

Teoria e Prática da Ciência Política

Kelly Cristina Campones
(Organizadora)



Atena
Editora

Ano 2018

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(Organizadora)

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Atena Editora
2018

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Diagramação e Edição de Arte: Geraldo Alves e Natália Sandrini

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Dados Internacionais de Catalogação na Publicação (CIP) (eDOC BRASIL, Belo Horizonte/MG)

T314 Teoria e prática da ciência política / Organizador Kelly Cristina Campones. – Ponta Grossa (PR): Atena Editora, 2018.

Formato: PDF

Requisitos de sistema: Adobe Acrobat Reader

Modo de acesso: World Wide Web

Inclui bibliografia

ISBN 978-85-7247-023-0

DOI 10.22533/at.ed.230182812

1. Ciência política. I. Campones, Kelly Cristina. II. Título.

CDD 320.1

Elaborado por Maurício Amormino Júnior – CRB6/2422

DOI O conteúdo dos artigos e seus dados em sua forma, correção e confiabilidade são de responsabilidade exclusiva dos autores.

2018

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APRESENTAÇÃO

A obra: “Teoria e Prática da Ciência Política” aborda uma série de livros de publicação da Atena Editora que, em seu I volume, apresenta, 19 capítulos os quais possibilitam compreender e contextualizar as teorias políticas, sociais e educacionais que corroboram com campos de estudo tais como: da história, da administração pública, do direito, dos estudos voltados a economia, da educação, entre outros.

Compreende-se que, ampliar os conhecimentos acerca das teorias e práticas políticas possibilita ao leitor ressignificar conceitos e/ou (pré) conceitos existentes e sobretudo, da compreensão da (re) estruturação social abordadas.

Ressalta-se ainda, que o estudo dos autores apontados nesta obra é condição “cinequanon”, diante de um cenário que, envolve toda a luta histórica existente e que, permanece ainda tão conflituosa. Desta forma, os estudos escritos possibilitam a compreensão do funcionamento bem como, da estrutura e organização do Estado e suas múltiplas possibilidades especificamente descritas e compreendidas neste e-book, a partir dos anos de 1981 a 2015.

Ademais, enquanto sujeitos históricos e atuantes da sociedade desenvolver pesquisas voltadas e essa temática preconiza possibilidade de uma atuação “diferenciada” sendo capaz de trazer reflexões críticas pautadas no desenvolvimento político, econômico e social.

Cabe aqui também, agradecer aos autores dos diversos capítulos, pelo esforço e dedicação que implicam subjetivamente um objeto de pesquisa e, que se propuseram a retratar de forma tão ética e cuidadosa os aspectos diversos que compõe a esfera política.

Diante disso, esperamos que este e-book possibilite a incursão e anseio de mais pesquisadores para a escrita de trabalhos que agreguem no campo da: Teoria e Prática a Ciência Política, assim como as que estão estabelecidas nesta obra.

Boa leitura!

Kelly Cristina Campones

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CITIZEN COMMUNICATIVE ECOSYSTEM: CONFIGURATIONS OF THE CITIZENSHIPS OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH. ¹

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“Global South refers to a set of countries, social groups, to those nations that were subjected to the violent forms of oppression, exclusion and exploitation: capitalism, colonialism and patriarchy”.

Bidaseca, Meneses, Santos, 2017, p.2

KEYWORDS:ecosystem, citizenship, democracies, global south citizenships.

SUMMARY: The purpose of this theoretical

proposal is to recognize the elements that are articulated in the ecosystem as a self-formative-formative process of configuration of citizenships, in which socializing institutions, media, ICTs, mediations and transmediations influence and weave in tension between the local-global. The theory is a reference that allows us to delimit an aspect of a social phenomenon on which interest is centered. The discussion about citizenship starts from its traditional western conception to the notions that unfolded as a consequence of the changes of the current society, for example, glocal citizenship. That is why it opens the space to think about the condition and constitution of the citizenship, with its particular project or that is articulated with social groups, collectives, formal and informal organizations that live collective action, collective citizenships; consequently it has tried to establish a distance with the conceptions that reiterate the indifference of citizens, the citizenships without citizens, the weak democracies without democrats; also, it recognizes the conformation of abstensionist, organized or disorganized groups, that do not militate, nor have militated in a political party, or that have deserted (before the atomization and proliferation of parties with hybrid affiliations) or

¹ The contents of this article are based on the presentation “Ecosistema ciudadano: una aproximación teórica. Las ciudadanías y democracias emergentes”, 9° Congreso ALACIP, Montevideo, 2017. Thanks to Vivian Moreno Zelinka, Juris Doctor Vermont Law School 2016 for her guidance and advice and to Alejandro Ferrer Nieto, Anthropology student from the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, for his proofreading.

of those that do not accept labels: right, or left: abstentionist; a sample of ideological fragmentation.

PRESENTATION

At the opening of the International Course on *Thought and situated struggles for a cartography of the South*, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2017) states that “an epistemological and political emancipation project should be based on three orientations: learning that the South exists; learning how to go South; learning from the South and with the South. Knowing from the South and with the South requires producing another political and epistemic orientation “. Those of us who share this perspective intend to guide our studies, research and practices in this regard. In addition, we are challenged by his assertion that “Eurocentric critical theory and left politics have historically been developed in the global North, the most innovative and effective transformative political practices of recent decades have been occurring in the global South.” Therefore, it poses political and epistemic challenges.

The purpose of this theoretical proposal, with projections towards practice, is to recognize the relationships that are established between traditional socializing institutions and emerging ones (media, ICT, physical and virtual social networks) in local-global tension; and that, imbricated, affect the process of configuration of citizenships. The theory constitutes a reference that allows to delimit an aspect of a social phenomenon as a center of interest; here a proposal is presented and argued that aims to articulate, from the school and the university, fragmented projects with common ideals of the different social institutions; and the essential elements - which are interwoven in the constitutive dynamics of collective citizenship - of the citizen communication ecosystem are described.

The discussion about citizenship starts from its traditional conceptions, inherited from the global North to those that unfold as a consequence of the changes in society; global citizenships in tension with the local ones. It opens the space to think about the condition and constitution of the citizen, the transformations of the citizenships of the *global South*; the configuration of local citizenships with regional and global projections; and, the ways of living them as a collective action.

AN ARTICULATING THEORETICAL BET

The general objective of this proposal is to offer the so-called *socializing institutions* - especially the university and the school - a project linked to their IEP, their mission and vision; a space that allows them to recognize the elements that are articulated in the *ecosystem* (natural environment, built, virtual), understand and establish concrete relationships, in a joint task: *the self-formative-formative process of configuration of citizenships*; in which both the traditional socializing institutions and the media, ICT, and virtual social networks affect; in a dynamic of *mediations*, transmediations and

hypermediations; because there, in the ecosystem, in the interaction with the diverse other, is where transactions of power, resistance and subsistence are carried out; in all these dimensions, in local-global tension, the citizenships that we want to make visible are being configured: the *citizens of the global south*, which hybridize with traditional citizenships.

We will observe the (local/regional/global) ecosystem, in a broad sense, according to the temporal spatial situation where the project is located, the conceptions of *State and democracy* that have been built - including the persisting elements of the colonial western heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean; with the contributions of the independence revolutions of the creole elites, the mestizos, indigenous, “blacks of independence” and slaves; the great achievements of the resistance forces of the original ancestral peoples and of the traditional social movements and the new concepts that are experienced and emerge in a country that is part of the region, Colombia, with a *Participatory Democracy* in a *Social State of rights*, instituted and institutionalized through the *Political Constitution of Colombia* of 1991, after a long process that lasted one hundred years under the formal, centralist and representative democracy State of Law; here, in this scenario, are located the educational institutions, schools and universities that train critical citizens. Therefore, the aim is to articulate the particular project of the socializing institutions, with the local, national, regional and global community. And, to establish relationships between private and collective citizenships through the action of diverse groups that seek the solution of social problems.

The discussion on citizenship stems from the traditional notion of social citizenship, rights and duties - inherited from the global North - that has been deployed as a consequence of historical changes, to the notions of emerging, universal, digital, multicultural, global citizenships, of consumption, glocal, etc. Then, the stage opens to think about the condition and constitution of the citizenships of the global south; for this it is urgent to take distance from the modeled, imposed, adapted conceptions and those that reiterate the indifference of the citizens; overcoming perspectives that promulgate the existence of a democracy without citizens, indifferent citizens, apathetic towards the practices and the way of living citizenship. Boaventura Santos de Sousa (2012) affirms that Southern epistemologies place us in the current socio-political context, although it is difficult to define it, that definition depends on our position within the world system: it is not the same to be born and live in Europe, Asia, Africa or America because their realities are completely different; as are the political positions of the subjects, individual or collective; some, close to dominant classes or groups and others, to oppressed classes or groups.

Therefore, it is an alternative proposal that would make visible the different expressions of citizenship; gestated from a counter-hegemonic globalization (Santos, 2011) that gathers the projects or initiatives of the groups, movements of an alternative nature of civil society, which are opposed to the modern civilizational model, in a period of supposed democratization, and try to overcome the social disintegration as a result

of structural policies, global deregulation, the precariousness of work that disperses citizens and the concentration of wealth. A proposal that responds to the commitments and responsibilities that intellectuals of the social sciences have today: to reflect on the exercise of citizenship, as a form of social emancipation, as proposed by Santos (2006), to assume innovation in the science that leads to a science of action, and citizen, identifying the problems of a hierarchical society, organized from small centers towards the semiperiphery and periphery; but, that looks for possibilities of alternative relations between those established poles in the world-wide system.

In this way the center of interest is located in the population groups that structure the experience of collective citizenships, which fight and claim sovereignty, which are identified with the ideals of indigenous peoples, ethnic groups, workers, religious communities, displaced, youth, women, among others; those who fight for the respect of universal rights, and the recognition of other rights that derive from the sovereignty of natural resources, their preservation, and their sustainable use. Emerging struggles of community initiatives, which become local movements faced with translocal powers, hence there are different forms of social emancipation. Thus, it is pertinent to remember that “resistance to oppression is a daily task, carried out by anonymous people, outside the attention and without that resistance the transnational democratic movement is not self-sustaining” (Santos, 2005, p.20).

CITIZENSHIPS: PROCESS AND MEDIATION

In the first instance, I agree with the definition of citizenship as a historical, mobile process, in whose dynamics a citizen subject is constituted (Alguacil, 2002); highlight the convergence with the notion of Joan Keith Fernández (2017): “citizenship is better understood not as a state, but as a process; that is not limited to interaction with the state, on its own, but a variety of social institutions.” Therefore, it requires exercise and citizen action, in tension between the traditional-alternative, local-global, unitary-pluridiverse, consumer-prosumer. This exercise and citizen action are only possible in a space where subjects exchange meanings; direct and give meaning to their actions; that space is none other than the democratic public sphere, as identified by Fleury (2005).

Citizenship is a mediation between the democratic institutions that represent the Social State, it is situated in the social sphere; allows the participation and interaction between State and civil society, between public and private; in its civil and political dimensions, it enables integration, the creation of civil links, social cohesion in the dynamics of power; it promotes the construction of a political community that seeks to overcome the hegemony, domination, coercion that generate processes of exclusion, as well as inclusion from a symbolic dimension, which defines and reproduces rules because it is a community of meanings. Here, it is proposed to think of it from a communicative ecosystem of configuration of citizenships, because this conception

would overcome the neoliberal tendency to: hierarchize the individual, deny the conflict, subjugate the action of the collective subjects; and take on the challenge of promoting the diverse dimensions that make up citizenship: civic, egalitarian, legal, institutional and historical. Fleury (2005) states that in the public dimension the mediation between the State and society is rescued, rights and duties are materialized; this is how the political community is restored and revitalized.

A citizen is configured in the process of socialization in which the city participates (State, government, politics, religion), the family, the school, the media, ICT and the virtual social networks with which it interacts; but in today's society solidarity values have been eroded, the class structure has been altered, greater weight has been given to the professional middle classes that entered the system of service provision that eliminated the presence of collectively organized workers who claimed greater social justice. The emancipatory perspective of the citizenship lost strength when faced to a strong slogan of consumption; thus, the active citizen became a passive consumer, which led to "the current consumerist individualism, expression of the erosion of collective identities" (Fleury, 2005).

The society of consumption, of risk, offers no certainties, is characterized by social, political, economic and cultural transformations; the traditional foundations, which supported the family, the school, the church, the State, gave in to the continuous changes, which are still being experienced. Ulrich Beck (2008), states that it is a global society that is intermingled with the National State, by the multiplicity of social circles, communication networks, market relations and ways of life, which go beyond their territorial borders. Another of its features is mobility, virtuality, which allows large capitals to be transferred to transnational entrepreneurs; a new generation of top executives who worship the stock market, because they discovered the "magic formula" of wealth: capitalism without work and without taxes; the reduction of jobs; the gradual formation to be a real and virtual consumer; globalism as the ideology of the domain of the world market, of liberalism, which displaces political activity; a global society before a horizon characterized by multiplicity and the absence of integrability, which opens up, is produced and preserved in activity and communication. (Beck, 2008).

Consequently, the following critical questions are identified: how to overcome excessive concern for the particular project, how individual citizenships would be articulated with collective ones; how to go from the local to the national character, a matter that would involve the State, the population and the territory. That is why it is necessary to show how initially the media, then ICTs and networks mediated - and still mediate - in the creation of public opinion, which at the same time are part of the process of socialization, of the configuration of citizenships. Political rights and political citizenship would not be exercised effectively without access to information, because "the ability of civil society to provide content for state action through the public sphere is what guarantees democracy and, ultimately, it creates the conditions for the legitimate exercise of power: power as a representation of the values and interests of citizens

expressed through their debate in the public sphere “(Habermas cited by Castells, 2012). Different ways of producing senses, wisdoms, knowledges are experienced; we participate in different social groups, such as family, neighborhood, religious, school, labor, political, sports, community that correspond to the built environment, to the city; simultaneously, it is presumed through the media and its virtual forms, through the social networks through the devices, through the different ways of accessing the network, in a dynamic that induces us to connect and express our opinion, be it iconic or written way; spontaneously, consciously, citizenly. Being citizens of the countries that make up Latin America and the Caribbean - Latin American citizens of the global south -, leads us to take up Garcia Canclini (2002) who claimed that in the middle of the 20th century we belonged to a nation, from which we related to others, it contained the citizenship and was the mediator to interact in other borders; Latin Americans were united in the Spanish and Portuguese languages, but in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay and Guatemala indigenous languages were recognized, while others ignored them. In the schools they taught us a shared history and some felt united by the Catholic religion. Only when we move away from our insular territory do we size it and discover the sister voices (Cortázar cited by García Canclini); also, it is only possible to recognize ourselves as Latin Americans when we travel and live our region; the artists, writers, painters, sculptors lived and expressed it: Pietri, Asturias, Borges, Cortázar, García Márquez, Huidobro wished their countries and valued Latin America (Sommer, cited by García Canclini, 2002).

In these decades others cross the region: migrants, businessmen, students, teachers, also artists, political leaders, and leaders of social movements; now it is difficult to think about a nation, a knowledge of the different groups of each country. García Canclini (2002) recognizes the strong differences between Chileans, Nicaraguans, Brazilians, Mexicans, Uruguayans; diversity is evident, hence the problem when trying to maintain integration projects or the segmentation caused by cultural industries. So, it's worth asking, what happens to those who refuse to communicate through the network; or the exclusions caused by the unequal socioeconomic conditions that prevent guaranteeing a dignified life. Every day the democratization of access to the network is naturalized: we are a users, we have passwords; we already find it impossible to work, investigate, study, be in our housing space without access to these means and devices; I mean the urban space, the citizen space. This false democratization makes the citizen forget the problems of poverty, education, health, housing, mobility; but, it does reiterate its concern because of the increasing insecurity in the cities. And, political participation is reflected in the statistics: a high rate of electoral abstention.

For this reason, it is expressed that communication, self-training, education, citizen practices converge in that implicit and explicit process that is lived, consolidated or diluted in the everyday; reality is built every day, because every day you are a citizen, decisions are made in the face of daily events that affect individually, and collectively; situations that the citizen lives in his own flesh and that move him to speak, to think, to

make decisions about the projects of city, country, region, world; without this process, in some cases, being explicit. Saying Santos (2011) is a matter of “mentalities, socialities, ways of living and living together” (p.14).

STATE, DEMOCRACIES AND CITIZENSHIPS

In this proposal, the theory becomes a reference that allows me as a researcher to delimit this aspect of a social phenomenon on which my interest is focused, in order - in the first instance - to identify, define and describe its essential elements; that are intertwined in the citizen constitutive dynamics in what I have called the communicative ecosystem of citizenship configuration. The theory in social research, according to Torres (2004), from a critical perspective, makes it possible to read, interpret and understand social reality; it is a mental construction that emerges from a historical context from which the process of the constitution of a citizen of the global south in today's society will be approached, whose traditional socializing institutions changed; in a period -1980 to the second half of the decade of 2010- in which the region undergoes a phase of democratic transformation; therefore the theory is considered a conceptual system, an articulated set of relations between concepts and propositions; and, that from there, makes it possible to recognize the constitutive concepts of what is proposed: a theoretical approach to the citizen ecosystem, to read the forms of individual and collective civic manifestation.

According to Gootes and Le Comte (cited by Torres) informal or intermediate theories emerge from the complexity of the social sciences; the qualitative researcher is situated in the symbolic world full of meanings. From this perspective through theorization, social dynamics are observed, interpreted, and expressed; and, it is the basis for constructing our own conceptual models.

Therefore, it is proposed to see and recognize the emergence of other forms of expressing citizenship in the networked society, connected with the social groups with which they interact; without getting to the excess of identifying as isolated citizen's messages through a whatsapp, twitter, in the virtual social networks; those are only opinions on any subject; the opinion is not sustained, it is expressed without the spirit of convincing or persuading, without assuming a political position on the issue in question. It is intended as a configuration without nostalgia of what was citizenship; without ignoring the historical legacy; resituating citizens included or excluded, fragmented, immersed in their particular project; those who cross the city in the midst of insecurity, the traffic jams, the pickpockets, the hunger rummaging through the garbage, living and sleeping under the bridges, asking for alms at the traffic lights; squeezing their lives in mass transport, looking indifferently at the hand that stretches asking for a coin, or selling a picture of the child Jesus, a book -without a recognized publisher- with the formula to earn money or that remedy health problems; citizenships that emerge in a democratic, just, equitable society as prescribed in the constitutions, government plans, accountability or reports of the authorities supported with statistics that show

proximity to the desired achievement; a society that changes its qualification according to the decade and the prevailing economic model: modern, in the way of development, development for social change, sustained and sustainable.

The aim is to observe the emerging citizenships between representative liberal democracy, the prevailing hegemonic model that has consolidated the distance between representatives and represented, inequality, social exclusion, since the interests of small elites prevail. And a participatory democracy, whose dynamic aims to overcome inequalities through the recovery of citizenship. The ideal would be to complement the representation and democratic participation (Santos, 2005). In spite of the criticisms and the consequent debate that it generates, democracy continues in force as a form of ideal organization of a just and equitable society; therefore, it requires social and institutional innovation in the resolution of the ruptures with established traditional forms (Santos, 2005). As a dynamic and historical process, it is pertinent to observe how the subject is situated in a society where local, national, regional and global relationships are established; which undergoes accelerated and profound changes, social reorganization, transformation and decentering of politics - a sphere that had lost its centrality in the organization and conduct of social life - caused by the expansion of the market as a mechanism of decentralized coordination among people, but, that in itself does not produce some rules of the game; therefore, social life requires political coordination, as Lechner put it in the 2000s. Democracy is assumed as a political regime, in which the existence of two conditions of national political systems is recognized: the democratic condition and the long process of democratization; the contribution of Robert Dahl (1989) is significant, his vision is located in the classical conception, which focuses his interest on the procedures of the democratic regime. An integral definition supports its analysis in the social, political and historical dimensions, which connected in a reciprocal way give it meaning and density. This allows us to observe that democracy is a historical formation that has penetrated society and the State, conceived as a kind of political regime that represents the will of citizens, an ideal that modern societies want to achieve, or a utopia that will be established and achieved in a certain society. That is why the political decisions of the different actors, about the transformations that a democratic regime permanently lives, are projected on the citizens of a certain country. Democracies and citizenships are assumed as historical, political, social processes, etc., in permanent construction; they are dynamic phenomena, in movement, unfinished.

In the journey through the paths of participatory democracy, a project coordinated by Santos (2005), it is assumed that “globalization is not something radically new” is the exponential expansion of cross-border relations that transform “the scales established in the social fields of the economy, society, politics and culture” (p.14); is the set of unequal social relations, so it would be consistent to talk about globalization. One, the dominant, hegemonic; the other, counter-hegemonic globalization, a response in which global local initiatives, of different social groups, would be inserted, assumed as forms of

resistance to oppression. A non-hegemonic conception of democracy departs from the homogenizing forms of organization of society because it recognizes human plurality; consequently, assuming it requires the articulation between social and institutional innovation and recognizes the cultural contributions of society (Santos, 2005).

In addition, the author recognizes in this project something new, in the current situation, is that these cross-border relationships and ICTs have profoundly altered the temporal and spatial scales of social action. Thus, the turbulences in the temporal scales are the counterpart of the spatial scales; the local is the counterpart of the global, and vice versa; but, Boaventura de Sousa, more than a decade ago, stressed that the feelings of disconnection and exclusion were never so deep, in relation to those transformations that have marked time and space. So, if there is no longer a future project, in which the hegemonic social regulation is sustained, it would be necessary to accept that alternative future projects, those that were recognized as projects of social emancipation, were delegitimized. In contrast, in this scenario where market forces deregulate, and the trend is the apparent dependence and naturalization of phenomena, movements and organizations that fight against these homogenizing forces emerge. Santos (2005) accepts that the social sciences abandoned their goal of struggle towards a just society, which established a barrier between science and politics, and therefore proposes, through the project Democratize the democracy, a scientific renovation to reinvent social emancipation. In convergence with these questions about how we interpret the social reality, Lechner (2007) encourages us to think about the history of our ideas; therefore, it distinguishes research strategies, among which I highlight the challenges posed by social reality, because a study is original when it is capable of “listening, naming and interpreting emerging social phenomena” (p.12).

Therefore, we reiterate the commitments and responsibilities that we face as intellectuals of the social sciences in Latin America and the Caribbean, including reflecting and advancing projects on citizenship as forms of social emancipation. For this reason, it is necessary to return to some of our current regional and global conditions, such as the consolidation of a new paradigm that overcomes the dominant forces of the global North and places the epistemologies of the global South; the confrontation between disciplinary knowledge; and, following Boaventura de Sousa, assume innovation in science that leads to a science of action, and citizen; a science that identifies the problems of a hierarchical society, organized from small centers towards the semiperiphery and periphery; that looks for possibilities of alternative relations between those poles established in the world system.

Although, confronting the sciences, theories, knowledge implies dialogue with other worldviews, other knowledge such as the practical, which makes the world move and gives meaning, according to Santos (2005) who distinguishes six forms of social power (patriarchy, exploitation, the fetishism of commodities, the differentiation of unequal identity, domination and unequal change) as the main faces of oppression, and each recognizes forms of social resistance; Collective rebellious actions are social

resistances to forms of power, when they are organized through local-global articulations they are part of counterhegemonic globalization. Each social struggle faces a type of power and is limited to certain places, times and circumstances. Social emancipation will only be achieved when there is resistance to all forms of power; otherwise, the social resistance of diverse social groups is diluted in isolated actions against a hegemony that centralizes different forms of power. Consequently, this theoretical approach Ecosystem configuration of citizenship I consider an alternative proposal, located from a counter-hegemonic globalization, in a period of democratization processes. However, it is recognized that any theoretical approach is a reduction of the heterogeneous character of the region; for that reason, some common elements are identified in the gestation of political and social processes; and, it has been placed before the change of epoch, which has allowed it to distinguish the aspirations of recognition of diverse social groups, and to legitimize their differences; At the same time, collective identities are becoming consolidated, which show the presence of emerging subjects.

In conclusion, the concept of citizenship is placed in context, not as a static and a historical phenomenon, but articulated with other agents, social actors, spaces and specific moments. It is conceived as a dynamic, movable, historical process in the attainment of rights, which acquires meaning in the construction of a real citizen for some; for others the ideal citizen, politically active, committed and responsible for their duties; associated with constitutive elements such as civic virtue, freedom and participation; without ignoring the struggles of the new social movements and the urgency to articulate the fragmented citizenships, individualized with the citizenships of the collective actions.

THE SCENARIO OF THE ECOSYSTEM OF CONFIGURATION OF CITIZENSHIPS: LOCAL-REGIONAL-GLOBAL SOUTH

Presenting this ecosystem is the result of a process that began in 2000, a desire to understand how citizen education of school and university students takes place in the local area, from the teaching practice in the Autonomous University of Colombia, Classroom Project “La Candelaria as a educator” with students from I Semester of Engineering, Law, Economics, REI, Administration, Accounting, Design, Literary Studies, Philosophy and History (to date); In the second stage, 2002, from the field of education communication, I pose it as a research problem in the line of the educating city, when I start to articulate communication / education / cultural transformations as political issues, communicative educational processes and sensory production. The result was “Imaginerias of city in young schoolchildren”, monograph of the Specialization in Educational Communication of the Central University, 2003; In 2005, the Mayor’s Office of Bogotá participated in the convocation- District Education Secretariat - Andrés Bello Agreement, “Chair of Pedagogy: Bogotá, a great school”, led by Mayor Luis Eduardo Garzón (2004-2008), public policy education that sought to promote an educating city.

The work of the university researchers was articulated with that of the district teachers in 20 different locations within the capital of Colombia, in my case the town of Kennedy.

During the third stage, 2011-2014, I observed the problem located in Latin America, as a process of configuration of new young citizenships, the passage of traditional social movements to new social movements and the emergence of social actors; a first theoretical proposal of the ecosystem of citizen configuration, located in our region that is conceived as diverse, heterogeneous; it recognizes the hybridity of its democracies, constituted in coexistence with authoritarianism, populism, caudillismo, liberalism, neoliberalism; through social, historical, political and economic processes assumed as social phenomena that have been read and categorized from perspectives: divergent / convergent; colonial / decolonial; independent / dependent; enslavers / emancipators; central / peripheral; hegemonic / counterhegemonic; unitary / pluridiverse.

In 2014, I formulated a project as the main researcher: «From the empire of the “rebels without a cause” to heterogeneous, alternative, prosumers» University Santo Tomás, Master in Education; in 2015 I presented the results of the research: Paper - Article - Video “Young People: Heterogeneous Nomads of the Flow Spaces”, in the V Congress of didactic and pedagogical experiences in virtual education, La Gran Colombia University, Master in Education, Holy University Tomás, UGC Virtual Baccalaureate.

The fourth stage, the current one, starting in 2016, continues to study the problems immersed in the ecosystem to understand the process of configuration of social actors and their forms of collective action. As mentioned, the change of paradigm allowed recognizing the emergence of categories in the social sciences due to the structural transformations of society; the problems are observed from a socio-political matrix of the global post-industrial society that recognized new forms of social action and new actors: human rights and democratic movements against dictatorships, ethnic, citizens, gender, youth; and there is evidence of a disarticulation between the state, representation and civil society, due to political democratization, struggles to overcome exclusion and citizenship (Garretón, 2001).

In 2016 the article “The notion of a new citizenship: process and strategy between the democratic transition, the reconfiguration of the State and alternative proposals” was published, in the book “Communication education a field of resistance”, UNIMINUTO; afterwards, the presentation “Citizen Ecosystem: A Theoretical Approach. Citizenships and Emerging Democracies”, 9th ALACIP Congress, Montevideo, 2017. And, the final work of the International Course Thought and Situations. For a cartography of the South, of the CLACSO (2018), a possibility to think about the conceptual category “citizenships of the global South”. Thus, the Latin American regional scenario was opened towards the global South, the problem is studied from the epistemologies of the South, proposed by Boaventura De Sousa Santos, which will allow me to promote the passage from individual citizenships to citizenship of collective actions; a reflection on the absences and emergencies of the south-global citizenships.

THE ECOSYSTEM: COMPONENTS AND PROCESSES

The ecosystem is that environment where converges the natural, built, virtual, media, transmedia in which the human being lives, learns, knows and interacts from the moment of his birth. A conception of ecosystem -which resignifies the proposal of Martín-Barbero (1999) to make the school a creative place in a communicative ecosystem- as a naturalized environment because human beings do not perceive its existence, but in it they are constituted as subjects, in a dynamic process of interrelations with social groups; citizenship is constituted there, immersed in dynamics in which both the action of the socializing institutions considered traditional converge, today subject to transformations: family, school, religion and the city; as of those who are located in the poles of sociocultural identification: the “culture of the street”, the media culture, (Huergo, 2006) and the culture of the ICT, (Internet, social networks, communication systems and latest generation devices) that provoke mediations and hypermediations, adaptations or extinctions, new rules of the game in social interactions, and power relations.

It is the environment in which citizenships are formed, made, lived. The ecosystem is inhabited, in it the process of citizen configuration comes to life; it interacts in a communicative, educational environment in which multiple knowledges circulate that question and challenge the established, hegemonic, standardizing institutional. There multiple visions of the world circulate; to conceive the space that we inhabit; of ideologies that naturalize, impose, question, interpellate, create forms of resistance to that institutional system. In these dynamics the citizenships are configured, with a whole socio-cultural, historical, political, and economic legacy of the city of origin, the country and the respective region; between the local and the global, of the global South.

The city, the second environment, (Echeverría, 2005) is the local scenario, the physical space constructed, where these direct and indirect citizen practices are deployed; therefore, it is necessary to make visible the direct relationship between the citizen and the local (municipal) socializing institutions; in the case of Bogotá, the local mayor’s office, which represents him and in which he should participate as a resident of the neighborhood; in the community action board and the JAL, Local Board of Administration; that citizen is given information, in account surrenders, by the local mayor and the mayor of the capital; but to designate them as citizens does not imply ignoring differences in socioeconomic conditions and quality of life; they are evident between those who reside in the north, and those who inhabit the south, east, or west of the city. In Colombia, the DANE (National Administrative Department of Statistics) classifies the dwellings -according to their location- by socioeconomic strata from 1 to 6, as follows: 1. Low-low; 2 Low; 3 Medium-Low; 4 Medium; 5 Medium-high; 6 High. But, this stratification is homologated to human beings, in a naturalized way they are called

from stratum 0 to the inhabitants of the street, in conditions of indigence; in everyday language they are named: gamines, ñeros; even a strong qualification, typical of the society of consumption: disposable; while the elite exceeds stratum 6; an evident and hierarchical sample of inequalities and inequities.

For example, in the capital of Colombia, in the Rosales sector, La Cabrera, Usaquén the value of an apartment can reach 1,400 million pesos, 160 mt² (482,758 dollars). Some of these buildings have up to 10 parking spaces per apartment, 360 degree view; these neighborhoods are some of the most valued in the city, the average growth per year is 16 percent. In contrast, social housing is offered, (VIS), project advanced by the Ministry of Environment, Housing and territorial development with the purpose of guaranteeing housing to low-income households; correspond to strata 2 and 3, located south of the city in Bosa, Soacha, San Cristóbal, Usme with a value of \$ 87 million pesos, 47 square meters, without garages. This Ministry grants the family housing subsidy for once to a beneficiary household through the Family Compensation Funds or the National Housing Fund; Applicants will be those households that demonstrate that their total monthly income is not greater than the equivalent of four (4) legal monthly minimum wages in force, (Min Housing, 2009), the current minimum wage (2018) in Colombia is \$ 781,242 (\$ 262), on average, the income would be two minimum wages (\$ 524).

As a result, the citizen is stratified, his socio-economic condition is naturalized according to his territorial location. But it is unknown that the city is the built environment that should offer decent conditions to live, guarantee rights, meet from the minimum needs such as food, housing, health, education, mobility to leisure spaces; in the city, relations between social groups and power dynamics are established. Access to these living conditions varies according to the location of the city or municipality; the differences are evident between the citizen of the capital, who inhabits the provinces.

In the different spheres, in the interaction with the other diverse -which implies power transactions- in the dynamics that are generated, young citizenships are formed, the heterogeneous citizenships in the spaces of physical and virtual flow; through processes of mediations, hypermediations, transmediations between socializing institutions and subjects. Each institution plays a role in the ecosystem; the articulation between individual citizenships and those of collective actions, which are aware of the dynamics of power established in the social, political and economic fabric, is intended.

INSTITUTIONS AND SUBJECTS

Socializing institutions - family, school, religion, the city - from the traditional vision, with all their historical legacy, have been assigned a specific responsibility: to prepare children and young people, subjects in formation, to enter the world, and naturalize their roles: son, student, believer, neighbor, citizen; without disturbing the established order. But in today's society, the interaction with social groups, the entry into the world, and its

conformation has changed; the apparent linearity of the processes and interaction with the environment were transformed, atomized; therefore, the heterogeneous panorama offered by society requires these institutions to work together in the task of education, which, if thought for incomplete beings, receivers of knowledge, citizens of the future, went unnoticed and abruptly to an education for the present, designed for children and young people who are recognized as subjects of rights, critical, communicative, participatory citizens; it changed - without overcoming the idea of crisis - from a society rooted in space, local, delimited by borders, organized through the times of production, to another society defragmented, deterritorialized, without apparent barriers of time and space, which naturalizes the individualization, hierarchizes the particular project, idealizes democratization until it ignores inequality, inequity and social injustice.

That is, it went from the ideals of modernity, progress, industrialization, development to the disenchantment of post-industrial society, caused by the failure of modernity, the crisis of institutions, risk, uncertainty, the irruption of ICT, instant communication, to a false democratization in all areas. However, the transition from the forms of organization and production from one society to another entails radical transformations, because they involve changes of an ideological, political, economic and social nature. Thus, it corresponds to the social sciences to go to the experiences, the observations, the investigations carried out on these changes and their consequences, that mean the loss of validity of some paradigms, approaches, methodologies and categories before the emergence of different and diverse problems.

That is why this theoretical approach places socializing institutions in the ecosystem of configuration of citizenships in today's society, which has been called: information, knowledge, communication, global, globalized, risky village, liquid among others. Every ecosystem generates dynamic relationships of conflictive coexistence and subsistence; power relations among its components; mobility, transformations and mediations that revert to individual and collective ways of being. In addition to locating its components, it is necessary to recognize that dynamic relationships are created between socializing institutions to assume the joint task assigned by society to the subjects that give life to them (parents, teachers, neighbors, citizens, rulers, etc.) and that transcends the limits of space and time: a task that affects the configuration of citizenships, in mediation processes, in collective action aimed at solving problems in the achievement of city projects, country and region.

THE MEDIA, THE TIC, AND SOCIAL MEDIA.

Every time that mankind appropriates, uses, creates tools, technologies, devices as an extension of his body and of his organs of perception, he produces transformations in his way of thinking, living, learning, knowing, working, organizing himself in the world. A journey that begins with the tools in stone, wood, metals stripped of nature to the latest generation devices, leads us to the ways of organizing in three environments:

the natural, the built (the city) and the third environment, the virtual, the cybercultural.

The third environment (Echeverria, 2001) in convergence with the natural and the built, is another component of the ecosystem that will allow us to understand the configuration of citizenships, which as a play on words is the natural environment of a part of young citizens because from their birth they perceived, used and naturalized the media, the Internet, ICT and ways of communicating through virtual social networks; thus, these media appropriated some of the functions of the socializing institutions, occupying a significant time in daily life. Another part, excluded, lives in precarious, unequal and inequitable conditions; outside the health, education, housing and labor systems.

In terms of communication, traditional media printed newspapers, magazines; Audiovisuals such as film and television, and sound as radio - especially those dedicated to the journalistic genre - had primary functions: to inform society about the events that affected reality and generate public opinion; the news was transmitted impartially and objectively; Through the editorials and opinion columns, the thought of the media was expressed. But, the critic to the media identified, according to the historical moments, the verticality, one-sidedness, the effects, the manipulation; the characters selected in the interviews and reports; the editing and censoring of words and images; the appropriation of the voices of those who did not have it; an alliance with the economic, political and judicial powers, among others, to alienate the defenseless mass of "passive recipients" and to naturalize social inequalities, inequalities and injustices.

In response to these media forms of alternative communication, popular, community, rural and urban media that communicate the other side of reality, from below are created. From the 70s to the 80s, in Latin America, alternative communication reached its maximum expression, which was also recognized as popular, educational or community; a committed communication with social movements and criticism against the hegemonic society. Here proliferated the experiences, commitments and reflections that were located from the popular as the center of society because it was committed to a popular and democratic organization as one of the political utopias. The actors of poor sectors were protagonists, they were perceived as new and authentic managers of social change. But the transformations experienced by society, influenced that the class proposal that fed these experiences was diluted before the fall of socialism. Thus, the actors did not think of themselves as contradictory subjects, the popular was diffused. At the same time, the processes of globalization and the hegemonic economic trend sought social integration, not radical opposition. The subjects retreated into themselves and their projects, in the midst of a process of deterritorialization and hybridization of cultures. (Alfaro, 2000). Nowadays, traditional media have survived by inserting themselves into the dynamics of market and consumer society, creating the respective web portals, disseminating a supposed democratization of information, free and participatory access. As mentioned, the ideal that the ICTs, the devices and the forms of interaction that were deployed with virtual social networks are

appropriately appropriated and become part of all the spaces of daily life, whoever finds themselves outside of these networks does not exist; not only the groups of young people appropriated these means, now the diverse ethnic, gender, religious, political, cultural groups, etc., are summoned, they make decisions according to their needs and interests through these devices.

MEDIATIONS

The processes of mediation between the institutions and the subjects that conform them, from the conception of the traditional society were clearly established, chronological, linear, inherited from one generation to another through orality and books; but nowadays, the positioning of the media, the internet, the irruption of the ICT decentralized the physical mediation, both of objects and subjects, in the process of configuration of the young citizenships that, from being recipients, represented and consumers, come to be prosumers, creative, participatory audiences, with consultation mechanisms, physical and virtual to the government online. The changes introduced by the internet and ICT have created a multimodal, multi-channel, multi-platform universe; they offer mobility, flexibility and management from various sites; participation in the production, edition and dissemination of information, data, communications; other forms of narration were created, narrated in a permanent dialogue with online communities and social networks. Narrative forms changed with the evolution of the media and ICTs when using various technological platforms and transmedia resources. Although, it is not about maximizing the benefits of the Internet or ICT, because they impose forms of exclusion; therefore, the problems of poverty, coverage of basic needs, insecurity and quality of life facing the region are recognized.

Thus, to visualize the dynamics that are woven in the ecosystem allows to understand the process of configuration of the new citizenships. Now, young people establish interactions in environments: natural, built and virtual; the latter are subject to access, generating other forms of exclusion. Each environment offers spatial and temporal dimensions that characterize it. In the virtual world, the places that are trafficked have no space, no time, no particular languages of groups, classes, ethnic groups, gender because they are common, they are universalized in cyberspace (Molina, 2009). The new urban generations, the traditional indigenous, of diverse genres hybridize with the ICTs, but these in themselves are not determinants of the social and the cultural; when they are inserted into the dynamics of the ecosystem, they generate cultural, political and civic transformations; young people use them, interact with their peers, are part of contacts, are creative (Rueda, 2009); they are prosumers, cybercitizens who have also appropriated the forms of consultation, participation that the government has created; respond to online government calls, intervene in the tables, forums to make decisions in the formulation of public policies; or decide not to do it; or they do not have the minimum conditions to feed themselves, to educate themselves in a society that

excludes them. Young people are designated as the new barbarians, virtual navigators, digital natives, heterogeneous nomads, computer scientists, gamers, cybercitizens. It is necessary to place them in their spaces to understand them; in their micro spaces that now transcend the territorial limits of the street, the corner, the neighborhood, the city because they created other meeting points, spaces without borders, spaces of flow, without barriers: portals, web pages, blogs, social networks, game sites, music, sports; spaces outside the institutionalized, where they develop their rituals, symbolically transit their ideologies, exercise the game of sociality in the production of meanings, at the same time that the hegemony works in that daily life. Micro spaces are articulated with social, economic, cultural, and political macroconditions; they are cultural spaces that produce senses and trainers of subjects; but, the traditional socializing institutions reject them, and they do not know it. (Huergo, 2000, Molina, 2009).

As a result, different ways of doing things are created, producing meanings, knowledge, participation, and citizenship. Therefore, self-training, training, citizen practices converge in that implicit and explicit process in which they live, consolidate or dilute themselves; a reality that is created every day, because every day you are a citizen, you ignore or make decisions in front of the daily events of life that affect the individual, and the collective; situations that they live in their own flesh, or that they listen, reads, observe, and that moves them to speak, to think, to decide, to write, to chat, to tweet; situations, events about the projects of city, country, region, globe; without this process necessarily leading to a permanent participatory citizen practice, linked to the entrenched ideals of rights and duties.

In conclusion, the process of constituting citizenships is a collective construction; the socializing institutions, the school and the university, beyond prescribing citizenship training in their Institutional Educational Projects, delegating to teachers the responsibility of educating critical citizens, applying and replicating mechanisms of participation that are limited to the selection of student representatives, it needs to establish dynamic links in the project of city construction, and of country with regional and global projection. This is what is intended through this theoretical approach that requires the next step: to put it into practice.

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Agência Brasileira do ISBN
ISBN 978-85-7247-023-0

