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COLLECTIVE SUBJECTS IN AGRARIAN LAW FROM THE NEW LATIN AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM

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ABSTRACT

It is understood that it is strictly important to outline some reflections on neo-constitutionalism and the new subjects of Agrarian Law, in order to verify the existing distinctions between these movements, as well as the basic conceptions presented by the new Latin American constitutionalism. The type of research adopted was exploratory, the explanatory character and as a procedure there is bibliographic and documentary research. The bibliographic data pointed out the categories: "new Latin American constitutionalism: rupture with colonial values" and "the recognition of collective subjects in Latin American constitutions". It was possible to understand that the new Latin American constitutionalism advocates a new autonomy and the composition of a plural, participatory and truly democratic (plurinational) State. the Constitutions of Latin America present a new form of the Constitutional State, in which the admission of new rights and subjects is provided, through a change of panorama that moves towards plural, intercultural and environmentally responsible democracy.

Keywords: Pluralisms, Neoconstitutionalism, Latin American peoples.

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INTRODUCTION

In the current scenario, Western legal systems, to a large extent, adopt the Constitution as the main complex of State norms; represents the core of the legal system. Modern constitutionalism began in the middle of the eighteenth century and was consolidated with the advent of the bourgeois revolutions (English, French and American). The observation of the stages through which constitutionalism goes through will be made with the objective of tracing the outlines of the so-called "neo-constitutionalism", a movement that emerged in Europe after the Second World War (WOLMER; CAOVILLA, 2015).

Contemporary institutions, based on the Western paradigm, are fragile. This fragility will lead to an emblematic transformation, as seen, for example, in the plurinational State, an effect of what became known as the new Latin American constitutionalism. Such political and legal movement has been establishing basic changes and resulting in constitutional reformulations made recently in certain countries surrounding the national territory. The changes made in the constitutions and legal systems of Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia stand out (BARBOSA; TEIXEIRA, 2017).

The constitutional model that has been implemented in these countries presents intrinsic transformations in the structural molds of State power; in the decision-making involvement of the population; the maintenance of fundamental rights and other guarantees; in the desire for an attribution of society to the State; and in the approximation of all social classes (BARROSO, 2010).

In the last thirty years, under the stimulus of the process of "political opening", the forthcoming relationship between the advance of (re)democratization, the constitutionalization of the legal system, the establishment of comprehensive lists of fundamental rights and the commitment to create mechanisms capable of ensuring constitutional justice certainly present a new historical and political chapter in Latin America. which began to be defined by systems based on the protection of fundamental rights (BARROSO, 2010).

Among the provisions and updates presented by the new Latin American constitutions, one of the most important refers to pluralism, in which it points to a resignification of the Constitutional State, making it possible to observe in a more analytical and inventive way its unresolved proposals and the aspects not covered (WOLKMER, 2010).

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In order to understand the changes and the propositions of the new constitutionalism, it is strictly important to outline some reflections on neo-constitutionalism and the new subjects of Agrarian Law, in order to verify the distinctions between these movements, as well as the basic conceptions presented by the new Latin American constitutionalism.

The type of research adopted was exploratory in order to address a problem or research question that is usually subject to little or no previous study about it. The objective of this type of study is to look for patterns. The explanatory character was also adopted in the research, which, as the name implies, aims to explain the reason and why of things, there is a greater deepening of the reality studied. As a procedure, there is bibliographic and documentary research that covers the reading, analysis and interpretation of books and documents, where all collected material goes through a screening and a study plan.

NEW LATIN AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM: RUPTURE WITH COLONIAL VALUES

In 1993, during a conference in the capital Buenos Aires, the jurist Suzanna Pozzolo mentioned the term neo-constitutionalism for the first time. On that occasion, Pozzolo used the term to "designate a certain anti-Juspositivist way of approaching the law" (SOUSA, A.C.; LEGALE, S.; CYRILLO, 2020, p. 63). From this, several studies were developed in order to trace the delineations of this movement.

According to Streck (2009), when referring to neo-constitutionalism as a movement that aims at a change in the model of the "liberal-individualist and formal-bourgeois" State, "neo-constitutionalism is paradigmatic; that is why it is ruptured; there is no sense in treating him as a continuity, since his "motive for fighting" is another" (STRECK, 2009, online).

As a historical landmark, Barroso (2010) recognizes the European constitutional movements after the Second World War. Barroso also highlights as important milestones the Constitutions of Germany (1949) and Italy (1947), as well as the foundation of the Constitutional Courts in these nations in the years 1951 and 1956, in that order. It also highlights the relevance of the processes of restoration of democracy in Spain and Portugal for the creation and consolidation of neo-constitutionalism. The author emphasizes the presence of three essential aspects for the determination of neo-constitutionalism: "a) the recognition of normative force to the Constitution; b) the expansion of constitutional

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jurisdiction; c) the development of a new dogmatic of constitutional interpretation" (BARROSO, 2010, p. 5).

As for the philosophical framework, Barroso (2010) highlights post-positivism. He declares that the overcoming of natural law, together with the failure of positivism, made possible the precision of an analysis that would pay attention to the positive law combined with the consubstantiation of values. Neo-constitutionalism seeks that legal norms be properly interpreted and applied by the theory of justice.

Neo-constitutionalism has characteristics that can be segmented through two groups: the methodological-formal and the material. Thus, in the first of them, Barcellos reports that the following are included: normativity and superiority of the Magna Carta and the resulting central condition in the legal order (BARROSO, 2005).

Barroso (2017), despite reiterating the existence of many meanings for the term neoconstitutionalism, indicating the appropriate use of the expression "neoconstitutionalism(s)", reports that the central specificities of this movement can be observed in the presence of: a greater number of principles in the norms; priority use of the weighting process, rather than mere subsumption; particular justice (specific, taking into account the particularities of the specific case); consolidation of the Judiciary; and compliance with the Constitution in full.

Duarte and Pozzolo (2010) outlines a meticulous profile of the characteristics, which, according to the author, bring the definition of neo-constitutionalism. See the table that summarizes these definitions:

FEATURES	DEFINITION OF NEO-CONSTITUTIONALISM
a) Pragmatism	which unites the conceptualization of law with the understanding of the chosen constitutional theory. In other words, there is not only one concept of right, and this will be linked to its use. Therefore, this characteristic highlights the magnitude of the practical issue of law;
b) methodological eclecticism	bringing together the interpretative and application part of the law, in order to conceive a mechanism that interconnects the analytical and hermeneutic orientation;
c) principlism,	substantiating in the gradually more remarkable existence of the principles – axiological discussions – to the neo-constitutional system of norms. This particularity demands the creation of a theory of principles that would give logical foundation to the reflections that take place within the legal system;

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d) guarantor statalism	represented by the indispensability of public institutions being held responsible for the resolution of disagreements in order to establish legal certainty for all;
e) ethical-legal judicialism	which demands from legal operators an exercise that integrates the evaluation of legal texts with the evaluative texts of the legal norm;
f) moral-constitutional interpretivism	that fights that the active subject of the interpretation of the Magna Carta pay attention to the values established therein;
g) post-positivism	it introduces neo-constitutionalism in the development of a law that needs to be; does not focus its reflections on the simple description of law and institutions, but strives for the establishment of a commitment of legal dogmatics to the interpretative capacity of evaluative aspects and institutions;
h) Judgment of weighting	in the most complex cases. In these cases, judges need to reach the appropriate solution, which needs to be identified with the insertion of an argumentative basis according to principles and the due concrete weight of the case;
i) Interpretative specificity	which demands that the constitutional interpretation be different from the infra-constitutional ones, given the neo-constitutional interpretation that the Constitution has a prescriptive nature. As a result, due to the meaning taken by the interpreter of constitutional norms, when examining them, it needs to be combined with a moral thesis, a fact that does not happen in the interpretation of infra-constitutional norms.
j) expansion of the content of the Grundnorm	with the insertion of moral values in the Constitution, which grant them legitimacy;
k) non-positivist concept of law	the singular way of adapting the neo-constitutionalist conception based on a moral standard

Source: adapted from Duarte and Pozzolo (2010, p. 62-72)

As mentioned before, neo-constitutionalism refers to a movement of a legal-political and philosophical nature that presents new ideas and interpretative forms of Law, especially by inserting the study of values and by giving effectiveness to the Constitution, placing it as a central element of the legal system.

Theoretical neo-constitutionalism is observed as a theory of law in which there is the "occupation" of the Constitution throughout the legal system, with the incorporation of fundamental rights and the existence of principles in the fundamental law itself. Ideological neo-constitutionalism represents an important way of ensuring and encompassing fundamental rights as opposed to the interest of norms that aim to restrict state power. While methodological neo-constitutionalism requires the admission of the understanding

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that constitutional principles and fundamental rights exercise a link between what is meant by law and morality. The positivist idea is contradicted, which emphasizes that it is conceivable to recognize and distinguish the right that is from the one that would have to be, as well as understanding that it is necessary to distinguish between what is right and moral (CRISTOVAM, 2012).

Through the considerations presented, it is conceivable to ensure that neo-constitutionalism appears as a way of understanding the law inserted within the new model: democratic State. As seen, there are several theories about this way of explaining law; despite the particularities of each theory, it is possible to perceive certain similar aspects, such as: admission of materiality and consolidation of the understanding of sovereignty of the Constitution; precision of positivity, implementation and protection of fundamental rights; the presence of principles and norms in the legal system and the Constitution; and, finally, the magnitude of the interpretation of the Constitution.

Neo-constitutionalism is the discontinuity with liberal constitutionalism with a solely formal perspective of rights. It is a proposal for an effective guarantee of fundamental rights in all their entirety. Having observed the elements and characteristics of neo-constitutionalism, the study of the new Latin American constitutionalism begins, analyzing its most important aspects. Certain countries in South America are going through an intense process of changing their constitutions. The new model is the result of social impositions of minorities that have historically been overlooked from the determining process in these countries, especially the indigenous population (CARLUCCI, 2018).

For the aforementioned author, this movement was important for the process of promulgation of the Ecuadorian and Bolivian constitutions, in the years 2008 and 2009, respectively. Some experts have called this movement the "new Latin American constitutionalism." To elucidate the reasons why this movement has happened in Latin America, I mainly support the fact that the constituent events caused by this movement are scarce, although important. However, this fact does not preclude the study of the fundamental characteristics of the new constitutionalism.

It is important to point out that, in the new constitutionalism, the original constituent power is once again practiced as in past times, based on the concrete manifestation of the will of the population, observed in all its diversity of formation – and not as carried out in the previous political transitions in Latin America, in which the involvement of the population was conditioned to a scarce and uncertain participation (BARROSO, 2017). The new Latin

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American constitutionalism represents an advance of the "old" Latin American constitutionalism that came to fulfill the indispensability of legal-political change experienced by Latin America today (WOLKMER; CAOVILLA, 2015).

The new constitutionalism, which can be called "pluralist constitutionalism", began to be conceived in three periods: a) multicultural constitutionalism (1982-1988), through the conceptual insertion of cultural diversity and the fulfillment of particular indigenous rights; b) pluricultural constitutionalism (1988-2005), with the adhesion of the concept of "multiethnic nation" and the advance of internal legal pluralism, in which several indigenous rights were introduced to the list of fundamental rights; c) plurinational constitutionalism (2006-2009), in the context of the United Nations Declaration that deals with the rights of indigenous peoples – in this period there is a demand for the inclusion of a plurinational State and an egalitarian legal pluralism (VAL; BELO, 2014).

The new constitutionalism has the following elementary characteristics: change of the contiguity of the Constitution by discontinuity; renewal of norms and constitutions; institutionalization based only on principles, and not on rules; constitutional text adopting clear language; denial that the constituted powers institute means of constitutional reform; more severity in the constituent process (in Bolivia, for example, the Constitution of 2009, after promulgation, was taken to a referendum); reformulation of the model of participatory, representative and community democracy; and the conception of a new constitutional standard, including the diversity of peoples and natural resources (ALARCON, 2017).

The new Latin American constitutionalism transforms the way of understanding some concepts, such as legitimacy and popular participation, observed as fundamental rights of the people, in order to integrate the demands of the minorities that throughout history have been overlooked from the process that determine these countries, especially the indigenous population (BARBOSA; TEIXEIRA, 2017).

Santos (2006) states that the conceptualization of plurinationality, from which interculturality and postcoloniality derive, is part of the context of many countries, such as Canada, Switzerland and Belgium. The author also emphasizes the presence of two concepts of nation, namely: the first, liberal, in which one has the perception of what nation and State are, aggregating them; the other, created by indigenous peoples, which is linked to self-determination.

Santos (2006) argues that the concept of plurinationality requires the recreation of the modern State, since the plurinational State needs to bring together different concepts of

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nation included in the same State. The plurinational State brings together the central proposals of the new constitutionalism, seen as a resolution to the unifying ideal implemented by the national State, in which the State and the Constitution are the portrait of a unique nation, a singular right, without assortment of interests, culture and without considering the multiplicity present in the formation of the people.

It is understood, from the above, that modern constitutionalism placed the Constitution on a substantial level of the Western legal system. In the beginning, from its liberal conception, constitutionalism only intended to give security to the people, to the natural rights linked to life, liberty and property. The softening of a large part of society regarding the guarantee and factual functioning of rights, together with the use of law in its formal aspect, caused the transformation of the pattern: the democratic model had to be interconnected with constitutionalism.

However, the presence of constitutional norms considering social rights and defining delimitations to the exercise of State power did not prevent the atrocious violation of fundamental rights and the occurrence of two wars at the global level. As a solution to the atrocities experienced especially in the 2nd World War, the insertion of evaluative aspects in the Constitutions was suggested. The principle of neo-constitutionalism was then obtained, with the aim of establishing legitimacy of the contents of values and legal principles.

THE RECOGNITION OF COLLECTIVE SUBJECTS IN LATIN AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS

It is mainly in the last ten years that Latin American constitutionalism has reached another phase with the promulgation of the Constitutions of Venezuela (1999), Ecuador (2008) and Bolivia (2009). Certain scholars even argue that these three Constitutions conceived the foundation of the "new Latin American constitutionalism" (BARBOSA, 2017; BARROSO, 2017, CARLUCCI, 2018).

Given this new stage, known as "Andean Constitutionalism", constitutions are developed by participatory constituent assemblies, and are later subject to popular consent through referendum. The fundamental laws are more comprehensive, complex and detailed, rooted in the historical-cultural veracity of each country and, consequently, manifestly committed to the processes of decolonization. At the same time, the new constitutional texts harmonize international incorporation with the 'recreation' of local and specific values, practices and structures, and thus promote a new paradigm of Latin

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American adaptation, with an evidently social content, which overcomes the intercontinental isolationism of colonial genesis and reveres solidarity in this new conjuncture of integration (SILVEIRA; SALES; DERETTI, 2020).

Based on classical European constitutionalism, the new texts seek to "evolve" especially with regard to cultural and multiethnic diversity, policies of social inclusion and political participation, and environmental protection, creating a panorama that drives coherent actions for sustainable development: aiming at the balanced and responsible use of natural resources and historical-cultural plurality for the benefit of a socioeconomic paradigm oriented to social well-being; *bien vivir*, or *sumak kawsay* (Constitution of Ecuador) and *suma qamaña* (Constitution of Bolivia) (ACUNHA, 2017).

This purpose is assured the power of State intervention in the economy, in opposition to the privatist and neoliberal system – 'recommended' by foreign economic organizations and foreign capital and 'elected' by the dominant strata throughout history. From the Constitutions arises the need for a new paradigm of economic and social order, which meets the prerogatives of inclusion, participation and solidarity, in contrast to the history that was created from the beginning of colonization to the current context, which removed a large portion of the Latin American peoples from the proceeds of economic, social, cultural and political production (ANDRADE, 2019).

However, the new state pattern that is adopted – through intense environmental guaranteeism it is called "environmental constitutional state" or " environmental *welfare state*" and by some scholars who emphasize its pluralist nature it is called "Plurinational State" or "Multiethnic Pluralist State" – fosters the reacquisition and a new understanding of what is meant by "popular sovereignty", in the expectation of 'recreating the State', enabling the effective involvement of individuals and organized civil society in the construction and approval of the Constitution, as well as in the command and systematization of the administration. Given the purpose, the Constitutions form joint institutions of administration, created based on popular participation: the 'Citizen Power' in Venezuela, the 'Social Control' in Bolivia and the 'Fifth Power' in Ecuador. The subjective condition related to the history and politics of the 'people', of the plurality of individuals, is highlighted as an open community of participating subjects, the peoples define the effective unfolding of the social agreement, 'admit' and choose the form of government of the State, in the State (VIEIRA; RODRIGUES, 2009).

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One of the most important tendencies identified in the constitutionalism of Latin America today concerns the legal recognition and protection of the plurality that typifies these societies full of ethnic diversities, which in several cases build the essence of diversity (SILVEIRA; SALES; DERETTI, 2020).

This new pluralistic condition of the State is presented in certain countries in the form of a special regime that protects ancestry and imposes the fundamental principles of the rights of indigenous communities. In other places, the pluralism of origins acts as a principle to strengthen the current democracy and, consequently, the cultural legacy, both in its material and intangible dimensions, is exhaustively supported by the Constitution, both with regard to indigenous and black peoples and the many other European roots of colonization (WOLKMER; WOLKMER, 2020).

Historically, the State model present in the Constitutions of Latin America has configured means of organization that are absolutely alien to the cultural, social, economic and territorial context of the Latin American population. In many Constitutions, a pattern was consolidated in which a centralized or federative form of State was established, with territorial and administrative organization that did not condone the ethnic, social, cultural differences, and the way of life of the native peoples of that place. Peoples who, because of this, became "subordinated by an empire of institutions belonging to other realities typical of dominant societies" (MELO, 2021).

This conceptualization of the State and other institutions brings to light the speeches of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, through the work called "The Roots of Brazil", released in 1936. In this study, Holanda addresses the origin of Brazilian society, while the delineation of "off-axis" conceptions and institutions, which make the subject feel from another place even if in his own origin, is a panorama that can be used to increase the view of the social and institutional framework that singularized the Latin American territory from the "conquest" of the Spaniards or the "discovery" of the peoples from Portugal (MELO, 2021).

The new constitutionalism, following the local democratization movement, sought to overturn this "colonized" qualification, and of the colonizing character of the State, which tried to adopt "mestizo" planning in order to substantiate the conception of a multiple, plural citizenship. Several Latin American states, based on this, have established social, cultural and political pluralism in the Constitutional text (BARBOSA, 2017).

From this perspective, the acceptance of the idea of social, ethnic and cultural diversity entails a change in the organizational structure, transforming the principles and

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traditional forms of the State (homogeneous, centralized, monistic and traditionally supported by the elite class) and conferring a certain democratization to political action through an interactive performance between equality and plurality, which ensures the possibility of being pariform when the distinction is inferior, and the condition of being dissimilar when equality changes. This trend is gaining ground, especially with regard to the opening of democracy to new rights and citizens, in the late 80s and early 90s, given the implementation of the Brazilian Federal Constitution (1988) and the consecutive Constitutions of Colombia (1991), Paraguay (1992), Peru (1993), and also linked to the reforms carried out in Bolivia (1994), Nicaragua and Panama (1995); establishing itself as a central quality of the new Andean constitutionalism – especially with the recent Constitutions of Ecuador (2008) and Bolivia (2009), which reorient the State to its "natural" character in many Latin American countries, that is, admit and promote a plurinational and solidary State model (OLIVEIRA; SOUZA, 2019).

Indigenous peoples have their rights guaranteed through the articles in their specificity to the following constitutional texts: Argentina (art.75 ord.17), Brazil (231-232), Colombia (art.7, 10, 63, 67, 72, 96, 246, 329, 330), El Salvador (art. 62, 70), Guatemala (art. 66.70), Honduras (art. 173), Mexico (art. 4), Nicaragua (art. 5, 121, 181), Panama (art. 86, 104), Paraguay (art. 62-67) and Peru (art. 2 ord 19°, 48, 89, 149) (BRAZIL, 2019).

In certain countries, such as Brazil, the heritage of the African continent is admitted, however the legal effects of this recognition mainly concern the appreciation and security of the cultural heritage that comes from it. This protection of cultural pluralism is thus introduced into the norms related to the protection of cultural property, which are established by the constitutional texts: Brazil (art. 5, 215, 216), Colombia (art. 63, 70, 72), Costa Rica (art. 89), Cuba (art. 39), Chile (art. 19 ord. 10), El Salvador (art. 63), Guatemala (art. 57-56), Honduras (151, 172-176), Mexico (art. 3 and 4), Nicaragua (art. 5, 58, 126-128), Panama (art. 76-83), Paraguay (art. 81-83), Peru (art. 2 ord. 8 and 21), Dominican Republic (art. 101) and Uruguay (art. 34) (BRAZIL, 2019).

Other countries, however, have taken further steps towards the admission of the value of the heritage of native peoples, as occurred in Paraguay (possibly the pioneer of this trend), which in the Constitution truthfully portrays the worldview of indigenous peoples, categorically promoting the anticipation of this culture, prior to the composition of the State (art.62) and welcoming, as an essential result of ethnic identity, the right to freely practice the primitive system of political, social, cultural and spiritual organization, and the

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spontaneous respect for the customary norms that govern coexistence in indigenous communities (i.e., the spontaneous consent of individuals to indigenous customary law) (CURI, 2012).

From this perspective, the constitutional protection of ethnic-cultural plurality and the recognition of the socio-cultural heritage of indigenous peoples form an inevitable change in legal systems, since their admission as a "people" causes the admission of their own legal, political and social identity. As a result, the imposition of the right to independence of indigenous lands arises, observed by the potential for free choice or self-government and, in parallel, a factual action in the central government.

Furthermore, this statement reflects directly on the economic development model and the country plan outlined in the constitutional text. As an evident effect of the provisions present in the Constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia, which today undoubtedly portray an improved, inventive and bold model of a pluralistic and sustainably responsible constitutional State.

These are contents that carry a certain complexity in the Latin American sphere, given that the Constitutions often went beyond the social, economic and political conjuncture of each place. The formalization of the rights of indigenous peoples also responds to true social effectiveness in the region, and the attempts of countries that seek to seriously comply with these constitutional delineations – such as Bolivia, under the administration of Evo Morales – have been faced with many internal and foreign impasses. It refers to an issue that concerns the entire Amazon region (which has a geographical extension greater than that of Western Europe), in which the constitutional rights of indigenous peoples and environmental protection are confronted with interests linked to economic development (SILLVA JÚNIOR, 2014).

However, the admission and valorization of pluralism has initiated a path that leads to a progressive development of constitutionalism and the process of democratization of the democracy of the Constitution, indicating that in Latin American territory (at least from the formal perspective, which is already a start) ethnic-cultural plurality and the customities of ancestral cultures are a condition that "does not contradict internal Positive Law, but, on the contrary, it enriches it", whether according to the "universalist" vision of human rights or in the understanding of national and international Constitutional Law. Therefore, it is essential to highlight that it does not refer to a "gap" only in the Constitutional Law of each region: also in International Law, the right to self-determination of peoples is strictly

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supported, and in the same way the international community does not favor the practice of this right efficiently in relation to indigenous peoples (MELO, 2021).

CONCLUSION

Despite the progress fostered by neo-constitutionalism, with the increase in axiological content in Western legal systems, in certain Latin American countries where there is a predominantly indigenous population, popular movements have begun demanding more participation and the guarantee of rights already in force.

Thus, the new Latin American constitutionalism emerged, which has a social, legal and political nature oriented to new forms of action of the constituent power, of juridicity, of popular participation and also of the conceptualization of the State. It is understood that the State of the new Latin American constitutionalism is represented by a plurinational State, which admits social and legal diversity, recognizing and guaranteeing rights in their entirety to all social classes.

However, it is not being confirmed that neo-constitutionalism has been ended or superseded. What has happened in certain Latin American countries in which the new constitutionalism originated is the establishment/admission by the legal system of rights already in force, of more exhaustive means of popular participation and the development of a State that perceives and respects the diversity and specificities of the population.

The new Latin American constitutionalism advocates a new autonomy and the composition of a plural, participatory and truly democratic (plurinational) state. the Constitutions of Latin America present a new form of the Constitutional State, in which the admission of new rights and subjects is provided, through a change of panorama that moves towards plural, intercultural and environmentally responsible democracy.

The changes introduced by Latin American constitutional texts seek to expand and strengthen the "common heritage of Constitutional Law", following the paths where European constitutionalism has not entered, especially with regard to environmental protection, the identification and consequent recognition of ethnic, social and cultural pluralisms, such as in the means of political action and democratic surveillance of the government.

The pluralism established in the Latin American Constitutions thus comprises new contents if compared to the pluralism provided for in the European context, which is mostly seen as pluralism of political conceptions and conducts, safeguarded for the benefit of

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representative democracy, excluded from the majority of foreigners living in the countries that are part of the European Union and which, therefore, portray an important portion of the population and the production chain – a socially excluded part as political, economic and environmental conflicts increase, leading to the entry and exit of people from their places.

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