Conflict and resistance to the project of the park of the 7 cultures in Cholula, Puebla, México

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Abstract

The objective of this work is to analyze the role of social conflict in the construction of the territory in the city of Cholula, Puebla, Mexico, before the governmental imposition of a project of rescue and urban dignification. Its development is presented in two issues of this magazine. The first one deals with the origin and evolution of the social conflict that occurred between March 2014 and September 2016. The second one approaches the impact of this action on the construction of the territory. The method used is the case study, considering a mixed methodology, with primary and secondary sources of information. The results of this part of the research allow us to affirm the existence of two actors in dispute with a gap and contradiction between the definition of the territory and its vocation, as well as the perception of the needs and interests of local society.

Conflict, resistance, Cholula

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Introduction

Los municipalities of San Pedro Cholula and San Andrés Cholula belong to a region composed of 27 municipalities, all in the valley of Puebla, Puebla in México.

The two Cholulas are located approximately eight kilometers from the state capital, at a height of 2200 meter above sea level, in an area of volcanoes and mountains that historically they have endowed it with excellent conditions for agricultural activities, thanks to its temperate climate, fertile soils and the availability of water.

Its nearness to Puebla city, the existence of road infrastructure such as the Cholula line and the Mexico-Puebla highway, the presence of industrial parks, as the availability of soils for non-agricultural uses, have impacted the dynamics of these municipalities until recently Given the pressure imposed by the real estate and industrial segment in the face of the disordered growth of the city of Puebla towards its borders, demand resolved with the release of land through expropriation mechanisms and a discourse to promote the Development, progress and modernization (Ramírez y Campos, 2004; Hernández, Corona, 2011; Rappo y Vázquez, 2009; López, 2013).

The impulse of industrial activities, the construction of road equipment or the building of residential areas in recent decades, has occurred in the counterhair of urban development programs that at the time established the need to conserve the soil Agricultural zone for its high quality, scarcity and impossibility of renovation (Cabrera & Guerrero, 2008).

The result of this has been the deep transformation of space with the creation of peri-urban[1], territories, in which new forms of relationship urban-rural, dynamics of settlement, cultural changes, identity, and new ways of living, of appropriating the spaces, such as the establishment, impulse or abandonment of certain economic activities.

However, as Ávila recognizes (2009), far from thinking in Disarticulation and dichotomies, spaces of complementarity and intense interaction are manifested from the functions of the rural spaces and the strategic value that they have as a territorial reserve.

This logic present in Mexico in general and the state of Puebla in particular, since the decade of 1960 has configured a urban-rural territory built from the needs of non-local actors, in a process not without conflicts, disputes and tensions to favoring activities or interests, projects and perceptions of the territory diverging and excluding users and agricultural uses.

Under these considerations the objective of this work is to analyze the role of social conflict in the construction of the territory, understanding that this is a non-neutral result of the actors and their relationships.

The case that is analyzed is the conflict and the resistance of the settlers of San Andrés and San Pedro Cholula to the execution of an urban dignifying plan promoted by the state and municipal government.

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[1] Avila (2009:93) defines this concept as "... the continuous extension of the city and the gradual absorption of the surrounding rural areas".

In the first part of the work, located in this issue of the magazine, the effort is focused on developing the origin and evolution of the social conflict occurred between March 2014 and September of 2016, since it was from the participation and organization of the actors premises that the suspension of the project was quickly and temporarily achieved in September 2014, within the framework of a strategy of confrontation, repression and violence from the state, which in the end managed to impose it, without implying the demobilization of the opponents.

The case is pertinent because it allows to discuss the issue of governance from the conflict that is not legitimately building the decisions and actions of government; The rejection and challenge by the rulers of the models and policies of development imposed by those who hold the function of representing them without considering their forms of life, customs and traditions; The role of the actors and the conflicts in the definition of the territory from the confrontation of visions about space, its vocation and potentiality; As well as of the hegemonic interests and actors in the definition of the purposes and uses of the space identified as priorities, that is to say, of the elements of transformation of the space, in particular in the creation and change of the urban.

1. Theoretical and methodological approach

The concept of social conflict is not univocal. Behind that is the approach and concept that society has, if it is identified as a homogeneous unit or if it is recognized in its heterogeneity, complexity and contradiction.

This lack of homogeneity in its comprehension extends to the discussion of whether or not it has a relevant role in social life, particularly in the manifestation of stability or change.

The positions oscillate between those that minimize or deny it, by identifying it either as an abnormality or dysfunction of the system that should be avoided or minimized; As a fundamental element in the structural change, engine of the history and source of progress, or as an intrinsic element of the system, part of mechanisms of regulated change, strengthening of the established order and therefore a type of interaction that assures the Functioning of the Society (Coser, 1970; Wieviorka, 2010).

Definitions of social conflict in this line is the one developed by Lorenzo Cadarso (2001:12) who defines it as "a process of contentious interaction between social actors who share cognitive orientations, mobilized with varying degrees of Organization and that act collectively according to expectations of improvement, defense of the pre-existing situation or proposing a social project.

What would give particularity to the social conflict from this approach, is that being a process is more than what could be considered one of its stages, be it the appearance of violence or specific particular actions. It also indicates the contentious interaction or open struggle between opposing social actors, each with their values, expectations, ideas, objectives, are mobilized consciously and rationally, develop strategies, coordinate and have different degrees of commitment that can materialize in different degrees of organizational level. (Walter, 2009).

In this document the position that identifies social conflict with a role in social life is recovered, not as a factor of progress or necessary and only of rupture, but of the construction of social relationships that allow keeping groups as part of a non-homogeneous unit, but cohesive from the definition of the actors of objectives, identities, projects, expectations and valuations for which mobilize resources. In this sense, social conflict is a driving force for change.

If this is within the system (adjustment mechanism and social evolution) or a change of it (social transformation), it will be a function of the objectives of the actors, that is, they can be moderate, not radical, pragmatic or revolutionary. A second concept relevant to the analysis of the case is that of Resistencia. For Nieto (2008) we can't speak of conflict without resistance, making both the inherent antithesis of concepts such as order and power, respectively, visible.

This allows to identify social relations in a field mediated by forces and asymmetric positions, heterogeneous between actors who oppose, reject and challenge the authority, before acts that do not represent, infringe and confront. It stresses that resistance does not necessarily have a revolutionary scope in intent or action and that it can be developed by questioning the state with modest objectives, merely as a vindication for access to services or goods.

It is not obvious that in its analysis the historical dimension should be recognized in the configuration and maturation of the actors and the forces in conflict in the field in which their logic must be prioritized. In this sense it recovers its definition as "any collective action whose logic is directed against all forms of power, or domination, exploitation or oppression" (Nieto, 2008: 236-237).

Resistance acquires another dimension when it is observed that the logic of action has a meaning in the actors[2] and social subjects[3], for those who oppose the imposition and dominance exerted by any of the representations of the levels of government, can to represent not in a structural dimension, but of practices, a whole revolution to try to build spaces that include their values, needs, interests, from a community of thoughtful citizens, committed and observant of the collective.

Methodologically, the method of inquiry was used in the case study by allowing direct attention to a specific phenomenon with defined spatial and temporal boundaries, in order to understand with depth a particular situation of interest Intrinsic. (Gundermann, 2013).

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[2] Defined by Touraine (1994) as an individual who exerts a control over the experience, to give personal sense to the action.

[3] Touraine (1994), identifies it with the capacity that the actor deploys to modify its social and material environment, in such a way that it implies the affirmation of the individual as an actor of the social life through his practice endowed with meaning. Calvillo and Favela (1995) Define it as forms of social expression from the

excluded, with subjective constructions, identity, collective memory and willingness to change, in defending their interests in spaces they create and in which they are recreated. For Bonilla (2004), they are the social actors in motion. Its origin is the individual actor that transforms through the action in a movement agent, a collective that organizes the population and defends their interests, thus, the social subject is defined from the actor but transcends it as a collective, from the relations and Interactions they can establish.

The information presented comes from primary and secondary sources, mainly the latter, as part of the systematization of hemerographic and videographic materials, as well as conducting interviews with participants of the organization Living and dignified Cholula and archaeologists, as well as the realization of non-participating observations during mobilizations, press conferences and acts of solidarity academics. The time limit of the study is March 2014 to September 2016.

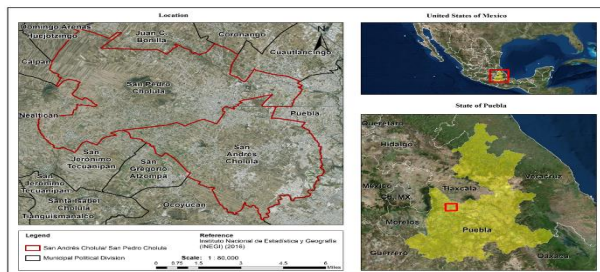## 2. San Pedro and San Andrés Cholula, Puebla, México

Figure 1. Location of San Andrés and San Pedro Cholula, Puebla

San Andrés has an area of 58 km^2 and San Pedro of 77 km^2 (SEDESOL, 2013). According to the INEGI, the population for 2010 in the first was 100,439 people and 120,459 in the second, which implies an increase between 1960 and 2010, of 700%. It is worth mentioning that at least one tenth of the population during 2010 came from another entity or from a foreign country, 16 thousand for San Andrés and just over 12 thousand for San Pedro (INEGI, 1963, 1972, 1980, 1990, 2001 and 2011).

The economically active population (EAP) in 2010, was close to 50000 people in each municipality. It is observed by sector its evolution between 1960 and 2000 highlights:

The historical presence of diversified activities in both municipalities, the deep growth of the secondary and tertiary activities currently occupying 75% of the population in San Andrés and the 87 % in San Pedro, which apparently implies a reduction in the population dedicated to primary activities, which actually occurs in relative terms, but in absolute numbers it highlights the almost constant maintenance of the population dedicated to activities agricultural and livestock (INEGI, 1963, 1972, 1980, 1990, 2001 & 2011).

The economic transformation that has manifested the region and both municipalities, related to the greater historical availability of infrastructure and equipment for industrial and tertiary activities, contributes to it being qualified with an index of Low marginalization (CONEVAL, 2016).

This is associated with the industrial and urban growth of the city of Puebla detonated with speed from the decade of 1960, when encouraged the desconcentration and relocation of industries of Mexico City given the proximity and strategic position of Puebla, which radically modified the vocation and use of the territory, which up to 1960 maintained the 90% of the EAP dedicated to the primary activities, while it demanded natural resources: soil and water.

The first was obtained through expropriation processes with the cause of public utility for the establishment of industries, industrial parks, road infrastructure, education and energy, which in turn sued land for residential use (Montero, 2012).

The Cholulas were not the only ones affected, if it emphasizes that San Andrés was expropriated 756 ha (Cabrera & Guerrero, 2008; Hernández & Martínez, 2011).

Nevertheless, the undeniable relevance in the conformation of the population metropolis, the Cholulas have a historical, symbolic and cultural particular distinction, product of the more than two thousand years, whose first inhabitants established it axis of the world, Materialization of the cosmic order, seat of its most important gods and site of ceremonies to safeguard the fertility and successful achievement of the agricultural cycles (Gámez and Ramírez, 2016).

3. The prehispanic Cholula and its pyramid

As Ashwell recognize (2002 and 2015) the name of Cholula (Cholullam, Cholula, Tollen Cholullam Tlachihualtepetl) refers to a temporally late period, to the 12th century, since its origin dates from several centuries before the Christian era (Rivera, 2011, Matos, 2012 and Ashwell, 2015). Bernal (2006) locates the first settlements in 800 b.C, when settlers settled near a swamp to the east of the current city Centre. Between 800 and 400 b.C. Four hamlets were identified, three in what is now the center of San Pedro Cholula and one more where now is San Andrés Cholula. Between 400 and 200 b. C, the work of the first phase of the pyramid was developed, in the transition from the village to an urban center with an extension of 2 km2. Between 200 b.C and 650 a.C. the city under the influence Teotihuacana acquired the status of religious and commercial center of First Order, doubled its territory and concentrated its population around the pyramid or Tlachihualtépetl (Hill made by hand or sacred mountain) (Jiménez, 1974; Kirchhoff, 1967 en Ashwell 2015:65, Hernández y Martínez, 2011).

The Pyramid of Cholula is a structure recognized world-wide because it is the largest in its base and of greater volume of the American continent (Uruñuela and Robles, 2012), is product of the progressive edification of pyramidal bases on a spring (AQUIÁHUAC) Recognized as sacred by the settlers.

Plunket (2012) recognizes the pyramid and iconography of its altars as part of the expression of the Mesoamerican worldview in the reproduction of mountains, the representation of the altepetl, and also symbol of the power of the leaders.

After the fifth century of our era, the ruling class of Cholula faced an economic, political and social crisis that led to the decline of its population, which recovered for the 10th century, at the same time the collapse of the cities as *Cacaxtla, Xochicalco and Cantona*, which had replaced it in the political and economic Space (Plunket, 2012).

Between the 8th and 11th centuries, the Olmec-Xicalancas who organized life around the Altepetl[4] (Brito, 2011) arrived. In the 12th century, the Toltec in alliance of the Chichimecas dominated the region and made Cholula become the focal point of the central region of Mesoamerica, with an administrative and religious axis in what is currently the center of San Pedro Cholula, site where they built a new pyramid (Florescano, 2006) whose place now occupies the church of San Gabriel.

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[4] Understood as a political unit governed by a tlatoani belonging to a lineage, a population that shared an ethnic identity, a base territory of identity and political and economic autonomy, a sacred center in which rituals were carried out, Festivities, ceremonies, a temple, a patron God and a historical tradition ritual practices (Brito, 2011).

In the process of domination of the Tolteca-Chichimecas, the Olmecas-Xicalancas is postulated had two destinies. Brito (2011) indicates that after their defeat they left Cholula to go to the north of the state of Puebla, whereas Gonzalez (1985 quoted by Hernández, 201:283) argues that both groups coexisted, settling these to the south of the pyramid. (San Andrés Cholula). If this was the case, the assertion of Álvarez, Corro and Lorandi (1992) that in the history of the city are reported at least two ethnic groups that occupied different geographical spaces, originating differentiated urban areas. The first descendants of the founders and identified as "Colomoxcas", the second coming from the Toltec invasions Chichimecas, as "Cholula".

This seems to be associated with the claims of legitimacy and originality that exist in constant struggle between the settlers of San Andrés and those of San Pedro, the first defining themselves as "the real ones", which allows them to describe to the seconds like "the Who left and then returned, "and those who claim that despite this have been awarded their lands, half the pyramid and the nickname of Cholula (Álvarez, Corro y Lorandi, 1992:42-43). In the 16th century, with the arrival of the Spaniards, the city stood out for its monumental and refined architecture (Cortés, 2015 [1522]) and It is known that the *Tlachihualtépetl* had been abandoned, even though ceremonies were still held to ask for rain (Glockner, 2016). The important thing about Cholula, as Matos (2012) says, its continuous occupation from the Preclassic medium to the present, prolonging its sacred dimension and pre-hispanic ritual with the veneration of the current settlers to the Virgin of the Remedies, located in the shrine built on the cusp of the pyramid.

4. The social conflict before the project "Park of the seven cultures" in Cholula

4.1 The Government project. Triggering inconformity

In March 2014 mass media were disseminated by the state Governor's initiative to promote a tourist corridor between San Pedro and San Andrés Cholula, which would have as its axis the area of the pyramid.

The name oscillated between "Park of the seven cultures", "Park of the three cultures", "Park of the Flowers", "Intermunicipal Park" and finally the "project of works of urban improvement, recreation and substitution of streets, sidewalks and walkers in spaces Cholula Public[5].

Its objective was to "provide a dignified and respectful environment to the archaeological zone", given that the authority valued a "underutilization" and "improper use of the soil", through the integration of the archaeological and urban environment, with the purpose of consolidating the city as a hub of activities and tourist center.

Its operation was programmed in 8.52 has located to the southeast of the municipality of San Pedro, just in the city boundary with San Andrés, in the south west border of the pyramid of Cholula or *Tlachihualtépetl*, is within the limit decreed in December of 1993, as Area of archaeological monuments of Cholula.

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[5] Opponents of the project indicate that this was part of the government's strategy to facilitate its settlement, since

it prevented them from obtaining information to transparent the process of authorization and bidding of works by different instances Federal.

Information provided by the Union of archaeologists of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) in August of 2014, indicates that the project would not Sue 8.5 ha, but 25 of what were property within the area covered in the area of monuments Archaeological, even on the basement of the pyramid and in spaces where they had discovered, registered and covered late Postclassic structures, is in a reserve area (Suárez, Espinosa, Martínez, Mendiola, Vázquez, Ávila and Cedillo, 2015).

The project generated non-conformity in the population first because of the lack of transparency in its content and execution, second by the assumptions of those who started on the inefficient and unproductive use of the soil by the local actors, third that were violated the Decrees of protection of the archaeological Zone and fourth by the vision that on the territory imposed based on the tourist use, modern and developer of the ground, destined to the non-local users and the building of suitable spaces to solve the needs for parking, mobility and transportation of these.

4.2 Origin of conflict

The conflict between the population and the municipal-state authorities manifested itself the expropriation by causes of public utility in order to be able to execute the project "Park of the seven cultures", of God around the pyramid and the Sanctuary of the Virgin of the Remedies. To this end, citizens without affiliation to any political party and organized informally in the "Circle of defense of the territory of Cholula", cited the collective embrace of the pyramid as the first collective action of resistance and defense against the project.

This action was followed two days later, of the withdrawal of the mesh and of the announcements that notified the property of the municipal government of San Andrés Cholula, before the execution of decrees of expropriation issued on July 4 (Ayala, 2014, Carrizosa, 2014, Mecinas, 2014).

These initial actions resulted in meetings in the atrium of the church of San Andrés Cholula to define a strategy in favor of the protection of the archaeological-cultural patrimony of the Cholulas.

From that moment on, they are visible in two organizational instances of the opponents of the project: the "Circle of defense of the territory of Cholula" and the "Citizens Movement for a living and dignified Cholula".

From them we can see repertoires of mobilization against urban dignifying project as:

– Legal defense with the interposition of protection of land owners affected by expropriation procedures.

– Petition to the councilmen of San Pedro and San Andrés, of public hearings.

– The demonstration with black ribbons and/or banners during festivals held in the local festivities and the national symbolic dates.

The organization and mobilization produced in and from the structures created initial agreements. Towards the interior of the opponents of the project, do not cede their territory to the Government project.

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With the municipal authorities, in particular the municipal president of San Andrés Cholula, the realization of a session of public group to inform: of the project, of the expropriation carried out by the city Council, as well as its intention to desist and to cancel the Project.

As a product of this stage of organization, the affected ones obtained the provisional suspension of the expropriation of 17 hectares of farmland adjacent to the pyramid, which occurred in parallel to the temporary suspension granted to the hospital order of San Juan of God to recover the facilities of the Cholula Psychiatric hospital in which the state Government intended to host a regional museum.

4.3   Development and scaling of conflict

Others to the foregoing, the uncertainty and annoyance of the population was growing in the face of several facts: the failure to carry out meetings of Open groups; The Declaration as restricted of the information relating to the project by the secretariat of infrastructure of the Government of Puebla.

The existence and execution of expropriation decrees; The warning of the pastor assigned to San Pedro Cholula to cancel masses to the communities that oppose the project, as well as the absence of permits for the realization of the work by the INAH.

In this scenario the "circle of defense of the territory of Cholula" and the "Citizens Movement for a living and dignified Cholula" organized the Open Citizen Forum with the participation of several towns of Cholula, in which a plan of actions was built on three edges: Legal, symbolic and political (Noyola, 2014).

In the first dimension, the interposition of indirect protect trials was agreed to guarantee the defense of their collective laws.

In the second, he emphasized the importance of vindicating two symbols: The sanctuary of the "Virgin of The Remedies" and the archeological zone. In this sense they organized in early October of 2014, the procession of the "Concord and Brotherhood of San Pedro and San Andrés Cholula", which implied the approval of the ten districts and the traditional authorities (principal, butlers, prosecutors, d*tiachcas*) for the logistical operation of the intervention of the Cholulas and its 42 tributary towns (Ashwell, 2014a).

In the third, the public and peaceful demonstrations were raised in the municipal presidencies to express to the councilmen the discontent of a population that did not feel represented in their decisions; Conducting an online survey to contribute to the incorporation of people's opinions in government decisions, as well as the creation of the "Citizen Academic Council for the integrity of Cholula" by specialists interested in disseminating the patrimonial destruction of a symbolic reference syncretic as the *Tlalchihualtépetl* (Ashwell, 2014b).

Of this period highlights the approach with the "Municipal Commission in defense of the Civil Registry", formed in protest for the withdrawal of the faculties of judge to the auxiliary mayors as part of the reforms to the municipal organic law, fact that implied "the Disappearance of the auxiliary boards, the withdrawal of the faculties of Judge of the Civil registry to mayors, the disappearance of the Court of Peace, the disappearance of the subaltern agency of the Public Ministry and the extinction of the auxiliary police" (Llaven, 2014).

With them the citizens Movement for a living and dignified Cholula agreed to collaborate in its public manifestations, while the circle of defense of the territory of Cholula specified would attend as observer (Guadarrama, 2014).

This last event was the pretext for the criminalization/judicialization of the social protest, since it was presented together with the closing of two fundamental avenues in the highway of the city, so that after the cancellation of the negotiations, in the course from the dawn of October 7th, 2014, the public force was presented to evict the Planton, at which time it arrested four members of the "citizen Movement for a living and dignified Cholula" with charges such as "looting, mutiny, damage to property, damage to the way of Communication and alteration of the order" (García, 2014).

In this context, opponents of the project radicalized their actions and joined the "Frente Municipal Cholulteca in the defense of identity and territory" together with organizations such as the "Front of peoples Cholula in defense of land and Water", from which they demanded the release of the four detainees and the cancellation of the arrest warrants turned against ten of their members.

In this tenor his demands and repertoire of mobilization were expanded in more traditional schemes of action: the participation in regional assemblies in the auxiliary boards in resistance to the reforms to the Municipal Organic law; The organization of a mega March and an indefinite sit-in in Casa Aguayo and Mexico City; The commemoration of the appointment of San Andrés Cholula as Republic of Indians and the removal of the municipal president for the "treason of its population" (García, 2014, Guadarrama 2014; Informative writing, 2014).

Three things stand out from this stage: the interest of the opponents of the project to have a plan of action formed not only by the social mobilization, but by a symbolic and juridical defense of its cause.

The articulation with organizations and struggles that carried their efforts towards conventional repertoires of action that challenged the authority to draw their attention and put at the table of discussion the problems and opinions of those affected, as well as the use of them by the authority to farm criminal responsibilities to the leaders and legal representatives of the opponents of the project, thus initiating the criminalization of the social protest in an attempt to control the discontent and the organization of citizens before Decisions that excluded, disfavored or harmed.

4.4. Achievement of the organization

The social pressure generated at the juncture of repression of the movement and the radicalization of the actions of the organized peoples against the park led to the cancellation of the original project by the administration of the state Government (of Jesus, 2014), to The pair of the announcement by this one of "works of urban improvement, sport, of recreation and substitution of street, sidewalks and walkers in public spaces of Cholula" (Ramiro, 2014, Rojas, 2015).

With the legal representative in prison and the possibility of their leaders being apprehended, the demands of the organization of opponents revolved around their release and cancellation of any judicial process, as well as the resignation of the municipal president of San Andrés Cholula.

However, they maintained the demand for their right to information and consultation; The definition that any type of government proposal should respect the uses and customs of the region without subjecting them to economic and social benefit, via privatization of the soil.

They requested that any project should omit the request and approval of the INAH's permits and that the premises affected by the project maintain the vocation and use of the land established in the ordinance of protection of the area of archaeological monuments from 1993, in order to preserve them for necessary and subsequent archaeological studies (Sánchez, 2014).

His demands made the municipal government of San Pedro Cholula clarify that the park (which by then was called intermunicipal) would not imply the installation of shopping centers, restaurants and hotels that in fact its purpose was to rescue the Green areas and the richness of the archeological zone. In the same sense they obtained that the Delgado of the INAH confirmed the absence of permits to build the park, because they did not know the project.

This stage is interesting because it presented a duality for the organizations that opposed the project: to have made evident as a product of its action the opacity and violence against the fundamental laws of the citizens such as the access to the information held by public authorities, without which in the chain other rights were violated, such as thought, opinion, demonstration. Before this, the state and municipal government had to recognize and publicize the project of the park and before the set of omissions to the procedures, to cancel the expropriation processes of the project (this was not formalized, it was only verbalized). The cost for organized citizens was to have their legal representative in prison as part of the prosecution of social protest.

Conclusions

The case analyzed reveals the existence of a conflict by virtue of the presence of actors with positions, actions, interests, values and antagonistic meanings over space. This generates a contentious interaction between a group of citizens organized and mobilized to reclaim and to be informed when they see their forms of lives and meanings violated, in the face of the imposition of a government project that excludes them and marginalized them. The conflict manifests traits in two dimensions: the policy with antagonistic groups with a differential of power and authority that distance themselves or the symbolic, every day and historical, related to the world of life and the meanings associated with the duality Pyramid-Sanctuary.

The response of the actors who opposed the project is resistance. In their action they demanded respect or respect for a territory formed from their customs, meanings, values and rituals to stay as a community. Before the government project the opponents resorted to social protest as a tactic to denounce the rights that were violated, as well as the legitimacy of their demands, while the authority required legal persecution for Redirecting social discontent towards the release of prisoners, while generating a negative view of the opponents of their project.

This conflict, together with the citizens ' organization, is part of the exercise of democracy for the Vindication of Fundamental Rights (information, dissent, expression, among others), the practice of defence mechanisms, the protection of Participation of the excluded and the demand for inclusion in the public of the issues that affect or interest them.

It denounces the existence of institutions and authorities that do not provide formal institutional channels, through effective and efficient communication channels, to the citizens ' claims, which are worth specifying, are not to change the system but to make the institutions operate.

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