the dispute around political representation. The implications of both dimensions in the management of the conflict between capital and labor, the democratic scope of the institution and the state autonomy to control the wage policy. The research was based on a methodology that combined regulatory, journal and official document analysis, and key informant interviews. Some conclusions refer to the rules of political representation of trade unions and business chambers, the reinforcement of the capital power, and the inclusive orientation of the Council in opening participation to historically excluded workers.

Keywords
Corporatism, political representation, State, wage conflicts, democracy, Citizens' Revolution.

Resumen

El texto presenta los resultados de una investigación que exploró la dinámica de una institución corporativa en Ecuador: el Consejo Nacional de Salarios durante el período 2007-2017. Esto se abordó a partir de dos dimensiones: su diseño institucional y la disputa alrededor de la representación política. Se estudiaron las implicancias de ambas en la gestión del conflicto entre el capital y el trabajo, el alcance democrático de la institución y la autonomía estatal para controlar la rectoría de la política salarial. La investigación se apoyó en una estrategia metodológica que articuló análisis normativo, hemerográfico y de documentos oficiales, y entrevistas a informantes clave. Algunas conclusiones refieren a la disputa por las reglas de la representación política de sindicatos y cámaras empresariales, el reforzamiento del poder del capital, y la orientación incluyente del Consejo al haber abierto la participación a trabajadores históricamente excluidos.

Palabras clave
Corporativismo, representación política, Estado, conflictos salariales, democracia, Revolución Ciudadana.

Introduction

In 2007, the Government of the *Revolución Ciudadana,* Citizen Revolution (RC) in Ecuador arrived in a context of a crisis of political representation. The classic representation channels had lost legitimacy. Both party and corporate representation - through unions and sector organizations - had shown their limits to guarantee social inclusion and political stability. The song during the days of April 2005 that ended with the destitution of Lucio Gutiérrez - "all should go" - gave an account of this tiredness with institutional and partisan politics. In this framework, the new government faced several challenges. On the one hand, to reform the State that had been scrapped in its social and economic coordination functions. On the other, reconfigure the forms of socio-political intermediation from modifying the interaction patterns bequeathed from previous decades. Both challenges responded to what from the RC project began to be called the "problem of corporatism" (Senplades, 2014)

One of the lines of state reform was aimed at resolving the state "capture" that during neo-liberalism various social groups with private interests had perpetrated through the occupation of spaces of power within the State, with their leaders obtaining representation quotas in councils, commissions and governing bodies of public policies. For the Government, this was a pernicious form of socio-state linkage that weakened public orientation towards the common good. Such reading did not differentiate types of interest, ignoring the nature and hierarchy that exists between, for example, those from the big bankers and those from the indigenous movement. Thus, for the RC, the fight against corporatism was fundamental to recover the State and establish a public administration impervious to specific interests. This meant changing the institutional design of the State and setting new rules of political representation.

One of the policy areas where the "problem of corporatism" did not translate into the extinction of sectoral representation quotas[1] but in various

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[1] Institutions linked to finance, foreign trade, natural resources, and transport underwent reforms that modified the composition of the governing bodies, councils, and institutional commissions, or were directly eliminated. For example, the Hydric Resources Law, one of the most conflictive in its approval, stipulated that the water authority would be formed mainly by members of the Executive Power, not by indigenous representatives as demanded by CONAIE. The board of the National Transit Agency expelled from its bosom the formal representation that the carriers exercised and was also formed by officials of the Executive Branch. To delve into the fields of politics and the organizations that were "depopulated", see the works of Ramírez Gallegos (2012); Stoessel (2017); Ospina Peralta (2009).

reforms to intervene in its operation, was that of capital-labor relations, particularly the institution that regulates them: the National Wages Council (CONADES), which has become the National Work and Wages Council (CNTS) since 2016. This institution is a tripartite organization (trade unions, businessmen and the State as main actors) and during the 2007-2017 period, it not only survived as a formal negotiating space between different interests but also underwent certain transformations, both promoted by the government itself, as "from below" by unions and business chambers.

This text presents the results of an investigation that explored the dynamics of this corporate institution from two dimensions: its institutional design and the dispute around the political representation within it. The research was based on a qualitative methodological strategy that combined three techniques: analysis of normative archives that regulate CONADES/CNTS and the public records of its meetings, sector commissions and the formation of electoral colleges;[2] interviews conducted during April 2019 with former public officials with knowledge about CONADES/CNTS, union leaders and business chambers who participated as delegates in the Council;[3] and hemerographic review of three nationally circulated newspapers (El Telégrafo, El Universo and El Comercio) to identify events that involved the object of study in question.

In terms of the theoretical-empirical debate, this research dialogues with two main theses that have crossed the question of socio-state relations during the period governed by the RC. Some works support the thesis of the de-corporatization of the State. This assumption argues that government policy during that stage was aimed at suppressing or regulating the corporate arrangements that had been created during neoliberalism with the aim of the State gaining margins of political autonomy (Ramírez Gallegos, 2012; Posso, 2013). The scope of greater autonomy would be given, then, to put a stop

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2   This information was provided by the Ministry of Labor (former Labor Relations), with official letter number MDT-DAS-2019-0016 in April 2019.

3   The people interviewed during April 2019 were the following: Mauro Andino (former Minister of Labor Relations of Ecuador, N°1); Lenin Cadena (former secretary of CONADES, N°2); Liliana Durán Aguilar (National Assembly member and former delegate in CONADES, N°3); Rodrigo Gómez de la Torre (employer delegate to the CNTS, in charge during 2016-2019, No. 4); Xavier Sisa (Employer Delegate, alternate 2012-2013 and holder 2016-209, Legal Director of the Chamber of Industries and Production, No. 5); Pablo Serrano (President of CEOSL, N°6); Oswaldo Chica (President of the Unitary Central of Workers, N°7).

to "the veto capacity of certain power groups (inside and outside the government) and of certain bureaucratic rings" (Ramírez Gallegos, 2012, p. 367).

Other works, also framed in the discussion about corporatism, without contradicting the previous thesis, reinforce another aspect to the detriment of the state element. They analyze the fight against corporatism as the way in which the government weakened the direct participation of organizations and movements in public decision-making and thus produced some passivity of social actors (Ospina Peralta, 2009; Marega, 2015). This work seeks to contribute to this debate by offering other features around Ecuadorian corporatism: in certain policy areas, the government, instead of suppressing corporate arrangements, reinforced them with a certain disposition to functionalize them its favor. This was the case of public transport management (Stoessel, 2017) and labor relations, as analyzed in this text. This did not imply a necessary weakening of the involved social actors, but that this result was subject to the weight of the interests in question, of the relations of force between State, government and actors, and to certain structural constraints that marked the ground of the options of political action.

The text is organized into three sections. In the first, the emergence of the regulation of the capital-labor relationship and the creation of the Council in the 1970s are contextualized. In the second, the main elements of its institutional design and its transformations are presented during the period under study (2007-2017). Finally, the type of representation reconfigured within the body and its impacts on the handling of the conflict between capital, labor, and State is exposed.

Regulation of capital-labor relations: the emergence of CONADES

During the thirties in the Latin American region, several countries underwent processes of institutional transformation to contain the increasingly pressing conflicts and resistance led by workers who were already beginning to organize in unions and trade unions. Thus, several institutions were created, such as labor ministries, social security organizations, salary, and economic councils. The case of Ecuador was not exempt from these processes. Since the twenties, Ecuadorian workers also began to demand greater participation in public decision making and the extension of social rights

(Achig & Neira, 1989). State responses such as the creation of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor, and the state control of foreign capital linked to oil companies to regulate working conditions and claim participation in profits, some of them (Coronel, 2013). By the 1970s, the conflict between capital and labor was already escalating to another level. The first attempts to form a front of workers appeared from the convergence of different trade union centrals such as CEDOC, CTE, and CEOSL. It was during the 1971-1979 period that 42% of the trade union organizations of the stage between 1920-1990 (Velasco, 1987) were constituted. The November 1975 strike will mark the birth of the Unitary Front of Workers (FUT) and since then governments would have opened several fronts, both with business elites and with workers who showed strong social activism, even during repressive and authoritarian governments like Leon Febres Cordero's.

The creation of the National Wage Council (CONADES) in 1974 by the military government of Guillermo Rodríguez Lara, in effect, was aimed at containing the conflicts between capital and labor. The oil boom in a context in which the price of bananas and their production went into decline, favored, together with the progressive end of the *huasipungo*, the emergence of a mass of salaried workers. Likewise, Ecuadorian society experienced the emerging appearance of a new bourgeoisie (industrial, commercial and financial) and the progressive expansion of an urban middle class in Quito and Guayaquil (Oleas, 2013, p. 23).

CONADES emerged through a presidential decree (No. 318) and a ministerial agreement (number 039-A). It was established as a technical, consultative and tripartite body in which private-sector workers, employers and the State would be represented to define the basic salary by mutual agreement. The worker's remuneration would not be less than the minimum vital salary or the one set by the Sectorial Commissions - the body that made up CONADES - for each branch of activity. CONADES would be responsible for preparing analyzes about occupational structures, salary schemes, and productivity. The unions and businessmen would have a voice, but no vote and the decisions adopted there would not be binding.

During the years of neoliberal hegemony, CONADES dedicated itself especially, to the wage discussion. The material conditions and the bargaining power of the workers had already been greatly weakened as a result of the set of structural adjustment policies that began to be implemented in the 1980s with the business-government of Febres Cordero and continued

in successive governments.[4] These measures were institutionalized with the 1998 Constitution. The FUT, the union front that had representation within CONADES, began to decline (Ycaza, 1991). Businessmen, on the other hand, continued to influence and strengthen themselves through other mechanisms, such as alliances with right-wing political parties, the occupation of strategic executive positions, the financing of electoral campaigns and lobbying to obtain the approval of certain laws.

In 2000, the law known as "Trole 1" was passed, which amended some articles of the Labor Code (CT) under the pretext of encouraging business competition and investment. It stipulated the incorporation of hourly hiring and that the involved parties agree on the salary remuneration per hour worked (Aguiar, 2007). CONADES continued to be responsible for defining the amount of the unified basic salary, but annually and no longer every six months. In most cases during the 1990s, no agreement was reached within CONADES, so, as stipulated by law, it was the Minister who set the salary. He had the last word and should increase the salary by the same amount as the inflation projected by the Central Bank. In general, this contradicted article 126 of the CT, which established that the criteria for defining wages should reside, in addition to inflation, in the satisfaction of basic needs, work performance and physical wear.

With the turn of the century and the beginning of the post-neoliberal government of the RC, the field of labor relations was reformed. The question of the "world of work" and its operating conditions was one of the central thematic nodes and the one that generated the greatest consensus among the workers and the government during the constituent process (2008-2009). As soon as the Constituent Assembly was installed, the Government announced the approval of Constitutional Mandate 8 to eliminate labor outsourcing and intermediation and any form of job insecurity. The Constitution ratified it in its article 327. The Magna Carta also included several articles that regulated labor relations to improve its conditions. Thus, it bound the State to guarantee the rights to work and social security (articles 33 and 34), recognized unpaid work at home and self-employment (article 34), prohibited the

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4   Labor flexibility was institutionalized in the Law on the Maquila Regime and Part-Time Labor Contract (1990) which regulates short-term employment hiring; Law 133 Reform of the Labor Code (1991) that doubles the minimum number of workers (from 15 to 30) required for the formation of any union organization. The unemployment rate was 6% in 1990, and in 1999 it increased to 15%. Data extracted from the National Institute of Statistics of Ecuador.

work of children under 15 years of age (art. 46), stipulated that economic policy should promote full employment and value all forms of work, guaranteed the right and freedom of organization of workers and employers (art. 326) and the encouragement by the State to create trade union organizations (326) (Herrera, 2015). The Government also increased the minimum wage and implemented several reforms in CONADES. This corporate institution was one of the few that survived the struggle undertaken by the government against those agencies whose operation or composition was considered corporate.

Disputes for institutional design

There are three issues related to the institutional design of the National Wages Council (CONADES) during the 2007-2017 period that are essential to present because they had effects on the state's capacity to intervene in the dynamics of the institution and in the configuration of political representation.

First, the formation of the Council. During 2007-2015; it was composed of a government representative, one of the National Federations of Chambers of Industry, Commerce, Agriculture, Small Industry and Construction, and another of the legally recognized trade unions (Article 3), a total of three. This composition will be modified in 2015 and will be extended to five, expanding to one more representative by the business and labor sector. For the purposes of the dimensions investigated here, the most interesting thing regarding the composition of the Council happens in 2016 when the government makes a modification related to the actors summoned to participate within the Council. Through Ministerial Agreement No. 44, the phrase "centrals, confederations, fronts and/or unions of more representative nationally recognized workers legally recognized as such" is replaced by "centrals, confederations, fronts, organizations and/or unions of working people more representative of national scope". The criterion of being legally recognized is removed, thus widening the range of organizations authorized to dispute the representation of the union sectors. In effect, the participation of new organizations (Association of Paid Household Workers), or of other old organizations that had historically been excluded because they did not have legal recognition (self-employed) is approved. These organizations began to be part of the new Unitary Central of Workers (CUT), which

emerged in 2014 and that since 2016 obtained representation quotas within the Council, causing a dispute over representation with the FUT, who until then had a monopoly. Since 2016, for the first time, the two delegates on behalf of the workers belong to two different organizations facing each other (FUT and CUT).

At this point, there have been different controversies between the social actors. Both the business leaders and the leaders of the FUT agreed that the extension of the delegates was due to a political strategy of the government to fragment the workers' sector and generate greater difficulty for them and employers to reach a consensus (testimonies of interviews 4, 5 and 6). On the other hand, for the leaders coming from the CUT, the government's decision responded to its intention to democratize access to the institution and repair decades of exclusion of workers who had so far failed to organize or had done so in legally unrecognized structures.

The comparative analysis of salary negotiations by Sector Commissions from 2011 to 2017 shows differences with respect to the period in which the FUT held the monopoly of representation and the subsequent period when it no longer has it. During the first, the labor representatives managed to negotiate the salary in almost 1 of every 3 meetings. Since 2014 and 2015 this is reduced to 1 in 10. However, in 2017 and already with the dominance of the CUT, it returns to the same numbers as the first monopoly period of representation in the hands of the FUT. In that sense, the incorporation of new subjects of representation did make it difficult for the concretion of agreements. On the other hand, it is also true that the hegemony of the CUT implied an opening to the representation of new labor categories that had no presence.

The second issue is the form of election of the representatives within the Council, which also underwent some changes. Until 2015, Ministerial Agreement No. 59 in force since 2000 ruled that the Minister would convene the national federations of the chambers of industries and trade union centrals of legally recognized so that, through an elector appointed by each of these, proceed to the election of the sole representative and his substitute before CONADES. This form of choice left ample room for negotiation within the respective trade union spaces. However, since 2015 this procedure is modified in two aspects. On the one hand, if, on a certain date, the federations of employers and trade union centrals did not designate an elector, as the Minister of Labor could designate them (Ministerial Agreement No. 240, Art. 10). Likewise, in the event that there was no agreement within the union

spaces, the State would have the power to choose the delegate, thus entering into the dispute over the representation of the parties. In fact, this happened in 2014 when the appearance of the new centrals that could participate in the Council resulted in no agreement between the labor leaders for the election of the delegate. The Minister intervened and selected a CUT leader, akin to the government. The new rules of representation, thus, favored government action and relative control of the discussion within the institution.

The third point refers to CONADES' transit to the National Labor and Wages Council (CNTS). It will be only from 2015, with Ministerial Agreement No. 240, that CONADES is now called CNTS, to cover the discussion of labor policies, not just wages. Several factors promoted it: economic deterioration since 2014[5], emergence of new jobs, as well as labor modalities that required discussions about its regulation, and, in addition, the growing difficulties in the political front that the Government began to face since 2013, year in which, paradoxically, the RC had shown a resounding electoral power. The Government, having gathered more and more opposition actors, had to yield to some of the claims made by these organizations.

Both the leaders of the workers and the employers had begun to express to the authorities since 2010 the need for the institution to be empowered to discuss other issues related to employment and work, such as working conditions - workers claims - or occupational structures and types of contracts - business sector claims -. Although the Sectoral Commissions and Dialogue Tables - spaces within the Council, also of tripartite composition and similar dynamics that the Plenary of the Council - worked de facto to discuss other issues beyond wages, they were activated:

> Very occasionally since if the Minister did not call for them when required by law, then the tables do not meet. Those of us who began to complain about this malfunction are the businessmen because the discussion of labor issues was being processed in the Assembly, as was the case with the "Holiday Law" in which we, as official participants of the council, had no voice nor vote. We should have discussed that issue so that it will then go to the Assembly with a text already agreed by the interested parties. (interview Nº5)

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5   Since 2014, economic growth has stopped, employment has declined and reserves have deteriorated, due, basically, to the drop in the international price of oil, Ecuador's main source of income.

The testimonies and the analysis of how the new Council (CNTS) actually worked ratified the disposition that businessmen historically had to influence and intervene in the design of policies and state institutions (Burbano de Lara, 2006). The claim of being consulted by the State and the installation of corporate arrangements as if the State had the obligation to do so was a constant among the elites since the 1980s. The words of the vice minister of labor relations confirmed it. He argued that it was "the businessmen who wanted to discuss the labor issue in the Council, for example, contract issues, they believed that the (Organic) Labor Justice Law had harmed them" (interview No. 1).

On the part of the workers, the representative delegated to the CNTS also pointed out something in that vein:

> CONADES is called only when it is needed and not to do technical work (...) you have to prepare the discussion throughout the year, do a technical analysis by branches of work seeing how much is earned, what are the conditions of the country. (interview N°7)

On the other hand, the leadership of the union of paid home workers also supported said change: "it was necessary to start discussing, for example, the gender issue at work, in labor policies" (interview N°3). In that sense, it is observed how the change in the functions of the CNTS was the result of the claims of the involved actors, all motivated by their willingness to strengthen their power within the body. This, however, did not change the margin of action of the State, which continued to ultimately have the power to accept or not of what was agreed upon there.

The corporate representation in conflict

Between 2010 and 2013, the FUT has had the monopoly of trade union representation within the Council. With a classist and combative tendency (and opposition to the correísta Government from the post-constituent period), said Front is made up of different trade organizations, among which are: the Ecuadorian Confederation of Unitary Classist Organizations of Workers (CEDOCUT), the Ecuadorian Confederation of Free Trade Unions (CEOSL), the General Union of Workers of Ecuador (UGTE) and the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador (CTE). Until 2014, these four organiza-

tions have voted collectively to designate the representative of the workers in CONADES. Between 2010 and 2013, other organizations (not affiliated with the FUT) have not always accompanied their positions. Among them are the Ecuadorian Confederation of Class Organizations (CEDOC-CLAT) (a detachment of the CEDOC in the 1970s) and the Ecuadorian Confederation of Social Security Workers and Organizations (CETOSS). The first refrained from voting the proposals of the FUT in the years 2010 and 2011. While the second, together with the CEDOC-CLAT, did not attend the 2013 vote. Only in 2012, both centrals vote together with the grouped in the FUT.

However, in 2014 with the already formalized appearance of the CUT, the breakdown of the monopoly by the FUT takes place. If one dialogues with the classical perspectives of political science around corporatism that consider the monopolistic component of representation as a requirement (Schmitter, 1998), it can be affirmed that the corporate component of the institution weakened or was mutilated. The Government also began to recognize the centrals agglutinated in the CUT, and since 2014 the call made by the Ministry to the union centrals to form the electoral colleges in charge of choosing the representatives was also addressed to all the organizations belonging to the CUT. After five years, for the first time, the worker's sector found discrepancies in choosing the delegates. When there was a tie situation, the Minister was empowered, as prescribed by the law, to elect the representatives. This is how the Minister chose Jaime Arciniega (of the CSE, nucleated in the PLE) as the holder, and Edgar Sarango (of the CTE, part of the FUT) as alternate, who would last in office for two years.

By 2016, with the inauguration of the CNTS, the FUT trade union centrals stopped participating altogether in the electoral college session. According to a CEOSL leader, doing so would have meant legitimizing an agency and interlocutors that were operating according to private interests, without popular support and with the sole purpose of harming workers. Participating with representatives would have been a way of legitimizing a "governing council" (interview Nº6). According to the FUT, the emergence of the CUT was enhanced by the government's intention to fragment and weaken the working class and promote the construction of an "official" union leadership that was subject to government decisions. In fact, the two representatives of the workers within the CNTS subsequently ended up being assembly members of the ruling party (Alianza País). For his part, the delegate by the workers belonging to the CUT, said that participating in the Council (as opposed to the decision

of his FUT colleagues) was a demonstration towards the government and business sector that "we are an open Central and of dialogue (…) a message that workers are at the same level of discussion as employers" (interview No. 7).

At the 2016 meeting, the CUT representative, the CUTTAE representative and the representative of the Association of Paid Household Workers participated. That same year, with the two delegates by the workers coming from the CUT, a consensus with the business sector was achieved for the first time in an unprecedented event after fifteen years. According to the delegate by the workers:

> It was something significant, although the socio-political situation in the country does not allow us to reach a salary increase as we all would expect. One has to be responsible and not throw figures as the FUT did. The small producer, the small merchant, who has one, two, three people, will have to throw them away because he will not be able to pay that increase. There are parameters that the ILO gives us to be able to calculate the salary increase. With that base, we reached a consensus. I felt satisfied that we could show that I could sit down to talk with the workers. (interview N°7)

This unprecedented agreement in 2016 was explained by the business delegate as a "politically correct agreement, full employment in Ecuador was still being lost and there was no point in raising wages" (interview N°4).

If we shift our gaze towards the field of business representation, there are wide differences with respect to the representation of the workers. Not only fissures are not evidenced, but also a solid cohesion and unity within the collective in order to negotiate with the workers and the State can be observed. The continued presence of Luis Poveda Velasco (of the Chamber of Industries of Guayaquil) as a representative for 8 consecutive years (2010-2017) is symptomatic of that. This produces benefits for the business sector as it provides a single person with sufficient technical expertise and practical knowledge to place themselves in a better negotiating position, which at the same time contributes to increasing their symbolic capital. This corporate power increases when the strength of the other participants (workers and government) is weakened and is reinforced by two factors: economic resources and fragmentation of the labor unions. As one of the business leaders who has served as a delegate for the industrial and construction sector for 8 years, related (interview N°5), the business chambers have greater financial resources to be able to hire consultancies, technical studies and strategic

reports with which to position themselves in better conditions in collective bargaining. In the words of the businessman:

> We arrived at the meetings of the Sectorial Commissions and presented a whole series of data to argue our position on the salary amount that should be approved (...) the unions did not have information, or at least, they showed data that seemed not to have been agreed with all the centrals or federations of workers.

The advice to businessmen by large economic consortia and think tanks places them in a better situation to face any negotiation. Even measures that hurt business chambers since the beginning of Rafael Correa's government, such as the unconstitutionality of making the affiliation of companies with chambers compulsive, did not affect the accumulation of capitals (economic and social) of business federations to position themselves during negotiations. This was ratified in an interview with a FUT leader, delegate during 2011-2014, who said it was rare for workers' federation representatives to arrive prepared for sectoral commissions. In that sense, on the workers' side, it was proposed on some occasions that the Ministry offers training for the delegates of the workers who participated in the sector commissions. As of today, such demand has not yet been considered.

The second factor of business power is linked to the fragmentation of the trade unions. Since the monopoly of representation in charge of the FUT was broken, the election of delegates to the Council has been the subject of conflict between the various trade union centrals. In 2013, a new discrepancy emerged within the Council regarding the division between the private sector and public sector workers. Leaders of the FUT trade union centrals expressed their disagreement: "the representatives of the trade union centrals that *truly* represent the private sector must be there" (record of the meetings of the electoral councils). The issue of incorporating public sector workers became a complaint since then. Both the leaders of the FUT and the business leaders refused to grant them representation and a space for participation in the Council. For the delegate on the part of the business sector, "during 2015-2017, the representatives of the workers become, fundamentally, leaders of the public workers, that was a problem, we were defining salaries with people who represented public workers and not private". Thus, the dispute over representation, about the legitimacy of which actors should or should not enjoy political representation, was a dispute in which not only the unionized organiza-

tions participated, but the government itself - with the approval that workers of the public sector can participate in the council - and private sector leaders.

Conclusions

This text explored how the institutional design and dynamics of an organization such as the National Wage Council in Ecuador during the 2007-2017 period placed corporate representation under dispute. At the theoretical level, the analysis questions the liberal approaches that grant formal equality to the interests and actors that participate within corporate institutions (Lanzaro, 1998). Any institutional dynamic of negotiation that involves different actors cannot be fair and equal when the interests that participate there do not have the same weight or the same conditions to participate. Formal equality, thus, vanishes when the game of political negotiation begins. This highlights the inequalities of those in terms of their origin, strength, and permeability to the interference of other actors or structures, such as the State. Likewise, Marxist approaches also suffer from certain limitations in understanding corporate representation. The analysis showed how the interests of the different sectors (workers and businessmen) cannot be deduced a priori from the general economic conditions or their positions in the social-economic structures, nor can a "state interest" be decisively defined (pro-capital). Nor can it be stipulated that the fundamental struggle occurs between these two types of interests. Within the labor power field, it is also the different categories of workers that antagonize each other.

At the empirical level, four major conclusions can be identified. First, that the process of construction of socio-political representation within CONADES/CNTS by the business sector is more fluid, linear and devoid of conflicts in relation to that generated by the union sector, which incurs constant confrontations to occupy positions within the Council. This allows the business sector to exercise greater power in relation to workers. The economic and symbolic capital they have, the internal cohesion that the sector maintains and, on the contrary, the fragmentation of the union field that represents the workers of Ecuador, contribute to its strengthening. Secondly, trade union fragmentation not only strengthens the position of the business sector within the Council but also makes it difficult to represent workers and at the same time contributes to the State having greater control over corpora-

te negotiation. Third, the Government has influenced the definition of representation of both workers and employers through changes in the regulations governing CONADES and the promotion of the creation of new trade union organizations such as the CUT.

Finally, the changes in the representation of the workers' sector (the displacement of the FUT in favor of the CUT) showed that the interests of the workers and the union leadership were configured according to the correlation of forces, economic situations of the country and political negotiations with the government in turn. In 2016, for example, an unprecedented situation occurred in the period under study that the workers' leaders agreed with the employers the unified basic salary, even knowing that it would harm them. This change in the representation of workers, beyond meaning the empowerment of the business sector because it fragments the union sector, can also be considered a democratic expansion of participation, to the extent that the State enables the intervention of trade union centrals and confederations that are no longer shelter under the structure of the FUT for "having lost representation" and includes workers historically not recognized as such. This can then be interpreted as historical remediation of sectors that have long been damaged by class structures and states that have not been concerned about the incorporation of majorities.

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Dissatisfaction with democracy in Latin America Analysis of economic and political factors in 2017

La insatisfacción con la democracia en América Latina. Análisis de factores económicos y políticos en 2017

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Abstract
The low satisfaction rates with the functioning of democracy in Latin America since the beginning of the century, has motivated to investigate the causes that originate these results. For that reason, the objective of the article is to explain what factors affect the perception of satisfaction with the functioning of democracy in that region. To verify this, a binary logistic regression model was applied to eight variables grouped into three dimensions: economic, political performance and perception of corruption; The database used was the Latinobarometer 2017. The results show that both economic and political factors generate a greater probability of being dissatisfied with the functioning of democracy, despite this, people continue to consider democracy as the best form of government.

Keywords
Satisfaction with democracy, political institutions, economy, corruption, Latin America.

Resumen

Los bajos índices de satisfacción con el funcionamiento de la democracia en Latinoamérica desde inicios de siglo, ha motivado a investigar las causas que originan estos resultados. Por esa razón, el objetivo del artículo fue, explicar qué factores inciden en la percepción de satisfacción con el funcionamiento de la democracia en dicha región. Para comprobarlo, se aplicó un modelo de regresión logístico binaria, a ocho variables agrupadas en tres dimensiones: rendimiento económico, político y percepción de corrupción; la base de datos utilizada fue el Latinobarómetro 2017. Los resultados muestran que tanto los factores económicos como los políticos, generan mayor probabilidad de estar insatisfechos con el funcionamiento de la democracia, a pesar de esto, las personas siguen considerando a la democracia como la mejor forma de gobierno.

Palabras clave

Satisfacción con la democracia, instituciones políticas, economía, corrupción, Latinoamérica.

Introduction

The theoretical understanding of democracy has accompanied the work of dissimilar thinkers from different epistemic and ideological positions over the centuries. During the second half of the 20th century, Latin America experienced processes that consolidated democracy as the successor government system to authoritarian regimes in several countries of the continent, specifically in the Southern Cone, but this does not mean that they were constituted as perfect democracies. The democracies that are born in Latin America during the eighties have had as one of their political tasks, to build and consolidate neoliberalism (Dávalos, 2008), a process that conditioned the democracies of the entire region and today continues to do so.

Democracy has usually developed on two levels, the political, as a form of organization of society that includes decision-making for the good of the majority, and as a way of life, becoming an ethical social community, and sociocultural that determines the action of citizens (Dunn, 2014). When these factors do not operate correctly, we are facing a crisis or absence of democratic conditions that in turn reduce the satisfaction of citizens with the

government. This may explain to some extent, why satisfaction with democracy in Latin America has decreased since, between 2016 and 2017, it decreased from 34% to 30% (Latinobarometer, 2017), this could indicate an unease with democracy and institutions (Galli, 2013).

With the previous logic, it leads to questioning the trust in political and government institutions, income distribution, the degree of freedoms and citizen rights, the performance of the electoral system, which set a standard for democratic satisfaction or dissatisfaction (Díaz, 2014). For that reason, the objective of this article is to analyze how the economic performance factors, together with the political performance factors and the perception of corruption, explain the satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the functioning of democracy in Latin America.

The article is divided into four sections, first, review of the literature which expose from different theories, the main elements that explain satisfaction with the functioning of democracy; second, methodology, which describes: the variables and database used in the study, as well as the technique used; third, results, where the findings of the statistical model are exposed; fourth, discussion, where we analyze the results in relation to literature. At the end we present the conclusions.

Literature review

The constant decline in the quality and functioning of democracy in Latin America has been a subject of recurrent analysis in the last decade. On the other hand, although satisfaction with democracy has been one of the most used concepts for political analysis, there is no consensus regarding the dimensions that involve this concept (Canache, Mondak & Sligson, 2001). According to the United Nations Development Program (2004), satisfaction with democracy has been very controversial when explaining which factors determine it; Because it is a performance variable and measures both the evaluation of the political regime and the evaluation of the government or party that is in power, even more as indicated by UNDP, in Latin America, there is an unease and disenchantment not necessarily with democracy, but within it, because citizens distinguish between democracy as a system of government and the performance of rulers in particular.

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The assessment is understandable if modern democracy is understood as one in which all citizens share a set of equal conditions before the law, which allows them to exercise the construction of it, by granting power to a certain political figure, as well as to politics itself (Dunn, 2014). Instead, the problem is in the exercise of their citizenship rights before the law and universal citizenship (Galli, 2013). This is what it is called the representative state of law, as an integral part of modern democracy, as the latter author points out.

It is a transfer of political power, where the citizen exercises his sovereignty by delegating his will to a few who will represent him/her, and only then is recognized as universal, but, when the citizen does not feel correspondence between that power he/she has granted to certain political representative or governmental figure, he/she experiences discomfort or dissatisfaction with the political functioning that he/she believed represented him (Galli, 2013), which produces political dissatisfaction with the functioning of the democratic system. Disillusionment with democracy develops on two levels. The first is shown through the political apathy of the subject, through disenchantment or distrust of those who represent him/her, as well as democracy as a representation of his/her interests. The second is an objective one, which is linked to "the inadequacy of democracy to maintain its institutions, the inability to keep its promises and regulate politics" (Galli, 2013, p. 10). Leading the citizen to feel dissatisfied and without political alternatives.

Authors like (Díaz, 2014; Barreda, 2011) have tried to explain what elements determine the satisfaction with the functioning of democracy. These coincide in two elements: the economic performance and the performance of the political system, which include, the functioning of political institutions, the confidence in them, the valuation of people whether or not they agree with democracy as a system of government, or it functions in their country. In addition to the dimensions related to democratic procedures and the control of political power, indicators are also included, such as socioeconomic equality or fair income distribution, welfare level or social justice.

In that sense, the economic performance perspective maintains that the different levels of satisfaction with the functioning of democracy are associated with the results of the economy, and can respond to indicators measured at national level (economic growth) as well as personal (improvement of their economic conditions or resources), and derived from that, they would also respond to the assessment of the government's effectiveness in

the management of economic affairs (Díaz, 2014). The greater the economic growth of a country, the probability of consolidating a democratic regime is greater and the degree of satisfaction of people increases (Lipset, 1959; Scott Mainwaring & Pérez-Liñán, 2008; Barreda, 2011).

Under that same logic, high levels of social inequality such as those presented by Latin America, together with the distributive inequality of per capita income, diminish democratic satisfaction, as well as the support expressed towards democratic authority in Latin America (Carlin, 2006). In this regard, Schumpeter (1942) and Sen (1999), indicate that the democratic order is linked to the growth of the economy, constituting the stability of the institutions and capacity for social advancement. Both authors lay the basis of a theoretical tradition that has proposed the importance of the economic situation of the country as the most influential factor in satisfaction with democracy.

Located on this analytical axis, Zovatto (2018) includes the element of inequality as a factor in the breakdown of a democracy, although he recognizes that, for 39 years, Latin America has been living the longest, largest and deepest process of democratization or (re) democratization (according to country in question) in its history. But points out that:

> (...) democracy in Latin America presents a paradox: it is the only region in the world where there is a combination of democratic regimes in almost all of the countries that comprise it, with large sectors of its population living below the line of poverty (about 30% for 2017, according to ECLAC, 2016), the most unequal income distribution in the world, the highest homicide rates on the planet and very high levels of corruption. (Zovatto, 2018, p. 4)

Regarding political performance as a second factor that explains satisfaction with democracy, Aarts and Thomasen (2008) point out that the variability in the degree of satisfaction with the functioning of democracy has a causal chain that begins in institutional elements. On the other hand, Anderson and Guillory (1997) emphasize the relevance of the political preferences of the citizens and their approval of the president in turn, given the degree of presidentialism in Latin America; to the extent that they feel represented by that party or president they have chosen to exercise power on behalf of all, they will feel more satisfied with the functioning of democracy as a system of government. Along the same lines, O'Donnell notes:

> (…) Democracy is not only a democratic regime but also a particular mode of relationship, between the State and citizens and between the citizens themselves, under a type of rule of law that, together with political citizenship, sustains civil citizenship and a complete network of accountability. (O'Donnell, 2001, p. 27)

Institutionalist theory points out that the cause of democracy breakdown and poor satisfaction is due to the fragility of the institutions as well as to an inadequate design (Espino, 2002). That is why, an indicator that allows measuring it is trust in institutions, for that reason, when citizens express high levels of trust in parliament, courts, governments, municipalities, police and political parties, there will probably be greater satisfaction with the democratic system (Cea, Alister & Guerrero, 2015).

Another indicator that can be associated with satisfaction with democracy is the perception of corruption, in this regard Cea, Alister and Guerrero (2015) point out that there is a broad consensus that corruption generates a negative impact on the support of political systems. They emphasize the importance of integrating the notion of corruption into the analysis of satisfaction with democracy as the subjects that:

> They have a high perception of corruption, (...) they are openly dissatisfied with their operation, so corruption levels not only harm the government on duty but also depress satisfaction rates with democracy. (Cea, Alister & Guerrero, 2015, p. 93)

Similarly, Morales (2009) states that the perception of corruption responds to those ideas or images that are created regarding the performance of the authorities and, that in Latin America has a specific relevance since presidentialism characterizes the democracies of the region. This may reflect an unease that manifests the lack of satisfaction with democracy compared to the president's evaluation in the country (Cereceda-Marambio & Torres-Solís, 2017). Corruption and political scandals, deteriorate the quality of the political system, at the same time, affect democratic satisfaction, gradually eroding their levels of citizen support and affect the image of the political parties involved (Sotillo, 2015). An issue that acquires special relevance in Latin America in the last decade and is expressed in this dissatisfaction, as Zovatto points out:

(…) There has been an increase in citizen dissatisfaction with the functioning of democracy and towards elites, expressed in some countries through a wide popular discontent (the so-called "street effect"), which has generated a crisis of governance of different intensity and consequences, even in some countries, leading to the early termination of the constitutional mandates of more than 15 presidents between 1978 and 2016. (Zovatto, 2018, p. 5)

The functioning of democracies in Latin America does not escape the general functioning of the system that must be understood in its hegemonic and polarizing relationship. Aspects that explain its breakdown and low rates of citizen satisfaction, as it constitutes the most unequal region in the world (Zovatto, 2011). For that reason, it is necessary to analyze the satisfaction/dissatisfaction with democracy, taking into account economic, political and corruption categories.

Materials and methods

The study used the Latinobarometer (2017), which has a representative sample, with 20 200 observations, which is distributed in 18 countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Brazil, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. 1200 questionnaires were applied in each country; in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and the Dominican Republic.

Based on our objective "to analyze how economic performance factors, together with political performance factors and the perception of corruption, explain satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the functioning of democracy in Latin America" the three dimensions: economic performance, political performance, and perception of corruption. The dependent variable was satisfaction with democracy.

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Chart 1
Variables of the statistical model

Dimensions	Type of variables	Variables	Response values
Satisfaction with the functioning of democracy	Dependent Y	Satisfaction with the functioning of democracy (binomial)	0. Not satisfied with the functioning of democracy 1. Satisfied with the functioning of democracy
Economic performance	Independent X_1	Current economic situation of country 3 (Ordinal)	1. Very bad 2. Bad 3. Regular 4. Good 5. Very Good
	Independent X_2	Functioning of the economy 2	1. Not satisfied at all 2. Not very satisfied 3. More or less satisfied 4. Very satisfied
Political performance	Independent X_3	Degree of confidence in government 2	1. None 2. Small 3. Some 4. High
	Independent X_4	How fair is the distribution of income in your country? 2	1. Very unjust 2. unjust 3. just 4. very just
	Independent X_5	Degree of agreement. Democracy may have problems, but it is the best system of government 2	1. Strongly disagree 2. disagree 3. Agree 4. Strongly agree
	Independent X_6	Approval of government management headed by President 2	1. Does not approve 2. Approves
Perception of corruption	Independent X_7	How much do you think progress has been made in reducing corruption in state institutions in the last 2 years?	1. None 2. Very little 3. Some 4. Much
	Independent X_8	Country ruled by a few powerful groups for their own benefit	1. Powerful groups for their own benefit 2. For the good of all the people

Source: Own elaboration with data from the Latinobarometer, 2017.

The technique used was a binary logistic regression, because the dependent variable is dichotomous. The fit of the model was significant, both in Chi Square (p <0.005), the omnibus test of model coefficients (p <0.000) and the Hosmer and Lameshow test (p <0.000).

Results

In chart 2, there are the results of the logistic model, as the *Exp (B)* are observed in a 95% confidence interval, greater than one, all with a positive sign, and significant (p <.00). The results are ordered from greater to lesser weight, in terms of the probability of feeling satisfied (1) or not satisfied (0) with the functioning of democracy in Latin America. The variables with the greatest weight are those that integrate the economic performance dimension. On the one hand, the functioning of the economy is the most relevant, it increases the probability of being satisfied with the functioning of democracy by 2511 times. In that same sense, the perception of a good current economic situation in the country increases the probability of being satisfied by 1258 times.

Regarding the distribution of income, only 19.3% consider it just, hence our results indicate that, by increasing the perception of the fair distribution of income in a country, the probability that the population is satisfied increases by 1326 times with the functioning of democracy, associating the latter as a form of government that promotes equity or equal distribution of wealth. The above could explain why only 12.4% of the population considers the economic situation to be good and 1.2% that is very good, in this sense this indicator can be associated with the levels of poverty, inequality and at the same time of dissatisfaction with the functioning of democracy and with politics in general.

On the other hand, in the Latinobarometer report (2017) it is clear that the perception that is governed for the interests of a few, increased for the second consecutive year from 73% in 2016 to 75% in 2017. In the case of the statistical model, this variable was the second most important, showing that the probability of being satisfied with the functioning of democracy increases by 1792 times as a country is governed for the good of the entire people and not only for powerful groups and their own benefit. A direct relationship is established that is confirmed with the literature, because according to

Dunn (2014) democracy is a social value associated with the interests of the people, that is why governments are increasingly criticized because they do not defend the interests of the many and, on the other hand, increasingly join in political fraud and corruption processes. The findings also indicate that regardless of the gradual decline in satisfaction with the functioning of democracy, the degree of agreement, with the statement that "democracy may have problems, but it is the best system of government", indicates that as long as people agree with democracy being the best system of government, it increases in 1639 times the probability of being satisfied with the functioning of democracy.

The above can be related to the approval of the government's administration headed by the president, in this regard, 39.3% indicate that they approve the president's management of the government. This allows us to explain that the low confidence in the government and the low approval of the government's management influence the decrease in satisfaction with the functioning of democracy. For that reason, the value of its Exp (B) indicates that the approval of the government's administration headed by the president in turn in each country increases the probability of satisfaction with the functioning of democracy by 1624 times.

Along the same lines, in Latin America, 33.3% of the population has little confidence in the government and 41.8% responds that they have no trust, which is a very revealing fact given the strong demands of civil society to this institution, due to the dissatisfaction that has been presented in recent years, in that sense, our results indicate that trust in the Government, generates 1309 times the probability of being satisfied with the functioning of democracy, pointing out the importance of this variable to reduce the dissatisfaction with democracy.

On the other hand, considering that one of the most important problems in Latin America is corruption (Zovatto, 2018), the results indicate that by perceiving that corruption is being reduced, the probability of being satisfied with the functioning of democracy is increased by 1120 times. In that sense, trust in political institutions is an indicator of great incidence according to the theory (Ayala, 2002).

Chart 2
Results of the logistics model

Equation Variables	B	Standard error	Wald	gl	Sig.	Exp(B)
Economic performance	.921	.031	902.012	1	.000	2.511
Country ruled by a few powerful groups for their own benefit	.583	.052	123.808	1	.000	1.792
Degree of agreement Democracy may have problems, but it is the best system of government	.494	.031	253.943	1	.000	1.639
Approval of government management headed by President	.485	.048	100.163	1	.000	1.624
How just is the distribution of income in your country?	.282	.031	82.279	1	.000	1.326
Degree of trust in the government	.269	.027	100.154	1	.000	1.309
Current economic situation of the country	.229	.029	62.867	1	.000	1.258
How much do you think progress has been made in reducing corruption in state institutions in the last 2 years?	.113	.023	24.940	1	.000	1.120
Constant	7.513	.139	2933.43	1	.000	.001

Source: Own elaboration with data from the Latinobarometer (2017)

Discussion

In Latin America, the low satisfaction with the functioning of democracy responds to both economic and political factors, which are closely linked in the exercise of government. The malfunction of these has generated disenchantment regarding the functioning of democracy as a system of government, although 69% agree that there is no better alternative, even with its problems. Despite this, discomfort and dissatisfaction are present, which deteriorates the confidence of citizens in government and other political and civil institutions.

From theory, Galli (2013) analyzes this discontent towards democracy, fundamentally given the impossibility of the democratic system to maintain its institutions, regulate political activity and fulfill its promises. It is impor-

tant to clarify, that it is not a rejection of democracy as a system of government but of its malfunction, which is linked to the institutional crisis of the State in recent decades. In this sense, the fundamental criticism of citizens turns towards the type of government that does not represent their interests or breaches their promises, as well as to the management of the government headed by the president in turn, as these levels of perception continue to decrease. The above is explained in the model if we take into account that these indicators, together with the indicator of the malfunctions of the economy, presented the highest betas and therefore the highest rates in probabilistic terms, therefore, an increase in the negative perception in these variables will increase the probability of not being satisfied with the functioning of democracy in Latin America.

According to the Latinobarometer report (2017), the approval of governments has declined since 2009, adding to this the increase in social demands across the continent in recent decades. Their claims focus on higher quotas for rights, social justice, political freedoms of organization and expression; that have allowed a boom in collective action from different spaces and dimensions of society, in order to generate a real democratization, this being understood as the need to demercantilize society, to question the dominant forms of the market and demand essential rights as citizens. The results of the model show that to the extent that the population perceives that it is governed in accordance with the interests of the entire people, the level of favorable perception on the functioning of democracy will increase. On the other hand, the indicator that reflects the perception of whether the country is governed for the benefit of a few has increased in the last two years. 75% of Latin Americans perceive that they are governed by a few powerful groups, an aspect that has weakened confidence in democratic functioning.

In the same order of ideas, Sotillo (2015) points out that a better citizen perception of the representative function of political parties, together with a greater sense of government effectiveness, will improve the valuation of democracy. On the contrary, lower valuations in these two dimensions will tend to stabilize feelings of democratic dissatisfaction and, therefore, will result in a lack of political commitment among citizens and worse assessments about the functioning of democracy.

The phenomenon of corruption is one of the most serious problems in Latin America since only 35.9% of the population has the perception that progress is being made in reducing it. If we consider that it is one of the in-

dicators that generate the greatest distrust in Democratic functioning (Cereceda-Marambio & Torres-Solís, 2017), it is necessary to include it as a central issue in political and governmental agendas. Our findings show that the decrease in corruption generates an increase in the likelihood of satisfaction with the functioning of democracy, as is the case in Uruguay, which is the country with the highest satisfaction with democracy and has high rates of progress in fighting corruption, either through public policies or decision-making aimed at it. Failure to take actions to combat corruption would erode democratic satisfaction and with it the system of political practices of parties and other institutions (Sotillo, 2015).

Regarding the perception of income distribution, only 19.3% consider it just, an aspect that influences in probabilistic terms the decrease in satisfaction with the functioning of democracy. Element that is understood if we assume that 10 of the 15 most unequal countries in the world are in Latin America (Zovatto, 2011), giving what the author classifies as an "inequality trap", as the Gini coefficient of income in the region it is higher than that of countries in sub-Saharan Africa or some of Asia. The high explanatory level of this variable can be related to the importance that Latin Americans attach to the economic performance factor. It is remarkable that the functioning of the economy turned out to be the one with the highest predictive level, which corresponds to the position of various authors (Díaz, 2014; Lipset, 1959). Together with this indicator, the one that measures the perception of the current situation of the country was included, where only 14% of the population considers it to be good or very good. Both are crucial factors in the valuation that citizens give to democracy and allow us to explain how much the political system works or not (Schumpeter, 1942; Sen, 1999), even the Latinobarometer report states:

> The most important problem in the country is economic problems, which are the ones that are most pointed out in the region, over insecurity and crime. In 2017, 23% percent of consulted Latin Americans say that the country's main problem is of an economic nature (wages, employment, inflation ...), while an additional 11% points to the economy in general or the financial situation. In total, 34%, one in three Latin Americans says that the main problem facing their country is economic. (Latinobarometer, 2017, p. 58)

Economic security, expressed in the proper functioning of the economy, together with the perception of stability and development of a country by

its citizens, constitutes a key element in the trust of citizens in their rulers, and the work of those institutions they represent. This indicates the close relationship between the economic structure of a system and the political expression that supports it. Only to the extent that citizens perceive political representation and not the representation of a few, can they experience satisfaction with democracy as a system of government.

However, for Ranciere (2012, p. 61): "The evils that affect our 'democracies' are, first and foremost, evils linked to the insatiable appetites of oligarchs. (...)". Reason why the author states that we do not live in a democracy and never have, but that "we live in an oligarchic rule of law, that is, in states where the power of the oligarchy is limited by the double recognition of popular sovereignty and of individual freedoms". Although, the thesis that democracy has never existed is debatable, rather democratic systems have possessed and possess a limited character regarding their theoretical expression or significance in the practical reality of their manifestation in the different historical scenarios. Democracy under the liberal principle has been raised as an ideal system for every society, however, its concrete expressions depart from that ideal and express what is recognized as dissatisfaction with the functioning of democracy as a system of government.

Conclusions

Satisfaction with democracy is a reflection of the actions and policies that governments undertake, which can be assessed positively or negatively, for that reason, our results prove the hypothesis that both economic performance and political factors, as well as the perception of corruption, explain the satisfaction with the functioning of democracy in Latin America. Hence, we can point out that the low perception of these factors due to their possible malfunction is diminishing this perception.

An element to highlight was that the perception of income inequality, the perception that the country is governed for the benefit of a few, along with corruption, are correlated with low confidence in government institutions, which indicates a possible area of new studies. The findings in the model allow us to verify, along with the reviewed literature, the value of its use in studies on the functioning of democracy. Specifically, in Latin America, where democratic fractures can be seen today, due to the lack of eradication

of social issues such as inequality, although the rates of extreme poverty have decreased as in the cases of Bolivia, Chile, or Ecuador. Undoubtedly, these problems have influenced the continuous decline in satisfaction with the functioning of democracy. In spite of this, the majority of the population continues to consider that democracy, despite its problems, is the best form of government. The challenges are in its current implementation when the economic needs of the majority of the population are not met, as the data in the Latinobarometer show.

The above is explained by the system of government that has prevailed in an initially liberal manner and today under the neoliberal hegemony, which has commercialized citizen rights and with them real democracy as an exercise of the government of the people. However, it is to be recognized that there have been democratization processes, regardless of the periods of authoritarian regimes in the region. The fact of having gone through welfare regimes in different periods has contributed to raising the standards of quality of life and with it the acceptance of democracy, although these regimes do not escape the capitalist systemic functioning, therefore, to the capital readjustments to consolidate itself.

Finally, it is important to point out that the role of institutions is fundamental in citizen perception, but it should be added that, since it is about perception, mass media has a certain degree of influence on that perception. In this case, neither the media nor the citizen's perception escape an ideological positioning, which exceeds the individual and subjective space, since they are subject to the functioning of hegemonies.

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Youth political subjectivities and critical interculturality

Subjetividades políticas juveniles e Interculturalidad crítica

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Abstract
This article gathers the most important findings that show the configuration of political subjectivities, of young people from Medellín and the Metropolitan Area, and their articulation with critical interculturality. It is based on an investigation whose objective was to investigate the looks that young people belonging to two entities of Medellín in Colombia with social bets from the performing arts and the appropriation of knowledge, have built on themselves and their relationships with others. The study was raised methodologically from autobiographical narratives as a way of approaching young people and their stories. Among the main results are aspects related to the ways in which they are assumed and projected in collective action and how opportunities arise there to recognize and overcome the problems of inequality that are going through their lives. The most important conclusions are about how political subjectivity and its plots are articulated with critical interculturality from youth settings in urban contexts such as those in cities like Medellín.

Keywords
Politics, youth, cultural research.

Resumen

Este artículo recoge los hallazgos más importantes que evidencian la configuración de subjetividades políticas, de jóvenes de Medellín y el Área Metropolitana, y su articulación con la interculturalidad crítica. Toma como base una investigación cuyo objetivo fue indagar sobre las miradas que los jóvenes pertenecientes a dos entidades de Medellín en Colombia con apuestas sociales desde las artes escénicas y la apropiación del conocimiento, han construido sobre sí mismos y sus relaciones con otros. El estudio se planteó metodológicamente desde las narrativas autobiográficas como forma de acercarse a los jóvenes y sus historias. Entre los resultados principales se plantean aspectos relacionados con las formas cómo se asumen y proyectan en la acción colectiva y cómo emergen allí oportunidades para reconocer y superar las problemáticas de desigualdad que atraviesan sus vidas. Las más importantes conclusiones están en torno a cómo se articulan la subjetividad política y sus tramas con la interculturalidad crítica desde los escenarios juveniles en contextos urbanos como los de ciudades como Medellín.

Palabras clave

Política, joven, investigación cultural.

Introduction

Although youth is a socially constructed category (Bourdieu, 1978/1990), power relations and social classifications cannot be ignored, which in some contexts place young people in subordinate positions. In the investigation from which this article emerges, the question about the ways in which the participants of two institutions[1], based on the performing arts and the social appropriation of knowledge, handle these differences and inequalities in the collective scenario arises. The objective of the research was to investigate the meanings that eight young people grant to their participation in these spaces; problematizing the relationship between political subjectivity and critical interculturality from the void found around the articulation of these two theoretical categories. As well as, from the eyes that the young

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1 *Semillero teatral de la Corporación Arlequín* and *Juglares y Talleristas Universidad de los niños EAFIT*. Which from now on will be named, respectively, like this: AJ and UN.

people themselves, based on these experiences, have constructed on themselves and their relationships with others.

Following Alvarado (2014), in this research, we start by recognizing young people as beings with multiple ways of being and understanding the world, which beyond their age, have the possibility of being powerful subjects of transformation, "protagonists of the construction of dynamics and meanings of citizenship" (Alvarado, 2014, p. 23). In this sense, we are interested in Critical Interculturality addressed by Walsh (2006, 2008, 2009):

> (...) process, project, and strategy (..) that puts racialization, subalternization and inferiorization and its patterns of power into continuous questioning, visualizes different ways of being, living and knowing, and seeks the development and creation of understandings and conditions that not only articulate and establish dialogue between the differences in a framework of legitimacy, dignity, equality, fairness, and respect, but also, at the same time, encourage the creation of other ways of thinking, being, learning, teaching, dreaming, and living that They cross borders. (Walsh, 2009 pp. 91-92).

This author is the axis of reflection on this category given her powerful approach, questioning the modern colonial conformations and the impacts of the logic of capitalism on human and non-human lives and on the relationships established between different cultural groups and with the same nature. The foregoing, bearing in mind the substantial differences existing with multiculturalism as a neoliberal way of understanding difference from consumption or otherization, but not from the real possibility of intercultural dialogue, encounter, and joint existence.

And it is in that dialogue precisely where we find political subjectivity (Alvarado, 2014), as an opportunity to continue understanding Critical Interculturality and its articulation with the constructions that young subjects make of themselves. We understand then by political subjectivity "the expression of meanings and actions that each individual constructs on his being and being in the world, from interaction with others, in particular socio-historical contexts" (Alvarado, Patiño & Loaiza, 2012, p 859), from active agency and autonomous thinking, while interacting with others in collective projects that tend to the common good.

This implies questioning the relationships that are established in the ways in which social groups, in this case of young people, organize their life

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in common, from their beliefs, meanings and daily practices. As Arroyo Ortega and Alvarado (2017) point out:

> Consequently, it is necessary to reflect on the meeting points that are configured around political subjectivity and that are not only in the theory, but they are also generated in life forms, in connections between different human groups, in localized and territorialized possibilities of the concrete subjects. (p. 235)

Methodological process

With Luna (2015) we understand that questions about subjectivity are necessarily determined by the recognition of the meanings that subjects construct from the world from interaction with others. Characteristic that led us to consider the autobiographical narratives as a methodological alternative for the understanding of subjectivity, because according to Bolívar and Porta (2010, p. 204), through these "social phenomena can be understood as texts, whose value and meaning is given by the self-interpretation that the actors give of about them". In the same line, Delory-Momberger (2009) allows us to recognize that human beings, being immersed in experiences, find it difficult to identify the knowledge or learning they promote. That is why we need to convert them into text: formalize them, remember them, organize them - through oral or written stories, drawings, graphs or tables - to achieve then, "a work of conceptualization of the experience destined to transform the raw knowledge of the action into formalized and recognized knowledge "(Delory-Momberger, 2009, p. 97).

Therefore, following Amador Báquiro (2016, pp. 1316-1317), "it seems necessary to analyze the tendency of young people to produce narratives, since for some researchers they break the continuum of social life, while for others it is a strategy that articulates subjective time with social and historical time", reasons why the research in question opted for narratives as a methodological alternative.

The choice of youth groups was made taking into account two characteristics they share: One of them has to do with the conscious commitment of each institution to promote the value of difference, on equal terms and opportunities, as the core value among its participants. A second particularity

is that each group has social goals where collective work represents a key factor in achieving their intentions.

Based on the above, five meetings were held with the young people, which were recorded through a tape recorder and subsequently transcribed, with a previous conversation about informed consent and its corresponding signature. The organization of the information and the interpretation process was composed of several moments: transcription of the individual interviews, identification, and organization of the stories of each experience, construction of matrices to relate the stories of each participant with the objectives of the project, intertextual reading of the stories, recognition of the findings and a final writing of them. For this article and taking into account the length of the narratives, only the key aspects of two stories will be exposed.

In that same sense and from an ethical perspective of approaching young people, the researchers were positioned as critical companions of the narrative process, without ignoring existing asymmetry relationships, but trying to reduce them from a horizontal scenario, not only comprised of the used techniques, but first and foremost of the relationships that were developed, in which respect for their stories, their times and possibilities and even their silences and ways of expressing themselves prevailed.

Results

Jesus[2]: reinventing oneself day by day as an expression of political resistance

In the quest to qualify as an urban artist, Jesus arrives at the AJ Corporation to participate in a musical training process. There he recorded his first song, an event that he remembers as one of the main motivations for choosing art as a life option: "it was a great start for me because I did not expect to start recording one". Subsequently, in order to explore theater to merge it with music and give a differential value to his work, he decides to join the Theater Seedbed of the same corporation where, in addition to training in

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2   All ethical considerations of confidentiality and anonymity were handled, all young people wanted to appear with their name in the stories.

technical aspects, it strengthens his perception of himself and his creative ability to constantly reinvent himself, dignify himself as an artist and legitimize his dreams.

One of the most significant experiences that Jesus highlights from his process has to do with the catharsis that allowed him to set up a play, where he was able to externalize "the shit, the negative, the kicks one receives from life", in his case, the abandonment of his parents, the mistreatment of his family, the emotional breakups, the lack of resources to solve his basic needs, among other realities, which were symbolized through "a blind character and a bond that does not let it move forward." This poetic image leads him to understand the need to free himself from resentment and anger in order to resignify his sorrows, walk lighter and strengthen his life story, which although marked by multiple painful events gave him the possibility of being in continuous observation of himself and discover his strength to reinvent himself, developing from the everyday resistance as a political way to continue living, establishing "breakpoints as centers of political resistance of greater importance, since they attack the logic of the system, not an abstraction, but as lived experience" (Guattari & Rolnik, 2006, p. 60). Conceiving his autonomy, in the ability to transform fears into creative ways to rescue the meaning of life and resignify everyday life.

The resistance and autonomy then configure the political subjectivity of Jesus, and it is the theatrical seedbed a sample of this, where he highlights the possibility that he finds to be authentic, share and talk about any subject: "Since we arrived everyone is sharing their opinion, we are who we are, there are no masks, it is total madness." He also emphasizes that being in the middle of this difference of thoughts and experiences, has allowed him to have more openness for teamwork, interact without reservations, transform imaginaries and generate welcoming spaces for his colleagues as they have done with him "that warmth that one feels very nice, not as in other spaces where the pupi with the pupi and that of the popular neighborhood with that of the popular neighborhood... no, here is totally different", a statement that shows a process of permanent negotiation and solidarity between the participants, fundamental for the construction of a collective political fabric given as Guattari and Rolnik express it:

> From the moment in which the groups acquire that freedom to live their own processes, they have the capacity to read their own situation and what hap-

pens around them. That capacity is what will give them a minimum of creative possibility and will allow them to preserve that important character of autonomy. (2006, p. 61)

On the other hand, recognizing oneself not from the position of victim but as a political subject that can also contribute to the transformation of their context, especially from art as a tool to raise awareness about love, peace, and respect for difference, is Jesus' political commitment that transcends the search for individual well-being to propitiate in other youths questions and reflections on their own realities:

I always try to express a very positive or critical message. For example, that there should be more equity, more opportunities, more access to universities, speaking to the country that it should not be afraid of change.

Realizing a horizon of political action that would be in line with the idea of Guattari and Rolnik (2006) of a molecular revolution, which is not only focused on social protest, but that explains political action in everyday life, in desire, in relationships, that is:

The molecular revolution consists in producing the conditions not only of collective life, but also of the incarnation of life for itself, both in the material field and in the subjective field. (Guattari & Rolnik, 2006, p. 62)

Questioning, in some way, the values administered by neoliberal capitalism, from a positive affirmation of love, creativity, art and social criticism as forms of political resistance.

Jesus seeks to construct coherence between what he does and promotes through his creations, providing an account of historical awareness as a fundamental feature of political subjectivity (Alvarado, Ospina, Botero & Muñoz, 2008) that he has achieved in his experience, since that despite the socio-economic deficiencies that he faces in his daily life, he has resisted with conviction against the option of resolving them by illegal means, generating resistance to the mechanisms of violence that appear strongly in cities such as Medellín or similar environments; finding in art, other languages not only to generate communication spaces, but above all for reflexivity, autonomy and historical awareness that have to do "with the possibility of deciding and acting in the social contexts in which young people and all

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those with whom they interact, get involved, and with the "ways of sharing power" (Cubides, 2004, p. 122)

Therefore, clinging to what makes him vibrate and in which he finds political power for his encounter with others: music and theater, Jesus walks with hope, resignifying his history, challenging the problems of his daily life and defining New roads to travel: "I don't want to pretend to be an artist, I want to train myself, to show that although I come from below I can have the same quality as anyone who came out of the best universities or had the resources, live from it, but live well." Focused on what he wants, he is always looking, writing, thinking, meditating, that is his way of reinventing himself day by day to be a better artist and a better human being. Noting that this living well, not only involves his own well-being, but also the work he does with other young people, the constant reflection on what happens and what happens to him, making explicit the desire of young people "to reconfigure the idea of youth like the moment of social moratorium or irresponsibility, and show the daily struggles that many young people have to insert themselves into social life and generate emancipation processes from there" (Arroyo Ortega, 2018, p. 178), which increasingly necessary In today's societies.

Susana: Experience reflexivity about oneself for the pedagogical-political encounter with others

Although Susana was born in Medellín, a few months later she went with her family to Monteria, an issue that shapes several aspects of her life, among them, the consideration that her relationship with other people and with knowledge needed to exposed to different conditions: I went with the flow, my studies, the house and that. I liked to read but kinda didn't". She remembers to be very shy as a child and, although she was characterized as a very good student, according to her, she went unnoticed. For Susana, returning to Medellin was an "awakening to the world." At the beginning of her university experience, she began to realize that "being so withdrawn was not going to achieve anything" she knew that studying an undergraduate involved something else. This is how entering to University represents an opportunity to continue responding to her personal desire to grow.

Susana began this process believing that her role was to teach. This frightened her since she was not very clear about her interest in the knowled-

ge she had acquired in her undergraduate or the articulation between them and the themes that motivated the program's workshops. Over time, and in the interaction with the participants, she understands that the biggest challenge in the framework of an educational process is to arouse curiosity. And to achieve this, she has the certainty that motivating it in herself is a fundamental link: "one is always growing in that sense, what am I going to ask, what am I going to do so that the child is left with that subject itching in his head? In this understanding of her role, features of an educational practice that takes into account the subjectivities of the participants is evident, and she understands the pedagogical as architecture from the desire, from the construction of a joint passion to learn, as expressed by Freire and Faundez (2014):

> The curiosity of the student can sometimes shake the teacher's certainty. This is why, by limiting the student's curiosity, the authoritative teacher is also limiting his. Many times, on the other hand, the question the student asks about the subject - when he is free to ask it - can give the teacher a different angle, which will be possible to deepen later in a more critical reflection. (p. 2)

In addition to a workshop, Susana had the opportunity to participate as the protagonist of a play set-up that marked her stay in the program: "That was one of the most important things in my life because it was a challenge that I never thought I would do." The character was a young woman who, when talking in dreams with Socrates, recognizes the value of self-oriented curiosity. This finding of the character moves to Susana, who considers it necessary to know and take care of herself to avoid living automatically and be consistent with what she thinks and does: "one has to inquire into oneself, not just know about the world. If you are aware of yourself, you realize that things are always happening to you that you should not ignore."

By accepting this challenge, she was able to transcend fear and, above all, the perception that others and herself had of not being able to stand in front of an audience: When you manage to meet your challenges, overcome your fears, that makes you stronger and understanding that meeting others, so similar to her and at the same time so different, constructing other forms of relationship, which leads us to think with Arroyo Ortega that "it is in the daily life where interculturality materializes and is not in any way a given fact, but a joint construction of subjects and groups, which is not without tension" (2016, p. 58).

On the other hand, the understandings that she achieves about herself and the recognition of curiosity as a fundamental axis for the relationship with knowledge, also allow her to resignify her interest in her undergraduate and visualize other professional horizons, for example, articulate science, education, and communication, generating a process that goes far beyond the usual considerations about the educational processes of training and trying to weave articulations from knowledge and education as a political possibility of building vital meaning.

This empowerment allows her to assume an attitude that transcends the fact of identifying problems and from a conscious and critical posture to get involved in the development of actions with which she can influence her context, expanding he reflective action framework not only to what happens to her but to a deep concern for the world, for the others with whom she co-exists, thinking and living the educational scenarios of which she is part as a great collective action that builds from the reflective feeling that crosses her.

The common: education as a possibility to overcome the social inequalities that young people currently face

Inequality of opportunities is a subject that crosses the reflections of the young participants and is, according to them, the most urgent issue to transform in Colombia. This has been evidenced not only through their own experiences but also in the encounter with young people, boys, and girls of different economic, educational and/or labor situations that in many cases have allowed them to glimpse the exclusions and inequities that cross the social and educational spaces in the country.

They consider then, as a first step to begin to overcome this imbalance, to get out of indifference and ignorance regarding the realities that are lived in other contexts and transcend prejudices. Among the problems they recognize in themselves and in other young people, there is the inequality of educational opportunities evidenced, through their personal experience, in the complications to pass the selection process in universities; in the difficulty to find work possibilities that are articulate the schedules and the academic requirements; in the ignorance or emotional disconnection with what they think or do.

These concerns make a lot of sense in the framework of educational homogenization processes that do not recognize the subjective and cultural sin-

gularities that in many cases remain in the operation of educational multiculturalism of a neo-liberal nature that focuses on a supposed meritocracy but does not analyze or seek to transform the unequal material conditions of existence that young people, boys, and girls face in their daily lives. This means that, when trying to enter educational or labor processes, they have wide disadvantages with peers who have had other and better access or vital conditions.

For many young people in the country, such as some of the participants in the research process, who presented twice to public universities in try to access theater and music-related programs without success despite what they had been doing in their participation in the respective spaces related to these arts. The education system of the best public universities becomes unattainable when the preparation during the school years does not respond to the requests for admission and there is a gap between the educational processes generated for the poor and those generated for the elites of Colombia or there is a devaluation of the titles obtained regarding the labor demand (Ministry of National Education 2016; Misas Arango, 2016) as it happens in other countries of Latin America, before which it is prudent to remember with Guattari (2008), that:

> It is necessary to admit that the persistence of misery is not a simple residual factual state, more or less passively suffered by rich societies. Poverty is loved by the capitalist system that uses it as a lever to move and dispose of the collective labor force. The individual is led to bend to urban disciplines, to wage requirements or to income from capital. (p. 221)

On the other hand, for those who access a university, but do not have economic and emotional support from close relatives, the situation is quite difficult. In the first place, because they need to find a job that not only allows them to sustain themselves but also leaves them with enough time to respond to their academic obligations. Second, because they do not find emotional support that helps them stay and go through the demands that this process entails, conditions that are recognized as the main factors of the educational desertion of young people in the city (Leyva, 2015).

However, of the eight young participants in the research, who did have the possibility of accessing educational, economic and emotional opportunities, they also express their own battles against the educational system. They acknowledge having acquired the necessary knowledge to memorize and pass exams, but they did not have the opportunity to arouse interest in

the knowledge of the world and of themselves. A subject that is related to what is evidenced in the analysis carried out by Leyva (2015) in which poor methodologies and pedagogies, the existence of professors with little training and vocation and physical spaces where the emphasis is on teaching, not learning are recognized as the shortcomings of the current education system.

In this sense, for some of these young people it implied the perception that their language or their ways of understanding and expressing themselves did not fit with the hegemonic ways of institutionality, especially when:

> Science and education in its more traditional aspect (...) has made knowledge and worldviews different from these perspectives, but above all the subjects that possess them, are considered inferior. (Arroyo Ortega, 2016, p. 57)

This is how the experience in the two institutions in which they generate their artistic and/or pedagogical action has implied for these young people the possibility of generating a collective action that, in turn, gave them the motivation to know and be aware of themselves. And from this recognition, they manage to build their own path to understand and inhabit the world, exploring reflexivity as a key element of political subjectivity from their own experiences.

Reflexivity appears centrally in the stories of young people not only as personal growth that was developed in a particular time-space, but also given the propitious environment generated in the collective spaces in which it was possible to look, listen and speak from their construction processes of being young with others like them. Secondly, participating in pedagogical and/or artistic meetings, on equal terms, with people of different socio-economic and cultural realities, has allowed them to glimpse interculturality, as a possibility of meeting with different knowledge, subjects, practices, and feelings that enrich them.

In this sense, we critically recognize that there is still a lack of understanding of interculturality in the young participants as well as in society as a whole:

> As a project and process with a view to the re-foundation of the foundations of the nation and national culture - understood as homogeneous and monocultural - to not simply add diversity to what is established, but to rethink and rebuild making the intercultural - and the work of interculturalizing - be central axis and task. (Walsh, 2010, p. 221)

However, it is also important to highlight that from their ethical-political bets there are greater understandings of the power of cultural differences that lead them to recognize collective responsibilities in the city and as in the encounter with the situation of others, and understand each other and overcome prejudices.

Discussion and conclusions: Political subjectivity and critical interculturality in the experience of young people

The life of the young participants in the research is crossed by the experiences in both programs and the experiences that in terms of political action and intercultural they have encountered in them. In this way, the transformation of the meanings that they grant to issues such as their work as artists or workshop workers, their personal history, collective action, their professional interests and the way they are affected by the problems of social inequality that are lived in the country, especially in Medellín, allow us to highlight features of political subjectivity that are manifested in the perceptions they have about themselves, the actions that influence the relationships they weave with others and their intercultural articulation.

Perceptions of their work as artists or workshop workers are not the same as that whit which they entered each program: today art is their tool for healing deep fears, anger and sorrows; to understand and transform their relationships; to express and project through it. Issues that we could articulate to the search for an intercultural education, from the critical position of Walsh, where the pedagogical "is not thought in the instrumentalist sense of the teaching and transmission of knowledge (...) are pedagogical scenarios of learning, unlearning, relearning, reflection and action" (Walsh, 2013 p. 10). This is how young people recognize the value of connecting and listening to their own questions and understand that the answers are not outside, rather start from themselves and are constructed with others.

In this sense, the act of looking at each other encourages "the creation of 'other' ways - of thinking, being, learning, teaching, dreaming and living" (Walsh, 2010 p. 13), which becomes evident when young people highlight the effects of this methodological strategy on their individual and collective growth. This is how in this matter of looking at each other, narrating and reflecting on what has been experienced, they conceive of themselves as more

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conscious and therefore calmer, sure of what they have been and what they can become. What coincides with the reflexivity, constitutive of the political subjectivity that in Alvarado (2014) implies achieving awareness of oneself, that is, positioning ourselves in the present, recognizing the particular ways in which we build our own meanings of the world.

Teamwork becomes also a fundamental pillar of their experience since it is precisely in doing with others and others where the discourses and imaginary that we build in the face of our relationships are revealed and confronted. This also has to do, with what Walsh (2010, p. 92), from his critical intercultural stance, questions about subalternization, inferiorization and domination patterns. Actions that are only possible when in that game between what differentiates us and what makes us equal we recognize that the senses and identity appropriations are not exhausted in the biography itself, but that they take us to each other, that is, they make us political subjects (Alvarado, 2014, p. 48).

Being able to assume themselves as protagonists of their own history, coupled with the exchange of knowledge and experiences and the enjoyment of the work as workshop workers or artists, also enabled young people to connect with the professional certainties that inspire their life projects. In this sense, a feature of political subjectivity emerges in them, which refers to the ability to relate their history and learning from themselves and the world with the possibility of projecting and continuing to walk with hope, despite the ups and downs, that is, to be assumed as historical and contextualized subjects "capable of thinking and interacting with others in the construction of collective projects oriented to the consensual good that they configure as an expectation of the future" (Alvarado, 2014, p. 48).

This that allows them to overcome the imaginaries that were built because of ignorance and indifference, as Walsh (2008, p. 140) says regarding constructing critical interculturality, it is necessary to make visible, understand and confront domination patterns from our own scenarios, exclusion, inequality, as well as the conflict that these relationships and conditions generate. This is how awareness and real interest for the other with whom the city is shared is broadened, which seems to be related to what Alvarado (2014, p. 36) describes as broadening the ethical circle: "An ethic of care that transcends the spaces of the private and daily life of people and their closest relationships, assuming responsibility and care for society in general."

Finally, it is important to point out that there is a significant integration of the expansion of youth political subjectivity with a critical commitment to

their intercultural environment and in the stories of the young participants of the research and that, although the expressions of said political intercultural action processes are diverse, the scenarios of youth encounter to which they are attached appear as an opportunity for agency coming from creation and epistemic dissatisfaction with respect to the ways in which inequalities are drawn from the modern colonial system. In this sense, they recognize their daily scenarios as places of political action and youth struggles, as spaces for political construction that questions daily subalternizations that do not recognize different cultural visions or the subjects that embody them. The young participants in this research make explicit other forms of political action, of expanding their political subjectivity from a critical perspective but also focused on self-discovery, which shows that the intercultural question has nothing to do with others inscribed in the scenario of the pejorativized difference, but with an "us" that questions the widespread idea of depoliticization or youth apathy and that expands their political subjectivity from the construction of relational symbolic frameworks that promotes political awakening and child and youth protagonism as a form of intercultural transformation.

To some extent, the young people of the investigation are venturing into diverse political participation scenarios, different from the established canons, taking up "a political-pedagogical praxis clinging to possibility and hope, and moving towards justice, dignity, freedom and humanization" (Walsh, 2013, p. 27).

We recognize that both bets and their articulation are a moving path because we understand that perceptions about ourselves are in permanent configuration, that political subjectivity is a nascent conceptualization (Alvarado, 2014) and also that "critically understood interculturality does not yet exist. It's something to construct" (Walsh, 2010, p. 78).

Secondly, we consider that this research contributes to the recognition of young people as "active subjects of discourses and action, capable of authentic and conflicting manifestations in the face of the circumstances they live" (Alvarado, 2014, p. 23). Although they perceive themselves as vulnerable in the face of multiple situations of inequality, they also glimpse the capacity and strength to transform their own lives and their environments.

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Cosmology and transformation in the perception of the kichwa-lorocachi of the ancestral people *Kawsay Sacha.* Curaray river. Ecuadorian amazon

Cosmología y transformación en la percepción de los kichwa- lorocachi del pueblo ancestral Kawsay Sacha. Río Curaray. Amazonía ecuatoriana

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Abstract
This article is the result of a larger study that investigates elements of the Kichwa cosmological system. The theme has been explored since the 80s from the so called *perspectivist ontological turn* that combines theoretical models resulting from different ethnographic works with a common interest to propose alternatives to the traditional dualism between nature / culture. Based on an ethnographic methodology based mainly on the perceptions of local people, the article aims to show descriptively how certain cultural markers: shamanism and body building, local mythic and territorial perception are retracted. From the data collected, it is concluded that said retraction is due to the attractiveness of modernity and its technologies, mainly towards the new generations. On the other hand we have the pause in the generational transfer of traditional knowledge. This is inserted in a particular socio-economic dynamic in a territory located outside the urban centers of modern development.

Keywords
Cosmology, cultural transformation, ontology, territory, ethnopolitics, shamanism.

Resumen

Este artículo es resultado de un estudio más amplio que indaga elementos del sistema cosmológico kichwa. La temática ha sido explorada desde la década de los 80 a partir del llamado *giro ontológico perspectivista* que conjuga modelos teóricos resultado de diferentes trabajos etnográficos con un interés común por plantear alternativas al tradicional dualismo entre naturaleza/cultura. A partir de una metodología etnográfica basada principalmente en las percepciones de la gente local, el artículo tiene como objetivo evidenciar descriptivamente cómo ciertos marcadores culturales: chamanismo y construcción del cuerpo, mítica local y percepción territorial son retractados. De los datos recolectados se concluye que dicha retracción obedece a lo atractiva que se muestra la modernidad y sus tecnologías principalmente hacia las nuevas generaciones. Por otro lado, tenemos la pausa en el traspaso generacional de conocimientos tradicionales. Esto inserto en una particular dinámica socio económica en un territorio situado al margen de los polos urbanos de desarrollo moderno.

Palabras clave

Cosmología, transformación cultural, ontología, territorio, etnopolíticas, chamanismo.

Introduction

The Amazon is the largest tropical forest on the planet (6.7 million km²). As an ecosystem, it houses 10% of the biodiversity on the planet. The Amazon River extends for more than 6600 km, feeds on hundreds of tributaries and holds a unique ichthyological wealth on the planet. It is a culturally diverse space, where people linked in direct relation with natural resources coexist on the one hand, and on the other, there are accelerated urbanization processes marked by industrial and commercial development axes.

Pastaza province is located in the southern center of the Amazon region. With an area of 29,375 km², it holds three continuous ecological floors: Andean foothills, very humid premontane forests and premontane rainforest (Báez, 2004). High rainfall maintains an excessively humid habitat most of the year. Hydrographically Pastaza has six basins where the *Copataza*, *Capahuari*, *Bobonaza*, *Corrientes*, *Pindoyacu*, and *Pastaza* rivers are located.

Before the European presence, different tribal societies struggled to define territories according to their own forms of spatial management. Their adaptation to various biomes was maintained - even today - in cycles of agricultural cultivation, fallow, graze and burn, as well as the use of vár-zea within itinerant agricultural patterns alternated with hunting, fishing and gathering activities (Santos Granero, 1996; Vallejo, 2006).

At the time of the first Spanish incursions with the Franciscan missions, *Tukano* affiliation groups settled on the banks of the Napo, while southward in the Pastaza were the *Zápara* who were developing in a continuum of war and inter-tribal alliances against the Shuar tribes. The *Zápara* by the sixteenth century occupied the medium and high *Curaray*. In the seventeenth century, this space was dominated by Secoya tribes, the *avijiria* and *oma-gua*. By the colonial era, the Jesuits occupied the Bobonaza, Tigre and Pastaza rivers, while the Dominicans maintained the missions of the canelos and zapara. By the 18th century, according to missionary data, the area was dominated by *chontoas* or *garrinchas* who were later identified as canelos (Vallejo, 2006, p. 227). Among these, there were different lineages - that last until today- like the *Gualingas*, *Santis*, and *Inmundas*, who extended until the mouth of the *Bobonaza* in the border with the *coronados* or *andoa*.

In the 19th century, the hacienda system was established, which controlled the Curaray basin through peonage. The indigenous society was integrated into local trade networks through missions and finance dynamics. In this context, there was an important demographic collapse of the Zápara, who until the first decade of the 20th century occupied the Curaray basin, which became the *Kichwa* domain until today. These transformations imply a change of linguistic and cultural patterns from *Zapara* to *Kichwa*. However, the virtual disappearance of the Zápara does not constitute a physical act, they were subsumed in the *Kichwa* complex (Muratorio, 1987; Santos, 1996; Vallejo, 2006; Trujillo, 2001; Moya, 2007; Bilhaut, 2011). In this sense, the space management system was also transformed, which became occupied by *ayllus* or families already called *kichwa* based on community settlements with organizational forms based on kinship and the figure of a founding shaman (Vallejo, 2006, p. 34; Whitten, 1976, p. 170).

Lorocachi belongs to the ancestral village: *Kichwa Kawsak Sacha*. In 2008, it was recognized by the Ecuadorian State through the Development Council of Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador (CODENPE). By 2011, *Kawsay Sacha* obtained the title of its territory with 190,000 hectares inha-

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bited by approximately sixty families. The communities that comprise it are *Nina Amarun*, Macao, *Sisa*, *Lorocachi*, *Jatun Playa*, *Victoria*; and on the Pindo river, the community of *Yanayacu*.

Kawsay Sacha maintains a rotating system of authorities elected every two years in a general assembly. The main threats to their territorial management can be synthesized in: 1) pressure from logging contingents that come from Peru, an activity registered for more than two decades; 2) the pressures from San José de Curaray towards the resources of the river, fishing and over-harvesting of charapa eggs; and 3) the expansion of the extractive frontier towards the southern center of the Ecuadorian Amazon.

On October 22, 2018, the Ecuadorian State announces the tender for blocks 86 and 87. The oil would be taken to the Norperuano pipeline through agreements with PETROPERÚ. The State claimed to have carried out an analysis of the impacts of blocks 86 and 87, concluding that the impact would be minimal since there are no communities in those blocks. However, these blocks overlap the territories of the *Kichwa* communities of *Kawsay Sacha*, *Shiwiar*, *Zápara* and Indigenous Peoples in Voluntary Isolation (IPVI).

The methodological strategy applied to extract data was based on the application of the ethnographic method: fieldwork, direct, and participant observation. Trust relationships were established with known subjects[1] (informants) to apply different tools: physical and social space survey, life stories for older adults, micro workshops for establishing genealogies, mapping of the area, micro workshops of oralities and perception of natural resources. To complement participant observation, we worked with field diary records.

Within the testimonial tools, open interviews were conducted with different members of the community, as well as with external actors with knowledge of *Kichwa* cultural dynamics. Two oral stories were worked around the perspectives on *Kichwa* ethnicity based on *sumak kawsay*, (good living) *sumac allpa* (good earth, healthy ecosystems) and *sacha runa yachai* (traditional knowledge).

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1   Irene Vasilachis proposes a redefinition between the traditional researcher and informant for the epistemology of the cognitive subject and the known subject. The latter prepares to speak there, where the epistemology of the cognitive subject is silent, mutilated or limited. The proposal intends that the voice of the known subject does not disappear behind that of the cognitive subject, or is distorted as a consequence of the need to translate it according to the codes of the socially legitimized ways of knowing (Vasilachis, 2009, p. 50).

Perceptions about territory, territoriality, and cosmologies were collected from two differentiated discourses, one more ideological and political and another from every day/experiential. The first discourse is represented by a teacher with high school education, and a long career in the former OPIP who manages the ancestral knowledge *Sacha Runa Yachai*. Other perspectives were worked through open and in-depth interviews with people from the community who, although not related to political work, have excellent knowledge of the cultural particularities that were of interest for this study. The work with a person knowledgeable of traditional healing practices based on the intake of *ayahuaska* (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) is highlighted.

The theoretical proposal is presented through the Amazonian Amerindian perspectivism which bases its postulate on the so-called *ontological turn* on a way of seeing the world in the three indigenous Americas that affirms that human beings are not the only subjects of the universe (Ruiz & Del Cairo, 2016, p. 193. Viveiros de Castro, 2004). According to this theory, indigenous thought establishes a single sector of coexistence between nature and society. That is, for these peoples, the relationship with each element of nature becomes part of their experiential, daily and trans-specific universe. Within the Shuar, Candoshi, Kichwa or Kayapó cosmologies and ontologies a person can be a relative of a deer, have a paujil brother-in-law, a jaguar ancestor or establish an interdependent relationship with a hill or a waterfall. Unlike modern societies where the natural and social sectors are separated, Amerindian cosmologies hold a continuum in them.

Problematic. The retraction of shamanism as a model of social cohesion

For Viveiros de Castro, Amazonian shamanism is defined as "the ability of certain people to cross corporeal barriers and adopt the perspective of allo-specific subjectivities with a view to directing relationships between them and human beings" (Viveiros de Castro, 2004, p. 43). It is also related to the foundational structure of an ayllu or to recurring models of Amazonian chieftainship (Whitten, 1976; Oberem, 1980).

It is evident that in Lorocachi the shaman or *yachag* no longer has the same force of articulation or cohesion in the social relations of the *Kichwa*

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world as a few decades ago. Nor is it projected within a religious-political structure that regulates the coexistence of *ayllu*.[2]

At the time of research in the community, there were two shamans. The first did not fulfill any political or other functions related to healing. Over time he lost the confidence of a large part of the community, people did not consult him and the relationship remained between accusations of practices related to harm or evil; on the other hand, the shaman adduced envy. As a result, there was a conflict materialized in mutual increments and death threats. The second shaman had more respect, had more knowledge of herbalism and healing tradition, however, he was not a reference for social articulation, he lived occasionally in Lorocachi, since he maintained his residence in the community of Victoria.

Perceptions aimed to identify two types of shamans, *bankus* and *tawakeros*. The former can talk with the spirits of the dead and are very respected. It is said that they constitute the highest level that can be reached in the formation of the shaman. However, *tawakeros* are feared by the same bankus as they master the art of magic, damaging spells, and witchcraft. According to an interviewee, "they see in sperm and say this is so and so, without one telling him anything" (Life Story, Jorge Cuji, *Kichwa*. Lorocachi. Age 70 years). Several narratives point to the existence of enemy shamans from a specific community, which enclose the animals keeping the fauna in enchantment (*tupashca* or *ukuy tupashca*), causing a collapse in the dynamics of territorial usufruct.

The *Kichwa* recognize hieratic peculiarities and the need to interact with various kinds of spirits and deities both telluric or urean and from the underworld:

> Shamans drink *ayahuaska* and enclose all animals in a port. They have their soldiers or *supay*. They close the doors with padlocks. Another shaman cannot open this door unless he is more powerful than the first. (Life story, Jorge Cuji, *Kichwa* Lorocachi. Age 70 years)

In Lorocachi, the elderly informants identified spaces in their territory where the animals were locked up by an already dead enemy shaman.[3]

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2   In the *kicwha* families of Lorocachi there is the persistence of a shaman grandfather founder of *ayllu*. This detail supports the ayllu shamanism and regulation structure defined by Whitten (1976

3   In this sense, in several interviews and conversations, especially with older people, it was affirmed that the records on the population reduction of wildlife had its origin in the activity of certain sha-

The retraction of certain cultural signs, in particular, that of the shamanic practice, can be explained on the one hand through the concept of transculturation and ethnogenesis. Transculturation (Reeve, 2002; Oberem, 1980), is a historical process common to all the peoples of the Ecuadorian Amazon. It consists in the acquisition of a new ethnic identity through intercultural marriages. In Lorocachi there were processes that have historically fluctuated from which new cultural codifications are largely constrained by the influence of modernity and capitalism through missions, rubber exploitation from the haciendas, the established battalion and now around the alure of the new generations towards modern elements mainly located in the urban centers.

Ethnogenesis is a complementary state to transculturation that involves the construction of new identity categories that transcend local ethnic divisions (Reeve, 2002). The figure of the shaman, in this case, is not assumed as an immanent model with a social and political articulating sense of *ayllu*, but it is still evidenced through the discourse in certain narratives and mainly in reference to the mythical and kinship structure. In this sense, we see that the caution towards shamanic activity is shown in the identity and competition testimonies that arise in certain contexts of conflict both inside and outside the community.

Currently, many shamans are killed on charges of manslaughter. The accusations are promoted by both ordinary people and other shamans, usually enemies. As a consequence of this problem in the narratives of the informants, the idea of the little interest expressed by the new generations to get involved in the learning of shamanism persisted. In another aspect, there was talk of the psychological and physical difficulty and persistence that certain formative practices such as sexual and food abstentions (*sasi*) that a shaman apprentice has to endure.

Under these parameters, it is intended to answer the question of how the cultural transformation of certain signs related to their cosmological systems is expressed, in this case, of shamanism, mythology and social construction of the body.

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mans who "enclose the animals". In Lorcachi there was a known case in this regard, the fact that a shaman X enclosed the animals in the ukupacha or underworld was well known. Once this individual left the community, little by little the animal populations were restored (Information extracted from the micro workshop of natural resources, Lorocachi 2018).

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Transformations in *Kichwa* cosmology

Within the myths and cosmologies of indigenous peoples in general and of the Kichwa in particular, we note that the behavior of beings of nature is based as one more ontology within the perceptions associated with the interpretation of the world and explained in their practices of territorial management.[4] In this sense, the social relationship that humans establish with animals and certain environmental subjectivities is evident. As an example - with certain variations of form with respect to other Amazonian Amerindian groups - in *Kichwa* cosmology it is noted that certain trans-specific entities (spirits, *supay*, *ayakuna*) reside in different territorial contexts and hold human attributions, even wearing clothing of humans. For the *Kichwa*, all the animals of the jungle have an entity (*supay*) that guides them through the territory, protects them from humans, has the shape of an animal, even they are dressed with human clothing.

The articulating entity of the spiritual world with the sphere of the masculine is *Amazanga* who is the *owner* of the animals of the jungle. It can only be seen by shamans, who, as noted, serve as channelers between these entities and the world of the tangible, usually through modified states of consciousness based on the use of psychoactive substances such as ayahuaska.

In short, these *supay* of the *allpa* or biosphere take care of the territory or kaipacha and establish a constitutive relationship with the shaman.

For its part, Nunguli is the entity that governs the world of the feminine, teaches women to take care of the farms, to prepare *chicha* made of yucca among other activities related to the agricultural world. In this way, the mythological discourses are always mediated by these two spheres: *Nunguli* and the farm, female, *Amazanga*, male.

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4   Etymologically ontology means "the study of being": ontos: to be, being, and logos: study, discourse, science, theory. Ontology studies the nature of being, its existence and reality. From contemporary anthropology, it is theorized from the so-called "ontological turn", which has influenced the understanding of the corpus of cultural interpretation within the nature-society relationship. In this sense, the "ontological turn" attracts a series of interrelated approaches in the search for alternatives to the naturalistic model of modern Cartesian rationality. These proposals discuss a model that puts in a dilemma the way in which traditional anthropology interprets the ways in which societies interact with their surroundings (Ruiz, & Del Cairo, 2016). In this sense, subjectivation-objectification is defined to the way in which every society generates representations about the world (cosmology), both objectively and subjectively, the latter specified especially in the fields of religion and the arts.

Another variable is formulated by Whitten (1976, p. 59) in his analysis of male and female activities, where he considers to be important these constitutional discourses with symbolic spheres associated with main spirits or key symbols. In this sense, women, the farm and the female spirit *Nunguli* on the one hand and men, the jungle and the male spirit *Amazanga* on the other, are closely linked, forming a complementarity in the symbolic sphere of the *Kichwa* world.

The masculine sphere represented by *Amazanga* surrounds the female sphere symbolized by *Nunguli*. We have an additional notion that encompasses the water spirits or *yaku supay*, which Whitten (1976) calls a hydrosphere, represented by a third key symbol: *Sungui*. A dichotomy between culture and nature is subsequently established, which is considered equivalent to the dichotomy between *Nunguli* and *Sungui*. The contrast between *Nunguli* and *Sungui* is mediated by *Amazanga*. Thus *Amazanga*: men and jungle are linked to both culture and nature, while *Nunguli*: women and the farm represent domesticated culture and nature.

These three entities, in their condition as key symbols, are paradigms that order people's understanding of the ecological system in which they live (Guzmán, 1997, p. 207).

Forms of shamanic practice

In several Amazonian studies, one can see the persistence and durability of the shaman as a channeler of *worlds* and possessor of cosmological wisdom (Calavia, 2004; Descola, 2004; Chaumeil & Chaumeil, 2004; Reeve, 2002; Oberem, 1980; Whitten, 1976; Viveiros de Castro, 2004). Amerindian perspectivism is related to two significant enduring systems: the symbolic estimation of hunting and the relevance of shamanism (Viveiros de Castro, 2004, p. 42). It is affirmed that the field of local knowledge, especially the knowledge of the world of hunting is approached from several perspectives, including cognitive and ethnobiological, related to a multitude of themes, especially the knowledge of the world of the supernatural.

The *Kichwa* assign demographic aspects to the different periods of time relating them to the structure of *ayllu* and shamanism, that is to say, there were more ancestral *runa* (people) than now contemporaries. The structure of an ayllu in the Kallaric uras (ancient times or narratives) agree with Whit-

ten assessment that for the *Canelo Kichwa* it is a hypothetical network of interwoven souls that extend backward from before *the times of destruction to the ancient times* (Whitten, 1976, p. 169).

Regarding the forms of practice of shamanism, the reports describe how the shamans use their power by inserting themselves in the sleep (*muskuy*) of their victims. Catching a person's *muskuy* means taking their soul in sleep and making them sick (Bilhaut, 2011). In other cases, shamans send dangerous animals when people are awake as noted in the following testimony:

Sinchi Yachag sent the tiger to attack me, but I had five hunting dogs, that happened to me here in Lorocachi.

> Now that Sinchi Yachag has died, I am at peace, he did not left my wife and me alone, in our house, when we fell asleep, we wanted to kill ourselves in the dream, but as I say I am Catholic and every afternoon I asked God and He did not let me. And the dog also barked and when I went to the mountain, he sent the tiger after me.
>
> There are times when I ate three or four of those extra spicy peppers, "the tiger runs from the one that eats spicy". That was what the old people said when you go to the mountain, the tiger comes out, and when you leave tracks, the tiger puts his hand, to verify it must be and there comes the hand and burns the tiger. When this is not the case, the tiger seeks to kill.
>
> I killed three tigers sent by shamans, this shaman has already tested me with snakes, boas, witchcraft, and he could not touch me, even though he is my compadre. Other shamans told me that it is him, that it is for me, but it affected another, but since he did not affect me, it affected my grandchildren. I had words with him, I said compadre why you hurt me? if you want to hurt me, then hurt me, not my grandchildren or my daughter-in-law, I said it face to face, if you want to kill me I am already tired of life, but facing me. (Life story, Jorge Cuji. 70 years old)

For the *Kichwa*, once a bad shaman dies, it is a reason for tranquility, since his soul can no longer harm. In the same testimony, the informant reports:

> The shaman Sinchi Yachag, made me sick one day I found myself dying, something I dreamed hurt my son, the evil jumped to him, gave him many pimples on his head that were already rotting. In the hospital they could not cure him. Since he was 15 years old, he began to bother, when one lives quietly in his house in peace with his family one prey of the jealousy of shamans.

In this narrative, one can see certain stages of the shamanic disease. The first is when the enemy shaman takes the victim's *muskuy* and the damage jumps to the victim's son. Both children and women are susceptible to being hurt by the spiritual darts of the enemy *yachag*. The second is the healing that is always done through a shaman that is more powerful than the one that caused of the damage.

According to Whitten, illness and envy maintain a unique parallel. This has a lot to do with the structure of *ayllu* and the kinship relationships that occur within it. Many times, the spiritual darts directed against a person bounce and fly through the space of the *ayllu* until they enter a house going to the most vulnerable body of a child or a young man. (Whitten, 1976, p. 176).

An illness that cannot be cured with simple medicines, homemade herbs or, failing that, prayer to spirits or the Christian saints, is directly considered shamanic damage. In this sense, among the *Kichwa* of Lorocachi, envy encounters were mediated by damage done by a relative or known shaman. They were hired to kill or see a potential enemy or rival in the victim. Killing is linked to a shamanic learning exercise, clearly expressed by those who have to go through a series of hermetic demonstrations to perfect their empirical learning process.

Mythical expressions and cultural transformation

The myth as a functional device constructs temporal and spatial arrangements defined in their description and event. The myth is a device that places humanity in time and history (Surrallés & García Hierro, 2004). Its conceptualization can be abstracted as a static sequence of diachronically pre-located events. At an intersection between the everyday and symbolic worlds, it can be seen that the mythical-discursive narrative of the natural and social sectors are essentially dissimilar to those we distinguish in Western or mestizo white societies, where we maintain a definite intersectoral gap between nature and society.

It is clear that certain social structures of mythical thought are integrated into the world of the tangible and intangible. In the case at hand, shamans are agents that relate the different *worldologies*, from the sphere of the supernatural subjective to the tangible world.

The mythical expression configures a *telos* where the scenarios are defined by a deontological superorganicity. As an example, in certain *Kichwa*

myths one can see how a jaguar forgives a hunter's life, or a *paujil* advises a shaman or the mother of the chakras or agriculture *Nunguli* maintains a relationship with women. This indicates that through the mythical these subjectivities are shown as civilizing entities, teachers, counselors, and punishers. In sum, these entities are subject to persistent deontology, within the framework of animism expressed in the local mythic.

For indigenous thought, in the discursiveness of myth, beings of nature are perceived from the status of humanity, but not of species; It is the animal and the vegetables that are framed in many cases in relation to humans. These demonstrate their specific qualities to guide their daily endeavors, especially through the world of dreams and premonitions. The different anthropozoomorphic transformations and transmutations materialize in the social sphere and are confronted in the field of kinship, reconstituting themselves within myth and reality through the shaman as the arbiter of the different spaces of the world.[5] Many *ayllu kichwa* identify with an animal and shaman ancestor, a mythical feature that has also recanted in the modern representations of the *kichwa* subject. In the mythology of these people, Zápara cultural heroes are present, which is explained by the process of transculturation and ethnogenesis *that* has subsumed the *Zápara* culture in the *Kichwa*.

For the Kichwa in Lorocachi the relational metaphysics between entities and human beings is defined in the myth, however, the mythological generational transmissions volatilize and lose continuity. According to the collected data, there is no interest in many young parents, aged thirty to fifty years, in transmitting the traditional myth to new generations. Cultural markers related to the transmission of these narratives are volatilized by different transformations in generational behavior. Spaces of relaxation and social cohesion such as the time of the *guayusa*, the discussion about dreams or (*muskuykuna*) at dawn have been rescinded, many young families do not practice them. On the other hand, the young people's approach to modernity is notorious. Traditional myths go to the background to contract urban myths with their respective meanings. Access to activities in these contexts, such as salaried work, are meager means of prestige to those who reach them.[6]

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5 As an example, we have in this text the story of Jorge Cuji in relation to the shaman Sichi Yacchag who sent him a jaguar through dreams with the intentionality of causing harm.

6 The labor spaces, however, end up proletarianizing Kichwa women and men who, at very low percentages, reach average levels of schooling.

The social construction of the body in the shaman person

In the cosmology of Amazonian indigenous societies, the body is represented with differentiating connotations. This is manifested as that which combines individuals from the same community as opposed to others. From the study of the different meanings of corporeality, we can better understand the strong meanings that individuals give to the intense semiotic use of the body.

The abundance of meanings inserted in the body defines the identity of individuals and the transit of values that are directed towards a prototype of a social object, inserted in the Amazonian *Kichwa socius*. In this context, the importance of the body stands out as an object and subject capable of serving as a support for social and exchange relations, based on a model of body strength.

For the Kichwa, the construction of the person as a shaman requires great physical strength. Teachings are received since childhood and are worked throughout life through *samai* (blow, breath, strength). The parents insert the *samai* into the occipital region of the child's head with tobacco. This *samai* is corporeally transmitted from person to person. The father who wants his son to be a shaman must insert strength into his body. In this context where the body plays a determining role, we see that the *samai* is transmitted not only from body to body but from soul to soul; It is procedural and constructive. In this way, the body is the place where breath and vigor are located and the capacity for transformation in a person's psyche.

The bodily strength of a person, whether male or female, is much admired. It is frowned upon to show weakness before another person. The fact of being a good farm worker, a good hunter, and in some instances a good fighter or in others a good warrior is a source of satisfaction and pride for the person who possesses these characteristics and source of admiration or envy for the *other*.

Many shamans nullify a person's *samai* until they die, which is a basic principle of the shamanic practice of doing harm that is taking *someone's breath away*. "The person goes out like a candle until he dies when the shamans hurt him" (Mario Garcés, Lorocachi). The ethnographic *Kichwa* proves that the person obtains a lot of strength or *samai* through a plant identified locally as *llaina*, however, in certain narratives there was impartiality regarding a magical-mythical dynamic for the strength of the body, which reveals a change in the way of seeing the mythical space:

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Just as your dad has raised you clean, without *chiricaspis* without anything I was raised only for *pukuna* I have taken *chiricaspi*, I take enough for *samai* and a *pukuna* puff. I cook and drink, I scrape the stick and with tobacco I cook and drink, this puts one with a good *samai*, but you don't have to drink too much, because it gets you drunk, it gives you a cold, that's why it's called *chiricaspi*, or tree cold. if one drinks a lot the tongue rolls up and leaves you mute, one has to measure the drinking. If one that does not know drinks a lot, dies, it is like poison. (Life story, Kisto Aguinda. 50 years. Nina Amarun)

Conclusions

It is proposed that for the indigenous peoples the legitimacy of their lands ensures their ways of life, safeguards their symbolic heritage and allows them to recreate their own territorial visions. However, the result of territorialization processes imposed by national states translates into weak consolidation of indigenous territories, accelerated ecological deterioration and, in many cases, the relocation of their territorial space. In this sense, cultural transformation materializes in events such as the insertion of large contingents of the Amazonian population into marginal urban spaces in contexts of socio-economic inequality. In spite of everything, based on ethnopolitical processes of territorial recovery, the indigenous organizations of Pastaza together with various NGOs and through international financing have achieved legal recognition of their territories.[7]

Certain cosmological cultural markers can be systematically unstructured by pressures that modernity and the global economic production system through devices such as the threat of extractivism present. As an example, for a teenage kicwha, the insertion of people in the world of shamanic learning will be retracted by situations such as the lack of generational transfer of knowledge related to the construction of the shaman person; the self-censorship of young people in terms of continuing this knowledge; the dangers that shamanic practice entails and, above all, the attraction of young generations towards elements of modernity and new technologies. In this way, by reviewing the ways of apprehension of the different elements of the en-

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[7]   For more detailed information on the ethnopolitical process in the Amazon center, see Martínez (2015), Silva (2003), Ortiz (2016), Vallejo (2006).

vironment of the *Kichwa* of Lorocachi, we can observe a retraction of the knowledge of their worldview systems: mythology, shamanism, rituality, cosmographies, herbal and medicinal knowledge; which end up losing symbolic validity in time.

Although among the *Kichwa* there is a duality in their cosmological vision, inserted in mythical gender roles: *Amazanga* for the masculine world and *Nunguli* for the feminine one, it is necessary to investigate more if the feminine roles are abstracted only to the domestic space or their activities are equivalent to a sphere of domestication of nature, while the masculine space held by *Amazanga* encompasses the space wild and untamed.

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EDITORIAL GUIDELINES

NORMAS EDITORIALES

Publication guidelines in «Universitas»

UNIVERSITAS

1. General Information

«Universitas» is a bilingual scientific publication of the *Universidad Politécnica Salesiana* of Ecuador, published since January 2002 in an uninterrupted manner, with a semi-annual periodicity, specialized in Social and Human Sciences and its interdisciplinary lines such as Sociology, Anthropology, Social Psychology, Social Development, Communities, Latin American Studies, Political Studies, among others.

It is scientific journal, which uses the peer-review system, under double-blind review methodology, according to the publication standards of the American Psychological Association (APA). Compliance with this system allows authors to guarantee an objective, impartial and transparent review process, which facilitates the publication of their inclusion in reference databases, repositories and international indexing.

«Universitas» is indexed in the Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) of Web of Science, the LATINDEX catalog, Regional Online Information System for Scientific Journals of Latin America, the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal, is part of the Directory of Open Access Journals-DOAJ, belongs to the Ibero-American Network of Innovation and Scientific Knowledge, REDIB, Network of Scientific Journals of Latin America and the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal, REDALYC, It is also part of the Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals, MIAR and is being evaluated, in the medium term, to become part of SCOPUS.

The journal is published in a double version: printed (ISSN: 1390-3837) and digital (e-ISSN: 1390-8634), in English and Spanish, each work being identified with a DOI (Digital Object Identifier System).

2. Scope and Policy

2.1. Theme

Original contributions in Humanities and Social Sciences, as well as related areas: Sociology, Anthropology, Social Psychology, Social Development, Communities, Latin American Studies, Political Studies, and all related interdisciplinary disciplines with the central theme.

2.2. Contributions

"Universitas" preferably publishes results of empirical research on Human and Social Sciences, written in Spanish and / or English, as well as reports, studies and proposals, as well as selected state-of-the-art literature reviews.

All works must be original, have not been published in any medium or be in the process of arbitration or publication.

- **Research:** 5,000 to 6,500 words of text, including title, abstracts, descriptors, charts and references.
- **Reports, studies and proposals:** 5,000 to 6,500 words of text, including title, abstracts, charts and references.
- **Reviews:** 6,000 to 7,000 words of text, including charts and references. Justified references, would be specially valued. (current and selected from among 70 works)

"Universitas" has a biannual periodicity (20 articles per year), published in March and September and counts by number with two sections of five articles each, the first referring to a **Monographic** topic prepared in advance and with thematic editors and the Second, a section of **Miscellaneous**, composed of varied contributions within the theme of the publication.

3. Presentation, Structure and Submission of the Manuscripts

Texts will be presented in Arial 10 font, single line spacing, complete justification and no tabs or white spaces between paragraphs. Only large blocks (title, authors, summaries, descriptors, credits and headings) will

be separated with a blank space. The page should be 2 centimeters in all its margins.

Papers must be submitted in a Microsoft Word document (.doc or .docx), requiring that the file be anonymized in File Properties, so that the author / s identification does not appear.

Manuscripts must be submitted only and exclusively through the OJS (Open Journal System), in which all authors must previously register. Originals sent via email or other interfaces are not accepted.

3.1. Structure of the manuscript

For those works that are empirical investigations, the manuscripts will follow the IMRDC structure, being optional the Notes and Supports. Those papers that, on the contrary, deal with reports, studies, proposals and reviews may be more flexible in their epigraphs, particularly in material and methods, analysis, results, discussion and conclusions. In all typologies of works, references are mandatory.

1) Title (Spanish) / Title (English): Concise but informative, in Spanish on the first line and in English on the second. A maximum of 80 characters with spaces are accepted. The title is not only the responsibility of the authors, changes being able to be proposed by the Editorial Board.

2) Full name and surnames: Of each of the authors, organized by priority. A maximum of 3 authors will be accepted per original, although there may be exceptions justified by the topic, its complexity and extent. Next to the names must follow the professional category, work center, email of each author and ORCID number. It is mandatory to indicate if you have the academic degree of doctor (include Dr./Dra before the name).

3) Abstract (Spanish) / Abstract (English): It will have a maximum extension of 230 words, first in Spanish and then in English. : 1) Justification of the topic; 2) Objectives; 3) Methodology and sample; 4) Main results; 5) Main conclusions. It must be impersonally written "This paper analyzes ...". In the case of the abstract, the use of automatic translators will not be accepted due to their poor quality.

4) Descriptors (Spanish) / Keywords (English): 6 descriptors must be presented for each language version directly related to the subject of the work. The use of the key words set out in UNESCO's Thesaurus will be positively valued.

5) Introduction and state of the issue: It should include the problem statement, context of the problem, justification, rationale and purpose of the study, using bibliographical citations, as well as the most significant and current literature on the topic at national and international level .

6) Material and methods: It must be written so that the reader can easily understand the development of the research. If applicable, it will describe the methodology, the sample and the form of sampling, as well as the type of statistical analysis used. If it is an original methodology, it is necessary to explain the reasons that led to its use and to describe its possible limitations.

7) Analysis and results: It will try to highlight the most important observations, describing, without making value judgments, the material and methods used. They will appear in a logical sequence in the text and the essential charts and figures avoiding the duplication of data.

8) Discussion and conclusions: Summarize the most important findings, relating the observations themselves with relevant studies, indicating contributions and limitations, without adding data already mentioned in other sections. Also, the discussion and conclusions section should include the deductions and lines for future research.

9) Supports and acknowledgments (optional): The Council Science Editors recommends the author (s) to specify the source of funding for the research. Priority will be given to projects supported by national and international competitive projects. In any case, for the scientific evaluation of the manuscript, it should be only anonymized with XXXX for its initial evaluation, in order not to identify authors and research teams, which should be explained in the Cover Letter and later in the final manuscript.

10) The notes (optional) will go, only if necessary, at the end of the article (before the references). They must be manually annotated, since the system of footnotes or the end of Word is not recognized by the layout systems. The numbers of notes are placed in superscript, both in the text and in the final note. The numbers of notes are placed in superscript, both in the text and in the final note. No notes are allowed that collect simple bibliographic citations (without comments), as these should go in the references.

11) References: Bibliographical citations should be reviewed in the form of references to the text. Under no circumstances should references not mentioned in the text be included. Their number should be sufficient to

contextualize the theoretical framework with current and important criteria. They will be presented alphabetically by the first last name of the author.

3.2. Standards for references

PERIODIC PUBLICATIONS

Journal article (author): Valdés-Pérez, D. (2016). Incidencia de las técnicas de gestión en la mejora de decisiones administrativas [Impact of Management Techniques on the Improvement of Administrative Decisions]. *Retos, 12*(6), 199-2013. https://doi.org/10.17163/ret.n12.2016.05

Journal Article (Up to six authors): Ospina, M.C., Alvarado, S.V., Fefferman, M., & Llanos, D. (2016). Introducción del dossier temático "Infancias y juventudes: violencias, conflictos, memorias y procesos de construcción de paz" [Introduction of the thematic dossier "Infancy and Youth: Violence, Conflicts, Memories and Peace Construction Processes"]. *Universitas, 25*(14), 91-95. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n25.%25x

Journal article (more tan six authors): Smith, S.W., Smith, S.L. Pieper, K.M., Yoo, J.H., Ferrys, A.L., Downs, E.,... Bowden, B. (2006). Altruism on American Television: Examining the Amount of, and Context Surronding. Acts of Helping and Sharing. *Journal of Communication, 56*(4), 707-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00316.x

Journal article (without DOI): Rodríguez, A. (2007). Desde la promoción de salud mental hacia la promoción de salud: La concepción de lo comunitario en la implementación de proyectos sociales. *Alteridad, 2*(1), 28-40. (https://goo.gl/zDb3Me) (2017-01-29).

BOOKS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Full books: Cuéllar, J.C., & Moncada-Paredes, M.C. (2014). *El peso de la deuda externa ecuatoriana*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Chapter of book: Zambrano-Quiñones, D. (2015). *El ecoturismo comunitario en Manglaralto y Colonche*. En V.H. Torres (Ed.), Alternativas de Vida: Trece experiencias de desarrollo endógeno en Ecuador (pp. 175-198). Quito: Abya-Yala.

Digital media

Pérez-Rodríguez, M.A., Ramírez, A., & García-Ruíz, R. (2015). La competencia mediática en educación infantil. Análisis del nivel de desarrollo en España. Universitas Psychologica, 14(2), 619-630. https://doi.org.10.11144/Javeriana.upsy14-2.cmei

It is prescriptive that all quotations that have DOI (Digital Object Identifier System) are reflected in the References (can be obtained at http://goo.gl/gfruh1). All journals and books that do not have DOI should appear with their link (in their online version, if they have it, shortened by Google Shortened: http://goo.gl) and date of consultation in the format indicated.

Journal articles should be presented in English, except for those in Spanish and English, in which case it will be displayed in both languages using brackets. All web addresses submitted must be shortened in the manuscript, except for the DOI that must be in the indicated format (https://doi.org/XXX).

3.3. *Epigraphs, Figures and Charts*

The epigraphs of the body of the article will be numbered in Arabic. They should go without a full box of capital letters, neither underlined nor bold. The numbering must be a maximum of three levels: 1. / 1.1. / 1.1.1. A carriage return will be established at the end of each numbered epigraph.

The charts must be included in the text in Word format according to order of appearance, numbered in Arabic and subtitled with the description of the content.

The graphics or figures will be adjusted to the minimum number required and will be presented incorporated in the text, according to their order of appearance, numbered in Arabic and subtitled with the abbreviated description. Their quality should not be less than 300 dpi, and it may be necessary to have the graph in TIFF, PNG or JPEG format.

4. Submission Process

Two files must be sent through the OJS system of the journal:

1) Presentation and cover, in which the title in Spanish and English will appear, names and surnames of the authors in a standardized form with ORCID number, abstract in both Spanish and English, descriptors and ke-

ywords and a statement that the manuscript is an Origina lcontribution, not sent or in the process of being evaluated in another journal, confirmation of the signatory authors, acceptance (if applicable) of formal changes in the manuscript according to the rules and partial transfer of rights to the publisher (use official cover model).

2) Manuscript totally anonymized, according to the norms referred in precedence.

All authors must register with their credits on the OJS platform, although only one of them will be responsible for correspondence.

No author can submit or have in review two manuscripts simultaneously, estimating an absence of four consecutive numbers (2 years).
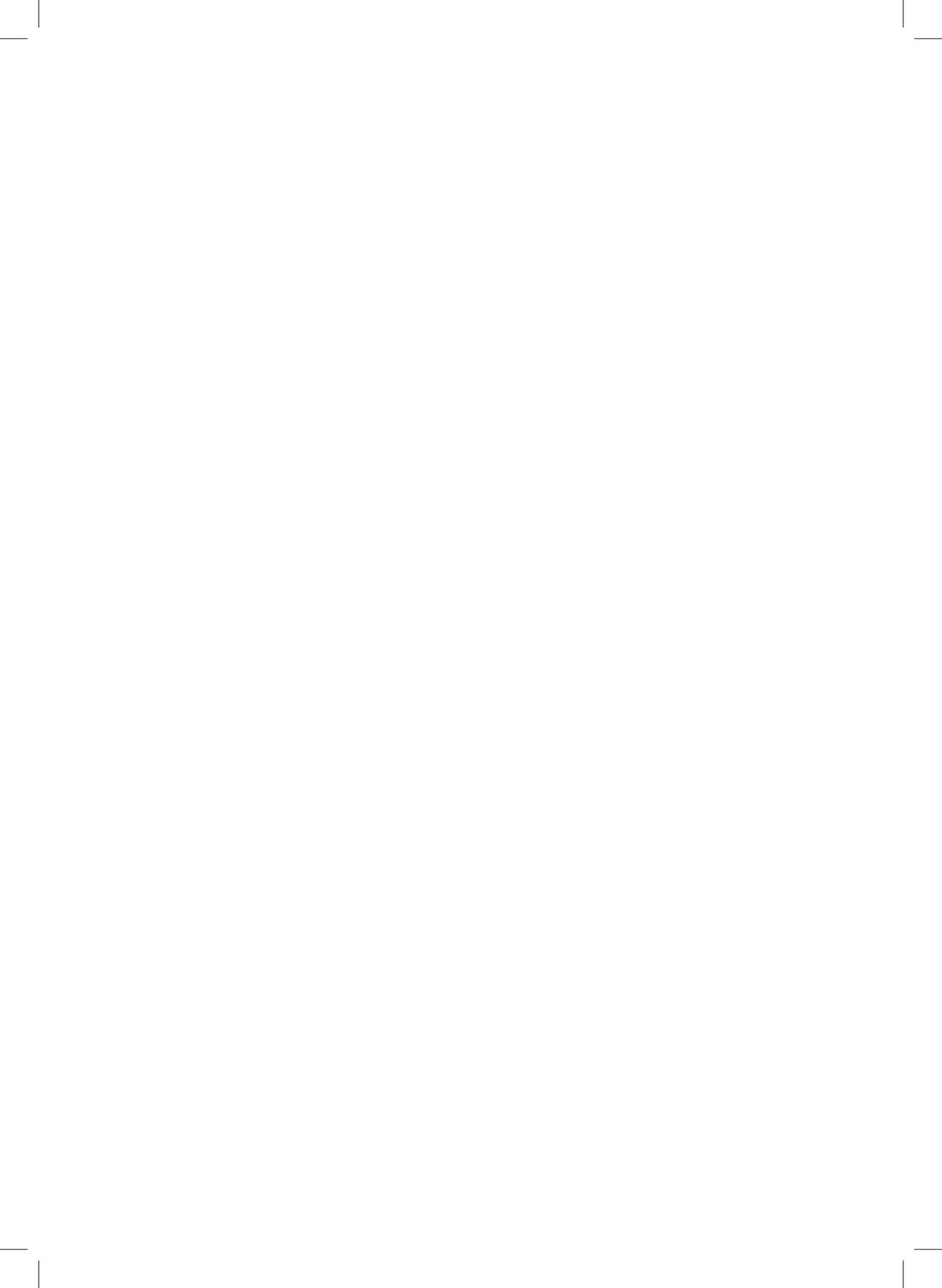
NORMAS DE PUBLICACIÓN EN «UNIVERSITAS»

1. Información general

«Universitas» es una publicación científica bilingüe de la Universidad Politécnica Salesiana de Ecuador, editada desde enero de 2002 de forma ininterrumpida, con periodicidad fija semestral, especializada en Ciencias Sociales y Humanas y sus líneas interdisciplinares como Sociología, Antropología, Estudios Políticos, Estudios del Desarrollo, Estudios Latinoamericanos, Estudios de la Cultura y la Comunicación, entre otras.

Es una revista científica arbitrada, que utiliza el sistema de evaluación externa por expertos (*peer-review*), bajo metodología de pares ciegos (*doble-blind review*), conforme a las normas de publicación de la American Psychological Association (APA). El cumplimiento de este sistema permite garantizar a los autores un proceso de revisión objetivo, imparcial y transparente, lo que facilita a la publicación su inclusión en bases de datos, repositorios e indexaciones internacionales de referencia.

«Universitas» se encuentra indizada en Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) de Web of Science, el catálogo LATINDEX, Sistema Regional de información en Línea para Revistas Científicas de América Latina, El Caribe, España y Portugal, forma parte del Directory of Open Access Journals-DOAJ, pertenece a la Red Iberoamericana de Innovación y Conocimiento Científico, REDIB, Red de Revistas Científicas de America Latina y el Caribe,España y Portugal, REDALYC, además conforma la Matriz de Información para el Análisis de Revistas, MIAR y está siendo evaluada en mediano plazo para pasar a formar parte de SCOPUS.

La revista se edita en doble versión: impresa (ISSN: 1390-3837) y electrónica (e-ISSN: 1390-8634), en español e inglés, siendo identificado además cada trabajo con un DOI (Digital Object Identifier System).

2. Alcance y Política

2.1. Temática

Contribuciones originales en materia de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, así como áreas afines: Sociología, Antropología, Psicología Social, Desarrollo Social, Comunidades, Estudios Latinoamericanos, Estudios Políticos, y todas aquellas disciplinas conexas interdisciplinarmente con la línea temática central.

2.2. Aportaciones

«Universitas» edita preferentemente resultados de investigación empírica sobre Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, redactados en español y/o inglés, siendo también admisibles informes, estudios y propuestas, así como selectas revisiones de la literatura (*state-of-the-art*).

Todos los trabajos deben ser originales, no haber sido publicados en ningún medio ni estar en proceso de arbitraje o publicación. De esta manera, las aportaciones en la revista pueden ser:

- **Investigaciones:** 5.000 a 6.500 palabras de texto, incluyendo título, resúmenes, descriptores, tablas y referencias.
- **Informes, estudios y propuestas:** 5.000 a 6.500 palabras de texto, incluyendo título, resúmenes, tablas y referencias.
- **Revisiones:** 6.000 a 7.000 palabras de texto, incluidas tablas y referencias. Se valorará especialmente las referencias justificadas, actuales y selectivas de alrededor de unas 70 obras.

«Universitas» tiene periodicidad semestral (20 artículos por año), publicada en los meses de marzo y septiembre y cuenta por número con dos secciones de cinco artículos cada una, la primera referida a un tema **Monográfico** preparado con antelación y con editores temáticos y la segunda, una sección **Miscelánea**, compuesta por aportaciones variadas dentro de la temática de la publicación.

3. Presentación, estructura y envío de los manuscritos

Los trabajos se presentarán en tipo de letra Arial 10, interlineado simple, justificado completo y sin tabuladores ni espacios en blanco entre párrafos. Solo se separarán con un espacio en blanco los grandes bloques (título, autores, resúmenes, descriptores, créditos y epígrafes). La página debe tener 2 centímetros en todos sus márgenes.

Los trabajos deben presentarse en documento de Microsoft Word (.doc o .docx), siendo necesario que el archivo esté anonimizado en Propiedades de Archivo, de forma que no aparezca la identificación de autor/es.

Los manuscritos deben ser enviados única y exclusivamente a través del OJS (Open Journal System), en el cual todos los autores deben darse de alta previamente. No se aceptan originales enviados a través de correo electrónico u otra interfaz.

3.1. Estructura del manuscrito

Para aquellos trabajos que se traten de investigaciones de carácter empírico, los manuscritos seguirán la estructura IMRDC, siendo opcionales los epígrafes de Notas y Apoyos. Aquellos trabajos que por el contrario se traten de informes, estudios, propuestas y revisiones podrán ser más flexibles en sus epígrafes, especialmente en Material y métodos, Análisis y resultados y Discusión y conclusiones. En todas las tipologías de trabajos son obligatorias las Referencias.

1) Título (español) / Title (inglés): Conciso pero informativo, en castellano en primera línea y en inglés en segunda. Se aceptan como máximo 80 caracteres con espacio. El título no solo es responsabilidad de los autores, pudiéndose proponer cambios por parte del Consejo Editorial.

2) Nombre y apellidos completos: De cada uno de los autores, organizados por orden de prelación. Se aceptarán como máximo 3 autores por original, aunque pudieren existir excepciones justificadas por el tema, su complejidad y extensión. Junto a los nombres ha de seguir la categoría profesional, centro de trabajo, correo electrónico de cada autor y número de ORCID. Es obligatorio indicar si se posee el grado académico de doctor (incluir Dr./Dra. antes del nombre).

3) Resumen (español) / Abstract (inglés): Tendrá como extensión máxima 230 palabras, primero en español y después en inglés. En el resumen se describirá de forma concisa y en este orden: 1) Justificación del

tema; 2) Objetivos; 3) Metodología y muestra; 4) Principales resultados; 5) Principales conclusiones. Ha de estar escrito de manera impersonal "El presente trabajo analiza…". En el caso del abstract no se admitirá el empleo de traductores automáticos por su pésima calidad.

4) Descriptores (español) / Keywords (inglés): Se deben exponer 6 descriptores por cada versión idiomática relacionados directamente con el tema del trabajo. Será valorado positivamente el uso de las palabras claves expuestas en el Thesaurus de la UNESCO.

5) Introducción y estado de la cuestión: Debe incluir el planteamiento del problema, el contexto de la problemática, la justificación, fundamentos y propósito del estudio, utilizando citas bibliográficas, así como la literatura más significativa y actual del tema a escala nacional e internacional.

6) Material y métodos: Debe ser redactado de forma que el lector pueda comprender con facilidad el desarrollo de la investigación. En su caso, describirá la metodología, la muestra y la forma de muestreo, así como se hará referencia al tipo de análisis estadístico empleado. Si se trata de una metodología original, es necesario exponer las razones que han conducido a su empleo y describir sus posibles limitaciones.

7) Análisis y resultados: Se procurará resaltar las observaciones más importantes, describiéndose, sin hacer juicios de valor, el material y métodos empleados. Aparecerán en una secuencia lógica en el texto y las tablas y figuras imprescindibles evitando la duplicidad de datos.

8) Discusión y conclusiones: Resumirá los hallazgos más importantes, relacionando las propias observaciones con estudios de interés, señalando aportaciones y limitaciones, sin redundar datos ya comentados en otros apartados. Asimismo, el apartado de discusión y conclusiones debe incluir las deducciones y líneas para futuras investigaciones.

9) Apoyos y agradecimientos (opcionales): El Council Science Editors recomienda a los autor/es especificar la fuente de financiación de la investigación. Se considerarán prioritarios los trabajos con aval de proyectos competitivos nacionales e internacionales. En todo caso, para la valoración científica del manuscrito, este debe ir anonimizado con XXXX solo para su evaluación inicial, a fin de no identificar autores y equipos de investigación, que deben ser explicitados en la Carta de Presentación y posteriormente en el manuscrito final.

10) Las notas (opcionales) irán, solo en caso necesario, al final del artículo (antes de las referencias). Deben anotarse manualmente, ya que el sis-

tema de notas al pie o al final de Word no es reconocido por los sistemas de maquetación. Los números de notas se colocan en superíndice, tanto en el texto como en la nota final. No se permiten notas que recojan citas bibliográficas simples (sin comentarios), pues éstas deben ir en las referencias.

11) Referencias: Las citas bibliográficas deben reseñarse en forma de referencias al texto. Bajo ningún caso deben incluirse referencias no citadas en el texto. Su número debe ser suficiente para contextualizar el marco teórico con criterios de actualidad e importancia. Se presentarán alfabéticamente por el primer apellido del autor.

3.2. Normas para las referencias

Publicaciones periódicas

Artículo de revista (un autor): Valdés-Pérez, D. (2016). Incidencia de las técnicas de gestión en la mejora de decisiones administrativas [Impact of Management Techniques on the Improvement of Administrative Decisions]. *Retos, 12*(6), 199-2013. https://doi.org/10.17163/ret.n12.2016.05

Artículo de revista (hasta seis autores): Ospina, M.C., Alvarado, S.V., Fefferman, M., & Llanos, D. (2016). Introducción del dossier temático "Infancias y juventudes: violencias, conflictos, memorias y procesos de construcción de paz" [Introduction of the thematic dossier "Infancy and Youth: Violence, Conflicts, Memories and Peace Construction Processes"]. *Universitas, 25*(14), 91-95. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n25.%25x

Artículo de revista (más de seis autores): Smith, S.W., Smith, S.L. Pieper, K.M., Yoo, J.H., Ferrys, A.L., Downs, E.,... Bowden, B. (2006). Altruism on American Television: Examining the Amount of, and Context Surronding. Acts of Helping and Sharing. *Journal of Communication, 56*(4), 707-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00316.x

Artículo de revista (sin DOI): Rodríguez, A. (2007). Desde la promoción de salud mental hacia la promoción de salud: La concepción de lo comunitario en la implementación de proyectos sociales. *Alteridad, 2*(1), 28-40. (https://goo.gl/zDb3Me) (2017-01-29).

Libros y capítulos de libro

Libros completos: Cuéllar, J.C., & Moncada-Paredes, M.C. (2014). *El peso de la deuda externa ecuatoriana*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Capítulos de libro: Zambrano-Quiñones, D. (2015). *El ecoturismo comunitario en Manglaralto y Colonche*. En V.H. Torres (Ed.), Alternativas de Vida: Trece experiencias de desarrollo endógeno en Ecuador (pp. 175-198). Quito: Abya-Yala.

Medios electrónicos

Pérez-Rodríguez, M.A., Ramírez, A., & García-Ruíz, R. (2015). La competencia mediática en educación infantil. Análisis del nivel de desarrollo en España. Universitas Psychologica, 14(2), 619-630. https://doi.org.10.11144/Javeriana.upsy14-2.cmei

Es prescriptivo que todas las citas que cuenten con DOI (Digital Object Identifier System) estén reflejadas en las Referencias (pueden obtenerse en http://goo.gl/gfruh1). Todas las revistas y libros que no tengan DOI deben aparecer con su link (en su versión on-line, en caso de que la tengan, acortada, mediante Google Shortener: http://goo.gl) y fecha de consulta en el formato indicado.

Los artículos de revistas deben ser expuestos en idioma inglés, a excepción de aquellos que se encuentren en español e inglés, caso en el que se expondrá en ambos idiomas utilizando corchetes. Todas las direcciones web que se presenten tienen que ser acortadas en el manuscrito, a excepción de los DOI que deben ir en el formato indicado (https://doi.org/XXX).

3.3. Epígrafes, tablas y gráficos

Los epígrafes del cuerpo del artículo se numerarán en arábigo. Irán sin caja completa de mayús-culas, ni subrayados, ni negritas. La numeración ha de ser como máximo de tres niveles: 1. / 1.1. / 1.1.1. Al final de cada epígrafe numerado se establecerá un retorno de carro.

Las tablas deben presentarse incluidas en el texto en formato Word según orden de aparición, numeradas en arábigo y subtituladas con la descripción del contenido.

Los gráficos o figuras se ajustarán al número mínimo necesario y se presentarán incorporadas al texto, según su orden de aparición, numeradas en arábigo y subtituladas con la descripción abreviada. Su calidad no debe ser inferior a 300 ppp, pudiendo ser necesario contar con el gráfico en formato TIFF, PNG o JPEG.

4. Proceso de envío

Deben remitirse a través del sistema OJS de la revista dos archivos:

1) Presentación y portada, en la que aparecerá el título en español e inglés, nombres y apellidos de los autores de forma estandarizada con número de ORCID, resumen, abstract, descriptores y keywords y una declaración de que el manuscrito se trata de una aportación original, no enviada ni en proceso de evaluación en otra revista, confirmación de las autorías firmantes, aceptación (si procede) de cambios formales en el manuscrito conforme a las normas y cesión parcial de derechos a la editorial (usar modelo oficial de portada).

2) Manuscrito totalmente anonimizado, conforme a las normas referidas en precedencia.

Todos los autores han de darse de alta, con sus créditos, en la plataforma OJS, si bien uno solo de ellos será el responsable de correspondencia. Ningún autor podrá enviar o tener en revisión dos manuscritos de forma simultánea, estimándose una carencia de cuatro números consecutivos (2 años).

GUIDELINES FOR EXTERNAL
REVIEWERS OF «UNIVERSITAS»

The **Council of External Reviewers of «Universitas»** is an independent collegiate body whose purpose is to guarantee the excellence of this scientific publication, because the blind evaluation - based exclusively on the quality of the contents of the manuscripts and carried out by experts of recognized International prestige in the field - is, without a doubt, the best guarantee for the advancement of science and to preserve in this header an original and valuable scientific production.

To this end, the **Council of External Reviewers** is made up of several scholars and international scientists specialized in **Education,** essential to select the articles of the greatest impact and interest for the international scientific community. This in turn allows that all the articles selected to publish in **«Universitas»** have an academic endorsement and objectifiable reports on the originals.

Of course, all reviews in **«Universitas»** use the internationally standardized system of double-blind peer evaluation that guarantees the anonymity of manuscripts and reviewers. As a measure of transparency, the complete lists of reviewers are published on the official website of the journal (www.http://Universitas.ups.edu.ec/) los listados completos de los revisores.

1. Criteria for acceptance/rejection of manuscript evaluation

The editorial team of «Universitas» selects those that are considered more qualified in the subject of the manuscript from the list of reviewers of the Council of Reviewers. While the publication requires the maximum collaboration of reviewers to expedite the evaluations and reports on each original, acceptance of the review must be linked to:

a. **Expertise.** Acceptance necessarily entails the possession of competences in the specific theme of the article to be evaluated.
b. **Availability.** Reviewing an original takes time and involves careful reflection on many aspects.

c.   **Conflict of interests.** In case of identification of the authorship of the manuscript (despite their anonymity), excessive academic or family closeness to their authors, membership in the same University, Department, Research Group, Thematic Network, Research Projects, joint publications with authors ... or any other type of connection or conflict / professional proximity; The reviewer must reject the publisher's invitation for review.

d.   **Commitment of confidentiality.** Reception of a manuscript for evaluation requires the Reviewer to express a commitment of confidentiality, so that it cannot be divulged to a third party throughout the process.

In the event that the reviewer cannot carry out the activity for some of these reasons or other justifiable reasons, he/she must notify the publisher by the same route that he/she has received the invitation, specifying the reasons for rejection.

2. General criteria for the evaluation of manuscripts

a) Topic

In addition to being valuable and relevant to the scientific community, the topic that is presented in the original must be limited and specialized in time and space, without excessive localism.

b) Redaction

The critical assessment in the review report must be objectively written, providing content, quotes or references of interest to support its judgment.

c) Originality

As a fundamental criterion of quality, an article must be original, unpublished and suitable. In this sense, reviewers should answer these three questions in the evaluation:

•   Is the article sufficiently novel and interesting to justify publication?
•   Does it contribute anything to the knowledge canon?
•   Is the research question relevant?

A quick literature search using repositories such as Web of Knowledge, Scopus and Google Scholar to see if the research has been previously covered, may be helpful.

d) Structure

Manuscripts that refer to «Universitas» must follow the IMRDC structure, except those that are literature reviews or specific studies. In this sense, the originals must contain summary, introduction, methodology, results, discussion and conclusion.

- The ***title, abstract, and keywords*** should accurately describe the content of the article.
- The ***review of the literature*** should summarize the state of the question of the most recent and adequate research for the presented work. It will be especially evaluated with criteria of suitability and that the references are to works of high impact - especially in WoS, Scopus, Scielo, etc. It should also include the general explanation of the study, its central objective and the followed methodological design.
- In case of research, in the ***materials and methods,*** the author must specify how the data, the process and the instruments used to respond to the hypothesis, the validation system, and all the information necessary to replicate the study are collected.
- ***Results*** must be clearly specified in logical sequence. It is important to check if the figures or charts presented are necessary or, if not, redundant with the content of the text.
- In the ***discussion,*** the data obtained should be interpreted in the light of the literature review. Authors should include here if their article supports or contradicts previous theories. The conclusions will summarize the advances that the research presents in the area of scientific knowledge, the future lines of research and the main difficulties or limitations for carrying out the research.
- ***Language:*** It will be positively assessed if the language used facilitates reading and is in favor of the clarity, simplicity, precision and transparency of the scientific language. The Reviewer should not proceed to correction, either in Spanish or English, but will inform the Editors of these grammatical or orthographical and typographical errors.

- Finally, a thorough **review of the references** is required in case any relevant work has been omitted. The references must be precise, citing within the logic of the subject at study, its main works as well as the documents that most resemble the work itself, as well as the latest research in the area.

3. Relevant valuation dimensions

«Universitas» uses an evaluation matrix of each original that responds to the editorial criteria and to compliance with the publication normative. In this sense, the reviewers must attend to the qualitative-quantitative assessment of each of the aspects proposed in this matrix with criteria of objectivity, reasoning, logic and expertise.

RESEARCHES	
Valuable items	P.
01. Title and abstract (clarity and structure)	0/5
02. Thematic relevance 03. Originality of the work 04. Review of the literature	0/10
05. Structure and organization of the article 06. Argumentative capabilities 07. Redaction	0/10
08. Methodological rigor 09. Research instruments	0/10
10. Research results 11. Advances 12. Discussion 13. Conclusions	0/10
14. Quotations (variety and richness) 15. References	0/5
Total	50

If the original is a review of the literature (status of the subject) or other type of study (reports, proposals, experiences, among others), the Editorial

Board will send to the reviewers a different matrix, including the characteristics of Structure of this type of originals:

REPORTS, STUDIES, PROPOSALS, REVIEWS	
Valuable items	**P.**
01. Title and abstract (clarity and structure)	0/5
02. Thematic relevance	0/10
03. Review of the literature	0/10
04. Structure and organization of the article 05. Argumentative capabilities and coherence 06. Scientific redaction	0/10
07. original contributions 08. Conclusions	0/10
09. Quotations 10. References	0/5
Total	50

4. Ethical Considerations

a) Plagiarism: Although the journal uses plagiarism detection systems, if the reviewer suspects that an original is a substantial copy of another work, he must immediately inform the Editors citing the previous work in as much detail as possible.

b) Fraud: If there is real or remote suspicion that the results in an article are false or fraudulent, it is necessary to inform them to the Editors.

5. Evaluation of the originals

After the quantitative-qualitative evaluation of the manuscript under review, the reviewer may make recommendations to improve the quality of the manuscript. However, the manuscript will be graded in three ways:

a. **Acceptance without review**
b. **Conditional acceptance** and therefore review (greater or lesser). In the latter case, it is necessary to clearly identify which review is necessary, listing the comments and even specifying paragraphs and pages suggesting modifications.
c. **Rejection** due to detected deficiencies justified and reasoned with quantitative and quantitative assessment. The report should be longer if a score of less than 40 of the 50 possible points is obtained.

INDICADORES PARA REVISORES EXTERNOS DE «UNIVERSITAS»

El C**onsejo de Revisores Externos de «Universitas»** es un órgano colegiado independiente cuyo fin es garantizar la excelencia de esta publicación científica, debido a que la evaluación ciega –basada exclusivamente en la calidad de los contenidos de los manuscritos y realizada por expertos de reconocido prestigio internacional en la materia– es la mejor garantía y, sin duda, el mejor aval para el avance de la ciencia y para preservar en esta cabecera una producción científica original y valiosa.

Para ello, el **Consejo de Revisores Externos** está conformado por diversos académicos y científicos internacionales especialistas en **Ciencias Sociales,** esenciales para seleccionar los artículos de mayor impacto e interés para la comunidad científica internacional. Esto permite a su vez que todos los artículos seleccionados para publicar en **«Universitas»** cuenten con un aval académico e informes objetivables sobre los originales.

Por supuesto, todas las revisiones en **«Universitas»** emplean el sistema estandarizado internacionalmente de evaluación por pares con «doble ciego» (doble-blind) que garantiza el anonimato de los manuscritos y de los revisores de los mismos. Como medida de transparencia, anualmente se hacen públicos en la web oficial de la revista (www. http://Universitas.ups.edu.ec/) los listados completos de los revisores.

1. Criterios de aceptación/rechazo de evaluación manuscritos

El equipo editorial de **«Universitas»** selecciona del listado de revisores del Consejo de Revisores a aquellos que se estiman más cualificado en la temática del manuscrito. Si bien por parte de la publicación se pide la máxima colaboración de los revisores para agilizar las evaluaciones y los informes sobre cada original, la aceptación de la revisión ha de estar vinculada a:

a. **Experticia.** La aceptación conlleva necesariamente la posesión de competencias en la temática concreta del artículo a evaluar.
b. **Disponibilidad.** Revisar un original exige tiempo y conlleva reflexión concienzuda de muchos aspectos.

c. **Conflicto de intereses.** En caso de identificación de la autoría del manuscrito (a pesar de su anonimato), excesiva cercanía académica o familiar a sus autores, pertenencia a la misma Universidad, Departamento, Grupo de Investigación, Red Temática, Proyectos de Investigación, publicaciones conjuntas con los autores… o cualquier otro tipo de conexión o conflicto/cercanía profesional; el revisor debe rechazar la invitación del editor para su revisión.

d. **Compromiso de confidencialidad.** La recepción de un manuscrito para su evaluación exige del Revisor un compromiso expreso de confidencialidad, de manera que éste no puede, durante todo el proceso, ser divulgado a un tercero.

En caso que el revisor no pueda llevar a cabo la actividad por algunos de estos motivos u otros justificables, debe notificarlo al editor por la misma vía que ha recibido la invitación, especificando los motivos de rechazo.

2. Criterios generales de evaluación de manuscritos

a) Tema

La temática que se plantea en el original, además de ser valiosa y relevante para la comunidad científica, ha de ser limitada y especializada en tiempo y espacio, sin llegar al excesivo localismo.

b) Redacción

La valoración crítica en el informe de revisión ha de estar redactada de forma objetiva, aportando contenido, citas o referencias de interés para argumentar su juicio.

c) Originalidad

Como criterio de calidad fundamental, un artículo debe ser original, inédito e idóneo. En este sentido, los revisores deben responder a estas tres preguntas en la evaluación:

• ¿Es el artículo suficientemente novedoso e interesante para justificar su publicación?

- ¿Aporta algo al canon del conocimiento?
- ¿Es relevante la pregunta de investigación?

Una búsqueda rápida de literatura utilizando repositorios tales como Web of Knowledge, Scopus y Google Scholar para ver si la investigación ha sido cubierta previamente puede ser de utilidad.

d) Estructura

Los manuscritos que se remiten a **«Universitas»** deben seguir obligatoriamente la estructura IMRyD, excepto aquellos que sean revisiones de la literatura o estudios específicos. En este sentido, los originales han de contener resumen, introducción, metodología, resultados, discusión y conclusión.

- El ***título, el resumen y las palabras clave*** han de describir exactamente el contenido del artículo.
- La ***revisión de la literatura*** debe resumir el estado de la cuestión de las investigaciones más recientes y adecuadas para el trabajo presentado. Se valorará especialmente con criterios de idoneidad y que las referencias sean a trabajos de alto impacto –especialmente en WoS, Scopus, Scielo, etc. Debe incluir además la explicación general del estudio, su objetivo central y el diseño metodológico seguido.
- En caso de investigaciones, en los ***materiales y métodos,*** el autor debe precisar cómo se recopilan los datos, el proceso y los instrumentos usados para responder a las hipótesis, el sistema de validación, y toda la información necesaria para replicar el estudio.
- En los ***resultados*** se deben especificar claramente los hallazgos en secuencia lógica. Es importante revisar si las tablas o cuadros presentados son necesarios o, caso contrario, redundantes con el contenido del texto.
- En la ***discusión*** se deben interpretar los datos obtenidos a la luz de la revisión de la literatura. Los autores deberán incluir aquí si su artículo apoya o contradice las teorías previas. Las ***conclusiones*** resumirán los avances que la investigación plantea en el área del conocimiento científico, las futuras líneas de investigación y las principales dificultades o limitaciones para la realización de la investigación.
- ***Idioma:*** Se valorará positivamente si el idioma utilizado facilita la lectura y va en favor de la claridad, sencillez, precisión y transpa-

rencia del lenguaje científico. El Revisor no debe proceder a corrección, ya sea en español o inglés, sino que informará a los Editores de estos errores gramaticales u ortotipográficos.

• Finalmente, se requiere una profunda ***revisión de las referencias*** por si se hubiera omitido alguna obra relevante. Las referencias han de ser precisas, citando en la lógica de la temática a estudiar, sus principales obras así como los documentos que más se asemejen al propio trabajo, así como las últimas investigaciones en el área.

3. Dimensiones relevantes de valoración

«Universitas» utiliza una matriz de evaluación de cada original que responde a los criterios editoriales y al cumplimiento de la normativa de la publicación. En este sentido los revisores deberán atender a la valoración cuali-cuantitativa de cada uno de los aspectos propuestos en esta matriz con criterios de objetividad, razonamiento, lógica y experticia.

INVESTIGACIONES	
Ítems valorables	**P.**
01. Título y resumen (claridad y estructura)	0/5
02. Relevancia de la temática 03. Originalidad del trabajo 04. Revisión de la literatura	0/10
05. Estructura y organización artículo 06. Capacidad argumental 07. Redacción	0/10
08. Rigor metodológico 09. Instrumentos de investigación	0/10
10. Resultados de investigación 11. Avances 12. Discusión 13. Conclusiones	0/10
14. Citaciones (variedad y riqueza) 15. Referencias	0/5
Total máximo	50

En caso de tratarse el original de una revisión de la literatura (estado de la cuestión) u otro tipo de estudio (informes, propuestas, experiencias, entre otras), el Consejo Editorial remitirá a los revisores una matriz distinta, comprendiendo las características propias de estructura de este tipo de originales:

ESTUDIOS, INFORMES, PROPUESTAS, EXPERIENCIAS	
Ítems valorables	**P.**
01. Título y resumen (claridad y estructura)	0/5
02. Relevancia de la temática	0/10
03. Revisión de la literatura	0/10
04. Estructura y organización artículo 05. Capacidad argumental y coherencia 06. Redacción científica	0/10
07. Aportaciones originales 08. Conclusiones	0/10
09. Citaciones 10. Referencias	0/5
Total máximo	50

4. Cuestiones éticas

a) Plagio: Aunque la revista utiliza sistemas de detección de plagio, si el revisor sospechare que un original es una copia sustancial de otra obra, ha de informar de inmediato a los Editores citando la obra anterior con tanto detalle cómo le sea posible.

b) Fraude: Si hay sospecha real o remota de que los resultados en un artículo son falsos o fraudulentos, es necesario informar de ellos a los Editores.

5. Evaluación de los originales

Una vez realizada la evaluación cuanti-cualitativa del manuscrito en revisión, el revisor podrá realizar recomendaciones para mejorar la calidad

del original. Sin embargo, se atenderá a la calificación del manuscrito de tres maneras:

a. Rechazo debido a las deficiencias detectadas, justificadas y razonadas con valoración cualitativa y cuantitativa. El informe ha de ser más extenso si obtiene menos de los 30 de los 50 puntos posibles.
b. Aceptación sin revisión.
c. Aceptación condicionada y por ende con revisión (mayor o menor). En este último caso, se ha de identificar claramente qué revisión es necesaria, enumerando los comentarios e incluso especificando párrafos y páginas en las que sugieren modificaciones.

PROTOCOL OF MANUSCRIPT EVALUATION FOR EXTERNAL REVIEWERS

Article Details		
Date of submission for evaluation:	Date of return of evaluation:	Article code: xxxx
Title of the article to be evaluated:		
SECCIÓN: INFORMES, ESTUDIOS, PROPUESTAS Y EXPERIENCIAS		
01. Title and abstract (clarity and structure)	Mandatory comments:	
		Value 0 to 5
02. Thematic relevance	Mandatory comments:	
		Value 0 to 5
03. Review of the literature	Mandatory comments:	
		Value 0 to 5
4. Structure and organization of the article 5. Argumentative capabilities and coherence 6. Scientific redaction	Mandatory comments:	
		Value 0 to 5
7. Original contributions 8. Conclusions	Mandatory comments:	
		Value 0 to 5
9. Quotations 10. References	Mandatory comments:	
		Value 0 to 5
SOCORE	Of the total of 50 foreseeable points, this evaluator grants:	

REDACTED OPINION (More detailed if the work does not get 40 points, to inform the author(s) This text is sent verbatim to the author (s) anonymously.							
WORTH PUBLISHING		No			Yes		Yes, with minor changes
PROPOSED CHANGES (In case of "Yes, with conditions")							

PROTOCOLO DE EVALUACIÓN
DE MANUSCRITOS PARA REVISORES EXTERNOS

Datos del artículo		
Fecha envío evaluación:	Fecha devolución evaluación:	Código artículo: xxxx
Título del artículo a evaluar:		
SECCIÓN: ESTUDIOS, PROPUESTAS, INFORMES Y REVISIONES		
01. Título y resumen (claridad y estructura)	Comentarios obligatorios:	
		Valore de 0 a 5
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Minimum 210 and maximum 230 words. It must include 1) Justification of the topic; 2) Objectives; 3) Methodology and sample; 4) Main results; 5) Main conclusions. It must be impersonally written "The present paper analyzes ..."

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Cover Letter

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Having read the regulations of the journal «Universitas» and analyzed its coverage, thematic area and approach, I consider that this journal is the ideal one for the dissemination of the work that I hereby attach, for which I beg you to be submitted for consideration for publication. The original has the following title "_____", whose authorship corresponds to _____ _____.

The authors (s) certify that this work has not been published, nor is it under consideration for publication in any other journal or editorial work.

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Resumen

Mínimo 210 y máximo 230 palabras. Debe incluir 1) Justificación del tema; 2) Objetivos; 3) Metodología y muestra; 4) Principales resultados; 5) Principales conclusiones. Ha de estar escrito de manera impersonal "El presente trabajo analiza…"

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*Mínimo 210 y m*áximo 230 palabras *cursiva. Debe incluir 1) Justificación del tema; 2) Objetivos; 3) Metodología y muestra; 4) Principales resultados; 5) Principales conclusiones. Ha de estar escrito de manera impersonal "El presente trabajo analiza…" No utilizar sistemas de traducción automáticos.*

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Cover Letter

Sr. Editor de «Universitas»

Leída la normativa de la revista «Universitas» y analizada su cobertura, área temática y enfoque, considero que esta revista es la idónea para la difusión del trabajo que le adjunto, por lo que le ruego sea sometida a la consideración para su publicación. El original lleva por título "_____ _____", cuya autoría corresponde a _____ _____.

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Call for papers for the Dossier
"Governance of the Territory and its Heritage"

No. 33. September 2020-February 2021

Coordinators

PhD. Gabriela García (Ecuador)
PhD. Mónica Lacarreu (Argentina)
PhD. Marc Craps (Belgium)

This dossier seeks to reflect on governance as a complex socio-political practice. Of particular interest are those experiences that emerge from below, based on critiques of the exclusionary and disjointed functioning of the state and private sectors, to achieve the consolidation of more participatory and inclusive processes, that is, a Participatory Governance. This governance is understood as those institutional decision-making structures supported by responsibilities and rights shared between various actors. But, in addition, in this dossier, we bet for an enriched understanding to face the crisis of the "models", to highlight the particularities that could result from a mutually conditioned relationship between culture and governance.

There are many contributions on governance. Our proposal is identified with participatory processes that prioritize the common good, public welfare and, above all, the capacity of heritage as a trigger for participatory processes around its preservation and future management. In that perspective, it is a new vision of network government not reduced to the state exercise, nor to the hegemonic dominance from the private sphere (Nef, 1992). Therefore, it is essential to inquire about the principles that support the participation of citizens in decision-making, as well as the spaces that foster interaction and reciprocity to generate favorable conditions for the promotion of territorial trust as an axis of participatory governance (Pares, 2009).

In response to the current challenges for cultural heritage, which we define as meanings and relevant symbologies for generating social identity processes (Prats, 2004), more and more attention has been given to the study of the design and implementation of participatory initiatives to improve conservation practices in the cultural field during the last decades. However, one of the main challenges has been the articulation of these participatory management experiences with participatory governance structures.

Based on the need to open a field of reflection on the aforementioned questions, this dossier collects and submits the contributions presented for the international conference "The future of the past" to the usual Universitas review process, During the event, expositors mainly from the European and Latin American regions met. This conference promoted by the University of Cuenca through the research team called World Heritage City which had the academic support of a scientific committee of 25 renowned experts from countries such as the United States, Holland, Belgium, Italy, France, Spain, Ecuador, Argentina, and Uruguay. In the contributions to be sent, it is desirable to include experiences and reflections of work with the political and administrative representatives of local institutions, including academic actors, and citizens, where the inhabitants, holders of cultural manifestations and goods, are part of an epistemic dialogue in which their arguments are considered in the same way as that of other actors. This horizontal interaction enriches the debate, showing a new face for theorizing around cultural heritage.

In this sense, the contributions of different territories and cultures will allow answering the following questions: Could cultural heritage contribute to addressing the challenges posed by participatory governance? What is the contribution of cultural heritage in co-management processes for participatory governance? What are the mechanisms and instruments used for the participatory management of cultural heritage? among others.

Therefore, we propose the following topic to be addressed:

- Topic 1: Cultural heritage as a source of inspiration for new participatory management approaches.
- Topic 2: Participatory management of public and private tenure of cultural heritage
- Topic 3: Lessons from territorial participatory management for the effectiveness of participatory governance systems in the field of cultural heritage.

The deadline for submitting articles through the journal 's OJS is April 15, **2020**

Publication guidelines are available here.

If you are interested in coordinating a call for papers, please complete the following document.

Convocatoria del Dossier
"Gobernanza del territorio y sus patrimonios"

No. 33. Septiembre 2020-Febrero 2021

Coordinadores

Dra. Gabriela García, Universidad de Cuenca, Ecuador.
Dra. Mónica Lacarreu, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.
Dr. Marc Craps, KU Leuven, Bélgica

El presente dossier busca reflexionar en torno a la gobernanza como práctica sociopolítica compleja. Despiertan particular interés aquellas experiencias que emergen desde abajo, con base en críticas al funcionamiento excluyente y desarticulado de los sectores estatales y privados, para alcanzar la consolidación de procesos más participativos e incluyentes, es decir una Gobernanza Participativa. Esta gobernanza es entendida como aquellas estructuras institucionales de toma de decisiones apoyadas por responsabilidades y derechos compartidos entre diversos actores. Pero, además en este dossier se apuesta por un enriquecido entendimiento que demanda la crisis de los "modelos", para destacar las particularidades que podrían resultar desde una relación mutuamente condicionada entre cultura y gobernanza.

Existen muchas contribuciones sobre gobernanza. Nuestra propuesta se identifica con procesos participativos que priorizan el bien común, el bienestar público y sobre todo la capacidad de legado del patrimonio como medio detonador de procesos participativos alrededor de su preservación y gestión futura. En esa perspectiva, es una nueva visión de gobierno red no reducida al ejercicio estatal, como tampoco al predominio hegemónico desde lo privado (Nef, 1992). Por ello, es fundamental indagar sobre los principios que vertebran la participación de la ciudadanía en la toma de decisiones, así como los espacios que fomenten la interacción y reciprocidad, con el objetivo de generar las condiciones favorables para el fomento de la confianza territorial como eje vertebrador de una gobernanza participativa (Pares, 2009).

En respuesta a los actuales desafíos para el patrimonio cultural, que lo definimos como significados y simbologías de relevancia para procesos generadores identidad social de los pueblos (Prats, 2004), se ha prestado cada vez más atención al estudio del diseño e implementación de iniciativas participativas para mejorar las prácticas de conservación en el campo cultural

durante las últimas décadas. Sin embargo, uno de los principales desafíos ha sido articular esas experiencias de gestión participativa con las estructuras de gobernanza participativa.

Con base en la necesidad de abrir un campo de reflexión sobre las interrogantes mencionadas, el presente dossier recoge contribuciones presentadas para la conferencia internacional "El futuro del pasado", donde se dieron cita expositores principalmente de la región europea y latinoamericana. Esta conferencia impulsada por la Universidad de Cuenca a través del equipo de investigación denominado Ciudad Patrimonio Mundial cuenta con el respaldo académico de un comité científico de 25 expertos de reconocido prestigio, de países como Estados Unidos, Holanda, Bélgica, Italia, Francia, España, Ecuador, Argentina, y Uruguay. Incluye también las reflexiones de un trabajo conjunto con los representantes políticos y administrativos de las instituciones locales, incluidos los actores académicos, ciudadanos, donde los habitantes, detentores de manifestaciones y bienes culturales forman parte de un diálogo epistémico en el que sus argumentaciones son consideradas de igual manera a la de otros actores. Esta interacción horizontal enriquece el debate, mostrando una nueva cara para la teorización y agenciamiento del patrimonio cultural.

Ente sentido, las contribuciones de diversos territorios, y culturas permitirán poner a la luz respuestas a las siguientes interrogantes: ¿Podría el patrimonio cultural contribuir a hacer frente a los desafíos que plantea la gobernanza participativa?, ¿Cuál es la contribución del patrimonio cultural en los procesos de co gestión para la gobernanza participativa? ¿Cuáles son los mecanismos e instrumentos utilizados para la gestión participativa del patrimonio cultural?, entre otras.

Por lo tanto, se propone abordar las siguientes temáticas:

- Temática 1: El patrimonio cultural como fuente de inspiración para nuevos enfoques de gestión participativa
- Temática 2: Gestión participativa del patrimonio cultural de tenencia público y privado
- Temática 3: Lecciones desde la gestión participativa territorial para la efectividad de los sistemas degobernanza participativa en el ámbito del patrimonio cultural.

La fecha límite para el envío de artículos a través del OJS de la revista es el 15 de abril de 2020