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Evolution of the Notion of Citizenship in Latin America and Effect in Argentina

Pérez Gamón Carolina Margarita

Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, Argentina

Corresponding Author: Pérez Gamón Carolina Margarita

Abstract

With this research we aspire to critically reconstruct the concept of citizenship, taking into account the new actors and the changes in thinking. Our objective is to determine and recognize how these changes have been achieved in Latin America and what echo it has in Argentina. For this, we will consider the concept of social citizenship in order to develop a look at the social bases that must be built for democracy, which will guide us to a debate on citizenship and indigenous rights. It draws attention that, at least in some nations in the region, new social and political forces are challenging the established ways of "doing politics", and

suggests reexamining the political class and systems to ensure citizen inclusion. The methodology that we apply in this work is based on a review of different theoretical approaches related to citizenship that we compare with the main ongoing debates. We show that, consequently, the efforts of groups considered to be minority become more visible in the public sphere. In conclusion, citizenship is a topic of great interest for contemporary reflections in the social and human sciences. Its renewed importance is due, among other things, to a plurality of political, economic and social changes present in the region.

Keywords: Politics, Citizenship, Region, Democracy

Introduction

"...However, I never tried to become a Latin Americanist, nor did I see myself as one. As much as for the biologist Darwin, for me, as a historian, the revelation of Latin America was not of a regional character but of a general nature. It was a laboratory of historical change, mostly different from what might have been expected, a continent made to undermine conventional truths. It was a region where historical evolution took place at great speed and it took half a person's life to observe it..."¹ Hobsbawm Eric

In current times where societies are increasingly open, we can observe the changes that were taking place in the concept of citizenship. In this work we were critically reconstructing this notion taking into account the changes that were taking place in the ideas and in the emerging configurations considering the role of the social actors and the context. Our purpose is to reflect and identify how this materializes in Latin America and Argentina, in light of specific situations. We will take into account two preliminary studies "*Citizenship Metamorphosis And Emerging Configurations*"² which we presented at the International Congress Africa Libya, and "*Latin America Citizenship and Emerging Configurations*"³ presented at the Latin American International Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities-IV. We wonder if the current concept of citizenship

¹ Hobsbawm Eric. *Sobre America Latina. Viva la Revolución*. Editorial Crítica, Argentina, 2018, p. 472

² Perez Gamon Carolina, *Citizenship Metamorphosis and Emerging Configurations*, Proceedings Book 6th International African Conference on Current Studies in Contemporary Sciences February 10-11, 2023 Tripoli, Libya ISBN - 978-625-8254-13-6, Editor: Prof. Dr. Atiya Abuharris, Institute Of Economic Development And Social Researches Publications (The Licence Number of Publicator: 2014/31220) Turkey disponible en https://www.africansummit.org/_files/ugd/614b1f_09e71f96b94b48b796704727fcae0c0f.pdf

³ Perez Gamon Carolina, M. "*Latinoamérica ciudadanía y configuraciones emergentes*" 4th International Latin American Congress on Social Sciences & Humanities (Rio de Janeiro Brasil) All rights of this book belong to IKSAD Publishing House Authors are responsible both ethically and juridically IKSAD Publications - 2023© Issued: 25.03.2023, ISBN: 978-625-367-020-7, <https://www.iksadamerica.org/books>.

responds to the political demands of a globalized world, taking into account the debates that take place around citizenship and indigenous rights, thus promoting the strengthening of our own democracy.

To do this, we will take into account the concept of citizenship by engaging in a dialogue with the following authors: Thomas Marshall, "Citizenship and social class", Chantal Mouffe "Feminism, citizenship and radical democratic politics" and Paryha Chatterjee, "The politics of the governed". To then visualize some general background on the situation of indigenous peoples in Latin America and Argentina. It is not an exhaustive study on the history of these, but understanding the current situation of ethnic groups and an initial step in this very current issue. The historian and sociologist Thomas Marshall reflects on the way in which the status of citizenship was established in relation to the institutions of capitalism. Concerned about the problem of inequality, he postulates the concept of social citizenship to account for the social bases that must be built to guarantee democracy. Thus, we observe a sequence of changes that oscillates between two poles: on the one hand, an interruption in the process of construction of social citizenship that particularly affects sectors excluded from the system or close to its fall, and on the other, an expansion in the field of social rights for those sectors included, that is, those who managed to incorporate themselves into the new scenario of social welfare - generated by the market - benefiting from the new rules of the game"... *I will suggest that in our current society it is assumed that the two continue to be compatible, so much so that, in a way, the citizenry itself has become the architect of legitimate social inequality...*"⁴.

The article tries to show how citizenship and other forces outside of it have altered the model of social inequality. These consequences are important, and the inequalities that citizenship has allowed, and even shaped, may no longer constitute class distinctions in the sense in which the term was used for societies of the past. The exercise of citizenship rights supposes the recognition of a certain community belonging through which the individual develops and determines himself. At the same time, the process of change that is taking place in this century around the expansion of citizenship, is projected to new dimensions of social positioning, which recognizes its starting point in social rights and advances towards the consolidation of new rights that they operate in a complementary way to guarantee a status of citizen according to the demands of the time. It exposes the idea of an active citizenship, which not only refers to belonging to a State as an organization, but also to the status that is defined by the rights and duties of citizens.

For her part, Chantal Mouffe, presents the vision of the radical democratic conception of citizenship and states that "...*The problems with the liberal conception of citizenship are not only those that have to do with women, and feminists committed to a project of radical and plural democracy should deal with all of them...*"⁵. In liberalism, civic

activity, public responsibility, and political participation in the society of equals are foreign. The public/private distinction therefore acted as a principle of exclusion. Feminists can contribute to politics by reflecting on the conditions for creating effective equality for women. Although what should be tried to show is how this form opens better possibilities for a clear understanding of the multiple forms of subordination of women, instead of insisting on demonstrating that the essence of feminism is represented in a given form of feminist discourse.

Partha Chatterjee, the Indian political scientist and anthropologist, exposes his vision of the political participation of governed populations in societies with precarious citizenships, for the author "...*modernity develops in times and heterogeneous imaginaries, which imply that cultural difference and, if it is the case, the ancestry of the ethnic populations that embody it is not the exteriority of modernity but another of its products (...) a good part of the people in the world participate unequally in the great narratives of the nation-state...*"⁶. Through examples, he describes the value of freedom, equality and the idea of citizenship in different societies. In Neoliberalism, public resources are reduced, the political spaces that guaranteed the access of the excluded social classes to citizen rights.

The dynamics of the social conflict in the first half of the 1990s had a part of trade unionism as the main actor, however, it is also true that in the face of the new social issue with unemployment installed as a central problem for broad layers of the population and the no response from the unions, the spaces of resistance began to diversify and organize. The movement of unemployed workers, or piquetero movement, was born in the neighborhoods. This name was initially coined by the national press to refer to the inhabitants who blocked routes in the mid-nineties. This new movement had its first externalization in the provinces with Neuquén and Salta where the first unemployed commissions were formed, which had affected towns in the area, due to the privatization of the national oil company (YPF), the workers were excluded from production and access to salaried work, the piquetero movement brought together multiple sectors, industrial workers who had lost their jobs due to the closure of industrial plants, those laid off due to the privatization of public companies, young women who could not enter the job market and impoverished neighborhoods. The government echoed the protest and thus achieved some achievements such as the reconnection of electricity and gas to the unemployed. In those first protest actions, the "picket" was redefined as a repertoire of action capable of obtaining notable visibility and summoning different social sectors in pursuit of certain unifying demands⁷.

⁴ Marsall Thomas, Ciudadanía y clase social, Reis 79/97 297-344 (traducción Ma. Teresa Casado y Francisco J. Noya Miranda) p.302

⁵ Chantal Mouffe, Feminismo, ciudadanía y política democrática radical, Feminists Theorize the Political, ed. Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, Routledge, 1992. p.14

⁶ Paryha Chatterjee, La política de los gobernados, Revista Colombiana de Antropología, vol. 47, núm. 2, julio-diciembre, 2011, p.200.

⁷ Gallego Marisa. Eggers-Brass, Gil Lozano Fernanda. *Historia Latinoamericana 1700-2005*, Sociedades, culturas, procesos políticos y económicos. Ituzaingó Buenos Aires Argentina editorial Maipue 2006 pp.485-487



Image 1: "Piquetero movement"⁸

Janaina Stronzake and Beatriz Casado refer to the Landless in Brazil. In 1984 the Movement was developing democratic and participatory forms with horizontal organic functioning, they met to fight for land, for agrarian reform and for social transformation. They went through moments of repression and cooptation attempts, the MST is organized in almost all the states of Brazil, it develops training, education, production tasks, collaborates with the media, it is a conscious and organized social movement when it comes to making claims"... *The Landless Movement is one of the only movements – if not the only one – that unites in its action the struggles for dignity and citizenship in Brazil. Its action is all focused on a single concern, on a single axis: promoting the real and fair division of income in the country that has the most unfair distribution system in the world (...) its greatest importance lies in the fact of incorporating and materializing all the previous experiences, and that this unjust system that dominates our country has been trying, over the years, to erase from our memory...*"⁹.

For Bello Álvaro, in Mexico, indigenismo had its greatest expression and originated as a State policy, while in Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru it had a relative impact and was felt especially in the period from the forties to the mid-1940s.

⁸ See "...La provincia de Salta, en particular el departamento General San Martín, era el epicentro de aquella situación a causa de la privatización de YPF. Desde 1991 comienza un proceso de presión para que los empleados se acojan al sistema de retiro voluntario. Para 1992 la empresa ya se encontraba privatizada y los empleados, en la calle. Aquel cierre impactó de manera muy dura en la zona. Los puestos de trabajo perdidos se calculan en alrededor de 3500 y abarcan diferentes localidades del norte provincial: Campamento Vespucio, General Mosconi, Tartagal, Aguaray, Salvador Mazza, entre otras..." SOUKOYAN Facundo Sinatra. *A 24 años de las puebladas en Tartagal y Mosconi*. Diario Pagina/12 disponible: <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/339212-a-24-anos-de-las-puebladas-en-tartagal-y-mosconi>

⁹ Stronzake Janaina, Casado Beatriz *Movimiento Sin Tierra de Brasil* disponible en <https://fundacionbetiko.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/MST.pdf>

the sixties. The State has become one of the main interlocutors of the indigenous peoples, this relationship began mainly from the 19th century, with the consolidation of the figure of the national State, and narrowed with the indigenous policies of the 20th century and in the XXI century, answers and concrete actions are requested from the figure of the State. Latin America with a centralized State reflects an incipient citizen awareness that seeks channels for participation and inclusion niches from the parameters of cultural diversity and identity. Currently, ethnic groups have become, in several countries, the motor of sectoral demands and social actors that the State itself has taken care to welcome and develop through a specific institutional framework "... *indigenismo is basically a current of opinion favorable to indigenous people, which manifests itself in the position that it wishes to protect said population from the injustices of which it is a victim...*"¹⁰.

In the recent history of Colombia, in 2021 (April 28), a series of mobilizations and massive social protests were carried out in the country, due to tax measures that the government of Iván Duque intended to impose as a consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Ethnic communities and organizations joined the mobilization, reaching different cities such as Bogotá, Cali, Medellín, Pasto, Quibdó, Popayán, using new forms of dialogue and interaction with the population. During the shamans organized care ceremonies and cultural celebrations, popular pots were organized to feed the protesters, women were in charge, and some young indigenous people staged the demolition of statues and symbols of colonialism, and the dispossession of the Colombian people. In the official media, the renewed empathy between indigenous sectors and the general population was recorded as a threat against the "good people" of the cities, justifying the repression of the public forces and urban paramilitaries against the mobilized indigenous people of the cities of Cali, Popayán and Bogotá these attacks continued over time, ignoring the claims of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. In the words of the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC) "...*During this time, the minga proposed to irrigate and fertilize that seed of struggle that was sown here. She did it by accompanying as many points of resistance as possible, to the sound of dance, flutes and drums. Distributing food in marginal neighborhoods, unmasking and applying remedies to civilians and soldiers who infiltrated and vandalized the national strike. Opening humanitarian corridors for the supply of medicines, food and fuel. Teaching what the minga is and the ancestral forms of organization and struggle...*"¹¹.

Taking into account the investigations carried out by Amnesty International in Argentina with the reports of the communities themselves, the study indicates that the claims of the original peoples increased by 74% in the period 2015-2020, almost 60% of these have to do with the recognition of lands in different provinces of the country. What happened with the Mapuche protests in Villa Mascardi once again gave visibility to the issue of the eviction of the

¹⁰ Bello Álvaro *Etnicidad y Ciudadanía en América Latina*, La acción colectiva de los pueblos indígenas Publicación Naciones Unidas Santiago de Chile 2004, pp.42-43-61-69-70-71

¹¹ Iwigia disponible en <https://iwigia.org/es/colombia/4790-mi-2022-colombia.html>

indigenous community that culminated in women and children detained by the security forces in the government of Alberto Fernández. The conflict has grown in recent years due to the increase in activities such as mining, the oil explosion and the sale of land, among other factors. As long as the State does not provide a space for dialogue with indigenous peoples to find solutions to the problems raised, it would be necessary to take into account the Constitution of the Argentine Nation, art 75, paragraph 17, where it says *"Recognize the ethnic and cultural pre-existence of indigenous peoples Argentines. Guarantee respect for their identity and the right to a bilingual and intercultural education; recognize the legal status of their communities, and the community possession and ownership of the lands they traditionally occupy; and regulate the delivery of other suitable and sufficient for human development; None of them will be alienable, transferable or subject to encumbrances or embargoes. Ensure their participation in the management of their natural resources and other interests that affect them. The provinces can concurrently exercise these powers"*¹².

Conclusion

We found in this research that citizenship is a topic of high interest for contemporary reflections in the social and human sciences. Its renewed importance is due, among other things, to a plurality of political and economic events and social changes that have occurred, such as the crisis of modern states, social violence, the emergence of migration and multiculturalism in Latin America.

We contribute from a limited space by giving visibility to "An Active Citizenship", which not only refers to belonging to a State as an organization, but also to the status that is defined by the rights and duties of citizens.

In addition, it is very significant that citizenship, integration and participation are simultaneous forces present in the demands of aboriginal communities through a set of collective activities that constitute, or seek to constitute, a social movement that installs a new cultural project.

On the other hand, the historical contexts, the type of National State and the particular dynamics of the organizations have traced differentiated trajectories in the different territories, while the construction of indigenous citizenship in the region is an issue of growing importance, as well as the issues to be discussed or treated in politics, as well as academic thought.

Taking into account the changes in the region, we are left to ask ourselves: ¿What measures will Democracy in Latin America put into practice to govern the centrifugal tendencies that political systems fail to handle?

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