

EQUILIBRI

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Lo scorso anno, presentando un numero di «Equilibri» dedicato alla *Fiducia*, avevamo annunciato l'apertura di un nuovo programma di ricerca della Fondazione ENI Enrico Mattei che, sotto il titolo «Economia e Società», raggruppa diverse attività di ampio respiro e multidisciplinari sulle sfide del mondo contemporaneo. Una di queste riguarda quei paesi extraeuropei che un tempo venivano definiti «periferici» e che oggi sono invece al centro di profonde dinamiche di cambiamento che influenzano fortemente i paesi «centrali»: si pensi, per esempio, all'importanza delle economie di India, Cina e Brasile per i destini di quella europea.

Questo numero della rivista si focalizza su alcune forme di welfare in America del Sud.

Nonostante il subcontinente latinoamericano continui a essere una delle aree più diseguali al mondo, la sua crescita negli ultimi anni, in piena crisi economica mondiale, è stata assai rilevante: la media regionale è passata infatti dal 3,2% nel 2012 al 4% nel 2013. Oggi il subcontinente è diviso in tre blocchi distinti: un'area «liberalista», composta da Messico, Cile, Perù, Colombia e Costa Rica; un'altra «bolivariana», in cui sono inclusi Argentina, Bolivia, Venezuela, Cuba, Ecuador e Nicaragua; infine, un'area costituita da «un paese a sé», il Brasile che, contando su numeri troppo grandi rispetto a quelli degli altri partner continentali (in termini di popolazione, territorio, esercito, sistema economico), si profila come uno Stato che ambisce ad assumere, nel breve termine, un ruolo di leader regionale e, nel medio termine, a imporsi quale grande potenza a livello mondiale.

Nell'ultimo triennio gli equilibri sudamericani sono profondamente mutati, in quanto gli Stati Uniti non hanno più il peso che avevano negli anni novanta e, parallelamente, la bilancia degli scambi commerciali si è riequilibrata grazie alle relazioni coltivate con nuovi attori.

Brasile, Messico e Venezuela sono i principali protagonisti delle dinamiche politiche dell'area, ma i nuovi scenari, slegati da un'eccessiva dipendenza dagli Stati Uniti, e le frequenti interazioni con le economie emergenti

nel mondo, hanno permesso anche a Stati con una proiezione internazionale più debole di acquisire una dimensione commerciale e politica forte nella regione. L'America del Sud è tornata a essere un laboratorio politico e sociale anche grazie a un inedito socialismo, a sperimentazioni di ecosostenibilità e alla crescente importanza assunta dall'ideologia nativista, ed è dunque alla ricerca di una sintesi tra l'influenza europea prima e statunitense dopo, tra la cultura indio-americana e le esigenze di un'economia globale.

È avendo ben chiaro questo scenario che la Fondazione ha cominciato a promuovere alcune iniziative e ricerche, allo scopo di aprire un dibattito tra Europa e America Latina, con uno specifico focus sui temi del welfare.

Benché, come prima si accennava, l'America del Sud sia protagonista di una buona crescita economica dai primi anni duemila, la globalizzazione ha generato distorsioni, quali l'aumento del lavoro informale e l'incremento dell'urbanizzazione, causate dalle migrazioni interne al subcontinente che conducono verso le grandi città o città di frontiera che sono i nuovi poli di attrazione economica.

Una protezione sociale ben concepita contribuisce a mitigare la povertà e a garantire la stabilità sociale. E quest'ultima è un fattore di crescita.

La regione ha affrontato il welfare su fronti diversi, dalla decentralizzazione allo sviluppo locale, con una progressiva trasformazione del ruolo dello Stato e l'inclusione di nuove forme di partecipazione sociale e di cittadinanza attiva. Il «secondo welfare» è prerogativa di questi paesi. Inoltre, la partecipazione è cresciuta in modo incrementale attraverso strategie e decisioni: il bilancio partecipativo e la decentralizzazione, con presenza dei cittadini nella gestione delle risorse in ambiti locali, sono esempi di come sia possibile incanalare la cittadinanza in meccanismi partecipativi che includano anche le politiche familiari, la cura dell'infanzia, il nuovo ruolo della donna, la necessità di una gestione attenta della spesa sociale.

La prima iniziativa di FEEM, in collaborazione con il Centro de Investigaciones y estudios superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), uno dei maggiori centri-studio per la storia e l'antropologia del Messico, è stata il convegno *Los otros welfare* (Oaxaca 2-3 giugno 2014), con l'obiettivo di dibattere le diverse forme di tutela sociale in Messico. Antropologi e storici messicani e italiani hanno illustrato diversi percorsi e prospettive relativi al welfare messicano inteso come struttura a più livelli: dal welfare istituzionale a quello indigeno, con particolare attenzione alle aree di frontiera e ai temi quali salute, *housing*, migrazione, cura dell'infanzia e ruolo svolto dalle comunità di base, dalla Chiesa e dalle comunità religiose.

Oggi Europa e America del Sud stanno affrontando e sperimentando varie forme di welfare con prospettive storico-culturali peculiari. Comprendere le sfide in cui siamo immersi e magari apprendere da situazioni significativamente diverse dalle nostre, genera senz'altro un dibattito virtuoso in seno a entrambe le realtà.

Questo numero di «Equilibri» offre al lettore alcune riflessioni sulle forme di welfare dell'America del Sud, ma il programma «Economia e Società» della FEEM prevede anche iniziative su questioni geostrategiche – dai nuovi mercati globali agli accordi internazionali in corso (si pensi all'area del Pacifico, ben indagabile dalla prospettiva latinoamericana) e alla sicurezza energetica, ai nuovi conflitti regionali ecc. – che già da ora sono oggetto di studi e di ricerche e di cui la nostra rivista terrà informati i lettori.

DOSSIER: FORMS OF WELFARE IN SOUTH AMERICA

From Universal Welfare to Discretionary Welfare. Mexico between the 1980s-90s, *Veronica Ronchi*

The government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994) in Mexico marks an important stage of structural reforms in both the economic and political arena. With the imposition of neoliberal reforms and cuts to the welfare state Salinas creates the Pronasol, a program to fight poverty, a discretionary welfare system, directly managed by the executive branch, and kick-starts great popular consensus.

Keywords: Discretionary Welfare, Mexico

Catholic Welfare. The Latin American Church between Social Doctrine and Secularization Challenges, *Massimo De Giuseppe*

The article reflects on some of the main events that have characterized the long-term adaptation processes of the Catholic social doctrine in contemporary Latin America. Leaving behind the long experience of colonial patronage, between pastoral projects and concrete proposals of Welfare, processes of secularization and transformation of national contexts and regional framework dictatorships and democratic transitions, protectionist and liberal economic policies, during the last two centuries the action of the Church has passed through all crucial stages of the social history of the subcontinent. From the Latin American Plenary Council of the late nineteenth century to the rise of the first Latin American pope, the article draws some reflections on a complex part of the world that many consider a vital and creative laboratory, both at social and ecclesial level.

Keywords: Church, Social Doctrine, Mexico, Latin America

Argentina's Labyrinth, Rogelio Bruniard

This article offers a critical vision of the common narratives of the recurrent crises in Argentina, from the 1990s to the present day, emphasizing the absence of learning from its own historical experience as one of the most significant gaps of Argentine society. Within the framework of the 2001 crisis cooperatives have played a key role in building cohesion and structure and in activating sustainable local development dynamics.

Keywords: Crises in Argentina, Cooperatives, Sustainable Local Development

The Social Policy of Kirchnerism, Andrés Ruggeri

During the last ten years, Argentina experienced a period marked by a new political model emerged from the crisis of 2001 and the end of the neoliberal hegemony, under successive governments of Nestor and Cristina Kirchner. This government, which is based, rather than on a program, on a policy drawn from some guidelines that formed what Kirchner himself calls «national and popular model», has developed a number of initiatives that in Argentina are called somewhat vaguely «social economy». These policies are analyzed in this article.

Keywords: Kirchnerism, Social Policy, Argentina

Pachamama: Indigenous Communities, Natural Resources and Environmental Conflicts in the Political Scenario, Laura Giraudo

In the framework of the Latin American identity politics, indigenous peoples have gained specific rights, while social conflicts around natural resources have become an important issue in the region. By focusing on land and environmental rights in the new Bolivian and Ecuadorian constitutions, the article analyses the emerging confrontation between collective

land rights and governments' development agendas, and highlights long-standing stereotypes and timeless perceptions of indigeneity in widespread interpretations of environmental struggles.

Keywords: Indigenous Peoples, Environmental Rights, Nature and Natural Resources, Latin America

Child Labour Invisibility along the Guatemala-Mexico Border, Carolina Rivera Farfán

This article focuses on Central American child migrant workers in the Soconusco, Chiapas, and in southeast Mexico. It aims to describe the type of work performed, and their working and living conditions. Soconusco is the second most common destination for Guatemalan migrant workers, after the United States, incorporated in the regional economy based on export agriculture, services and trade.

Keywords: Child Labour, Central America

Organized Crime and Communities in Central America, Giovanni Venegoni

In Mexico the first groups that gave rise to future *cartelos* developed in the 1980s. These groups spread rapidly in the US, following the immigration routes in poor and emarginated suburbs, and later came back and consolidated in Mexico, San Salvador, Guatemala and Puerto Rico. Now, almost thirty years later, these groups have evolved to become key elements of local economic and political structures. Born as an instrument of self-defense and management of migrant minorities, they are now an informal, key player in international relations.

Keywords: Organized Crime, Central America

SURPLUS

Power and Authority in Italy, *Giulio Sapelli*

Up until the end of the 1990s, the decline of public and private enterprises in Italy and the close alliance between capitalism and the banks produced an economic construct that I have defined marketless capitalism. Privatizations have since transformed it into a nepotistic capitalism, and today, due to the persisting economic crisis, the power (banks, industries, etc.) that had embodied this capitalism is collapsing.

Keywords: Power, Capitalism

The Political Problem of the Global State, *Maurizio Ricciardi*

The article analyses the theoretical problem of the contemporary global State, regarded as the result of the historical vicissitudes of the modern State. By using critically Carl Schmitt's category of the «total State» and Gramsci's conception of hegemony, the author discusses how the global State institutionalizes itself within the growing divide between the authority of the single State and the world society.

Keywords: Global State

The Pursuit of Happiness (and its assessment), *Luciano Canova*

Happiness is a fundamental societal metric. Normally it is measured through self-reported answers to questionnaires which do not necessarily reflect experienced utility of respondents. In this article, we examine the possible uses of different methodologies in order to assess empirically the level of well-being, hedonic state or happiness of human beings.

Keywords: Happiness, Well-Being

«Society Must be Defended», *Stefania Ferrando*

This article discusses the theses that Michel Foucault presents in *Society must be defended* (1976). In these lectures at the Collège de France, Foucault states that the modern political discourse would be reduced to two different forms: on the one hand, the discourse of political rights and national state; on the other hand, the discourse of opposition, revealing conflicts and dominations in the state. This article aims to indicate another form of modern political discourse, the one that focused not on state, not on domination, but on society. Society is considered as collective life with her history and her ways to transform her own institutions to follow a demand of justice rising from her members. To develop this other form of political discourse, we propose another genealogy, going back to the first socialist movements, especially Saint-simonism.

Keywords: Defence of Society

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

The Ukraine Debacle, *Anatol Lieven*

From public riots to the fall of Viktor Yanukovych's government, from Maidan's uproar to the escalation in the East: shaped by ages of forced relations with its most powerful neighbour, the recent Ukrainian history suddenly quickened its pace towards an uncertain evolution. Torn apart by ethnic strains and nationalism, the country dramatically became a focal point of the international agenda, the real epicentre of European, United States and Russian negotiations. Far from diplomatic meetings and foreign ministers talks, behind roadblocks and ruins, the battle between the new Ukrainian government and the pro-Russian separatists still enrages.

Keywords: Ukraine, Ukrainian Crisis

GEO & POLITICS

An Ambitious Treaty: the Trans-Pacific Partnership, *Roberta Giaconi*

What is the Trans-Pacific Partnership? A way to counterbalance China's influence, the most ambitious trade agreement of the 21st century, or a US attempt to shape the regulatory-setting of commerce in the Asia-Pacific region? Through the opinions of several experts and negotiators, the article analyzes the strategic significance of the US-led agreement in the Pacific area. It also tries to understand whether signing a free trade regional deal in Asia that does not include China is really in the interest of countries such as Australia, torn between their traditional alliance with the US and the increasing economic reliance on Beijing.

Keywords: Trans-Pacific Partnership

Water Issues and Social Impacts in South America, *Emanuele Bompan*

South America has realized that it is threatened by water scarcity. A paradox, since South America is considered the world's wealthiest continent in terms of water. Over one third of the world's water reserves are under South American soil, states UN-Water, the United Nations inter-agency coordination mechanism for all freshwater and sanitation related matters. There are multiple and global causes, ranging from environmental issues to bad administration, poverty and inequalities.

Keywords: Water, South America

«We come to Yangon». Burma, a Country that is Moving On, *Giuliano Di Caro*

Khin Zaw Latt is a painter highly involved in social issues. Because of his talent he has been named young global leader and moved to a studio-home

on one of the quiet avenues right outside Yangon, the wealthy area where Aung San Suu Kyi lives. Thanda Hlaing, aka Christine, Australian educated supermodel and TV host, leads the westernization change of Burma TV formats. Kyaw Zay Ya is a successful advertiser who has seen his business grow exponentially after the arrival of foreign companies in his country. It is the upper class moving on, tasting the beginning of a golden age, playing the challenge of transforming the hard working Burma people in middle class, both in their wallet and in their mentality, after decades of isolation, limitations and free speech repression. American, Japanese and Chinese companies are betting heavily on this new market, creating infrastructures and jobs. Globalization's lines of strengths are crossing Burma society as never before, and the younger generations have understood it is time to get involved.

Keywords: Globalization, Burma

VISIONS

About Beauty and the Transcience of this World, *Claudia Sonino*

In a short essay, Freud describes a stroll through the countryside with two special friends: a young but already famous poet and a taciturn friend, who will become a fascinating psychoanalyst. The idyll was quickly disturbed: Freud's friends found themselves unable to feel pleasure in the beauty of the landscape. The poet «admired the beauty of the scene», but «felt no joy in it». Freud offers an interpretation of the poet's lack of joy: disturbed «by the thought that all this beauty was fated to extinction [...] all that he would otherwise have loved and admired seemed to him to be shorn of its worth by the transcience which was its doom».

Keywords: Freud, Transcience

THE WORLD OF PAPER

Continuous Mobility, *Franco Farinelli*

«Immigrants are landing on the Sicilian coasts» is what newspapers report daily on the huge waves of immigrants crossing the Mediterranean to reach Europe and, from there, the United States or Canada. A mobilization that questions a vision of the world based on unity rather than on multiplicity, and on the static nature of things and humanity rather than on relations based on flows.

Keywords: Migration, Mobility

LETTER TO «EQUILIBRI»

The Challenge of Integrated Sustainability, *Elena Giovannoni and Giacomo Fabietti*

The concept of «integration» is essential to go beyond firms' traditional *per silos* approach to sustainability. In this sense, «integrated sustainability» is the simultaneous realization of all the main dimensions (economic, social and environmental) of sustainability, with the integrated management of the «tensions» and trade-offs among such dimensions. With this premise and through the analysis of seminal contributions on this topic, this article highlights the different «levels» (governance, business models and performance measurement) that companies have to reorganize in order to implement integrated sustainability, beyond mere compliance. In particular, integrated measurement, control and reporting systems are essential to promote a common language and an organized, sustainability-oriented culture, that can highlight and manage, in an integrated perspective and without eliminating them, the «tensions» existing among its different dimensions.

Keywords: Integrated Reporting