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Reflections on Democracy, Citizenship and Migrations*

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From an Ethic of Hospitality: Reflections on Democracy, Citizenship and Migrations

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Abstract

The article focuses on a reflection about hospitality, thought from inhospitable experiences and aimed at critically rethinking the reactions to the underprivileged, the pilgrim, the migrant, from the assessment of host actions, the ethics of care and the irruption of otherness. It proposes going beyond the observation of data: migratory flows, xenophobic reactions or associated criminal forms and interpreting them from a constructive approach to conflicts, the demands of an inclusive citizenship and the rethinking of the axes of democratic life. Based on the thinking of D. Innerarity, the article associates the ethics of hospitality with the ethics of care, solidarity and life and poses it as a useful tool for dealing with the migratory flows of the Mediterranean and Latin American Space. From an approach of vulnerability situations associated with migrations, the possibilities of empathy, prudential reason and the demands of effectiveness from a bioethical and biopolitical perspective that emphasizes the priorities of action before life at risk are addressed.

Keywords: Ethic of Hospitality, Democracy, Citzenships, Migrations.

Introduction

Contemporary societies seem to be torn between violent conflict as a suffering reality and possible community as a desired expectation. In the arc between both is located, in a relevant way, a complex reality with clear incidence on the democratic practice and the exercise of citizenship: the disturbing experience of the massive migratory flows. This experience, although not necessarily universal or universalizable in the sense that in each case is marked by different contexts: wars, ethnic conflicts, extreme economic conditions (or a combination of all of them), nevertheless presents common characteristics: life reduced to survival, cultural violence, limited citizenship, labor exploitation. This experience is that of those who

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migrate in a "forced" way in search of the preservation of life, expelled, frightened or constrained to leave their place: "they do not change their place: they lose their place, catapulted into nothingness" (Bauman, 2002: 143), launched into what Foucault called "a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed on itself and at the same time given to the vastness of the ocean" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26).

As a profound affectation of the human condition, the migration-hospitality relationship has been approached in the 20th century from metaphysical and ethical perspectives (Levinas, 1961) within the framework of an "ethic of reception", as a pre-original instance where it is welcomed. the other without understanding it: the acceptance of the other supposes an opening to the infinity of the other, the "yes to the other" responds to the "yes of the other", only from whom the affirmation may come: "It is not me, it is the Other who can say yes "(Levinas, 1987, p. 116).

The very possibility of unconditional hospitality, on the other hand, was later critically challenged from an analysis of its violent and traumatic consequences (Derrida, 1996); in another perspective, it was exposed as an ethics of events and passion theory (Innerarity, 2000); also expressed as conflict between the acceptance of difference and the desire for community (Esposito, 2007) and also narrated as a tragedy in literature (Kundera, 2009). In this wide problematic theoretic framework and before the situations currently in the development in the spaces of the Mediterranean and Latin America, an ethical-political approach to the dialectic hospitality-migration, encounter-disagreement, community-difference, negotiation-violence becomes relevant to review the contexts and practices of democratic life, the conditions for the exercise of citizenship, effective respect for human rights. The response to the interpellation of this "unsettling guest" also implies a critical approach to the conditions of human groups within the countries involved: "when acting morally with respect to the men who are closest to us, we enter the moral world respect to all "affirms E. Tugendhat (2003: 281). "L'hospitalité est la culture elle-même et non seulement une éthique entre autres...l'éthique est hospitalité" (Derrida, 1996, p. 42).

1. *Think hospitality from inhospitable experiences*

The hospitality, from its Latin roots (*hospitalis, hospitalitas*), has been associated, as a notion and as a practice, to a condition of care that articulates and expresses itself in the dimensions of kindness to the helpless or the pilgrim, to render assistance or help and give welcome or affectionate reception to the visitor or stranger. As a virtue centred on the practice of care, it refers to contexts of irruption of the unexpected, of otherness, immigration, coexistence and memory; as experience, it tests the management of difference, pluralism and solidarity. The conditions of exercise of hospitality in a world of economic, social and political realities that put life in serious danger, far exceed the level of mere descriptive data: record events, each time with less capacity for amazement, on the edge of indifference or as information to control the threat.

Hospitality, as a concrete expression of humanity and as a human and humanizing practice in in-hospitable social environments, implies the demand to go beyond the data on the flow of immigrants, the observation of xenophobic reactions, gestures of cultural self-assertion in contrast to the local customs or certain associated criminal forms, to interpret them in a broader, reflective and effective sense, without conditioning the actions of encounter to a study that, from the own place, submits the other to the examination of its values, beliefs or social uses under a magnifying glass that determines its compatibility level.

The ethical approach to hospitality finds its starting point in a critical reference to the conditions in which the different types of encounters are effectively met. In the conflictive space of contemporary democracies, with particular reference to the way in which the conflicts that are dealt with, which addresses the conflicts that inevitably confront citizens among themselves, the social groups, citizens with the State and the citizenship with the important groups of immigrants, arrived almost always in conditions of precariousness, vulnerability and extreme fragility of life and frequently considered as a threat to be controlled. At the same time, both in the contexts of the Mediterranean and in Latin America countries, the phenomena of massive migrations pose acute problems for the incorporation of migrants to citizenship, putting into crisis doctrines and

egalitarian theories considered already consolidated and leading in most of the cases, in situations of non-citizenship².

An ethical approach to hospitality, such as that of the present work, is articulated to the broader practical and reflective space of the ethics of care and compassion (Mesa *et al.*, 2005), which include topics on care for the spirit, the body, the word, the intellect, relationships, culture, environment and societies. It also falls within the framework of the ethics of solidarity (Tiscner, 1997; Taylor, 1997) and the common good and, more comprehensively, in an ethic of life. The spaces in which it is possible to think about hospitality have not escaped readings that emphasize its problematic nature and understand to see in some of its expressions elements of violence: such is the case of the reading of Jacques Derrida (Derrida, 1998) to the "ethics" of the reception "of Emmanuel Levinas (Levinas, 1987), for this author it is understood as almost synonymous with hospitality (Jaramillo, 2018). In this article, the main theoretical reference is the work of Daniel Innerarity on the ethics of hospitality (Innerarity, 2001) thought in the context of the problems of democracies and migratory flows in the Mediterranean space as well as in Latin America.

2. Hospitality, conflict, violence

The reflection about an ethic of hospitality starts from lived situations and, through openness to universalization, points to the construction of conditions to promote coexistence. The starting point is the experience of the conflict experienced in contemporary societies, associated almost automatically to violence and traditionally considered, as an expression of a defined aggressiveness of the human being. In addition, frequently viewed from a logic of power, this conflict resulted in relations of domination and was considered inevitable. The State has traditionally been considered as arbitrator, the territory as a place of domination and control as a balancing mechanism. In the perspective of an ethic of hospitality, the state-territory / dominion-control axis over the population, whose nucleus

² The condition of citizenship alludes to the effects of the limitation for the access and effective exercise of citizens' rights and is related to the practical limitation of human rights. See, among others, Kliksberg (2010), Martin, (2016), Cubides (2009).

is the administration of force to ensure survival, is displaced towards a new relational space: citizen-territory / communication-care for the life of society, whose nucleus, now, is the transformation of life to build coexistence.

In the logic of power that has traditionally operated in the approach to the conflict, this is considered as negative and its regulation is centred on the administration of power. In this perspective, the future is reduced to the rational projection of the present, a projection in which there is no place for critical reflection, the questioning of priorities or creative visions. With this there is no place for ethics, which begins with the resource of imagination. To the extent that conflicts, understood as processes of incompatibility between goals or interests of individuals or societies, place their protagonists before the challenge of confronting and overcoming this incompatibility, the possibility opens up to the transcendence and transformation of the conflict : as expressed by Johan Galtung (Galtung, 2003) whose thought contributed decisively in the last third of the 20th century to, the turn towards a positive vision of the conflict, the resolution of incompatibilities or their transcendence [...] very often is a matter of imagination" (Galtung, 2003; 161). The perspective of seeing the future as an overcoming of what is not wanted (memory) and of what can be different (valuable development), opens the possibility of hope as a force for the construction of the new (Innerarity, 2009).

Design a possible life in common, convenient and fair - attributes that in the classical Greek philosophy Aristotle granted to the human being as "principle of futures" (arké ton esómenon) -, allows to recover the sense of future as desire of what is esteem, valuable and as management of those external elements over which you do not have control. As ethics not of action but of passion, of events, of vulnerability rather than sovereignty (Innerarity, 201; 86), the ethic of hospitality is based on the experience that most of what happens to the human being, is not the result of his autonomous decisions but the product of the intervention of factors that are beyond his control. Recognizing one's own affectation from the position of the other in conflict situations, is a decisive step to be able to develop strategies of resolution that lead to the management and transformation of the conflict in view of coexistence and to overcome violence through the imaginative ethical resource. Recovering this perspective today is to revalue a line of thought widely paid by authors such as Giambattista Vico,

Baltasar Gracian, Emmanuel Kant, Hans Georg Gadamer, Hannah Arendt, Paul Ricoeur or Martha Nussbaum, among others³.

3. Hospitality, vulnerability and care

The ethic of hospitality aims to create conditions for a coexistence horizon and opens the possibility of giving the future a shared project of convergence in difference, showing itself to a large extent associated with the ethical imagination, which has been shown, by Paul Ricoeur, (Ricoeur, 2004), from a difficult exercise of the "fair memory" of what could have been different, allows us to develop utopian discourses that design ways to move towards a common life based on trust, care and solidarity among the human beings in conflictive situations - in the acute social controversies, in the democratic debates and in the confrontations provoked by forced migration - represent the need to manage finitude, supported by the recognition of precariousness, fragility, the contingency in life.

This means granting the project dimension - constituted by imagination, progressive utopia, communicative reason - the capacity to activate the transition from a logic of power, affirmed in the domain of the territory and the control of the population, towards a logic of coexistence, founded in the territory as a communicative space of mutual growth and in the development of society's capacities to live better, in respect to differences, listening to the word of the other, the exploration of common spaces and the development of shared aspects.

At the core of the ethics of hospitality, the ethical imagination can help to unlock the potential of coexistence, training to receive another in their vulnerability and associate with it in their capacities. From the ethic of hospitality arises the challenge of being able to weave a shared social fabric, rather than between equals, between different.

Rethink the common as construction with and from the different, move from the idolatry of the community to the construction of the common, give impetus to the word solidarity and affectionate to move from imposition to deliberation, can lead to the development of capacity and the determination to activate - put into action - the potential for coexistence of

³ For an overview of this line of thought see Garcia (2014).

human societies. Especially in the conflictive encounters provoked by mass migrations, prejudices, fear of the different or the absolutization of one's values lead to the generation of models of conditioned hospitality that remain attached to the logic of power:

The conditioning of the migrant - vulnerable, in a condition of asymmetry, deprived of a position in society that allows him to defend his right to care - goes beyond the justification of any foreign law and may mask the need for an unconditional reception, which however, it is not naive or imprudent. Within the framework of that reception and before the conflictive situation of the unexpected irruption of the other, in the framework of a hospitality with its values, beliefs and different uses, the legitimate question has been posed: "¿Can we tolerate everything?" (Tejedory Bonete, 2006)

When asked about the limits of tolerance - a question that exceeds the framework of this work - it only points out that the answers have come from the reason (Santori), communication (Arendt), imagination (Galtung) or the dimension of affect and to be able to place they self in the other's place (Innerarity). In any case, as D. Garcia (Garcia, 2014; 153) puts it, it is about promoting "from the ethical imagination what part of the experience, from the experienced cases that provoke resources of intervention, creativity, skills, ingenuity and sagacity. All your resources [in the concrete conflictive situations] find elements that start from the reality and are articulated with other universalize situations ". In this way, for this author, the approach from the ethical imagination on the conflict of the encounter with the different "resembles the Aristotelian phronesis that involves settling in the contextual and the real, where the praxis is situated, in the communicative and political field"(Idem)

4. Ethics of hospitality, empathy and prudential reason

The concept of ethical imagination feeds empathetic affectivity and prudential rationality, the task is to work deliberately to reach agreements of shared rational minima that, through a complex creative work can respect those emotional or spiritual maximums of each group that do not threaten physical integrity, respect for difference and the right to express oneself freely of all those involved. Within the framework of inter-governmental

organizations, especially UNESCO has been carrying out educational work of great importance for the advancement in the management of diversity, the complexity among nations, cultures and social groups.

Understanding hospitality, as much more than simply appealing to good feelings and willingness to open one's heart abroad from one's own position of security and domination, and also beyond the cynicism it might include to control, the ethic of hospitality is constituted as universal and founding category, as a human imperative and as a "bridge to the future" - taking the expression of bioethics-: learning, human sustainability and co-responsibility for the construction of possibilities for life in common. Life in common that today shows itself especially at risk in the clash between societies that from power appear as solid (without recognizing their own internal critical channels) and social flows that flee from territories marked by war, violence and bio political control about life, mainly in its dimensions of health, nutrition and safety.

The serious humanitarian situations experienced in the Mediterranean countries -south of Europe, the Europe that historically has always defended Human Rights- and, more recently, between the Latin America countries and from Latin America to North America, with massive displacements of people, that during the journey, they leave their lives or are subjected to multiple vexations, they all represent a case of special relevance to contextually rethink the ethic of hospitality. In the ethics of hospitality converge interpretations, that from various fields of philosophy and social sciences have shown the processes by which they build "concerns for the massive presence of interior otherness ... as liquid mirrors that have been derailed during the two last centuries in western society " (Bartra, 2007; 43). As it could be characterized, in that "unsettling guest" that arrives without being expected(Cacciatore, 2013) this otherness are personified (real people are made, suffering, mistreated), in the migratory waves that from the East, from Africa from Latin America or Eastern Europe, arrive in Europe, to the coasts of an old "Mare Nostrum" whose name it's already fiction.

The migratory phenomena that interpellate the modern democracies expose their deep cracks and erode the illusion of homogeneous territories, contrasted with the reality of deterritorialization. The border areas, traditionally human territories shared by populations of different countries, in the face of migratory conflict are humanly de-territorialized and re-

territorialized from the point of view of surveillance, control, administration. The other is attributed, in most cases, the causes of their own failures, the inadequacy of the mechanisms of care of life: health administration, services, exchange of goods. Indifference or hostility to a person who was previously a relative or friend and then becomes a stranger, a foreigner and even an enemy. The territories of coexistence, often settled in superficial aspects or only formal or declarative, enter into crisis and may become "territories of terror" (Bartra).

The ethic of hospitality asks questions such as: what makes a change of space, of time, of life provoke rejection as a defensive reaction? The experience of the encounter, is it not a universal or universalizable experience, not only for who migrates? Do we have roots; we take roots or we look for roots? All this seems to contrast strongly with the statement expressed by the Spanish philosopher Pedro Lain Entralgo in 1968 in relation to two great discoveries made during the four or five decades that occupied the centre of the 20th century: at that stage of his "intense, dramatic" history, "the thought of the West: has made, among others, these two decisive discoveries: that, in the ontological order, the being of my individual reality is constitutively referred to the being of others, so that solipsism is a mental artificial construction, unjustified and penultimate "and that, on the other hand, in the psychological order, the 'we' is prior to the 'I', which in one way or another it always accompanies" (Lain Entralgo, 1968; 16)

5. Hospitality: Life at risk

As a constant present in all the visions of the ethics of hospitality, it is beyond the behaviors merely aimed at programming the survival, makes his own in the field of inter-human encounters, "the moral imperative to take care of life in all its manifestations, as a contemporary urgency in the face of the imminent risk of losing it" (Cely Galindo, 2001). Although this is valid for all forms of life care (Mesa, 2005), it is especially significant in the case of life at risk in authoritarian political systems, in dehumanized economies and in situations of forced migration due to situations of violence, cases in which the situation of vulnerability assumes extreme characteristics.

Both in southern Europe and in Latin America, the consequences of the inequalities, inequities and exclusions that characterize the global economic "disorder", the authoritarian drifts of regimes focused on reaching power and maintaining it at the expense of the persecution of the different, the weakening of civil society, in tension between the "global casino and the local sanctuary" (Trias, 2001) and the resurgence of closed "communities" that self-justify themselves generating fear of the immigrant, mark the presence of life conditions signed by violence, insecurity and dependence - of the State or of macro-subjects such as fundamentalism or large corporations-, which conditions society to the passive acceptance of increasingly greater and more effective control mechanisms over life, in views of always false security. Faced with the illusion of security ("the securityaddiction") created by bio-power, the vision of hospitality ethics recovers the value of vulnerability from the effective practice of the virtue of care and the transforming orientation of social situations through the management of the difference.

Both within formally democratic systems and in the processes of mass migration, levels of vulnerability have to do with deficiency situations (needs approach: attention to urgent basic needs), with the impossibility or difficulty of access to education (focus of rights: learning for survival and for the choice of life project) and with the possibility of being included in alliances between social actors to progressively realize, as established citizens or as migrant citizens, what they have chosen (project approach) . The ethic of hospitality aims to care for the vulnerable in each of these levels and, reinforcing the possibility of living in learning from difference, seeks to provide tools to deconstruct the other as a threat, rebuild him as an interlocutor and discover him as a partner.

6. By way of concluding reflection: hospitality and future

For the ethic of hospitality, the aspects related to attention, tolerance or respect are as important as the actions and the approach of the contrariety, of what is not as we have thought it, contributes, together with the desires and the hope, to forge our identity dynamics.

From the management of insecurity associated with uncertainty, people and societies become more flexible, open and innovative and through the

perception of their own vulnerability, we are able to value the other and establish relations of constructive interdependence (Martin, 2017). In the perspective of hospitality, the "lone self", fictitious and unfeasible, is transformed into a real, sustainable "solidary self", thus enabling the establishment of mutual co-responsibility relationships, not only in the present but also including future generations. From these relationships can be harmonized the links between autonomy of personal decision and interdependence of social realization.

In the contexts of democratic life and citizenship, on the one hand and migratory flows in search of survival, on the other, the ethic of hospitality can be a valuable tool to understand the stranger, welcome it with solicitude and develop the capacity of mutual association. The strange is an ambiguous concept that oscillates between the threat (the different versus the own) and the fascination (new possibilities and learning), plural, by the multiple forms of otherness, complex (by the co-implication between identity and otherness), inter and transcultural, in that it involves encounter and self-transformation from the cognitive, evaluative and affirmative effects. In this sense, hospitality requires the effort of comprehension and appreciation of the other that is fulfilled as xenology (Innerarity, 2001; 119), from the experience of the strange and through interest, attention, respect, active tolerance and the development of associative strategies.

The ethic of hospitality, based on a management of the difference in the material bases of the territory, enables the inter-human encounter of concrete citizens - real human beings in real situations and before real elections - that allows them to search, discover and build their own place, as a condition to be people. Unlike the notions of territory and political space, the concept of place has to do mainly with meaning, from which a valuable life project can be deployed. Hospitality as an ethical proposal is an invitation to build together with the other shared spaces of survival and progressively places of full political life, and to participate, in the case of citizens, or to promote, in the case of governments, policies for life, as part of a permanent effort to stimulate the growth of sensitivity towards others and solidarity in their situations. This effort comes first through the assurance of survival through political attention to basic needs, expressed in the implementation of effective policies for the care of life. But also and mainly, it is an effort to promote the development of capacities that, with

strategies of care and solidarity practices, make possible the construction of a valuable life in common. By power and domination, they are far from favoring behaviors of civic life and coexistence.

7. Scholium: practical dilemmas and paths of advancement of hospitality

The ethic of hospitality is, because of its relationship with the foundations of the human condition, a global ethic but with regional specificities. The practical spaces -national and regional- that are affected by the deployment of the current migratory flows in the Mediterranean and in Latin America: spaces of ethics, politics and economy in a reference that updates the Aristotelian perspective, pose the challenge of a humanizing learning exercise with concerted actions among governments, academia, companies, civil society associations. The approach of the massive phenomenon of forced migration oscillates between the ideal poles of reception and integration. Integration, in turn, reveals an ambiguity between, on the one hand, government paternalism and passivity of the migrant (Campesi et al., 2018: 94) and, on the other, initiatives of integration and relative autonomy of the migrant. In its practical application, moreover, the search for a balance between relative autonomy (life project) and constructive interdependence (host society) requires facing the dilemma between labor insertion and forced dispersion.

Both in the countries of the Mediterranean and in Latin America, although with their own characteristics, the reception and integration systems are under review and transformation. Overcoming the approach of the humanitarian government (Agier, 2006) which, through a non-integration reception approach, results in the dependence of the migrant (with the effects of de-citizenship), these systems have advanced establishing a staging that includes first stage welcome, second reception and reconquest of one's autonomy, on a scale that goes from the greatest exclusion (and the greatest inclusion) to the greatest inclusion (and the least exclusion). This advance rethinks solidarity as a humanitarian demand, democracy as a fundamental right and full citizenship as a path and participatory strategy.

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