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EU's Educational Policy and Norm-Building in Candidate Countries: The Case of Erasmus+ in Turkey

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Abstract- This article analyzes the impact of the EU's educational policy on the construction of European norms and identity in candidate countries. One significant tool of educational policy in this respect is the exchange programs, which are now combined under the single framework of Erasmus+ and in order to determine the relationship between educational policy and norm-building, the article conducts a case study in an English-speaking state university located in Central Anatolia, Turkey on the participants, who benefited from the Erasmus+ exchange. The study shows that EU'S educational policy is a major tool in terms of stimulating social learning in candidate countries and preparing them for adaptation and diffusion of European norms and identity.

Keywords: european union, educational policy, exchange programs, norm-building.

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EU's Educational Policy and Norm-Building in Candidate Countries: The Case of Erasmus+ in Turkey

Ayşe Aslıhan Çelenk ^a & Nimet Bulut ^a

Abstract- This article analyzes the impact of the EU's educational policy on the construction of European norms and identity in candidate countries. One significant tool of educational policy in this respect is the exchange programs, which are now combined under the single framework of Erasmus+ and in order to determine the relationship between educational policy and norm-building, the article conducts a case study in an English-speaking state university located in Central Anatolia, Turkey on the participants, who benefited from the Erasmus+ exchange. The study shows that EU's educational policy is a major tool in terms of stimulating social learning in candidate countries and preparing them for adaptation and diffusion of European norms and identity.

Keywords: european union, educational policy, exchange programs, norm-building.

I. INTRODUCTION

The idea of establishment of a European identity shared by all citizens of Europe dates back to the Post-World War II efforts to create a perpetual peace in the European continent (Monnet, 1955). The European Community was founded upon a shared history and common institutions such as "the Roman law, political democracy, parliamentary institutions, ethics, humanism and rationality" (Smith, 1992, p.70), which were also the features helped to construct a common European identity, which became essential with the deepening of European integration. After the 1980s, it became apparent that the European project could not continue unless it was owned by the citizens of Europe and this showed the importance of building common norms and values that would define 'Europeaness' and create a distinct European identity acceptable for every actual and potential member of the Community.

Education is an important tool for the internalization of the European project by the citizens. To this end, the EU has created various education programs targeted towards both the members and candidate countries. Many academic studies were conducted regarding this specific policy area. In her research "Europeanization and Education Policy", Nafsika Alexiadou (2005) analyzed the relationship

between EU's education policy and the process of Europeanization, where she determined a positive correlation between common education goals and standards and diffusion of common values. Aaro Ollikainen (2000) reaches a similar conclusion in "European Education, European Citizenship? On the Role of Education in Constructing Europeaness", revealing the norm-building function of education and how it can be utilized in the construction of a European identity.

Following this line of literature, this study investigates how the EU creates and diffuses its norms by its educational policy, specifically the exchange programs, by a case study conducted in Turkey. The Turkish case is important because although the country's official candidacy status is in standing since 1999 and it started the accession negotiations in 2005, its 'European-ness' is still debated. There exist concerns at the societal level at both sides on whether Turkey is compatible with the European norms. By conducting field research on the students who have benefited from the exchange programs of the EU, the study tries to evaluate to what extent the EU's educational policy and exchange programs can create a European identity in the candidate countries.

The first step of the analysis is to develop a theoretical framework to clarify the concepts of norm-building borrowed from the constructivist theory and Europeanization. The second part will deal with the relationship between the educational policy of the EU and norm building in candidate countries. To illustrate this relationship, the last part of the study will provide a case study conducted in a Central Anatolian university of Turkey on 75 students that took part in the EU exchange programs in 18 different EU countries.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: BUILDING EU NORMS AND EUROPEANIZATION

The idea that common norms are an important part of how the international system operates and how actor behavior is shaped in the international system, has been a contribution of the constructivist theory of international relations. According to constructivist theory, norms matter as much as institutions and international actors such as states, international organizations and

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individuals are meaningful as long as they are interrelated with shared norms (Onuf, 1989, p. 40; Wendt, 1995, p. 73).

Identity, which is a social and cultural construct, shapes the interests and behaviors of political actors, and while actor identity shapes political institutions, political institutions also affect the identity. Thus, as a result of this mutual construction between actors and institutions (Hoph, 1992, p. 172), it is possible for political actors to gather around common norms and to construct a collective identity (Wendt, 1995, p.71). Norms can be defined as types of rules which the actors are expected to comply with (Katzenstein, 1996a, p. 5), and this compliance is achieved by various mechanisms such as sanctions, loss of credibility, and formal and informal mechanisms of pressure. In the norm-building process, there is a certain kind of exchange between norm-makers and norm-recipients (Checkel, 1999, p. 85), where either „regulative norms,” create new rules for existing actor behavior or “constitutive norms”, which lead to a whole new set of behavioral patterns (Katzenstein, 1996b) are determined.

According to Finnemore and Sikkink, there are three stages of norm-building and diffusion, which they call the “norm life cycle” (1998, p. 896). The first stage is the stage of norm-emergence, at which the norm entrepreneurs in international organizations, or the norm-makers, build regulations or construct norms, through debate, persuasion or consensus. The second stage is called the stage of norm cascade, where the states, international organizations, or individual actors accept the new norms and adjust their behavior accordingly through socialization, institutionalization, or demonstration. The last stage is the diffusion stage and called internalization. It is the stage of social learning, during which the norms are institutionalized and become a behavioral habit for the actors (*Ibid*, p. 898). The EU offers a valuable case for the examination of this norm-building and diffusion process. In this case, the EU is the norm entrepreneur, where the EU institutions and member states collectively build the norms. The mechanism of norm cascade and internalization is the process of Europeanization, whose functioning and impact on the diffusion of norms differ according to the policy area at hand.

In his famous essay “The Many Faces of Europeanization,” Johan P. Olsen (2002, p.3) offers five different definitions for Europeanization. Accordingly, Europeanization may refer to; (1) changes in the territorial boundaries of the EU, (2) development of new forms of governance at the European level as a result of policy coordination, (3) central penetration of national and subnational systems of governance, (4) exporting forms of political organization and governance beyond European borders and (5) a political project aiming at a unified and politically stronger Europe. In terms of norm-building, “Europeanization consists of construction,

diffusion and institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’ and shared beliefs and norms, which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy-making process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, political structures, and public policies” (Radaelli, 2004, p. 3). This process creates the European identity in the long-run and it is a multi-actor process, where the EU institutions, member states, non-governmental organizations, other policy networks, and individual citizens contribute to norm-building and creating an EU-way of living.

In terms of the emergence of new ways of policy-making, Europeanization is “an incremental process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making” (Ladrech, 1994, p.17). In time, “domestic policy areas become increasingly subject to European policy-making” (Börzel, 1999, p. 574) in three stages: “the European decisions, the processes triggered by these decisions as well as the impacts of these processes on national policies and (emerging) institutional structures” (Heritier, 2001).

Europeanization is a dynamic process, where member states upload their preferences, approaches and, traditions of policy-making to the EU level and have an impact over norm-building at the EU according to their institutional power, such as economic contribution or voting weight in the EU institutions and where they download these norms in the form of applying the EU decisions at domestic level (Börzel and Panke, 2010). According to Tanya Börzel and Thomas Risse (2003, p. 60), Europeanization takes place in three areas: the policy area, where targets, standards, tools, and discourses are shaped; the area of politics, where an EU-way of interest formation, representation, and public discourse emerge; and the polity area, where the member states become closer to each other in terms of institutional structures, legal institutions, public administration, state tradition, and state-society relations. Policy area is the most dynamic one since there is a large portion of EU legislation in 35 policy chapters, to which actual and potential member states are expected to adopt. In this area, the Europeanization process starts with adaptational pressures from the EU-level institutions, which form new norms. With the facilitating effect of norm entrepreneurs and the appropriate political culture, the EU norms are internalized at the domestic level, which ultimately creates domestic change and convergence among the member states (Börzel and Risse, 2003, p. 69).

In terms of Europeanization of policy area, the candidate countries are in a more difficult position than the EU members since there is a power asymmetry between these countries and the EU (Schmelfenning and Sedelmeier, 2008, p. 34). As these countries are in

the process of adapting to the EU member states, they have to learn the way of policy-making, which is already existing in the EU area and they are the norm recipients. Social learning and increasing the feeling of European-ness are important for the internalization of new policy-making norms as it facilitates the process both for the political actors and society. The cultural match between norm-makers and norm recipients facilitates the diffusion and internalization of norms (Checkel, 1999, p. 85). Following this logic, the EU's education policy and its exchange programs, which include the candidate countries are at a strategic location in the Europeanization process, as they provide the environment and necessary conditions for norm diffusion by targeting to create a common European identity.

III. EU'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND NORM-BUILDING: THE ERASMUS+ PROGRAM

a) EU's Education Policy

At the early stages of European integration, education policy was not an immediate concern. It was considered as a part of contributing to the emerging European common market with the improvement of vocational qualities (Charlier and Croche, 2005, p.8).

The education policy of the EU was initiated under the social policy chapter to facilitate free movement of labor by creating common education standards for the community needs in the 1970s (EC, 1994). With the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, education became one of the policy areas of the EU. It is a dynamic policy area, whose strategies and targets change according to the emerging needs of the EU market and deepening of European integration. Starting with the Bologna Declaration of 1999, strengthening of the idea of European citizenship, creating an area of common values and cultural space became the targets of the EU's education policy (EU, 1999), which officially recognized education policy as a tool for norm building. According to Article 165 of Lisbon Treaty, in addition to the improvement of the quality of European education at all levels, EU's education policy aims to promote democratic participation, life-long learning and movement (EU, 2008) and to create the idea of European citizenship, the sense of European-ness among the EU nationals (EC, 2017). To this end, the EU has created educational exchange and movement programs, whose target areas were dynamically redefined according to the community needs and the existing state of European integration.

Table 1: The dynamic evolution of EU education policy and exchange programs

Year	Treaty In Force	Exchange Program	Social Policy Aim	Education Policy Aim
1987	Single European Act	Erasmus and COMETT	Economic integration and employment	Youth employment, university-industry cooperation
1992	Maastricht Treaty	Erasmus	EU citizenship, creating a common European culture	Exchange, movement academic recognition
1997	Amsterdam Treaty	Socrates I	EU citizenship, European cultural heritage	Education about the EU institutions
2000	Nice Treaty	Socrates II	Creating a sense of European-ness, common identity	Life-long, accessible, open education for everybody
2008	Lisbon Treaty	Erasmus+	Social coherence, effective use of EU citizenship rights, Europeanization at the societal level	Life-long, accessible, open education for everybody

As Table 1 suggests, at each stage of European integration, the content and targets of the education policy were redesigned to contribute to the deepening of integration. Depending on these, each program constructed new norms, which together created a European way of policy and decision making.



Table 2: The norms constructed with education programs in the EU area

Year	Education Program	Constructed Norm
1987	COMETT	Youth employment
1987	Erasmus	European Citizenship
1995-2006	Socrates I-II	Protection of European cultural heritage
2007-2013	Life-Long Learning Program	Life-long learning
2014-2020	Erasmus+	Europeanization and Sense of European-ness

At the current stage of European integration, Erasmus+ program assists the spreading and internalization of the EU norms by creating an environment for cultural exchange and interaction between member states and potential member states. Since Erasmus+ is the recent and all-encompassing educational policy tool of the EU, it needs further analysis to comprehend the role of education policy in norm-building in the candidate countries.

b) The Erasmus+ Program

Erasmus program was created in 1987 for the exchange of university students and academic staff among 11 EU countries and in its first year, 3244 students benefited from the exchange (EU, 2012). Thirty years after its initialization, about 4 million actual and potential EU citizens enjoyed the intercultural exchange offered by Erasmus (EC, 2014). Since 2014, all youth, culture, education, and sports programs of the EU were combined under a single framework, which is now called the Erasmus+. As a part of the norm-building project, the Erasmus+ is open to participation from candidate countries as well. For instance, in the Turkish case, about 400.000 students and academic staff benefited from Erasmus, while more than 300.000 Turkish citizens took part in cultural exchange with Europe by other projects (Turkish Department of EU Affairs, 2019).

Erasmus+ covers the 2014-2020 period, and its budget is 14.7 billion euros (Turkish Department of EU Affairs, 2019). The aim of the Erasmus+ is the promotion of European values by developing the skills of individuals according to the requirements of the European job market, internationalization of education institutions, increasing and teaching language diversity of the EU, and supporting European integration (Turkish Department of EU Affairs, 2019). In addition to the EU28, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Macedonia, Norway and, Turkey (joined in 2004) are members of the Erasmus+ area (EC, 2015).

The program aims to contribute to tolerance to cultural diversity and the societal and individual level and to facilitate the integration among the existing and potential members of the EU. In the long-run, through cultural exchange, it is aimed to create a European identity based on the idea of EU citizenship and values and norms it brings (EU, 2012: 7). By targeting the candidate countries such as Turkey, Erasmus+ tries to

facilitate the construction and internalization of the EU norms in the membership process and to build public support for the EU project in the society. It is a social learning process; whose success is worth questioning in terms of its contribution to norm-building in candidate countries, and the research conducted for this study constitutes a step to this end.

IV. THE CASE STUDY

To analyze the impact of Erasmus+ on norm-building in EU candidate countries, a case study was conducted in a sample of 114 students in an English-speaking Turkish state university located in Central Anatolia, who benefited from the program in 18 different EU countries. The perceptions of the Turkish students were measured by a questionnaire of both multiple-choice and open-ended questions.¹ Seventy five out of the total 114 accepted to answer the questions. Thus the actual sample of the study represented approximately the %66 of the population that took part in the exchange program. The next aim was to obtain a general idea about the relationship between Erasmus+ and construction of EU norms in candidate countries. To this end, the questions regarding the students' motivation to take part in mobility abroad, the effect of mobility on their foreign language skills, possible changes in terms of their approach to cultural diversity and their ability to adapt to different cultural settings, their perceptions about the EU, the meaning they attribute to "being a European" before and after their stay abroad and their ideas regarding the role of exchange programs in Europeanization were directed to the participants.

While taking part in the Erasmus+, the students were motivated primarily by learning about new cultures, increasing their cultural adaptation skills, and building an international professional network. This motivation shows that the EU's education policy is perceived as useful tools for self-improvement.

¹ The link of the questionnaire is <https://goo.gl/forms/degDxpnn2CXe7sGD2>

Table 3: Top 5 motivations for participating in Erasmus+

1	% 73.7	Going abroad and meeting new people
2	% 69.3	Improving social and cultural skills
3	% 66.7	Learning about new cultures and countries
4	% 64	Familiarizing with international curricula and different styles of higher education
5	% 58.7	Building a professional network

One of the purposes of the Erasmus+ is increasing the language diversity of the actual and potential EU citizens to facilitate cultural communication and, thus, the construction and learning of common norms. The research shows that this aim of Erasmus+ is also fulfilled as %81.3 of the participants felt that their English skills improved in the duration of exchange and %70.7 told that they also learned a second foreign language as well during their mobility. These perceptions were also verified by the Online Language Support System of the European Commission, which measures the language skills of participants before and after their mobility in the Erasmus+ framework as

according to the results from the OLS system, %64.6 of the sample grouped increased their language skills after their mobility.

In terms of constructing the norms of European citizenship and of a European way of cultural diversity and communication, the research also shows the positive impact of Erasmus+. The participants believe that Erasmus+ mobility improved their skills of cultural adaptation, increased their tolerance to different cultures, identities, and ideas, made them more open-minded, and more open to working and living in an international environment.

Table 4: Adaptation to cultural norms promoted by the EU

Easier adaptation to different cultures	% 89.3
More tolerant to cultural diversity	% 77.3
Open to differences	% 74.7
Open to working and living in an international environment	% 73.3

To evaluate the changes in their perceptions about the EU after international mobility, the students were asked open-ended questions regarding their opinions on whether Erasmus+ contributes to the European integration, whether their ideas about the EU changed after their exchange experience, and on the prospects of Turkey's EU membership after getting familiar with the EU norms. %92 of the participants thought that Erasmus+ facilitated European integration by bringing different cultures and identities closer and forming a common ground. %64 of the participants stated that their perceptions of the EU changed in a positive manner because the Erasmus+ helped to build a diverse environment and created a sense of European citizenship.

The interviews also support the idea that educational exchange programs are useful tools for norm-building. For instance, participant 15 stated: "When I traveled to the receiving country and spent time there, I saw that the EU was a more tolerant and diverse environment. There are significant differences between European culture and Turkish culture in this sense. If we

want to join the EU, we need to learn to be more tolerant of diversity".

Similarly, participant 21 stated that "the EU resembled a single state made up of different cultures and spending time with exchange made them more open-minded in this sense," while for participant 24 "the EU was a place, which improved inter-cultural communication and understanding and this was a thing Turkey needed to learn to join the EU".

The importance of common norms and social learning for EU membership becomes more evident in the participants' thoughts regarding Turkey's membership prospects. % 53.3 of participants, after observing and experiencing the EU way of policy-making and the European way of living, believed that Turkey was not ready for EU membership. For instance, participant 47 stated that "there are significant differences between Turkey and European countries right now. We are like two different cultures, but in time, when Turkey makes necessary changes and learns from the EU, we can also be one of the European countries." Participant 56 noted the differences as well but also



stated: "the importance of cultural exchange and interaction for increasing tolerance and communication and bringing Turkey closer to the EU." The research showed that while there are a variety of differences between the candidate countries and the EU in terms of norms and values, including them in the educational exchange programs makes these countries aware of these differences first at the individual level and then the social level and provides the ground for construction and learning of the common norms.

To understand their perceptions about European-ness, the participants were also asked what they understood from "being a European." The top five words that were used by participants to define what being a European means were "freedom, tolerance, open-mindedness, democracy, and respect." These were also the basic norms at the foundation of European citizenship according to the participants, and they thought that Erasmus+ helped them internalize these norms as well. %50.6 of participants stated that they felt more European after their stay in the EU countries and noted that "after the adaptation process, living in one of the EU countries and actively taking part in cultural exchange, the feelings of belonging to the European identity increased."

When asked about the contribution of exchange programs to Europeanization, %89.3 of participants stated that Erasmus+ had a positive impact on Europeanization, understood as construction and learning of EU norms. As participant 35 pointed out: "exchange programs are a tool to increase social awareness in terms of seeing different practices and norms and trying to find the ways for bridging the gap between the EU norms and domestic norms. The solutions and changes in this process create Europeanization".

V. CONCLUSION

The education policy of the EU is a policy area that is often neglected in terms of its potential contribution to the construction of the European citizenship identity and European norms. The changing targets and dynamic nature of educational and exchange programs show that the EU's education policy is also adaptable to meet the changing demands and needs of the European market and the EU policy area. Exchange is open to the candidate countries as well as the member states of the EU. Thus, they are a significant tool for initiating the social learning and internalization of the EU norms in the candidate states. As more people benefit from the exchange programs, the European ideals and norms of citizenship are learned and spread at the societal level, which creates pressure over policy-makers to bring the legal and political framework of decision-making closer to these

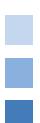
norms, and this facilitates the adjustment of the candidate country with the EU policy-making area.

The case study conducted for this article supports this fact as the data reveal that Erasmus+ familiarized the participants with the EU norms, made them aware of the differences between the national and the European ways of decision-making and also promoted thinking about the ways that could bring the country closer to the EU. This overall process is an example of the construction of norms through social learning, which becomes possible because of the educational policy of the EU and its philosophy and shows that the EU's educational exchange programs are significant tools that create suitable conditions for the construction of European norms in candidate countries.

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The Card Reader and the Conundrum of Digital Tools in Electioneering in Nigeria

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The Card Reader and the Conundrum of Digital Tools in Electioneering in Nigeria

Mashood Omotosho ^a & Udeoji, Ebele Angela ^a

Abstract- The track records of elections in Nigeria have continued to generate mixed feelings. Many political observers remain sceptical about the appropriateness and ultimate utility of digital tools in the conduct of elections in the country. It is no gainsaying that one of the key elements for the sustenance of democracy is digital tools technology. Taking a stroll down the electoral process of Nigeria since 1999, it can be noted that elections have been characterised by electoral malpractices and violence. The recent introduction of the Smart Card Readers (SCRs) has a great impact on the 2015 general elections and the consolidation of democracy across the country. For instance, the card reader facilities and its security monitoring operating system provide password restricted access to store data with specific playback for criminal investigation and its impact on the 2015 general elections. This paper therefore takes a critical look at the use of the Smart Card Readers (SCRs) as it affects Nigeria's move towards a viable electoral system and the promotion of democratic values. The paper further argues that the usage of the Card Reader enhances the credibility of general elections in Nigeria. Nevertheless there are some peculiar factors that stringently inhibit its manifestations in the 2015 general elections in Nigeria.

Keywords: smart card reader, technology, digital tools, election, electoral process, democracy.

I. INTRODUCTION

Elections do play a significant role in participatory democracy. African leaders are also conscious of the democratic strides in the continent and this development has prompted them to endorse the Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa and The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) under the auspices of the African Union in 2002 (Ahiabenu, 2013). They all recognised and agreed that viable and credible elections play a crucial role in ensuring the fundamental and universal right to democratic and participatory government. Participatory democracy involves the collective democratic management of the electorate's lives and it requires the involvement of civil society in the decision-making and development of the general public (Adewumi and Daramola, 2010). Election is any organised event when somebody is chosen by vote for a duty especially for a public office. Therefore, there must

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be a general consensus before embarking in the voting process. In a situation where standard is required for record purposes, voters are pre-registered before the Election Day. This makes registration an essential part of every election. In the just concluded 2015 election, the doubt in every one's lip and mind is the ability of a diverse, developing and corrupt country like Nigeria to conduct credible election amidst the numerous challenges facing the country. Though the reiteration of political will to conduct credible election has become a song which both INEC officers and politicians sing without waiting for the choir master to signify the beginning of the notes, fear is still engulfing the well meaning citizens of this nation based on the past sagas we are used to in this part of the world (Ajah and Igwe, 2015).

The 2015 Global Information Technology Report, the West African Telecommunication Regulator Association (WATRA) which serves as a regional telecommunications regulatory institution and African Platform on Access to Information (APAI) campaign, all these bodies agreed that within the contemporary democratic development, some of the essential factors that promote the growth of a state from its captivity to its promise land are Information Communication Technology (ICT), electoral process and good governance (Democracy and Technology, 2015). There is no doubt that, these three factors have played tremendous roles in building countries into enviable standards both in the developed and developing countries. Arguably, these factors can bring about positive turning point in all ramifications of a country's democratic process. In fact, the so called developed countries of the world today, got their credibility of the word "developed" because of the role that ICT, electoral process and governance have performed in their political affairs (Bailard, 2012).

The ICT and digital tools in the electoral process have driven so many developed countries to destinations of exquisite standards and countries like United States of America, Britain, Canada and France can testify to its enormous effect. ICT and digital tools can be described as the merging of the computer networks, electronic registration of voters, card reader, and telephone through the same link system (Rouse, M. 2008). The digital technology involves the interconnection of equipments which are used for automatic acquisition, storage, manipulation,



management, transportation, control, display, transmission of data or information. The International Telecommunication Union reported that Africa's wireless digital media market grew by more than 50 million subscribers in 2010, reaching 435 million mobile subscribers as at summer 2010. That represented a 20% increase in the size of the market and almost more than half of Africa's adult population (Kalyango, 2012).

The use of Permanent Voters Card (PVC), Smart SMS and the Smart Card Readers (SCRs) which were employed during the 2015 general elections signify the ability of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to bring the issue of electoral process from doddery state to a strong and firm state. The digital technology facilities and its on-line devices with security monitoring operating system denote the efforts of INEC towards a viable democratic process in Nigeria (Aziken, 2015; Bulama, 2015). INEC is satisfied that the use of SCRs in the 2015 general elections have added tremendous transparency and credibility to the accreditation and electoral processes. The Commission is very confident and reassures the public that the usage of digital tools ensure that the processes of the elections are seamless, free, fair, credible and peaceful. The usage of SCRs and other digital tools, such as online platforms, mobile applications, SMS and social media have augmented other modalities of electoral processes in the just concluded general election in the country. The 2015 general elections is an exciting time in the electoral processes in the country, particularly for the digital tools employed which is technically inclined (INEC Factsheet, 2015). The use of SCRs and other digital technologies that were employed by INEC to unlock the potential of technology for transparency and accountability in the electioneering process, but this phenomenon raises the question of how digital tools actually perturb the electioneering landscape in the country. This paper explores this question through a qualitative dual case study of social media and the use of digital technology during general elections in Nigeria. Participants suggested that the use of PVC and SCRs help to overcome previous anomalies during election, leading to increased anxiety and tension in the electoral process. Together, our findings suggest that given sufficient and effective coordination, the usage of digital technology can be an effective tool for electoral scrutiny and can help build public trust in the voting system and trust in direct democracy (Akonom and Ogbulezie, 2014; Nkem, 2015).

II. TECHNOLOGY AND E-ELECTION – A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Under this conceptual analysis, our basic objective is to give a conceptual analysis about the actual impact of digital technologies on electoral processes and a narrative description of electioneering

and democratic governance. It should be noted that, scholars have developed theories about how digital technology affects democracy. However, primarily due to a paucity of evidence, most of these theories have excluded our experience in this part of the world where meaningful access to digital tools is only beginning to emerge, especially where the struggles between failed state and functioning democracy are profound. Technology has significantly influenced all aspects of our existence. Modern technology has derived its power from the explosion area information science. Information and Communication Technology (ICT) tools have done credibly well in all facets of endeavour (Avgerou and Walsham, 2001). Affordable ICT tools and systems, especially mobile phones, are becoming increasingly available. Currently, there are over 6.8 billion mobile phones in the world (Adam, 2008). This creates fertile ground for ICTs to make a difference in both positive and negative ways. Citizens can now connect with elected and unelected officials using a myriad of online platforms, social media, and mobile phones. This leads to improved information exchange which is required to enhance accountability, strengthen good governance, and ensure improvements in public service delivery all these processes contribute to making tangible the dividends of democracy. ICTs do not only enable the typical government to citizen interaction, but, more importantly, they foster citizen-to-citizen, government-to-government, and citizen-to-government interactions, communication, and engagement (Ahiabenu, 2013).

Abu-Shanab, E., Knight, M., and Refai, H. (2010) argue that digital tools have brought a revolution into the world of information technology, particularly in the field of personal computer (PC). A Network is a way or means of transmitting or receiving (exchange) information from one or more sources. It provides the means for locating and transporting information. In computer networking, the origin of information request utilises the services of a network to locate and return the information. The entire computer network can be classified into two broad categories (however, elaborate categorisation exists), they are LAN (Local Area Network) and WAN (Wide Area Network). The benefit of computer networking includes, but not all; file sharing, sharing of peripheral devices such as printers, fax machines and scanners, manufacturing process control, data management, web browsing as well as voice and video communication (Adeiza, 2014). Over the ages so many technological feats has been designed and advanced. Although it depends on how these digital tools are used, and it should also be reiterated that the emerging technology is designed to contribute positively to development of the world for the benefits of mankind. Technological tools remains the catalyst on which the global development depends. It is therefore reasonable to think of how computer technology with other accessories have become a vital tool in ensuring that

electoral process is transparent, free and credible. Most of the characteristics needed for ensuring credible election are embedded as features of digital technologies (Ajah and Igwe, 2015).

Among the numerous submissions on the issue of digital tools and its impact on democratisation and good governance, Ahiabenu (2013) reflects a conscious attempt to analyse the issue of social media in political action and civic engagement. This has included work taking a generally positive position on the impact of social media in politics, for instance, social media based monitoring shows encouraging signs of robustness concerning electioneering and good governance. A free and fair election constitutes one of the determinants for deepening democratic governance. Election of course, is the cornerstone of every democracy and the primary mechanism for exercising the principle of sovereignty of the people. Bhalla also affirms that elections are portrayed as democracy at an embryonic stage and that political systems in Africa are habitually characterised as nascent, highly personalised and fractious. Review of scholarly articles (Adesola, 2012; Bailard, 2012 and Rouse, 2008) have revealed the range and depth of research on the issue of technology as it affects electioneering process. It is clear from these write-ups that digital election monitoring in developing contexts is a promising area of socio-technical innovation. However, these articles and reports are chiefly descriptive, focusing on the technologies used and occasionally the lessons learned. The present article also examines the impact of social media on the electoral process in a developing democracy.

The National Democratic Institute (2015) at a round table discussion agreed that there is the need to provide necessary enlightenment in the e-voting process and access to all citizens, particularly those in less developed socio-economic areas. The institute also presents a related developmental challenge in the realms of digital technologies and democratic governance. Lack of access to technologies such as digital messaging and data capture systems and others no doubt have frustrated development efforts towards using technology to strengthen governance. This access is currently limited to a small segment of the world's population, and the technological divide between those with access and those without is significant and growing. At first glance this appears to pose a serious challenge to exploiting the potential of digital technology for democratic development and citizen participation in democratic governance. NDI's experience however suggests that pragmatic strategies for using the Internet and related technologies notwithstanding the technological divide are critical in beginning to narrow the gap and enhancing participation by those currently disconnected (Okwong, 2012).

Bulama (2015) also argues that the use of technology will enhance the integrity of electoral

process, that is, "the use of election technology to ensure integrity and/or enhance transparency in the electoral process can be tremendously effective." Enhancing the use of technology in electoral process especially on the platform of social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, Blackberry Messenger (BBM), Whatsapp, Linked-in and Instagram are veritable means of technology that can be deployed in enhancing the electoral process for ensuring quick transmission of results. Innovative technology with peculiar local content will ensure hitch-free electoral processes. The Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) and Electronic Voter Identification (EVID) are the major pieces of election technology that will enhance electioneering process (ICT Youth and Electoral Process in Nigeria, 2014).

A good illustration of digital tools and its impact on democratisation may be drawn from the Centre for Media, Data and Society (CMDS) working paper (2014). It identifies how digital tools benefit and challenge democratic development. E-messaging tools provide an approved guideline towards the conduct of elections and biometric authentication of a legitimate holder of genuine PVC which allow the person to vote a voice for all people and groups in a democratic setting. The paper also recognises the capability of dubious politicians employing powerful technologies with equal, if not greater, efficiency and scope, and it is against this backdrop that massive boom in the online and wireless digital media should be employed to empowering democrats and institutions in emerging democracies to use ICTs as a tool to enhance the information sharing, efficiency and transparency that are crucial to building and sustaining democracy (Adeiza, 2014).

As Jega and Hillier (2012) have shown that, social media use and e-messaging tools help fill the gap of the traditional media, which had an inadequate presence in developing nations of the world. They also examine the broader media environment, the nature of social election monitoring and the ultimate effect of social media on the perception of the election by the general public. The employment of ICT in the electioneering process will also serve as watchdogs over politicians who might otherwise attempt to rig elections. They also argue that the speed of information sharing on social media may also have reduced the level of suspicion of malpractice, and ensured the acceptance of election results. The authors acknowledge that, digital tools operation during elections will definitely increase voter partaking and fasten up the publication of results after voting.

Bhalla (2012) and Adeiza (2014) reiterate the new digital technologies and actualisation of good governance in different parts of the world. They outline and map relevant projects in mounting automated voting systems that would provide insight on opportunities, challenges, and recommendations for using technology to strengthen governance.





Nevertheless, they identify major gaps in the usage of digital project deployment. Biometric voter registration is not a "silver bullet" for eliminating fraud and electoral malfeasance. Where institutions are weak, and perpetrators of electoral crimes are not prosecuted, politicians can find ways to achieve undemocratic ends. Elections are more than just a technical exercise (Bhalla, 2012). The primary factors that hinder access to Internet and related technologies for the global, and especially rural, populations are: i. level of technology and infrastructure; ii. Cost; iii. cultural, linguistic or other social barriers; iv. low political will to address these issues. Many organisations are disconnected not because they lack telecommunications infrastructure or providers of equipment and training, nor because they lack recognition of the importance of getting connected and communicating or sharing information. They remain disconnected because they lack either the moderate financial resources required, or the technical and managerial expertise to adequately plan for and procure the needed equipment, systems and services (Akonom and Ogbulezie, 2014).

A different experimental study of Internet users by Bailard (2012) in Tanzania during the country's election found that online users were more likely to be disillusioned and not vote. She argues that this disillusionment may be created by the users' exposure to online information about life in developed countries, fostering the attitude among some voters that their own political system is so bad that it does not deserve their participation. This argument assumes that people do not use other media (such as satellite television) and that such media is unable to expose them to Western economic development as convincingly as the Internet. This is a debatable assumption, but the research is interesting. It shows that rather than motivating people to vote, the Internet may have "window opening effects" on the electorate that discourages voting.

Literatures (Bhalla, 2012; Bailard, 2012; Adeiza, 2014; Bulama, 2015;) on digital network technology and electioneering process in Africa largely focuses on activist use of digital media in the conundrum of conducting elections and its consequences on participatory democracy. Paperless electronic voting and/or online voting systems has been adopted in so many part of the world for the purpose of making elections free, credible and fair to all candidates. It is therefore pertinent to say that designing of a robust and dependable electronic-voting system is an enormous task that nation states must undergo vigorously. It should be emphasised that, respect for human rights, citizen participation, constitutionalism, rule of law, separation of powers and checks and balances and equal distribution of the national wealth play an equally important role in participatory democracy (Adesola, 2012). Information and Communication Technology tools have done credibly well in all facet of endeavour.

One of such areas is on the governance of citizenry. For people to choose leaders to occupy various positions in Nigeria for instance, different processes have been advocated for. The use of modern technology devices like computers with features of artificial intelligence, card reader, data capturing machine is all that is needed to develop an electronic voting system, which will ensure privacy of the electorate, simple to understand and produce acceptable result. This will encourage the entire voters irrespective of their personality and locality to participate without fear of any contradiction (Onyekwelu, 2010).

Much of the writings on how the Internet is "revolutionising" democracy in Africa are largely anecdotal media reports with little empirical data or attention to the mechanisms of the claimed effects. Some scholars (Olabamiji, 2014; Smyth and Best, 2013; Ugor, 2009) have conducted more empirically grounded studies of digital media use during election periods. Scholars of political communication are interested in election periods because political activities are heightened and attitudes and behaviours are more easily observable. The study of the impact of digital media on elections is necessitated, in part, by the African elites' historical manipulation of traditional mass media for political purposes (Schedler, 1998). Some scholars argue that digital media could improve the logistical coordination and the overall efficiency of elections. For instance, the alteration of election figures to fraudulently confer advantage on some candidates to the detriment of others.

III. A BACKGROUND ANALYSIS ON E-ELECTION IN NIGERIA

Taking a stroll down the electoral process of Nigeria, it should be noted that previous government and elections have being characterised by electoral malpractices, violence, declaration of state of emergencies and military intervention. In the past, methods like paper secret ballot, use of punched cards and various other voting systems were adopted for the purpose of conducting free and fair election. In spite of all this, elections in Nigeria and other developing countries were always marred by irregularities ranging from multiple voting, snatching of ballot boxes, killing of opponents, wrong summation of figures, declaring of wrong candidates and so on. The 1960 (independence) election was by secret ballot, which after 5 years the military took over and banned political activities. After almost thirteen years of military rule, the ban was lifted in 1978, a 24 member Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) was inaugurated.

Nigeria, 'Giant of Africa' as it is called can actually attain the height of a giant if ICT is allowed to play their roles. The electoral process will be transformed by the miracle-working hands of digital

tools. Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the Action Group (AG) introduced some of the most genius means of campaigning into the Nigeria political system, one of which was his helicopter campaign, flyers and posters were also dropped from the helicopters to large scuffling crowds fighting to get one of the papers from above. The helicopter was a rare sight for most Nigerians and in fact it is glamour for the electorates. This development could be "faintly" called ICT because he was able to communicate and transport information to people at the grassroots, he took his campaigns into places where others could not access.

In 2003, INEC (inaugurated in 1999) promised to introduce ICT into the electoral process which will in turn eliminated incidents of multiple registrations. Prior to the general elections in 2005, INEC, had began sensitisation of the populace on the various concepts to be used, including the Option A4, Electronic Voting (e-voting) and Open Secret ballot systems (Ifukor, 2010). In the 2007 general elections, digital tools started to garner attention in Nigeria. In the run up to the election, INEC introduced data capturing of eligible voters from 18 years and above in a nationwide exercise for the first time; deploying Personal Computers (PCs), digital cameras and thumb printing scanners. The presence of ICT in the 2007 general election in Nigeria saw deployment of 22,000 Direct Data Capturing (DDC) machines as at December 2006, in addition to earlier deployment of 18,000 of devices for revalidation of voters register who are eligible on or before February 13, 2007, paving the way for the registration of over 61 million voters by the time it was concluded with 40,000 DDCs (Okwong, 2012; Jega and Hillier, 2012). Professor Maurice Iwu, the then Chairman of INEC explained that the adoption of DDC technology with manual back-up for the revalidation of voters' register in the 36 states against the Optical Mark Reading (OMR) system was to make the exercise more transparent, speedy and less cumbersome, adding that the equipment consists of two components; the data and the printer units. The deployment of the DDCs was a unique break for local ICT firms to prove their worth in terms of encouraging their inputs into digital tools and electioneering in Nigeria (Bulama, 2015). Equally, INEC set up elections website in 2007, "Elections 2007" to provide users with exact information with a page created for each of the 50 political parties, listing the names of their national chairmen, secretaries, treasurers, financial secretaries, and physical address of the national headquarters of the parties in addition to contact phone numbers. The site also provided roles like 'Find a Polling Station' and 'Track Candidates' used to check results. The former INEC chairman, Professor Maurice Iwu ensured that visitors to the INEC website including Nigerians in Diaspora and observers receive complete and authentic information from the INEC, just as there is Voter Contact and Response Centre (VCRC) meant for the public to

get answers to questions with distinct telephone numbers (Akonom and Ogbulezie, 2014).

The April 2007 poll was different, because technology brought about by the advent of Global System for Mobile communications (GSM) among other ICT tools came to play. During the 2007 general elections, party agents were armed with mobile camera phones during the elections at voting centres and who felt threatened simply had to use their camera phones to take shots and send it through Multimedia Messaging Service (MMS) to their party leaders. These shots could be tendered in a law court or tribunal in the case of discontents and litigations thereafter. Noteworthy is that political parties, especially the Action Congress (AC) and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) stalwarts used SMS widely in Lagos State, much later after the public campaign was banned, in reminding relatives and friends to vote for their parties (Alemika and Omotosho, 2008). The Police and other law enforcement agents announced some GSM numbers as emergency lines in case of any disturbance and they also used their GSM phones to exchange relevant information concerning security reports. ICT tools were used to report directly to the INEC network server in Abuja, because it owned a network infrastructure which forestalled dependence on private Internet Service Providers (ISPs) for data delivery, during and after the elections (Bulama, 2015).

Since 2007, INEC has been utilising digital tools in elections, which is serving as a good foundation for electoral process in the democratic journey. However, the lack of incentive among political leadership to push these projects forward remains a key challenge. The 2011 elections in Nigeria were widely anticipated as years of troubled elections had reached a boiling point among the populace, most notably among the youth. Digital technology also promised to have an important impact. More significantly, the appointment of Professor Attahiru Jega as the new Chairman of INEC inspired fresh optimism into the political scene in Nigeria. It should be reiterated that the online communication during Nigeria's 2011 general elections revealed that online crowd sourced reports helped electoral officers reallocate resources to areas where there were inadequate materials, and possibly affected the overall voters turnout. It is important to point out, however, that the data they analysed only showed correlations between crowd sourced reports and voters turnout, which could have happened for completely different reasons. At the end of the voters' registration, some 65 million people had their pictures taken and fingerprints scanned in preparation for presidential and legislative elections in 2011 (Bhalla, 2012).



IV. THE SMART CARD READERS (SCRS) AND THE 2015 ELECTIONS

Professor Attahiru Jega at the helm of affairs of INEC, being the Chairman of the electoral body in the country, set out an agenda to harness the power of information communication technologies (ICT) primarily as a tool to run elections. Beyond their application in electoral environments however, he initiated and worked towards the full implementation of new digital technologies to enable transparency, credibility and fight massive election rigging. In Nigeria, mobile phone subscription has risen from just over 866,000 in 2001 to over 121 million as at October 2013. During the same period, Internet users rose from 200,000 to 57 million. These technologies are now major social connectors, and there is hope that they may be transforming political life by enhancing democratic consolidation and increasing the quality of democracy. Technology potentially has the power to make elections in Nigeria more transparent and to encourage citizens to expect accountability from elected leaders (NCC, 2013; Adeiza, 2014).

Taking cognizance of the increase in the number of the populace having access to online and wireless digital media such as cellular phones which have penetrated remote areas in the country, it becomes worrisome to suggest that electronic voting should be jettisoned in its totality, taking into consideration the challenges the nation is facing today as far as election is concern. But if only credibility and integrity is a determinant for free and credible election, then we should not shy away from it. The PVC, E-Voting and the use of the SCRs which allow voters to cast their votes using electronic machine will further enhance the performance of voting process. Electronic votes are stored digitally in voter access cards until they are sent to a centralised location where tabulation programmes accumulate and tabulate results. E-Voting may be paper-based, direct recording, or still public-network direct recording electronic voting system (Ajah and Igwe, 2015).

The SCRs is the process of identification of a voter through a card reader which reads off his/her official identity card and retrieves the voters' records from the local Data Base (DB) (on the client side) or load the record from the central DB if it is not already in the local one. Records are loaded dynamically from the central DB to the local DB's either on demand or on a pre-fetch basis. The voter record includes, amongst others, a biometric description of a voter in question, that is, biometrically authenticate the person who presents his or her PVC at the polling unit and ensure that he/she is the legitimate holder of the card (Goldsmith, 2012; Cranor, 2011). This could be achieved with fingerprint authentication method (other methods can be added to the mode). Biometric systems

allow for the creation of a permanent electronic register which can be updated as new voters become eligible or existing ones die. They capture data unique to an individual, in addition to biographical information, and can identify whether someone has registered more than once by centrally matching fingerprints. The voter will be rejected if his /her finger print does not match the stored record. In order to reduce false rejections, voters fingerprints are stored as an encoded text in order to reduce false rejections, each voter's fingerprints is taken at different time periods. Fingerprints are stored as an encoded text in order to reduce storage consumed by images. This dual process should guarantee that no voter can falsely impersonate another. Note that the use of fingerprints or any other scanned image directly impacts the message size, hence the performance of the network (Goldstein and Rotich, 2008; Idowu, 2015).

Biometric information will be captured at the point of registration. This highlights the pattern recognition property of the modern technology empowered by artificial intelligence. Finger print, eye iris and eye retina biometric properties captured during the registration process will be validated before voting. This is to ensure that each voter vote only once at the same point he registered. Another feature of the digital tools technology employed during the 2015 general elections is that, it authenticate and recognise the bio-data of the voter. If the electorates' voices are captured in the registration process, the system can be programmed and used it during accreditation for validation purposes. With advancement in technology, special feature like computer vision will play major role in terms of security, while surveillance becomes the sole business of robots. The high speed feature of these systems will make voting fast and the system will be programmed in such a way that immediately a vote is cast, the signal will automatically update the total vote cast for each contestant (Ajah and Igwe, 2015).

For the first time in Nigeria's electoral history, electronic voter authentication system (Smart Card Readers) is being deployed for the 2015 general elections. The card reader uses a highly secured and cryptographic technology that is used commonly in devices that need to perform secure transactions, such as at paying terminals. It has ultra-low power consumption, with a single core frequency of 1.2GHz and an Android 4.2.2 operating system. The card reader units have been broadly subjected to Quality Assurance, Integrity and Functionality testing and found reliable in ease of use, battery life and speed of processing. For instance, it takes an average of 10 seconds to authenticate a voter. INEC make a card reader available at every voting point in the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) during the 2015 elections, with a substantial number of spares available to address contingencies (INEC Factsheet, 2015). The smart card has certain features and benefits that will deter another

person from using somebody else's card. When you insert your card, it will authenticate to be sure it is an INEC's card and whether the owner of the card is the person bearing it. The individual will put his thumb on the smart card reader and it will bring out the individual's features. The card reader is configured to be used in one particular polling unit. It cannot be used in two places. People that are yet to come to terms with that, thinking that they will buy packs of cards and use on polling day, should know that it won't work like that. It will be a more valid process that will not allow the integrity of the electoral process to be undermined (Akhigbe, 2015).

The design structure and the workability of the SRCs make it secured, durable, reliable and also provide for user-friendly tools that makes voting simple and pleasurable. The objective of using card reader and other modern technology tools is to make the electoral method simpler. The followings are the objectives of using the SRCs:

- To ensure accurate administration of the individual facts of an electorate.
- To avert multiple voting
- To guide against the usage of invalid votes.
- To provide legal backing on the actual number of people accredited.
- To ensure quick and well-organized method of processing of cast votes (Jega, 2015a).

The use of the PVC and SCR has aided the electoral process in the country more than the traditional analogue procedures of conducting election. Before the conduct of the general elections in 2015, INEC engaged in a public demonstration of SCR in 12 states. The states are Rivers and Delta (South-South), Kano and Kebbi (North-West), Anambra and Ebonyi (South East), Ekiti and Lagos (South West), Bauchi and Taraba (North East) as well as Niger and Nasarawa (North Central) (INEC Factsheet 2015). Apart from the public demonstration, INEC believes that the deployment and usage of the SRCs during the 2015 general elections rendered the election transparent and credible. The enthusiasm of the commissioners was upon their claim that the mock trial fully satisfied their objectives, even though there was a classical failure of the machine in Ebonyi State. Even more worrisome for many observers was the about 41 per cent failure rate of the Smart Card Readers in cross matching the fingerprints of card holders to their cards (Idowu, 2015). Nevertheless, the Commission was satisfied that the basic duty of the card reader, to wit, to authenticate the genuineness of the Permanent Voter Card, PVC was in almost all cases satisfactorily achieved. This development, it seemed, had thrown the voter cards buying industry in the country out of business. Political thugs and moguls who in the past had piled up voter cards to sell to politicians

have with the introduction of the card reader and the PVC have gone out of that line of business.

The populace also agreed that only those that hitherto nurtured plans to fraudulently manipulate the outcome of the elections have been crying foul over the introduction of the digital technology in the electoral process in the country. INEC had perfected all its strategies and put every apparatus in place with a view to ensuring a hitch free poll that will reflect the summative choice of Nigerians. Professor Attahiru Jega also states that:

The card reader machines will help us to address all those irregularities, starting from the accreditation of voters at all the polling units. How can they manipulate the election when all the information with regards to the number of voters that turned out at every polling unit is automatically captured and transmitted by the card reader machines? (Jega, 2015b).

He further reiterates that:

We have made rigging impossible for them as there is no how the total number of votes cast at the polling unit could exceed the number of accredited persons. Such discrepancy in figures will be immediately spotted. This technology will further make it impossible for any corrupt electoral officer to connive with any politician to pad-up results (Jega, 2015b).

At this juncture, we wish to reiterate that, the introduction of the SRCs was criticised and many experts have cautioned about the negative effect of digital tools in the conduct of election in the country, they argue that the use of SRCs can lead to new opportunities for corruption in the electoral process. Although the SRCs, can assist the Commission to audit figures and be able to determine fraudulent alterations in the voting process however any malfunction of the SRCs can substantially increase the probability of violent conflict. However, on Election Day the system crashed to the irritation of many stakeholders as the biometric machines failed to read the fingerprints of many voters accurately forcing a resort to manual entry (National Democratic Institute, 2015). The case of the SCR was worsened in some polling booths by the lack of power back up in the schools used as voting points given that many of the schools were without power supply. In response to the issue of SCR failure, INEC quickly responded to critics, the card readers according to INEC sources can last up to 12 hours in continuous use a fact that was attested to given that there were no reports of card readers packing up. Besides, the card readers are equipped with backup batteries. Also important is the consideration of the Commission is the fact that the card readers can relay data on voters to a central server enabling analysis of the votes from each polling point. It is a technology that is bound to deepen the country's democratic system allowing politicians to



get reliable data on voting patterns and indeed confirm the authenticity of votes cast at any voting point (INEC Factsheet, 2015).

Experts also warn of online hacking and censorship as a real threat to the digital technology for transparency and accountability projects. Invariably, projects aimed at exposing corruption and enabling greater transparency are also vulnerable to both online and offline security risks, so taking the necessary steps to mitigate these risks can ensure the survival of deployment of digital tools in electioneering process if such attacks occur.

V. E-ELECTION AND CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

E-election consists of several types of automated system in electioneering, for instance, e-voting, including electronic means of casting votes and counting votes. This equally could involve punch cards, optical scan voting systems and specialised voting kiosks otherwise known as self-contained Direct-Recording Electronic (DRE). Therefore, e-election involves transmission of ballots and votes via telephones, private computer networks or even the Internet with the merits of speeding up the counting of ballots and availing enhanced voting access for disabled persons, thereby curtailing electoral frauds like stocking of ballot boxes with ballot papers. The usage of digital tools entails the exploit of information and communication technology tools to embark on such actions like registration of voters, voting and collation (Ghassan and Ranni, 2007; Fernandez, La Red and Peláez, 2013; Ajah and Igwe, 2015). New digital technologies are becoming major contributors to transparency and good governance movement. E-election can help reduce electoral malpractice and increasing transparency in electioneering process, while at the same time building the confidence of the marginalised communities to participate in governance. Technologies can deliver a variety of functions, including: better delivery of government services to citizens, improved interaction by private sector actors, information availability leading to citizen empowerment with the goal of increased transparency, greater convenience for citizen's participation in democratic governance. ICTs can facilitate evidence-based advocacy and improved access to information about citizen rights. Digital technologies can also amplify citizens' voices, ensure effective public service delivery, facilitate real-time data collection, encourage transparency and accountability in government expenditure (Rouse, 2008).

Even in limited statehood, ICTs are changing accountability by improving legitimacy; increasing responsiveness of the populace in political participation. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) held at the National Space Research and Development

Agency (NASRDA) in Abuja, noted how developed nations had been accorded the use of technology in electoral process high priority (Global Information Technology Report 2013). Such, they noted, had led to conduct of peaceful elections, transparency and wider participation of citizenry. Governments have demonstrated a real willingness to transform relationships between government services and their users, particularly by strengthening the use of ICTs in the electioneering process in the country. Civil society is also committed to implementing a number of initiatives to improve democratic governance using ICT (The World in 2013- ICT Facts and Figures, 2015). Mobile phones are becoming increasingly relevant as a tool for citizen participation in decision-making processes due to their wide-spread availability, simple use, and lower operational costs. There are two types of governance related mobile applications, m-government, which refers to the provision of government services via mobile phones, while m-governance facilitates bottom-up participation and citizen empowerment. Mobile phones are increasingly enabling citizens to participate in good governance and economic transparency processes through crowd sourcing, yet information gathered through this means can only lead to results when a verification system is in place and relevant authorities are prepared to take necessary action. This reaffirms that when technologies are made easily accessible, they can enhance democratic processes (Avgerou and Walsham, 2001; Montero, 2009).

The electoral commission have employed various technologies for awareness building, voter education, results tracking, and fighting electoral malfeasance to bolster the democratic process in the country. During the 2011 and 2015 electioneering, there are boom time for discourse on social media in many different parts of the country, as citizens review their electoral choices, encourage each other to vote, and report what they are seeing on the social media. Electioneering therefore serves as an excellent lens on the broader phenomenon of politics and good governance. Multiple case studies of social media and digital tools came into play during the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, with a specific focus on how social media and digital technology were used to monitor and observe the electoral processes. So both political science and digital media research will mutually benefit from incorporating existing socio-political factors into the analyses of how new digital media technologies are utilised for good governance and consolidation of democratic governance in the country. The digital tools brought into play in the 2015 general elections proffered new opportunities in the electioneering process and viable democratic governance (Olabamiji, 2014).

The deployment of modern technological gadgets is a one sure way of aiding developing the electoral process in the country and this is to achieve

credible and acceptable elections that will truly reflect the wish of the masses. This agrees with the assertion of Ban Ki Moon, through the Under-Secretary of United Nations Political Department, Mr Jeffrey Feltman when he states that, "credible conduct of the elections would positively impact on the rating of the country and contribute to the promotion of good governance". The emerging trend of digital election monitoring in "developing democracies" and advocated international standards for the practice, will significantly mitigate many of the factors that hamper a healthy progress of a given election process. Schuler also reported on several years of work by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and its international partners using SMS as a conduit for the collection of election data from observers in the field on Election Day (National Democratic Institute, 2015).

VI. CONCLUSION

Ultimately, digital technology and ICT will collaboratively take Nigeria to the 'promised land'. If they are given the room and adequately employed, then they contribute to the promotion of credible elections and good governance. If there is still a glimmer of hope for "dodgy" Nigeria, then it should be from the robustness and performance of INEC in the conduct of elections. The role and effect of the card readers during the electoral process can be felt if other digital tools are employed in the electoral processes. INEC can be efficient and conduct credible elections if they are adequately equipped with all necessary digital tools. By this, they will effectively put it into place and maximise its benefit to build a better electoral process in Nigeria.

Since the general elections that ushered in democratic governance in 1999, there has been much preoccupation with Nigeria and its escalating failures in its election and electoral processes which is antithesis to participatory democracy. Virtually all elections held in the country were shrouded in heated political struggles between regional elites, stiff political party's opposition and weak democratic institutions. However, unless these contradictions are redressed the hope of conducting a viable election, protecting the electoral process from conflict and violence and consolidating Nigeria's democracy, will remain an illusion. The steps taken so far by INEC is commendable and sustainable, as political observers noted that the usage of digital tools in the just concluded general elections in the country has aided the process and marks a good beginning for the electoral process in country.

The usage of digital tools exhibit practical examples of technology making a difference in the conduct of election, and at the same time it should be reiterated that the use of technology alone cannot deliver results. Projects which deploy technology in tandem with other strategies therefore are more likely to succeed. There is the need to mobilise collective action,

and encourage civic engagement. The inherent contradictions in the electoral processes, such as, State in conflict with voters, challenging the election results or the electoral hegemony of the State and political rivals in conflict with each other for political gain have retarded standards and capacity building in election management.

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Rethinking the Concepts of Subsumption, Surplus Value and Audience Labour in Digital Capitalism

By Eduardo Molina Campano

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I. INTRODUCTION

One of the many effects of the 2008 economic crisis was the revival of the Neo-Marxist analysis on the overall political economy in the academic sector¹. So, certain groups of researchers and professors in the international arena started to analyze with a critical eye but linked to the Marxist Labour Theory of Value, the most recent changes in the working world. These studies had already been undertaken by the Italian autonomist school, which nowadays remains more alive than ever and immersed in frank and healthy debate with these new research groups.

The backbone of these analyses is the internet communication space, which has acted as one of the major bases of the current productive -force growth on a global level. (After the sectorial crisis of ".com" companies and the subsequent global financial crisis).

This network space-related growth centers on the information industry, both physical and immaterial: hardware, software, semiconductors, antennas for the internet infrastructure itself, advertising, publishing houses, and broadcasting. The information industry has become one of the main areas of investment by transnational capital along with the still majority FIRE sector (finance, insurance, and real estate), almost

competing with assets in the mobility sector (transport infrastructure, oil, gas, and vehicles)².

These new researchers, together with the Italian autonomists, face a labour reality that significantly differs from the industrial age in its different phases. They are assuming an interesting challenge to update Marx's Surplus Value Theory. The aim of this article is precisely to publicize, at least partially, this ongoing debate and make an analysis thereof.

II. THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF SUBSUMPTION

a) Introduction

During the 1973 economic crisis, the Fordist phase of the industrial monopolistic capitalism (sponsored after World War II) came to a crisis. This historical stage was characterized by state intervention in the dominant nation-state economy to regulate consumers' real demand. In practice, it meant a high degree of well-paid factory jobs to ensure the realization of surplus value in the merchandise put on the market by trading companies, the big monopolies of production.

In economic jargon, this post-crisis period began to be called *post-Fordism*, though it was unclear since it was a transition what would it be the new production paradigm. This transition is what some authors called the descending phase of the long wave (Mandel, 1983) or the last transition to the empire (Negri & Hardt, 2002). However, it will be only at the end of the Gulf War (February 1991), in the context of the disintegration of the Soviet Union (March 1990 to December 1991), that this new productive pattern begins to be delineated; thus it goes beyond the implemented Toyota Production System³ which is still valid.

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¹ Between 2008 and 2014, articles on Marx or Marxism in indexed journals of social sciences almost tripled in comparison to the previous decade (Fuchs & Fisher, 2015, 6).

² To review this percentage data, see the article by Christian Fuchs (2016) *Digital Labor and Imperialism*: 4 and 5. Available at: monthlyreview.org/2016/01/01/digital-labor-and-imperialism/

³ Production line system invented by the Japanese engineer Taiichi Ohno. It is based on the *just-in-time* principle that seeks to make only what is needed and at the right time, reducing the offer of goods, contrary to what happened in the Fordist period. This led to the price increase of merchandise and the dismissal of a high percentage of labour, passing structural temporality at the service of market

This paradigm would gradually sympathize with the knowledge industry after a period of innovations in the fields of transport, language, and communication. These innovations made possible the development of the internet as a source of production and dissemination of information, content, and services. This based -on the -speed -of- communication revolution has been the basis for the current productivity growth of contemporary capitalism by provoking another turn of events in the reduction of the socially necessary labour time (value) for goods production.

This form of subordination is broader than that of the industrial era, thus it is extended to the entire consumer and knowledge society. It is subsumption that indirectly exploits the individual, even in his spare time, blurring the *Fordist borders* of labour time and leisure time. Life is commercialized by converting any use-value into exchange value.

b) Formal subsumption

It is known that the labour process as a creator of use values, designed to meet direct population needs, has been common to all modes of production. At the beginning of capitalism, this labour process began to be mystified (fetishized), and Marx called it subsumption of the labour process by capital. A concept of Latin origin which means both subordination and inclusion.

According to Marx (1982, 2010, 2013) explicit in the Economic Manuscripts of 1861-63, and in chapters VI (unpublished), and XIV of Capital Volume: The period of formal subsumption of labour lasts from the beginnings of mercantile capitalism, at the end of the 16th century, to the end of the 18th century. Two centuries of transition where the labour process becomes in an instrument of the valorization process⁴. That is a creation of surplus-value. The free and urban artisan workshop turned out to be the development center of this phenomenon. All surplus value as an expression of unpaid surplus labour was generated by the officer's workshop who then, started acting as a waged worker, maintaining yet the knowledge and the previous skills as well as a certain degree of control over the tools, but under the direction of the little capitalist.

From the technological point of view, the labour process was effected exactly as before but subordinated to the capitalist, not to the corporate master. The capitalists, still small, were the same masters who sometimes also had to work to supply all the needs. The difference between the labour formally

fluctuations. This system is still valid and is integrated into the new paradigm of cognitive capitalism.

⁴ Marx (2013) Capital, Chapter VI (unpublished): 15. This chapter was excluded by Marx in the publication of Capital Volume I in 1867 and was not published until 1933 in the Soviet Union. The original name is *Results of the Direct Production Process*.

subsumed by the capital and the former mode of production was manifested in the volume of capital invested by the individual capitalist.

The replacement of slavery, servitude, vassalage, and the patriarchal forms by the new worker-officer's subordination to capital, just modified the form of exploitation, not the content. It became freer, formally voluntary, purely economic (Marx, 1983, 2010, 2013). While slaves, for example, received a minimum wage regardless of their labour, the new worker had no guarantee of it. Besides, he was forced to work and compete with his fellow workers to be hired in exchange for all his strength and expertise to avoid starving to death along with his family.

A similar thing happened when the peasant servant and the corporate officer were released, and became free and waged workers. In all cases, despite the social subjugation suffered in return for their freedom of movement and contract that allowed them to choose a workplace, their certainty of having their basic needs fully supplied was lost.

c) Real subsumption

Along with the transition from formal to real subsumption, which had as a rupturist milestone the First Industrial Revolution, the process of exploitation and extraction of surplus value went from the extension of the working day to the intensification of the labour process. Marx calls this surplus-value *relative* to distinguish it from *absolute*. This revolution was a consequence of the application of science and technology to speed up production and provoked the incorporation of a machine to exponentially increase the productive forces. Simultaneously, this large-scale production tended to conquer all the industrial branches that had not been seized and in which still existed formal subsumption on a small scale or even independent artisan work (Marx, 2010, 2013).

In real subsumption, the individual worker, who completely made a product in the workshop, now becomes a mere link of a group that works in cooperation (through a division of labour) to generate goods that contain surplus value as an expression of all unpaid surplus labour. This transition from formal to real subsumption passed through three phases: From the simple cooperation system of the pre-capitalist artisan workshop, at the end of the 18th century, to the manufacture of Adam Smith's age, where workers still used their tools. So, subsumption continued to be semi-formal. In the mid of the 19th century, this manufacturing turns into a large factory and workers lost all their autonomy in the labour process, getting to be a mere appendage and servant of a machine, adapting to its pace and acting without thinking (Marx, 1982, 2007, 2010, 2013).

Now the form of extraction of surplus value began to be defined by the intensity of the machine



pace imposed on the worker. A pace intended to shorten the working time socially required for goods production and the reproduction of the labour force. Thus, increasing the rate of surplus-value (relative) by prolonging the unpaid working time, which is the capitalist's ultimate goal. The timer becomes central to measure labour, which turns into a more abstract activity, that is, devoid of any creativity.

Usurped, externalized, and personified is the labourer's knowledge by the machine. So, the relation between constant and fixed capital or dead labour (the machine) and variable capital or living labour (the labourer) changes concerning formal subsumption. The labourer is deprofessionalized and deprived of his old craftsman's knowledge and skill, which remain personified and coagulated of the machine.

Therefore, there is a transfer of knowledge from living to dead labour. Capital now seems to tend towards self-valorization, increasing the mystification of value by not depending on former officers' skills. During the 20th century, this material production - based real subsumption reaches its peak with the Taylorist and Fordist systems, which completely separated the conception tasks from the execution ones. The former led to the 1929 crisis, and the latter led to the New Deal of the second postwar as a strategy to stabilize the system (through the promotion of effective demand from the states), and to mitigate the class struggle, that the Bolshevik revolution encouraged throughout the industrialized world.

d) The current total subsumption

In the 70s, 80s, and 90s, the Italian neo-Marxist autonomists such as Negri, Virno, Lazzarato, Marazzi, and others, began to develop Marx's (2007) concept of General Intellect as the new productive labourforce. A concept based on social knowledge but stood out a difference. While Marx related it to fixed capital, that is, scientific and technical knowledge coagulated in machines; the autonomists relate it to living labour, that is, the knowledge workers, who produce immaterial goods, related to the linguistic aspects (relational, communicative), and independent of capital as such. Hence, its relative autonomy concerning capital, a fact that did not occur during the Fordist real subsumption. (Negri & Lazzarato, 2001).

This post-real subsumption transition, which continues to this day, has been defined by some authors as subsumption of the general intellect (Vercellone, 2007) to emphasize the subordination of knowledge to capital; subsumption of life (Fumagalli, 2015) to give a more holistic connotation to subordinated labour, and not exclusively circumscribe it to knowledge; or subsumption of society to capital (Negri, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2011) to expand the concept of social subject (the social worker, multitude) in said inclusion and subordination.

Maybe a more logical term in respect of the sequence proposed by Marx (2010), we affirm, be that of total subsumption. A concept that would indicate that subsumption has been extended to the personal scope, erasing the boundaries between labour and recreation. Besides, this subordination implies a combination of formal and real subsumption. Formal subsumption because knowledge is an independent skill of capital. Knowledge resides in the human brain, then it (knowledge) is marketed and integrated in a similar way to that carried out with the artisan officers at the beginning of capitalism. Hence, the potentiality of the current labour autonomy to capital that the autonomists defend.

This development of the general intellect as acquired social knowledge is explained by Vercellone (2007) as a consequence of welfare state policies on education and indirect salary, because they permitted to grant enough free time to a part of the population to be trained in multiple linguistic and relational skills, making them *productive* in themselves. In other words, variable capital as living labour becomes at the same time fixed capital (the brain), independent but linked to and almost merged with the new communication technologies.

This new formal subsumption that appropriates these use values (cognitive and relational abilities) to convert them into exchange values is accompanied by real subsumption in a combined way since industrial material work does not disappear but is reduced and transformed in the advanced countries (Toyota system) to move the Fordist system to other more profitable regions for capital.

This new dynamic technologies-related total subsumption of life requires specific governance to control citizens. Fumagalli (2015) points out that these instruments are individual debt and precarious employment. These would be the two main disciplinary tools of the current control society to regulate the psychology of individuals more effectively than the old factory's hierarchical command structure. It is an indirect control that generates self-repression, competitiveness at the highest level, and guilt feelings (Fumagalli, 2015). We would add the control of personal information through social media and search engines such as Google that acts as the Orwellian Big Brother who sees and records everything.

Now, this total subsumption that not only subordinates labour but the entire society, as said by Negri (2001, 2002, 2004, 2011), does not have to imply the disappearance of the law of value-labour as the autonomists suggest in general⁵. In this sense and accordance with Jakob Rigi (2015), although the law of value is partially undermined in advanced countries by the difficulty of quantifying the surplus value generated

⁵ See the proposals of Fumagalli (2015) or Negri (n.d.) regarding the theories of value-life or value-affect respectively.

by the society involved in the activities of knowledge production as well as by the reduction of socially necessary working time; the law of value, in reality, expands globally as it extends to other regions of the planet such as China where the real Fordist subsumption keeps standing. The interdependent role of some economies with others is difficult to understand if, from the standpoint of the functioning of the value chain, the global perspective is lost.

III. AUDIENCE LABOUR IN DIGITAL MEDIA

a) Introduction

After briefly reviewing the history of subsumption of labour in the capital, better placed we are to reflect on surplus-value in contemporary capitalism's digital sector. If we consider valid the assertions of the Italian autonomist school, without going into distinguishing nuances, the current subsumption would be defined by a combination of formal and real subsumption, having as its basis the exploitation, not of the factory physical labour (transferred to the periphery), but of human knowledge that functions as a direct productive force (general intellect) merged with the new technologies.

The question is how this new social relation (general intellect/capital) produces in some cases surplus-value, rent or speculative gains for the corporations of the information industry, and digital communication.

b) The concept of audience labour

The key concept some researchers bring to the table to understand the phenomenon of total subsumption that is expressed more clearly in the dominant countries is that of *audience labour*. This idea was introduced by Dallas Smythe (1977) in his famous article *Communications: Blindspot of Western Marxism*. In this work, Smythe criticizes the culturalist vision of Western Marxism⁶ concerning the information and communication industry, treating it exclusively as part of the ideological superstructure.

Smythe (1977) focuses on advertising as big media's fundamental instrument to induce *the audience* to consume the advertised products and completing and ensuring the production cycle. So, turning the users into merchandise that is sold to advertising companies. A commodity whose use-value lies in the ability to "pay attention" to ads. Said companies buy that ability from the mass media owners using the offer of television programs as a bait.

However, Graham Murdock (1978)⁷ will respond to Smythe asserting that despite the Canadian

researcher's article's wisdom "Smythe's preoccupation with the relations between communications and advertising leads him to underplay the independent role of media content in reproducing dominant ideologies" (p: 5). Murdock will ironically call this deficit "Smythe's blindspot" to use the same metaphor employed by this in his article's title.

This controversy that stimulated the development of a political economy of communication has been revived in recent years regarding the digital industry on the internet and social media as the new means of mass communication and information. To dig into this discussion, we will focus on three recent articles by Brice Nixon, Christian Fuchs, and Eran Fisher⁸.

c) The debate

Brice Nixon (2015) states that audience labour ought to be reconceptualized to theoretically raise the bar that Smythe had left. For Nixon, the fundamental relation in the political economy of communication is not between advertisers and audience, but between the media owners and the audience. Nixon tries an analogy between the labour process described by Marx (1867-2010) in Capital Volume I with the labour process related to the cultural industry in general. He compares the media owners' role with the landowners to establish similarities and differences. He points out that a cultural industry's owner grants the right to use the cultural content he owns, in exchange for a payment in the form of rent. A rent that comes directly from the workers' wages or a part of the surplus-value appropriated by another capitalist, for instance, an advertiser. Advertisers pay a tax to the media's owner (to promote their products to the audience), which is what allows the audience to freely access cultural content.

Nixon asserts the latter is the most common way to exploit the audience that acts as a productive worker for capital because its cultural consumption activities generate a value for the media capitalist either through the direct sale of a cultural commodity or for the tax he receives from the advertiser. However, it could be inferred that the capitalist of communication behaves like a landowner by exploiting the audience's labour (his perception and decoding abilities) without paying a salary to the user for the *working* time he invests in the cultural consumption that increases media's capital. It is like an abstract work made more or less passively (perception and decoding) through the use of natural work tools the individual possesses, like sight and hearing. These natural means, together with the artificial ones defined by the current technological devices,

⁶ Diverse authors who are distinct from Soviet Marxism and who generally focused on superstructural issues related to ideological reproduction, leaving economic issues aside in a sort of rejection of Soviet orthodox economism.

⁷ *Blindspots About Western Marxism: A Reply to Dallas Smythe*.

⁸ Brice Nixon is a professor at the Communications Department of the University of La Verne, USA. Christian Fuchs is director of the Communication and Media Research Institute and professor at Westminster University, London. Eran Fischer is a professor at the Department of Sociology, Political Science, and Communication of the Open University, Israel.

would act as digital capital's working instruments, whose object is the production of culture in the broad sense of the term.

Now, the production and characteristics of this generated surplus-value are difficult to get, measure, and define, because they are completely mystified. Nixon (2015) states that "that extraction of interest from advertisers is a process of indirect exploitation of audience labour by communicative capital since the surplus-value is taken from the advertiser rather than the audience labourer" (P: 111).

Although Nixon does not say where this surplus value that is transferred from advertisers to the media owner comes from, we agree with his analysis. That unanswered question makes difficult to grasp the functioning of audience labour as productive labour in itself, namely, as a direct generator of surplus value in the strict sense of the term.

Jhally and Livant⁹ (1986) tried to do so arguing that watching television is a form of work that generates surplus value when the audience sees more ads than necessary to cover the costs of the programs broadcasted in the media. Making an analogy with what happens in the traditional factory, the extra time spent seeing ads translates into extra money that ends up in the owner's hands. The more viewers watch ads, the more money the owner will get. The difference between the total value collected in a given time and the cost of programs would be the surplus-value obtained. According to Jhally and Livant (1986) what is exploited to create value is the audience's *perception ability*. Nonetheless, in our opinion, this is very unclear because producing money does not necessarily mean producing value. Rather, we would say that the relation between the advertiser and the audience is productive in a non-strict sense of the term; that is, from the viewpoint of circulation but not of production. Although watching a program, a movie, or reading a book requires energy consumption on the part of the audience, listener or reader, this passive work can not be equated with the cultural worker who creates the program or the writer who writes the book. The difference is qualitative.

That is, to produce value it is necessary to create something third parties may use. In light of this, the proposal of Jhally and Livant (1986) seems to us somewhat exaggerated. It is another matter of what happens on social media where users create content through a type of active work. They consume but also create information¹⁰ as use-value that afterward can be commercialized by themselves, as autonomous subjects, or indirectly through the media owners to sell it to advertisers. Eran Fisher (2015) states that to understand social networks we should think of them both as means of communication and production.

⁹ *Watching as Working: The Valorization of Audience Consciousness.*

¹⁰ Prosumers.

Fisher (2015) mentions Facebook as the social network par excellence. Its users freely create the content in return (although it remains unsaid) for commercializing the information. He explains that "if we see social media sites as a factory and their users as workers, we should ask ourselves what the audience produces. The answer, he adds, is information".(p:120)

Fisher (2015) divides this information into five types: "demographic, personal, communicative, performative, and associational" (p: 120). In short, Fisher points out several aspects presented in the hidden philosophy of Facebook, being perhaps the most important the veiled creation of ideological profiles in a constant and public way in such a way that each user is under pressure to reflect on their own identity about the system's values. In this sense, it can be inferred that Facebook is a large ideological, and fake news factory¹¹. It is a Big Brother who watches and records everything, from the slightest feeling of sadness of a user because of a breakup to the plans of anti-establishment groups or any dictatorial government's opponents. That last information is sent to political and security bodies of the global imperial system¹².

From the viewpoint of the economic exploitation of the social media user, Fisher (2015) compares it with the audience's work of traditional means of communication (television). In both cases, the fundamental device that indirectly generates surplus-value is the advertisement. Fisher (2015) states that in the 80s and 90s the media owners could not prolong too much the time given to commercials because they could lead to losing the audience. This *absolute surplus value* had a reasonable limit. About the intensification and efficiency of the exploitation of that limited time, the advertising companies improved their techniques by making increasingly shorter and more striking ads to extract the *relative surplus value* of the audience labour.

However, they have depended on statistical analyses to monitor the audience's wishes. Fisher (2015) holds that "these analyses are imprecise and unreliable by definition" (p: 124) and that social networks allow transcending these limitations. The extension of the exploitation is achieved because the users have permanently connected to the social network thanks to the technology of the mobile devices and the global coverage of the internet signal. Likewise, social networks such as Facebook and its subsidiary Instagram allow to individually know users' changing wishes and aspirations, which is why advertisers have more accurate information to know consumer trends.

¹¹ False news that deliberately create *opinion matrices* favorable to interest groups.

¹² Recently, the transfer of data from 50 million people by Facebook to the company Cambridge Analytica to influence different political campaigns, such as that of President Trump, came to light.



On the other hand, Fisher maintains that social networks are spaces for unlimited social communication with the promise of emancipation and desalination through socialization. The cure for loneliness and depression. A dialectical relation, exploitation, and desalination, which can also be expressed in another way, control versus democracy and freedom. A fight, in favor of capital, reproduces on the internet the veiled class struggle existing in society.

Other authors such as Christian Fuchs (2015) focus more on this point and try to argue why audience labour is productive in itself and thus why internet users must be given a class status, even appealing to the political left to integrate them sectorally as exploited workers.

Fuchs (2015) states that some academics say that users of social networks like Facebook cannot be defined as productive workers because they do not earn a wage for their activity. He points out that this argument is not new and was also directed against Dallas Smythe. To counteract it, Fuchs mentions the concept of the collective worker propounded by Marx (1867-2010) at the beginning of Chapter 16 of Capital Volume I (absolute and relative surplus-value) but does not provide sufficient explanation of the analogy. Orthodox authors claim that surplus value in capitalism is generated only in places where workers are compelled to work longer than they need to produce the equivalent of their salary. Perhaps, for this reason, says Lebowitz (1986 in Fuchs 2015), doubt has been raised concerning accepting the concept of audience labour as exploitative work that generates surplus value.

Here the debate gets more interesting. Fuchs (2015) states that Marx defines wages as "a certain amount of money paid for a certain amount of labour" (p: 29). Nevertheless, he argues that patriarchy, feudalism, and slavery have not disappeared as social relations of production and that they are included in the capitalist mode of production where the wage relation is hegemonic but not exclusive. The orthodox view excludes non-salaried labour, such as the labour of a housewife or a househusband, as if they were not exploitative for not being salaried, as well as being considered irrelevant to the class struggle. Fuchs is right in this, but it does not make much sense, in our view, to equate the labour of housekeepers with the activities of the social network's user.

Fuchs (2015) holds that every capitalist's dream is to make people work but paying them the minimum or nothing if possible because this means obtaining the maximum level of profits. But Fuchs's chief argument for audience labour as productive work lies in the interpretation of Capital Volume II (1885, 2010), relating to the circulation process. Fuchs (2015) equates the audience labour with the transport labour described by Marx: "The productive capital invested in this industry thus adds value to the products transported" (p: 30),

both by the transfer of the merchandise from one place to another and by the value of the labour done by the transport workers.

For Fuchs (2015) commercial or advertising companies transport the promise of the ideology of use-values to consumers. This publicity involves informational production and communication transport work. They do not transport physical merchandise, but the promise of its possibility of use shortly. Consequently, "the creation of the symbolic ideology of the merchandise is an activity that creates value" (p: 29).

The problem we see here is perhaps that Fuchs is confusing the labour done by transporters in the field of circulation, thus this adds value to the final product, with the audience labour as such. We ask ourselves: Who creates this "symbolic value of the merchandise"? The user watching ads (audience labour) or the advertising sector workers who work for capital? Here is another question that neither Nixon nor Fisher nor Fuchs is asked, but it answers itself.

IV. CONCLUSION

To our mind, the role played by the advertising company, whether independent or dependent on the large productive corporation, is similar to the transport companies alluded by Marx, and not to the audience labour as these authors to some degree claim. Audience labour is limited to receiving, perceiving, and decoding the promise of the asset and then, buying it in the market to ensuring the realization of surplus-value contained in the product offered by the productive corporation, be it material or immaterial. Of course, the advertising company generates value in itself, and on the other hand, increases the value of the end product. The question is that if this end product is not sold, surplus value cannot be realized, nor part thereof be allocated to the advertising investment because the sector's industry would be senseless. If we ignore this perspective, separating the aspects that link circulation to production, it will be difficult to understand the process as a whole.

In this respect, we perceive a tendency in some of these authors of the political economy of digital communication, audience labour or social media, to overestimate what orthodox Marxists underestimated by neglecting the content of circulation and reproduction of capital in the world market (Capital Volume II and III). Having made this warning, we consider that in a non-strict sense of the term, these authors are right by defining the activities of users on the internet and social networks as productive activities for capital that invests in said branches.

However, we do not find relevant to call the user of the networks or the media "audience labourer", and equating them with goods transport workers. The communicative capital earns a living through the taxes

paid by advertising companies that, in turn, utilize users' data to motivate them ideologically and subliminally to buy goods and services produced by the big global monopolies.

Moreover, when the communicative capital directly charges users an amount of money for selling a cultural product, payment from workers' salary, then it is selling immaterial and cultural merchandise produced by the very cultural workers who, by the way, create the product's value and surplus value. That way the media owner does not behave like a rentier landowner, living on the advertisers' tax for giving them the use of the space, but as a *productive capitalist* who does exploit the salaried cultural workers to create merchandise that is sold to consumers (the audience).

While it is true we can distinguish between some passive audience labour like watching tv, reading a book or listening to the radio (decoding), and some active audience labour like producing information and content in social media, in our opinion they should not be called productive work if there is not a formal or informal wage relation with the invested capital; which is not to say that there is no direct or indirect exploitation.

That is to say, one thing is a freelancer who does piecework in exchange for a salary as total or partial part of his life; another very different is the internet user who works outside of the net (teachers, store clerks, officials, waiters) but uses social media at any time of the day, sharing his private life with friends and acquaintances or even strangers. Although the communication capital exploits these contents for financial gain, there are two very different things (surplus value and gain) that have not been, in our eyes, differentiated by any of these brilliant heterodox authors.

Can these users' activities generate enormous profits to the media capitalist through the use of the information given to the advertisers and also by the stock-market speculation? Without a doubt¹³. Has the digital communicative capital found a way to exploit citizens' free time, commercializing the time and space of private life through society's total subsumption under capital? Equally.

However, thinking that internet users are in general and in the abstract exploited workers, who should (it follows) even receive a salary for their activities, seems somewhat unjustified (the universal

¹³, Instagram was bought for 1.000 million dollars in 2012 and today is valued at 100.000 million with a network of users of 1.000 million. Of the 27.638 million dollars that Mark Zuckerberg earned in 2016, more than 97 percent were achieved through advertising (La Razón, 2017/03/14). That is, these gains have a specific origin that is in the surplus value generated by large production corporations through the exploitation of the working class worldwide. The basis of the growth of the value of the shares of the social network in the stock market is based on the estimated income that will be obtained by the relation between the increase in users and the ads that these users will see and that will be translated into an approximate percentage of purchases.

basic salary has or should have a very different meaning)¹⁴. To begin with, no one is forced to use social media and continually produce content for a living. People use them to establish relations, boast of what they do or have out of vanity or social recognition, get in touch with friends or distant relatives or to break the barrier of loneliness to which neoliberal capitalism subjects the population. Multiple uses that mean in any case communicative speed, informative productivity, more opportunities to recreate, to play, and of course to work.

This communicative development is due to the process of incessant technological progress described by Marx (2007-2010) to return to the most competitive capital in the market (the rising trend in the organic composition of capital). A synchronic process in which the class struggle plays a fundamental role (Do not forget it) because capital extracts the worker's surplus-value subjectively. On the one hand, the worker does not let exploitation and on the other, he tries not to be expelled from the work process. That balance between classes cannot remain indefinitely stable in global terms due to the system's cyclical crises. Crises that tend to be stronger and more general due to the growing interrelation of the new international division of labour and the dependence of value on financial capital which implies large waves of expulsions of workers.

We will end by noting that:

- 1) An effort should be made to analyze what percentage of direct surplus value is created in digital communication companies with the formal and informal exploitation of salaried cultural workers;
- 2) What percentage corresponds to the indirect surplus value from the payment made by the advertising companies to the media owners according to the audience's perceptual consumption;
- 3) What percentage is allocated to the mere making of the cultural commodity through the purchase (consumption) made by users via their digital devices and that is deducted from their salary, that is, from the value of the necessary work and not from surplus-value;
- 4) Finally, what percentage of the total value generated is merely speculative, without support in production.

¹⁴ From the materialist perspective, the sense of a universal basic dividend rests on the idea that social knowledge has been expropriated by capital during the historical process of subsumption and coagulated in technology, so current productivity has a social origin, and thus the working world should be compensated. It is not a humanitarian gift from the welfare state, but a class right that has to do with the current redistribution of surplus value generated by the working class for decades.



These studies will produce the necessary data to update the law of value in contemporary capitalism, and thereby we will have a further understanding of the system's internal functioning; thus, bringing to light, through defetishisation, all the productive potential of the common that is expropriated by the new forms of exploitation. It is mixed exploitation of digital rentism, piecework, exploitation, and commercialization of the audience's perception abilities, precarious and informal work, slave exploitation in the mineral industry associated with digital technologies, Fordist exploitation in the assembly industries in China and other countries, exploitation of specialized knowledge in the central capitalism's corporations, among others.

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Aproximaciones al Amazonas como Bien Común Natural: Entre el Pluralismo Jurídico y la Seguridad Ambiental

By Jimena Mahecha Gonzalez

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Actualmente, la situación de calentamiento global, junto al creciente deterioro de los diferentes ecosistemas y de recursos naturales no renovables, han llevado a que, tanto gobiernos, como organizaciones no gubernamentales y emergentes movimientos ambientalistas de carácter transnacional, sean cada vez más conscientes de la amenaza mundial que implica no proteger el medio que nos otorga la subsistencia, esto es, la naturaleza. Es por ello que la mayoría de gobiernos, en conjunto con movimientos sociales, han intentado generar políticas que disminuyan y mitiguen el impacto nocivo del calentamiento global, pero poco han hecho frente a la verdadera causa del problema, que es el desarrollo de actividades productivas y extractivistas.

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En ese sentido, proteger los ecosistemas estratégicos que permitan la regulación del carbono y la prolongación de la vida silvestre, deben ser prioridad de los gobiernos y de la comunidad internacional, entre ellos, quizás uno de los más importante es la Amazonía, reconocida por ser el pulmón del mundo, y por contener además, miles de especies vegetales, animales y recursos biológicos que la hacen unos de los lugares con mayor biodiversidad del mundo.

Ahora bien, el tema principal a tratar en el presente texto será la cooperación amazónica con el fin de plantear si la Amazonía, territorio actualmente en disputa por diversos actores nacionales e internacionales, puede ser concebido como un Bien Común Natural, pero no global, sino Regional, dado que se encuentra presente en ocho países, y puede ser concebido como un elemento para lograr cooperación en pro del desarrollo de la región. Para ello, se hará un diagnóstico de los conflictos presentes en dicho territorio a partir de los actores estratégicos, el estado, los actores ilegales, y las comunidades indígenas, explicados de un lado, desde la seguridad ambiental como respuesta estatal frente al conflicto ambiental y que se deriva de lógicas de securitización, y del otro, desde la perspectiva del pluralismo jurídico, que posibilita retomar las iniciativas de los pueblos o comunidades indígenas que luchan por la protección del ecosistema y de su forma de vida.

En ese sentido, la elección de este tópico de investigación es pertinente en cuanto permite conocer a fondo

las dinámicas y tensiones territoriales que se encuentran en el territorio amazónico, y además, permite identificar qué comunidades están allí asentadas así como su relación con los entes gubernamentales y no gubernamentales, que de una u otra forma, están interesados en la Amazonía. Además, deja entrever cuán necesario es acudir a la cooperación, para atacar conjuntamente los problemas de seguridad ambiental que aquejan esta región, los cuales van desde el narcotráfico, hasta el tráfico de especies, pasando por la deforestación, la actividad extractiva, la agricultura extensiva, el contrabando y la biopiratería.

Aunque ya existe de manera aparente una iniciativa similar, la Organización del Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica (OTCA), vigente desde el 2002 entre países como Bolivia, Brasil, Ecuador, Guyana, Perú, Surinam, Venezuela y Colombia, cuyo objetivo es *"constituirse en un foro de cooperación, intercambio, conocimiento y proyección conjunta para que los países que la conforman enfrenten los retos y desafíos internacionales que se presentan con relación a la Cuenca Amazónica"* (Cancillería de Colombia, 2012), esta iniciativa, dadas las particularidades del contexto actual de cada país, ha sido dejada de lado, y no existe ningún interés en retomarla o siquiera cumplir su principal fin, que es la cooperación conjunta de los países amazónicos.

El Gobierno del ex presidente de Colombia Juan Manuel Santos con ocasión del foro COP21, tuvo una iniciativa consistente en el establecimiento del corredor Triple A para unir los ecosistemas Andino, Amazónico y Atlántico, de la que se esperaban mayores resultados que no fueron posibles por falta de voluntad política y por los contextos políticos al interior de cada uno de los países que se proponía debían realizar el corredor ambiental, a saber, Colombia, Venezuela y Brasil.

I. INTRODUCCIÓN

Por décadas la idea de desarrollo surgida de la revolución industrial no fue debatida en el entendido que se pensaba se tenían los recursos naturales suficientes para producir los bienes y servicios que el mercado necesitase. Sin embargo, en la actualidad, los Estados y las personas se enfrentan a un planeta cada vez más degradado y con menos recursos, con lo cual se ponen en entredicho las formas de producción y hace que se replanteé incluso el sistema económico actual.

Ahora bien, es necesario analizar si la idea de desarrollo es compatible con la protección del medio ambiente de manera que sea plausible hablar de desarrollo sustentable o sostenible, o bien, si de plano son dos categorías excluyentes, en el sentido que no

puede haber desarrollo sin que exista depredación del medio ambiente.

Como ya se mencionó, los estados y actores económicos son conscientes de que los recursos naturales no son infinitos, lo que ha llevado a que desde las organizaciones multilaterales se haga un llamado para aplicar lo que se denomina “desarrollo sostenible”, que tiene su asidero en las declaraciones de Naciones Unidas, y particularmente en el informe Brundtland de 1987, en el que se hizo “un llamado a la acción”, para que los estados ejerzan cambios en el modelo de desarrollo y de protección del medio ambiente, por medio de la creación de una economía sostenible. El aviso por parte de la comunidad científica a la humanidad advierte que *“no quedan más que una o muy pocas décadas antes de perder la oportunidad de eliminar la amenaza que encaramos ahora y de que la humanidad se encuentre con una perspectiva incommensurablemente disminuida”* (Bermejo, 2014, pág. 11).

La Amazonía comprende un tercio del total de los bosques tropicales del mundo, la quinta parte de agua dulce de la corteza terrestre, y permite la regulación de oxígeno y carbono para América del Sur y el mundo. Se encuentra distribuida en nueve países de Suramérica: Brasil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Guyana, Guyana Francesa, Perú, Surinam y Venezuela, sumando una superficie total de 7,5 millones de kilómetros cuadrados, de los cuales Brasil posee el que cubre más o menos dos tercios de la superficie total (67,8%), seguido por Perú (13 %), Bolivia (11,2%), Colombia (5,5%), Ecuador (1,7%), Venezuela (0,7%), y Surinam, la Guyana francesa y Guyana (0,1%). (TCA, 1991).

Aparte de ello, es la región del mundo con mayor de biodiversidad al contar con grandes extensiones de ecosistema de selva tropical húmeda, que permite regular el clima y las emisiones de carbono, aún frente a situaciones desfavorables que impliquen cambio climático (Killeen et al. 2007), y que además cuenta con miles de especies animales y vegetales. Este ecosistema además está conectado con otros ecosistemas como el de los Andes Tropicales y el ecosistema del Cerrado brasileño (Mittermeier et al. 1998, 2003, citado por Killeen et al. 2007). Sin embargo, aunque se encuentran interconectados entre sí por sus climas, ecosistemas, cuencas hidrográficas y experiencias culturales compartidas, los nueve países que comparten la Amazonía no se han podido integrar en lo referente a sus economías nacionales, pese a las diversas iniciativas de integración que han surgido entre los gobiernos. (Killeen et al. 2007)

Según Veyrunes, la Amazonía es una región en disputa por diferentes actores, ya que es un ecosistema de selva tropical húmeda y densa, presente en varios países, y en todos ellos con una débil presencia estatal que favorece el desarrollo de actividades ilegales tales como el narcotráfico, el

contrabando, la deforestación agresiva, la minería ilegal y actividades de biopiratería que tienen consecuencias sobre el medio ambiente y sobre la seguridad humana, y otras actividades consideradas “legales” como la actividad de extracción (petróleo, oro, madera...) y la agricultura extensiva, pero que tienen repercusiones nefastas para las poblaciones y la naturaleza. (Veyrunes, 2008, p.9).

En ese contexto, surge la necesidad de estudiar las tensiones por el territorio amazónico entre los diversos actores, los estados, los actores ilegales y las comunidades que allí habitan, todo ello con el fin de plantear la creación de un gran corredor ambiental para la protección del ecosistema, retomando las iniciativas propias de los pueblos indígenas, es decir, a partir de los desarrollos jurídicos propios- desde una óptica de pluralismo jurídico-, se permite afirmar que la Amazonía, territorio actualmente en disputa por diversos actores nacionales e internacionales, puede ser concebido como un Bien Común Natural, pero no global, sino Regional.

Para ello, se hará un análisis de los actores citados anteriormente, describiendo los intereses y conflictos sobre el territorio a saber, de un lado se halla el estado que tiene una dicotomía entre el extractivismo y la protección al ecosistema derivada de las obligaciones adquiridas por conducto del Derecho Internacional, y los actores ilegales que centran su interés en la extracción de recursos naturales y biológicos de manera ilegal, tensiones que se explican desde la óptica de la seguridad ambiental.

Del otro lado, se encuentran las comunidades indígenas propias de la región, las cuales históricamente han protegido el ecosistema, tienen una relación propia con el territorio, y desde sus costumbres y cosmovisión han generado propuestas para la protección regional de la Amazonía, propuestas que se podrían incorporar a partir del pluralismo jurídico y de las cuales se hará una lectura a la luz de la categoría de Bien Común Natural, la cual supone dejar de lado la visión extractivista y capitalista que plantea la categoría de recursos naturales, y que necesariamente refleja una concepción ideológica asociada al capitalismo.

El patrimonio natural, la naturaleza misma pasó a ser un factor productivo más y se convirtió en un conjunto de recursos naturales. Así mismo, la resistencia al poder y a la uniformización e instrumentalización de la naturaleza contenida en el término recurso natural, es reflejada y refractada por el término bienes comunes naturales que surge en el contexto de luchas sociales por la apropiación, el manejo y el uso de la naturaleza” (Ivars, 2013).

En ese sentido, para superar las amenazas no sólo al ecosistema, sino a las personas que habitan la Amazonía, de manera que puedan tener una calidad de

vida mejor que incluya el respeto por el territorio que han habitado ancestralmente, es necesario que se restablezca la integridad y la identidad de dichas poblaciones, que han sido estigmatizadas y excluidas no sólo por el Estado, sino por la sociedad en general, y que según Palacio (2007a), constituye un tema de justicia socioambiental. Esto implica cambiar la percepción de que los habitantes de la Amazonía son cultivadores de coca, narcotraficantes, aculturados, depredadores de la naturaleza, o bien incivilizados, salvajes, entre otros, e incluir, no sólo a los indígenas, sino a los campesinos, habitantes urbanos y rurales, y demás actores que sientan la Amazonía como propia.

Además, es necesario resaltar el papel de la solidaridad en conexidad con el bien común, a nivel local y global, que tiene como centro la vida humana y no el mercado y el capital, de manera que esos recursos naturales son esos bienes materiales comunes que hacen posible la continuidad de la vida humana y otras formas de vida que favorecen a todos por igual, de manera que esta caracterización del concepto de Bien Común, se hace extensivo al de Bien Común Natural que se intenta retomar en el presente proyecto. (Petrella, 1977, citado por Ivars, 2013). Para finalizar, en palabras de Palacio (2007b)

Si los colombianos conociéramos mejor la Amazonía y reconociéramos que el 34% de este territorio del país es, en buena medida, el futuro del país, quizás podríamos desbancar la excentricidad que la ha caracterizado. Y si dejáramos de tener una actitud colonialista y trabajáramos para hacer posible dignificar sus poblaciones variadas -no sus políticos que reciben las migajas de los políticos nacionales- de modo que cuenten y sean respetadas en el ámbito nacional tal vez podríamos ayudar a superar el colonialismo interno sobre la región y superar la asincronía política. Y con eso, tal vez también podría ser que el futuro de la región ayudase a que la descolonización interna sea una forma de contribuir a la descolonización del país en una época de renovada globalización "securitizada" a la americana. Avanzando sobre la consigna de los foros sociales mundiales, y multiplicando las opciones, nos podríamos apropiar de su lema en singular, diciendo que: "otros futuros son posibles." (p. 18).

II. AMAZONÍA: MÁS ALLÁ DEL BIOMA.

La Amazonía se concibe generalmente como cuenca o como bioma, siendo la primera definida como la delimitación del río Amazonas y todos sus afluentes, mientras que la segunda, el bioma, se define por la selva tropical húmeda que atraviesa toda la cuenca del río Amazonas, y se extiende al norte en otras cuencas, por ejemplo, la del río Orinoco. Dicha cuenca es la más grande del mundo con un promedio de 230.000 m³ de agua por segundo, es decir, es

aproximadamente el 20% del agua dulce de la superficie terrestre mundial.

La región de Amazonía cuenta con 7,4 millones de km², los cuales representan el 4,9% del área continental mundial, y cubre extensiones de Bolivia (11,2%), Brasil (67,8%), Colombia (5,5%), Ecuador (1,7%), Guyana, Guyana Francesa y Surinam (0,1%), Perú (13 %), y Venezuela (0,7%). La región amazónica constituye un tercio del total de los bosques tropicales del mundo, la quinta parte de agua dulce de la corteza terrestre, y permite la regulación de oxígeno y carbono para América del Sur y el mundo. (CEPAL, 2013).

De igual manera, posee gran parte de la biodiversidad (cuenta con la mayor concentración de especies) del planeta debido a la presencia de grandes extensiones de ecosistema de selva tropical húmeda y virgen, que sumado a lograr estabilidad climática aún frente a situaciones de calentamiento global (Killeen et ál., 2007), cuenta con gran diversidad de especies y taxones que incluyen plantas, insectos, anfibios, pájaros y mamíferos (Steege et ál., 2003, citado por García, 2012).

Además de lo anterior, también se concibe como el bosque tropical lluvioso más extenso del planeta, y además intacto, que a su vez se conecta con otros ecosistemas estratégicos como el de los Andes Tropicales y el ecosistema del Cerrado brasileño, razón por la cual posee una cantidad elevada de especies que no están presentes en otros lugares del planeta (Mittermeier et ál., 1998, 2003, citado por Killeen et ál., 2007). Esta clase de bioma es uno de los más complejos, localizados en zonas de baja altitud con climas cálidos y húmedos casi todo el año (PNUMA Y OTCA, 2009, citado por Sánchez, 2010), ya que sólo se produce en la franja intertropical de 5.222 kms alrededor del globo cerca al Ecuador, donde se produce la mayor insolación del planeta anualmente.

Los bosques tropicales húmedos son una especie de sumideros, ya que atraen el dióxido de carbono y gases de efecto invernadero presentes en la atmósfera, regulándolos y liberando oxígeno, por lo que mantienen y regulan el clima mundial, por lo que se afirma son el pulmón del mundo, más aún en el actual contexto de cambio global, en el que temas como el cambio climático son de gran importancia en la agenda internacional de estados y sociedad civil. Desde el criterio climático, en la Amazonía, debido a su ecosistema de bosque tropical húmedo, predominan las lluvias intensas concentradas en pocas horas, con altas temperaturas y un brillo solar promedio de 5 a 6 horas, y presencia de humedad relativa alta, lo que provoca que haya una relativa baja fertilidad en sus suelos.

Aunque los tres ecosistemas se encuentran interrelacionados entre sí por cuencas hidrográficas, ecosistemas, climas, experiencias culturales y biodiversidad, pese a las diversas iniciativas de

integración que han surgido en los nueve países, no ha sido posible establecer una integración económica y política respecto de las economías nacionales (Killeen et ál., 2007).

Las definiciones anteriores son más cercanas a los criterios hidrogeográfico o biogeográfico, en las que existe un consenso general a la hora de definir la Amazonía, sin embargo, existen otros criterios de acuerdo a las dinámicas locales, o bien a los factores estructurantes y sus impactos locales y regionales, e incluso de acuerdo a las dinámicas criminales (Sánchez, 2010), entre los que se encuentran una serie de características esenciales que la identifican independientemente de la concepción que se asuma. En primer lugar, es fundamentalmente una región compleja y heterogénea, sobre la cual no es adecuado hacer generalizaciones. Por otra parte, desde el punto de vista morfológico, esta región se divide en los sectores de *llanura* (selva baja o porción plana), la cual se clasifica en *vega* (o várzea o zonas inundables) y *tierra firme* (usualmente no inundable) y *sector montañoso* (o selva alta o piedemonte), cada una de las cuales cuenta con un conjunto de características físico-naturales específicas. (Rojas, 1996).

Como fuente de diversidad, posee una altísima diversidad biótica, no sólo de especies y ecosistemas, sino variación genética, debido a que contiene una configuración de ecosistemas forestales diversos e interactuantes, lo que la convierte en una de las mayores reservas genéticas del mundo, pues se estima que cuenta con un 10% del total de especies de plantas, peces y algas, y seis de los nueve países pertenecen al grupo de países megadiversos (PNUMA Y OTCA, 2009).

La marcada variación de la temperatura y la humedad atmosférica con la altitud, tanto entre el día y la noche como a lo largo del año, explica la configuración de pisos ecológicos, que favorecen la efervescencia de biodiversidad en los sectores de piedemonte oriental andino (PNUMA Y OTCA, 2009, p. 37, citado por Sánchez, 2010, p 33).

Es en estos pisos ecológicos donde se encuentran varios ecosistemas únicos en el mundo, que además cuentan con áreas de endemismo de mamíferos terrestres, y otras especies importantes. Esta biodiversidad es considerada un recurso estratégico de gran relevancia para los países que desarrollan biotecnología, nuevas energías, entre otras actividades, por lo que su protección es de vital importancia (Delgado, 2000, citado por Sánchez, 2010).

De otro lado, aparte de ser una región megadiversa en especies animales y vegetales, también posee una gran diversidad cultural, similar a la biológica, desde hace más de 12 mil años, pues existen numerosos grupos humanos que han ido creando y conservando a través del tiempo, un patrimonio cultural

milenario, por medio de su cosmovisión y su relación con la naturaleza, y que han llegado a tener notables desarrollos físicos, productivos y organizativos, como por ejemplo, la producción de conocimiento relacionada con la domesticación de plantas, en la que fueron pioneros.

La población de la Amazonía asciende a los 38.777.600, representando aproximadamente el 11 % de la población total de los países que integran la OTCA, siendo Brasil el país con más habitantes (75%), y Perú (13%). La población se encuentra principalmente en el sur de la Amazonía brasileña, en el occidente de la región, y a lo largo de la cuenca del río en cuatro puntos principales, Iquitos, zona fronteriza de Perú, Colombia y Brasil, y en las ciudades de Manaos y Belén. Se caracteriza por ser muy “*diversa y antigua, y ha ido conformando un mosaico social y económico muy complejo, está compuesta por diversos grupos humanos, como pueblos indígenas, colonos, pobladores ribereños o urbanos*” (PNUMA Y OTCA, 2009, p.71).

De los anteriores, son los pueblos indígenas parte importante ya que son guardianes de su cultura, conocimientos tradicionales y valores propios, que se traducen en usos diversos de flora y fauna, así como usuarios y guardadores de la diversidad genética. Dichos grupos han sobrevivido aún al modo de producción capitalista que busca extraer sus materias primas, constituyendo una amenaza para su existencia y permanencia, pues ante la presencia y acción de grupos externos, se ha presentado, si no su desaparición, sí una notable descomposición cultural (Rojas, 1996).

En esta región hay presentes 420 pueblos indígenas diferentes, con 86 lenguas y más de 650 dialectos, afectados por los cambios ambientales y económicos de la región, que inciden directamente en su vida, relación con el territorio y amenazan su supervivencia (Sánchez, 2010), y aunque no se puede afirmar con certeza a qué cifras corresponde la población de los pueblos indígenas en la región amazónica, es claro que son sujetos de protección por su importancia en la conservación de especies naturales, vegetales y genéticas. (Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica, 1991).

Aunque existen múltiples definiciones acerca de qué es o qué territorios conforman esta región en el entendido que “*diferentes factores, como la cuenca hidrográfica, la selva tropical húmeda o los criterios administrativos o legales, pueden delimitarla*” (Aragón, 2005, citado por Veyrunes, 2008, p. 8), según lo planteado por Veyrunes (2008), se puede concebir a la Amazonía desde una perspectiva ampliada, como una región ecogeográfica extendida a lo largo de los nueve países mencionados con anterioridad, teniendo en cuenta el concepto de *Amazonía Mayor*, desarrollado por el Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Medio

Ambiente y la Organización del Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica, y que obedece a diversidad de criterios que van desde lo hidrográfico y geográfico, hasta criterios políticos administrativos

La Amazonía, como entidad unificada, sólo puede existir como una amalgama de regiones. De esta manera, se puede afirmar que existen varias Amazonías las cuales conforman una gran región, donde cada una tiene una distribución regional diferente (Gutiérrez, 2005, pág. 1).

y que en todo caso se caracteriza por la exclusión y desigualdad social porque alejada de los polos de decisiones, debido a las largas distancias que la separan de los centros de poder, la precariedad del sistema del transporte, y el mismo ecosistema que dificulta la existencia de vías de acceso. Además, cuenta con una débil o nula presencia de los Estados en los que está presente, los cuales no gestionan de manera adecuada los recursos naturales y humanos, lo que provoca conflictos socio-ambientales como consecuencia de diversas prácticas ilícitas debido al poco desarrollo democrático y la ausencia de gobernanza, que trae como corolario el grave deterioro o la posible desaparición de este ecosistema y sus poblaciones.

Según Sánchez (2010), no se debe dejar de lado el proceso de internacionalización o bien apertura económica de los años 90, la cual ha incorporado de hecho a nuevos actores con marcados intereses en la disputa por el territorio y la riqueza , hasta el punto de que se hable de un tránsito de Globalización en la Amazonía a Globalización de la Amazonía, en la que “*la globalización dejó de ser un agente externo y se convirtió en una fuerza de la misma región que se proyectó como un objeto mundial*” (Palacio, 2007a, p.11). Es entonces como la Amazonía se convierte en un objeto global de carácter ambiental, que carga con tensiones entre los actores y sus intereses, entre los que se encuentran sus habitantes, los estados, las comunidades indígenas, las ONG, las empresas trasnacionales, entre otros.

Ahora bien, la Amazonía constituye un escenario importante de disputa geopolítica, con diversas tensiones entre lo global, lo nacional y lo local, en un complejo entramado de relaciones que se tejen entre el extractivismo y la conservación, que involucran a varios actores con intereses disímiles y que configuran el contexto contradictorio en la que se encuentra la región, pues se encuentra frente a diversos problemas, legales e ilegales, que impactan directamente su ecosistema y a su población, y que se pueden evidenciar en amenazas a la seguridad ambiental, entre las que se enumeran la extracción de recursos naturales y la agricultura extensiva, la minería ilegal, el contrabando, la biopiratería, narcotráfico e incluso el conflicto armado interno.

III. EL ESTADO: ENTRE EL EXTRACTIVISMO Y LA CONSERVACIÓN

El territorio amazónico constituye diversidad biológica, ecosistémica, cultural, política y económica, de manera que la explotación y extracción de los recursos trae consigo nuevas dinámicas de ocupación sobre el territorio, las cuales generan nuevas presiones sociales y sobre el ecosistema, además de incrementar la precarización laboral de sus habitantes, consecuencia en últimas, del modelo económico que plantea una expansión mercantil adoptada por los estados como proyectos geopolíticos.

La región amazónica, especialmente en zonas de frontera, ha sido históricamente un escenario de extracción, de comercio y transporte de recursos naturales, forestales e hidrobiológicos, entre los que se encuentran la minería y el comercio de especies, así como las actividades de bioprospección. Este extractivismo se evidenció a partir de la segunda mitad del Siglo XX aproximadamente, cuando surgió la demanda de los países más desarrollados sobre bienes materias primas y recursos energéticos, para lo cual, los países andinos y amazónicos, iniciaron actividades extractivas, tanto madereras como petroleras, y agrícolas, lo que implicaba un deterioro al medio ambiente y a la población. (Zárate, 2017)

Según López (2006), en Amazonas surgió una crisis ecológica producto de la deforestación y colonización, que ha llevado a que emerja una presión internacional para proteger el bosque amazónico, debido a que la agricultura extensiva y la extracción de recursos naturales desencadenan en otro problema ambiental, la deforestación, constituyendo una amenaza, tanto para el Estado, como para las comunidades indígenas asentadas en territorios de la Amazonía. Hay que tener en cuenta que la extracción de hidrocarburos también causa inseguridad del ecosistema, y está relacionada con el surgimiento de diversos conflictos sociales y violencia (Veyrunes, 2008).

La actividad petrolera ha contribuido a la transformación de los paisajes naturales, a la dinamización de la colonización y a la formación de pueblos y regiones, que se han abierto llevándose de sí a decenas de culturas indígenas e introduciendo patrones extractivos, que a la postre han contribuido a la degradación del medio ambiente, la corrupción de las clases dirigentes locales y regionales, al incremento de la pobreza y la violencia. (Avellaneda, 2004, p. 12)

En la década de los setenta y ochenta, grandes extensiones de zonas protegidas fueron restringidas o invadidas por los mismos estados, que necesitaban de forma más urgente responder al mercado internacional que proteger el medio ambiente, de manera que hubo

una “colonización agraria e intereses minero forestales en nombre del desarrollo”, igual que con los territorios en los cuales se encontraban asentados pueblos indígenas, que, aunque supuestamente se les iba a proteger los Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales (DESC), ésto nunca sucedió y aún hoy, están sometidos a las políticas de estado en materia de explotación petrolera y de recursos no renovables (Fontaine, 2003).

“Por otra parte, la agricultura extensiva es un asunto que puede poner en peligro la Amazonía. Cuando se habla de agricultura extensiva se hace referencia esencialmente a la cultura de la soya en Brasil y la ganadería. Los investigadores se interesan por este problema y sus impactos ambientales. David G. McGrath y María del Carmen Vera Díaz del Instituto de Investigación Ambiental de Amazonía de Belem (Brasil), califican esta tendencia de “amenaza y catástrofe ecológica”. (Veyrunes, 2008, p. 12).

Además, entre las actividades extractivas que desequilibran el ecosistema, se encuentra la producción de biocombustibles como el biodiesel y el etanol, a través de monocultivos de vegetales y de plantas oleaginosas, los cuales necesitan grandes cantidades de territorio para ser cultivados, y por ello también contribuyen a la deforestación.

Este tipo de actividades afectan de una manera especial a los nacimientos de agua, principalmente por la extracción de petróleo, oro y minerales, que en su mayoría, se realizan de forma ilegal, pero los efectos nocivos sobre el agua no sólo se quedan en los lugares donde se realiza a actividad extractiva, sino que, por ser un ecosistema profundamente interconectado entre sí, la contaminación fluye con el agua y el viento, extendiéndose por todos los ríos amazónicos, y por tanto, a las comunidades que dependen de ellos para su supervivencia, generando una escasez de agua potable, sequías, y una demanda cada vez más alta de dichos recursos.

Para finalizar, algunos autores afirman que los Estados presentan una paradoja o contradicción en cuanto a la regulación de la conservación de la diversidad, de un lado, y la protección de los derechos de las transnacionales, del otro. En el caso de Colombia esta dicotomía es evidente, pues, frente a la explotación petrolera en Amazonas, el Estado prevé la conservación de la biodiversidad con la aplicación del Convenio sobre Diversidad Biológica, que declara que parte de la soberanía del Estado es la conservación y la protección de la biodiversidad, pero, a su vez, protege y asegura los derechos de las empresas multinacionales (Bravo, 1997, citado por Veyrunes, 2008).

IV. ÁREAS PROTEGIDAS EN AMAZONAS

Esta contradicción o dicotomía resulta evidente pues, ante el extractivismo, existen también diversas

formas de protección del ecosistema y del territorio, que involucran desde el Sistema Nacional de Áreas Protegidas, hasta Resguardos Indígenas, los cuales consagran la protección al ecosistema, pero sin tener en cuenta la conectividad del ecosistema, y no son suficientes para hacer contrapeso a los actores ilegales que explotan los recursos del territorio.

Zárate et. al. (2017), realiza una revisión de los dispositivos creados por algunos estados amazónicos por medio de los cuales se organizan la institucionalidad ambiental, así como las políticas relacionadas con esta, teniendo en cuenta aspectos legislativos e iniciativas institucionales, que incluyen cooperación transfronteriza e iniciativas propuestas por organizaciones no gubernamentales que tienen influencia global sobre la Amazonía. Además, resalta algunos problemas en la implementación de dichas políticas, teniendo en cuenta que si bien se adoptaron discursos ambientalistas por parte de los estados, en la práctica ello implica la continuidad de la destrucción de la base natural de la región, la degradación ambiental y la deforestación en toda la amazonía.

La información de estos programas y políticas ambientales amazónicas es fragmentada en términos de misiones y objetivos en los diferentes países, pues existen diversos fondos, organismos e instituciones encargados de producir y efectuar las políticas ambientales, que carecen de coordinación con las instituciones del orden nacional, y con las instituciones públicas de administración y control de los recursos naturales en las zonas transfronterizas, además de tener muy poco personal profesional y técnico en los territorios locales, debido en gran parte a la gran distancia desde los centros políticos y administrativos.

Además de lo anterior, existe una gran dificultad para controlar y vigilar la extracción de recursos naturales en toda la región, no sólo en la zona de frontera pues las instituciones públicas no tienen cuentan con los recursos materiales y financieros, ni con la infraestructura o el equipo humano que es necesario para cumplir esta obligación estatal de proteger los recursos, siendo esta situación más grave en la zona de frontera, debido a la falta de implementación de normas nacionales y sectoriales, las cuales tienen un carácter centralista, lejanas a las condiciones físicas y sociales de la frontera, y que a su vez son incompatibles con las de los países vecinos.

En la década de los 90 los estados se alinearon con políticas de entidades financieras internacionales y organismos multilaterales que tenían un discurso de conciencia ambiental frente a la crisis del cambio climático, la cual amenaza el planeta y constituye una preocupación generalizada por la deforestación en la Amazonía. Esto se tradujo en que en Colombia, Brasil y Perú, hubo importantes reformas constitucionales que incluyeron ese contexto político ambiental internacional, incluyendo en las normas nacionales y en los aparatos

estatales nuevas responsabilidades ambientales globales, que tenían como prioridad la conservación de recursos naturales. Se crearon entonces nuevas institucionalidades ambientales encabezadas por el Ministerio del Medio Ambiente (Colombia), por el Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente IBAMA (Brasil), y el Instituto Nacional de Recursos Naturales Renovables INRENA (Perú), en Colombia se transformaron las Corporaciones Autónomas Regionales en Corporaciones para el Desarrollo Sustentable, y se crearon algunos centros de investigación, ejemplo que siguió Perú años más tarde.

Los países amazónicos generalmente han participado de las discusiones y decisiones en temas ambientales de carácter internacional, escenarios en los cuales se destaca el papel de la región amazónica en el equilibrio de los procesos naturales globales, y además participan de acuerdos multilaterales ambientales, por lo cual sus legislaciones se basan en dichos principios que se materializan en las normas nacionales, lo cual se traduce en políticas nacionales referidas a estrategias o planes nacionales de biodiversidad, políticas forestales, políticas de protección de fauna o políticas sobre recursos hídricos.

La RAISG estudió las coberturas de las Áreas Naturales Protegidas (ANP) y los Territorios Indígenas (TI) en la Amazonía a través del tiempo y los principales retos para su gestión en el futuro, así como los aportes a su comprensión actual sobre fenómenos como la deforestación y pérdida de bosques, a través del análisis de factores institucionales, espaciales y temporales, como por ejemplo el proceso histórico de la creación de Áreas Naturales Protegidas o de unidades de conservación, su institucionalización y el fortalecimiento de su gestión sostenible, o los procesos de reconocimiento de los Territorios Indígenas, pasando por los procesos de titulación y regularización de los territorios en ellos comprendidos, en relación con las políticas de estado en torno al uso y ocupación del suelo amazónico y la transformación demográfica de la región.

En primer lugar, “la Amazonía fue concebida como un espacio vacío que servía para fines de explotación y extracción de sus riquezas naturales” (RAISG, 2016, p. 5), como parte de la justificación de la explotación de los recursos, así como la explotación de la fuerza de trabajo de las poblaciones originarias amparada en que eran rezagos del pasado incivilizado, por lo que también se justificaron las misiones religiosas, incrementando la vulnerabilidad de estas poblaciones, así como la deforestación del bosque tropical y el daño al ecosistema.

Esto dió lugar a figuras de protección en las primeras décadas del Siglo XX, por ejemplo en 1911 se creó la primera Reserva Forestal de la Amazonía en el estado de Acre, Brasil, y posteriormente, hacia el año de 1940 después de la Convención Panamericana para

la Protección de Fauna, Flora y Bellezas escénicas naturales de 1940 (Convención de Washington), los países amazónicos crearon las primeras áreas de conservación, enfocados en áreas de transición, para salvaguardar la diversidad biológica en estos ecosistemas.

Es así como en el año de 1959 se crea en la Amazonía Brasileña el Parque Nacional de Araguaia, cuya naturaleza jurídica era unidad con categoría de protección estricta o ANP, en el año de 1960 en Colombia se institucionaliza el Sistema de Parques Nacionales Naturales, en 1961 se crea en Perú el Parque Nacional de Cutervo, la primera reserva forestal en Venezuela denominada Imataca y se amplían nuevas formas de protección en Brasil y Bolivia, cuya primera ANT fue el Parque Nacional Isiboro Sécure en el año de 1965. Ecuador, por su parte, en 1970 creó dos unidades de conservación amazónica en el pie de monte andino-amazónico, el bosque protector de San Francisco y la reserva ecológica Parque Nacional Cayambe Coca. (RAISG, 2016)

A partir de esto, fue haciéndose evidente la necesidad de una estructura administrativa de dichas unidades de conservación al interior del sistema ambiental, de manera que en 1963 se crea el Servicio Forestal y de Caza en Perú, el Instituto de Recursos Naturales en Colombia (INDERENA) en 1968, y el Ministerio del Ambiente y de los Recursos Naturales Renovables (MARNR) en Venezuela, en el año de 1970, encargado, entre otras cosas, de la identificación de zonas prioritarias de conservación, y en Perú y Ecuador se crearon sistemas de protección de áreas silvestres que iban de un espectro mínimo, a uno ampliado.

La Convención de París de 1972 jaló la creación y actualización de los mecanismos de política ambiental en armonía con la institucionalidad de los niveles centrales, los cuales en su mayoría tenían como objetivo proteger el legado natural y cultural de la extracción generalizada producto del modelo desarrollista de los países de la macro cuenca, de manera que se articularan los fines de conservación con la protección de los pueblos indígenas amazónicos, y que dieron lugar a la creación de parques, resguardos indígenas como el Parque Nacional del Xingu en Brasil en 1961, la ley de ordenación del Territorio de Venezuela de 1983 que prevé que un mismo territorio puede estar sujeta a varias figuras de administración especial (ABRAE), o Bolivia que estableció una doble protección para articular la conservación del ecosistema con los derechos ancestrales de los pueblos indígenas amazónicos, elementos que fueron la antesala de los actuales sistemas de protección.

Los actuales sistemas de protección son los SNUC, Sistemas Nacionales de Unidades de Conservación en Brasil, y Sistemas Nacionales de Áreas Protegidas en los países andino amazónicos, SINAP en Colombia, SINANPE en Perú o SNAP en Ecuador. Sin

embargo, lejos de solucionar la conflictividad ambiental y garantizar una conservación del bosque tropical húmedo, las presiones sobre el ecosistema y los pueblos amazónicos se han incrementado, siendo la deforestación el más evidente y grave, y las carreteras, el medio más expedito para garantizar la expansión de la economía extractiva y colonizadora dentro y fuera de las Áreas Naturales Protegidas y de territorios sometidos a diferentes formas de protección, como los resguardos indígenas, todo ello bajo una política de integración de la Amazonía como zona de reserva de recursos naturales extractivos.

La creación de Áreas Naturales Protegidas se hace de acuerdo con las políticas ambientales propias de cada país, de manera que los territorios bajo diferentes categorías de protección, incluso los que están bajo la jurisdicción de comunidades indígenas se han catalogado de acuerdo a las leyes estatales, queriendo decir que son áreas bajo el dominio del Estado, comúnmente reservadas como bienes públicos o patrimonio de la nación, sin detrimento de algunas áreas privadas con fines de conservación que hacen parte del Sistema de Áreas Protegidas.

V. LOS ACTORES ILEGALES: LA OTRA CARA DE LA MONEDA EN LA DISPUTA POR EL TERRITORIO

Además de los estados y la extracción “legal” de recursos, existen actividades ilegales que ejercen presión sobre el ecosistema, provocando numerosos conflictos ambientales y sociales, pues ejercen el extractivismo de manera agresiva, amenazando no sólo al ecosistema, sino a las comunidades amazónicas, que muchas veces son desplazadas por estas acciones ilegales, entre las que se encuentran el narcotráfico, la biopiratería, la minería ilegal, entre otras. Estas presiones comprometen de manera severa el desarrollo pleno de los pueblos amazónicos ya que “el índice de delitos cometidos en el territorio tales como, tráfico de personas, caza indiscriminada de especies exóticas, narcotráfico y minería ilegal, se incrementa desmesuradamente debido en parte a la ausencia del Estado” (Betancourt & Simmonds, 2013, citado por Mejía, et. al., 2019 pág. 185).

El narcotráfico se da en la región amazónica principalmente en el cultivo de coca para su transformación en cocaína, debido a la distancia desde los centros urbanos, la ausencia del estado, la facilidad de cultivo en este ecosistema y la cercanía del transporte fluvial hacia el resto del mundo. Los cultivos de coca iniciaron en la década de 1980, y gracias a la consolidación de los precios de la cocaína en los mercados internacionales, que dió como resultado un margen amplio de utilidad del negocio traducido en control territorial, convirtió el narcotráfico en una

verdadera amenaza regional (Observatorio DESC Amazonía, 2007, citado por Trujillo, 2014).

Contrario a ser un fenómeno tratado por los estados en integralidad, el narcotráfico ha ido en aumento y las acciones de los estados han reaccionado de manera coactiva, principalmente con aspersión aérea de glifosato, lo que conlleva una destrucción del ecosistema, pues provoca destrucción de especies vegetales y animales como aves, roedores y peces, toxicidad en el agua y contaminación de las fuentes hídricas, y esterilización de suelos, afectando profundamente la conectividad ecosistémica, las cadenas tróficas e incluso los cultivos y agua de las comunidades, afectando su salud.

El narcotráfico se ha consolidado en la región porque ésta conlleva muchas ventajas, la gran extensión de selva y su cercanía a ríos, así como la zona transfronteriza que dificulta el reconocimiento de la jurisdicción, sumado a que es una zona poco concurrida y alejada de los centros urbanos y de decisión donde hay mayor presencia estatal, lo que facilita el establecimiento de grupos delincuenciales, que además de narcotráfico, trafican con contrabando, despojo de tierras, hurtos, homicidios, extorsión, testaferrato, lavado de activos, entre otros. Estas actividades ilegales generan una “*falsa estabilidad económica en la zona, y un impacto negativo sobre la población debido a las frecuentes migraciones que alteran las costumbres y tradiciones de las culturas indígenas de la zona*” (Mejía et.al., pág. 191)

El problema del narcotráfico que ha afectado a los territorios indígenas, cobra especial importancia en el contexto del desarrollo, tanto por factores de tipo político, económico y productivo, como ambiental y agroalimentario. Las actividades del narcotráfico relacionadas con el establecimiento de sistemas y prácticas de producción, uso de precursores químicos, procedimiento y transporte de drogas, así como las acciones que se derivan de las políticas antidrogas que se implementan en el país, generan impactos ambientales significativos (sociales y ecológicos) que afectan todo el territorio nacional y que tienen trascendencia internacional (González Posso, 1998, citado por Rodríguez, 2015, pág 31).

Por su parte, muchas de las rutas de tráfico de cocaína han estado controladas y vigiladas por grupos armados ilegales, lo que lleva a la siguiente tensión por parte de actores ilegales, a saber, el conflicto armado interno, que encontraron circunstancias propicias en la ausencia del estado, falta de desarrollo regional y explotación económica de la selva, pues la infraestructura petrolera se convirtió en blanco fácil para grupos armados ilegales con un proyecto político, especialmente en la amazonía colombiana , sin olvidar que se estableció en zonas transfronterizas. Algunas de las rutas más empleadas en el Amazonas son las “que

abarcen los ríos Japurá, Içá y Negro, que interconectan a Colombia y Venezuela con Brasil. El Estado del Amazonas es un conocido “corredor” para el flujo de cocaína, la llamada “ruta del Solimões”, es una de las principales puertas de entrada de la cocaína producida en Perú y Colombia.” (Mejía, et. al., 2019, pág. 196).

La guerrilla de las FARC definió en una de sus Conferencias la Amazonía como territorio de expansión por su baja presencia estatal y por sus conflictos rurales no resueltos, por lo que utilizó esta zona como núcleo de fortalecimiento militar con liderazgos locales, y con un proyecto de crecimiento organizacional que pudiese establecer un cerco militar subversivo a la capital de Colombia y el establecimiento de un gobierno en las selvas amazónicas, (Zárate, 2017) afectando a los países vecinos, pues se impuso el denominado impuesto de gramaje sobre la producción de coca por parte de la guerrilla de las FARC principalmente, lo que desencadenó en el posterior arribo de grupos paramilitares para hacerse con el control de dichas rutas, y también la actuación de las fuerzas armadas y policivas que se constituyeron como otro actor del conflicto de segundo orden (Centro de Memoria Histórica, 2012, citado por Zárate, 2017).

Además del conflicto armado interno y sus innegables nexos con el narcotráfico, existe otro problema, es la minería ilegal, extracción que en la ilegalidad es más rentable, por lo que numerosas estructuras y organizaciones se disputan el control de la extracción artesanal o informal de minerales como oro, cobre, estaño, wolframio, entre otros, y de actividades que la acompañan, como la extorsión y la prostitución. (Erthal et.al., 2019).

Esta forma de extractivismo es histórica y se ha transformado a lo largo del tiempo, en primer lugar se habla de la fiebre del caucho a finales del siglo XIX y comienzos del XX, posteriormente las bonanza de las pieles en las décadas de los 60 y 70 del siglo pasado, después llegó la bonanza del oro, y por último la bonanza de la coca, que sigue vigente, promoviendo la proliferación de todo tipo de actividades ilegales, que arrasan con el bosque tropical húmedo y las especies que allí habitan, y que se van transformando conforme a la transformación de la demanda del mercado mundial de las economías subterráneas.

Otra actividad ilegal, que es poco estudiada e incluso poco penalizada por las legislaciones nacionales, es la biopiratería, definida como la apropiación de recursos biológicos, genéticos y conocimientos tradicionales de manera ilegal e injusta, con el fin de reclamar derechos de propiedad intelectual, desconociendo la distribución de beneficios a las comunidades tradicionales, en contraposición al aprovechamiento legal de los recursos biológicos, y genéticos propios de diferentes ambientes naturales, que se denomina prospección biológica o bioprospección, y que puede ser definido de manera

más específica como “*la búsqueda sistemática, clasificación e investigación de nuevas fuentes de compuestos químicos, genes, proteínas y otros productos que poseen un valor económico actual o potencial, y que se encuentran en los componentes de la diversidad biológica*”. (Duarte, 2011 pág. 17)

La biopiratería se constituye como una prospección ilegal, un aprovechamiento ilícito de los recursos biológicos, genéticos y sus productos derivados, pero también de los conocimientos tradicionales transmitidos por las comunidades tradicionales e indígenas de generación en generación, de manera que son éstas las que resultan más afectadas por esta práctica, ya que su saber es adueñado por grandes corporaciones o investigadores que obtendrán ganancias sin que exista la transferencia de beneficios que tiene lugar en la prospección legal de dichos recursos, y que pueden llegar incluso a restringir el uso de los productos derivados de los productos biológicos a las comunidades, en el entendido que la adjudicación de patentes implica la propiedad intelectual y industrial de éstos a las compañías.

La Propiedad Intelectual adquiere importancia a partir del Acuerdo General sobre Tarifas y Comercio (GATT), siendo escenario para que los países del Norte impongan sus intereses a pesar de que los países del sur global promovieran la inclusión de disposiciones relacionadas directamente con el comercio internacional, que no fueron incluidas, y además, en los TRIP, se incluyeron los aspectos relativos a proteger la propiedad intelectual con mecanismos de soluciones de controversias que implican medidas coactivas para su aplicación (Shiva, 2001, citado por López, 2006, p. 19).

Para finalizar, la biopiratería no tiene una regulación clara y eficaz por parte de los estados, en algunos estados es considerado delito únicamente la aprehensión de especies animales y vegetales que constituyan acceso al patrimonio genético, pero no constituye una medida eficaz que prohíba la biopiratería, lo cual contraviene lo previsto en el Convenio de Diversidad biológica de Río de Janeiro del año 1992, que establece que los estados son soberanos sobre sus recursos genéticos, pero deben garantizar la distribución justa y equitativa de los beneficios derivados del acceso a recursos genéticos por parte de las comunidades locales y tradicionales.

VI. LA SEGURIDAD AMBIENTAL- RESPUESTA DESDE EL ESTADO A LA CONFLICTUALIDAD

Un tema urgente con creciente importancia en el contexto internacional, es la crisis ambiental por la que está atravesando el mundo, de la cual se conoce que tiene un origen humano y no natural. La deforestación provocada por la extracción de petróleo, madera y minerales, así como por la agricultura extensiva,

"menoscaba la variabilidad genética y fomenta la erosión aluvial y la desertificación" (Fuentes & Rojas, 2005, p. 177). En palabras de Fuentes y Rojas:

"De acuerdo con un estudio realizado por la FAO, la pérdida neta de bosques en la región en el período 1999- 2000 asciende a 4,28 millones de hectáreas. Entre las subregiones, América del Norte (sin incluir Canadá) tuvo una pérdida neta de 0,24 millones de hectáreas. América Central de 0,34 millones de hectáreas, y América del Sur de 3,71 millones de hectáreas. La escasez de agua también es un problema grave para el desarrollo futuro. El consumo de agua aumentó a un ritmo superior al doble de la tasa de crecimiento de la población durante el siglo XX. Cuatro de cada diez habitantes del mundo viven en zonas donde escasea el agua. Es posible que en 2025 no menos de dos tercios de la población mundial, estimada en 5.500 millones de personas, vivan en países con escasez grave de agua. El contexto de pérdida de bosques y de especies vegetales, de escasez de agua y de sequía se entrelaza generalmente con desastres sociopolíticos como conflictos armados y migraciones forzadas, que exacerbaban la degradación, erosión, y desertificación de los suelos. La pérdida resultante de superficie cultivable contribuye en gran medida a una de las principales amenazas que afectan la seguridad de las personas en los planos mundial y regional: la seguridad alimentaria." (Fuentes & Rojas, 2005, p. 177).

En ese orden de ideas, el descuido generalizado por parte de los Estados hacia la Amazonía, produce una serie de problemas que amenazan la existencia del medio ambiente y, las poblaciones que allí habitan, de modo que se configura una amenaza ambiental, y en algunos casos, se presenta una amenaza a la misma soberanía del Estado, pues los grupos ilegales aprovechan la falta de control para establecerse en estas zonas para realizar sus actividades económicas.

En ese sentido, surge la seguridad ambiental como un concepto bastante complejo. En la actualidad puede reunir cualquier cantidad de términos que terminan concentrándose en las posibilidades que tienen los Estados para preservar sus recursos naturales y para asegurar su soberanía en la geopolítica.

Un insumo importante que hace parte del concepto es la Resolución 37/7 del 18 de octubre de 1982. Esta resolución, llamada Carta Mundial de la Naturaleza, de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas (ONU), establece que, al ser la humanidad parte de la naturaleza y depender de su energía y nutrientes, y, reconociendo que la civilización tiene sus raíces en la naturaleza, esta debe ser respetada y los Estados están

en la obligación de implementar medidas para llegar a este fin.

Reaffirming the fundamental purposes of the United Nations, in particular the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among nations and the achievement of international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, technical, intellectual or humanitarian character (Assembly, 1982).

Esta declaración ha sido entendida de tal manera que, en procura de la paz internacional y de la seguridad, el deterioro del medio ambiente ha llegado a constituirse en una amenaza. Y cualquier amenaza debe ser controlada. Acá el concepto tiende a transformarse de uno en el que, como en la resolución, apuesta por relaciones entre naciones y Estados a otro en el que las amenazas tienen responsables y causantes que deberían ser contenidas.

La primera acepción se acerca a la idea, a la construcción de una, en la que las amenazas al medio ambiente lleven al desarrollo de estrategias que le permitan a los Estados tener niveles adecuados de crecimiento económico, aseguramiento del bienestar, consolidación de modelos de desarrollo sustentables y aprovechamiento adecuado de las fuentes que ofrece la naturaleza.

Sin embargo, la acepción que más fuerza ha tomado se acerca a la neorrealista de las relaciones internacionales, en la que un mundo anárquico requiere de medidas para salvaguardar el acceso a las fuentes de energía y poder.

Environmental security has emerged as a transnational idea, the core of which holds that environmental degradation and depletion, largely human induced, pose fundamental threats to the physical security of individuals, groups, societies, states, natural ecosystems and the international system (...) The alternative if these threats are not better addressed will likely be economic, social and ecosystem health and welfare decreases (Dabelko, citado por Lavaux, 2004, p. 3).

Esta conceptualización de la *seguridad ambiental* ha llevado, entonces, un tratamiento militar de la misma. Así, Estados con mayor capacidad militar han volcado sus esfuerzos hacia el aseguramiento de sus recursos naturales, o de los que consideran vitales para su desarrollo, a través de la presencia militar y de estrategias que conducen a una perspectiva de la naturaleza parecida a la de un botín que asegura la adquisición de herramientas para el posicionamiento en el esquema realista de países potencia.

Un ejemplo de lo anterior está en el tratamiento que se da a la explotación del petróleo, el carbón o los diamantes y el oro, que han requerido de los Estados

en los que se encuentran estos recursos una movilización de tropas y equipos para cuidar oleoductos, pozos y minas.

Países como Colombia, desafortunadamente, han optado por la movilización de sus fuerzas de seguridad para la defensa de los centros de extracción de este tipo de recursos naturales, desatendiendo obligaciones que podrían ser solucionadas con la experticia de las fuerzas militares y de policía y transmitiendo el mensaje de que la prioridad para su Estado es la extracción de recursos y no el bienestar general de sus ciudadanos.

Uno de los recursos naturales más apetecidos es el agua. Podríamos pensar en éste como el recurso natural por excelencia. Y no es exagerado pensar que su seguridad y tratamiento lleve a la securitización por vía militar. Si esta consideración se aplicara, llevaría a entender que el uso del agua y acceso a ésta por parte de todo tipo de comunidades humanas estaría restringido y podría poner en riesgo la existencia de las mismas. También, las formas en las que se relacionan estas comunidades con la naturaleza podría llevar a que puedan ser identificadas como de interés estratégico y constreñir el uso del líquido vital.

Algunos de los teóricos neorrealistas afirman que, en la actualidad, muchos de los conflictos violentos que vive el planeta tienen origen en la escasez de recursos naturales (Homer-Dixon, citado por Lavaux, 2004, p. 4). Así las cosas, el cambio climático aparece como una amenaza en la que las naciones menos desarrolladas, desde esta perspectiva neorrealista, deberán ceder a muchas de las condiciones de su soberanía para la garantía de las naciones más desarrolladas.

Esto explica por ejemplo, la abultada y en muchas ocasiones excesiva presencia militar de estos países en estas fronteras, lo que de otra parte denota, por defecto, la ineffectividad, insuficiencia o inocuidad de las políticas públicas encargadas de la planificación y organización territorial y económica de estas regiones y específicamente de sus fronteras. No se trata precisamente del lugar común que menciona la ausencia del Estado, sino de una presencia distorsionada, desproporcionada e incoherente del mismo, recargada en sus instituciones militares y en políticas orientadas principalmente al resguardo de la soberanía y la seguridad nacionales, que han acabado por subordinar, cuando no anular, las demás políticas sectoriales y sobre todo aquellas encargadas de ocuparse de los asuntos económicos, sociales o ambientales.

El mismo carácter de las políticas de defensa y seguridad orienta la acción estatal hacia la diferenciación, la separación y la competencia entre estas naciones, que se ve con particular fuerza en sus zonas de frontera, mientras que el discurso y las prácticas de la integración fronteriza, no sólo siguen

siendo secundarias, sino que apenas empiezan a abrirse camino en el terreno económico. Lo paradójico de esto es que para abrirle el campo a la cooperación y la integración fronteriza, así sea en términos puramente económicos, los Estados amazónicos deberían empezar por deshacer o al menos tratar de corregir muchas de las acciones que los llevaron a separarse y delimitarse en los estancos nacionales actuales, algo que todavía ni siquiera pasa por la mentes de las élites políticas actuales de ninguno de estos tres países. (Zárate, 2017, p. 13).

La otra acepción de la seguridad ambiental es la que está atravesada por una convicción de la naturaleza como hogar de los seres humanos en la que todos han de servirse de ella pero también de protegerla. Un marco teórico que serviría para desarrollar esta concepción proviene de otras teorías de las relaciones internacionales en el que el rol de las ideas, por fuera de la *realpolitik* tiene una importancia marcada.

Así, hay varias iniciativas en la región amazónica que han propuesto la cooperación entre Estados y la atención a los diferentes conflictos ambientales desde la militarización, “*la violencia e inseguridad, cuya gravedad y persistencia se ven agravadas por la debilidad estatal e institucional de los Estados que ha intentado suplirse con una presencia militar protuberante aunque finalmente ineficaz*” (Zárate, 2017, pág. 114).

VII. EL PLURALISMO JURÍDICO Y EL RECONOCIMIENTO DE LA AUTONOMÍA DE LOS PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS

Según Palacio (1993), se puede definir el pluralismo jurídico como la “*coexistencia de varios sistemas o regímenes jurídicos dentro de un espacio social particular dando lugar a varios tipos de normas jurídicas, mecanismos de poder, legitimidad y formas de funcionamiento*” (pág 12). Dicha coexistencia de sistemas jurídicos ha sido tratado por la sociología jurídica cuando se investigan sociedades colonizadas que tienen una dualidad jurídica entre el derecho imperial y el derecho nativo del país colonizado, y en el que ambos tienen validez.

Ahora bien, la globalización resultado del capitalismo, ha traído como consecuencia el debilitamiento del Estado Nación y por tanto la desregulación de algunos segmentos de la vida social, a la vez que regula otros aspectos a escala internacional, dejando espacio para nuevas formas jurídicas, en las que el pluralismo jurídico tiene cabida. Ejemplo de ello es el escenario del neoliberalismo, en el que actores como multinacionales, etnias o grupos ilegales, son actores de nuevas luchas sociales y agentes de nuevas formas de pluralismo, las cuales se van fortaleciendo en detrimento del Estado nacional en

los siguientes espacios: a) transnacional, b) la comunidad, c) la región o localidad, d) la ciudad y e) el espacio doméstico.

La idea del pluralismo jurídico se contrapone a la idea de que el estado es el único productor de derecho a través de su legislador, de manera que no tiene el monopolio del derecho sino que a partir de la globalización y transnacionalización del capitalismo y las redefiniciones geopolíticas que esto conlleva, se ha superado el monismo jurídico, para dar lugar al pluralismo jurídico, lo que implica una comprensión del derecho más allá de la norma escrita y su contraposición con la realidad, que a su vez incluye nuevas funciones instrumentales y simbólicas, y que además tienen cuenta formas jurídicas supra estatales e infra estatales, tales como la Lex mercatoria internacional que va más allá del Estado nación, los tribunales de los pueblos, los tribunales de tierra, la justicia guerrillera, la justicia campesina, los negocios jurídicos y justicia en contextos mafiosos, y otras formas no estatales que constituyen formas de aplicar el derecho y que en algunas ocasiones el propio estado considera ilegales.

Esto se debe a que, la intención de monopolio del derecho por parte del Estado presenta fallas o fisuras, por lo que tienen que surgir nuevas interrelaciones de complementariedad o antagonismo entre los diferentes fenómenos jurídicos que por supuesto generan nuevos problemas para el estado y para quienes los analizan, entre los que se encuentran la globalización del capitalismo, las transformaciones en las relaciones de género, la dimensión Internacional de la lucha de los Derechos Humanos y los experimentos de servicios jurídicos populares. (Palacio, 1993)

El pluralismo jurídico se refiere a la existencia simultánea de varios órdenes jurídicos con el derecho propio del estado, como consecuencia de algunos cambios conceptuales resultado de la crisis del régimen fordista-keynesiano y la acumulación del capital, en los que a partir de el surgimiento de nuevas formas de producción y comercialización, el derecho estatal cuyas características son universalidad, generalidad, jerarquía y estabilidad-, quedó prácticamente obsoleto para responder a las nuevas realidades sociales, lo que aunado al neoliberalismo y a las crisis de la organización sindical y al surgimiento de nuevas luchas sociales, dio paso al pluralismo jurídico como respuesta a estas nuevas relaciones productivas y laborales más heterogéneas diversas y flexibles, en las que es el derecho tiene que adecuarse a nuevas situaciones. Y esto da a pensar que el derecho es algo más a lo producido por el estado, es decir, el derecho no siempre tiene que estar asociado al estado.

Una de las acepciones de pluralismo jurídico es precisamente el reconocimiento de las formas propias de gobierno y de ejercer justicia de los pueblos indígenas y comunidades afro descendientes, y su

entera validez al interior del Estado constitucional, siempre que las primeras no sean contrarias a las disposiciones constitucionales. Por parte de los Estados Sociales de Derecho existe el reto de integrar materialmente a los pueblos originarios a su sistema constitucional, en primer lugar, reconociendo la existencia precolonial de los pueblos originarios, así como el dominio sobre sus territorios ancestrales como forma para garantizar la libre determinación de los pueblos en el marco de un Estado Unitario. En segundo lugar se deben reconocer los derechos colectivos, la autonomía, el autogobierno, la cultura, las instituciones y la consolidación de sus entidades territoriales, todo ello por medio de obligaciones positivas por parte del Estado o acciones afirmativas. (Rivera, 2014)

Hay que mencionar que aunque existan las bases jurídicas constitucionales para integrar materialmente a los pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes al sistema constitucional de los estados y que ello implique su incorporación a la estructura social, económica, jurídica y política del Estado, son necesarias acciones que implican el cambio de las actitudes políticas de quienes gobiernan y de la sociedad civil, para que exista un verdadero reconocimiento de los sistemas propios de estos pueblos y que estos tengan plena validez.

La regulación constitucional de los pueblos indígenas, implica el cambio de un modelo asimilacionista,-aquel que plantea que las políticas públicas respecto de las comunidades indígenas deben estar orientadas hacia la integración de dichas comunidades a los patrones de vida de la mayoría de la sociedad-, a un reconocimiento constitucional de la diversidad étnica y cultural en la que se encuentran los pueblos indígenas, reconocimiento que implica obligaciones constitucionales por parte del Estado en términos de respeto y protección de dicha diversidad.

El hecho de que se eleven a rango constitucional la diversidad étnica y cultural y la autonomía de estas comunidades, implica una estructura normativa que garantice la defensa de los intereses de las minorías étnicas, por ejemplo, la constitución de entidades territoriales indígenas denominadas en algunas jurisdicciones como resguardos, en los cuales se ejerce de manera exclusiva la autonomía política y jurisdiccional por parte de los comunidades, así como una propiedad colectiva sobre el territorio, teniendo en cuenta que la relación con éste no es únicamente de ocupación, sino constituye su principal medio de subsistencia, sumado a un elemento integrante de la cosmovisión de estos pueblos. (Estrada, 2014).

Y es este derecho a la autonomía en las comunidades indígenas basado en un contexto del resguardo, el que constituye la esencia del pluralismo jurídico, y que consiste en la capacidad para definir su organización económica, social y política, es "el

derecho que tienen tales pueblos a decidir por sí mismos los asuntos y aspiraciones propias de su comunidad, en los ámbitos material, cultural, espiritual, político y jurídico, de acuerdo con sus referentes propios y conforme con los límites que señalan la Constitución y la ley" (Sentencia T- 973 de 2009, citado por Estrada, 2014, pág 45).

Este derecho a la autonomía está garantizado en dos dimensiones, en primer lugar, una externa que consiste en la participación del poder público, a través de la representación de las minorías étnicas en el Congreso, y una dimensión interna que da cuenta de la libertad que tienen las comunidades para establecer sus reglas sociales, económicas, políticas y jurisdiccionales, traducidas en: "el derecho a decidir su forma de gobierno, el derecho a ejercer funciones jurisdiccionales dentro de su ámbito territorial y el pleno ejercicio del derecho de propiedad de sus recuerdos y territorios con los límites que señale la Constitución y la ley". (Estrada, 2014, pág. 45).

Tratando específicamente el tema de la posibilidad, o más bien la garantía del ejercicio de funciones jurisdiccionales por parte de las comunidades indígenas, es decir, el reconocimiento de una jurisdicción diferente a la nacional, ésta tiene unos elementos característicos, a saber, en primer lugar, la existencia de autoridades judiciales propias de las comunidades, en segundo lugar el derecho a establecer sus propias normas y procedimientos que estén sujetos a la Constitución y la ley, y por último, el derecho que tienen los miembros de estas comunidades a ser juzgados por sus propias autoridades y conforme a los procedimientos y normas establecidos por ellas, constituyéndose así en la figura del juez natural.

En Colombia, por ejemplo, la Constitución garantiza el reconocimiento de la diversidad étnica y cultural, y de las jurisdicciones especiales indígenas, con obligaciones de respeto y materialización de las mismas, y aunque las normas constitucionales son indeterminadas, ha sido la Corte Constitucional colombiana la que ha especificado los límites y contenido de la justicia indígena. Sin embargo, el gobierno nacional ha ido más allá en el reconocimiento del pluralismo jurídico de los pueblos amazónicos, pues a partir de la expedición del decreto 632 de 2018, puso en funcionamiento los territorios indígenas ubicados en áreas no municipalizadas de los departamentos de Putumayo, Vaupés y Amazonas.

Además, por medio de dicho decreto se efectuó el reconocimiento formal de los gobiernos indígenas y sus facultades de autogobierno en el territorio, además de indicarse el procedimiento de registro de los consejos indígenas para administrar y ejecutar de forma directa recursos públicos y privados, lo que permite que los consejos tradicionales indígenas

puedan no sólo constituirse como una figura administrativa para ejecución de recursos, sino una figura con capacidad política para que, a partir de los conocimientos tradicionales en términos de protección, se pueda considerar un Bien Común Natural regional.

Ahora bien, partiendo de la idea de que el ecosistema amazónico constituye un todo, esto es, siguiendo una visión holística, la cuestión que se plantea es si, instituciones como la COICA (Coordinadora de las Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazónica), la cual tiene una convergencia de pueblos indígenas de carácter internacional, u otro tipo de instituciones que agrupen pueblos amazónicos, pueden incluir las cosmovisiones, principios y valores sociales y espirituales de los pueblos indígenas amazónicos, para encontrar los elementos comunes que permitan catalogar la Amazonía como un Bien Común Natural.

Existen numerosas organizaciones y asociaciones de pueblos indígenas amazónicos, que son verdaderos sujetos políticos que promueven la conservación del bosque tropical húmedo amazónico, entre ella la Coordinadora de las Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazónica, la cual es de convergencia internacional, pues agrupa otras asociaciones de todos los países amazónicos, y que, "orienta sus esfuerzos a la promoción, protección y seguridad de los pueblos y territorios indígenas a través de la defensa de sus formas de vida, principios y valores sociales, espirituales y culturales" (COICA, 2017).

Y por supuesto que estas formas de vida incorporan elementos importantísimos como la espiritualidad y la relación con el territorio, teniendo en cuenta que se habla no de existencia, sino de "preexistencia", es decir, una vida que desde siempre ha estado enmarcada en la defensa de la vida, la conservación de los bosques y en extensión, de un planeta tierra vivo que garantice la vida actual y de las futuras generaciones, en últimas una existencia de "semilla en la tierra".

VIII. BIEN COMÚN NATURAL: HACIA UNA NUEVA CATEGORIZACIÓN DE LA AMAZONIA

Para precisar el concepto de Bien Común Natural, hay que partir de lo que se Considera Bien Común, del inglés *common wells* y *enclosure of the commons*, según Helfrich (2008) implica cuatro elementos:

1. El control sobre el uso y manejo de recursos y bienes que conforman nuestro patrimonio social, natural y cultural.
2. El acceso a dichos recursos y bienes.
3. El proceso de producción y reproducción social tanto de bienes como del bien común (Commonwealth).



4. La justicia distributiva en la repartición de los beneficios que emergen de nuestro acervo común. (citado por Ivars, 2013, p. 5)

Y por supuesto que analizar estos temas, requiere de la incorporación de lo político, las relaciones de poder presentes en cada contexto específico. Como se explicó anteriormente, las dinámicas de ocupación del espacio amazónico, otrora concebido como un “espacio vacío”, han traído como resultado un deterioro del ecosistema y una alteración drástica del paisaje y de las condiciones de vida de sus habitantes, corolario del proyecto extractivo capitalista que amenaza con llevar las relaciones de mercado hasta las últimas fronteras de extracción de los recursos naturales.

Y es así como se ha considerado la Amazonía como fuente inagotable de recursos naturales, y a su vez, como región improductiva para los estados, quienes detentan su propiedad, en el entendido que los bosques y selvas tropicales hacen parte de los bienes públicos de los estados. No obstante, debido a su importancia geoestratégica, ha sido escenario de disputas políticas o ideológicas y económicas, además de las muy mencionadas tensiones en el territorio que profundizan la amenaza del cambio climático y la crisis ambiental, que consisten en la explotación extensiva e indiscriminada de minerales, hidrocarburos, gas, bosques, agua, y la tierra, además de las inversiones en megaproyectos de infraestructura energética y vial para atraer inversores a la región, que fragmentan y atraviesan la selva bajo una falsa imagen de integración regional.

Lo anterior, sumado a que la regulación es flexible o casi inexistente en lo que concierne a bienes ambientales tales como bosques nativos o baldíos, ello debido en parte a que existe una desconfianza frente a la equivocada creencia de que los bienes comunes siempre serán una tragedia, en alusión a la teoría de Hardin según la cual las tierras comunes en Inglaterra cayeron en manos de terratenientes para evitar el deterioro y la erosión, concluyendo que “la libertad de los recursos comunes resulta la ruina para todos”, por lo cual no hay más salida que “abandonar los recursos comunes” (Ortega, 2017, p. 22).

Esta teoría ha sido ampliamente criticada porque confunde los bienes comunes con la falta de regulación de estos bienes, y los itera deliberadamente con el libre acceso y *res nullus*, y al ser tan repetitiva y renombrada, ha generado desprecio hacia los bienes comunes, provocando precisamente que se tenga aversión contra esta clase de bienes por considerarlos “una tragedia”, provocando en últimas una falta de regulación y con ello, que estos bienes terminen en la apropiación por parte de privados o favoreciendo los intereses de las empresas transnacionales. (Ortega, 2017).

Según Ricardo Petrella, todos los sistemas de organización social existen gracias a una narración, siendo hoy día la narración dominante, la fe en la tecnología, la confianza en el capitalismo y la convicción de la imposibilidad de alternativas al sistema actual. La fe en la tecnología como elemento en el cual se materializa la creatividad de los humanos en todas sus dimensiones, es una fe que se originó con la Revolución Industrial, la cual exaltó las revoluciones tecnológicas como formas de crear sociedades nuevas, siendo la ciencia, ahora convertida en tecnología, “*la base del desarrollo y el progreso, no habría progreso económico, social y humano sin desarrollo y procesos tecnológicos*” (Petrella, 2009, pág. 10) y por supuesto, esto implica un dominio del mercado y un aumento en la productividad y la economía global para crear riqueza material e inmaterial.

La confianza en el capitalismo en la narración dominante está vinculada con la ciencia y la tecnología, de manera que la emergencia de nuevos conocimientos en biotecnología e infectología pueden llegar a legitimar la mercantilización de la vida a partir del capitalismo financiero. Actualmente, el capitalismo se auto concibe como una economía del conocimiento, el cual da lugar a una nueva sociedad denominada “la sociedad del conocimiento”, que podrá permitirse modificar al antojo del mercado las coordenadas fundamentales de la vida: el tiempo y el espacio, por medio de esos conocimientos valiosos en el mercado mundial.

Por último, la convicción de la imposibilidad de alternativas al sistema actual, propia de la narración dominante, asegura que no existe ninguna alternativa al capitalismo, cuya victoria frente al socialismo lo impulsó como el único sistema posible, al que lo único que se le puede hacer de manera realista es volverlo más justo, más social, más verde, más solidario, en últimas, más humano, y que, entendiendo que nos encontramos en un sistema complejo, el cual impide cualquier cambio estructural, lo único que podemos permitirnos es realizar cambios locales en su interior.

Es decir, que resulta casi imposible establecer un acuerdo global que permita solucionar el cambio climático o las crisis globales por fuera del sistema existente, la narración dominante asegura que para que una sociedad evolucione ordenadamente y supere el caos que la caracteriza, es necesario que los actores del sistema se autorregulen, es decir, las empresas deben autorregularse por medio de códigos de conducta que serán supervisados por ellas mismas. Asimismo los consumidores, los productores, los trabajadores, los empleadores, y otros actores de la vida social, se deben autorregular por medio de contratos privados, y, de igual manera, los Estados deben autorregularse a partir de la reafirmación de su soberanía nacional y el establecimiento de acuerdos bilaterales y multilaterales flexibles y poco vinculantes



que no impliquen renunciar a su soberanía, esto es, una regulación blanda o *soft law*.

La Tercera Cumbre Mundial de la Tierra de 2002, realizada en Johannesburgo, a diferencia de sus predecesoras, no aprobó ningún tratado convención, sino que se constituyó como un documento político que repitió en su mayoría compromisos anteriores no realizados, y que quedó en una carta de intenciones sin ninguna fuerza vinculante para los Estados.

Esta narración dominante constituye la teología universal capitalista que está basada en una sociedad de mercado de competencia y el sueño mundial del capitalismo, pero en la práctica es una narración violenta, que reduce a las personas a meros recursos humanos y permite la mercantilización de cualquier forma de vida, además de convertir los derechos en necesidades que pueden ser negociables. En ese sentido, la teología universal capitalista ha logrado la imposición y el control de los medios de comunicación e información, para conseguir la pasividad de los ciudadanos en complicidad con la ciencia y la cultura.

Sin embargo, para construir un mundo diferente, hay que construir una narración diferente, que modifique la percepción y la comprensión de la vida, "una narración humana" fundamentada en el principio de la vida, el principio de la humanidad, el principio de la vida en común, el principio de los bienes comunes, el principio de la democracia, el de la responsabilidad y el de la utopía.

Estos principios parten del derecho de todos a una vida digna, teniendo como punto de inicio el entendimiento del humano como un ser social, por lo cual, debe ser la paz y la seguridad de la vida en común, la inspiración para tomar cualquier decisión política. Los bienes y servicios esenciales para la vida ya sea individual o colectiva-, deben pertenecer a la colectividad y ser administrados por ella y sus costos deben ser fiscalizados por la misma. Es la comunidad la propietaria de los bienes comunes, pero dicha propiedad puede variar según el tiempo, los territorios y las culturas, y como sociedad debemos ser conscientes de que aún no hemos definido los sistemas de promoción y gestión de los bienes comunes de la humanidad, tales como la energía solar, el agua, el aire, la tierra, el conocimiento, la educación y la salud, entre otros.

Esa construcción de una narrativa diferente, en la que los bienes comunes adquieren una especial importancia, se da en torno a unos argumentos estructurantes, el derecho a la vida para todos, en el que la economía no tiene el papel preponderante sino el que le corresponde, es decir, el de establecer las reglas que permitan a todos vivir de manera digna, "*contribuyendo de manera eficaz a la utilización y administración de recursos locales y mundiales por la salvaguardia del patrimonio común*" (Petrella, 2009, pág 106), además de promover el desarrollo de sus bienes

comunes como aquellos que garantizan la vida de todos los habitantes del planeta y de las generaciones futuras, reconociendo también que la humanidad en sí misma es un sujeto jurídico y político más allá de los Estados, y teniendo en cuenta que todo ello se logra por medio de demandas sociales legítimas, que reivindiquen nuevas formas de vida en común y que vayan más allá de la violencia sistemática de los grupos dominantes en todos los aspectos de la vida.

La noción de Bien Común remite al "conjunto de principios, instituciones recursos medios y prácticas, que permiten a un grupo de personas constituir una comunidad humana, capaz de asegurar el derecho a una vida digna de todos sus miembros, así como su seguridad y todo esto respetando la alteridad en solidaridad con las otras comunidades y las generaciones futuras y cuidando la durabilidad del ecosistema tierra" (Petrella, 2009, pág. 19).

Además, históricamente se entiende por bien común como "aquellos bienes materiales e inmateriales que no se circunscriben a una persona sino que remiten a todos y cada uno de los miembros de la sociedad. Entre esos bienes suelen contarse elementos básicos para la supervivencia humana biológica, como el aire y el agua" (Michelini, 2007, pág. 1, citado por Ivars, 2013).

Es por ello que dicha categorización de bien común, contrario a dar un libre acceso, lo que busca es una conservación de la biodiversidad presente en el ecosistema de selva tropical húmeda, pues más que significar libre acceso de cualquiera a los recursos genéticos, lo que se busca es concebir el bioma amazónico como un elemento indispensable para la subsistencia de la vida humana y de miles de especies allí presentes, partiendo del principio de solidaridad, que más allá de buscar el desarrollo económico derivado de la explotación de los recursos naturales y genéticos, busca una sustentabilidad hacia las futuras generaciones, y en esa medida optar por la conservación del ecosistema y de las especies, partiendo de los conocimientos y de la relación con el territorio de las comunidades que allí habitan, pues son ellas quienes históricamente han conservado la naturaleza, y son guardianes de la vida.

IX. CONCLUSIONES

El Bioma Amazónico constituye un ecosistema que ha presentado disputas de manera histórica debido a su riqueza en términos de recursos naturales, pues se ha considerado una fuente inagotable de recursos, y a menudo como una zona vacía que justifica la extracción indiscriminada de toda su riqueza natural y en biodiversidad. En ese orden de ideas, esta selva tropical húmeda, de cuya conservación depende la continuidad de la vida humana, está sometida a muchas tensiones por parte de actores legales e ilegales, que incluyen a los estados, a los actores



ilegales, y por supuesto, a las comunidades que habitan el espacio amazónico históricamente, y que luchan por su supervivencia a la vez que protegen la vida de este ecosistema.

Un elemento que queda claro a lo largo del texto, es que existe una dialéctica de polos opuestos, o más bien, una dicotomía incommensurable entre las acciones adelantadas por los estados en términos de conservación derivadas de los compromisos internacionales, de un lado, y las políticas de extractivismo que se llevan a cabo desde los planes nacionales, del otro, siendo estas últimas las que ven el bioma amazónico en clave de “recursos”, que constituye en todo caso una zona geoestratégica que garantiza una ventaja frente a los otros estados, y que justifica una securitización o militarización en el tratamiento de los problemas que se presentan en esta región, por lo cual se habla de la seguridad ambiental.

Sin embargo, es necesario tener en cuenta que la respuesta de securitización que han adelantado algunos estados para responder a la alta conflictividad ambiental en la Amazonía, además de no ser efectiva, no ha sido suficiente para conjurar las acciones ilegales que se apropián de los recursos y desplazan a las comunidades de su territorio, sin contar las acciones que desde la legalidad se plantean como políticas orientadas a un extractivismo exacerbado y que han llevado a hablar de la selva amazónica como la última frontera de recursos, y que en todo caso, han incrementado las tasas de desaparición de bosques, la deforestación con fines de agricultura extensiva, la pérdida de especies nativas endémicas, que nunca se podrán recuperar, y que nos acercan a la idea de que estamos ante una sexta extinción masiva.

Es por ello que el presente texto intenta responder desde el pluralismo jurídico, el cual incluye la relación de las comunidades indígenas con su territorio, una nueva categorización de la Amazonía como Bien Común Natural, del cual depende la subsistencia de muchas formas de vida, incluyendo la humana, por lo cual deben ser las comunidades que históricamente han estado en esta región, las que protejan su territorio, garantizando el cuidado de la biodiversidad y la conectividad de los ecosistemas, y para lo cual deben ser los estados los que reconozcan su autonomía, creando además figuras que garanticen el ejercicio pleno de dicha autonomía, la cual va desde el autogobierno, hasta formas de administración de recursos.

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Islam and Inmate Rehabilitation in Nigerian Correctional Service

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Introduction- The role of religious activities in the social reformation and rehabilitation of prison inmates cannot be over-emphasized. Religious groups have been long recognized as important force in the process that led to the preeminence of corrections in offender management. Punishment in human societies was replete with all form of wickedness until the birth of the modern prison system between 18 and 19th century. According to Foucault (1995) before the birth of the modern prison system, punishment was a public spectacle in which the body of the felon was the object of punishment; offenders were tortured, dismembered, amputated, symbolically branded on face or shoulder, exposed alive or dead to public view. Although modern prison system started essentially as a punitive institution, influence of intellectuals such as Beccaria 1819, Bentham 1843, Foucault 1995 etc. and numerous non-governmental organizations (faith, and non-faith based) constitute the critical mass that drove the idea of rehabilitation into the prison system. Consequently, prisons now have to function essentially as a normalizing and persuasive institution of the state albeit it's coercive nature.

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Islam and Inmate Rehabilitation in Nigerian Correctional Service

Oyekunle O. Oyewo

The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said, "Prevent punishment in case of doubt, release the accused if possible, for it is better that the ruler be guilty of the wrong of forgiving than the wrong of punishment."

I. INTRODUCTION

The role of religious activities in the social reformation and rehabilitation of prison inmates cannot be over-emphasized. Religious groups have been long recognized as important force in the process that led to the preeminence of corrections in offender management. Punishment in human societies was replete with all form of wickedness until the birth of the modern prison system between 18 and 19th century. According to Foucault (1995) before the birth of the modern prison system, punishment was a public spectacle in which the body of the felon was the object of punishment; offenders were tortured, dismembered, amputated, symbolically branded on face or shoulder, exposed alive or dead to public view. Although modern prison system started essentially as a punitive institution, influence of intellectuals such as Beccaria 1819, Bentham 1843, Foucault 1995 etc. and numerous non-governmental organizations (faith, and non-faith based) constitute the critical mass that drove the idea of rehabilitation into the prison system. Consequently, prisons now have to function essentially as a normalizing and persuasive institution of the state albeit its coercive nature.

Rehabilitation objective has now gained ascendancy in offender management in many countries across the world (King, 2001; Howell, 2008; Dambazau, 2012). The idea of rehabilitation in the prisons, in the words of Bentham (1843:226) is generally concerned with how to turn the prisons into 'a mill for grinding rogues honest and idle men industrious' so that re-entry of ex-convicts into the larger society becomes mutually beneficial to the society and themselves. Conversely, prisons in Nigeria engage in warehousing of inmates for a time, releasing them in no better condition than when they arrived (Nafuka and Kake 2015). A good number of inmates both convicted and awaiting trial detainees; therefore, pick up negative skills to the detriment of ordinary peace loving Nigerians. Meanwhile, several studies have been conducted to understand the challenges of rehabilitation in Nigeria but the role of

Islamic organizations in relation to the challenges of effective inmate rehabilitation in Nigeria remains under-researched in Nigeria. According to the Nigerian Correctional Service Bill, 2018, the process of inmate rehabilitation is expected to include: initiating behavior modification in inmates through the provision of medical, psychological, spiritual and counselling services for all offenders including violent extremists. It is on the basis of that this paper examines the role of Islamic organizations in the management of offenders in Nigeria.

II. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

This section attempts to explain the basic concepts engaged in this work in order to properly situate their usage within a particular context in which they are employed.

Inmate Rehabilitation: The concept of rehabilitation is a general term for programmes or set of actions aimed at restoring an individual or object to a 'normal' life or condition after deviation from societal norms and values or known standards are identified. Inmate rehabilitation therefore, connotes efforts to realign a deviant with an acceptable way of life of a society. According to Cullen and Gilbert (1982) inmate rehabilitation consists of intervention programmes for the benefit of the offenders in order to prevent further criminality. For them, term inmate rehabilitation involves purposive actions aimed at restoring someone to health or normal life through training and therapy after imprisonment, addiction or illness. Many other definitions of inmate rehabilitation abound (Gibbons 1999, 274; Sechrest, White, and Brown 1979, 20–21), however, they tend to coalesce around three issues: (1) the intervention is planned or explicitly undertaken, not a chance or unwitting occurrence; (2) the intervention targets for change some aspect about the offender that is thought to cause the offender's criminality, such as his or her attitudes, cognitive processes, personality or mental health, social relationships to others, educational and vocational skills, and employment; and (3) the intervention is intended to make the offender less likely to break the law in the future—that is, it reduces "recidivism" (Cullen and Gendreau 2000).

Non-Governmental Organizations: The term, "non-governmental-organization" known as NGO, came into limelight in 1945 as a result of the need for the United



Nations to differentiate between intergovernmental specialized agencies and international private organizations in its Charter. In spite of this development, however, the definition and usage of the term NGO remain a subject of debate. According to Willetts (2017), the term NGO carries different meanings in different circumstances. However, the following features of NGOs separate them from other types of organizations:

1. It must be independent of the direct control of any government.
2. An NGO will not be constituted as a political party.
3. It will be non-profit-making.
4. It will be not a criminal group, in particular, it will be non-violent.

Similarly, Non-governmental Organization (NGO) according to Mazibuko refers to any grouping of people who have a common mission to meet a particular need in their society or community, and are not formed or controlled by government. NGOs are a subset of larger civil society and their funding is mostly expected to come through non-governmental channels. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) may be described as non-profit, voluntary citizens' groups organized on a local, national or international level. They are either faith-based or non-faith based organizations and are generally task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest. They provide variety of services including the provision of humanitarian services, bring citizen concerns to governments, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through provision of information. A good number of non-governmental organizations are organized around specific issues, for example, human rights, environmental and health related issues, community development, education, agricultural development, prison welfare and related services.

Prisons: the term prisons like many others in social sciences are not amenable to clear cut definitions. In the words of Sparks, Bird and Brangan (2016: 56) prisons seem to be amongst the most paradoxical as well as contentious of institutions. According to Odekunle (1981) prison is an isolated community-often with a high wall, locked order and barbed wires-it is expected to return its clients who were once the undesirables of the society back as fit into the mainstream of larger society. Similarly, Mc Corkle and Korn (1954) see prison as a physical structure in a geographical location where a number of people live under highly specialized conditions, utilize the resources and adjust to the alternatives presented to them by a unique kind of social environment that is different from the larger society in so many ways. The prison is one of the legs of criminal justice system in many countries across the world. It is an agent or institution of the state in which certain categories of individuals are kept. Prison service of Nigeria derives its power from Cap. 366 Laws of the

Federation of Nigeria, (1990) to perform the following functions amongst which include; take into custody all those legally intended and set in motion mechanisms for their training and reformation; preparatory to returning them back to the society as normal and law-abiding citizens.

Prisons are generally classified based on several factors such as ownership (private and publicly owned prisons), sex (male and female prisons), and age (juvenile and adult prisons). Prisons are also categorized according to the risk their inmates represent to society and to each other. In this regard, there are supermax, maximum, and medium security prisons. Similarly, prisons are also split on the basis how long they can hold offenders. There are satellite (local) prisons which are meant to hold inmate temporarily, and dispersal prisons which are for both determinate and indeterminate sentences.

Meanwhile, the term prisons and corrections are often interchangeably used. While corrections are concerned with improving the behaviour of criminals, prisons are seen as state institution whose principal objective is to punish offenders. For example, Nwolise (2010) opines that 'corrections implies organisation and administration of prisons as a form of social clinic' in which psychologist, medical doctors, social workers, researchers, spiritual workers and other operate hand in hand with correctional personnel to achieve the best result of transforming the inmates away from being deviants to being disciplined, productive, useful and patriotic citizens. Thus, corrections imply a modern and more humane term for describing prison institution. The prison, on the other hand, is an old term meant to qualify that institution which seeks to punish the breakers of societal norms and codified laws.

According to Ostreicher (2003), the term correction becomes inseparable from prison system as a result of 'new thinking' which according to him is predicated upon the understanding that those who have fallen foul of the collective norms and laws of the society expressed in criminal laws should be reformed. The objectives of the Nigerian prisons as contained in CAP 366, LFN include custody, deterrence and rehabilitation/correction thus showing that the task of correction and punishment are not mutually exclusive. Although Foucault (1995:105) argues that the prison "is not at first a deprivation of liberty to which a technical function of correction was later added; it was from the outset a form of 'legal detention' entrusted with an additional corrective task, or an enterprise for reforming individuals that the deprivation of liberty allowed to function in the legal system". Nevertheless, prison is more associated within efforts to reform the inmates within the confines of a prison facility while corrections entails reformation of offenders through custodial and mom-custodial methods. For this purpose of this work,

the two concepts shall be interchangeably used within the context of custodial sentence.

III. ISLAM AND INMATE REHABILITATION IN NIGERIAN CORRECTIONAL SERVICE

The history of Islam in offender management in Nigeria is as old as the prison system in the country. Although it took several decades before inmate rehabilitation was officially pronounced as a major policy of the prison service in Nigeria (the Nigerian Prison Service), the right of inmates to profess their faiths and worship in the country's penitentiaries could be said to be part the modern prison system since inception. The whole gamut of issues relating to Islam in offender management is rooted in obligatory prayers for Muslims (*Salat*), and the Islamic tradition of care for individuals of different races, and faiths who are experiencing spiritual, social, psychological, and physical distress, using methods based on understanding of the Qur'an and the teachings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Care giving through visiting those in distress and offering care within the Islamic tradition is considered as a pious and sacred duty owed to both Muslim and non-Muslim family members, friends, and neighbors.

Prison Da'wah *Da'wah* is the channel through which Islamic teaching and practices are propagated in the prison facilities in Nigeria. The word *Da'wah* is an Arabic word derived from the word *da'a'* – which connotes to call, to invite another person or group of persons to embrace the way of Allah through Islamic teachings. Any person who embarks on such project is called *Da'i /Da'iyyah*, meaning the caller. This definition and understanding is underscored by Abdul Ghani and Modibbo (2012). According to them, "*Da'wah* refers to the act of inviting people to the real teachings of Islam through lawful available means". *Da'wah* is an act of *Ibadah'* and it is rooted in the teachings of the Qu"ran – "and let there be from you, a group of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is evil/wrong, and those will be the successful" (Q3:1 04).

Islamic organisations are involved in rehabilitation programmes through Da'wah activities in the Nigerian prisons are presented in phases of daily, weekly, quarterly and annual programmes. The spiritual teachings include faith education. This is designed to rekindle and sustain their total surrender and trust in Allah. The *Imam* and other prison *Da'wah* agents configure programmes such as spiritual diet, lectures, sermons and *Da'wah* – supplications on topics cognate to faith building and the plight of the inmates. There is also the, *Ibadah'* – devotion or worship. The *Ibadah* include, the *Salat* (the five daily obligatory prayers), the weekly *Jumat* prayer, the *Tarawih Ramadhan* prayer, as well as the two *Eids* prayer. Muslim inmates are also

exhorted to practice *Sadaqah* – Charity. They are taught to give alms to the less privileged amongst them, as a way of extending the love of Allah and foster the Islamic spirit of brotherhood. Conversely, those who don't have anything to offer are encouraged to engage more in meditation of the course of Allah, be more prayerful and of good conduct, in and out of the prison custody. The prisoners are meant to understand that such disposition is rewarding before Allah. (Iheanacho, 2015). There is also teaching and encouragement of Muslim inmates to practice *Tatawah* – voluntary fasting, especially on Mondays and Thursdays.

Da'wah activities in Nigerian prisons also consist of welfare based activities such as medical aid, legal support, payment of fines, correspondence services, empowerment programmes for the discharged inmates and other aftercare services (Oyewo, 2019). Justification for the involvement of faith-based organizations, particularly, Islamic organizations in the task of offender management in Nigeria is based the eclectic approach adopted by the country's correctional service. According to the Prison Act (repeal and Enactment) Bill, 2018, correction shall be the primary goal of the Correctional Service and the functions are:

- a) Taking custody of all persons legally interned;
- b) Providing safe, secure and humane custody for inmates;
- c) Conveying remand persons to and from courts in motorized formations;
- d) Identifying the existence and causes of anti-social behaviours of inmates;
- e) Conducting risk and needs assessment aimed at developing appropriate correctional treatment methods for reformation, rehabilitation and reintegration;
- f) Implementing reformation and rehabilitation programmes to enhance the re-integration of inmates back into the society;
- g) Initiating behaviour modification in inmates through the provision of medical, psychological, spiritual and counseling services for all offenders including violent extremists....

However, in spite of the growing recognition of the relevance of Islam in offender management Floyd-Thomas (2012) Islamic organization's involvement in offender management in general and prison inmate rehabilitation in Nigeria is jaundiced by a number of factors. First, lack of co-ordination among the various Islamic groups and organizations. In Nigeria today, there is no such organization that could co-ordinate programmes and manage trends, and developments affecting the adherents of Islamic faith. This gap does not only affect service delivery of Islamic organizations to the Muslim inmates but also denies the various organizations the benefits of feedbacks from the existing efforts. Second, the ad-hoc nature of services rendered

by Islamic organizations to Muslim inmates affects the effectiveness of their services. Several Islamic organization only engage in prison support programmes during major festivals only. This is inadequate considering the fact that the welfare and spiritual support for the inmates are matters of daily necessities. Lastly, lack of funding is another major factor affecting prison support service by the Islamic organizations in Nigeria. The challenges of offender management in infrastructural gap in the Nigerian prisons is so enormous that non-governmental organizations are unofficially saddled with responsibilities bigger than available resources.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In addition to the provision of social and welfare services, regular prison visitation, and establishment of central da'wah committee in the prisons, Islamic non-governmental organizations are equally expected to engage in advocacy programmes, particularly those directly affecting the rights and duties of Muslim inmates. For example, forceful consumption of forbidden foods (where it exists), lack of permission to observe obligatory prayers at prescribed times, and lack of access to conjugal bliss.

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Career

Credibility

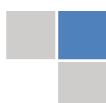
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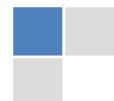
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Acknowledgments

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The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.



Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

- a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
- b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
- c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
- d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
- e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
- f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
- g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
- h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

- i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
- j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
- k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

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Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.



Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

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For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

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TIPS FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PAPER

Techniques for writing a good quality human social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

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7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

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11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.

Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

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20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grown readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium through which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

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The introduction: This will be compiled from reference material and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

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- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

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Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

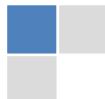
- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.



The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

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Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

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Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

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Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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	A-B	C-D	E-F
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	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring
<i>Result</i>	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
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<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring
	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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