

Psychological Impact Of Political Violence In Latin America: A Systematic Review

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ABSTRACT

The objective of the study was to know the psychological consequences of political violence in Latin America. This is a descriptive study under the design of a systematic review. The sample consisted of 26 scientific research articles in Psychology, Psychiatry and Political Science published between 2017 and 2022 on the variables psychological impact and political violence carried out in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Ecuador. In the search, the keywords “Political violence”, “Mental health” and “Victims” were used, as well as their equivalents in English and Portuguese. The databases consulted were Scopus, EBSCO, EBSCO Host, ProQuest, GaleOne, Scielo Redalyc and Dialnet. The PRISMA statement for systematic reviews was used for analysis. It was found that the main psychological impact of political violence in Latin America is emotional, social, family and psychopathological; the mode of execution were actions against physical and contextual integrity in an isolated and joint manner; that the actions come mostly from the current political class of governments, and that the victims use protective resources present before the events of violence to promote their well-being and others acquired during the recovery process. At a statistical level, it was found that the country with the highest rate of political violence events in Latin America is Colombia and that this motivates research on the matter. This research shows the impact of political violence on the mental health of the population and adds to the call to stop it throughout the region.

Keywords: politics, psychology, violence, mental health.

I. INTRODUCTION

Violence is understood as premeditated and rational actions executed through force and power to achieve objectives, and which involve harm or violation of the will, always between two actors: victim and victimizer (Martínez, 2016; Morales et al., 2007). In this relationship, execution comprises physical, symbolic or psychological methods that leave

consequences ranging from damage to dignity to physical injury or death (Zavaleta, 2017).

When this is practiced in political contexts, it is a process of struggle in which it is intended to harm those who oppose a certain ideological, social, cultural, trade union, religious, gender, etc. concept, in order to preserve, modify, replace or destroy the existing order or model. It can be carried out by agents of the State, groups fighting against it or by outsiders. The main characteristic is its

tendency to be rationalized despite the serious consequences that are foreseen, since the objective is a sufficient motive for its legitimization (CINEP and Justicia y Paz, 1996; Jorquera and Piper, 2018).

Even though it is usual to perceive this phenomenon through overt displays such as murders, torture, persecutions, kidnappings or attacks, it is also found in subtle forms such as political harassment, threats, satires, the use of fear and the questioning of the democratic order (Harish and Little, 2017; León, 2017).

Some recent scenarios include the start of the war between the Russian and Ukrainian government, where the world power forced thousands of Ukrainian civilians to leave their country escaping death after the invasion of their capital, motivated by a path of political and governmental disagreements and legitimized as a defense to their population (Bussoletti, 2022); also the day in which Donald Trump, outgoing president of the United States, cast doubt on the electoral results that would name his Democratic opponent as the winner, weakening the democracy of the recent process and causing his militants to storm the Capitol causing material damage and loss of human lives (Blum, 2021).

In Latin America, the use of political violence has been recorded in countries such as Venezuela due to the oppression of Nicolás Maduro and the events that triggered the superinflation of the national currency, causing one of the most tragic displacements in history while in some regions of the country remain submerged in poverty (Sutherland, 2018). Similarly, in the recent elections in Mexico, 79 politicians and 28 of their relatives, 91 public servants and 198 militants were murdered, 28% more than the last process; aggressions increased by 64% and threats were the main instrument of violence (Etellekt Consultores, 2021).

Political violence also reached the 212 environmental defenders killed in 2019 for demonstrating against the interests of industries for natural resources, mostly members of indigenous communities. Of the countries, it was Colombia that claimed the highest number of victims and accounted for an increase of 150% over the previous year, followed in number by Brazil, Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, Venezuela and Nicaragua (Global Witness, 2020).

On the other hand, since 2019, an increase in the exercise of protest in Latin America was evidenced, with Brazil having the highest participation in protests with 22% of the population, followed by Colombia with 19%, Chile with 17%, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Argentina and Peru with 16%, 14%, 13%, 12% and 11% respectively (Jorge, 2020). However, the State's response through police repression in Brazil left a balance of more than 3000 murders and 1300 in Venezuela (Amnesty International, 2021).

Other spaces reached by political violence is freedom of expression, as only since 2020 the murder of at least 19 journalists was recorded in Mexico and around 400 attacks in Brazil, Venezuela and Nicaragua (Amnesty International, 2021); as well as the participation of women in politics, as more than 80% suffered psychological violence, 46% felt fear for the safety of their family, 44% received death threats and 25% suffered physical violence in parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2016).

In a closer scenario, the use of political violence in Peru is undoubtedly identified with the period of internal armed conflict from 1980, where Sendero Luminoso executed attacks, massacres, ambushes and assassinations that left approximately 40 000 victims. Under the leadership of Abimael Guzmán, an attempt was made to come to power following the ideals of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (Ríos, 2018). Similarly, within the last events, the massive

mobilization of about 13% of citizens demanding the resignation of the then interim president Manuel Merino was documented and resulted in hundreds of wounded and two murders by police repression (Angulo and Bolo, 2021).

In this sense, the following question is asked: What is the psychological impact of political violence in Latin America? This research has a theoretical justification by synthesizing the evidence of the psychological impact of political violence in Latin America, serving as a bibliographical basis for future research and strengthening the holistic and current study of the variable; as well as a social justification, by analyzing a latent problem in Latin American society and offering a detailed synthesis of its manifestations.

The general objective of this study is to know the psychological consequences of political violence in Latin America and the specific objectives are to identify the repertoire of political violence in Latin America, to determine the main beliefs that legitimized political violence in Latin America and to identify the positive aspects of the psychological impact of political violence in Latin America.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Amaiz et al. (2020) set out to conduct a systematic review of the literature on the prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder in children and adolescents worldwide who were victims of terrorist attacks. They searched different databases using the keywords "child" or "adolescent", "terrorist" or "terrorism" and "PTSD", "posttraumatic stress" or "post-traumatic stress" obtaining a total of 10 studies published between 2014 and 2019. The results evidenced that the prevalence of the disorder in children and adolescents amounted to 12% after calculating the mean of the entire sample.

Reyes (2019) aimed to describe and understand the existence of a relationship between political violence and psychological

well-being. After searching databases, referers and different repositories, he found a total of 70 studies including articles, theses, news and web articles. The results showed that political violence influenced psychological well-being with feelings of loss, isolation, sadness, anxiety, depression, trauma, distrust, post-traumatic stress, paranoid ideation, hostility and rupture of interpersonal relationships.

Cudris and Barrios (2018) set out to review the evidence of psychological distress in victims of the Colombian armed conflict. The search was done in different databases and search engines with the keywords "violence", "post-traumatic stress disorder", "depression", "psychological approach" and "victims", identifying 26 high-impact scientific articles published since 2008. The results indicated that victims were highly likely to experience post-traumatic stress disorder accompanied by depression and psychoactive substance use.

Rocha et al. (2017) sought to identify factors associated with psychological trauma due to sexual violence in situations of sociopolitical violence. A search was conducted in 12 databases worldwide using the keywords "trauma"; "sexual abuse", "sexual violence" or "gender violence" and "sociopolitical violence", "war" or "armed conflict", obtaining a total of 35 articles published between 2010 and 2017 that contained the three desired variables in the title, keywords and research topic.

The results in relation to the search showed that Colombia was the country with the largest population studied (10), both by national and international researchers. Regarding the analysis, they found that the traumatic events were forced displacement, torture, physical injury, kidnapping, confinement and imprisonment, and murder; the objectives of socio-political violence were to destroy and repress a human group, to destroy, maintain and replace a State model; the execution of violence was carried out at the collective,

individual and mass levels; the consequences were at the symptomatological level (lived memories, avoidance, sleep disturbance, loss of identity, emotional (anxiety, guilt, shame, sadness, fear and anger) and social (rupture of the social, family and relational-affective fabric⁹ ; the psychopathology detected was depression, PTSD, suicide, generalized or phobic anxiety; the emerging positive response was post-traumatic growth and the protective factors were the presence of family members, social support and desire for reconciliation. Some theories related to the variable explain its origin from a psychological point of view, encompassing them as the Psychological Aggregate Theories, which indicate that political violence is born from discontent and anger, in contexts of gaps and the promotion of aggression towards politicians (Aparicio, 2015). One of the most relevant is the Theory of Relative Deprivation considers violence as a direct reaction to the frustration experienced in the face of collective deprivation or repression in search of equilibrium. Thus, it establishes the emergence of satisfactory violence in the face of dissatisfaction with the life conditions legitimately expected and those one has, proving that the probability of violence increases when the difference between the two situations is greater.

This position suggests four modalities of deprivation: progressive, when economic conditions or freedom are suddenly interrupted; deprivation by diminishing, when some conditions remain stable but opportunities for satisfaction are reduced; deprivation with respect to aspirations, when the desire for common progress is not supported by the opportunities in the environment; persistent deprivation, when aspirations and perceived opportunities are stable, but the former remain unsatisfied. It is also observed that this phenomenon is more frequent in unequal countries that have not standardized their post-World War II

modernization, generating systemic frustration (De la Corte et al., 2006; Morales et al., 2007; Río, 2011). The theory of collective behavior affirms that there are hostile outbursts resulting from discontent in the face of major transformations that evidence inequality. This generates structural social tensions that must be resolved. The conditions for this postulate are evidenced by structural tendencies towards violence that affect a specific group and generate structural tensions, giving way to a series of hostile beliefs that motivate the final execution of violence (Río, 2011).

The Resource Mobilization Theory suggests a rational motivation for political violence and that it is used in an exclusively instrumental way. The origin of the conflict is conceived under the struggle for indispensable resources, whether material: money, technology, weapons; symbolic: ideologies, justifications; natural: territory and raw materials; or human: militants, allies, sympathizers, and thus varying the repertoire of execution (De la Corte et al., 2006; Morales et al., 2007).

Evidence of this theory is also observed in cities, where there is greater organization and resources for confrontation. In turn, this position extends the political process theory as an insurgency strategy in repressive or undemocratic governmental contexts. The factors involved are the degree of openness of the political reality, the stability of relations between elites and the government's capacity to resolve or repress insurgencies (De la Corte et al., 2006; Morales et al., 2007). The Consensus Theory of value systems states that political violence has two components: violence and change. In this sense, the values of a society legitimize its authorities and the revolutions originated will also be legitimized to obtain a change in the socio-political structure, being then a coexistent relationship (Aparicio, 2015).

Another position gives special relevance to symbolic, cultural and ideological aspects as

motives for violence, observed in collective identity conflicts or the legitimization of terrorist actions. The two indispensable factors involved are the formation of a collective identity, often religious or cultural and where categorization and the ability to alter mental schemes and attitudes abound; and the availability of arguments or construction of schemes that can delegitimize the established socio-political order and suggest its modification (De la Corte et al., 2006). The variable can be broken down into four approaches: from a structural point of view, it is born as the malicious action of intervening in an asymmetrical or unequal relationship between actors, which predisposes the conflict between them through other associated psychosocial phenomena, such as discrimination. From an observational perspective, there is the use of force as the only method to force the victim to change a behavior that goes against the ideals of the power groups. This involves operational damage to the person or their property (Gutiérrez, 2017).

On the other hand, it is conceived from the search for legitimacy, where violence is framed as the initially illegitimate means to shape the social order, but whose end is perceived as fair. Finally, from a relational perspective, he proposes the non-pathological execution of violence, but rather a reflexive and calculated one. Similarly, he distinguishes two essential characteristics: seeking from the control or reordering of the social order, to the conquest or reform of this; and that the objective has not been fully political, but involves political groups and organizations around the administration of power (Gutiérrez, 2017). The execution of political violence can be classified into four matrices: political violence proper, which is executed by the State through dictatorships that commit disappearances, kidnappings and assassinations, and that which is executed by internal conflicts; common violence, where

organized crime is observed in the implementation of new economic policies; mafia violence, also within economic processes but focused on smuggling, drug trafficking, human trafficking, migration and arms trade; and discriminatory violence, that most visible today due to social asymmetry on the basis of gender, sex, religion, ethnicity, nationality, etc. Likewise, it distinguishes a temporal evolution of traditional political violence, which followed cultural patterns of exploitation and inequality towards the poor, towards a modern violence that operates in labor, economic and information spaces (Carrión, 2018).

On the other hand, after the analysis of different patterns of violence in the world, four dimensions are established: the repertoire or the forms in which it is executed, such as assassinations, rapes, forced displacement, etc.; target or the victims against whom the repertoire is used, such as political militants, villages, ethnic groups, etc.; the technique or the way to execute the repertoire, such as use of firearms, bombs, kidnapping, massacres, looting, economic blockades, etc.; and the frequency or the count of events or victims of the attacks. However, the fourth dimension could present margins of error when dealing with unrecognized, unknown or isolated events (Gutiérrez and Wood, 2019).

From a cognitive perspective, some beliefs that reinforce the legitimization of violence in political contexts are observed: the use of a language that favors a positive image in the endogroup and provokes the support of its members; the emphasis of the existence of the conflict and the presentation of the endogroup as the fair and rational party; victimization, which is born through the historical results of a previous period of violence and is reinforced through the search for justice (Barreto et al., 2009).

Similarly, it proposes those that, on the contrary, detract from the legitimacy of opponents: stereotypes that enclose them in

negative dichotomous characteristics and expressly exclude them; dehumanization, showing them as animals or inferior or highly superior species worthy of defeat; proscription, which gives them a legal aspect by labeling opponents as violators of society's norms; use of political labels, which label the exogroup as undesirable and unacceptable; and the constant comparison between the actions of good and evil (Barreto et al. , 2009).

A new gender perspective of political violence is also obtained due to the progressive and recent inclusion of women in political spaces, approaching the theoretical bases of gender violence to explain the aggressions suffered by women with the aim of hindering their participation because of their condition as women. These manifestations include physical, psychological, economic and symbolic violence in male-dominated environments reinforced by traditional roles. This violence is characterized by physical aggression, defamation, sexual harassment, etc. as a repertoire, which makes it different from that directed at men (Guadarrama and Aguilar, 2021).

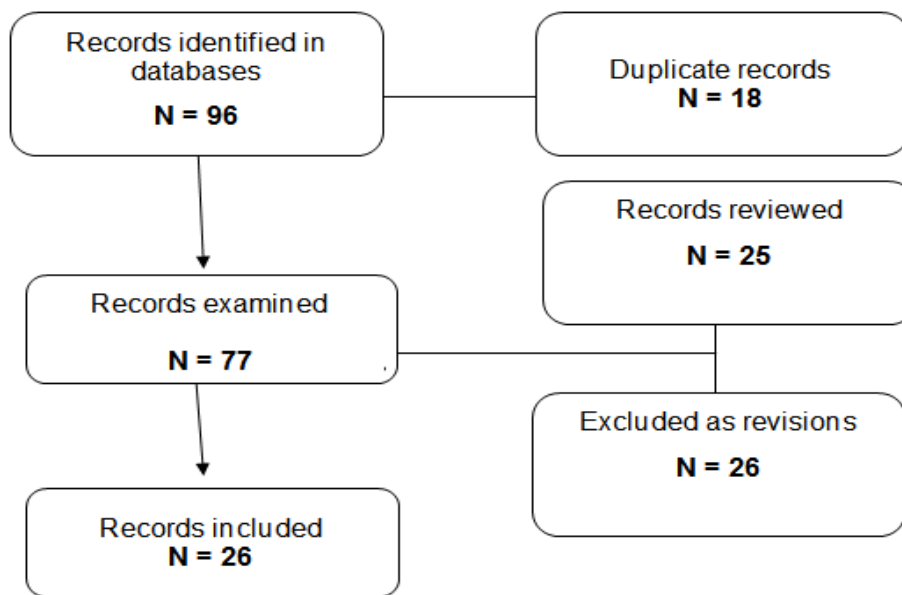
III. METHODOLOGY

This was a basic type of study as its purpose was to know and expand the literature on the variable political violence, its description, explanation and prediction (Sánchez et al., 2018). It was framed in the systematic review design by inquiring what other authors suggest about the research problem, as well as adopting an updated look at the current scopes on the variable (Sánchez et al., 2018). The sample consisted of 26 scientific articles extracted after a search in the databases Scopus, EBSCO, EBSCOHost, ProQuest, GaleOne Psychology, Dialnet, Redalyc and

SciELO using the keywords: "political violence", "mental health" and "victims", as well as their equivalents in English and Portuguese. Inclusion criteria included scientific research articles in Psychology, Psychiatry and Political Science with the psychological impact of political violence on people as a study variable and with access to the full text. Following the exclusion criteria, scientific articles containing the variable, being of systematic review design, published before 2017 and/or not approaching the objective of this study were discarded. The data collection technique was documentary analysis, which selects the most relevant study content, classifies it and analyzes it according to the objectives of the study (Sánchez et al., 2018). The instrument was the data sheet, which classifies in detail the existing information and allows the production of new content on the variable (Sánchez et al., 2018).

For the search, the filters available in search engines were used, indicating key words, the period of years of publication, subject, language, type of publication and its free and open availability on the Internet, identifying a total of 96 articles. Subsequently, the available articles were grouped and exported in RIS file format for import into the Mendeley bibliographic manager, where 18 articles were eliminated because they were present in more than one database, resulting in a total of 77 records to examine. Microsoft Excel spreadsheets were used to document the selection of articles that made up the sample, discarding 25 that were not close to the study objective and another 26 that were systematic reviews. Finally, a sample of 26 articles was obtained and the pertinent information was recorded in the data sheet.

Figure 1. Record selection flowchart



The selected scientific articles were analyzed by recording the psychological impact of political violence on the Latin American population. In addition, the repertoire of execution against victims during episodes of political violence was identified, as well as the beliefs present in the executors to legitimize their actions. Finally, the positive aspects found in episodes of political violence were specified.

The study was developed under the principles of auditability, by thoroughly detailing the

research process and the decisions made during it; and applicability, by deeply contextualizing the perceived problematic reality to understand the relevance of the variable (Parra and Briceño, 2013). The regulations suggested by the American Psychological Association were also followed by adopting the formats of textual citations and paraphrases, giving credit to the authors on their findings and theories (Salazar et al., 2018).

IV. RESULTS

Table 1: Psychological Consequences of Political Violence in Latin America

Nº	Author and year	Country	Triggering event	Psychological consequences
1	Castañeda et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Damage to social role Emotional role impairment
2	Campo et al. (2017)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Increased emotional distress Depression Perceived stigmatization Anxiety Stress
3	Sánchez et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Specific phobia Post-traumatic stress disorder Major depressive disorder Early substance abuse Suicidal behavior

				Effects on personal, social and family development
4	Mayor et al. (2018)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Social isolation Hopelessness Sadness Mistrust
5	Morales et al. (2021)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Post-traumatic stress disorder Family and personal problems
6	Ruiz y Rodríguez (2020)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Psychoactive substance use Suicidal behavior Sexual and gender violence Anxiety Depression Alterations in family dynamics Loss of life project
7	Girón et al. (2020)	Colombia	Political persecution	Feelings of indignation Sadness and anger Fear of losing loved ones Stigmatization
8	Doria et al. (2021)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Stagnation of psychoemotional development Anxiety Depression Hopelessness.
9	López et al. (2020)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Emotional distress Psychological morbidity
10	Salas et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Mistrust Post-traumatic stress disorder
11	Gómez y García (2021)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Post-traumatic stress disorder
12	Barrera et al. (2022)	Chile	Social protests	Fear Restlessness Disturbance of identity
13	Townsend (2018)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Sexual trauma Emotional conflicts
14	Faudez et al. (2018)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Pathological grief Family disarticulation
15	Cañón (2020)	Argentina	Argentine dictatorship	Memories associated with trauma Fear Guilt Shame Identity disturbance
16	Mera et al. (2019)	Latin America	Social crisis in Latin America	Discrimination
17	Barbosa et al. (2019)	Brazil	Social inequality	Suffering Chronic sadness

				Anxious and depressive symptomatology Somatization
18	Dimenstein et al. (2017)	Brazil	Social inequality	Alcohol Use Symptomatology of Common Mental Disorders
19	McLean et al. (2019)	Latin America	Immigration	Hyperactivity Behavioral and emotional problems
20	Da Silva et al. (2017)	Brazil	Predation of territories	Suffering Disturbance in the environment Depressive symptomatology Migration Suicide
21	García et al. (2021)	Chile	Predation of territories	Discomfort Distress
22	Cordero y Jara (2021)	Latin America	Social crisis in Latin America	Fear Insecurity Violence Subordination
23	Reyes et al. (2019)	Latin America	Social crisis in Latin America	Emotional Affect Stress
24	Moro et al. (2019)	Latin America	Political crises	Identity disturbance Distress Anxiety
25	Ribeiro et al. (2020)	Brazil	State disinterest	Mood, sleep and appetite disturbances Unconsummated suicide Depressive symptomatology Somatization

Table 1 shows the consequences of political violence on victims in Latin America. It shows that the greatest psychological impact is emotional (72%), followed by social, family and psychopathological (44% respectively),

behavioral (24%) and affecting communal identity (12%). On the other hand, the country most affected with psychological consequences is Colombia with 40%.

Table 2: Repertoire of execution of political violence in Latin America

Nº	Author and year	Country	Triggering event	Performance repertoire
1	Castañeda et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Forced displacement Threat to integrity
2	Campo et al. (2017)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Forced displacement

3	Sánchez et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Forced displacement Land dispossession Threats Terrorism Homicides
4	Mayor et al. (2018)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Forced displacement Threat to integrity
5	Morales et al. (2021)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Forced displacement Threat to integrity
6	Ruiz y Rodríguez (2020)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Forced displacement
7	Girón et al. (2020)	Colombia	Political persecution	Threat to integrity
8	Doria et al. (2021)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Forced displacement Threat to integrity Abandonment of the state
9	López et al. (2020)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Structural discrimination Threat to integrity
10	Salas et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Threat to integrity Terrorism Homicide Forced displacement Land dispossession
11	Gómez y García (2021)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Torture Political imprisonment Exile Relegation Political persecution Political exoneration Forced displacement
12	Barrera et al. (2022)	Chile	Social protests	Oppression
13	Townsend (2018)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Sexual torture
14	Faudez et al. (2018)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Enforced disappearance
15	Cañón (2020)	Argentina	Argentine dictatorship	Torture
16	Cárdenas et al. (2019)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Political persecution Torture Execution Enforced disappearance
17	Mera et al. (2019)	Latin America	Social crisis in Latin America	Forced displacement
18	Barbosa et al. (2019)	Brazil	Social inequality	Impoverishment Oppression

19	Dimenstein et al. (2017)	Brazil	Social inequality	Impoverishment Oppression
20	McLean et al. (2019)	Latin America	Immigration	Violation of human rights Political persecution
21	Da Silva et al. (2017)	Brazil	Predation of territories	Forced displacement
22	García et al. (2021)	Chile	Predation of territories	Discrimination
23	Cordero y Jara (2021)	Latin America	Social crisis in Latin America	Anti-immigration policies Detention of migrants Overcrowding
24	Reyes et al. (2019)	Latin America	Social crisis in Latin America	Arrest Murder
25	Moro et al. (2019)	Latin America	Political crises	Political crisis Organized crime
26	Ribeiro et al. (2020)	Brazil	State disinterest	Deprivation of basic needs Sexism

Table 2 shows that political violence in Latin America is carried out through acts against physical and emotional integrity, those that have an effect on the context, and others that attack integrity and context simultaneously. Mixed methods are the most frequent (46%),

followed by contextual methods (35%) and those against physical and emotional integrity (19%). On the other hand, the country where different forms of violence have been used the most is Colombia with 38%.

Table 3: Legitimizing beliefs about political violence in Latin America

N°	Author and year	Country	Triggering event	Legitimizing beliefs
1	Castañeda et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Preserving the political model
2	Campo et al. (2017)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Preserving the political model
3	Sánchez et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Preserving the political model
4	Mayor et al. (2018)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Preserving the political model
5	Morales et al. (2021)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Preserving the political model
6	Ruiz y Rodríguez (2020)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Repressing citizens who enter illegally seeking asylum
7	Girón et al. (2020)	Colombia	Political persecution	Preserving the political model
8	Doria et al. (2021)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Repressing citizens who enter illegally seeking asylum

9	Salas et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Preserving the political model
10	Gómez y García (2021)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Political ideology, religious coping and population repression
11	Barrera et al. (2022)	Chile	Social protests	Modifying and preserving the political model
12	Townsend (2018)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Repressing the Chilean population to avoid complaints and collective action
13	Faudez et al. (2018)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Repressing the Chilean population to avoid complaints and collective action
14	Cañón (2020)	Argentina	Argentine dictatorship	Punishment obtained for being a subversive woman
15	Cárdenas et al. (2019)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Repressing the Chilean population to prevent collective actions and maintain military order
16	Barbosa et al. (2019)	Brazil	Social inequality	Preserving the capitalist economic model
17	Dimenstein et al. (2017)	Brazil	Social inequality	Preserving the capitalist economic model
18	McLean et al. (2019)		Immigration	Preserving the political model
19	Da Silva et al. (2017)	Brazil	Predation of territories	Natives and indigenous people hinder economic development and resource exploitation
20	García et al. (2021)	Chile	Predation of territories	Ethnic groups are inferior to those who live in the city.
21	Cordero y Jara (2021)	Latin America	Social crisis in Latin America	Repressing citizens who enter illegally seeking asylum
22	Reyes et al. (2019)	Latin America	Social crisis in Latin America	Repressing citizens who enter illegally seeking asylum
23	Moro et al. (2019)	Latin America	Political crises	Repressing citizens who enter illegally seeking asylum
24	Ribeiro et al. (2020)	Brazil	State disinterest	Homeless women are unprotected by the state and marginalized by society

Table 3 shows the beliefs that legitimized acts of political violence in Latin America. It is recorded that these are born of the struggle of good against evil, of the morally superior against the amoral, between the better against the inferior; the actors being the members of the current governments, guerrilla or subversive groups and the citizens themselves, each seeking legitimacy. Those coming from current politics predominate (84%), followed by those coming from the guerrillas and the citizenry (8% respectively). On the other hand, the country where legitimization through beliefs is most observed is Colombia with 37%.

Table 4: Positive Aspects and Protective Factors in the Execution of Political Violence in Latin America

N°	Author and year	Country	Triggering event	Positive aspects (PA) and protective factors (PF)
1	Sánchez et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Good family functioning (PF) Adequate social support (PF)
2	Mayor et al. (2018)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Purposes in life (PF) Spiritual support (PF) Positive reappraisal (PF)
3	Girón et al. (2020)	Colombia	Political persecution	Generation of support networks (AP)
4	Doria et al. (2021)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Resilience (PF) Community support (PF)
5	Salas et al. (2020)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	Being a widowed woman (PF) Older woman (PF)
6	López et al. (2019)	Colombia	Internal armed conflict	State and international support (PF)
7	Gómez y García (2021)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Religious coping (FP) Deliberate rumination (PF)
8	Barrera et al. (2022)	Chile	Social protests	Over 30 years of age (FP)
9	Faudez et al. (2018)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Formation of a containment community (AP) Reorganization (PA) Search for justice (PA)
10	Cárdenas et al. (2019)	Chile	Chilean military dictatorship	Deliberate rumination (PF)
11	Mera et al. (2019)	Latin America	Social crisis in Latin America	Job placement (FP)
12	Barbosa et al. (2019)	Brasil	Social inequality	Financial support (FP) Instrumental support (PF)

				Emotional support (PF)
13	García et al. (2021)	Chile	Predation of territories	High collective identity (FP)

Table 4 shows the different positive aspects and protective factors in victims of political violence in Latin America, being more frequent to find protective factors that promote well-being (85%) than those that develop as a consequence of exposure to situations of violence (15%). On the other hand, the country where most positive aspects and protective factors have been found is Colombia with 46%.

V. DISCUSSION

Political violence is a latent phenomenon that manifests itself in multiple scenarios around the world for economic, governmental, territorial, and gender reasons, among others, and its serious consequences transcend for generations, causing an impact that is difficult to repair. The general objective of this study was to determine the psychological consequences of political violence in Latin America. The results showed that the greatest psychological impact, according to the articles studied, is emotional, present in 72% of the studies, followed by family social and psychopathological (44% respectively), behavioral (24%) and that which threatens communal identity (12%).

It is observed that the most frequent psychological impact is post-traumatic stress disorder and anxiety symptoms, which are present in most of the studies, and in others, symptoms of depression and sadness are observed. It is also evident that the country with the greatest consequences of political violence is Colombia, present in 40% of the studies.

These results are close to what was evidenced by Rocha et al. (2017), who showed that the country with the most research on psychological effects was Colombia, present in 10 of the 35 studies. In addition, Reyes (2019) found the greatest psychological

impact of political violence to be sadness, anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress. Thus, it is also close to the study by Amaiz et al. (2020), in which post-traumatic stress disorder is present in 12% of the studies analyzed.

In this regard, Gutiérrez (2017) indicates that the use of violence to achieve a political objective will result in operational damage to people, either to directly change a behavior that undermines the established order in the victims or to do so through the impact towards them.

Similarly, the specific objective was to identify the repertoire of execution of political violence in Latin America, i.e., the forms in which it is presented in each recorded episode. The studies analyzed show that violence is executed through acts against physical and emotional integrity and against the context simultaneously, present in 46% of the studies, followed by acts against the context (35%) and against physical and emotional integrity (19%).

Thus, forced displacement was the most frequent form of political violence according to the studies reviewed, followed by threats, physical and/or sexual torture, political persecution and oppression, political imprisonment, terrorism, homicide and forced disappearance, among others. This result is close to what was exposed by Rocha et al. (2017), who showed that in 60% of the cases, events such as forced displacement, physical and/or sexual torture, serious physical injuries, confinement, imprisonment and murder were described.

According to Aparicio (2015) the Consensus Theory of value systems always seeks the change or maintenance of politics through violence being coexistent among these, which has many ways of expressing itself, thus using

different methods of violence ranging from physical and psychological violence, as in the environment surrounding the individual, this belongs to a dimension of violence (Gutierrez and Wood, 2019).

As another objective, we sought to determine the main beliefs that legitimize political violence in Latin America, understanding that these arise under a concept of struggle between good and bad, of the morally superior against the amoral, conceiving this struggle against opposing sides as the only solution to achieve their objectives. Thus, it is observed that those who carry out this violence originate from different actors which may be members of the current governments, guerrilla or subversive groups and the citizens themselves, where each one pursues its legitimacy from the dual confrontational point of view.

In this way, it is observed that those beliefs coming from current politics predominate (84%), followed by those coming from the guerrillas and the citizenry (8% respectively). These beliefs are mostly based on maintaining the political model, repression of illegal citizens seeking asylum, among others.

This analysis is close to that made by Rocha et al. (2017), who evidenced that the main objectives of the episodes of political violence were to repress a human group and maintain the political model.

In this regard Carrión (2018), indicates that within political violence there are different matrices, being in this case, the one executed by the State and the one of the internal conflict, which use a system of values and beliefs to strengthen the participation of people against others, which is summarized in a struggle between good against evil (Barreto et al., 2009).

Finally, the last objective was to identify the positive aspects present in political violence in Latin America, such as those responses or adaptive conditions and well-being of the

victims. It was found that the positive aspects could be developed once the episodes of violence have occurred, such as the formation of support and containment networks, the reorganization of their lives and the search for justice, present in 15% of the studies analyzed; as well as being preconditions that protect the victims and promote their recovery, such as emotional, spiritual, economic, social, state and communal support, deliberate rumination of painful memories, a strong collective identity, optimal family functioning, labor insertion, life purposes and positive re-evaluation, being in 85% of the studies.

In this regard, Rocha et al. (2017) came close to evidencing that there are emerging positive responses in victims of political violence, such as post-traumatic growth; as well as protective preconditions such as the presence of family members, social support and desire for reconciliation.

Likewise, Palomar (2017) and Maldonado et al. (2018) mention that there are processes that provide protection against the stress of the conditions perceived in contexts of political violence, both individual as the adoption of new lifestyles, acculturation, rituals and outstanding cognitive abilities; social and family as the satisfaction of basic needs and clear and flexible roles; as well as those provided by national or international agencies such as access to education, health, housing, employability and legal and consular advice.

On the other hand, Valladares et al. (2018) mention that the population's own coping strategies, regardless of the traumatic events, can reduce the presence of symptoms of mental disorders and facilitate overcoming adverse contextual conditions such as poverty or displacement, so they are considered protective factors in situations of governmental violence.

This study finds its strength in the need to discover the affectation of victims of political violence in Latin America that goes beyond

the physical and to demonstrate that violence is present in current political models, generating harm to the population through its manifestations.

The limitations found are framed in the scarce scientific production on political violence in current episodes, where, in addition to the dissemination of news about police repression against citizens, there is no mention of the victims or the psychological impact that was generated for them.

The relevance of this study lies in the limited research on political violence under the Systematic Review design in the region, which is a precedent to motivate the execution of similar studies, as well as those dedicated to the use of instruments, design of programs, methods, etc., that can help the population that day by day continues to live with the consequences of political violence.

Another relevance is also found in this research as a way of verifying how much progress the different states have had in order to help their affected population, which as can be seen still has very present sequels that must be solved, thus serving as a statistical value of the development in mental health. }

VI. CONCLUSIONS

It is concluded that in Latin America violence is used against people and communities to achieve certain political objectives, leaving psychological consequences, emotional alterations, conflicts and family social disarticulation, mental disorders, behavioral alterations and damages against the communal identity; and that the victims, in their majority, come from events in Colombia.

At the moment of using violence, there is an extensive deployment of ways and forms to infuse both damage and terror to people, affecting them in different ways, but having as an end to accept the rules of the power group. Thus, physical torture, sexual violence, oppression, terrorism, etc. are used to destroy a person's identity, mind and body.

In order to use this violence with the idea that it is the right thing to do, a point of view rooted in beliefs is used to obtain popular support. This is, in synthesis, the implantation of the idea of good versus evil, getting the power group to be perceived as the "good" side while the opponent as the "bad" side, justifying their crimes as a good cause and eliminating the perception of being evil.

Finally, we identified adaptive and well-being conditions that protect victims from the impact of episodes of political violence in Latin America and promote their recovery, such as global support, processing of painful events and a strong collective identity; as well as emerging positive responses after the event, such as the formation of support and containment networks for the search for justice.

Latin American states are recommended to implement support strategies to intervene in the mental health of victims of political violence, including legal and economic accompaniment and facilities in the migration process. Colombian entities are recommended to strengthen the transition towards forgiveness and healthy coexistence through the relevant agencies and to ensure constant and uninterrupted attention to those affected by decades of political violence.

In the national context, it is recommended that the relevant entities expedite and oversee the subsidization of comprehensive treatment for the victims of political violence, as well as the creation of economic funds to promote their recovery. It is also recommended to design legal strategies of conciliation to prevent the occurrence of episodes of political violence, as well as to implement guidelines for the promotion of protective factors in communities vulnerable to political violence.

Finally, it is recommended that the study of variables in current episodes be strengthened.

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