

THE CLUB
OF
INTERESTING THEORIES

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THE CLUB OF INTERESTING THEORIES

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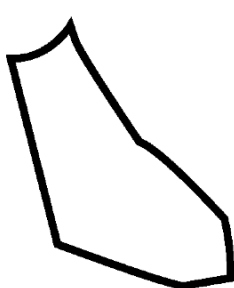
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INTERESTING THEORY #40

DELEUZE, DIAGRAMS AND
THE GENESIS OF FORM.

Manuel Delanda (1998)



some of the crucial aspects defining a particular problem, and hence, to suggest possible solutions. ²

The study of diagrams and of diagrammatic thinking is currently enjoying a revival in several different disciplines. On one hand, there are historians of technology who, attempting to rescue engineering knowledge from its status as a minor branch of applied science, have stressed the relative autonomy of its goals and, more importantly, its means. In this context, what is emphasized is the existence of a peculiar type of knowledge (visual knowledge), and the role that it has played in the development of the engineering sciences. ¹

On the other hand, there are cognitive scientists and Artificial Intelligence researchers, who have recently expanded the reservoir of representational resources which they use to give their models (or their robots) problem-solving abilities. Here too, it is the specifically visual aspect of diagrams that is emphasized, for example, the ability of geometric representations to rapidly convey to a problem-solver

There are several differences between these approaches to the question of diagrams and the one advocated by Gilles Deleuze, the least important of which being that for Deleuze diagrams have no intrinsic connection with visual representations. The truly significant difference, on the other hand, is that for Deleuze the problem-solving activity in which diagrams are involved is not necessarily performed by humans or robots, but may be instantiated in even simple material and energetic systems. To take an example from physics, a population of interacting physical entities, such as the molecules in a thin layer of soap, may be constrained energetically to adopt a form which minimizes free energy. Here the “problem” (for the population of molecules) is to find this minimal point of energy, a problem solved differently by the molecules in soap bubbles (which collectively minimize surface tension) and

by the molecules in crystalline structures (which collectively minimize bonding energy).

The question of the objective existence of problems (and their defining diagrams) is a crucial issue in Deleuze's philosophy of matter and form, a philosophy which attempts to replace essentialist views of the genesis of form (which imply a conception of matter as an inert receptacle for forms that come from the outside) with one in which matter is already pregnant with morphogenetic capabilities, therefore capable of generating form on its own. To return to our previous examples, the spherical form of a soap bubble emerges out of the interactions among its constituent molecules as these are constrained energetically to "seek" the point at which surface tension is minimized. In this case, there is no question of an essence of "soap-bubbleness" somehow imposing itself from the outside, an ideal geometric form (a sphere) shaping an inert collection of molecules. Rather, an endogenous topological form (a point in the space of energetic possibilities for this molecular assemblage) governs the collective behavior of the individual soap molecules, and results in the emergence of a spherical shape. Moreover, the same topological form, the same minimal point, can guide the processes that generates many other geometrical forms. For example, if instead of molecules of soap we have the

atomic components of an ordinary salt crystal, the form that emerges from minimizing energy (bonding energy in this case) is a cube. Other materials, in turn, yield yet other forms.

A similar point applies to other topological forms which inhabit these diagrammatic spaces of energetic possibilities. For example, these spaces may contain closed loops (technically called "limit cycles" or "periodic attractors"). in which case the several possible physical instantiations of this space will all display isomorphic behavior, an endogenously generated tendency to oscillate in a stable way. Whether one is dealing with a socio-technological structure (such as a radio transmitter or a radar machine), a biological one (a cyclic metabolism), or a physical one (a convection cell in the atmosphere), it is one and the same immanent resource that is involved in their different oscillating behavior. As if an "abstract oscillating machine" was incarnated or actualized in all these physical assemblages:

"An abstract machine in itself is not physical or corporeal, any more than it is semiotic; it is diagrammatic (it knows nothing of the distinctions between the artificial and the natural either). It operates by matter, not by substance; by function, not by form.... The abstract machine is pure Matter-Function - a diagram independent of the forms and substances, express, ions and contents it will distribute." ³

Deleuze calls this ability of

Unas artificialmente suaves, otras puntiagudas. Unas engañosas, otras irreverentemente claras.

La confusión de las formas se distribuye democráticamente como una repetición que oscila en la mayor parte del mundo como múltiplos de algún número de años: a veces con la terrible capacidad de la reiteración de los dos puntos y otras con la desesperante necesidad y clausura de un punto final.

Cada cuatro, cinco, seis, ocho años volvemos a empezar: primero con los pinceles y luego con las escuadras y los compases.

Cada cuatro, cinco, seis, ocho años el sentimiento de tu mayoría que ha perdido y el sentimiento de la suya que ha ganado.

Cada cuatro, cinco, seis, ocho años el hecho de una nueva victoria que no sabe a nada.

Cada cuatro, cinco, seis, ocho años el sabor de una derrota que sabe guardar un poco de amargura para los que les toque perder la próxima.

el tiempo: que pierde rigidez y deja abierta la ilusión de poder contenernos a todos. El punto que circula se mueve con la posibilidad de que cuando pase frente a ti no te deje fuera; con la posibilidad de que tal vez tampoco deje afuera a tus amigos y que al clausurarse nos haya incluido a todos.

Hay quienes creen que, aunque fundamentalmente excluyente, la forma del globo guarda dentro de sí la capacidad ilimitada de expandirse. Profesan que aún a los que no tocó estar dentro cuando se creó esa circularidad perfecta, el futuro promete un círculo del tamaño de nuestro planeta con el que al fin nadie quedará fuera.

Una historia de éxito y de progreso: la periferia no es exclusión cuando tiene paciencia y espera sin desesperación el día en que el círculo por fin la elimine.

La justicia del polígono. La certeza de una forma que se cristaliza en cada ángulo y que deja sin dudas a quien pregunta por sus límites. Las líneas rectas que solo cambian de dirección según reglas preestablecidas y que siguen un plan que existe antes de que piense en él. El punto que apunta sigue un esquema rígido que deja claro desde el principio quien queda dentro y quien queda fuera para siempre.

Hay quienes creen que, aunque fundamentalmente excluyente, al haber tantos polígonos como tipos de personas, nadie nunca quedará fuera. Profesan que aun cuando las diferencias son marcadas e inmutables, cada quien dentro de su forma tiene libertad de ser como marcan las reglas establecidas por su pertenencia a tal o cual forma.

Una historia de éxito y estabilidad: la periferia es predecible pues son todos esos que siguen la simple regla de poner antes a los que están dentro que a los que están fuera.

O paz o justicia.

V.
¿Creíste que el orden acababa con tus problemas?

Los colores se transforman en bandos. Las formas te contienen de más maneras de las que te imaginabas. Y es en este momento que vuelves a ver que la batalla nunca terminó. Que ahora tiene más frentes.

Que lo que antes era fácil de entender porque tenía que ver con los nombres de las manos ahora se convierte poco a poco en algo imposible de comprender: en un juego entre formas.

topological forms (and other abstract machines) to give rise to many different physical instantiations, a process of “divergent actualization”, taking the idea from French philosopher Henri Bergson who, at the turn of the century, wrote a series of texts where he criticized the inability of the science of his time to think the new, the truly novel. The first obstacle was, according to Bergson, a mechanical and linear view of causality and the rigid determinism that it implied. Clearly, if all the future is already given in the past, if the future is merely that modality of time where previously determined possibilities become realized, then true innovation is impossible. To avoid this mistake, he thought, we must struggle to model the future as truly open ended, and the past and the present as pregnant not only with possibilities that become real, but with virtualities that become actual.

The distinction between the possible and the real, assumes a set of predefined forms (or essences) which acquire physical reality as material forms that resemble them. From the morphogenetic point of view, realizing a possibility does not add anything to a predefined form, except reality. The distinction between the virtual and the actual, on the other hand, does not involve resemblance of any kind (e.g. our example above, in which a topological point becomes a geometrical sphere) and far from constituting the essential identity of a given structure, a virtual form

subverts this identity, since structures as different as spheres and cubes emerge from the same topological point. To quote from what is probably his most important book, “Difference and Repetition”:

“Actualization breaks with resemblance as a process no less than it does with identity as a principle. In this sense, actualization or differentiation is always a genuine creation.. For a potential or virtual object to be actualized is to create divergent lines which correspond to - without resembling- a virtual multiplicity. The virtual possesses the reality of a task to be performed or a problem to be solved.”⁴

And Deleuze goes on to discuss processes of actualization more complex than bubbles or crystals, processes such as embryogenesis, the development of a fully differentiated organism starting from a single cell. In this case, the space of energetic possibilities is more elaborate, involving many virtual topological forms governing complex spatio-temporal dynamics:

“How does actualization occur in things themselves?... Beneath the actual qualities and extensities [of things themselves] there are spatio-temporal dynamics. They must be surveyed in every domain, even though they are ordinarily hidden by the constituted qualities and extensities. Embryology

shows that the division of the egg is secondary in relation to more significant morphogenetic movements: the augmentation of free surfaces, stretching of cellular layers, invagination by folding, regional displacement of groups. A whole kinematics of the egg appears which implies a dynamic".⁵

In this book Deleuze repeatedly makes use of these «spaces of possibilities» (technically referred to as “state spaces” or “phase spaces”), and of the topological forms (or “singularities”) that shape these spaces. (Phase diagrams are, indeed, the very first type of diagram used by Deleuze. We will see below that more complex types are discussed in his later work). Since these ideas reappear in his later work, and since both the concept of “phase space” and that of “singularity” belong to mathematics, it is safe to say that a crucial component of Deleuzian thought comes from the philosophy of mathematics. And, indeed, chapter four of “Difference and Repetition” is a meditation on the metaphysics of the differential and integral calculus. On the other hand, given that “phase spaces” and “singularities” become physically significant only in relation to material systems which are traversed by a strong flow of energy, Deleuze philosophy is also intimately related to that branch of physics which deals with material and energetic flows, that is, with thermodynamics. And, indeed, chapter five of “Difference and Repetition”

is a philosophical critique of nineteenth century thermodynamics, an attempt to recover from that discipline some of the key concepts needed for a theory of immanent morphogenesis.

At the beginning of that chapter, Deleuze introduces some key distinctions that will figure prominently in his later work (specifically, the concept of “intensity”), but more importantly, he reveals in the very first page his ontological commitments. It is traditional since Kant to distinguish between the world as it appears to us humans, that is, the world of phenomena or appearances, and the world as it exists by itself, regardless of whether there is a human observer to interact with it. This world “in itself” is referred to as “noumena”. A large number of contemporary thinkers, particularly those that call themselves “postmodernists”, do not believe in noumena. For them the world is socially constructed, hence, all it contains is linguistically- defined phenomena. Notice that even though many of these thinkers declare themselves “anti- essentialist”, they share with essentialism a view of matter as an inert material, only in their case form does not come from a Platonic heaven, or from the mind of God, but from the minds of humans (or from cultural conventions expressed linguistically). The world is amorphous, and we cut it out into forms using language. Nothing

III.

Qué alivio cuando se puede ver una foto desde el cielo y puedes ver en las calles que son más los que están de tu lado que los que están del otro. Qué alivio cuando por fin los ponderables de la opinión inclinan con su fuerza fantasmal la balanza hacia lo que todos los que salimos en la foto estábamos buscando.

Que alivio cuando sientes que el pincel con el que se pintan las rayas lo mojamos de tinta en masa: que todos nos manchamos las manos con el mismo color.

Pero llegas a casa y la tinta se ha secado. Y la pluma indeleble con la que dibujaste una cruz con tu opinión parece brincar entre los recuadros que delimitan formas de ser.

En casa no recuerdas bien si la tinta era azul o roja. Verde o amarilla o morada o azul. Y la tinta en tus manos se hace transparente como la ansiedad.

Una raya para empezar. Una raya más por no dejar. Una raya ahora para la incertidumbre.

Que alivio cuando se puede ver desde una pantalla la opinión de todos tus amigos y todos tus conocidos. De toda la gente que conoces de habladas pero con la que intimas de escritas con límite de caracteres.

Que alivio cuando por fin encuentras escrito lo que siempre creíste pero nunca confirmaste por ti mismo. Que alivio saber que al compartirlo deja de ser tu imaginación y empieza a ser nuestra opinión.

Que alivio que el mantra y el rezo se vuelven mágicos al publicarse y que con su magia pueden hacer que aparezcan más del lado que elegiste al pintar tu raya.

Pero en el momento que pierdes por un momento de vista la pantalla tu conjuro toma vida propia y dice lo que quiere decir. El blanco se apaga y el negro se prende y ambos pierden sentido. Las palabras se vuelven ruido como el miedo y los de tu lado se pasan al otro.

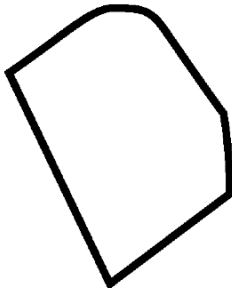
IV.

Llegó el momento de ordenar tus ideas. Cuando eras desordenado dibujabas rayas y pensabas que solo había dos lados. Con el orden llegan las formas y las formas tienen más lados. Empezas a pensar en otros términos.

Las rayas hacían distinciones que enfrentaban. Pero con las formas empieza la era de los espacios. Estar adentro o estar afuera.

La paz del círculo. El placer de la curva y su promesa de crear una línea que se transforma en

Fernando Gómez Candela
(2017)



I.

¿Que pasaría si todo esto fuera una teoría? ¿Si las cosas que la gente como uno asume naturalmente fueran completamente artificiales?

¿Que si todo es una historia que nos contamos todos los días?

Todo esto podría ser nada más que el cruce de formas de pensar: igual de formas, igual de dibujadas.

“Un monje le pregunto a Dongschan: ¿Qué es buda? Dongschan le respondió: tres libras de cañamo”.

Pinta la raya y ponte de un lado. Te presentamos a tus enemigos.

II.

Al leer esto podrías tener más cosas en común con alguien que

dibuja líneas verticales y que vive en en la compulsion individual de las ciudades. Con alguien que cree en defender en las calles y los periódicos que aún se imprimen los derechos de quienes asume como las minorías que definen el presente y crean el futuro.

Los menos contra los más. Nosotros contra ellos.

Al leer esto podrías tener menos cosas en común con alguien que dibuja líneas horizontales y que vive en la multitud común del territorio. Con alguien que combate internamente a través de la fé en la tradición que vive del pasado y de la que depende nuestra supervivencia futura como especie.

Los más contra los menos. Ellos contra nosotros.

Pinta otra raya y ponte de su lado. Elige por cuanto multiplicar a los que están de tu lado: duplícalo para los que están del otro.

could be further from Deleuzian thought than this postmodern linguistic relativism. Deleuze is indeed a realist philosopher, who not only believes in the autonomous existence of actual forms (the forms of rocks, plants, animals and so on) but in the existence of virtual forms. In the first few lines of chapter five of “Difference and Repetition”, where Deleuze introduces the notion of «intensity» as a key to understand the actualization of virtual forms, he writes:

“Difference is not diversity. Diversity is given, but difference is that by which the given is given..Difference is not phenomenon but the nounmen closest to the phenomenon...Every phenomenon refers to an inequality by which it is conditioned...Everything which happens and everything which appears is correlated with orders of differences: differences of level, temperature, pressure, tension, potential, difference of intensity”.

Let me illustrate this idea with a familiar example from thermodynamics. If one creates a container separated into two compartments, and one fills one compartment with cold air and the other with hot air, one thereby creates a system embodying a difference in intensity, the intensity in this case being temperature. If one then opens a small hole in the wall dividing

the compartments, the intensity difference causes the onset of a spontaneous flow of air from one side to the other. It is in this sense that intensity differences are morphogenetic, even if in this case the form that emerges is too simple. The examples above of the soap bubble and the salt crystal, as well as the more complex foldings and stretchings undergone by an embryo, are generated by similar principles. However, in the page following the quote above, Deleuze argues that, despite this important insight, nineteenth century thermodynamics cannot provide the foundation he needs for a philosophy of matter. Why? Because that branch of physics became obsessed with the final equilibrium forms, at the expense of the difference-driven morphogenetic process which gives rise to those forms. But as Deleuze argues, the role of virtual singularities, and of the diagrammatic and problematic nature of reality, can only be grasped during the process of morphogenesis, that is, before the final form is actualized, before the difference disappears.

This shortcoming of nineteenth century thermodynamics, to overlook the role of intensity differences in morphogenesis, to concentrate on the equilibrium form that emerges only once the original difference has been cancelled, has today been repaired in the latest version of this branch of physics, appropriately labeled *far-from-equilibrium thermodynamics*. Although

Deleuze does not explicitly refer to this new branch of science, it is clear that far-from- equilibrium thermodynamics meets all the objections which he raises against its nineteenth century counterpart. In particular, the systems studied in this new discipline are continuously traversed by a strong flow of energy and matter, a flow which does not allow the differences in intensity to be cancelled, that is, maintains these differences and keeps them from cancelling themselves. It is only in these far-from-equilibrium conditions that the full variety of immanent topological forms appears (steady state, cyclic or chaotic attractors). It is only in this zone of intensity that difference-driven morphogenesis comes into its own, and that matter becomes an active material agent, one which does not need form to come and impose itself from the outside. To return once more to the example of the developing embryo, the DNA that governs the process does not contain, as it was once believed, a blueprint for the generation of the final form of the organism, an idea that implies an inert matter to which genes give form from the outside. The modern understanding of the process, on the other hand, pictures genes as teasing out a form out of an active matter, that is, the function of genes and their products is now seen as merely constraining and channeling a variety of material processes, occurring in that far-from-equilibrium, diagrammatic zone, in

which form emerges spontaneously.

We saw above that, in his definition of “diagram”, Deleuze distinguishes between matter and substance, and between function and form. We can now give a better characterization of these distinctions. While substance is a formed material, the matter that enters into a diagram is a “matter-content having only degrees of intensity, resistance, conductivity, heating, stretching, speed, or tardiness”.⁷ In other words, any material far-from-equilibrium, having access to the same reservoir of immanent, morphogenetic resources. On the other hand, the vector or tensor field that constitutes a phase space diagram, and the topological singularities that structure it, is a useful image for a diagrammatic function without a definite form, “a function-expression having only tensors, as in a system of mathematical, or musical, language”.⁸

To complete my characterization of Deleuze theory of diagrams, and of their role in the genesis of form, I would like to explore the way in which his more recent work (in collaboration with Felix Guattari) has extended these basic ideas. In particular, in their joint book “A Thousand Plateaus”, they develop theories of the genesis of two very important types of structures, to which they refer with the terms “strata” and “self-consistent aggregates” (or alternatively

es parte de la reglamentación que los países centrales establecen para permitir determinadas cosas, otras no. Como claramente dice la entrada del Capítulo 7: “ La tecnología se transfiere a las colonias en formas institucionalizada de tecnologías... como carreteras, municiones, medicina para el ejército...pero no en aquellas formas de tecnología que se puedan convertir en bases para el acceso individual a los archivos de la información” (Phillip, 2008: 79).

Las mercancías, como objetos “originales” o de marca; falsificados, pirateados o de reciente creación original, tienen y conllevan este sentido de interconexión.

Los Marcopolos de Tepito son los agentes de esta interconexión; las mercancías u objetos son los medios materiales de esa transmisión. Así se han difundido los rasgos característicos de la cultura humana.

Si cambiamos de paradigma, tal vez podremos entender de otra manera estos procesos. Se trata de quitarles las connotaciones negativas a los fenómenos que por siglos han llevado a la humanidad a construir el mundo y sus culturas.

Como afirma Forbes,
“No solamente están vinculados todos los aspectos de la humanidad a través de eslabones visibles o invisibles, sino que puede demostrarse que la conquista de la naturaleza pertenece a todo el mundo y no a ninguna nación en particular.

En algún período histórico puede parecer que determinado grupo nacional posee la clave del conocimiento, pero al examinar las cosas detenidamente, esta impresión se revela superficial y simplista. El conocimiento es algo que no puede ser monopolizado, porque si se mantiene en secreto es inútil, y si se disemina incita a otros a difundirlo en círculos cada vez más amplios. La historia de la industria y de las invenciones es una de las lecciones que demuestran la unidad de la humanidad, la unidad inherente que existe a pesar de los artificios como las fronteras o los prejuicios sectarios” (Forbes, 1958: 21).

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derrumbe de las fronteras, la libre circulación de mercancías; es flexibilidad productiva y laboral, es fragmentación productiva y espacial, es un complejo de reglamentaciones sobre las que se tratan de construir nuevas reglas del juego, como los organismos multilaterales; los pactos regionales, los tratados comerciales; la OMC; el Grupo de los 20, y todas estas nuevas formas de organización que no terminaría de enumerar aquí, sobre las que se trata de construir la nueva geopolítica mundial.

Esta nueva arquitectura global tiene impactos profundos, en la sociedad y su organización; en sus formas de reproducción social, es decir, en la cultura. Se trata de un proceso que impacta de manera directa la vida de las gentes; que transforma sus modos de vida. Se trata de un “total de procesos múltiples interconectados” como los llama Wolf (1994), que dan como resultado una construcción específica de las poblaciones que interactúan en esos procesos. Algunas comandan los cambios; otras son impactadas por ellos.

La expansión del capitalismo hacia todas las regiones del mundo, “que se origina a finales del siglo XV y principios del XVI, constituye un mercado mundial al que caracterizan divisiones mundiales del trabajo” (Wolf, 1994:38), que colocan a unos países en la punta del poder y la innovación, y a otros en la periferia o en la cola de esas innovaciones. Los procesos que operan en las periferias del sistema

son parte de esa división mundial del trabajo, reciben su influjo. Se trata de poblaciones enteras impactadas por lo que sucede en los centros.

Ello ha sido así por siglos y da por resultado una transmisión desigual de tecnología y también un trato desigual a las partes intervinientes. La piratería está asociada con esa forma en que se transfieren las tecnologías e innovaciones. Como decíamos antes, unos son los países que innovan y pueden producir y otros son estigmatizados de piratas. La piratería mala es asiática, la piratería de los países centrales tiene matices; son procesos fuera de norma, son productos no regulados de la competencia, son fenómenos típicos de la innovación. Ello es así, por ejemplo, cuando se juzga sobre la producción de software en Silicon Valley. Ahí se le juzga como innovación; es creatividad.

La globalización ha desencadenado sus procesos esperados, en algunos casos; pero también ha producido sus resultados no esperados, o no deseados. Por ello afirmo que la piratería es la expresión de lo que he bautizado como la globalización informalizada, aquella que como hija no reconocida, aparece como un resultado natural de la revolución digital.

Qué es lo que se puede transferir tecnológicamente y qué no se puede transferir es una decisión de poder,

“trees” and “rhizomes”). Basically, strata emerge from the articulation of homogeneous elements, whereas self-consistent aggregates emerge from the articulation of heterogeneous elements as such.

Both processes display the same “divergent actualization” which characterized the simpler processes behind the formation of soap bubbles and salt crystals. In other words, in both processes we have a virtual form (or abstract machine) underlying the isomorphism of the resultant actual forms. Let's begin by briefly describing the process behind the genesis of geological strata, or more specifically, of sedimentary rock, such as sandstone or limestone. When one looks closely at the layers of rock in an exposed mountain side, one striking characteristic is that each layer contains further layers, each composed of small pebbles which are nearly homogeneous with respect to size, shape and chemical composition. It is these layers that are referred to as “strata”.

Now, given that pebbles in nature do not come in standard sizes and shapes, some kind of sorting mechanism seems to be needed to explain this highly improbable distribution, some specific device which takes a multiplicity of pebbles of heterogeneous qualities and distributes them into more or less uniform layers. One possibility uncovered by geologists involves rivers acting as sorting machines.

Rivers transport rocky materials from their point of origin to the place in the ocean where these materials will accumulate. In this process, pebbles of variable size, weight and shape tend to react differently to the water transporting them. These different reactions to moving water are what sorts out the pebbles, with the small ones reaching the ocean sooner than the large ones. This process is called “sedimentation”. Besides sedimentation, a second operation is necessary to transform these loose collections of pebbles into a larger scale entity: a sedimentary rock. This operation consists in cementing the sorted components, an operation carried out by certain substances dissolved in water which penetrate the sediment through the pores between pebbles. As this percolating solution crystallizes, it consolidates the pebble's temporary spatial relations into a more or less permanent “architectonic” structure.

These double articulation, sorting and consolidation, can also be found in biological species. Species form through the slow accumulation of genetic materials. Genes, of course, do not merely deposit at random but are sorted out by a variety of selection pressures which include climate, the action of predators and parasites and the effects of male or female choice during mating. Thus, in a very real sense,

genetic materials “sediment” just as pebbles do. Furthermore, these loose collections of genes can (like sedimented pebbles) be lost under some drastically changed conditions (such as the onset of an Ice age) unless they become consolidated together. This second operation is performed by *reproductive isolation*, that is, by the closure of a gene pool which occurs when a given subset of a reproductive community, becomes incapable of mating with the rest. Through selective accumulation and reproductive consolidation, a population of individual organisms comes to form a larger scale entity: a new individual species.

We can also find these two operations (and hence, this virtual diagram) in the formation of social classes. Roughly, we speak of “social strata” whenever a given society presents a variety of differentiated roles to which not everyone has equal access, and when a subset of those roles (i.e. those to which a ruling elite alone has access) involves the control of key energetic and material resources. In most societies roles tend to “sediment” through a variety of sorting or ranking mechanisms, yet not in all of them ranks become an autonomous dimension of social organization. In many societies differentiation of the elites is not extensive (they do not form a center while the rest of the population forms an excluded periphery), surpluses do not accumulate (they may be destroyed in ritual feasts), and primordial

relations (of kin and local alliances) tend to prevail. Hence a second operation is necessary: the informal sorting criteria need to be given a theological interpretation and a legal definition. In short, to transform a loose ranked accumulation of traditional roles into a social class, the social sedimented needs to become consolidated via theological and legal codification.⁹

Is there also a virtual diagram behind the genesis of meshworks? In the model proposed by Deleuze and Guattari, there are three elements in this other virtual diagram, of which two are particularly important. First, a set of heterogeneous elements is brought together via an articulation of superpositions, that is, an interconnection of diverse but overlapping elements. And second, a special class of operators, or intercalary elements, is needed to effect this interlock via local connections. Is it possible to find instances of this diagram in geology, biology and sociology? Perhaps the clearest example is that of an ecosystem. While a species may be a very homogeneous structure, an ecosystem links together a wide variety of heterogeneous elements (animals and plants of different species) which are articulated through interlock, that is, by their functional complementarities. Since one of the main features of ecosystems is the circulation of energy and matter in the form of

transmisoras de cultura, de procesos que no se pueden separar.

Sostener como afirma Wolf, la idea de la universalidad de los contactos y de la influencia humana, nos ha permitido reconocer la gran cantidad de elementos que suceden en la simultaneidad y en la difusión, tanto del conocimiento, como de la cultura material. Se trata, antes como hoy, de procesos materiales identificables que se transmiten de lugar en lugar, entre iguales y desconocidos, y que llevan la impronta de lo nuevo mezclado con lo viejo. El relato de Wolf en esta obra, (ver especialmente el capítulo VIII. El comercio y la conquista de oriente y el capítulo XI, el Movimiento de mercancías), son ejemplos inevitables de cómo se repetican inventos, descubrimientos, técnicas y diseños de vida en distintas partes del mundo.

Hoy como ayer, la repetición, la simultaneidad, la copia, la adaptación, y extensivamente, podemos decir, la piratería, la falsificación, son fenómenos consustanciales al contacto y a la difusión que han construido el mundo humano.

No podríamos entender la piratería, la falsificación, la copia, si no miramos las interconexiones globales al estilo de lo que hace Wolf (1994) en esta vasta obra. Adoptemos con él “... la universalidad del contacto y de la influencia humana; que por lo que hace

a las sociedades humanas, sean prehistóricas, primitivas o modernas, las contemplemos como sistemas abiertos, no cerrados; que las veamos como inextricablemente entrelazadas con otros agregados, cercanos y distantes...” (Wolf, 1994. Citando a Lesser. Pág. 34).

El tráfico de pieles en América del Norte, abundantemente descrito por Wolf (1994) es similar al tráfico de productos manufacturados entre China y el resto de países, todos aquellos a los que los tentáculos de la gigantesca producción barata china alcanza. La expansión del capitalismo hacia distintas partes del globo, la aceleración de la globalización, va alcanzando a todas las poblaciones del planeta. Las poblaciones, en términos de este análisis de Wolf (1994) son transmisoras de la cultura, bajo cualquiera de sus expresiones. Transmiten cultura material, conocimientos, costumbres, estilos, técnicas productivas y objetos materiales.

Esta forma de transmisión también es desigual. Desde el momento en que cambiamos de paradigma, los asuntos relativos a la piratería o lo que se considera piratear, también pueden cambiar. O debemos cambiarlos de óptica, movernos de foco y tratar de permanecer lejos de los estigmas vulgares y simples.

La globalización no puede verse solamente como un proceso económico, con sus característicos elementos que le han ido dando cuerpo: la libre movilidad de capitales, el

de lo que está por venir. En España solamente, la deuda ha aumentado al 72% del PIB, (Periódico La Razón, Sección Negocios, pág 20. Aura Hernández , reportera), es decir, se encuentra en su máximo histórico. El desempleo afecta al 22% de la población en edad de trabajar y los despídos lanzan mensualmente decenas de trabajadores a la calle.

El desempleo en niveles record, que tardará décadas en recuperar sus niveles y cientos tal vez de personas amenazadas por el desamparo y la muerte, irán acompañadas obviamente de un crecimiento rampante de la informalidad y la ilegalidad, necesarias y potenciadas cuando las sociedades entran en crisis. Nos ha sucedido a economías como la mexicana, un cuestionamiento moral y de valores que sobreviene a los conflictos económicos profundos. ¿Qué razones habría para parar las conductas informales o ilegales cuando las crisis arrasan a poblaciones enteras y se generalizan los delitos de cuello blanco, como las estafas financieras, los tratados irregulares y tramposos entre países?

Pareciera que la globalización entra a uno de sus momentos más difíciles, y con ello los efectos no deseados de la globalización informalizada como la he llamado: la expansión de la economía informal, de la piratería y de la economía propiamente ilegal, como el narcotráfico.

Debe reconocerse que el conocimiento y la invención son patrimonio de la humanidad. La imaginación, por sí misma no crea. Ningún invento puede sacarse de la nada. A un conocimiento sigue su perfeccionamiento, o un nuevo descubrimiento. Ningún inventor que carezca de la información del entorno puede sentarse y sacar algo de la nada.

Hablamos de un complejo humano de descubrimientos e invenciones, que requiere de la aplicación de hechos y experiencias pasadas muy diversas. Muchos de ellos han sido hechos más de una vez, simultáneamente. Otros, son una creación única y original, de un solo lugar, que después tiene amplia difusión debido a los contactos y aprendizajes humanos. Los modernos medios de comunicación las difunden velozmente, sean conocimientos, hechos científicos y tecnológicos o las patentes. Con el comercio, cada vez más una figura característica e imprescindible de la globalización, fluyen datos, conocimientos, inventos y técnicas.

La piratería, la copia, la falsificación, son resultado de estas múltiples interconexiones en red. Si adoptamos la tesis central del trabajo de Wolf en su magnífica obra, "*Europa y la Gente sin Historia*", recordaremos que "los habitantes del mundo van quedando cada vez más atrapados en el cambio general de alcance continental o mundial " (Wolf, 1994:33). Se trata de relaciones interactuantes,

food, the complementarities in question are alimentary: prey-predator or parasite-host being two of the most common. In this situation, symbiotic relations can act as intercalary elements aiding the process of building food webs by establishing local couplings. Examples include the bacteria that live in the guts of many animals allowing them to digest their food, or the fungi and other microorganisms which form the "rhizosphere", the underground food chains which interconnect plant roots and soil.

The world of geology also has actualizations of these virtual operations, a good example being that of igneous rocks. Unlike sandstone, igneous rocks such as granite are not the result of sedimentation and cementation, but the product of a very different construction process forming directly out of cooling magma. As magma cools down its different elements begin to separate as they crystallize in sequence, those that solidify earlier serving as containers for those which acquire a crystal form later. In these circumstances the result is a complex set of heterogeneous crystals which interlock with one another, and this is what gives granite its superior strength. Here the intercalary elements include anything which brings about local articulations from within the crystals, including nucleation centers and certain line defects

called dislocations, as well as local articulation between crystals, such as events occurring at the interface between liquids and solids. Thus, granite may be said to be an instance of a meshwork.

In the socio-economic sphere, pre-capitalist markets may be considered examples of cultural meshworks. In many cultures weekly markets have traditionally been the meeting place for people with heterogeneous needs and offers. Markets connect people by matching complementary demands, that is, by interlocking them on the basis of their needs and offers. Money (even primitive money such as salt blocks or cowry shells) may be said to perform the function of intercalary element: while with pure barter the possibility of two exactly matching demands meeting by chance is very low, when money is present those chance encounters become unnecessary, and complementary demands may find each other at a distance, so to speak. ¹⁰

Thus, much as sandstone, animal species and social classes may be said to be divergent actualizations of a virtual process of "double articulation" which brings homogenous components together, granite, ecosystems and markets are actualizations of a virtual process which links heterogeneous elements as such through interlock and intercalation. Moreover, the diagram behind the genesis of meshworks, is directly related by Deleuze and Guattari, to the simpler abstract

machines animating intense, far-from-equilibrium matter. As they write:

“It is no longer a question of imposing a form upon a matter but of elaborating an increasingly rich and consistent material, the better to tap increasingly intense forces. What makes a material increasingly rich is the same as what holds heterogeneities together without their ceasing to be heterogeneous.”¹¹

Thus, given the close connection between intense matter and the concept of the diagrammatic, we may seem to have here an opposition between stratified and diagram-embodying structures. Yet, as Deleuze and Guattari argue, it is important not to treat the dichotomy of strata and self-consistent aggregates as embodying a static typology. Neither meshworks nor strata occur in pure form, and more often than not we are confronted with mixtures and hybrids of the two. Beyond that, self-organizing, diagrammatic processes« participate in the creation of strata (e.g. the rivers that sort the pebbles or the crystallizations of the percolating solution that cements them together), and sorted, homogenized elements can sometimes function as intercalary elements (here one can offer the Internet as an example, a true meshwork of networks, yet made possible by the existence of homogenous standards, such as those for the HTML language). Hence, it

is better to picture this dichotomy as a continuum, having at one end the most hierarchical, stratified structures, and at the other end pure, intense matter at its limit of destratification, that is, the plane of consistency. As they put it:

“We cannot, however, content ourselves with a dualism between the plane of consistency and its diagrams and abstract machines on the one hand, and the strata and their programs and concrete assemblages on the other. Abstract machines do not exist only on the plane of consistency, upon which they develop diagrams; they are already present, enveloped or ‘encasted’ in the strata in general...Thus there are two complementary movements, one by which abstract machines work the strata and are constantly setting things loose, another by which they are effectively stratified, effectively captured by the strata. On the one hand, strata could never organize themselves if they did not harness diagrammatic matters or functions, and formalize them...On the other hand, abstract machines would never be present, even on the strata, if they did not have the power or potentiality to extract and accelerate destratified particle-signs (the passage to the absolute).”¹²

It should be clear by now that talk of “stratification” of abstract machines is simply another way of discussing the actualization of the

Es de destacar la manera en que aborda el problema del capital. Es un modo de vida, cuya esencia incluye la fetichización y el proceso de enmascarar los procesos reales que no son visibles a simple vista.

Siempre se ha basado en la especulación: *nuevos procesos, nuevas tecnologías, nuevos espacios e instalaciones, nuevos procesos de trabajo ...debe ser rentable, esas es su substancia* (Harvey, 2008: 375). El capital hará lo que le sea rentable, si no, lo desecha.

Desde el momento en que todo se privatiza, las sociedades encuentran sus maneras de sobrevivir a esta privatización y control. Generan, como afirma Lomnitz, sus espacios de informalidad y caos. Decíamos en una sección de este trabajo, todo se privatiza y todo se piratiza, y por ello, ¿todos seremos ciudadanos piratas? Es el uso de la tecnología lo que nos hace piratas. Y entonces, ¿debemos detener el desarrollo de esas plataformas tecnológicas?

O más bien debemos plantearnos la necesidad de cambiar el paradigma. Todo va en la dirección de penalizar, criminalizar, señalar. ¿No sería conveniente dejar que el copyleft avance en su legislación, y dejar de fijarnos solamente en el copyright?

Hacer piratería hoy, con el grado de desarrollo tecnológico que tenemos, ya no es solamente comprar en un puesto de la calle. Todo está

sujeto a las leyes antipiratería, a las descargas por internet o a la utilización de cualquier cosa con derechos de autor, sin el consentimiento del mismo.

Indudablemente en este tema hay un gran reto jurídico y de normas internacionales que nos obliga a repensar qué hacemos con el conocimiento humano en la era global; cómo podemos vivir con menos persecución y más libertad para usar la tecnología existente; cómo podemos hacerla llegar de manera más equitativa y democrática a la mayoría de la población del planeta. La legislación va muy atrás de lo que está sucediendo en la vida cotidiana de la gente.

La economía global ha creado grandes problemas aun sin solución. Baste ver el proceso conflictivo de desintegración-integración forzada de la Unión Europea, donde al menos tres países han llegado ya a su límite crítico: Grecia, España, y Portugal. Más allá de los conflictos económicos serios que han puesto a la población en alerta y han provocado suicidios y muertes, estamos frente a un cuestionamiento profundo de cómo se ha conducido la globalización.

Economías como las señaladas, en recesión, con niveles de deuda pública fuera de control, sectores financieros urgidos de capitalización, falta de acceso al crédito de las familias y empresas, son solamente una parte dramática

todos al mercado..."(Ibid., 307). No es tarea fácil, el capitalismo es un feroz innovador altamente competitivo, por lo que se tiene que pensar en fórmulas que más que inhibir esas fuerzas las regulen.

¿Sería posible una política que mas que permitir la fabricación y circulación de piratería, etiquetara de acuerdo a su origen y distribución algunos productos, controlándolos, para hacerlos asequibles a mercados y consumidores muy específicos? Me refiero a piratería etiquetada. Reconocida como copia. Reconocerla y hacerla pagar impuestos, tal vez muy bajos.

Diagnosticar no basta. Buscar las lógicas no es suficiente. Es necesario darle algunas salidas a los problemas generados por la piratería. Un diagnóstico, que como sugiere Lomnitz (Nexos: 2011: 11) distinga con claridad como todo buen diagnóstico, las causas de los efectos, debería encontrar una respuesta por parte de los hacedores de política pública.

"Es profundamente ingenuo pensar que los mercados ilegales pueden desaparecer sin más del mapa nacional...no (se) ha entendido de qué está hecho el orden local y cómo la política municipal y su gestión de los mercados informales e ilegales son algunos de los pilares en los que se sustenta dicho orden..." (Lomnitz, Nexos: 12).

Si entendemos que se trata de un

fenómeno de carácter mundial, que afecta de manera más agresiva a algunas regiones del planeta, tal vez encontraremos soluciones locales, o mejor, contenciones locales, a problemas mundiales.

Podemos decir, citando a Escalante, que: *"...en cualquier parte del mundo hace falta una fuerza pública arraigada localmente para organizar esos mercados, porque no van a desaparecer, y porque implican transacciones cotidianas, regulares, en las que participa buena parte de la sociedad"* (Lomnitz, citando a Escalante, Nexos: 12).

"El capital es un proceso, no una cosa. Es un proceso de reproducción de la vida social a través de la producción de mercancías, en el que todos los que vivimos en el mundo capitalista avanzado estamos envueltos. Sus pautas operativas internalizadas están destinadas a garantizar el dinamismo y el carácter revolucionario de un modo de organización social que, de manera incesante, transforma a la sociedad en que está inserto. El proceso enmascara y fetichiza, crece a través de la destrucción creativa, crea nuevas aspiraciones y necesidades, explota la capacidad de trabajo y el deseo humanos, transforma los espacios y acelera el ritmo de vida. Produce problemas de hiper-acumulación para los cuales sólo hay un número limitado de soluciones posibles" (Harvey, 2008: 375).

virtual, or in other words, that the theory of diagrams developed in "A Thousand Plateaus" was already present in Deleuze's early work.

Indeed, I would go as far as saying that this theory was developed in much more detail in "Difference and Repetition", and that it is this book that constitutes the main reservoir of conceptual resources needed to approach diagrammatic thinking. In the preface to the English edition, Deleuze calls "Difference and Repetition" the first book where he speaks in his own voice and asserts that everything else he wrote (including his collaborations with Guattari) leads back to this volume. Indeed, chapter 3 of this book (where he presents his own "image of thought") is called "the most necessary and the most concrete, and which serves to introduce subsequent books"¹³. In this chapter Deleuze proposes that thinking consists not in problem-solving (as most treatments of diagrams and diagrammatic reasoning suggest), but on the contrary, that given the real (though virtual) existence of problems in the world itself, true thinking consists in problem-

posing, that is, in framing the right problems rather than solving them. It is only through skillful problem-posing that we can begin to think diagrammatically.

Manuel Delanda, New York City, 1998

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¹ Eugene S. Ferguson. Engineering and the Mind's Eye. (MIT Press, Cambridge Mass., 1993).

² See, for example, the essays included in Diagrammatic Reasoning, Cognitive and Computational Perspectives., Janice Glasgow, Harí Narayanan and B. Chandrasekaran editors. (AAAI Press, Menlo Park California, 1995).

³ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. A Thousand Plateaus. (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1987). p. 141

⁴ Gilles Deleuze. Difference and Repetition. (Columbia University Press, New York, 1994) p. 212

⁵ Ibid. p. 214.

⁶ Ibid. p. 222.

⁷ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. A Thousand Plateaus. op. cit. p. 141.

⁸ Ibid. p. 141.

⁹ See more detailed discussion, and references in:

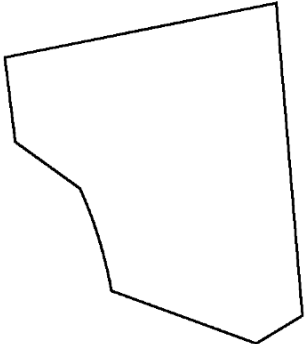
Manuel Delanda. A Thousand Years on Nonlinear History. (Zone Books, New York 1997). p. 59-62

¹⁰ Ibid. pages 62-66.

¹¹ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. A Thousand Plateaus. op. cit. p. 329.

¹² Ibid. p. 144.

¹³ Gilles Deleuze. Difference and Repetition. op. cit. p. xvii.

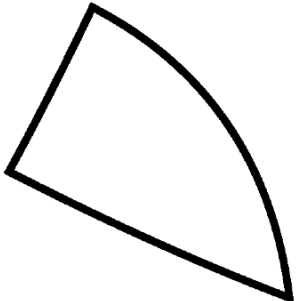


David Lara Catalán (2017)

PREFACIO

Hace ya muchos años me encontré con la novela de Luis G. Inclán titulada “Astucia”. Una novela de más de 600 páginas no parecía nada sugerente para leer; sin embargo lo hice, y en aquella época la entendí como un libro de aventuras, un libro de historias que narraba la forma en cómo algunos individuos traficaban con la hoja de tabaco. En el marco de sus peripecias y de sus actividades polémicas, se encontraban seres humanos capaces de, a pesar de sus actividades ilícitas, hacer algo por los demás, lo cual les generaba aprecio y un sin fin de cómplices así como también, debido a la intriga y a la envidia, una buena cantidad de enemigos. El lenguaje florido con el que retrataban muchas de sus costumbres y actitudes resultaba ágil y de un gran sentido común, como ejemplos: “Con astucia y reflexión se aprovecha la ocasión”.

¹ Luis G. Inclán. Astucia. México. Porrúa editores, 2011. 640 pp.



La globalización ha llegado a todo el mundo pero de manera muy desigual. Son unos los que están en la ola globalizadora, aprovechando sus ventajas, como es el caso de China y Corea del Sur y otros los que recibimos los impactos de dichas desigualdades.

La globalización ha representado una pérdida de la capacidad de gestión nacional, al tiempo que en el caso de México ha ido deteriorando la capacidad productiva que alguna vez tuvimos. Está claro que no podemos ser competitivos en los términos en que lo pueden ser los tigres del Pacífico. Contrariamente con ello, México se ha situado en el mapa de la globalización como un país eminentemente comercializador; la competencia china ha arrasado con buena parte de nuestras empresas especialmente en el sector textil, calzado, artículos de papelería, bicicletas y herramientas en general.

En México, donde existe un enorme sistema de regulación informal,

Sandra Alarcón (2008)

pensar en que son una o dos políticas públicas las que pueden desaparecer controlar o disminuir la piratería, es impensable. Menos aún si consideramos que se trata de un fenómeno de veloz expansión, propulsado mundialmente por las políticas económicas globalizadoras. Ello no obsta para pensar sobre algunas posibles soluciones.

Pensar en los términos que propone De Soto (1987) para la actividad informal en general no parece inútil, si consideramos que la franja más grande y complicada de la informalidad globalizada es la piratería. Al referirse a la importancia que tiene desregular De Soto propone delegar en las organizaciones informales lo que mejor saben hacer y dar acceso al mercado extendiendo los derechos de los ciudadanos, no restringiéndolos. En sus términos, “Un Estado desregulado realiza esos objetivos facilitando y controlando el funcionamiento del mercado, ... En otras palabras, no se trata de abolir la actividad informal sino más bien de integrarla, legalizarla y promoverla. Se trata de combatir los monopolios y oligopolios privados permitiendo el acceso de

migración- desarrollo tomando como centro de atención las cadenas globales de cuidados nos permite plantearnos nuevas cuestiones y ofrece una perspectiva de análisis que prioriza la vida humana como preocupación primordial de los procesos de desarrollo.

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⁴ Este derecho es una reescritura del derecho a la maternidad y abarca, sin limitarse a ellos, los denominados derechos de conciliación de la vida laboral y familiar. El derecho a elegir libremente sobre los cuidados supone la garantía social de un grado suficiente de desfamiliarización, que complementaría a la posibilidad de

desmercantilización como dimensiones básicas de los estados del bienestar. La desmercantilización (concepto proporcionado por Gøsta Esping-Andersen, 1990, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*) se refiere a la posibilidad de romper el vínculo con el mercado laboral y seguir teniendo un nivel de vida adecuado. Podríamos decir que determina la protección social frente a los riesgos que históricamente solían sufrir los hombres: la ruptura del lazo con el mercado laboral. La desfamiliarización (concepto propuesto por Eithne McLoughlin y Caroline Glendinning, 1994, "Paying for care in Europe: Is There a Feminist Approach?", en *Hantrais y Mangen* (eds.), *Family Policy and the Welfare Women*) establece el grado en el que una persona puede renunciar a cuidar y, al mismo tiempo, saber que esa atención va a ser proporcionada por otros agentes sociales. Podríamos decir que se refiere a las realidades laborales típicamente femeninas -la posibilidad de ruptura con el trabajo de cuidados no remunerado.

indiferencia ante la suerte de quien mucho había hecho por ellos: “*Qué egoístas, viles y canalias, no son más que convenencieros (...)* Todos para uno, uno para todos, *qué bien comprenden esos hombres estas palabras, dejan al uno a que corra el riesgo, mientras los todos se quedan divirtiéndose*”, concluye Lorenzo.

Encontré en mi primera lectura varios paralelismos culturales, sociales y económicos de aquel México de finales del siglo XIX con el México de fines del siglo XX. Lo que no descubrí, entonces, en aquella lectura inicial de *Astucia* es algo que ahora encuentro tan evidente: *Astucia* bien puede representar una apología de la ilegalidad, es decir, una representación y justificación de prácticas ilegales con tal de salir adelante en la vida, así sea para subsistir, al no contar con recursos económicos y financieros. No importa mucho el esquema, si es legal o no, moral o no, justificable o no, lo que importa es acceder a beneficios que de otra forma no tendrían forma de alcanzarlos.

Me pregunto qué tanto esto es ejemplo de la forma en cómo se veía al país: cual tesoro del que todos quieren aunque sea una porción, no importando el cómo, no importando la existencia del otro. Me parece propicio, por lo demás, traer a colación aquel gran fondo de la novela *Astucia*: es decir, esta especie de apología de la

2 Ibíd. p. 625.

ilegalidad y plantear puntos de reflexión respecto a temas como los siguientes: qué tanto ese marco histórico-cultural pervive en buena parte de nuestro imaginario social y cultural, cómo se origina esa forma de hacer, cómo impacta nuestro tiempo que vivimos y, además, preguntarnos si acaso existe algún modo de darle un giro, además: ¿es un caso privativo de nuestro contexto o es, más bien, parte del imaginario social en un sentido amplio que trasciende tiempos, regiones, personas, historias? ¿Le podemos dar la vuelta con leyes anticorrupción? ¿Si hemos acusado problemas de impunidad, entonces es vano pensar en un sistema de leyes que sólo se focalice en el delito como tal y minimice el delito pero no a la impunidad? Tengo la impresión que el tema de la ilegalidad, como ejemplo su apología, encierra una visión muy compleja dentro de nuestro sistema de creencias al cual no necesariamente se le combate con leyes más duras o penas más estrictas y sí más mediante un proceso de sensibilización (educación) moral.

En nuestra segunda década del siglo XXI, insistimos en pensar en temas como gobernanza y con ello en transparencia, rendición de cuentas, colaboración gobiernos-organizaciones de la sociedad civil, disminución de la corrupción y de la impunidad, entre otros varios temas. Al respecto se han construido marcos institucionales

que involucran marcos jurídicos, normativos, técnicamente

sustentados, aunque cabe decirlo: el tema es sólo para unos cuantos, para especialistas, sin necesariamente permear culturalmente en mayores sectores sociales. Me parece

que es oportuno señalar que una verdadera cultura de la legalidad tiene que ver con conocimientos y prácticas al respecto de estos temas, así también con ejemplos de que estamos interesados en la justicia, en generar discusiones para entender y construir una mejor aproximación hacia la ética, con tal de dejar atrás expresiones como la de Astucia: “En este pícaro mundo, todos, de arriba abajo, chico y grande, no somos más que contrabandistas, que estudiamos el modo de sacar ventaja de cuantos modos podemos, y si me encuentro hoy sin recursos, es por haberme olvidado de esa prevención tan precisa para subsistir”. Aún más fuerte resuena la expresión del gobernador, que a la postre se convierte en el suegro de Lorenzo Cabello y que al ser incitado a dejar el poder no hace más que reconocer que habría alguna razón para hacerlo y la cual hace patente en esta frase: “Sólo he sacado la ventaja de conocer a fondo a mis compatriotas para no volver a alternar con ninguno, porque todos no estudian más que el modo de vivir a costa del erario de puros holgazanes, o sacar cuantas ventajas puedan de su opinión tan voluble

como el viento”⁴.

A MODO DE INTRODUCCIÓN:

Dice un dicho popular que “tiempo pasado fue mejor”. A veces la conclusión se debe sólo a que ese tiempo ya pasó, como *quiera que sea*. En cuestiones del espíritu humano, de su conducta, de su susceptibilidad a rechazar nuevas formas de hacer o pensar y con esto la negación de otros mecanismos con los cuales experimentar el mundo aplica casi de manera puntual este dicho. Cuántas veces hemos oído decir a nuestros antepasados (y a nosotros mismos) que en sus tiempos (los nuestros) era impensable tal o cual conducta: “En mi época eso que ahora vemos era impensable”. “En mis tiempos sí había respeto”, se suele decir, casi como consigna. Pero, viéndonos ya de frente, *vis a vis*, ¿realmente esas expresiones son verdaderas? O, ¿es la añoranza de un tiempo que quién sabe cuando existió la que nos hace hablar? Realmente no lo sé. El tema moral, dentro de sus diversas facetas, tiene un carácter aspiracional y se presta, sin duda, para mucha más polémica. Lo que sí me parece oportuno decir es que cada época parece quejarse de las nuevas generaciones, de los nuevos tiempos y así *ad infinitum*. Históricamente, según lo veo, nos encontramos, de modo simultáneo, con ejemplos de buenos modales y malas costumbres, de frustraciones morales y aspiraciones a mejores mecanismos de interacción social,

diversidad de experiencias, así como el cruce del género con otros ejes de ordenación social y las vulnerabilidades específicas de ciertas situaciones –como la de las empleadas de hogar.

Afirmábamos al comienzo del texto que las cadenas globales de cuidados son una localización estratégica de las dinámicas de género en la economía global actual y que proporcionan una plataforma privilegiada desde la que debatir los vínculos entre migración y desarrollo. Son una localización estratégica porque permiten debatir públicamente cuestiones que, a menudo, permanecen ocultas (forman parte, diríamos, de la agenda oculta del desarrollo): de un lado, el lugar que los cuidados ocupan en la estructura social y la prioridad que se les otorga en los modelos de desarrollo, tanto a nivel local como nacional y global, y, de otro, el papel que juega el género como eje vertebrador de los sistemas sociales y económicos, es decir, el lugar que se considera adecuado para mujeres y hombres en la economía.

Igualmente, es una localización estratégica por- que permite plantearse cuestiones de hondo calado para el desarrollo global, entre ellas:

- El cruce del género con otros ejes de jerarquización social en los procesos migratorios y

en la conformación de una nueva y sexualizada división internacional del trabajo que es consecuencia del proceso de globalización.

- La sostenibilidad del modelo de desarrollo y de liberación de las mujeres en expansión desde los países del centro. La transformación de las expectativas sociales de las mujeres, en un contexto de ausencia de responsabilidad de los hombres y de necesaria invisibilidad de los cuidados para mantener la estructura socioeconómica, ha derivado en una profunda crisis, cuya con- tención se basa, en gran medida, en la mano de obra migrante. Atendiendo a estos fenómenos, podemos preguntarnos : ¿hasta qué punto dichos modelos de desarrollo y liberación son sostenibles a nivel global?, ¿hasta qué punto el género sigue siendo el eje organizativo de los cuidados, si bien ya no tanto a nivel nacional como transnacional gracias a los flujos migratorios femeninos?

- Los derechos que ha de tender a garantizar el proceso de desarrollo: Surgen con fuerza derechos hasta ahora no reconocidos como tal. De un lado, el derecho a recibir cuidados adecuados, en general, y en situación de necesidad especializada o intensificada, en particular. De otro, el derecho a elegir libre- mente sobre los cuidados, esto es, si se de- sea o no cuidar y garantizar que el cuidado se proporcione en condiciones adecuadas⁴.

En definitiva, analizar el vínculo

3 Ibidem. p. 518.

4 Ibidem. p. 617.

separación física (Parreñas, 2001 y 2005). A pesar de estos esfuerzos, queda la duda de si la migración está teniendo efectos adversos en términos de destrutturación familiar y falta de atención suficiente a ciertos sectores de la población, especialmente, la niñez y adolescencia.

Más allá del impacto en los hogares, a nivel social surge la preocupación de si la migración tiende a generar una “exportación de cuidados” desde los países de origen. Por tratarse de asuntos que tocan aspectos esenciales del ordenamiento social de género, los efectos sobre la familia de la migración laboral femenina, en particular, no han sido tratados.

Los cuidados y la agenda global del desarrollo

Mientras que los procesos socioeconómicos que ocurren en el terreno de lo público se han debatido abiertamente y se han negociado bajo parámetros institucionales más o menos consensuados, la remisión de los trabajos de cuidados al ámbito de lo privado-doméstico ha supuesto que su reparto se haya dado en base a coordenadas morales que terminaban por naturalizar una distribución profundamente desigual entre mujeres y hombres. La ausencia de este tema en las agendas públicas del desarrollo es el corolario de esta naturalización de la división sexual del trabajo.

El reciente Consenso de Quito,

firmado el pasado 9 de agosto de 2007 por los gobiernos de los países participantes en la Décima Conferencia Regional sobre la Mujer de América Latina y el Caribe, supone un avance clave a este respecto. Supone el reconocimiento intergubernamental “[d]el valor social y económico del trabajo doméstico no remunerado de las mujeres, del cuidado como un asunto público que compete a los Estados, gobiernos locales, organizaciones, empresas y familias, y la necesidad de promover la responsabilidad compartida de mujeres y hombres en el ámbito familiar”. Y, más aún, establece compromisos en consecuencia, acordando: “Adoptar las medidas necesarias, especialmente de carácter económico, social y cultural, para que los Estados asuman la reproducción social, el cuidado y el bienestar de la población como objetivo de la economía y responsabilidad pública indelegable”.

Urge seguir esta línea y profundizar este proceso de debate público sobre la organización social de los cuidados como parte de los modelos de desarrollo, locales, nacionales y globales. Este debate ha de permitir revalorizar los cuidados y asegurar que quienes se responsabilizan de ellos tengan pleno acceso a los derechos de ciudadanía. Es especialmente importante escuchar las voces de las mujeres, protagonistas históricas de estas esferas, y reconocer su

con mejores quieros decir más justos, más equitativos, etcétera; por lo que es difícil aceptar que un tiempo fue mejor que otro, intentar hacerlo sería una comparación muy arbitraria y con grandes sesgos. Son comparaciones realmente asimétricas. Sólo como preguntas: ¿Qué es México? ¿Qué es lo mexicano? ¿Hemos avanzado en términos de pensar que somos mejores, moralmente más responsables, que los mexicanos de hace ya varias décadas? El país México incluso es bastante joven: apenas lleva poco más de 200 años. Hay, por lo demás, tantas respuestas y variantes como nosotros podíamos imaginar y, seguramente, no habría un consenso al respecto. La heterogeneidad es radical e histórica. De ahí se desprende el tema de esterilidad de tales discusiones: si no se aportan las suficientes razones y argumentos difícilmente se puede conducir este ejercicio del modo más racional posible. Cada quien pretenderá tener la razón, y no una razón parcial, sino la razón total. En cierto momento podría terminar incluso en pleito personal. A pesar de estos óbices espero llegar a buen término con el manejo de ideas que busco delinear a lo largo de estas líneas y que tienen como finalidad los siguientes objetivos: esbozar la idea del imaginario social y trazar algunas reflexiones.

Algunas de las ideas que me habrán de permitir el diseño de mis planteamientos tienen que ver con la idea del imaginario social, una idea manejada, entre otros, por Cornelius

Castoriadis, así como algunas ideas de Paul Ricoeur. Según lo veo, en el imaginario colectivo social reside no sólo una forma de hacer o recrear la vida social; sino también aquellas instituciones que hacen posible que esas formas existan, pervivan, den forma a las diversas creaciones sociales, éstas se oxigenan en el imaginario, se nutren de formas rituales, del lenguaje que las reproduce y que, incluso con astucia, recrean el sendero por el que habrán de transitar. No necesariamente es un ejercicio racional. Como su nombre lo indica, es imaginativo.

1. El imaginario social

Cornelius Castoriadis⁵ usó el término imaginario social. Dijo él: “no se puede explicar ni el nacimiento de la sociedad ni las evoluciones de la historia por factores naturales, biológicos u otros, tampoco a través de una actividad racional (...) tenemos que postular necesariamente un poder de creación, una *vis formandi*, immanente tanto a las colectividades humanas como a los seres humanos singulares. Esto es el imaginario e imaginación”⁶.

Lo que se ha dicho acerca del imaginario, imaginación, tiene que ver, a veces, con una visión reduccionista de lo imaginado,

5 Cornelius Castoriadis, *Figuras de lo pensable*, México, FCE, 2006. México, pp. 93-114.

6 *Ibíd.* p. 94.

casi como una cuestión patológica. Sin embargo, para algunos otros autores en lo imaginario, imaginario social o cultural, reside una buena posibilidad de clarificar mucho de lo que construimos tanto en el plano individual como social. El imaginario social parece, a veces, confundirse con la noción de ideología, en el sentido de falsa conciencia. Pero el tema va más allá. Proponer en estas líneas una aproximación hacia la filosofía de la imaginación es una forma de rastrear o indagar acerca de cómo se crean las colectividades o las individualidades, cómo se reproducen más allá de la lógica de la razón, cómo en lo que parece, de pronto, inexplicable, se puede encontrar aquello que le ha dado sustento a una forma de vida o una forma de hacer. Cuánto hay de las formas socialmente establecidas, y aceptadas, que encuentran sustento en el imaginario social y cuánto de lo que es posible que suceda emana de lo mismo. Y, por qué no preguntarlo: cuánto de astucia, es decir, esa habilidad para responder de modo rápido, ágil, si se quiere un poco mañosamente, aunque a veces arbitrario, ante tal o cual situación, encierra ese imaginario para hacer posible un marco social que de acuerdo con determinadas condiciones actúe de cierto modo, responda a cuestiones que no son explicables a través de la lógica de la racionalidad. Es decir, no todo es congruencial!

Si aceptamos la novela de Astucia como apología de la ilegalidad y

como reflejo cultural y social, no sólo simbólico, de una época, de un tiempo histórico que, desde mi perspectiva, no ha modificado en esencia, ya que si bien es cierto que hay muchas cuestiones normativas o jurídicas que matizan esa apología, en realidad dentro del imaginario cultural y social en el que nos desenvolvemos sigue existiendo gran parte de ese contenido, es decir, esas figuras de incongruencia que bien puedan apuntalar el difícil tránsito hacia mejores niveles de civilización. Por lo que focalizar la atención sólo en mejores mecanismos normativos y jurídicos, instrumentos de una racionalidad normativa, resultan insuficientes para abordar de fondo el tema de la ilegalidad vestida, entre otras ropajes más, de trampa. Esos marcos normativos y jurídicos pasan por alto el tema de las pasiones humanas, tampoco las inhiben, tal vez corren paralelamente, pero no obstruyen el desarrollo de la ilegalidad y no veo forma de cómo una impacte a la otra como para generar un nuevo ambiente, una atmósfera en donde sea posible respirar mecanismos de respeto basados en la legalidad y el reconocimiento de que sólo así es posible una convivencia civilizada, productiva, legitimada en acciones de justicia. Nuestro imaginario social, permeado de astucia, sigue alentando –reproduciendo–, formas de sacar ventaja a los demás como el mecanismo de obtener un beneficio o alcanzar una meta.

funcionamiento del mercado de cuidados que posibilita este flujo de mano de obra. Por otro, nos preguntariamos sobre el volumen de remesas que envían estas mujeres y su efecto en las comunidades de origen. Sin embargo, si utilizamos una noción amplia del sistema económico, surge con fuerza otra pregunta, a saber: cuál es el impacto del funcionamiento de estas cadenas en la provisión de cuidados. Los cuidados son la gestión y el mantenimiento cotidiano de la vida y de la salud, la provisión diaria de bienestar físico y emocional; y, por ende, expresan de forma cotidiana los niveles y posibilidades de desarrollo. Este impacto ha de evaluarse tanto en el seno de los hogares que forman parte de las cadenas (los cuidados como parte del proceso de creación de medios de vida sostenibles), como a nivel colectivo, analizando el papel e impacto de estas cadenas en la organización social de los cuidados en los países de origen y destino.

En los países de destino, los hogares que contratan a personas migrantes se benefician claramente de este trabajo, que responde a necesidades concretas y cotidianas. Son los propios hogares reunificados de las personas migrantes los que pueden experimentar más seriamente las dificultades de conciliación de la vida laboral y familiar. A nivel

desatendiendo, por tanto, al vínculo entre este impacto (¿negativo o positivo?) y el impacto más claramente positivo en los países de destino.

social, el aporte de las mujeres migrantes resulta crucial para cubrir, cuando menos parcialmente, el déficit de cuidados generado por la crisis de los cuidados. Sin embargo, surgen dudas sobre si la conformación de cadenas forma parte de una reorganización social de los cuidados que resulte viable y equitativa a medio o largo plazo. Los cuidados siguen siendo uno de los pilares del desarrollo más invisibilizados. Si bien las condiciones de la invisibilidad mutan, la invisibilidad misma permanece (por ejemplo, parte del trabajo de cuidados pasa a ser pagado, pero, a la par, se transfiere a una mujer indocumentada que carece de derechos de ciudadanía). Y sigue sin existir una responsabilidad social en su provisión, que abarque a los hombres, el estado y el sector privado. Es más, cabría hablar de un proceso de cierre reaccionario de la crisis, en la medida en que este cierre se basa en las mismas condiciones de invisibilidad, de falta de responsabilidad social y de distribución de los trabajos por ejes de poder, dando lugar a una nueva y sexualizada división internacional de los trabajos, en la que el género está fuertemente marcado por factores como la etnia, la clase o el lugar de procedencia.

En los países de origen, la migración tiene un fuerte impacto en los hogares, que se ven obligados, como comentábamos anteriormente, a una reorganización de las tareas y responsabilidades y a inventar nuevas formas cuidar a pesar de la

provocado la quiebra de este modelo. Una de las vías de respuesta ha sido externalizar parte de las tareas que antes se realizaban en los hogares, o salarizar parte del trabajo de cuidados en lo doméstico. Aquí las mujeres migrantes han asumido un papel central, al encargarse de forma creciente de estos trabajos, lo cual no es ajeno al hecho de que tiendan a ser empleos precarios y malamente remunerados. En conjunto, la crisis de los cuidados ha sido motor de la feminización de los procesos migratorios, al abrir oportunidades laborales mayoritariamente dirigidas a las mujeres en el ámbito de los cuidados, tanto en el empleo doméstico como en otros sectores relacionados, en empresas de servicios de proximidad o en servicios públicos.

Una vez desencadenada, la migración implica una recomposición de los hogares. En los hogares transnacionales, la separación de las mujeres migrantes de sus hijas/os, implica inevitablemente una redistribución de los trabajos de cuidados. A menudo, tiende a ser una familiar quien se hace cargo de ellas/os en el marco de la familia extensa. En ocasiones, se recurre a la contratación de alguna empleada de hogar. En este caso, con frecuencia se trata de migrantes internas, en ocasiones indígenas, que se trasladan del ámbito rural al urbano (como ocurre en ocasiones en Colombia) o provenientes de un país vecino (por ejemplo, mujeres

haitianas tra- bajando en República Dominicana).

Por otro lado, en los países de destino, los hogares reunificados también se enfrentan a dificultades. Los empleos ocupados por las migrantes suelen presentar condiciones de fuerte precariedad que, a su vez, dificultan sobremanera la conciliación de la vida laboral y familiar de las propias mujeres migrantes. Las soluciones exploradas son múltiples y varían desde la contratación de otra mujer migrante (por ejemplo, ecuatorianas contratadas por colombianas) hasta la reagrupación de alguna familiar o el uso de servicios públicos o privados de guardería (donde, a su vez, puede haber otras mujeres migrantes trabajando). Se enlazan así procesos migratorios transnacionales e internos; las cadenas se van extendiendo y complejizando. Nuestro ejemplo se muestra excesivamente simplista.

¿Cuáles son las consecuencias de estas cadenas para el desarrollo a nivel global?

Si entendiéramos el desarrollo en términos puramente economicistas, esta pregunta nos abriría un estrecho margen de respuesta. Por un lado, y en el mejor de los casos (esto es, considerando que no cuestionáramos el impacto en los propios países de destino¹), constataríamos el mejor

¹ En el documento de trabajo no 3 se argumenta que la discusión sobre el nexo migración-desarrollo suele centrarse en el impacto en los países de origen,

Y esto bien pareciera dar vida a un estado de heteronomía, en donde la resignación ante una forma de vida se vuelca en una constante iteración discursiva que acaba por convertirlo todo en inercia, en conformidad y resignación. “No se puede hacer nada, así somos todos, si no lo hago yo lo hará otro”, son sólo algunos eslóganes del estado de plenitud de la *heteronomía*. No faltaría quien se atreviera a decir que la educación es la alternativa. La pregunta sería qué clase de educación. Porque no es cualquier educación con la que se puede abordar el tema de una cultura que, ya sea intuitivamente o de maneras más abiertas hace apología de la ilegalidad. Tampoco es cualquier educación la que permitiría apelar a la utopía como mecanismo para crear mundos alternativos en donde, si verdaderamente existe hartazgo de la forma de vida *vivida*, sea posible encaminar esfuerzos para construir, llenar ese *lugar vacío* que representa la literalidad de la utopía, con formas más coherentes, cargadas de respeto por la existencia de los demás. Esto es una especie de aporía. El hartazgo respecto de una forma de incongruencia –ilegalidad–, se trastoca a sí mismo en incongruencia porque no deja de ser queja, enojo, fastidio, no va más allá, pareciera que ese mismo hartazgo consume el potencial de visualizar instancias más apegadas hacia espacios de legalidad, hacia la construcción de la utopía.

3. Algunas reflexiones

En fin, me parece que muchos de los rasgos de ese imaginario social hoy siguen vigentes e insisto en señalar que uno de sus signos más importantes es esta apología de la ilegalidad. Pero, en sentido ulterior, un tema que me parece fundamental es el que refiere a que no sólo es una apología de la ilegalidad el que se dibuja en ese imaginario, sino también una apología de la trampa, en tanto una figura que bien podemos llamar *apología de la inmoralidad*, es decir, de esta especie de buscar sacar ventaja en toda relación como una forma de vida que alimenta nuestro proceder y que tanta gracia le causa a muchos. “Te engañé”. “Ni cuenta te diste pero te fastidié”. “Me los chingué”, son, entre otras más, sólo algunas de las expresiones, hay muchísimas más para dar cuenta de este escenario. La trampa tiene infinidad de matices y una gran diversidad de escenarios, enumerarlos sería como un cuento sin fin. Lo que resulta, sin embargo, de la trampa es una forma de socavar toda forma de convivencia racional, de solidaridad, de respeto y de reconocimiento de la existencia de los demás, de avance y progreso social.

Porque la trampa es una forma cotidiana, continua, hay ejemplos en todos los niveles y sectores, en el fútbol fingiendo faltas para engañar al árbitro, en la escuela

acreditando niveles escolares sin tener los conocimientos propios de cada grado, en la calle, en aquellos quienes ofertan servicios -cable, telefonía, bancos, tiendas departamentales-, y que no coincide la cantidad que cobran por cada uno de éstos con las características de calidad del producto o servicio que inicialmente fue ofrecido, con la oferta de los procesos político-electorales y la poca o nula concreción de esa oferta en la vida pública, con los discursos de campaña plagiados, en fin: habría tantos ejemplos, muchos más.

Si algo caracteriza a nuestro imaginario social, me parece, es la astucia, desde ésta trazamos un sin fin de prácticas y costumbres que quien no las hace, dice la voz popular, no es que sea recto u honrado, es tonto.

¿Podemos avanzar socialmente bajo estas características apegadas a la apología de la ilegalidad o de la trampa? ¿Podemos construir mecanismos más apegados a la congruencia, es decir, apegados a un discurso y a una práctica que cree que son posibles nuevos mundos: más justos, más equitativos, de mayor respeto? ¿Nos seguiremos moviendo, individual y socialmente, entre la parte más patológica de la utopía y la ideología? ¿O colaboraremos para construir una utopía en tanto un nuevo mundo posible, distinto al que nos ha venido caracterizando en las últimas décadas? Sin duda, tenemos mucha tarea para los años por venir.

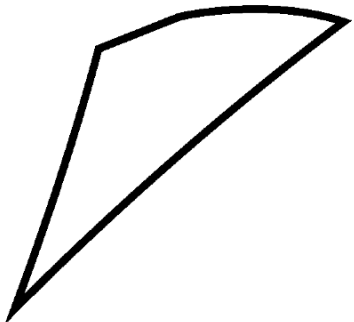
La provisión de cuidados. Esta responsabilidad tiende a recaer en las mujeres, quienes suelen asumir un protagonismo activo. En todo caso, la extensión y forma de las cadenas dependen de la distribución intrafamiliar de los cuidados. Dependen también de otros factores como la existencia de servicios públicos de cuidados, el peso del sector empresarial organizado, las políticas migratorias, la regulación del empleo doméstico, etc. Las cadenas conectan múltiples modalidades de cuidados en diversos escenarios: el mercado, lo doméstico, instituciones públicas o privadas sin ánimo de lucro... Y esos cuidados se mueven por lógicas distintas: una persona individual puede cuidar porque busca un salario y/o estar movida por sentimientos de afecto, responsabilidad, coerción, culpa... Si los cuidados se proporcionan a través de una empresa, siempre habrá un móvil de obtención de beneficio, mientras que si se proporcionan en una institución pública, el objetivo será proporcionar derechos sociales.

La conformación de estas cadenas responde, cuando menos, a la confluencia de dos fenómenos. Por un lado, los Planes de Ajuste Estructural y las sucesivas reformas de corte neoliberal que han tenido un impacto desproporcionado sobre las mujeres en los países periféricos. La feminización de los denominados circuitos globales de supervivencia es una de las estrategias económicas

que despliegan los hogares para mantenerse en contextos de crisis. Estos hogares, escenario de relaciones de género de poder que a menudo hacen a las mujeres responsables últimas, si no únicas, del bienestar doméstico, mudan de forma con la migración, conformándose los llamados hogares transnacionales. Por tanto, en el origen de las cadenas está la adscripción prioritaria y/o última a las mujeres de la responsabilidad de asegurar la sostenibilidad de los hogares en contextos de crisis de reproducción social.

Por otro lado, en los países del centro se está produciendo lo que se ha denominado una crisis de los cuidados. El modelo previo de organización social de los cuidados, que se caracterizaba por la división sexual del trabajo y la escisión social de espacios público / privado, ha quebrado. Al no existir una responsabilidad social en la provisión de cuidados en lo público, ésta recaía sobre los grupos domésticos, en lo privado, y, dadas las relaciones de poder de género intrafamiliares, sobre las mujeres. Los sistemas socioeconómicos mostraban la estructura de un iceberg: los cuidados constituían la base del conjunto social, y esta base permanecía invisibilizada; sus protagonistas no tenían pleno acceso a la condición de ciudadanía. Diversos procesos, entre los que cabe destacar el envejecimiento de la población y el cambio en los roles y aspiraciones de las mujeres, han

INTERESTING THEORY #52



La conformación de las cadenas globales de cuidados es uno de los fenómenos más paradigmáticos del actual proceso de feminización de las migraciones en el contexto de la globalización y la transformación de los estados del bienestar¹. Es más, podríamos decir que las cadenas globales de cuidados son una localización estratégica, en el sentido que define Saskia Sassen; es decir, un aspecto estratégico “de la investigación para examinar la dinámica organizadora de la globalización y para empezar a esclarecer cómo opera la dimensión de género”(Sassen, 2005: 69). Son, por tanto, un valioso posicionamiento desde el que debatir la interrelación entre la migración y el desarrollo.

Las cadenas globales de cuidados son cadenas de dimensiones transnacionales que se conforman con el objetivo de sostener cotidianamente la vida, y en las que los hogares se transfieren trabajos de cuidados de unos a otros en base a ejes de poder, entre los

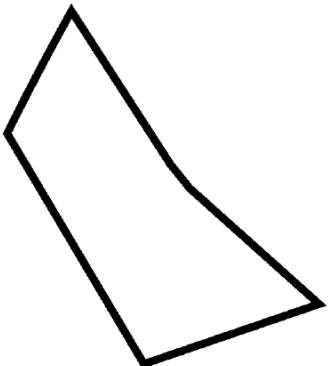
CADENAS GLOBALES DE CUIDADOS

Amaia Orozco (2007)

que cabe destacar el género, la etnia, la clase social, y el lugar de procedencia. En su versión más simple, una cadena podría conformarse por, por ejemplo, una familia española que ha decidido contratar a una mujer dominicana para hacerse cargo del abuelo, que necesita asistencia constante. En un principio pensaron que una de las nueras podría asumir esa tarea, dejando el empleo al que se incorporó cuando sus hijos crecieron y se marcharon de casa. Sin embargo, ella no quería volver a ejercer funciones de cuidadora a tiempo completo. Además, vieron que contratar a una migrante entre todos los hijos no salía tan caro. La mujer contratada, a su vez, ha migrado para asegurar unos ingresos suficientes a su familia, y ha dejado a sus hijos en el país de origen, a cargo de su madre. Este ejemplo sumamente sencillo nos permite resaltar algunos componentes esenciales de las cadenas.

Hombres y mujeres tienen una presencia diferencial en las cadenas. Ellos tienden a ser sujetos beneficiarios más que a asumir responsabilidades sistemáticas en

INTERESTING THEORY #42



Here is the rose, dance here.
-Elements of the Philosophy of Right,
Hegel.

It is a capital mistake to theorize before one has data. Insensibly one begins to twist facts to suit theories, instead of theories to suit facts.

-A Scandal in Bohemia, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.

The Political Perils of Pluralism

1

Political pluralism is regarded with suspicion by liberals theorists. Normative claims made on its behalf are reckoned: “political in the wrong way.”¹

¹ John Rawls, ‘The Domain of the Political and Overlapping Consensus,’ in *Collected Papers* –henceforth CP– (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 473.

LIBERAL THEORY, PLURALITY AND THE ZAPATISTA EXPERIENCE

Pedro Jiménez (2017)

Here I explore the idea of political pluralism as a necessary feature for democracy. My main question: why is pluralism meaningful for the deliberative politics of a constitutional democracy?

The contours of my conception of pluralism are different from those offered in the literature and have different consequences both conceptually and politically –for the kind of theoretical commitments that political liberalism makes (say, about the role of truth), and, for the kind of laws and policies that its willing to countenance as legitimate. I’ll criticize a theoretically-driven approach and instead back a praxis-centered approach.

2

And while most liberals agree that some kind of pluralism is constitutive of constitutional democracies, there are legitimate concerns about the ethics of political pluralism. In particular, as to how the idea can be manipulated during

public deliberations in order to block justice, entrenching the privileges of the status quo or shielding deeply-held religious and traditional beliefs from public scrutiny. The worry is that the diversity of interests, as much as the variety of philosophical and religious doctrines, could undermine the basis of a possible shared sense of justice beyond these differences.²

One recurring concern is that justice ought not to temper its demands on narrower viewpoints by a misguided sense of accommodation, even when this achieves transient political goods: a voting collation, support for a decent cause or the healthy expression of tolerance for different outlooks or alternative ways of life.

² As many readers of Rawls know (and the liberal tradition more generally), the religious wars in Europe and the principle of toleration are crucial themes for liberalism and, more peculiarly so, to political liberalism, according to which, the role of political philosophy: “In formulating such a conception, political liberalism applies the principle of toleration to philosophy itself.” (PL.: p. 10.) “To apply principle of toleration to philosophy itself is to leave to citizens themselves to settle the questions of religion, philosophy, and morals in accordance with views they freely affirm.” (PL.: p. 154.) And: “Our individual and associative points of view, intellectual affinities, and affective attachments, are too diverse, especially in a free society, to enable those doctrines to serve as basis of lasting and reasoned political agreement. Different conceptions of the world can be elaborated from different standpoints and diversity arises in part from our distinct perspectives. It is unrealistic—or worse, it arouses mutual suspicion and hostility—to suppose that all our differences as rooted solely in ignorance and perversity, or else in the rivalries for power, status, or economic gain.” (PL.: p. 58.)

That to take the manifold of incompatible point of views as fixed—as a limit to the demands of justice—in virtue of a latitudinarian temperament, is to capitulate to the brute forces of reality which sustain the status quo. To subject justice to the demands of pluralism in this way, is to substitute rhetoric for a genuine moral conception of justice in favor of one based on arbitrary compromises between established sectarian interests.³

3

For political liberals, the diversity of ethical standpoints has no value on its own. Philosophical and religious outlooks are not to be protected as if they were species in danger of extinction.

Political liberals worry about a conservative conception according to which, citizens have to resign to the brute forces of pluralism which favor those who benefit from the status quo.

In order to allay these concerns, Rawls' talks of a reasonable

³ I think that this is the kind of pluralism that Rawls had in mind when he wrote in a footnote (in the course of explaining key distinctions required by justice as fairness) at the beginning of his Introduction to *Political Liberalism*: “The changes in the latter essays are sometimes said to be replies to criticisms raised by communitarians and others. I don’t believe that there is a basis for saying this. Of course, whether I am correct in this belief depends on whether the changes can be satisfactorily explained by an analytic view of how they fit into the revised account of stability.” —henceforth PL— PL: p. xix, n. 6.

MD by the National Autonomous University of Mexico, 1999, at present with Memorial Hermann and McGovern Medical School, University of Texas).”

This same sense of privilege at being at one of the best research and practice institutions in the world is stated by a Mexican MD who says:

“It was very difficult to do research in hematology at the time I studied. This is one of the most important institutions for cancer research in the world. I have a lot more patients than I’d have in Mexico. I work with 10 of the most important authorities in leukemia in the world. I am in an ideal situation. Things turned out so well, that I sometimes wonder: Am I not dreaming? (Dr. Y, who received his Medical degree from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico in 1991, and currently practices and teaches at UT M.D. Anderson Cancer Center in Houston.)”

In general foreign MDs in the US must pass through a long and expensive process of certification, which means either they have enough financial resources to pay the fees for the certification exams or they repeat studies they had already taken at home, which requires a considerable investment of time. This limits medical migration

to a certain age of the foreign physicians, the majority of whom start their careers in the US in their late 20s or early 30s. However, if their migration is a forced one, due to wars or violence in their countries of origin, they usually find employment in the administrative areas of hospitals, in the pharmaceutical industry, or even in areas completely outside the medical field.”

Conclusions

Highly valuable foreign talent definitely contributes to the advancement of research and economic development in the United States. They are always interested in sharing the knowledge acquired abroad; they participate in epistemic groups (international networks of health experts) and try taking part in academic events in their countries of origin.

Medical migration, then, is beneficial for the countries of origin that receive the experience acquired abroad; for the patients in the countries of destination that receive good care based on the latest findings in medical research; and for the individuals themselves and their families, as they improve their quality of life. These doctors share their know-how in the global health system, proving that international global networks of care may actually be more of a brain gain than a brain drain.

Almost everything that I do at MD Anderson I could do back in Lebanon, but not in Oklahoma or Mississippi. I trust sending my patients to Lebanon. So do I feel that my country needs me? No. Because there's a surplus of doctors there, and every time I ask, they keep telling me they don't need me. Are there other examples where developing countries might need their doctors? Yes. The return of their physicians abroad may actually be of help for the local medical system. Do they reach the same level of MD Anderson? No. But they don't need to because this intermediate level is good for people.

I'm a radiation oncologist. I know that some African countries don't even have the machine to do my job. (...) Globalization has helped in bringing whoever is interested to the same level of knowledge. What lacks in many of the countries is that they might have the infrastructure or the money to practice what they've learned."

The life history of Dr. A. clearly illustrates a couple of trends that were verified in studies with other MDs from different developing countries.

They are looking for better research opportunities and professional recognition abroad. The primary

purpose of migration is therefore academic achievement, due to the fact that research in medicine is not or was not well subsidized in order to allow a combination of medical practice with knowledge production back home. Foreign medical doctors also feel satisfied about being able to take part in important research institutions in the US.

No matter their conditions of outmigration, all the interviewed MDs are willing to give something back to their countries of origin, since many have benefited from public education in their country of origin or just because they hold certain affection for their country of birth. As they sometimes become experts recognized in the United States and even worldwide, they maintain professional networks with their colleagues in their countries of origin. This is an opportunity for future collaboration and a reason for ongoing cooperation between hospitals and universities in developing countries and US health research institutions. Quoting from one of the testimonies:

"I still have a lot of affection for and still have roots in Mexico. However, I can develop more as a scientist being abroad. I am recognized internationally, so I can bring resources back to Mexico and watch out for Mexican interests. I think that from this point of view, I am a win for Mexico. (Dr. X,

pluralism, because it obtains and, only obtains, when it's the consequence of reasonably free deliberations among equals. It is then (and only then) that the political liberal ought to acknowledge the limits of public reasoning. In other words, from the purview of justice, pluralism is a fact worth reckoning with, just in case it follows a genuine exercise of deliberative liberties under conditions that reasonably guarantee an equal and fair exercise of them.

Indeed, the pluralism which political liberalism has in mind and makes a claim about has two consequences: there is an acceptable conception of pluralism, committed to the idea that there might be a wide range of reasonable conceptions of the world from which and in which the good is valued, and, that for political purposes the first consequence need not be—at least on principle—unreasonable, caused by self-deception, but rather the free exercise of human reason and its own limitations.⁴

4

The first fact of a reasonable pluralism is that the reflective divergence pervasive among reasonable citizens is not a passing condition or a momentary lapse of our common reason. It's the case that people who reflect on philosophical, political and

religious questions are bound to deviate.⁵ The diversity of religious and moral points of views is the consequence of the free exercise of practical reason within the bounds of liberal and democratic institutions.

The second is the fact of oppression. Only an oppressive exercise of power could maintain, under conditions of freedom, a stable disposition in citizens to affirm one point of view about the good. If one thinks that genuine politics is only possible when its members agree on one comprehensive outlook, then under a liberal democracy some oppressive use of power turns necessary to maintain that unity.

The third has to do with the fact that an enduring and secure democratic regime requires a substantial portion of its citizenry to freely and willingly embrace fundamental political principles. Otherwise, democratic politics under conditions of pluralism runs the risk of becoming civil war by other means: incessant suspicion followed

⁴ "There are various defensible ways of conceiving the world." W.V. Quine, *Pursuit of Truth* (rev. ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).

⁵ "The political and social conditions that the basic rights and liberties of free institutions secure, a diversity of conflicting and irreconcilable comprehensive doctrines will emerge, if such diversity does not already exist. Moreover, it will persist and may increase..." The fact about free institutions is the fact of pluralism." CP: p. 474, my emphasis. In PL: p. 36: "under the political and social conditions secured by the basic rights and liberties of free institutions, a diversity of conflicting and irreconcilable—and what's more, reasonable—comprehensive doctrines will come about and persist if such diversity does not already obtain."

by enmity between contending and irreconcilable doctrinal confessions veering for political supremacy.⁶

The fourth fact is the existence of a political culture, which contains and is able to meaningfully sustain “fundamental intuitive ideas”

essential to work out a political conception of justice appropriate for liberal democracies. Such ideas as individual freedom, equality and mutual respect.

And fifth, the fallibility and limits of human judgment make it the case that even under ideal conditions, reasonable people will not always “exercise the powers of reason” univocally for the same conclusions. This last fact is explained by the “burdens of judgment:” the difficult evaluation of complex and conflicting evidence; the different weights assigned to various relevant considerations; the vagueness of concepts and language as applied to hard cases; the need to rely on interpretation (and judgments of interpretations); the inevitability that one’s whole life, will particularly determine one’s view and, the constraints on the realizability of all values in

⁶ It’s interesting to note that the idea of political pluralism not only raises concern for liberals, but also (Catholic) conservative thinkers like MacIntyre and those who follow his acerbic judgment about and wholesale rejection of modern rationality (viz., conservative natural law theorists). In his magisterial *After Virtue* he famously asserted—with a somewhat exacerbated tone of despondency—that: “modern politics cannot be a matter of genuine moral consensus. And it is not. Modern politics is civil war carried on by others means.” See: Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), p. 236.

a limited social space at any given time.⁷

5

But just as much as there is concern for the uses and abuses of pluralism, there is the possibility that the idea of pluralism can serve to defend individual freedom and equality from oppression.

Consider how often the justification of political power by one group of people over another has appealed to the concept of universal truths or a realm of objective values — perhaps sincerely— in its attempt to legitimize its own domination. Those who hold power believe that the fact that the values they impose do not depend on context, is a reason that justifies their imposition. In fact, understanding and accepting these values are jointly sufficient to justify at least some coercive impositions on others, whatever they happen to (wrongly) believe themselves about these values. This has been the basis for coercive religious evangelization and endeavors to push for civilizational progress.

In light of these oppressive experiences and the various discourses devised to justify them, liberation from religious and philosophical colonialism has taken the radical opposite claim on its

⁷ Rawls mentions the first four general facts in CP: pp. 474-75 and fifth one in p. 478. And some of these same ideas are again mentioned in PL 54-58 and *passim*.

victim. I wanted to study medicine because I wanted something that would go for a long time, because a thing that ends somewhere means that I would have to struggle again with the marriage business. And I do remember the first time I told my mother and my elder brothers that I wanted to go to high school. It surprised them; they asked me why I want to go to high school. Because if you’re in the midst of civil war

and poverty you cannot think ahead that school might get you to college, and college might get you to a better job. They cannot think that way.

So anyway, long story short, then I wanted to go to college, and of course we didn’t have the money to go to college so I went to the government college and I decided to do medicine and I finished my medical school in Lebanon. And I decided to go to the American university of Beirut because this is the time that I can switch without paying money. And I did. And I did internal medicine and oncology there and then I decided that I wanted to come to the United States because for me, getting the degree from Lebanon was not sufficient. It was not gratifying. because I felt that the

system at the time was not strong enough to make me progress.

So I decided to come to MD Anderson in 1996 and I applied as a postdoctoral fellow. (...) One of the important physicians, also a foreigner, decided to help me. So I stayed here and I repeated everything that I did in Lebanon: my residency and my fellowship, and then I stayed on staff and that’s how it worked.”

She recalls she only practiced medicine in Lebanon for two years, and that was because she had to fulfill the requirement of the J1 Visa for academic exchange. She came back, got married, became an American citizen and she is now a renewed scientist at one of the most important hospitals in the US, with major contributions to medical research and patient care in her field. She believes she was lucky to find people who helped her along her career and finds there is a night and day difference between her life back in Lebanon and her present life in the US. She explains her professional success as a combination of people who believed in her and her own efforts. She thinks medical migration should be analyzed on a case sensitive base, depending on the combination of country of origin vs. destination. Says dr. A:

Lebanon is now very advanced when it comes to medicine.

practicing in those areas. There is also a shortage of Spanish speaking doctors and health care related translation, in both rural and urban areas.

Some critical perspectives show that health migration opposes the interests of privileged groups in developed societies against less wealthy citizens of middle and low income countries?. They also say that developed countries have a moral obligation to reduce the inflow of foreign health workers, as oftentimes, health workers were educated on public money, and therefore they should return benefits to their societies of origin.

Health migration is a hard topic that opposes the individual rights of freedom and well-being of the migrants themselves, to the social justice of vulnerable groups in poor countries. Studying the phenomenon from a quantitative perspective may provide us with a pessimistic view, while qualitative data show that medical doctors are among the professions that mostly circulate knowledge, form epistemic groups and work for a health related unofficial diplomacy, on a multilateral level.

Individual Perspectives on Health Migration or the Other Side of the Story

Is medical migration good or bad for foreign MDs who live in the US?

2 Dwyer, James. "What's wrong with the global migration of health care professionals?." Hastings Center Report 37.5 (2007): 36-43 and Hooper, Caryn R. "Adding insult to injury: the healthcare brain drain." Journal of Medical Ethics 34.9 (2009): 684-687.

Do they regret having left their countries? In-depth interviews with 16 foreign physicians from the health hub of Houston, Texas, show a different side of the story. The individuals I interviewed came from China, Colombia, Lebanon, Mexico, Peru and Romania and they all agreed on their positive metamorphosis as scientists and practicing physicians in the US. Testimonies are shown below with anonymous quotes, in order to respect their privacy.

The first case is of Doctor A, a 50-year-old woman with 20 years in the US, who studied medicine because it was a long career that would allow her to postpone marriage in a traditional society such as Lebanon, also torn by war when she was a child. She recalls:

"I lived through the civil war between the age of 10 until 26. And that's a big challenge because in the civil war you basically have your whole life on hold. When you don't even think of school, you don't think of future, you don't think of what you want to do. (...) I kept going to school, but it was extremely challenging, there were many months of schooling that I lost. I'm not sure exactly what made me feel that I really wanted to go to school, but the simplest and silliest part of it is that I didn't want to get married because I knew that if I stayed home I would be an easy target or

behalf by way of defense: values can only be realized and fully endorsed relative to specific cultures and within particular contexts; so that values that belong to an external view different from one's own, are no good for the justification of coercive power.

In affirming that political goods should be tied to embodied cultures—specially when the issue is the very justification of power among those who disagree—one is not only or mainly asserting a doctrine or a philosophical claim, but disarticulating an undemocratic justification of power and authority.

And just like a certain kind of pluralism can be used to defend a series of unfair accommodations to the status quo, other conceptions of pluralism can serve to defend against impositions on the basis of alien doctrines that others regard as true or objective.

The Zapatistas

1

In 1994, The Zapatista Army of National Liberation took up arms declaring war against the government. Due to mounting national and international civic pressure against military actions, a ceasefire was ordered and after a few days peace was reached. A project for constitutional reform on indigenous rights and

was put forward for public deliberation.⁸ Three issues were at the center of public deliberations: (i) respect for rights, culture and forms of self-government, based on traditional beliefs; (ii) the distribution of land and, (iii) the demand for free and democratic elections.

The Zapatistas' goals never aimed at undermining the constitutional order. On the contrary, the Zapatistas were demanding their political inclusion as citizens not fully recognized by a biased legal system and a racist political culture which ordinarily discriminated against their own ethical outlook.⁹

⁸ Six years later the constitutional initiative was submitted to Congress and even though not one iota was changed, additions in the preamble surreptitiously undermined the original spirit of the proposal. Members of the EZLN appeared in Congress to voice their complaints, but weeks later the initiative was approved without their endorsement.

⁹ It's fundamental to add this cultural dimension. Because while it may be true that most of the ominous legislations that sanctioned discrimination in favor of mestizos and criollos since colonial times are now for the most part gone, the impetus that animated them still infuses social relations. So while there are no positive prohibitions to stroll on the side walks of San Cristóbal if you are a member of the Mayan family (as there were before against the Mayan and other indigenous peoples), the racist attitudes which sustained such legal abominations are still very much locked-in Mexican hearts today, albeit via invisible vehicles which still convey contempt in speech and non-public relations (specially in the spheres of education and the work force, etc.) Sadly, this phenomenon is neither peculiar to that state nor focused on one particular indigenous group. Discrimination and racism are constantly bolstered along perceived social and racial lines, suffusing

But their claim also included an explicit demand that the process of achieving political equality and freedom did not mean giving up their ways of looking at the world and the core of their traditional ethical way of life.

A fragment of the Declaration of the Lacandon jungle—the first declaration of war—asserts that: “We reject in advance any attempt to undermine the just cause of our struggle, accusing it of drug trafficking, thieves, or other names that might use our enemies. Our struggle follows the constitution which is held high for justice and equality.”¹⁰

These words were not always heeded in the public sphere, even by liberal and progressive commentators. For example, Robert Bartra crystallized an attitude present in many liberal minds when he warned that:

It’s possible that this and other hybrid proposals end up

most social relations in Mexico. This is a point which the Zapatistas themselves have insisted on when they collide with political parties, intellectuals and academics, whose deeds and institutions continue to mix up and consolidate such invisible fetters, whatever else we say in public.

¹⁰ The 2001 constitutional reform is—inter alia—the product of a struggle by the Zapatista movement to transform their scant and rudimentary military weapons into more expedient means that called attention to the unjust reality which systematically subjected their lives. Moreover, that struggle was turned as the years passed (not without innumerable public discussions inside and out) into a reasonable hope that the same claims against injustice could be made by means of a public dialogue open to all citizens.

translating free determination and autonomy for sui generis regulations in reserved and remote areas, condemned to marginalization and segregation, genuine reservations forced to live with the negligible gains generated by the exploitation of natural resources, concessions to tourism and, in the worst cases, from income related to illicit activities such as the production of drugs and their trafficking. I’m afraid to admit that we’re witnessing a transition from an integrationist paternalism to a multiculturalism of patronage, as corrupt or more than the nationalist indigenism... The implementation of governments based on customs and traditions is part of what is wrong, not the remedy; I think that in many cases, far from strengthening civil society, it’s sowing the seeds of violence.”¹¹

2

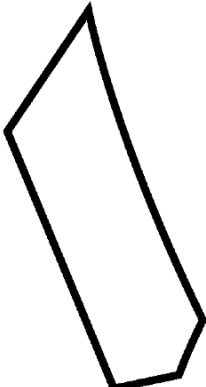
Many liberal voices were anxious about the status of women. This is probably a familiar concern for those acquainted with Susan Okin’s ‘Is multiculturalism Bad for Women?’¹²

According to Okin, the politics

¹¹ ‘Violencias salvajes: usos, costumbres y sociedad civil,’ in El mundo de la violencia (ed. Sánchez Vázquez, México, D.F.: UNAM-FCE, 1998), p. 187-88 [my translation].

¹² Susan Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999).

INTERESTING THEORY #51



Introduction: the Pessimistic View on Medical “Brain Drain”

For almost 70 years now, the brain drain theory has studied the migration of highly skilled professionals, especially from the underdeveloped to the developed countries, from the global south to the global north. In particular, the migration of medical doctors (MDs) and nurses has been seen as a most problematic and emblematic case for brain drain theory.

Countries such as Dominica, Grenada or Ireland have a bigger proportion of MD working abroad than in their countries of birth. Consequently, there are 0.5 physicians per thousand inhabitants in Dominica, while there are more than 3 physicians per thousand inhabitants in the main OECD countries of destination for medical migration. Life expectancy is also higher in developed countries, with over 80 years in the US, compared to 57 years in South Africa, also a main country of origin for medical outmigration.

MEDICAL MIGRATION: THE CASE FOR A KNOWLEDGE CIRCULATION THEORY

Camelia Tigau

The US is the top receiver of medical doctors in the world. The American Medical Association estimates that foreign-born doctors constitute approximately 27 percent of the U.S. physician workforce. By 2014, 10 percent of the foreign professionals employed in medicine and health Sciences in the US came from Asia, 3.3% from Canada and Europe and 3.1%, from Latin America and the Caribbean.

However, studies estimate a significant shortfall of 130,000 doctors by 2025. International Medical Graduates are highly needed to serve critical access hospitals (those with fewer than 15 beds), and rural underserved areas. In general, rural communities in the US find it more difficult to attract and retain physicians. As of 2014, almost 15 percent of the U.S. population, or 46 million people, were living in rural counties. However, only 6.1 percent of physicians were

¹ Palmer, Brian. “Bring on the Foreign Doctors. They’re just as good as the homegrown variety. So why don’t we let them practice here?”. State, August 2015. Available at http://www.state.com/articles/health_and_science/medical_examiner/2013/08/doctor_shortage_foreign_doctors_are_just_as_good_as_the_homegrown_variety.html

gangs and drug-related violence are major Latin American social problems, civil society must start discerning the entire array of depopulating strategies in Mexico. Mexico's national media is already drawing this link with shale gas extraction. It's time to complicate the narrative of violence across Mexico by examining the role of transnational corporations, local political elites, and economic oligarchies in the region's daily displacement and production of death.

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of multiculturalism is not an obvious cause for celebration. Her thesis is that people: "have been too quick to assume that feminism and multiculturalism are both good things which are easily reconciled."¹³ so liberals who defend group rights, should be more attentive to gender inequalities within cultures that they think ought to have such rights.

Furthermore, since most cultures harbor as one of their main aims the control of women and, most cultural minorities are more patriarchal relative to the general culture, we have good reasons for thinking that most of the claims for group rights connected to gender issues are not good news for women. Then, the question is what to do when these claims clash with gender equality or other liberal freedoms?

In Okin's view there are two possibilities, the first is inconsistent with political liberalism and the second isn't: (1) claims that flout or significantly curtail liberal freedoms and (11) claims to recognize particular rights or special protections, made from within cultures that can be considered internally liberal, so that their demands do not undermine the value of gender equality and toleration. According to Okin, few

¹³ Multiculturalism is: "The claim, made in the context of basically liberal democracies, that minority cultures or ways of life are not sufficiently protected by the practice of ensuring the individual rights of their members, and as a consequence these should also be protected through special group rights or privileges" (10-11).

cultures would be able to meet this later condition, even when basic civil and political liberties were legally recognized in the wider framework of a country, "since most cultures do not, especially in the private sphere, treat them [women] with anything like the same concern and respect with which men and boys are treated, or allow them to enjoy the same freedoms." This kind of discrimination is not overt and it's mainly carried out in non-public spaces, constantly reinforced by informal means and mostly hidden from public scrutiny.¹⁴

3

The relations among the Zapatistas and liberals have been complex and seldom smooth. In 1996, a group of women's rights organizations based in San Cristóbal wrote a letter to the EZLN taking it to task for not responding adequately to accusations of sexual assault within its ranks. The Zapatistas responded by critiquing their limited comprehension of the reality of poor indigenous women in rural communities.

¹⁴ Okin's arguments not only point to the importance of emphasizing the status of women amidst some minority cultures (and wider contexts as well that include family practices in western culture), but also to the difficulty of detecting unjust practices toward women (and other vulnerable minorities), buried deep in the household or in traditional cultural practices. Some of these practices remain hidden from the public eye and frequently survive unnoticed. "What some of the examples discussed above illustrate is how culturally endorsed practices that are oppressive to women can often remain hidden in the private or domestic sphere." (Okin, 1999, 21 and 23.).

Eleven years later in 2007, Marcos acknowledged the initial collision: “a gulf between theory and reality,” and how such theories from above and a privileged center: “extend to the periphery not only affecting thoughts and practices, but above all, imposing their truth and their models.” Marcos also recounted how at the beginning urban feminists wanted to enforce their programs and ways on Zapatista women, as if they had just arrived to liberate them: “They didn’t even stop to see if the Zapatistas had even heard and understood them. They returned to their cities, wrote articles, published books, traveled to lecture, became government officials.” And then quipped: “Zapatista women, like many in many corners of the world, transgress the rules without discarding their culture. They rebel as women without ceasing to be indigenous and Zapatistas.” He goes on to

Chronicle:¹⁵

In the first months after the start of our uprising, a group of feminists (so they called themselves) came to some of the Zapatista communities. They did not come to ask, to listen, to learn, to respect. They came to tell Zapatista women what to do; they came to liberate them from the oppression of the Zapatistas males (starting, of course, by freeing them from the Sup), to

¹⁵ See Herman Bellinghausen, ‘EL EZLN, el movimiento más esperanzador para las feministas’, dice Sylvia Marcos’, *La Jornada*, Dec.15, 2007.

tell them what their rights were—that is, to command. They courted whom they considered to be leaders (using male methods, by the way). Through them they attempted to impose from the outside, in form and in content, a gender struggle that they didn’t even stop to find out whether it already existed and to what degree it did in the communities.

They didn’t even stop to see if the Zapatistas had even heard and understood them. They returned to their cities, wrote articles, published books, traveled to lecture, became government officials.

We will not question this, everyone earns their vacations as they can. We only want to remember that they did not affect or brought any benefits to the communities. This initial disagreement marked the subsequent relationship between the Zapatista women and feminists, and led to a hidden confrontation, where feminists blamed the vertical and militaristic chauvinism of the EZLN. It reached a climax when a group of Zapatista Comandantas rejected a women’s rights project. It turns out that the feminists wanted to take a few courses designed by other citizens, taught by other citizens and evaluated by other citizens. The Comandantas were opposed, since they wanted to be the

and renewable or clean energy sources.

To execute this strategy, a variety of armed actors, including drug traffickers and gang members but also mercenary killers, security guards and “sicarios” - in Mexico are selling their killing expertise to powerful entities, from repressive governments to transnational corporations (or both, working together). Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe has called this phenomenon Private Indirect Government.

This “necropolitics” - the politics of death - is the violent core of what scholar Bobby Banerjee defines as necrocapitalism, that is, profit-driven deaths. Why negotiate with poor indigenous communities sitting atop valuable oil, water, wood and ore if they can be pushed off their land with hidden criminal, political and misogynistic forces?

According to a forced displacement report, of the 287,000 Mexicans displaced by violence and 91,000 displaced by disaster, most are in the states of Chihuahua, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, Sinaloa, Durango, Michoacán, Guerrero and Veracruz. Beyond their high levels of drug-related violence, all of these states are also rich in minerals, renewables and shale gas. For simplicity’s sake, I’ll focus here on shale gas extraction along the US-Mexico border. A significant number of the forced disappearances and murders in which the army and

criminal gangs are involved have taken place in this swath of land, located above a major Texas shale gas source known as Eagle Ford Shale Basin.

This area is also, notoriously, run by gangs, from the Juarez Cartel that once made Ciudad Juarez the world’s most violent city to the Zetas, who are responsible for thousands of Mexico’s 300,000 forced disappearances, and the Gulf Cartel, whose leaders were protected by local politicians. Fracking, the method used to extract shale gas, has significant environmental costs, requires 7.6 to 15 million litres of water per extraction and contains contaminating chemicals. 27,000 wells fuel Eagle Ford’s shale gas exploitation. In an arid place where water is already scarce, this intense water use is hurting agriculture and leading to increasing protests.

According to a special report by the National Human Rights Commission, most of Mexico’s displaced people are farmers from communities with self-sustaining economies, environmental and human rights activists, small business owners, local government officials, and journalists. This makes sense. With the exception perhaps of business owners, these populations represent a specific threat to extractive capitalist interests, either through resistance (activists, law-abiding public officials, farmers) or exposure (journalists). Thus, while

outside to visit their wives and kids. They linger there, wandering around, filling the disposability pockets. Because there were so many Haitians at the border, the US government established that they could process only 50 interviews a day, which has delayed their interviews for up to three months. This made the situation worse for Mexicans, Hondurans, Guatemalans, and Salvadorians who were already in line.

Even before Trump's January executive order was issued, Haitians were already being deported after their interviews (Barack Obama deported more immigrants than any US president before him). Under such circumstances, many Haitian asylum seekers decided not to attend their meeting with US officials. As of today, 300 asylum applications are in limbo.

After up to eight months of waiting, many of the Haitians now say they want to stay in Mexico. That won't be easy. Not only is the US border situation forcing Mexico to handle a record number of asylum applications, but racism, poverty, crime, corruption and unemployment in the country leave migrants vulnerable to exploitation. Besides, these disposability pockets are turning out to be convenient for employers and the local political economy in general.

Why roll out the welcome mat for immigrants, legalise them, and pay them a living wage – in either

Mexico or the United States – when you've got a ready-made workforce willing to work for poverty wages in the border-area factories and population centres that NAFTA helped build?

2. Forced depopulation

Gang violence is forcing people to flee Mexico, heading north to the United States in record numbers. But this common received wisdom about violence in Mexico overlooks two facts. It is an area rich in natural resources, including shale gas. And not all the violence plaguing the region is gang-related; it also encompasses femicide, the killing of environmental activists and political murders and forced disappearances.

The argument is that criminal violence, while potent, is just part of a dangerous cocktail that serves to “cleanse” places where local communities are defending their home territory. This isn't a conspiracy theory, and this hypothesis is not mine alone. Data indicates that in resource-rich countries, the concurrence of forced displacement with criminal, misogynistic and political violence cannot be a coincidence.

This killer combination reflects a policy of forced depopulation aimed at obtaining “conflict-free” exploitation of natural resources that are increasingly valuable in the modern global economy, such as minerals used by new technologies

ones that decided the content of the courses and be the ones who taught them and also the ones who valued the results which followed [...] In both places, the difference between each other has been understood and, therefore, a mutual recognition has begun that will become something quite other, and surely will make tremble not only the patriarchal system as a whole, we are too just understanding the strength and power of that difference, which leads us to repeat, but in another sense, “¡Vive la difference!”, ¡Viva la diferencial!¹⁶

¹⁶ Bellinghousen, 2007. Before talking about these tensions Marcos also talked about philosophy: “This conception of theoretical work as meta-theory, where the emphasis is not only on the irrelevance of reality, but also and above all, it boasts that it has completely dispensed with it in an effort of insulation and hygiene that—they say—should be applauded. The image of an aseptic laboratory was not limited to so-called ‘natural science’ or ‘exact science.’ This obsession with hygiene and anti-reality also reached the so-called ‘social sciences.’ In the global scientific community a view began to take hold: ‘If reality does not behave as indicated by the theory, the worse for reality.’ ... But the laboratory (a term now widely used by social scientists to refer to political struggles) could never meet the ideal conditions, even at its most aseptic and sterilized, to guarantee the perpetuity that all scientific claims make. The self-styled ‘social scientist bought’ the same image, with some changes: instead of laboratory, a cubicle; instead of flasks and test tubes, books and notebooks; instead of a white robe, a dark one ... Nevertheless, each was engrossed alike in their objectivity and asepsis and so failed to notice the emergence and growth of ‘commissions of science,’ that is: philosophers. These ‘judges of knowledge,’ as objective and neutral as those under their vigilance, expropriated scientific criteria. And as reality was no longer the benchmark for determining the truth or falsity of a theory, then philosophy

But the transformations of gender norms in this case would not have been possible without the Zapatistas ongoing willingness to examine their own culture. “There are two kinds of customs,” said a group of Zapatista women during a regional women’s gathering, “good ones and bad ones. We want to hold on to our traditions that are good and let go of ones that are bad, the ones that are bad, the ones that are harmful to us as women ... We want to learn Spanish but not to forget our indigenous language ... The Zapatista struggle has been a battle to defend their traditions, while at the same time internally altering practices that oppress them as women ... We want to reject the bad customs. Bad customs are things like witchcraft, forcing young women to get married, and when a man has two or three wives.”¹⁷

stepped in to fulfil that role. Thus ‘philosophy of science’ emerged, that is, the theory of the theory, the meta-theory. But then the so-called ‘social sciences’ found that philosophers were either overworked or unable to meet difficult expectations (such as: ‘If A equals B and B equals C, then A equals C’), so that more and more, they now have to suffer the intellectual-als in the academy as censors and commissioners.”¹⁷

¹⁷ Regional women’s gathering, handwritten transcription, Morelia, Chiapas, Mexico, June 9-10, 2001. See, Hilary Klein, *Compañeras: Zapatista Women’s Stories* (New York-Oakland, Seven Stories Press, 2015). The title *Compañeras* is explained in the epigraphy of the book: “After visiting us several times, they began to explain the struggle: what they were fighting for and whom they were fighting against. They told there was a world we could use to show our respect for each other, and that word was *compañeros* or *compañeras*. Saying it meant that we were going to struggle together for our freedom.” p. xv. Testimony from the Third Gathering between the Zapatista People and the Peoples of the World “Comandanta Ramona and the Zapatistas,” La Garrucha, Chiapas, México, December 30, 2007.

Because of pressures from the Zapatistas and other groups of indigenous women the definition of autonomy in the San Andrés accords includes indigenous people's collective rights, and, women's rights.¹⁸

In a famous speech to the Mexican Congress in 2001, Zapatista Comandanta Ester,¹⁹ responding to criticisms that traditional indigenous authorities could use the San Andrés Accords to deny individual women their rights asserted: “My name is Ester, but this is not important now. I am a Zapatista, but that is not important either. I am indigenous and a woman—that is all that matters right now. It is the current laws that allows us to be marginalized and degraded. In addition to being woman, we are also indigenous, and, as such, we are not recognized ... That is why we want this law on indigenous rights and culture to be passed. We know which of our costumes and traditions are good and which ones are bad ... We are certain you know

¹⁸ “Indigenous communities have the right to free self-determination and, as an expression of this, to autonomy as part of the Mexican State. In order to: ... Apply normative systems in the regulation and solution of internal conflicts, respecting individual guarantees, human rights, and in particular, the dignity and integrity of women ... Elect their authorities and exercise their internal forms of government according to their norms within the scope of their autonomy, guaranteeing the participation of women under conditions of equity.” For the accord in English visit the United States Institute of Peace's website: <http://bitly.com/LB3IYqZ>.

¹⁹ The EZLN's most important decision-making body is the CCRI (Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena) and was formed in 1993 to substitute the non-indigenous leadership of the

the difference between justice and charity, and that you have been able to recognize, in our difference, the equality which, as human beings and Mexicans, we share with you and with all the people of Mexico.”²⁰

As Hilary Klein writes: “Especially in the years just before and after the 1994 uprising, Zapatista women experienced social changes that often took generations to unfold.” They now have the right to decide whom to marry (and when), how many children to have, better access to healthcare and education, suffer less domestic violence (due to the prohibition of alcohol) and have a voice in the processes of deliberation within their communities.²¹

²⁰ Comandanta Esther's complete speech can be found at: <http://bitly.com/1FvbkKa>.

²¹ “Esmeralda was sent to the northern zone of Chiapas as a young nun in 1976. Although she decided to leave the order soon thereafter, she has been working with indigenous communities in Chiapas ever since. In the late 1970's and 1980's, she did pastoral work in some of the indigenous villages where the EZLN found its early recruits. ‘Many of the first women decided to become ‘insurgents.’” (Klein, p. 43.) “‘It was an amazing period,’ recalled María del Carmen Martínez, a Dominican nun from Spain who has been in Chiapas since 1982. ‘There was a great deal strength and hope in the Church, as well as in the organization, because something new was coming.’” And Klein concludes from her interviews and research: “A diversity of organizing flourished as the Zapatista Movement gathered momentum. As Zapatista women learned their rights for the first time—many of them through the Catholic Diocese of San Cristóbal de las Casas—their horizons began to broaden ... Working with the diocese was a key building block for Ernestina and many other Zapatistas women. It had a lasting impact on their personal and political development, and the Catholic Church as an institution was critical in creating opportunities for women to step into new roles. Reflecting on the years before they joined the EZLN, Zapatista women from the Morelia

often don't speak Spanish. Yet they must support themselves and their families while they wait for US immigration officials to figure out whether or when their asylum applications can be granted. They live in Tijuana's open-air dumps, sewer-system holes and the surroundings of improvised migrant shelters. Many seek all manner of mental jobs on the black market, cleaning houses and offices, working in sweatshops, or delivering pizzas for as little as US\$1.30 a day. Women are frequently offered generic “jobs” in Canada, no description included, along with airfare. All they have to do is give up their passports. The web pages associated with these alleged companies show a permanent error message. These are, not surprisingly, typical trafficking strategies.

When I was there, the whole sad situation on the border recalled what scholar Henry A. Giroux calls the “machinery of disposability”: “What has emerged in this new historical conjuncture is an intensification of the practice of disposability in which more and more individuals and groups are now considered excess, consigned to zones of abandonment, surveillance and incarceration”.

And so people forced to flee natural disaster and unimaginable violence in their home countries become disposable; human clutter in Mexico's dumps and gutters, at the gateway to one of the world's richest nations. These are what

I've coined “disposability pockets” areas where vulnerable populations, especially migrants, are forced into inhumane living conditions and illegal labour markets, with tacit approval of the government that should, in theory and under international human rights law, be their stewards.

It's a radicalisation of what sociologists call “poverty pockets”, that is, neighbourhoods where the extremely poor tend to be corralled into ghettos, even as prosperity grows all around them. And they're cropping up not just in Tijuana but all along Mexico's northern border thanks to the US clampdown. By late 2016, Tijuana's five existing migrant shelters were bursting, so many more had to be built, and quickly. Today, there are 33 overcrowded shelters adapted to house the ever-increasing numbers of Haitian arrivés.

I visited two: Father Chava's Desayunador Salesiano and the Scalabrini Sisters' women's shelter. Father Chava's is one of the biggest, and it used to be a soup kitchen for 1,300 to 1,500 homeless Mexican migrants. Now, it is a refuge for an equal number of asylum-seekers. They sleep in sleeping bags, small children and babies alongside their mothers, many under improvised tents erected in the garden at night. The Scalabrini shelter is smaller; it's clean, even cosy. Built for 44, it now houses 90 women and children, and sometimes as many as 150. Overcrowded doesn't describe it. The husbands and partners, who stay in the Scalabrini shelter for men, must wait

lines of race, gender and class. In the context of the US-Mexico border, there are two main necropolicies: 1) disposability pockets, and 2) forced depopulation.

1.Disposability pockets

A United States federal court has blocked President Donald Trump's January 27 executive order barring citizens from seven majority Muslim countries from entering the US, but the impacts of the travel ban are already being felt at the nation's borders. The suspended order halts general refugee admissions for 120 days and Syrian admissions until further notice and puts a limit of 50,000 admissions per year, down from 150,000. It also imposes major legal hurdles for those processing asylum applications.

Along with the Trump administration's proposed wall along the US-Mexico border, this situation has dealt a historic blow not just to Muslim immigrants but to the American asylum and refugee system in general – including to the more than 30,000 asylum seekers and migrants now trapped in Tijuana, Mexico, just a few miles from San Diego, California. While public attention is distracted with the travel ban's current legal struggles and the US president's bombastic anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant rhetoric, refugees have been building up at border crossing points between the US and Mexico, trapped in a legal limbo.

I travelled to migrant shelters in early February to document this developing human rights crisis. I met the kinds of people one would expect: Mexican women escaping cartels and gender-based violence, as well as Guatemalans, Hondurans and Salvadorians fleeing Central America's unceasing gang violence.

There are also less likely suspects: Haitians who sought refuge in Brazil after the 2010 earthquake in their home country, but who have been forced to move on again due to Brazil's profound economic and political crisis, which has dramatically reduced job availability. These Haitians aren't necessarily the typical "economic migrant"; many are engineers, physicians, architects between 20 and 30-years-old.

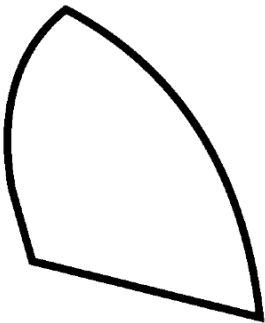
Indeed, this little-known group makes up the bulk of migrants stuck in Tijuana. According to Tijuana migrant activist Soraya Vázquez from the Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Tijuana, six Haitians arrived in Tijuana on May 23 2016. The next day there were 100. Two months later: 15,000. By the end of December 2016, nearly two months after Donald Trump's surprise election, some 30,000 Haitians had gathered there, most by way of Brazil, apparently through a trafficking network that Vázquez says is not yet documented.

For comparison, 10,000 Syrians have applied for asylum in the US in the same period. Asylum seekers cannot legally work, have no permanent residence, and, if they're Haitian,

It was the Zapatistas willingness and ability to transform over time that was essential: "strengthening women's leadership in the movement, acknowledging machismo within its own ranks, and developing a more complex analysis of gender-based violence and discrimination."

region described how their lives began to change when representatives of the Catholic Church told them that their voices should be heard and their opinions valued." (Klein, 2015, p. 53.) Klein adds—

correctly in my view—that: "The Catholic Church has a complex history in Latin America. It played an integral role in the Spanish conquest and the subjugation of indigenous peoples. On the other hand, elements of the church dedicated to liberation theology have stood on the side of social justice throughout the Americas. The contradictory role of the church in Chiapas dates back to the sixteenth century when Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, who had convinced the Spanish Crown to decree the New Laws protecting indigenous peoples of Americas from the worst depredations of the Spanish Conquistadors, was appointed the first bishop of Chiapas. Under the guidance of Samuel Ruiz, who was bishop from 1960 until 2000, the Diocese of San Cristóbal de las Casas translated the Bible into Mayan languages and told members of the church to speak up injustices. Thousands of indigenous men and women were instructed not only in the catechism, but were to read and write and encouraged to analyze their social, political, and economic reality. Many indigenous deacons and catechists trained by the diocese went on to become militants and leaders of the EZLN." (Klein, 2015, p. 55.) Deep, and still pervading shifts were taking place throughout the Church: the Second Vatican Council and the Latin American Conference of Bishops were essential to the development of Liberation Theology, which seeks to bring justice to the poor and oppressed, and advocates that the Church play an active political and cultural role in bringing this about.



MÉXICO: DE LA SUSTITUCION DE IMPORTACIONES AL NUEVO MODELO ECONOMICO NEOLIBERAL

Hector Guillén Romo (2013)

A partir de la década de 1940 México siguió un modelo de desarrollo hacia adentro, que se conoce como la industrialización sustitutiva de importaciones (ISI) y que pretende edificar un sector industrial para satisfacer las necesidades del mercado interno. El inicio de la política proteccionista mexicana se sitúa en 1947, cuando el gobierno mexicano comenzó a establecer restricciones cuantitativas a las importaciones y a sustituir con tarifas ad valorem las específicas existentes.

La ISI se basó en la teoría estática de la especialización. El desempleo, la industria naciente, la naturaleza dinámica de la dotación de recursos y la integración de la economía fueron los argumentos utilizados para aumentar las tarifas arancelarias, extenderlas a un número cada vez mayor de bienes y por último sustituirlas por restricciones cuantitativas a la importación. Diversos estudios sobre la ISI mostraron que ésta alcanzó con

más rapidez el sector de bienes de consumo que el de bienes intermedios y éste último con mayor velocidad que el de bienes de capital. De hecho, la sustitución de importaciones fue una fuente de crecimiento en algunos sectores de tecnología simple, que requirieron mercados estrechos y que gozaron en términos generales de una protección elevada. De ahí que se trató de una industrialización limitada, superficial, sin que se establecieran vínculos hacia atrás. Así, los efectos del proteccionismo se hacen sentir sobre la estructura productiva, la estructura social, la distribución espacial de la población y las relaciones industriales.

La protección elevada de los bienes producidos para reemplazar las importaciones se acompañaba de una protección débil y, en algunos casos, negativa, de las actividades de exportación. Esto implicó una pauta de crecimiento extensivo con una contribución declinante del crecimiento de la productividad total de los factores. En la estructura social la protección provocó una distorsión de los precios relativos que actuó de modo directo en la distribución al

is characterized by a reduction of social policy to a minimum; providing the least for the poorest sector of society (health and basic education services) while encouraging the wealthy to use the corporate sector for health and education. This forces subjects to assume responsibility for their own personal capital and become involved in policy design (Foucault 2004).

Consequently, in neoliberalism policy implies concerted interventions ‘through laws, but also through changes of attitude, of ways of acting and living that can be obtained through “campaigns”’ (Foucault, 1997:70) for general regulation of the possible actions of subjects, and self-directed actions for the domination of pleasures and desires in the private domain. For instance, during structural adjustment programs used to dismantle public health and education services, policy was used to promote the idea that health is an individual matter characterized by keeping fit and taking out insurance.

At present, in countries such as Mexico and in African countries, the management of populations through neoliberal governmentality is not intended to administer population growth but to oversee its reduction. According to African philosopher Achille Mbembe (2011), since poverty, inequality, violence, massacres, and markets for illicit goods that threaten life are so extensive that what is at stake is no longer life but death. Central to

this necropolitics is the economy for illegal goods, including human life and bodies, which become commodities while their care, conservation, freedom and integrity are all related products (Mbembe 2011). Considered as a commodity, life is more valuable when subject to threats, kidnappings, and torture (Valencia 2010).

I believe that in Mexico necropolitics also involves the sharing –by the state and criminal gangs – of techniques and practices for dominating the population, such as public displays of violence for the purposes of intimidation, and the subjection of bodies to extreme violence (torture, execution, forced disappearance, and persecution) and ultimately death. This is not done to regulate reproduction so much as to decide who should die in a context where corruption and impunity are so widespread that anyone is vulnerable to violence and death. Like biopolitics, necropolitics relies on policy, nevertheless the purpose of necropolicy is to manage and regulate death instead of life in order to secure the reproduction of criminal and legal capital. Necropolicies do not have to rely on technologies such as laws and administrative procedures, but in technologies intended to organize space on necropolitical lines, similar to what Soja (2009) defined as the “political organization of space” but with death as main goal. It is the necropolitical organisation of space along the

imposed on certain populations because of their geographical location, is fundamental in the production of spatial injustice and the creation of lasting spatial structures of privilege and advantage" (Soja 2009:3).

Soja believes that "the political organization of space" "is a particularly powerful source of spatial injustice". While his examples range from apartheid, residential segregation and militarization, I believe that national borderlines such as that dividing the US from Mexico are important spaces of injustice, because of economic inequality, which he refers to: "Geographically uneven development and underdevelopment provides another framework for interpreting the processes that produce injustices, but as with other processes, it is only when this unevenness rigidifies into more lasting structures of privilege and advantage that intervention becomes necessary" (Soja 2009:3).

Now, spatial injustice along the US-Mexico border is enforced through what I call (necro) policies, a type of policy linked to necropower, which is a third world interpretation of Michel Foucault's work on biopower and biopolitics. In Foucault's framework, government does not refer to the institution of government but to 'an activity that undertakes to conduct individuals throughout their lives by placing them under the authority of a guide responsible for what they

do and for what happens to them' (Foucault 1997:67). The governing of human behaviour takes place in the framework of state institutions, not as individuals or a labour force but as a population, a 'general system of living beings' or "the human race". Because it relates to 'a mass of living and coexisting beings who present particular biological and pathological traits and who thus come under specific knowledge and technologies' (Foucault, 1997:71), Foucault referred to this as 'biopolitics'. The rationality -governmentality- of biopolitics is liberalism, or in its more contemporary form, neoliberalism (Foucault, 1997:67).

Neoliberal states have ceased to be states that administer justice and have become managerial states because they are no longer interested in shaping individual behaviour through punishment but in managing population growth and mortality for the reproduction of capital through techniques of self-care. The neoliberal State achieves this through the implementation of different types of policy, with policy being defined as State decision-making intended to modify or orientate social action; it takes the form of a set of legal, political and technical elements based on social knowledge (Gundel 2009: 3). In neoliberalism, policy is expected to regulate the health and growth of the population (Foucault, 1997:70-71) but not with direct state intervention as in the Welfare State. The role of the State in neoliberal policy

provocar el deterioro de los términos de intercambio internos entre la agricultura y la industria. Este efecto favoreció el éxodo rural y desalentó la producción agrícola. En términos espaciales se consolidó un modelo de desarrollo regional en torno a las megalópolis, impulsando el crecimiento simultáneo de los servicios comerciales, financieros y educativos, que alimentó un flujo continuo y ascendente de población proveniente de sectores como el agrícola y el minero. Por último, el modelo ISI presentó una configuración productiva y de relaciones industriales calificada de "cuasifordista" que constituyó la primera generación de la industria maquiladora.

El modelo de industrialización sustitutiva, aunque constituyó el núcleo dinámico de la industrialización, no operó en forma pura al sentar las bases para un intento de reorientación del modelo de acumulación hacia una economía exportadora de petróleo. Con los abundantes descubrimientos de petróleo durante la segunda mitad de los años setenta se intentó una reorientación del modelo de acumulación hacia una economía exportadora de petróleo. La economía mexicana comenzó a presentar algunos síntomas de la llamada "enfermedad holandesa". En efecto, se petrolizó en su estructura exportadora y en sus recursos fiscales con las consecuencias que todos conocemos. La crisis de 1982 condujo a adoptar un nuevo modelo económico (NME) orientado hacia el exterior. En

el NME el sector manufacturero se caracterizó por una estructura dual. Por un lado, grandes empresas con poder oligopólico en el mercado interno, vínculos con las firmas transnacionales y acceso al capital extranjero que les permite tener un desempeño exitoso en el mercado de exportación. Por otro lado, una amplia cantidad de pequeñas y medianas empresas carentes de crédito y tecnología.

El NME dio origen a una mayor dependencia del crecimiento respecto a la integración de las cadenas productivas estadounidenses globalizadas con lo que el país se vuelve fuertemente dependiente del ciclo de la economía estadounidense. La principal características del NME es que las exportaciones no pagan el impuesto al valor agregado por lo que no se generan ingresos tributarios con este estilo de crecimiento. Además, las importaciones de maquila están exentas de aranceles y el resto paga aranceles muy bajos. La baja recaudación impositiva vuelve al sector público muy dependiente de otras formas de financiamiento, entre las cuales destaca el ingreso de Pemex. Con esto se constata el aumento de la elasticidad ingreso de las importaciones. En resumen, debido a una apertura comercial excesiva y precipitada, el éxito exportador resultó del sector de la maquiladora que, aunque exporta mucho, requiere muchas importaciones para ejercer su actividad. En estas condiciones, a pesar del éxito exportador del NME,

los problemas estructurales de la economía mexicana persisten: un crecimiento lento, un bajo coeficiente de inversión, una baja carga tributaria y un empeoramiento de la distribución del ingreso.

Los promotores de las reformas neoliberales consideraban que los cambios en la estructura de incentivos económicos, la introducción de mayor competencia en el mercado y una política económica estable mejorarían la posición de México en la economía mundial. Pero todo esto fracasó.

En efecto, un balance se pudo efectuar hacia mediados de la primera década del siglo XXI para evaluar el desempeño de las políticas neoliberales y ver si existía un proceso de convergencia de nuestro país con respecto a los países de alto ingreso de la Organización para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo Económicos (OCDE).

Los resultados de dicha evaluación muestran que durante más de dos décadas de políticas neoliberales el crecimiento económico sufrió una importante merma en relación con lo observado durante el funcionamiento del modelo de ISI.

Los principales efectos del TLCAN se hicieron sentir en los sectores de la economía mexicana que habían estado hasta entonces protegidos. La baja de los derechos aduanales impuso una reorganización y una modernización de la industria automotriz mexicana, a costa de los trabajadores sindicalizados de México. El sector bancario y el de las telecomunicaciones se abrieron

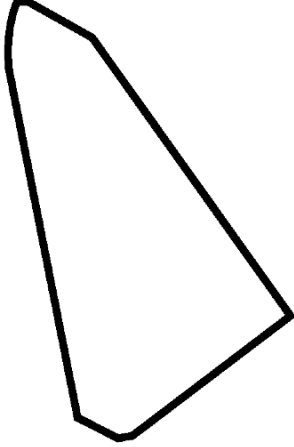
a la inversión extranjera y a la propiedad extranjera. Uno de los efectos más importantes ocurrió en la agricultura mexicana, donde el maíz estadounidense más barato sustituyó al maíz mexicano. El fracaso del proyecto neoliberal mexicano fue patente.

Por último, entre las más importantes debilidades estructurales de México, que se manifestaron con particular fuerza durante la crisis de los préstamos subprime, se cuentan: una apertura económica que condujo a una reestructuración del aparato productivo para adaptarlo a las necesidades de la economía de Estados Unidos; una excesiva dependencia del ciclo económico de Estados Unidos; una base fiscal excesivamente reducida (10% del PIB); cuentas públicas fuertemente dependientes de ingresos petroleros volátiles; capital humano e infraestructura de un nivel insuficiente; instituciones inadecuadas al nuevo modelo económico; violencia vinculada a los carteles de la droga, a las bandas especializadas en el secuestro y

en general al crimen organizado, que provoca inseguridad pública creciente y frena el crecimiento; corrupción generalizada en la burocracia, los empresarios y los sindicatos.

Tras más de 25 años de la irrupción del modelo neoliberal en México, el sector externo vuelve a presentarse como uno de los factores que más contribuyen a la inestabilidad y a

INTERESTING THEORY #50



In the US-Mexico border migrants and deprived border populations are not simply left to die, but actually led to deadly scenarios with spatially defined dimensions. Along the six states constituting the border – Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León and Tamaulipas- necropolitical actors and forces push migrants and poor populations to deadly sites where life is barely possible.

In the Tijuana-San Diego border, for instance, Haitian, Mexican and Central American migrants waiting for asylum procedures to be resolved or those who have been deported and await a better moment to cross al otro lado are pushed out to the peripheries and other urban spaces not suitable for life, such as dumps and tunnels belonging to the sewage system. Also, along Chihuahua, Coahuila and Tamaulipas poor populations are faced with different kinds of violent economic and criminal forces that pushed them out of their towns, which happen to be in resource-

THE (NECRO)POLITICS OF SPATIAL INJUSTICE IN THE US-MEXICAN BORDER: DISPOSABILITY POCKETS AND FORCED DEPOPULATION

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rich geographies. Fracking, drug cartels, femicide, political killings of local authorities and human rights and environmental activists, and massacres are the necropolitical forces behind the forced displacement of deprived populations. Conveniently, displacements make rich geographies conflict-free because most of the population is forced to flee. As we can see, extreme deprivation, violence and deadly forms of life for migrants and poor populations along the US-Mexico border have a geographical dimension that is better explained with the idea of the necropolitics of spatial injustice, which includes two (necro)policies: 1) disposability pockets, and 2) forced depopulation.

The necropolitics of spatial injustice

Edward W. Soja's idea of spatial (in)justice contends that wealth and poverty are geographically distributed along the lines class, race and gender (Soja 2009). These forces determine what he calls "locational discrimination", which is "created through the biases

Tráfico ilícito desde Centroamérica

Hay que destacar un hecho sin precedentes, el decomiso de tres minas antipersonal provenientes de Guatemala durante el pasado año 2009. Lo anterior se dio a conocer el Informe Anual del Gobierno de México sobre la aplicación a nivel nacional de la Convención de Ottawa contra minas antipersonal (OEA, 2010).

Esta información resulta relevante debido a que según el citado informe, las minas, que tenían el mismo número de serie, fueron encontradas en diversos Estados del país, y tras una investigación se concluyó que tenían su origen en un Programa de Ventas para Ejércitos Extranjeros del Gobierno de Estados Unidos, en que se vendieron cinco mil minas Claymore a El Salvador y coincidían con otras 8 minas encontradas de manera apócrifa en Guatemala.

Acciones del Gobierno

Para combatir este problema, el Gobierno Federal decidió crear en 1995 el Grupo de Coordinación Interinstitucional para la Prevención y Control del Tráfico de Armas de Fuego, Municiones y Explosivos (GC-Armas), compuesto por la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, la Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional, la Secretaría de Marina, la Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, la Secretaría de Gobernación, la Policía Federal y la Procuraduría General de la

República, que además ocupa el cargo de la Secretaría Técnica del Grupo. El GC-Armas sesiona periódicamente y en él se presentan los acontecimientos más relevantes en materia de aseguramiento de armas y se discuten las estrategias que se pueden implementar para contrarrestar este ilícito. Dentro de sus atribuciones, está la de ser el vínculo con el Buró Federal de Alcohol, Tabaco, Armas de Fuego y Explosivos (ATF) y con la oficina encargada de Migración y Aduanas (ICE), ambos de EE.UU.

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la falta de crecimiento.

Una representación diferente de la economía

En el enfoque ortodoxo la regulación es interna, es decir nace de una interacción libre entre actores libres. Esta visión se asocia al paradigma walrasiano y a su expresión, la teoría del equilibrio general competitivo. En el enfoque heterodoxo, la regulación es externa. Keynes, Marx, Schumpeter, no creen en la autorregulación gracias al mercado, ya que podría producir fluctuaciones tan costosas para la sociedad que ésta podría sentirse tentada a cambiar de sistema. El buen funcionamiento de la economía de mercado necesita de la intervención de un agente exterior: el político. El papel del Estado es fundamental. Para los heterodoxos, la moneda de crédito es endógena. Así, la teoría heterodoxa es necesariamente una teoría de la moneda, por dos razones: la monetarización de las relaciones sociales delimita el campo de la economía y la moneda es la única forma concebible de vínculo social en una economía descentralizada. Finalmente, para los heterodoxos, el tiempo es irreversible, los heterodoxos resuelven los problemas sin esperar encontrar instantáneamente una solución óptima.

En el enfoque heterodoxo, la fijación de precios toma en cuenta las estrategias oligopólicas y los medios para ponerlas en marcha. Por lo general, los salarios monetarios

son fijados fuera del mercado, mediante convenciones colectivas con la mediación del Estado. Así, el conflicto distributivo juega un papel central en el ritmo de la inflación y en la fijación de la tasa de acumulación. Este enfoque, adolece de cuatro insuficiencias: es exclusivamente macroeconómico; no toma suficientemente en cuenta la intensidad del conflicto distributivo; no valora el crecimiento de la productividad del trabajo; excluye la influencia de lo financiero en la determinación de la tasa de margen y en sus efectos sobre la inflación. Estas insuficiencias permiten ofrecer lineamientos de una política económica alternativa. Como primer punto habría que abandonar una perspectiva excesivamente macroeconómica y poner más atención en la estructura de los precios relativos. El realineamiento de los precios relativos debe ser acompañado de una política industrial que favorezca la acumulación y la modernización. Se trata de una política industrial con subsidios y estímulos a ramas con fuertes rezagos y deficiencias productivas, pero con altos efectos multiplicadores internos y fuerte potencial exportador.

En materia de política fiscal es menester abandonar el objetivo de mantener un presupuesto equilibrado. A este respecto se puede pensar en determinar las metas fiscales en función de la cuenta corriente de la balanza de pagos. O, por ejemplo, se podría pensar también

en una regla fiscal multianual que garantice la estabilidad de las finanzas públicas a mediano plazo, sin eliminar el espacio necesario para manejar la política fiscal en el corto plazo. El segundo punto relevante es que el enfoque heterodoxo no toma suficientemente en cuenta el conflicto distributivo, principal fuente de inflación. En este sentido, una política económica alternativa debe intentar modificar la distribución del ingreso en favor de los asalariados. El mecanismo tributario es fundamental para lograr la modificación de la distribución del ingreso en favor de los asalariados. En el marco de dicha reforma fiscal se puede pensar en: volver progresiva la carga tributaria y no en aumentar el impuesto al valor agregado, en el caso del impuesto al valor agregado habría que aumentar sólo el de los bienes suntuarios; introducir un impuesto sobre el patrimonio y otro sobre las herencias; combatir la enorme evasión fiscal y la cultura de la evasión. Finalmente, se podría pensar en crear un seguro contra el desempleo.

El tercer punto es la insuficiente consideración del problema de la productividad en el enfoque heterodoxo. La superación de la crisis requiere tanto de una profundización del mercado interno, como de una apertura selectiva y gradual que debe acompañarse de un fuerte activismo o intervencionismo estatal, lo que redundará en consecuencias positivas sobre la productividad.

El cuarto punto se refiere a la necesidad de analizar con mayor amplitud el sector financiero. Frente a esta situación, el Estado debería encargarse de controlar el peso y la influencia del capital-dinero de préstamo, e intentar evitar que los intereses devoren las ganancias de los industriales y, que, por lo mismo, frenen la inversión productiva. El objetivo sería aprovechar la transferencia de recursos del exterior que los flujos de capital generan evitando, al mismo tiempo, que se desarrolle una situación de alta vulnerabilidad financiera.

Las políticas económicas alternativas presentan tres principales fuentes de recursos necesarios para aplicar una política alternativa. La primera fuente es la eliminación total del desempleo, la segunda fuente de recursos puede provenir de una nueva renegociación de la deuda externa del sector público, la tercera fuente y la más importante puede provenir de una reforma tributaria profunda que grave a las clases más favorecidas y no a las clases populares.

puede ser un gran negocio para los fabricantes caseros, al buscar canjear las armas que produzcan de forma regular.

Tráfico ilícito desde Estados Unidos

Referente a la frontera norte, el problema se acentúa al momento de examinar la gran cantidad de tiendas de armas que se encuentran en los estados fronterizos de Estados Unidos con México. Se estima que están registrados más de 12 mil establecimientos que pueden vender un número ilimitado de armas a cualquier persona que acredite su mayoría de edad o residencia legal en ese país.

Además, hay que considerar los Gun Shows, ferias en las que se pueden comerciar armas libremente sin necesidad alguna de identificación. Basta con mencionar que se organizan en promedio 220 y 120 ferias de armas al año en los estados de Texas y California respectivamente (Duggan, 2008). Estos estados no tienen leyes que regulen las transacciones privadas de armas de fuego y sus componentes, propiciando así que se puedan dar varias transacciones entre vendedores ilícitos y personas que vayan a usar esas armas de forma ilegal. Pero, ¿Cómo estas cuestiones internas de Estados Unidos incrementan el tráfico ilícito hacia México? Las lagunas legislativas son aprovechadas por los narcotraficantes, que al tener que combatir al ejército

y a las diversas fuerzas de seguridad pública, utilizan a terceras personas, habilitadas para comprar armas en EEUU para así después pasarlas al otro lado de la frontera. Este fenómeno es el conocido como el de la intermediación ilícita. De igual forma, otro asunto que se debe tener en cuenta, es de los compradores múltiples, de los cuales, pese a que las armerías llevan un registro, no tienen la obligación de informar a las autoridades.

Para EEUU hay un tema tabú que nunca es abordado, y el cual es uno de los principales causantes de esta problemática, el de la regulación de la posesión civil. De tener una mayor sensibilización el grave efecto que conlleva la posesión irregular, seguramente podría contrarrestar el número de armas en manos de la delincuencia de ambos lados de la frontera.

Es así, que el poderío de las organizaciones delictivas mexicanas se sustenta en la capacidad de fuego con armas provenientes de Estados Unidos, donde se les proporciona el acceso a una amplia gama de armamento, cada vez más sofisticado, que en muchos casos supera a las armas en poder de las fuerzas de seguridad pública de nuestro país. Esto, justifica plenamente los esfuerzos y la presión que realizan las autoridades mexicanas a Estados Unidos para frenar la compra indiscriminada de armas por parte de civiles que posteriormente puedan desviarlas al mercado ilícito.

con quien se comparten más de tres mil kilómetros de frontera y 19 cruces fronterizos, donde, según cálculos oficiales (PGR, OpCitt.), pueden llegar a existir cerca de 100 brechas de cruce informal por cada cruce formal. Esta situación, aunada a diversos factores internos, hace que el tráfico de armas se incremente conforme pasan los días.

Precisamente, por su carácter de ilícito, no se tiene un número exacto de armas que son introducidas de manera ilegal al país. Pero, si se saca un promedio del número de armas aseguradas que van en la actual administración, aproximadamente 75 mil (Calderón, 2010), tenemos que cada día se aseguran cerca de 60 armas, lo que equivale a un arma cada veinte minutos. Aunque, claro esta, no todas las armas que entran al país a través del tráfico ilícito son aseguradas, por lo que el promedio de ingreso de armas al país de manera ilegal, puede estar cerca de un arma cada diez minutos.

Pero los narcotraficantes no solamente introducen de manera ilegal armas de fuego, sino también se da el contrabando de municiones y granadas. De las cuales se han asegurado al crimen organizado casi seis millones y cuatro mil unidades respectivamente en los últimos tres años.

Producción ilícita

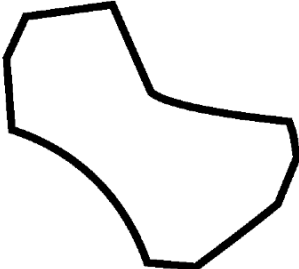
La renta, distribución o venta de armas de fuego sin licencia es un delito federal en México, sin embargo, se ha comprobado que no

sólo la venta si no la renta de armas hechizas y su fabricación es un acto que se realiza de manera frecuente en este país. Entre los estados con mayor incidencia en este delito se encuentran Baja California, Chihuahua, y el Distrito Federal. En este último, las colonias que destacan por tener un alto índice son la Morelos, Tepito en la delegación Cuauhtémoc, así como La Corbata y Ejército de Oriente en la delegación Iztapalapa (Castro, 2007).

Además, existen bandas de narcomenudistas en estos lugares que son afamadas por realizar la venta y renta de armamento de todo tipo a precio muy accesible, desde revólveres, AK-47, armas de calibre 45, rifles, entre otros. Algunas de las principales bandas en estas zonas son: “Los Villafama” y “ Los Fortís Mayén”. Cabe señalar, que estos grupos criminales se dedican al menudeo de droga y solamente operan en lugares aledaños.

Es por ello, que se han realizado diversos esfuerzos por parte de las autoridades competentes para detener este ilícito. Uno de ellos, y con el cual se reconoce de manera oficial la existencia de armas hechizas, son los programas de canje de armas. De hecho, en el marco de un programa de canje de armas publicado en la Gaceta Oficial del Distrito Federal en 2009, se prevé la entrega de \$500 y \$800 pesos por armas hechizas cortas y largas respectivamente. Pese a resultar una buena medida de prevención de delito, el canje de armas hechizas también podría resultar contradictorio, ya que

INTERESTING THEORY #44



Qualitative Input-Output Analysis (QIOA) has been often employed to study economic structures; this methodology has yielded deep insights on the way industries interact within an economy (Czarnaski and Abias, 1979; Huriot, 1974; Campbell, 1975; Holub and Schnabl, 1985; Aroche, 1996). More recently, such analysis has been extended to construct networks, accepting concepts and methods originally developed in other socialsciences (Semitel, 2006). Both the Input-Output (IO) model and Network Theory (NT) are mainly concerned with the structure of connections existing among the set of agents in the phenomenon under study (Leontief, 1951). The IO model is thus easily translated into a network framework: the technical coefficient matrix (A) provides information about the pattern of relationships between members of the structure (Aroche, 1996). Despite formal similarities between both approaches, it is important to stress that some particular assumptions valid for NT are not always suitable for IO analysis, due to specific premises

AN ECONOMIC NETWORK IN NORTH AMERICA

Fidel Aroche and
Marco Antonio Marquez
(2015)

each model is built on. For example, a social network can be symmetrical; not so an interindustry model, since IO relationships are always directed and not necessarily reciprocal –for instance, an industry i may demand inputs from another j, but j does not need to purchase materials from i or else those flows do not need to be of equal value.

Economic models are often demand driven, assuming that consumers influence the behaviour of producers (e.g., demand determines output size); in turn, consumers demand produced goods from firms, according to their needs, while producers demand also goods to use them as inputs in their production processes. Such interdependency between agents deepens as the system becomes more complex and agents specialize in the production of some good, to the point that every industry maintains direct and indirect relationships with each other and with each consuming unit. The system attains the maximum possible complexity.

Canada and the US, on the one hand, and the US and Mexico, on the other, have been economic partners for decades. The intense exchange of merchandises

and factors, the economic policies in each country, as well as the enforcement of a free trade agreement in 1994 comprising these three countries, among other facts, have been instrumental to make up a trilateral economic area (even if no intention of further formal or institutional integration, North America can be studied as a single economic area, i.e., as a supra-region comprising three national economies -or regions. Every economy can be regarded as a system of industries or sectors, related through flows of intermediate demand. At the same time, each sector in any country demands inputs from industries within the supra-region, as well as from producers located beyond such economic space, i.e. importing goods from the rest of the world.

This paper analyses the North American economic structure and presents graphs of the fundamental substructure, showing through a subset of the intersectoral connections, fundamental features of the economy. The regional IO model provides the theoretical framework to carry out that analysis; using methods and results of the QIOA it will be possible to find a network within the North American economic structure. The latter is further analysed to characterise the actual supra-regional economy. It is expected that –to a large extent– the US economic structure will be shaping the North American economy as a whole, owing to its relative size, as well as to its internal cohesion, which can also be explained by its higher level of development (Carter, 1970).

The North American Economic Network

The database used in this paper is a square IO table of the North American supraregion that puts together the IO tables of the three countries in North America and makes explicit the trade relationships by sector of origin and destiny existing within the area, as well as the commercial links that each industry in the North American area maintains with the rest of the world. This array derives from two sources: the OECD Input-Output Database, 2002 edition, which provides the 1997 tables for Canada and the US; the Mexican matrix being a 1996 update of the 1980 original. The OECD edition contains the IO matrices disaggregated into 42 industries; the Mexican table comprises 72 branches. All three matrices were aggregated to 32 uniform sectors.

First of all, for each country, domestic transactions are larger than imports; secondly, both Canadian and Mexican imports take larger output quotas (16% for Canada and 19% for Mexico), while these countries maintain their main trade liaisons within North America. Indeed, for the US, imports are a smaller share of gross output and imports from the rest of the World are larger than those coming from North America. Exports to the rest of the world are also heavily determined by the US (67.5% of the total for the supra-region). Likewise, the US proportion in terms of final demand and gross output is massive if compared to the rest of the countries.

controlarían la distribución y el paso de la droga en las zonas principales del país. Como lo es la zona fronteriza tanto del norte como del sur, el Triángulo de Oro (Sinaloa, Durango y Chihuahua), Tierra Caliente (Michoacán), entre otros lugares. De esta forma, se entiende que los estados con mayor incidencia en aseguramientos de armas sean: Michoacán, Chihuahua y Tamaulipas; en municiones: Tamaulipas, Baja California y Michoacán y en granadas Tamaulipas, Chiapas y Michoacán (PGR, 2008).

Igual relevancia para el tráfico ilícito de armas son los casos de guerrilla que ocurren en México. La guerrilla está formada por grupos armados que tienen objetivos particulares de presión social para con el Estado. Actualmente, los dos grupos más importantes son el Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) y el Ejército Popular Revolucionario (EPR).

El primero, se levantó en armas en 1994, y se tiene información que parte de sus actividades para su financiamiento era la venta ilegal de armas a los indígenas. Tras comprar armas en Estados Unidos, estas eran introducidas de manera ilegal a México, y vendidas por arriba de su valor real a indígenas del estado de Chiapas. Siendo febrero el mes de mayor abundancia financiera dentro del EZLN, ya que es cuando se da la cosecha del

café y las familias tienen uno o dos mil pesos extras para comprarle armas a esa organización (De la Grange, 1999).

Mención aparte merece el EPR, organización que inicia su movimiento armado en 1996 en Guerrero. Existe información sobre que le EPR se arma a través de productos provenientes de Venezuela y Belice, lo cual ha causado una gran inquietud en todos los niveles de gobierno e incluso cierta molestia en el ámbito diplomático.

El país sudamericano ha negado rotundamente que las armas del EPR tengan su origen en ese país, pese a que en 2005 la PGR abrió una investigación sobre el supuesto tráfico ilícito desde Venezuela a México, que incluso contenía el expediente de personal de la embajada en nuestro país y trabajadores del Gobierno del Distrito Federal. Cuestión que fue arduamente criticada por la izquierda mexicana y derivó en un Punto de Acuerdo de la Cámara de Diputados en 2006 (Cortes, 2006).

Tráfico ilícito de armas

La entrada de armas a México se realiza a través de los llamados operativos “hormiga”, pasando en pequeñas cantidades y de manera ilegal las diversas fronteras tanto marítimas, terrestres y áreas, para al final acabar en las manos de la delincuencia organizada. Como ya se mencionó, cerca del 90% de las armas provienen de Estados Unidos,

la vulnerabilidad de poder ser cooptados por parte de una organización criminal. Esto, pese a que en su página, un video institucional afirman tener personal altamente calificado.

Tecnos tiene afiliaciones a diversas instancias que certifican la calidad de los cartuchos para ser exportados. Tanto por parte de la Comisión Permanente Internacional para la Prueba de Armas de Fuego Portátiles y del Sporting Arms & Ammunition Manufacturers Institute, que cuenta con estatus consultivo ante Naciones Unidas y se encarga de normar las especificaciones de los cartuchos en Estados Unidos. La certificación por parte del

extranjero, es un aval más con el que los procesos de exportación se vuelven más fáciles de cumplir (SAAMI, 2009).

Gracias a esas licencias, se entiende la presencia de Centurion Ordnance Inc. en la ciudad de San Antonio, Texas, en Estados Unidos. A través de esta compañía, Tecnos lleva diez años incursionando al mercado tanto canadiense como estadounidense, realizando ventas a los departamentos de policía locales, así como al “público en general”. Es a través de esta empresa, que se ha hecho presente en diversas ferias de armas de fuego, las llamadas “Gun Fairs”, como el Shot Show, feria anual a la que atienden más de 25 mil personas en un lapso de tres días.

Por último, cabe destacar que Industrias Tecnos tiene un área de investigación que le ha permitido,

según información contenida en la fuente antes citada, diseñar la bala más veloz del mundo en su tipo, para un rifle calibre .22, así como la bala más silenciosa del mundo para un cartucho sin pólvora, la súper colibrí calibre para el mismo calibre. Esto, la hace ser una empresa mucho más rentable y con altos niveles de competitividad a nivel mundial. Lo que incrementa sus exportaciones, y por ende, las exportaciones de municiones por parte de México como país.

Los actores no-estatales en

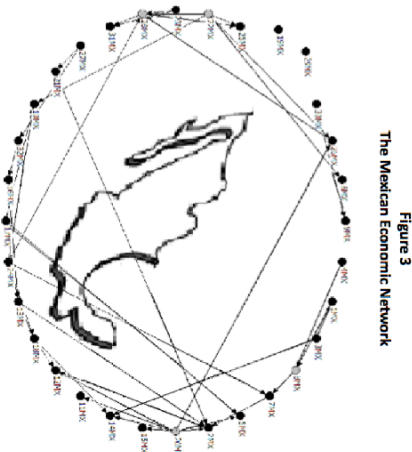
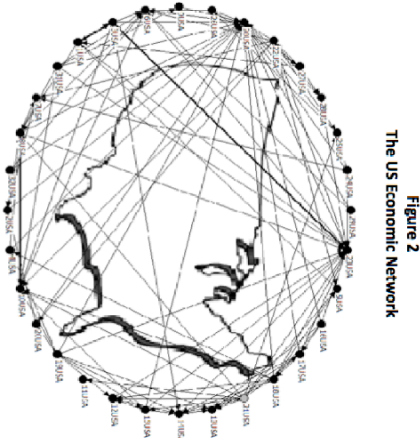
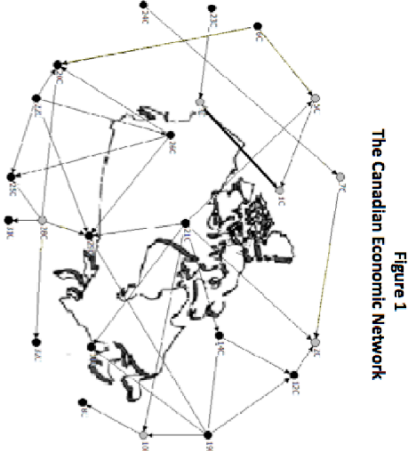
México

La variedad de actores no estatales en México vinculados con el tráfico de armas se divide en dos grandes rubros. El primero es el de los narcotraficantes y el segundo el de la guerrilla.

El combate al narcotráfico surge en los años 70, cuando el territorio nacional empieza a ser un paso importante de droga hacia los EEUU e inicia una fase de cultivo de enerantes en el país. Oficialmente, el Ejército Mexicano, inició su lucha contra el narcotráfico en 1976, año en el que también tuvo su primera baja derivada de este enfrentamiento, que en total, según las últimas cifras publicadas en el Museo de los Enerantes, ya contabiliza 625 bajas para el Ejército.

Posteriormente, se empieza a dar la división del territorio nacional entre las células más grandes que

At first glance, it is clear that the largest proportion of import coefficients appears in the US internal IO table, which is also the economy that connects the whole economic area and it is known to be, by far, a more developed economy. The US chart shows one hundred and thirty-eight (138) arcs; the Canadian one contains fifty-four (54); and the Mexican one includes sixty-one (61) arcs. The Canadian graph shows nine disconnected sectors; the Mexican one just two; and the US shows no disconnected industries. As a result, density accounts for 0.053 in the Canadian graph; 0.134 in the US; and 0.059 in the Mexican one. Surprisingly, the Canadian and Mexican economies show comparable levels of complexity, despite the well-known differences in per capita income and development levels.



The next figure shows the economic network for an aggregated North American economy containing 32 similar sectors. There are one hundred and forty-five (145) arcs in the graph and ICs (out of 1024 coefficients in the matrix), which means that the density in the graph amounts to 0.142. This graph is more complex than any of the national ones considered above; yet, differences with the US figure are not big. This is equivalent to say that the US economy is supplemented by its trade partners, which is a consequence of the size gapexisting between them.

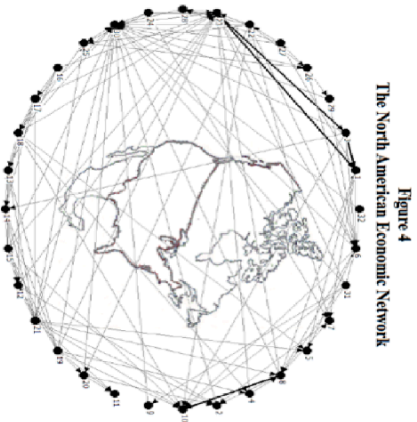


Figure 4
The North American Economic Network

Trade Patterns in North America

According to results above, international trade represents a smaller proportion of economic transactions for each country, if compared to domestic exchanges; the US being the most autarchic country in the bloc. Figure 5 shows the graph of the IC resulting from the six tables of imports and exports within North America. First, as it has been said above, there are thirty-nine connections only. Second, there is one direct link from the Canadian to the Mexican industries, connecting sectors 19 (motor vehicles, ships and boats, aircraft, spacecraft and railroad equipment) in each of these countries. This sector, however, happens to be dominated by US automobile firms located in both countries and producing massive intrafirm trade, although Canada is also an important producer of railroad equipment, which Mexico is keen to import. On the contrary, sector 19 in

Mexico is disconnected from the rest of the domestic economy. Indeed, this is mainly an international sector located within the Mexican territory.

The rest of the 38 international links involve US industries connected bilaterally with either Canadian or Mexican sectors or trilaterally, involving simultaneously industries located in both countries. Seven cut-points found in the US economy link industries in the three countries: (once again) North American industries are interconnected through the US. Canada and Mexico show two cut-points each, which connect industries located in two different countries only: sectors 5 (wood and wood products and cork) and 18 (manufacturing and medical instruments) in Canada and sectors 2 (mining and quarrying) and 15 (machinery and equipment) in Mexico. Finally, there are 19 Canadian industries with no links to other sectors in North America, neither as consumers nor as suppliers of inputs through ICs. There are also 13 US industries disconnected to foreign trade and 20 Mexican sectors that do not trade with the rest of the

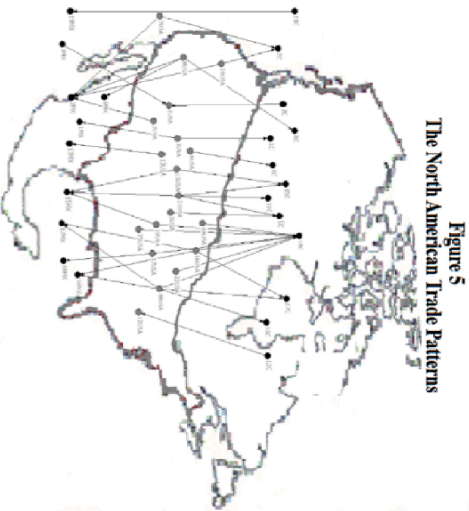


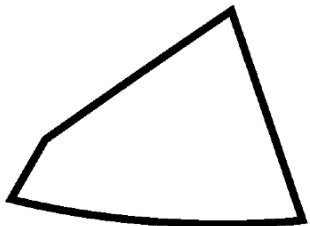
Figure 5
The North American Trade Patterns

Relacionado a la fabricación de armas por parte del Ejército, es importante mencionar el caso del reemplazo y la producción del fusil estándar de combate de la Sedena, en otras palabras, el arma que más se produce, que más militares portan, y que por lo tanto, tiene mayores posibilidades de pasar a manos del crimen organizado.

Otro tipo de fabricación que es pertinente abordar, es aquella realizada por empresas privadas autorizadas dentro del territorio nacional. Sus productos varían, ya que pueden ir desde rifles de aire para diábolos, pistolas de salva, y aparatos más sofisticados como pistolas automáticas o sub-ametralladoras. Sobre su mercado, la mayoría va enfocada al sector privado, que incluye deportistas, cazadores, empresas de seguridad, entre otras. De las empresas registradas en México, destacan Productos Mendoza S.A. de C.V. e Industrias Tecnos S.A. de C.V., mismas de las que a continuación se presentará un análisis. Productos Mendoza data de los albores de la Revolución Mexicana, cuando fue fundada por el Ing. Rafael Mendoza, a fin de surtir de cañones de combate y ametralladoras a las tropas villistas. Posteriormente, y luego de poco más de veinte años en el mercado, se logra posicionarse como una de las empresas líder en su ramo a tal grado que se vuelve una de las proveedoras oficiales del Ejército Mexicano. Destaca lo anterior, ya que esto lo logra con la producción de su Fusil Ametrallador Mendoza

modelo 1934-C, del cual hay un testimonio de que era exportado por México a las fuerzas republicanas durante la Guerra Civil española. Tiempo después, en los años setenta, Productos Mendoza incursiona a la industria deportiva y a la fabricación de rifles para diábolos y pistolas de salva. Es hasta 1997 que incursiona en el área de producción de Sub-Ametralladoras HM-3 calibre 9 mm, que son utilizadas por diversas corporaciones policíacas.

Ahora toca el turno de hablar sobre Industria Tecnos, empresa localizada en Cuernavaca, Morelos. Esta compañía que fabrica y comercializa municiones fue creada en 1961. Actualmente, es la distribuidora oficial de cartuchos marca Remington y produce los denominados cartuchos Águila, que son exportados para uso militar y a diversos países de los cinco continentes. Su misión, es: "Satisfacer consistentemente las necesidades del mercado mundial cinegético, deportivo y de protección, con productos y servicios de calidad". Sus líneas de producción se dividen en cartuchos de: escopeta de caza, escopeta de competencia, así como munición calibre .38 Súper o Especial y 9 mm, entre otros. Las municiones de grueso calibre se venden exclusivamente a corporaciones policíacas. Esta empresa cuenta con aproximadamente 400 empleados, de los cuales según un estudio realizado (Moguel, 2009), su escolaridad promedio es de primaria, incrementándose así



Introducción

Para comprender como se da el fenómeno del tráfico ilícito de armas en México, primero se debe de tener presente la situación general de las armas en el país. Por esta razón, a lo largo de la primera parte de este capítulo se hace un análisis sobre el marco legal aplicable y la fabricación de armas...

En la segunda parte, se examinan los diversos órganos del gobierno encargados de combatir este ilícito y las organizaciones criminales que lo llevan a cabo, así como las acciones realizadas para frenar este problema, específicamente con relación a las armas procedentes de Estados Unidos.

Fabricación de armas en México

La fabricación de armas en nuestro país se puede dividir en tres grandes rubros, el gubernamental, el privado y el ilegal, mismos que a continuación se especificarán. Si bien, en las dos primeras áreas, se tiene un control sobre

LA SEGURIDAD NACIONAL DE MÉXICO ANTE EL CRIMEN ORGANIZADO Y SUS EFECTOS SOBRE EL DESARROLLO HUMANO: EL CASO DEL TRÁFICO ILÍCITO DE ARMAS DE FUEGO

Gustavo Mauricio Bastien Olvera, (2011)

la producción, las armas que producen sirven para propósitos muy diferentes. Mientras que las producidas de manera ilegal, puede ser que tenga los mismos propósitos de las otras dos, pero tienen características especiales que las hacen estar al margen de la ley. A este último rubro se le ha dedicado una sección especial dentro de este capítulo.

Dentro de la Sedena, la fabricación de armas corresponde a la Dirección General de Industria Militar, que para el año 2003 estaba constituida por 17 fábricas que producían los diversos elementos destinados al uso de las fuerzas armadas. La información disponible más reciente indica que en el año 2000 se produjeron 11,833 armas, 28.6 millones de cartuchos y 416 mil granadas (Aguayo, 2003).

La Industria Militar tiene la posibilidad de vender algunas de sus armas y cartuchos a través de la Dirección de Comercialización de Armamento y Municiones (DCAM), que a su vez, responde a los permisos de comercialización que otorga la DFAF y CE para tener un control sobre las ventas y la posesión de armas en México.

Conclusions

In this paper we have found a North American economic network that shows the structural connections existing between sectors in Canada, the US and Mexico. Analysing that structure we conclude that the three economies are highly interdependent, because in each country intermediate imports from other North American countries are essential to carry out production in various industries. Nevertheless, sectors within each economy are primarily linked to domestic sectors, secondly to branches within North America and thirdly to industries beyond. In that sense, the North American network contains three interconnected subsystems, one for each country.

The complexity of an economic system has been defined as the amount of connections between industries relative to the maximum possible amount of interindustry liaisons. In North America, the US is the most complex subsystem; it is also less dependent upon imports from its neighbouring partners, but keeps closer trade relationships with the rest of the World. Canada and Mexico maintain scarce direct relationships and import intermediate goods mainly from the U.S. The complexity of their subsystems is also lower.

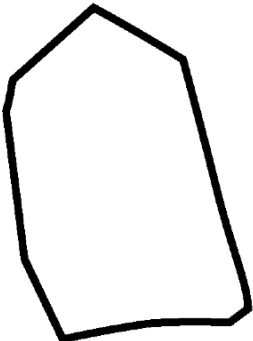
Influence will expand more easily through a complex network, because industries will be connected through a larger amount of paths, involving more sectors.

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SKILLED MIGRATION TO THE
US: WORK IN PROGRESS
PROJECT

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(2017)
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In 1994 the most influential foreign trade agreement came into effect – the North American Free Trade Agreement (nafta). Subsequently, Mexico experienced a massive foreign investment inward flow, financial instability, high U.S. economic dependency¹, deterioration of labour conditions including lower real wages and severe cuts in public social expenses (public institutions of education, health and social security) (Palma, 2003). According to Pastor and Wise, the recessionary effects of the strategies on macroeconomic stabilisation that have been implemented since the 1980s have been more severe than originally anticipated. The pursuit of neoliberal policies resulted in a substantial increase in inequality. Pastor and Wise found that “Between 1984 and 1994, for example, the wealthiest 10% of Mexicans saw their share of national income rise from around 34% to more than 41%, while every other income decile suffered a decline” (1997: 336). More contemporary figures suggest that income distribution in Mexico – in

López Gallardo and Cruz Marcelo’s words – “has improved somewhat, but not much” (2013: 2). Their study found that the income share of the poorest 40 per cent increased, albeit marginally, from 15 per cent in 1998 to 17.7 per cent in 2010. Conversely, the income share of the richest 10 per cent decreased from 36.7 to 29.7 per cent for the same period (López Gallardo & Cruz Marcelo, 2013). As a result, Mexico has a highly uneven income distribution when compared to many Asian and European countries (López Gallardo & Cruz Marcelo, 2013). When compared to other OECD countries and measured by the S90/S10 ratio², income inequality in Mexico is

highest, over six times larger than in Iceland and nearly twice as large as Australia’s (OECD, 2013). The steady increase in emigration from Mexico – 5.045 million in 1990, 10.044 million in 2000 and 12.44 million in 2010 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), 2012), can be shown to be a direct result of the adjustment policies of the new economic model, the lack of employment opportunities, and the deterioration of living standards

Could Trump be sowing uncertainty and chaos because he thinks that down the line he will be able to exact higher concessions from Mexico?

The theory of strategic unpredictability is no doubt interesting, but to think it applies to Trump would be giving him too much credit. Fostering crises can work only under limited circumstances and in contexts in which some other policy goals are well defined and rationally pursued. Relative to a well thought-out underlying strategic context or “grand strategy,” madmen must behave with discipline and self-control.

But Trump appears unable to either have long-term consistent goals or to stick to anything with discipline. No trace of strategy is recognizable behind his unpredictability. If anything, it has alienated and perplexed allies, rather than compelling adversaries to do or abstain.

Strategic predictability and brinkmanship are strategies suitable for very limited environments. Kim Jong-un may secure North Korean isolation by cultivating the image of crazy nukes, but very little beyond that. The extent to which Nixon’s madman act was successful is debatable,⁴ but it was exceptional, one of a few tactics available

in the very intractable context of Cold War US-Soviet relations. Trump’s unpredictability across the board is a very different pattern, not obviously strategic but most probably self-defeating.

⁴ Todd Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann, “The Madman Myth: Trump and the Bomb” in H-Diplo ISSF POLICY Series, March 2017, available at <https://issforum.org/roundtables/policy/1-5w-madman>

claims of territorial sovereignty over certain island, or abandoning the production of nuclear fuel or of long-range missiles) but not be ready to credibly threaten war (e.g. because its enemy is too powerful and war too unpredictable, or because war would risk mutual nuclear attacks.) So instead of threatening war, A may increase the risk of “inadvertent war” against B. Inadvertent war, as Schelling defined it, is not deliberately initiated but rather accidentally produced under conditions of heightened uncertainty and risk. Readiness to use force can increase to a point in which minor miscalculations or misperceptions lead to all-out war. Schelling’s central claim is that bringing the conflict to the “brink of war” could be an effective tactic against risk-averse opponents, even when the direct threat of war is not credible. As he wrote, “a country can threaten to stumble into a war even if it cannot credibly threaten to invite one.”²

Now, is president Donald Trump’s unpredictability strategic?

Already during his campaign, Trump affirmed that, “we must as a nation be more unpredictable”³. His first acts in office have spread unpredictability globally at a breathtaking pace. Trump’s campaign speech referred specifically to the need to take ISIS by surprise, but

since his inauguration Trump and his staff have invoked the virtues of unpredictability in various contexts.

In this respect, Trump has an important predecessor in Richard Nixon, who during the Vietnam War sought to compel the North Vietnamese to surrender by having them believe that he was such a fierce anti-communist that he could lose control of himself and escalate the war out of all limitations. This “madman theory” featured at a few critical moments during Nixon’s Cold War—its basic line being, beware of president Nixon for he may not be able to control his impulses, so better do as he says.

One may ask whether the theory of strategic unpredictability applies to Trump. His boasts aside, he has in fact escalated tensions with North Korea, and has acted impulsively and unpredictably in Syria, allegedly aiming to show unexpected US resolve where president Obama was forever hesitant. Conceivably, he might be hoping that, once he comes around to laying out his preferred terms and policies, his unnerved adversaries will be willing to follow suit.

Trump’s declarations on Mexico have created major uncertainty regarding the future of bilateral trade, security cooperation, migration policies, etc. A crisis in US-Mexico relations has been in the making since the presidential campaign.

in Mexico (Iomelí & Vázquez, 2016). Portillo Parody argues that the limited success in creating well paid jobs, lack of opportunities, insecurity, the growing violence and the war between the government and the drug cartels, and the increasing polarization in society, are some of the factors that motivate thousands of Mexicans to leave their country and migrate to find a ‘better way of life’ (2009:2).

As a new phenomenon, middle class Mexicans are seeking new possibilities. In recent decades, a new group of immigrants -with very different characteristics from earlier groups, more gender balanced and in reduced numbers- can be identified between professionals and qualified people (Atondo Guzmán, 2011; Lozano-Ascencio & Gandini, 2011, 2012; Vázquez Magglio, 2013). They are middle-class migrants with university education (or equivalent), white collar workers who seek to integrate into the mainstream society in their destinations.

There are several countries of destination (Canada, Spain, Germany, Australia), but the typical country of destination is without any doubt the United States. The constant migration of Mexican workers to the United States has been well studied (Cornelius et al., 2009, Fitzgerald & Alarcón, 2013, Fussell, 2004 and Mueller, 2005). However, since the mid-1990s, Mexico has seen a significant increase in the emigration of the middle-class and professionals, mainly to the United

States, but also to new destinations (i.e. Canada, Australia). In the case of Canada and Australia, the shortage of skilled workers and the federal immigration programs of highly qualified individuals have opened up migration opportunities for these people (Atondo Guzmán, 2011; Vázquez Magglio, 2013).

The number of people born in Mexico with tertiary education and residents in the United States is small relative to the total number of Mexicans in the United States, which by the year 2013, amounted to about 11.6 million immigrants (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). However, the number of Mexicans with higher education has increased significantly: at the beginning of the 1990s there were around 161 thousand and by 2015 they reached approximately 1.2 million according to Delgado Wise (2016).

For the middle classes emigration to developed countries represents an alternative to the toughening conditions and decreasing

opportunities in their country of origin (Colic-Peisker, 2008; Lozano-Ascencio & Gandini, 2012). For instance, Colic-Peisker’s research on the Croatian professional migrants in Australia illustrates the way in which “high unemployment and generally deteriorating social circumstances in [the] homeland” are strong motives for migration among the middle classes (Colic-Peisker, 2000: 184). In the case of emigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean since the mid-1990s, Lozano-Ascencio and Gandini similarly

² Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (Yale 1966), 97.

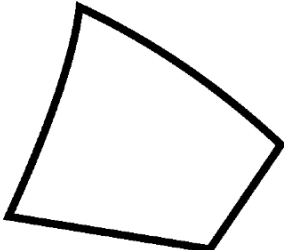
³ https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/28/us/politics/transcript-trump-foreign-policy.html?_r=0

argue that “the lack of jobs with adequate salaries for the countless professionals and technicians recently graduated from public and private universities [has been] encouraging emigration” (Lozano-Ascencio & Gandini, 2012: 8). A significant number of studies on Mexican mobility focus on the Mexican working class in the United States and highlight their disadvantaged economic position as the main motivation to migrate. Very few studies have reviewed the migration of the middle classes and professionals (Castaños-Lomnitz, 2004, Martuscelli & Leyva, 2007, Vázquez Maggjo, 2013). Castaños-Lomnitz (2004) and Martuscelli and Leyva (2007) have focused on a small group - CONACYT recipients of scholarships - to be analyzed under the “brain drain” or “talent migration” lenses. We highlight here the studies by Lozano-Ascencio and Gandini (2012) and Vázquez Maggjo (2013) on skilled migration of Mexicans that goes beyond the binary position of brain drain or brain gain. Although there are many studies that attempt to quantify this brain loss or brain gain, the results are inconclusive and ambiguous as to whether mobility actually represents a loss or an absolute gain (Lien & Wang, 2005; Lozano-Ascencio & Gandini, 2011). The main objective of this current research is to analyze the characteristics of the emigration of Mexicans with tertiary education in the United States. This implies not only determining their size

and magnitude in the period 1990-2014 but also building their socio-demographic profile: current age, age at the time of migration, gender, level and type of studies prior to migration, level and type of studies in the USA, marital status, partner's origin / nationality, type of occupation in USA, place of residence in USA (city / town and state). It is also of interest to this research to analyze the motivations behind their migration and their work conditions.

In the case of the Mexican skilled migrants to the United States there is a relationship with graduate education programs. That is, for a significant number of Mexicans in the United States, master's and doctoral studies in that country will represent a bridge towards a more permanent type of migration. Traditional orthodox migration theory argues that economic reasons, -that is, wage differential between countries-, are fundamental to explain both skilled and unskilled immigration. If this were so, we would expect to find in the fieldwork that the causes of emigration are the search for better wages or better employment opportunities. However, other studies (Bowden, 2011; Wood et al., 2010) have shown that there are other factors driving Mexican migrants to the United States that may be equally or more important, such as working conditions, job insecurity, violence, search for a better quality of life, personal characteristics including social

INTERESTING THEORY #48



Can unpredictability be strategic? Put differently, can a strategic actor –someone who identifies and pursues suitable means for pre-defined goals– gain advantage by creating or increasing uncertainty in the environment he operates? Can this be accomplished by cultivating a reputation for being unpredictable and erratic?

It is by no means obvious that objective unpredictability can ever be strategic, for under unpredictability nobody can sufficiently predict the outcome of actions or events, oneself included. Creating or cultivating unpredictability necessarily involves making uncertain the fulfilment of one's own goals. But how could that be strategic?

The late political scientist and economics Nobel laureate Thomas Schelling proposed a theory. Creating uncertainty could be strategic, he argued, when your opponent is more vulnerable to uncertainty than you are. The tactic, which he called

STRATEGIC UNPREDICTABILITY
Pablo Kalmanovitz
CIDE, Mexico City

“brinkmanship,” consists in “letting the situation get somewhat out of hand, just because its being out of hand may be intolerable to the other party and force his accommodation.”¹ In certain contexts, generating unpredictability could function as a credible threat: you throw a cloud of uncertainty and risk under circumstances in which you cope better than your opponent. The more risk-averse your opponent, the more likely he will surrender to this kind of threat.

Schelling discussed specifically the strategic value of favoring security crises in foreign relations. Crises are situations of high uncertainty, volatility, and high stakes, in which no single actor can determine the outcome. The environment is opaque; minor interventions can have large effects; and actions are often governed by misunderstanding and misperception rather than accurate calculation.

So how could crises ever be strategic? Take the case of war. State A may seek vital concessions from its adversary B (e.g. giving up

¹ Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Harvard 1960), 200.

states through their own cultural institutions.

Young Artists of the Tijuana-San Diego Border

The discussion about the border among Tijuana's artists since the 1990's has maintained tension with the cultural and artistic proposals emerging from Mexico City and Chicano art. As a reference for multimedia-art, in the 1980's the border artists found in the production of visual art an autonomous space for dialogue to understand and reflect from the point of view of art about everything related to the cultural and socio-historical conditions of the Mexico-U.S. border. When a group of artists, activists, cultural promoters from the Tijuana-San Diego area created the Taller de Arte Fronterizo/Border Art Workshop in 1983, they managed to situate "the border " as a central place for the production of works with a non-traditional format, known as performance art.

New Artistic Circuits Emerge On the Border

In conclusion, the emergence of new artistic circuits in the region to promote border cultural and artistic production has been immensely political cultural project. Guiding it have been the capacity for independent production

of culture and visual art in a border region with regard to its own cultural history and the generation of political-cultural discourses about the Mexico-U.S. and other borders. These discourses promote a particular vision of the cultural reason for being of the borders in the era of globalization. In addition I would add the promotion of an identity of its own for the border region constructed and deconstructed based on the artistic discourses in which people have been the key actors for their discussion, using digital communication platforms and circuits on a local and global level.

As a result of this local digital art project, both a tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the region has been created that helps transmit knowledge identity, and memory of the border society, as well as cultural circuit that makes it possible for new independent cultural actors to promote contemporary visions of digital art with regard to national and international institutional projects like those of the United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organization.

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class (adventure, sentimental relationships), among others.

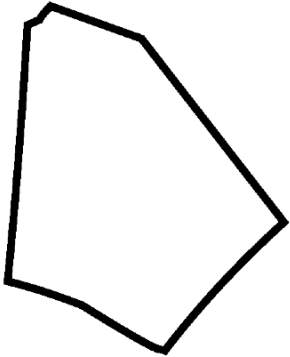
This research project seeks to examine these hypotheses and to determine the impact of non-economic factors as a reason for migration to the United States by workers with tertiary education. Non-economic factors are as follows:

- A) search for better quality of life,
- B) search for protection and avoidance of conditions of insecurity and violence,
- C) desire to experience the unknown (the adventure) and
- D) existence of bi-cultural sentimental relations.

Too often, migration studies are descriptive statistics that do not allow us to see the human face of the phenomenon. Even less when it comes to populations that are apparently not problematic, as is the case of skilled and middle-class migrants. For the collection of data at national and state level, a mixed methodology will be followed combining quantitative and qualitative methods. A second contribution of this study is in terms of methodology. In the first phase a version of the questionnaire constructed by Vázquez Magglio (2013) adapted to this investigation will be used for the investigation of a similar phenomenon. In the second phase, in depth-interviews will be conducted. Although the mixed methodology of combining questionnaires with interviews is

not novel in itself, its use in the context of migration, and even more in the context of skilled migration, does represent a novel contribution.

The main contribution of this project is to make a diagnosis of the scale of the problem, but more importantly, a response to why the qualified and Mexicans middle-class migrate to the United States, their regional distribution, the permanent or transitory nature of their migration process and their field of work. To date, there is very limited knowledge about this group of people. It is fundamental to us to show that there can be a gain for the both nations if policies which develop networks are established.



RESIGNIFYING THE NORTHERN BORDER (Summary)

Sabine Pfeleger y
Joselin Barja (2010)

Toward a Representation of the New Transmigrations in the Region

Mexico's northern border is very special. Its 3 200 kilometers not only divides two countries, two cultures, and two economies, but also two worlds: what are commonly called the "first world" and the "developing world." And it is precisely that union and dis-union of two very disparate worlds that force us to rethink the definition of the concept of political or geographical border, since Mexico's border with the United States has become a mythologized conceptual framework, and not only for the people who live there. Many Mexican social structures distant from the border itself are influenced by it and in turn have an influence on the resignifications of it through phenomena like transmigration. The mystifications of the "American Dream," with its recurring promises of well-being, overflow the border and extend it as a place that is constructed vertically from the northern

border to the one Mexico shares with the Central American countries to the south.

An estimated 400 000 undocumented people a year enter Mexico on their way to the United States.¹ Most of them are Central Americans, and Central American transmigration has been intense for at least two decades. What is new is its current dynamic, which has taken on certain particularities making its study and definition complex.

Not all seekers of the "American Dream" will stay a short time in Mexico or continue on to the United States. This means that they cannot continue to be considered a "passing" phenomenon, peripheral to the constituent processes of our society. Whether "passing" or indefinite, many transmigrants contribute to the "assembly," formation, and maintenance

of Mexico's global cities and towns that benefit from their labor power and services.² Until 10 years ago, migrating to the United States required the financial capital and community wherewithal to hire a coyote or pollero, as smugglers of people to the United States are

the digital revolution have made the appearance of new no-state cultural actors possible, such as visual artists, agents, cultural promoters and independent writers in Tijuana. They have joined forces to collaborate to achieve an important degree of cultural development.

Over the last 20 years, all this has created the new independent art circuit in which self-organized projects are promoted and resources sought out circumventing the public cultural policies designed from Mexico's capital, which historically have shown no interest in art from the border, and therefore, included no mechanisms to benefit artists from the region.

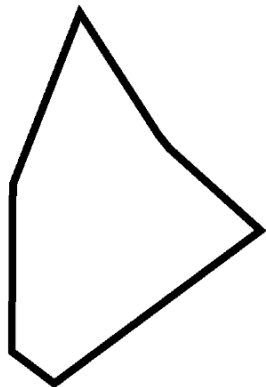
The regionals new digital art has made possible the formulation and promotion of new creative processes. Since they focus on daily life on the border, on the discussions about what the border is, and on how it is experienced mainly by young people, they acquire an exclusive, specific character. To do that, using electronic storage, distribution, and promotional sites like the Internet portals You Tube, Vimeo, Behance among others, has been fundamental. Virtual communities for cinema, visual art, electronic music and literature have also been generated on Blogspot, Twitter and Facebook groups, and Instagram.

In this case, the digital revolution is expressed in cultural practices that combine modern with traditional praxes: the cultural change that inspires young people to create

digital and/or multi-media art takes advantage of virtual and real spaces for developing a new aesthetic around specific border themes as a space of identity convergence and divergence and human and material movement as part of daily life.

Nestor Garcia Canclini has stated that the transformations generated by a new economy and technological innovations have created economic frameworks specific to the digital era, in which the creative economy, artistic communities, and the new cultural practices are seen as a resource for the local economies that are part of the global market.

On that basis, the generation of new artistic circuits that promote the cultural and artistic circuits that promote the cultural and artistic production in border regions, together with the creation of virtual communities, can be recognized as a cultural project that has taken root in the most recent globalization. The characteristics of this project in Tijuana speak to the ability to independently produce culture and visual art in the region linked to a cultural history of its own that sets Mexico's border region apart as a marginal space in the social and cultural sphere. In addition, the generation of these circuits makes possible the appearance of aesthetic and cultural discourses about this border that are diverse and different from those already espoused by the nation-



Tijuana's contemporary art movement is of great interest worldwide because it has managed to create a border and transnational identity that has been reproduced in visual art, film and literary works merging new artistic technologies with traditional techniques in a cultural production process unique in Mexico. This article's analysis is guided by the rebirth of cultural life in this border city, and, in particular, centers of study of digital works in which contemporary local artists have sought to interpret the daily life and visual culture of their city and the Tijuana-San Diego trans-border region.

The emergence of a new circuit of local art between the cities of Tijuana and San Diego has influence the regions cultural development, contributing an aesthetic than analyses the importance of the human, technological and socio-political relations between Mexico and the United States. In this sense, the development of technology-based art has been a key point in Tijuana: since the

POST-PUNK IN CONCERT. THE TIJUANA DIGITAL ART CIRCUIT. Paola Virginia Suárez Dávila (2016)

mid-1990s artistic endeavors have grown with the development of new communications platforms and the expansion of artistic disciplines such as multi-media art and electronic music, creating a new aesthetic of the Mexico-U.S. border.

Tijuana México's New Mecca for Digital Art
This new circuit of digital and visual art from the Tijuana-San Diego trans-border area has surpassed the typical mechanisms for creating art nationwide, formerly fostered by Mexico's governmental institutions and cultural centers, creating and independent proposal with local development linked to the impetus of globalization and socio-political projects along the border. This new circuit is part of a worldwide process linked to the digital revolution of the 1990s including the surge in Internet technology and access to media, and the expansion of the digital social networks among a large part of the young university, urban population throughout the world.

The new spaces for communication generated in the first years of

commonly known. The payment was preferably made on the northern border to reduce traveling expenses. This was even the case for Central Americans since getting into Mexico across the southern border was a simple matter.

The Mexico-U.S. northern border represented a huge line of separation and territorial and imaginary classification between one side and the other of the "American Dream." The

biggest risks of the clandestine crossing were from the extraordinary measures taken to avoid the Border Patrol. With the construction of the border fence between Tijuana and San Diego in 1994 as part of the Operation Guardian immigration control plan,³ many people were forced to seek other routes and ways of crossing. Instead of crossing in urban areas, they had to traverse deserts, water, or mountains, swim across the Rio Grande, hide in huge inner-tubes and be pulled across to the other side, use secret tunnels dug by human and drug traffickers and human smugglers between the two sides of the fence, or walk thousands of kilometers through the desert, running the risk of sunstroke, dehydration, and death after

being abandoned by their guides. As all this was happening along the northern border, the symbolic reference point of crossing into the land of opportunity, the countries of northern Central America (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua) were seeing

a deepening of social inequalities with the resulting steady increase in violence.

As a result, in recent years, hundreds of thousands of Central American migrants have fled the structural, emerging violence and had to deal with toughened regional migratory

policies that restrict human mobility with the sophisticated operations they require for enforcement. The most recent example is the creation of the Comprehensive Program for the Southern Border, designed in the United States and implemented along the Mexico-Guatemala border, with an investment of US\$51 million.

Shoring up surveillance on both of Mexico's borders and creating other programs with the same aim of containing migration in the region, like the Angel Rescue plan and Operation

Coyote 1 on the border between Honduras and Guatemala, ⁵ have had the effect that smugglers seek out more dangerous routes to circumvent the surveillance in areas currently disputed between the Mexican government and groups of organized crime. Violence is a constant on the journey, not only in the border crossing areas, north or south, but also in the places along the Mexican migratory routes, which constitute a network of territories that are either lawless or where the law is enforced only exceptionally, and where survival becomes the primordial objective,

even before successfully arriving in the United States. If borders designate “a front against a totality,” this border has become de-territorialized from the northern Mexico-U.S. border and, symbolically speaking, currently fulfills its function starting at Mexico’s southern border, with a strong impact on changes in trans migrant plans.

The Rebordering of the Northern Border

What we are looking at is an emocognitive displacement that organizes the ways of perceiving and experiencing the world and only occurs inside a specific operational economic and political structure. This makes it possible to say that, in the collective imaginary, the width of the border now stretches from North to South because it is an apparatus of tangible differentiation between what is here and what is there, the world prior to and that of the imaginary identity projection constructed on the basis of the idea of the American Dream.

The really existing, operating border is the one represented and experienced, sometimes contradictorily, by the actors situated on either side. For Central America, “the other side” does not begin at the edges of Tijuana, Reynosa, or Matamoros. The “other side,” its vicissitudes and dilemmas, its exclusionary legal and social organization, begins to be

dealt with as soon as they cross Mexico’s southern border.

The concept of border has been de-territorialized not by its geographical location, but by the historic artificiality of the borders and their configurations of meaning. It is a symbolic construction that must be sought in the processes, disputes, criteria, and dilemmas that occur in the intercultural contact intertwined with powers, inequalities, and hegemony. The dilemmas of the new trans migrations produce subjects with hopes, dreams, and expectations of undefined temporalities and destinations. The pervasive violence in the countries of origin, transit, and destination today generate nomadic practices whose only driving force is to achieve a better quality of subsistence or at least an existence different from the precariousness that was previously experienced regardless of the country the migrants have arrived in.

Through the stories of “Emily” and “José” that we will tell here, we exemplify the diversity of motivations and signifiers that characterize human mobility today. We also want to underline the incompatible duality of the geographical political borders officially recognized as the boundaries of nation-states, and the imaginary or symbolic boundaries that today constitute lines of inclusion/exclusion for constituting citizens

with guaranteed rights. Recognizing the factual existence of territorial borders for the jurisdiction of sovereignty of states, we want to emphasize the unnatural state of the construction of borders and, mainly, argue the hypothesis that, on a symbolic level, Mexico constitutes an imaginary-tangible border that either makes it possible or creates barriers to arriving to the country of the “American Dream” and forces the reformulation of the migratory life project on the way to that dream.

Final Reflections : The New Border

1. Moving amidst Violence and Mystifications

The social and legal order that produces practically nightmarish transit conditions far removed from the American Dream changes conceptually the meaning of “border.” Now, before the American Dream comes the Mexican Nightmare. The northern border, a front to be penetrated, now begins in Mexico’s South. The migratory policy recently designed by the United States to strengthen the borders from Southern Mexico objectifies the symbolic transformation of the northern border.

Today’s trans migrants are no longer those who use Mexico as a bridge to get to the other side. They may live in the country for long periods thanks to an economy shored up by the exploitation of

their “invisible” labor power, which assembles the big cities of the transnational circuits. This constitutes an additional factor that “extends the border” because the dynamics of undocumented underemployment are no longer limited as in the past to the northern border areas, but now extend throughout the entire country.

The re-territorialization of the border occurs because Mexico became an in-between territory or space in a world in which national and global cultures develop at the same time but not in synch. The in-between is that place or third space in which infinite differences create a particular tension in border existences. In these in-between spaces, new nomadic migrant forms of mobility are organized, characterized by being expelled by multiple types of violence without having a single fixed destination, with migratory projects constructed along the way, and by identities that are constantly modified in this process.

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