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Musical Instruments in Candomblé

The Confluences of the Ritual Orchestra

Highlights

Reflections on Freedom and Revolution

Input & Output in the Innovation Ecosystem

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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The Confluences of the Ritual Orchestra: An Ethnography of Musical Instruments in Candomblé

By Yasmin Estrela Sampaio

Universidade da Amazônia

Abstract- This manuscript presents the ethnography of musical instruments in a Candomblé Ketu's temple located in Brazil, specifically in Belém do Pará. The temple referenced in this essay is Ilè Àsé Iyá Ogunté, being led by the yalorixá Iyá Ejité. We will discuss to understand the connection of musical instruments with the songs performed in the ceremonies incorporated into the spatial organization of the terreiro, which seeks to reproduce the cosmogonic logic of the Orixás world, *Òrun*. In this sense, it was possible to present the sacredness of musical instruments to their players, exclusively male called Alabês, establishing a connection between *Òrun* and *Ayê*, a space where human beings live, offering a circularity that allows a constant exchange of fundamental energy of the universe, Axé, between humans and Orixás.

Keywords: *ethnography, musical instruments, axé, candomblé, space.*

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The Confluences of the Ritual Orchestra: An Ethnography of Musical Instruments in Candomblé

As Confluências Da Orquestra Ritual: Uma Etnografia Dos Instrumentos Musicais No Candomblé

Yasmin Estrela Sampaio

Resumo- O presente artigo apresenta a etnografia dos instrumentos musicais em um terreiro de Candomblé Ketu localizado no Brasil, na Região Norte especificamente no estado do Pará. A casa escolhida para referenciar este ensaio é o Ilè Àsé Iyá Ogunté liderado pela yalorixá Iyá Ejité. Buscamos compreender a relação dos instrumentos musicais junto às cantigas executadas nas cerimônias incorporados a organização espacial do terreiro, a qual busca reproduzir a lógica cosmogônica do mundo dos Orixás, o Òrun. Neste sentido, foi possível apresentar a sacralidade dos instrumentos musicais junto aos seus tocadores, exclusivamente do sexo masculino chamados Alabês, estabelecendo uma conexão entre o Òrun e o Ayê, espaço onde habitam os seres humanos, dispondo de uma circularidade que permite uma constante troca da energia fundamental do universo, o Axé, entre humanos e Orixás.

Palavras-chave: etnografia, instrumentos musicais, axé, candomblé, espaço.

Abstract- This manuscript presents the ethnography of musical instruments in a Candomblé Ketu's temple located in Brazil, specifically in Belém do Pará. The temple referenced in this essay is Ilè Àsé Iyá Ogunté, being led by the yalorixá Iyá Ejité. We will discuss to understand the connection of musical instruments with the songs performed in the ceremonies incorporated into the spatial organization of the terreiro, which seeks to reproduce the cosmogonic logic of the Orixás world, *Òrun*. In this sense, it was possible to present the sacredness of musical instruments to their players, exclusively male called Alabês, establishing a connection between *Òrun* and *Ayê*, a space where human beings live, offering a circularity that allows a constant exchange of fundamental energy of the universe, Axé, between humans and Orixás.

Keywords: ethnography, musical instruments, axé, candomblé, space.

I. Introdução

Este texto tem por objetivo apresentar uma etnografia dos instrumentos musicais em um terreiro de Candomblé de nação *Ketu*. A casa escolhida para referenciar esta pesquisa foi o *Ilè Àsé Iyá Ogunté* localizado em Belém do Pará, especificamente no município de Ananindeua, sendo liderado pela yalorixá Iyá Ejité, cujo nome civil é Rita Azevedo, também conhecida como "Mãe Rita".

Realizadas durante o ano de 2019, as entrevistas apresentam diálogos com a sacerdotisa acerca dos instrumentos musicais do Ilê, bem como sua organização como orquestra ritual responsável pela liturgia da casa. Concomitante aos diálogos com Iyá Ejité, as participações nas cerimônias da casa foram imprescindíveis para observar como os instrumentos eram organizados e manuseados por seus tocadores, os *Alabês*.[1] Neste sentido, assumimos um roteiro de prática etnográfica aproximado aos caminhos apontados por Geertz (2008), estabelecendo relações, mapeando o campo, transcrevendo textos, mantendo um diário no qual foi possível ter acesso à uma descrição densa da cultura buscando contrapor conceitos padrões estabelecidos.

Desta forma, buscamos compreender o sentido dos instrumentos musicais como objetos sagrados no terreiro junto a música executada nas liturgias, como elementos associados a comunicação entre o plano terreno dos seres humanos, o *Ayê,* e o plano divino dos Orixás, *Òrun* a partir de um diálogo entre Geografia e Antropologia no qual foi possível abordar a relação entre elementos simbólicos e o ordenamento do espaço do terreiro. A representação sagrada dos instrumentos musicais junto as cantigas executadas, produzem um sentido no espaço visto que, a música nos terreiros de Candomblé estabelece uma relação à ancestralidade que carrega a energia e mantém o Axé da casa em constante circularidade. A palavra executada em iorubá nas canções emanam a energia junto aos tambores, capazes de reunir as divindades no Ayê, apresentando-se como experiências religiosas transcendentais, neste sentido "a música também é um

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[1] Os instrumentos são manuseados exclusivamente por indivíduos do sexo masculino designados à função de Alabês. A eles é dada a responsabilidade de cuidar, limpar e organizar os instrumentos bem como prepará-los para as liturgias da casa.

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meio para as pessoas comunicarem suas experiências ambientais, tanto as cotidianas como aquelas fora do comum" (KONG, 2009: 133).

A música na cultura africana está intrinsecamente relacionada ao contexto religioso. Na África Ocidental o cotidiano era envolvido pela vontade sobrenatural, subordinando os homens a assíduos encantamentos e magias levando os africanos a desenvolverem um complexo ritual baseado em danças e cantos para cada ação desempenhada. Para Tinhorão (2008) haviam momentos marcantes da vida particular dos indivíduos como nascimento, casamento, puberdade, morte em que haviam rituais e cânticos propiciatórios para cada momento individual ou da comunidade no geral.

O sentido da música nos terreiros não se trata apenas de um elemento simbólico que faz parte das liturgias da casa, mas de um princípio que carrega e reforça uma cultura reconstruída a partir da união de elementos étnicos com um princípio em comum: resistir ao sistema escravista brasileiro e buscar fixar suas raízes culturais. Barros (2000) descreve que o mundo dos sons e dos textos falados, gestos, expressões corporais, disseminam um conjunto de significados ordenados pela sua inserção nos distintos ritos nas comunidades-terreiro, em que é possível compreender a identidade do lugar a partir da paisagem descrita por meio dos sons, uma vez que "a paisagem sonora é cultural, pois reflete a identidade de um lugar e de seus habitantes. Os sons do trânsito possuem, além dos sons dos motores, códigos que são específicos em cada grupo social" (TORRES; KOZEL, 2010: 127).

Os tambores, por exemplo, comportam-se como mediadores de comunicação entre os orixás e os seres humanos estabelecendo uma ligação entre os planos do Òrun e Ayê permitindo a renovação da energia fundamental que equilibra o universo: o *Axé*. No Candomblé, os tambores são denominados Atabaques e compõe uma tríade de instrumentos membranofones, possuindo apenas um lado, sendo coberto de couro onde realiza-se a maior parte da percussão. São chamados, do maior para o menor, *Rum, Rumpi* e *Lê*. Pierre Verger estabelece uma diferença na construção desses tambores de acordo com as nações presentes no Candomblé.

> Esses atabaques apresentam uma forma cônica e são feitos com uma única pele, fixada e esticada por um sistema de cravelhos para os nagôs e os gêges, e por cunhas de madeira para os tambores ngomas, de origem congolesa e angolana. Tais instrumentos foram batizados e, de vez em quando, é preciso manter sua força (axé), por meio de oferendas e sacrifícios (VERGER, 1981: 33).

Longe de possuírem apenas uma função musical, os atabaques segundo Iyá Ejité, correspondem às divindades da casa a qual pertencem, neste caso trata-se de *Yemanjá, Ogum* e *Oyá*.[2] No entanto ela ressalta que os tambores são consagrados a todos os orixás e são rufados para convocar as divindades à adentrarem o espaço da casa e estabelecer a troca de energias, como dito anteriormente. Os atabaques do Ilè Àsé possuem o mesmo sistema de cravelhos, descrito acima por Pierre Verger, com o corpo em peça única de madeira, mais especificamente de Jacarandá. O valor simbólico atribuído aos tambores confere a eles o papel de divindades no qual são sacralizados, alimentados e vestidos, sendo tocados apenas pelos *Alabês* ou pessoas de importância de autoridades da casa, desde que sejam do sexo masculino.

Além dos atabaques, há também o instrumento *gã* ou *agogô*, idiofone podendo conter de uma, até quatro campânulas e junto aos atabaques formam o conjunto orquestral das cerimônias nos terreiros de Candomblé. Desta forma, a seguir serão apresentados os instrumentos que compõe a orquestra sagrada do Ilè Àsé Iyá Ogunte transmitindo um discurso mitológico recontado por meio das danças, letras e canções entoadas durante as cerimônias.

II. *"Deixa o Gã Chamar e Eles Entram no Ritmo"* – O Maestro da Orquestra Dos Tambores

Um dos princípios do Candomblé observados nos últimos anos de pesquisa foi o equilíbrio, o qual só é possível mediante uma relação harmônica entre seres humanos e os Orixás. Sem a harmonia não há possibilidade de se fazer Candomblé; não é possível estabelecer uma ligação entre Òrun e Ayê, como explica Iyá Ejité. Cada filho ou filha de santo é responsável não só pelo seu Orixá, como também por conservar o equilíbrio e a harmonia dentro da casa de santo com os demais integrantes e de todo este sistema de existência que perpassa no terreiro.

A música é um dos elementos que participa e integra um sistema de crenças baseado na troca de energias entre divindades e seres humanos. Desta forma, o som permite a manifestação sagrada e torna-se um dos principais elementos condutores do Axé:

> O som, como resultado de interação dinâmica, condutor de *àse,* e consequentemente atuante, aparece com todo o seu conteúdo simbólico nos instrumentos rituais: tambores, *agogô,sèkèrè, séré, kala-kolo, àjà,* sáworo etc. É evidente que todos esses instrumentos são "preparados", isto é, consagrados através da transmissão de *àse* apropriado às funções a que são destinados (SANTOS, 2012: 49).

O Axé contido nos instrumentos musicais permite que os sons produzidos invoquem as entidades a partir do rito de comunicação entre Òrun e Ayê. Segundo Santos (2012) a invocação da entidade se

[2] As "divindades da casa" correspondem aos Orixás da Yalorixá.

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apoia no poder dinâmico do som, visto que a palavra é condutora do poder do axé, pois quando pronunciada no momento preciso induz a ação. O princípio da ação da possessão dos orixás é precedido pelo fator musical presente na orquestra do terreiro, em que estão dispostos um quarteto musical composto pelo Gã ou Agogô e os três atabaques, Rum, Rumpi e Lê. Embora os tambores sejam os elementos que convocam os orixás dentro da liturgia, não são eles os iniciantes do processo musical, quem os apresenta para a abertura do ritual é o *Agogô* ou *Gã*.

O *Agogô* ou *Gã* é um instrumento iorubano caracterizado por possuir uma ou mais campânulas de ferro sendo percutidos pelos *Aguidavis*.[3] Segundo Cardoso (2006), alguns autores referem-se ao Gã e ao Agogô como instrumentos distintos, no qual a diferença está na quantidade de campânulas que cada um possui, no caso o Gã possuiria apenas uma campânula enquanto o Agogô disponibilizaria de duas ou mais. No entanto para o autor, na prática usual da religião, as diferenças praticamente não existem, visto que mesmo com duas campânulas, grande parte dos músicos do Candomblé prefere tocar apenas uma. Então neste texto, Gã e Agogô serão tratados como sinônimos. Entretanto, Iyá Ejité chama o instrumento idiofone da sua casa de Gã, portanto, irei chamá-lo como é definido pela yalorixá.

O Gã funciona como ponto de orientação para os Alabês executarem os toques durante as celebrações, formando uma base rítmica em que se realizam as melodias e os toques instrumentais. Para Fonseca (2006) o agogô possui fórmulas de organização rítmica conhecidas como *linhas-guias*, proposta pelo musicólogo ganense Kwabena Nketia em seu livro *The music of Africa* escrito em 1974. Desta forma, as linhas-guias "são parte de um conjunto de sistemas semânticos que integram e configuram os rituais no candomblé" (FONSECA, 2006: 103).

Se por um lado os Atabaques têm a função de convocar os orixás ao Ayê, o Gã de acordo com Iyá Ejité é encarregado de "acordar" os tambores. Durante as celebrações é possível observar o momento em que são dados os toques no Gã e em seguida os atabaques são rufados para marcar a entrada das pessoas no barracão.[4] Para além da sua função como ponto de orientação aos alabês, o Gã transmite a energia que desperta os atabaques para o ritual dentro do terreiro.

> Quem entra primeiro é o Gã, é o Gã que chama os atabaques. O Rum que a gente pensa "ah é o Rum o primeiro", o Rum é o último. Entra o Lê *pra* depois o Rum marcar. Então, deixa o Gã chamar e eles entram no ritmo (Iyá Ejité, 16 de agosto de 2019).

A partir desta fala, Iyá Ejité começa a explicar a existência de uma hierarquia dos Orixás no toque musical, no entanto cada elemento é fundamentalmente interligado, onde a existência de um não sobrepõe a do outro. Ainda que o Rum seja o atabaque maior e convoque diretamente os orixás, há uma ordem estabelecida criando uma sintonia em que a orquestra irá executar.

Por ser um instrumento confeccionado em ferro, o Gã é dedicado a Ogum, conhecido como deus guerreiro e associado ao ferro sendo percutido por aguidavis pois segundo Maurício e Oxalá (2009) ferro não deve ser percutido com ferro. Como um instrumento fundamental na orquestra, o Gã é responsável por iniciar o toque dos orixás durante as cerimônias do Candomblé e rufar os atabaques, marcando o ritmo das cantigas e constituindo um ponto de referência dando suporte rítmico para os instrumentos e para o canto (CARDOSO, 2006). Embora o Gã componha a orquestra ritual junto aos atabaques, ele não recebe a mesma categoria de divindade semelhante, dado a sua função dentro do ritual como referência natural e ponto de apoio para os Alabês.

O processo de consagração dos instrumentos é realizado de acordo com os fundamentos da religião. Sendo assim, neste momento todos são colocados juntos, no caso do Ilè Àsé são os Atabaques, os Aguidavis e o Gã, no interior do *roncó*[5] em que o objetivo é transmitir, acumular e desenvolver o axé nestes instrumentos a partir do processo ritual. De acordo com Santos (2012), para o terreiro integrar suas funções é necessário receber o Axé, plantá-lo[6] e em seguida transmiti-lo a todos os elementos que integram o terreiro, desta forma os instrumentos passam a expressar o Axé da casa.

É importante ressaltar a relação recíproca entre o Òrun e o Ayê, planos que permeiam a cosmogonia no Candomblé, a partir da dádiva da energia fundamental que equilibra o universo: o axé, compreendendo que "tudo vai e vem como se houvesse troca constante de uma matéria espiritual que compreendesse coisas e homens" (MAUSS, 2003: 201). O princípio da ação ou transação da dádiva a partir das relações sociais dos grupos religiosos, neste caso o Candomblé, estabelece uma ordem social em que a razão desta ordem é regida com base na reciprocidade realizada a partir do fazer musical no qual são interligadas por três obrigações: dar, receber e retribuir, visto que "cada uma dessas

[3] Aguidavis são varetas utilizadas para tocar os Atabaques. Normalmente se utiliza duas para tocar o Rumpi e o Lê e uma para tocar o Rum. São feitas de árvore de goiabeira sendo consagradas junto com os tambores e o Gã.

[4] Espaço onde são realizadas as cerimônias públicas do terreiro.

[5] Espaço onde ficam recolhidos os filhos e são realizados os rituais privados de iniciação

[6] O axé é plantado nos *peji*, comumente conhecidos como "quartos dos orixás" e são realimentados através das oferendas e ações rituais (SANTOS, 2012).

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obrigações cria um laço de energia espiritual entre os atores da dádiva. A retribuição da dádiva seria explicada pela existência dessa força, dentro da coisa dada: um vínculo de almas" (SABOURIN, 2008: 132).

Este laço espiritual descrito por Sabourin é narrado por Iyá Ejité em quase todas as nossas conversas sobre o equilíbrio espiritual como fator fundamental para a existência da sua casa, no momento em que ela afirma "O candomblé é sintonia, é química. Se não tem química não tem como a gente sentir a energia dos nossos orixás" (Iyá Ejité, 16 de agosto de 2019). A emanação da força espiritual, o axé, estabelece um vínculo social (MAUSS, 2003) em que é gerada uma ordem no espaço por meio do rito criando "ordenamentos de estabilização de papeis, de distribuição de funções fundamentalmente através da interpretação de espaços" (TERRIN, 2004: 209).

III. "Pai de Todos" e Guia Dos Orixás: O Adjá

O Adjá é caracterizado por Cardoso (2006) como "instrumento de fundamento", pois possui a força "fundamental" ligado ao fenômeno da possessão. Visualmente caracteriza-se como uma sineta de uma ou mais campânulas sendo tocados durante as cerimônias pelo sacerdote, nesse caso Iyá Ejité, quando há a intenção de trazer o orixá até o corpo do seu filho. De acordo com Iyá Ejité o Adjá possui uma forte energia e não pode ser tocado por alguém que acabou de entrar para a religião, como um abiã, pois este corre o risco de "virar" o santo. O seu Adjá pertence ao orixá da sua cabeça neste caso Yemanja, no entanto este instrumento é fortemente ligado a Oxalá, conhecido como orixá "Pai de todos".



Fonte: Yasmin Estrela, 2019

Imagem 1: Adjá nas mãos de Iyá Ejité durante a festa de Yemanjá Ogunté.

> Qualquer autoridade que já tem o seu cargo, já tem seu tempo de orixá, toca um Adjá. Aquele Adjá é consagrado às autoridades da casa, ao orixá daquela casa. Então qualquer uma autoridade é apta a pegar aquele Adjá. Por exemplo, no caso dos iaôs "pega lá aquele Adjá pra mim", não pode, porque eles são iaôs.[7] Se eles pegarem eles "viram". Por exemplo quando eu era iaô eu não pegava no Adjá, mas a partir do momento que eu recebi meu grau de sacerdotisa eu passei a pegar no Adjá, eu recebi meu grau, entendeu? Todos os iaôs que hoje não pegam poderão amanhã pegar (Iyá Ejité, 16 de agosto de 2019).

Cada instrumento possui uma relação com os Orixás, bem como o Gã possui com Ogum e o Adjá possui com Oxalá. No entanto, sua energia varia de acordo com cada terreiro, uma vez que o Adjá de Iyá Ejité pertence à Yemanjá, porém não perde sua funcionalidade durante a liturgia. Bastide (1961) observou que o transe quando custa a se produzir, os sacerdotes ou sacerdotisas agitam os adjás junto ao

[7] Iniciado no Candomblé até o seu sétimo ano onde irá posteriormente tornar-se um sacerdote/sacerdotisa.

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ouvido dos filhos ou filhas de santo chamando o orixá para incorporar o seu filho.

Embora este instrumento não esteja junto ao conjunto orquestral do terreiro, ele também possui o poder para chamar uma divindade uma vez que, seu papel seja em específico em guiar o Orixá ou de fazê-lo incorporar em um filho em particular numa determinada ocasião, como foi o caso de uma abiã em que eu presenciei em minha primeira participação de uma celebração da casa em 2016. O Orixá ainda não havia se manifestado, entretanto ela estava no transe espiritual e Iyá Ejité estava justamente do seu lado com o Adjá nas mãos agitando-o à espera de um sinal de que o orixá iria descer no corpo da sua filha.

> O orixá ele não vai no ritmo só do atabaque. Quem guia o orixá é o Adjá. Se eu quiser levar o orixá lá no final da rua batendo o Adjá e voltar, ele vai atrás daquele barulho. O Ajdá é fundamental pra gente. Por exemplo o orixá *tá* dançando e tende a ir pro lado errado, aí a gente bate o Adjá perto do ouvido do orixá e ele se guia novamente. Então ele é fundamental, é ele que busca, é ele que chama, é ele que consagra. No momento em que o orixá chega todo mundo bate o seu Adjá (Iyá Ejité, 16 de agosto de 2019).

Percebe-se a conexão entre todos os instrumentos musicais do terreiro. Um como guia para os tambores e o outro como guia para os orixás, trabalhando em conjunto com o instrumento que comunica a mensagem dos orixás transmitindo a energia para dentro da casa: os atabaques. A união a qual Iyá Ejité sempre faz questão de mencionar nas suas falas, esclarece a relação de organização estabelecida no qual ajusta as ações humanas a uma ordem cósmica concebida e idealiza imagens da ordem cósmica no plano da realidade humana (GEERTZ, 2008).

IV. Trio Das Entidades Membranofones: Yemanjá (RUM), Ogum (RUMPI) e Oyá (LÊ)

A primeira coisa a ser percebida ao entrar no terreiro, e que também sempre chama atenção, são os três tambores localizados no canto direito do salão principal onde ocorrem as celebrações do Ilè Àsé Iyá Ogunté. Durante minhas visitas, que ocorriam sempre às sextas-feiras,[8] recordo do momento em que passava pelo salão e os observava cobertos no seu *sono profundo*, como mencionava Iyá Ejité. Segundo ela, semelhante aos seres humanos, os atabaques precisam descansar e despertam sempre no momento em que há alguma celebração na casa.



Fonte: Yasmin Estrela, 2018

Imagem 2: Atabaques "adormecidos" antes da Celebração ao Orixá[8] Ogum.

[8] As entrevistas eram realizadas às sextas-feiras pois, no Candomblé este dia é dedicado à Oxalá, portanto não há atividades no terreiro. Consequentemente era um ambiente propício para as nossas conversas acontecerem sem interrupções.

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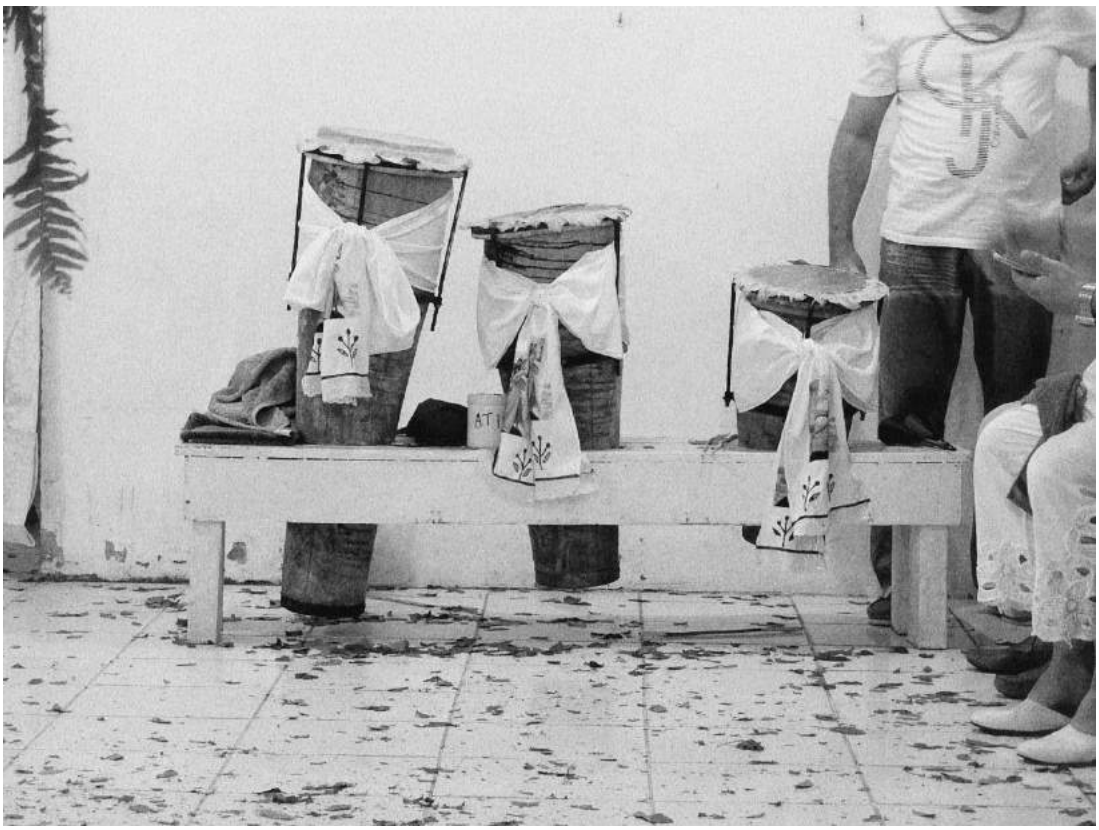
Mauss (2003) esclarece que as dádivas vão e voltam a todo o momento, o que explica a devolução da dádiva é a força presente no que foi dado implicando o que o autor irá caracterizar como reciprocidade, visto que "a reciprocidade implica na preocupação pelo outro para estabelecer o *mana*, para produzir valores afetivos ou éticos como a paz, a confiança, a amizade e a compreensão mútua" (SABOURIN, 2008: 135). Desta forma a dádiva é explicada por Iyá Ejité de forma a complementar o diálogo com os autores no momento em que na sua fala ela menciona "abalar os orixás" ao Ayê de maneira a agradecê-los pelas energias presentes na vida do ser humano refletindo diretamente na condição de existência da casa.

> O atabaque faz parte desse processo iniciático, há a necessidade da gente abalar os orixás, *da gente agradecer os orixás. E a música está totalmente entrelaçada nesse processo,* não tem como separar. Pelo menos na nossa casa, há a questão do instrumento, da importância desse instrumento (Iyá Ejité, 26 de outubro de 2018, grifo nosso).

Quando ela expressa "a música está totalmente entrelaçada nesse processo" remete aos estudos de Tinhorão (2008) acerca dos rituais na África Ocidental em que a música estava em todos os processos do cotidiano da população, seja para nascimento ou morte, casamentos, guerras, vitórias, caçadas e etc. Portanto, os africanos desenvolvem um complexo ritual em que para cada ação praticada havia uma invocação especial por meio de cantos ou danças. Portanto, no contexto afro-religioso a música caracteriza-se como elemento favorável à construção do espaço sagrado como lócus material no que se refere à incorporação dos orixás nos filhos de santo uma vez que as cantigas buscam introduzir a presença do sagrado nas cerimônias religiosas, e por meio do simbólico os atabaques possuem um significado muito maior do que apenas reprodutores de som.

a) Rum, Rumpi e Lê: As perspectivas cosmogônicas dos tambores no terreiro



Fonte: Yasmin Estrela, 2019

Imagem 3: Rum, Rumpi e Lê durante a celebração para Yemanjá no dia 26 de janeiro de 2019.

Os três elementos de percussão que estão presentes no terreiro são respectivamente, do maior para o menor: *Rum, Rumpi e Lê*. O três, junto ao Gã, compõe a orquestra ritual presente no Ilè Àsé Iyá Ogunte. Cardoso (2006) chama os tambores de "instrumentos de fundamento" por estarem intimamente ligados com o fenômeno de possessão, pois quando são tocados possuem o Axé específico que contribui para a incorporação do orixá no seu filho. Os atabaques são representações vivas dos Orixás em um terreiro, sendo um elemento que carrega e transporta o axé na

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casa. Iyá Ejité ressalta que os tambores são vivos, sendo um elo de ligação entre o Òrun e o Ayê:

> O atabaque é esse elo, esse tocar, esse som, como ele é invocado em cima das nossas músicas, das nossas rezas. Então é o atabaque que faz essa comunicação. Não necessariamente, por exemplo, o orixá só vem se o atabaque for tocado? Não, nós temos outros fundamentos, com outros instrumentos eu posso invocar o meu orixá do Òrun ao Ayê. Por exemplo eu posso pegar meu *adjá*, eu tenho condições também de abalar um orixá. Mas um atabaque dentro de uma roda de Candomblé, ele que faz; esse processo é dele (Iyá Ejité, 31 de janeiro de 2019).

É possível compreender a função comunicativa dos tambores a partir de uma linguagem ritual esclarecida pelos seus interpretes, os Alabês. Exclusivamente do sexo masculino, os alabês são os percussionistas do terreiro responsáveis por transmitir a mensagem aos orixás e trazê-los até o Ayê. Há um elemento que ainda os torna muito especiais: ainda que não sofram o transe espiritual, sendo chamados de "não rodantes", Iyá Ejité considera suas relações com os orixás tão íntimas quanto de alguém em que as divindades se manifestam. Novamente a sua fala reflete o princípio da reciprocidade de Mauss (2003), no qual o Alabê recebe o "dom" do orixá para compreender a sua linguagem e transmiti-la durante o ritual proporcionando a vinda dos deuses, portanto, o Alabê torna-se o intermediário da comunicação e da transmissão do axé entre o Òrun e o Ayê, visto que "as relações desses contratos e trocas entre homens e desses contratos e trocas entre homens e deuses esclarecem todo um lado da teoria do sacrifício" (Ibid.: 72).

A função do processo litúrgico é apenas destinada aos homens, nunca às mulheres. Por trás dessa tradição está o tabu em torno da menstruação quase absoluto em torno dos afro-religiosos. Sobre isso Souza (2018) afirma:

> O sangue menstrual é um elemento considerado liminar (Turner, 1979) e ambíguo, uma vez que pode ser considerado vida e morte. Vida porque dela depende a saúde feminina e morte porque é a representação mais absoluta da não procriação. O sangue menstrual só existe mediante a expulsão do óvulo não fecundado. E o óvulo morto jorra em sangue como signo mensal do fracasso do papel conferido à mulher nas sociedades patriarcais□ o da procriação (SOUZA, 2018: 45-46).

Para a autora, a restrição imposta às mulheres pelo tabu do sangue menstrual, podem ser atribuídas à uma forma de "poder" concedendo ao feminino a possibilidade de desestabilizar o sistema religioso, invalidar o ritual e "sujar" os símbolos sagrados. Desta forma, existem tarefas consideradas prioritariamente a mulheres, sobretudo as que envolvem a tarefa de cuidar (SOUZA, 2018).



Fonte: Yasmin Estrela, 2019

Imagem 4: Alabês durante a festa de Yemanjá Ogunté.

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Os atabaques representam arquétipos dos Orixás da casa e refletem a criação de símbolos exportados à materialidade como afirma Pereira e Gil Filho (2012), proporcionando uma conexão funcional entre o universo dos fatos e o universo simbólico, portanto, "a atividade simbólica modela o mundo em dimensões de experiências que realiza o ser" (Ibid.: 43). Considerando que ambos os autores concebem o espaço sagrado entre categorias de expressões e representações, os instrumentos musicais do candomblé nesse sentido, vão muito além de uma atribuição ao papel musical: "Ele é a representação viva do orixá da casa, ele é a representação viva de toda essa energia" (Iyá Ejité entrevistada em 28 de outubro de 2018).

V. Os Tambores e Seu Papel Como Mediadores do Círculo Social Religioso

Os atabaques de Iyá Ejité são construídos de jacarandá-do-pará, uma madeira de lei comumente usada na região para confecção de instrumentos musicais. Questionei achando que talvez a árvore possuísse alguma ligação direta com algum mito de origem ou com alguma ocorrência da sua trajetória religiosa. E sim, ela me afirma que a religião possui uma ligação direta com a natureza, sendo comum utilizar estes elementos que carreguem estas energias para dentro do terreiro

> Os meus (atabaques) foi uma questão muito minha. O meu esposo trabalha no Sul do Pará e ele queria fazer o atabaque da nossa casa. Nossos atabaques são feitos de um tronco só e foi moldado *pra* nossa casa. Ele foi talhado que chamam né? Porque geralmente a gente compra pronto nas lojas, em Salvador, no Rio, mas aqui em Belém a gente já tem esse acesso, entendeu? Mas por exemplo, o nosso é uma madeira só, justamente por causa desses significados que vem da natureza *pra* gente (Iyá Ejité, 26 de outubro de 2018).

Para Eliade (1979) no mundo arcaico o mito relata as manifestações da verdadeira realidade: o sagrado. Portanto o autor ressalta que o espaço está diretamente interligado ao sagrado por meio de elementos manifestados em símbolos hierocósmicos como por exemplo a "Árvore Cósmica" a qual liga o cume da Montanha Cósmica ao Centro do Mundo com o Céu estabelecendo comunicação com o divino. A mitologema da árvore apresentada pelo autor, reflete na cosmovisão iorubana de comunicação com o divino, uma vez que os tambores são construídos a partir de uma árvore, elemento presente no centro do mundo ligando-o ao céu. Portanto:

> Pode dizer-se que a maioria das árvores sagradas e rituais que encontramos na história das religiões não passa de réplica, de cópia imperfeita desse arquétipo exemplar: a Árvore do Mundo. Quer dizer, supõe-se que todas as árvores sagradas se encontram no Centro do Mundo e todas as árvores rituais ou postes, que se consagram antes ou durante qualquer cerimónia religiosa, são como que magicamente projetados no Centro do Mundo (ELIADE, 1979: 44).

Durante o processo de iniciação, todos os instrumentos foram postos juntos durante o corte do animal para "comerem" reunidos, incluindo os Aguidavis. Os atabaques do Ilè Àsé Iyá Ogunté foram confeccionados, passando pelo processo descrito e são preparados para participarem das cerimônias representando os Orixás da Yalorixá.

Segundo a Yalorixá, a presença do sagrado é tão "forte" nesses instrumentos que nenhuma pessoa pode tocá-los além dos Alabês, função que expressa um compromisso firmado a partir do que Iyá Ejité diz ser um "dom" para conduzir as cerimônias e conseguir estabelecer uma conexão com o sagrado. As expressões simbólicas presentes em todos os elementos o qual destaquei durante as nossas entrevistas, me fizeram ter uma percepção de espaço completamente pensado a partir de uma perspectiva do divino, do sagrado.

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Fonte: Yasmin Estrela, 2019

Imagem 5: Yemanjá Ogunté no momento em que vai cumprimentar os Atabaques.

Portanto, as formas simbólicas expressam o compromisso e a devoção do ser humano ao sagrado. A ritualização do espaço permite criar uma ligação entre os dois ambientes, Òrun e Ayê, a partir de práticas litúrgicas, destacadas no Candomblé a nas cerimônias conduzidas pelas canções que remetem uma memória ancestral transportada oralmente em ioruba arcaico, haja vista que "os praticantes conhecem o sentido dos cantos e dos louvores, mas não necessariamente o conteúdo de cada palavra. Como costuma ser dito: 'esta é a língua falada pelos orixás' " (BARROS, 2000: 36). A identidade cultural do lugar e os mitos remontam a memória e a história dos orixás, a partir das letras das canções, a sacralidade do lugar e os símbolos que o estrutura como espaço cosmicizado.

> O lugar comporta objetos e valores através dos símbolos, signos e significados. É no lugar que as relações sociais ocorrem, e através delas os valores são compartilhados. A topofilia está ligada a estes valores quando surge no indivíduo a sensação de pertencimento ao lugar. Com o compartilhamento dos valores e das memórias, temos então a possibilidade das análises acerca da identidade de cada indivíduo e do grupo (TORRES e KOZEL, 2010: 130).

Segundo Amaral e Silva (1992), os Atabaques são como seres vivos dentro da casa, e, portanto, são tratados como autoridades, depois do processo de consagração, são "alimentados" anualmente para restabelecer o Axé no tambor junto aos outros instrumentos, vestidos e preparados para cerimônias tal como sacerdotes. Sua localização na casa também possui um ponto estratégico no qual leva-se em consideração que os tambores são divindades, então são capazes de enxergar, ouvir e falar. Sobre a sua posição no terreiro, Iyá Ejité explica:

> Automaticamente eles ficam de frente *pra* rua. Porque se eles estão chamando alguém, eles estão enxergando alguém e diz "ei, vem cá". Eu penso nesse sentido, não tem como botar o atabaque de um lado *pro* outro. Eles teriam que estar nesse contato com a rua fazendo esse jogo. *Tem momentos dentro de um candomblé que se entra um sacerdote consagrado naquela casa, o atabaque faz reverência.* A música continua sendo tocada, todo mundo cantando, todo mundo dançando, mas o atabaque começa a virar fazendo um toque, aí a gente vai olhar tem um sacerdote entrando (Iyá Ejité, 31 de janeiro de 2019, grifo nosso).

Na chegada de uma autoridade, um sacerdote, no momento de uma celebração, o atabaque maior, o Rum, cumprimenta a autoridade com uma "dobra" no tambor, ou seja, há uma batida feita pelo Alabê que sinaliza uma espécie de cumprimento de boas-vindas.

Os atabaques possuem uma responsabilidade ritual, pois buscam manter viva a energia da casa ao convidar os orixás para esta constante troca do Axé,

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mas também consideram as relações sociais hierárquicas presentes no terreiro, como esclarece Iyá Ejité, o atabaque reverencia um sacerdote ou sacerdotisa e de semelhante forma é reverenciado por uma autoridade da religião ou mesmo por uma divindade.



Fonte: Yasmin Estrela, 2019

Imagem 6: Yemanjá Ogunté reverenciando os tambores após a sua "chegada" ao Ayê.

Desta forma, a prática musical nos terreiros de Candomblé é um elemento simbólico propulsor das ações sociais presente no espaço. De acordo com Rosendahl (2012), existe uma dinâmica a qual o homem religioso age sobre o seu ambiente e qualifica-o com formas espaciais diretamente ligadas às suas necessidades. "São marcas simbólicas que respondem aos desejos do devoto em suas práticas espaciais" (Ibid.: 25). As práticas espaciais religiosas contribuem para a criação de um território que possibilita o fortalecimento das experiências religiosas coletivas e individuais garantindo e estabelecendo o domínio dos grupos religiosos no espaço.

VI. "Triângulo de Energias" Como Símbolo Hierocósmico no Espaço

As forças simbólicas responsáveis pela manutenção e construção do espaço sagrado, possuem uma organização à qual obedece à lógica do sagrado (ROSENDAHL, 2014). À esta lógica está presente uma materialidade em que se atribui um valor simbólico, visto que "a modelização simbólica dos objetos espaciais tem, como suporte anterior, os parâmetros da consciência mítica" (GIL FILHO, 2005: 122). A localização dos tambores no espaço reflete a representação cosmogônica iorubá no terreiro revelando um sistema de signos religiosos expressos na paisagem modelados enquanto representações divinas.

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Fonte: Yasmin Estrela, 2016

Imagem 7: Salão Central do Ilè Àsé Iyá Ogunté e ao final estão localizados os atabaques, simultaneamente em direção à porta de entrada.

No momento em que fiz o registro desta imagem, em 2016, foi o dia em que realizei a minha primeira entrevista no terreiro. Com o passar dos anos de pesquisa no Ilê, foi possível perceber a profundidade e imanência que os três tambores provocam ao adentrar o salão, onde há uma disposição local dos atabaques em que estão presentes em uma dimensão simbólica da representação, no qual encontram-se as três principais divindades do terreiro: Yemanjá, Ogum e Oyá.

Para Gil Filho (2005) a capacidade de determinação de um objeto e a sua espacialidade passa a ser uma referência à consciência, no qual a condição do ser, necessariamente, a existência espacial determina que "a modelização simbólica dos objetos espaciais tem, como suporte anterior, os parâmetros da consciência mítica" (Ibid.: 122). O axé emanado pelos tambores é chamado por Iyá Ejité de "triângulo de energias" representando o que Rosendahl (1995) caracteriza por símbolos *hierocósmicos*, em que apresentam a presença real do sagrado materializada em um objeto, neste caso os tambores.

Por se tratarem de símbolos que manifestam a imagem do sagrado, os atabaques também revelam a partir da sua espacialidade uma característica um tanto peculiar: anfitriões da casa. A localização estratégica, em frente à porta do terreiro remete, sempre que ocorrem as festas públicas da casa, a um convite para entrar no terreiro. Iyá Ejité confirma este fato ao dizer que eles estão na direção da porta com o intuito de convidar para a casa as pessoas a qual eles enxergam quando estão despertos, bem como saudar a chegada de sacerdotes durante as cerimônias.

Para Rosendahl (2014) as formas simbólicas são representações da realidade resultantes de um processo pelo qual são produzidos e transmitidos entre a comunidade. Portanto, os atabaques são representações de uma realidade existente de um mundo mais amplo, ou um macrocosmo (WAGNER, 2017), presentes em um espaço o qual é fortemente impregnado de axé onde torna-se possível a irradiar esta energia para além do espaço do terreiro, uma vez que o atabaque convida o indivíduo a entrar na casa e compartilhar da energia presente no lugar.

VII. A Ordenação do *Ethos* da Criação a Partir do Fazer Musical: Últimas Considerações

Há ordem uma estabelecida para que o universo se movimente e o axé possa estabelecer a conexão entre os mundos expressa a partir do fazer

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musical em que o conjunto orquestral remonta os mitos cosmogônicos da criação narrados a partir das letras das rezas cantadas na língua dos orixás, o iorubá, permitindo a preservação da língua ancestral, possibilitando a existência de uma ordem coletiva a partir dos símbolos sagrados. Os símbolos sagrados sintetizam o *ethos*[9] de uma sociedade e sua visão de mundo, uma vez que "o ethos de um grupo torna-se intelectualmente razoável porque demonstra representar um tipo de vida idealmente adaptado ao estado de coisas atual que a visão de mundo descreve" (GEERTZ, 2008: 67), desta forma, esta visão de mundo apresenta-se emocionalmente convincente pois mostra-se como uma imagem de um estado de coisas verdadeiro singularmente bem organizado para acomodar este modo de vida.

A conexão dos planos Orún e Ayê, revela uma ligação entre dois lugares por meio da memória, da ancestralidade, a partir do fazer musical que carrega nas letras das suas canções elementos simbólicos, transmitindo imagens, revelando o caráter e a identidade do lugar, sendo possível compreender que "a construção e o fortalecimento de identidades são possíveis por meio dos textos musicais (o ritmo, as letras e os diferentes estilos)" (KONG, 2009: 156). Portanto, Fonseca (2006) descreve a música como um dos elementos simbólicos que estabelece uma relação de reciprocidade entre os planos espirituais presente no Candomblé, tratando-se em certos momentos o principal de todos os elementos.

> Sua participação como elemento operacional inscreve-se não só numa visão de mundo particular, mas torna-se, muitas vezes, a própria razão de ser dessa visão. Como quer Merriam (apud Nettl,1983: 131), não se trata, então, só de "música *na* cultura", mas também de "música como cultura", pois sem ela o contrato com os deuses está inviabilizado e, portanto, também, todo o *éthos* da comunidade (FONSECA, 2006: 108).

A execução musical nos cultos de Candomblé apresenta-se como peça chave e constitui simbolicamente a cena ritual, podendo levar à guisa conclusão que as cerimônias estabelecem comportamentos dogmaticamente, com o propósito de desempenhar etapas que estão intimamente ligadas ao sistema de crenças buscando constituir um laço íntimo entre o ser humano e os deuses, visto que a religião segundo Geertz (2008), ajusta as ações humanas a uma ordem cósmica concebida e idealiza imagens da ordem cósmica no plano da realidade humana.

Desta forma, os instrumentos musicais, sobretudo os atabaques, são incumbidos de uma responsabilidade ritual de manter viva a energia do Ilê ao convidar os orixás para uma constante troca de Axé, mantendo o mundo das divindades e dos seres humanos em equilíbrio. O som, as palavras, os gestos transmitem e conduzem o axé a partir de uma força cuidadosamente guardada na memória.

> Dilemas existenciais, como vida e morte, ocupam lugar especial na poética das canções sagradas. Estas músicas sacras falam de heróis civilizadores, de dinastias e lugares sagrados; de alianças e conflitos e da relação com a natureza, vivenciada como lugar privilegiado da experiência religiosa (BARROS, 2000: 42).

A música caracteriza-se como elemento favorável à construção do espaço sagrado como lócus material no que se refere à incorporação dos orixás nos filhos de santo uma vez que, as cantigas buscam introduzir a presença do sagrado nas cerimônias religiosas, e por meio do simbólico os instrumentos musicais utilizados que possuem um significado muito maior do que apenas reprodutores de som. Estes instrumentos possuem uma determinada linguagem em que apenas indivíduos que estão aptos a interpretá-los podem conduzir uma liturgia em uma casa de Candomblé. Neste sentido, os Alabês apresentam-se muito mais do que tocadores, mas como elementos essenciais que conduzem o Axé do Òrun ao Ayê, trazendo as divindades para celebrarem este momento junto aos seus filhos.

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[9] Geertz descreve *ethos* como o tom, caráter, qualidade de vida, estilo e disposições morais e estéticos de um povo.

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On Our Doorstep. Simmel, Weber and the Making of Reality

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Introduction- Whether we like it or not, whether we believe it or not, 2020 will be the year that future historians will choose to mark as the advent of a new era. The pandemic did not simply hit us harder than any previous crisis – and God knows we had a few since the beginning of the XXI century! It left us disoriented and stranded, orphans of too many promises and proclamations, while showing us mercilessly the limits of our knowledge and the extent of our *hybris*, a mixture of inebriation and arrogance often found in Greek myths, where it leads heroes such as Icarus to ruin. The most powerful technology put to shame by an invisible… what? Thing? Living being? We just don't know, four words that we'd better keep in mind while reading the following pages.

The virus hasn't fit within our worldview right from the start and still there it is, paralyzing global economies and exposing the flaws and shortcomings of the neoliberal ideology. It makes it clear that no one survives on his/her own, that "free" markets bring forth indecent inequalities and scientists hold no definite truth, but argue and squabble about numbers and theories.

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Introduction

Whether we like it or not, whether we believe it or not, 2020 will be the year that future historians will choose to mark as the advent of a new era. The pandemic did not simply hit us harder than any previous crisis – and God knows we had a few since the beginning of the XXI century! It left us disoriented and stranded, orphans of too many promises and proclamations, while showing us mercilessly the limits of our knowledge and the extent of our *hybris*, a mixture of inebriation and arrogance often found in Greek myths, where it leads heroes such as Icarus to ruin. The most powerful technology put to shame by an invisible… what? Thing? Living being? We just don't know, four words that we'd better keep in mind while reading the following pages.

The virus hasn't fit within our worldview right from the start and still there it is, paralyzing global economies and exposing the flaws and shortcomings of the neoliberal ideology. It makes it clear that no one survives on his/her own, that "free" markets bring forth indecent inequalities and scientists hold no definite truth, but argue and squabble about numbers and theories. Perhaps it makes it too clear, or at least too easily seen, and in so doing the virus offers a paradoxical excuse not to dig deeper. It allows us to go on believing that it is just another crisis, one we were almost waiting for and now that it is finally over it will be possible to put things right once and for all. As we say in Italy, "tutto andrà bene" (everything's going to be all right), a comforting if misleading statement. Among the skills in which humankind is at its best, there is the strange ability to look the other way when things don't go as they should (or you thought they should): Bob Dylan has been listening to the wind for almost sixty years now, but no answer came to the question about "how many times can a man turn his head / And pretend that he just doesn't see". So it would be easy to act as if there's nothing new and business will soon be back to normal. There's an irony to this virus, however: it sounds false to your own ears, even as you say it. This microscopic entity is epiphanic: it is *and* it is not, it forces you to believe *and* disbelieve, it makes you *feel* there is something wrong with the way things have always been. By crashing the old, sanctified aut/aut mechanism by its simple existence and its all-too-complex consequences, the virus goes well beyond any practical issue and undermines the very patterns within which the idea of "practical" makes sense.

Sars-CoV-2 is an epistemological virus as well. From this standpoint it stems from a culture broth that has been brewing for some time, an awkward awareness that what looked like a paradigm shift could be something more than that, even though – truth be told – we don't know what living *within* an actual paradigm shift might be like. We think we know, but in an abstract way, as we never thought we'd have to face such an event: after all, we devised the best knowledge, the *perfect* knowledge, the objective discourse on reality that could not falter nor fail us, so how could we ever imagine that we would find ourselves groping for meaning in a world suddenly alien and unrecognizable? Still, we reckon that it must be something that has to do with change, a wide and perhaps cataclysmic rearrangement of values and institutions, of priorities, that would have to happen within the same main frame of understanding, because it is the only existing frame. Some thinkers do not quite agree; others have been made to agree up to now, but that could be over. As Beck writes, we need to «introduce the distinction between change and metamorphosis or, more precisely, between change in society and metamorphosis of the world. Change in society, social change, routinizes a key concept in sociology.[1] Everyone knows what it means. Change brings a characteristic future of modernity into focus, namely permanent transformation, while basic concepts and the certainties that support them remain constant. Metamorphosis, by contrast, destabilizes these certainties of modern society. It shifts the focus to "being in the world" and "seeing the world", to events and processes which are unintended, which generally go unnoticed» (2016, p. xi).

This essay will try and explore the possibility of this shift, the preconditions of its thinkability, addressing some "certainties" that had better be given some leeway. It will do so with the aid of two fathers of sociology, Georg Simmel and Max Weber, who went well beyond the limits of standard thinking and paid a price for it. It is not by chance that both are being rediscovered: regarding Simmel, we are witnessing what can be called a «*Simmel Renaissance*» (De Simone,

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2002, p. 11), after long years of plunder and neglect; regarding Weber, it is more a change of perspective that makes some hallowed themes lose their shine, while others come to the fore, their importance easier to notice a century later. 2020, among other things, is the centenary of Weber's death, thus the right time to start following some fascinating leads he has left behind. A combined reading of Simmel's *Bridge and Door* and Weber's particular definition of culture will be an apt starting point to pose a few questions that have been skirted so far: how do we manage to create the «finite section of the meaningless infinity of events in the world» (Weber) that we live in? Is it something we consciously plan and build or has it to do with other processes and dynamics we might even be unaware of?

In those beautiful texts, we will find that both authors share the same view of culture as an instituting act, creating an island of meaningfulness within the perpetual flux of the Becoming of the world. This region, reality, is apparently separated from the rest: it is however a trick of the eye, because only a constant exchange between the inside and the outside can assure the former the semblance of stability humankind needs to feel at home and prosper. So we will turn to one of Simmel's key concepts – *Wechselwirkung*, reciprocal action – to see if it can help us better understand this enigmatic to-and-fro and we will highlight its strong connections with Goethe's *Anschauung* and with the most recent discoveries of quantum mechanics. We will then put forward a hypothetical reason for the lack in Western thought – with a few significant exceptions – of any sensibility to the idea of process, briefly exploring the imaginal drive to the quest for a *fondamentum inconcussum*, a quest that brought us, ironically, to the discovery of the destabilizing subatomic universe. A dynamic perspective on reality undermines this very need for stability at all costs, as will be shown by going back to Weber and extending his definition of culture to include the "new" role of *reality caretaker* that is its necessary consequence and complement. Taking stock of new discoveries issuing from anthropology and philosophy, we will finally consider the possibility that it mainly comes down to processes that «are unintended [and] generally go unnoticed». The stuff of reality might be far more entangled and subtle than we guessed so far.

I. Through the Hidden Door

We will set out by following one of Simmel's "minor" texts, an essay so short as to be little more than a fragment, infrequently translated, and for which interpretations so far have been mainly aesthetic: *Brücke und Tür*, *Bridge and Door* (Simmel, 1997). In its rapidly-sketched ideas and the quasi-immediacy of a Zen story, we can find useful elements for understanding the enigmatic dynamic we are approaching. It is also a good example of Simmel's technique, which exploits as far as possible the semantic ambiguities of words and what we might define as the *fade-out* between the signification levels of a term, that is the colouring of acceptations of a word in hues belonging to its other meanings. This is also a little-investigated mode of *Wechselwirkung*, which could be set at the basis of a new method – *terminological multisignificance* – to which we will have recourse in these pages, convinced as we are that this "bastard speculation" is one of the instruments of choice in sociological thought.

This essay is apparently a discussion on the aesthetic value of the "bridge" and the "door" as objects portrayed in painting. With regard to the former, Simmel poses an introductory parallel with the portrait and then observes: «The bridge confers an ultimate meaning elevated above all sensuousness, an individual meaning not mediated by any abstract reflection, an appearance that draws the practical purposive meaning of the bridge into itself, and brings it into a visible form in the same way as a work of art does with its "object"» (Simmel, 1997, p. 172). This last sense, «elevated above all sensuousness» - please note the paradoxical turn of phrase – is the sense of Life, comprehensible only through the intuition that goes beyond language and can be expressed through the miracle of Art, «when it puts the spiritually gained unity of the merely natural into its island-like ideal enclosedness» (Simmel, 1997, p. 172). The bridge stresses the human capacity to unite, to reach a synthesis of the enormous meaning of reality; the capacity, however, that Simmel has already defined as being inseparable from the other opposite and complementary capacity to divide: «Only to humanity, in contrast to nature, has the right to connect and separate been granted, and in the distinctive manner that one of these activities is always the presupposition of the other» (Simmel, 1997, p. 171).

Whereas the bridge immediately indicates man's ability to link things up, in the same way the door indicates the interdependence of the two activities: «The door represents in a more decisive manner how separating and connecting are only two sides of precisely the same act. The human being who first erected a hut, like the first roadbuilder, revealed the specifically human capacity over nature, in so far as he or she cut a portion out of the continuity and infinity of space and arranged this into a particular unity in accordance with a *single* meaning» (Simmel, 1997, p. 172).

The discourse moves away from the initial aesthetic approach. Simmel's ideas follow two different intuitions at the same time, moving imperceptibly among sense levels in showing that the complexity, the polysemanticity of language gives us ways to approach, on equal terms, the complexity of the real, in which man hardly ever finds *one single* meaning, however much he

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holds rationally that this is how things are. In order to clarify the diverse bearings of Simmel's words, we may compare them with Weber's description of culture already mentioned: «"Culture" is a finite section of the meaningless infinity of events in the world, endowed with meaning and significance from a *human* perspective […]. The transcendental precondition of every *cultural science* is *not* that we find a particular, or indeed any, "culture" *valuable*, but that we *are* cultural *beings*, endowed with the capacity and the will to adopt a deliberate *position* with respect to the world, and to bestow *meaning* upon it» (Weber, 2012, p. 119).

The two statements harmonize almost exactly so we may easily hold that «the specifically human capacity over nature» should not be recognized in science and/or technology as a superficial reading might suggest, but in culture, hence in the capacity and will «to adopt a deliberate *position* with respect to the world, and to bestow *meaning* upon it». Whoever acts *culturally* carves out «a finite section of the meaningless infinity of events in the world» and shapes it «into a particular unity in accordance with a single meaning». Acting *culturally* therefore means building a house and opening a door in the wall.

When the first house was built «a piece of space was thereby brought together and separated from the whole remaining world» (Simmel, 1997, p. 172). The cultural act presupposes an *interior*, a familiar, inoffensive environment wherein to find refuge from looming uncertainty, conferring upon it a coherence constructed upon a profound set of choices and values; yet at the same time it presupposes an *exterior*. However, unlike what we might think in the light of the either/or paradigm, the latter is in constant complementary relation with the interior: «By virtue of the fact that the door forms, as it were, a linkage between the space of human beings and everything that remains outside it, it transcends the separation between the inner and the outer. […] The door speaks. It is absolutely essential for humanity that it set itself a boundary, but with freedom, that is, in such a way that it can also remove this boundary again, that it can place itself outside it» (Simmel, 1997, p. 172). That cultural move cancels the sense of distinction between *interior* and *exterior* since, like fashion, it both brings together and separates, thus satisfying the contradictory and contrasting needs disquieting the human soul: «The finitude into which we have entered somehow always borders somewhere on the infinitude of physical or metaphysical being. Thus the door becomes the image of the boundary point at which human beings actually always stand or can stand» (Simmel, 1997, p. 172).

The door is therefore a boundary between worlds, the slender blade of the Sword-Bridge of Arthurian legend, Nietzsche's "*Schwelle des Augenblicks*". It is the point where *common sense* is revealed as that to which «we have become inured […] through daily habit», and from which man may eventually feel «the wonderful feeling of floating for a moment between heaven and earth» (Simmel, 1997, p. 173). It is the moment when man becomes conscious of the primordial *conventionality* of culture, and the reference to mythological tradition is no coincidence. Almost all those who have in any guise had dealings with such dynamics recognize the difficulty of the gesture of opening out towards the possible, of driving oneself to the limit; they also recognize that not everyone wishes, or is able, to do it: only heroes are destined to confront the Sword-Bridge and even they are not all capable of crossing it. Simmel knows this and that is why he reminds us that man «can stand» on the threshold. If he so desires. If he is able.

The act which postulates an *interior* within which to withdraw from the threats outside presumes a door without implying the need to open it; indeed, in order to effect this task of reassurance, it must act "as if" the door in question did not exist. It must forget the ethical, cultural, human process which led to the initial selection, the first attribution of sense, and attribute to the «tiny part of the individual reality that we observe at a given time […], coloured by our interest, which is conditioned by those value ideas» and «alone has significance for us» (Weber, 2012, p. 116), a *tone of naturalness* that suppresses the ever-present doubt that it may indeed be *exactly what it is*: an arbitrary construction, a powerful instrument to react against the anguish each one of us feels at being *cast into the world* (Crespi, 1989; Jedlowski, 1994), a world whose very sense is utterly incomprehensible.

Outside the door is the infinitely possible, everything that culture has excluded from common perception, yet its final sense is also there, since it may even crystalize in a Form, but «its limitedness finds its significance and dignity only in that which the mobility of the door illustrates: in the possibility at any moment of stepping out of this limitation into freedom» (Simmel, 1997, p. 172). As we know, setting a limit is profoundly human, but so is holding on to the chance of getting rid of it, of going beyond. It is the on-going tension between these two needs that constitutes humanity. In Simmel "man" – in contexts of this type – should be interpreted as the "accomplished subject" in an almost heroic sense, that is to say the subject who has successfully achieved the work of realizing his own identity, the *Bildung*. This is the same man Weber has in mind, possessed of «the capacity and the will to adopt a deliberate *position* with respect to the world, and to bestow *meaning* upon it». Although we will have to return to the issue with a critical eye, it appears as central since the task both authors assign to man is to doubt the unique nature and the stability of his own common sense and so to risk giving up the unconscious, automatic support it guarantees. In order for that to be possible, Simmel maintains, the subject

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must have within himself the measure of things, he must be able to rely on the foundations he has granted himself with his subjective culture (D'Andrea, 2019) and not only on those he shares with others. Like Marx, like many others, Simmel understood the *melting into air* (Berman, 2010) of the substance of the social, its becoming more and more a *flux*, a *process.* He even glimpsed its implications both positive and negative for the life of man, with no a-critical enthusiasm, and towards the end of his life he turned to pedagogy, convinced of being able to bestow upon young people the instruments necessary to face the new challenges (Hauter, 1922). Thus he clearly showed that he believed that the difficulty of the cultural gesture is not necessarily the source of desperation and paralysis, but lends itself to experience in different forms: this gesture, with adequate preparation, may lead to a wide assortment of stances, ranging from a critical awareness in everyday life up to the acceptance of the Law of the Individual (Simmel, 2010, pp. 99-154) that enable subjects to withstand the impact of a changing world and to turn it in their favour.

However, for this to happen we need a better understanding of the dynamics of the gesture, or rather of the process of cultural co-creation, in order to realize how active the role of a "simple" member of a society is and how vast its implications are. The movement linking the *interior* and the *exterior* as defined by the Door is well described by Simmel's *Wechselwirkung*, reciprocal action, which we have so far considered rather too much in the light of the current mechanistic paradigm; through its filter we have read *Wechselwirkung* as an exchange as yet mechanical, something that constructs a link between individuals that must be in any case interpretable in the light of reason, instrumental and economic. We have highlighted the pioneering emphasis on retroaction – which in cybernetics will become *feedback* – underlining how its context accommodates the case of linear causality while depriving it of the primacy it holds in today's engineered world: «The term [*Wechselwirkung*] indicates a concept of reality (in general, not merely social) as the network of reciprocal relations of influence among a plurality of elements […]. If we isolate one single relationship from the network of relations (for example, the relations between A and B) and if in such relations we consider, time by time, one single direction (the effect that A produces on B) we can speak of the causation relation of A on B. From this it is clear that: a) the concept of reality as a reciprocal action between elements does not exclude the use of the causality category and the analysis of the relation in terms of causal relations, even if their ambit of application is circumscribed; b) the reciprocal action leads to a processual analysis which involves considering the time dimension and the application of the retro-action category» (Cavalli, 1998, p. xvi).

Cavalli takes great care to reconcile the main element of modern vision – simple linear causality – with Simmel's outlook, making a specific case for it (relevant precisely because of this specificity) within a wider picture that implies the *processuality* inherent to society and the reciprocity of actions. Within the very style of the explanation, there does however remain a "scientific" tone that limits the innovative, subversive potential of Simmel's vision. More recently, Scaglia has returned to, and underlined, a further aspect of the diversity of the *Wechselwirkung*, focusing on the scale of the relations it brings about. Envisaging the dichotomy between the atomic, Einsteinian world and the subatomic, quantic world, Simmel writes: «It is only a superficial attachment to linguistic usage (a usage quite adequate for daily practice) which makes us want to reserve the term "society" for *permanent* interactions only. More specifically, the interactions we have in mind when we talk about "society" are crystallized as definable, consistent structures such as the state and the family, the guild and the church, social classes and organizations based on common interests. But in addition to these, there exists an immeasurable number of less conspicuous forms of relationship and kinds of interaction. Taken singly, they may appear negligible. But since in actuality they are inserted into the comprehensive and, as it were, official social formations, they alone produce society as we know it. To confine ourselves to the large social formations resembles the older science of anatomy with its limitation to the major, definitely circumscribed organs […] and with its neglect of the innumerable, popularly unnamed or unknown tissues. Yet without these, the more obvious organs could never constitute a living organism» (Simmel, 1950, p. 9).

« These are the minimal relationships, » Scaglia comments, «that chain together the atoms of society, to guarantee the force of both the cohesion and the elasticity of social life, of its coming about» (2010, p. 13). The apparent, the visible, merges and is constituted in the unperceived, the generating, unifying invisible, just as the appearance of "greater" reality is triggered by dynamics and bonds which we are starting to grasp, but which overturn the usual patterns with which the wealth of the real has so far been reduced to a reassuring, manageable quantity. Simmel's words also show awareness of the characteristics and limitations of the "normal" cognitive strategy of science and the recognition of a succession of stages within it, in the direction of the awareness of a complexity until then refused, in which – in a brave effort of reconstruction – the qualitative aspect appears once more: like connecting tissue, without which there could be no organism, so the countless *Wechselwirkungen* have «the task of expressing and sustaining "all the color and consistency of social life, that is so striking and yet so mysterious" […]. Simmel states that should sociology

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fail to analyse these processes it would deprive itself of the possibility of knowing those social dynamics "which only the marvellous non-tearability of society can open, that is to say the fluctuation of its life, through which its components incessantly grant it its stability, lose it or defer it» (Scaglia, 2010, p. 13).

Simmel's comment on the topic of connecting tissues, unknown to «the older science of anatomy», also presents the opportunity to criticize one of the fundamental hypotheses of Modernity, the possibility of the accumulation of knowledge until the perfect comprehension of the universe is inevitably achieved. This illusion, still propping up a good deal of commonly-held sense as regards science and technology, is in fact a betrayal of the original scientific spirit which is more recognizable in the proposed, widespread acceptation of the idea of the «falsifiability» of theories as advanced by Popper (1959). [2]The loss of the humility that should be a feature of anyone devoted to research is often a source of error. Forgetting that we are not (cannot be) omniscient ends in neglecting the importance of what has not yet been understood and in making statements which, although later denied, become part of the shared social discourse – itself hardly aware of the real dynamics of knowledge – and lead to expectations upon which follow disappointment and frustration.

Let us return to *Wechselwirkung* and the need to widen its scope. In order to understand it better we may usefully have recourse to Goethe's idea of *Anschauung*, vision. A deceptively familiar term, the way in which it is now understood is one of the cornerstones of the modern framework: as Sirost observes, «the advent of the panoptic indicates a prevalence of sight in the new hierarchy of the senses. In the different interpretations, the subsumption of the senses to vision marks the superiority of modern man, the canalization of the many sensorial stimulations or the imposition of a cultural *habitus*» (2005, pp. 122-123). This is an excellent rationalization strategy for the imaginal valorisation of the sense of sight, which has since the dawn of time manifested strong links with the spirit, the immaterial, distance, control and knowledge, so much so that one of the most common symbols of the divinity is the Eye in the sky, for the ancient Egyptians as for Christians. It is a contradictorial sense, since it implies both separateness and an intimacy otherwise unobtainable: to look at each other, there is no need for physical contact, yet the eyes are the mirror of the soul, the highway for recognition and for expressing emotion. Modernity has willingly done away with this dimension, preferring control and dominance – Orwell's Big Brother points the way!

In this perspective even the co-relation with thought is meaningful and has been relevant since the start of the scientific Revolution. One of the founders of the Royal Society, John Wilkins, writes in his *Mercury, or the Secret and Swift Messenger* of 1641 that «there is nothing (we say) so swift as Thought» and Gleick notes: «Next to thought, the swiftest action seemed to be that of sight. As a clergyman, [Wilkins] observed that the swiftest motion of all must belong to angels and spirits […]. The rest of us, stuck with Organical Bodies, "cannot communicate their Thoughts so easie and immediate a way"» (2011, p. 168). Spirit/Thought, sight and speed are inextricably connected in the melting-pot of ideas and theories from which Modernity was born: our culture is built on the exclusive paradigm of separation and it is no coincidence that sight is one of the senses with which we are most at ease since it is the instrument of distance and it is through distance that we separate ourselves from the world. Yet this is not the sight Goethe and Simmel had in mind: *Anschauung*, in its strong sense, is something that goes well beyond: it is something that causes a profound, almost physical, interaction with the object and it breaks apart its very category. It breaks apart the absoluteness of the dichotomy and brings about one of the focal points in Goethe's reasoning which, through the recovery of the contradictorial feature just mentioned, intended to return process and form to their complementary nature: «This key term [*Anschauung*] encapsulates Goethe's way of "seeing" the object of study; a way of engaging with it that includes looking-at, gazing, contemplating, seeing beyond, beholding, perceiving the core, intuitive apperception, establishing an intuitive bond. It overcomes the subject–object division, on which modern natural science is predicated, through the subject's full participation in the Oneness of Nature» (Bleicher, 2007, pp. 144-145).

Anschauung is a vision implying a constant attempt to overcome the distance between us and the object, it is a *being-with* the object capable of generating intuitive knowledge, it is something that goes beyond. Up to today we have not been able to appreciate this level of complexity and interaction since our cognitive instruments have *a priori* excluded it, although it is the result of a current of thought rightfully entitled to belong to Western culture and which is perhaps only waiting to be rescued from the heap of ruins lying at the feet of Benjamin's *Angelus Novus*, repaired and handed down to a new modernity.

In an attempt to better understand this rather unusual outlook, it may be useful to go back to Heisenberg and his famous Principle of Indeterminacy which affirms the impossibility of knowing the data of a quantum system without disrupting it: «In virtue of Heisenberg's Principle of Indeterminacy, we cannot determine both the position and the speed of an electron simultaneously, given that precision in measuring one nullifies that of the other. This happens because the process of laboratory measurement upsets the particles themselves: we thus have an indissoluble interaction between observer and the reality observed»

[2] For a more detailed account of the question, see D'Andrea, 2017b.

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(Teodorani, 2007, p. 7). In other words, on the basis of this principle we can state that the act of observing is not neutral and that observation modifies reality; therefore, in a certain sense, it empirically confirms Goethe's *Anschauung* theory, and this did not escape Heisenberg's notice; in a speech in the Seventies, he cited not by chance the great scholar and recalled his warning: «The natural sciences and art have moved in a direction Goethe had warned against […]. Natural science has taken the step into abstraction […] and advanced towards the *Urgebilde* (primordial structures) in biology and the *Urformen* […]. At the same time, the dangers have become as threatening as Goethe anticipated. If we think of the increasing soullessness, of depersonalizing labour, the absurdity of modern weapons systems, or the flight into delusion that has taken the form of a political movement» (as cited in Bleicher, 2007, p. 153).

His mention of Goethe is an integral part of a reflection on the range, not only scientific, of the new frontiers in quantum physics; like some of his other colleagues, the German physicist is an example of a scientist who could be defined "Goethian" in not confining himself to his own specific, narrow disciplinary sphere, but pondering upon its consequences throughout wider culture, assessing them philosophically and devoting himself in the first person to the needful, praiseworthy task of divulgation: «Since it is true that the results of modern physics do touch such fundamental concepts as reality, space and time […], it may not be an unimportant task to try to discuss these ideas of modern physics in a not too technical language […].The best way to enter into the problems of modern physics may be by a historical description of the development of quantum theory. It is true that quantum theory is only a small sector of atomic physics and atomic physics again is only a very small sector of modern science. Still it is in quantum theory that the most fundamental changes with respect to the concept of reality have taken place» (Heisenberg, 1958, p. 28).

Heisenberg's words show how the attempt to confine theoretical problems on quanta to subatomic reality while leaving intact the discourse on "greater" reality is equivalent to the initial dealings with the unconscious, after Freud had revealed its existence: it may be there, but with no effect on normal, rational life, something exotic for us to play with while not making much difference. Accepting theoretically what cannot be disproved yet depriving it of any practical relevance is a consolidated strategy in the modern paradigm. With his second *a priori*, Simmel took on the responsibility of denying the sterilization of the inner world, declaring its importance in the evolution of social and relational processes (D'Andrea, 1999, pp. 90-94). Today we may perhaps take one step ahead, better illustrating his processual and interactive vision of the social and even extending its range.

II. Reality as a Process

For this to happen something more must be said about the idea of our world issuing from a constant flux, a cosmic process from which humankind somehow manages to create and maintain a solid-seeming sphere wherein to live and find shelter, the Weberian «finite section». A new way of thinking requires changes and reshaping of the use of the instruments available, and of the understanding of their foundations; we do not generally wonder about the latter because «as long as we live wrapped up uncritically in the naïve, natural attitude of life and restrict ourselves to the public, general interpretation of the world, which is given to us in advance through common language and tradition in the broadest sense, we "know" who we are, what our task and our goal are, what duty and right, custom and law are» (Fink, 2016, p. 44). The problem about this "knowing" is that it proves firm and reliable only under a superficial glance or in its acceptation as obvious and "natural": «As soon as one contemplates, the commonplace certainty of the immediate interpretation of the world vanishes. When the lightning bolt of wonder strikes us, mysterious amazement bursts open, for which everything familiar suddenly becomes unfamiliar and questionworthy […] [If] the contemplativeness of thought comes over us we fall from former certainties; we no longer know who we are, what a human being is, what custom and right, thing and world are» (Fink, 2016, pp. 44-45).

This is probably why Wittgenstein, discussing certainty, stressed the importance «of the ability *not to doubt* with respect to the validity of the assumptions that belong to the [language] game itself, as it is played by the members of a community» (Jedlowski, 1994, p. 47). Jedlowski's further analysis on the subject of not doubting is interesting: he observes that it may perhaps correspond «yet more to the ability to *ask the right questions* than to the faculty of believing in the "right" answers to any questions that may come up» (Jedlowski, 1994, p. 47). It is not only a matter of relying on what we are told, we also need a certain degree of competence in avoiding certain questions which risk dismantling the habitual "knowing" of which Fink speaks, thus plunging the questioner into «mysterious amazement». Here we find a double register to which we must pay attention: on one hand the "certainty" of daily *knowing*, freely and surely; on the other the bewilderment coming from the courage to ask "senseless" questions (Jedlowski, 1994, p. 48), which – though devastating in a certain sense – save us from a mistake that may prove fateful: «The ability to ask these questions is essential. Their complete obliteration would in fact correspond to total acceptance, in each one, of the world just as it is, thus definitively renouncing the potential to *think otherwise*» (Jedlowski, 1994, p. 49).

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Our culture seems to have devoted too much care to the first register, neglecting and then definitively banning that second, destabilizing one which cuts the ground from under our feet. The desire for a secure basis is one of the features most profoundly characterizing our civilization, distinguishing it from Oriental civilizations: «Most modern philosophy, according to William Bartley, can be re-interpreted as the search for a *fondamentum inconcussum*, i.e., the search for an authority or a *decisive criterion* to appeal to in order to *justify* our own ideas and proposals» (Reale and Antiseri, 2001, p. 51). I have no doubt that there is a level of justification in the light of which this dynamic seems to fall within normal power games, where such a criterion seems fundamental; however, as in many other cases within our culture, I believe that it is a *derivation* – in Pareto's sense – aiming to render rational and acceptable an urgent need which is neither one nor the other (D'Andrea, 2017a), deriving instead from the metaphysical bewilderment consequent upon the condition of «being cast into the world», as Heidegger put it. Yet this is only one of the ways in which it is possible to interpret one's own being in the world, consistent with the frustration and terror of Plato's charioteer at finding himself imprisoned in a body of mortal, perishable flesh. As Bachelard remarks, «before he is "cast into the world," as claimed by certain hasty metaphysics, man is laid in the cradle of the house. And always, in our daydreams, the house is a large cradle. A concrete metaphysics cannot neglect this fact, this simple fact, all the more, since this fact is a value […]. Being is already a value» (1994, p. 7). This different vision connects better with the sense of wholeness and protection attributed by Simmel to the founding act of building a house: to the fundamental generation of sense that this brings about, it adds an equally crucial pre-rational, emotional note and integrates the value of being within the multidimensional complexity. It thus retrieves a substance and a dignity of which the current instrumental and economistic vision has lost sight.

Yet it would appear that in the Western view, Being is a value only when endowed with robust, permanent foundations. It is no coincidence that at the root of the various *decisive criteria* listed by Antiseri (Reale and Antiseri, 2001, p. 52) lies the criterion thanks to which they find objects and ways with which to construct justifications and which is founded precisely on the stability in space and time that becomes immobile eternity: «The hierarchical relation of things is initially asserted *pre*-philosophically according to some distinction of power, beauty, or the like, and then philosophically interpreted with regard to constancy in time, strength of Being, and rationality, whereby what is most continuous and most rational counts as most being» (Fink, 2016, p. 55). The troublesome point is to choose the interpretative criteria which guide philosophical reflection, as they do every other human intellectual initiative; in the West it has seemed obvious, "natural", that the value of the entity should be linked to its immutability, which means eternity, but also to immobility.[3] The positive accent on structure is thus revealed to be inscribed within the imaginal nucleus of our paradigm, since it embodies exactly those features of solidity and permanence that are at the base of the construction of the whole edifice of our culture (*episteme* is etymologically "what stands up by itself", hence is capable of serving as the foundation for the rest, the certain, incontrovertible knowledge of the causes and effects of becoming). This need to be rooted – which is nothing but a naked, agonizing search/plea for *sense* – has however unexpected consequences, being self-unaware and repressed; if it were not, it would reveal the weakness and undermine the credibility of the triumphalist story culminating in modern Progress: «What is more profoundly questionworthy is whether that from which the ontological status of all existing things is determined would itself have to be a highest being, whether it as *summum* would have to be an *ens.* If philosophy determines the hierarchy from a relation of things to a highest being, then this hierarchy, however much it is held to be problematic, nevertheless fundamentally has an intraworldly character. The ontological status of all things is determined from the relation to a being that is just as much "in the world" as they themselves are» (Fink, 2016, p. 56).

The primordial choices that founded the Western paradigm, dictated by imaginal anxiety rather than by rational awareness, lead to the staging of a stable, solid world, the ultimate outcome of which will be a separate, indifferent *objective reality*, and such choices reduce everything to an «in the world» relationship. To go back to Weber, this is equivalent to absolutizing the «finite section» and rescinding that founding bond which, as we saw regarding Simmel's Door, every culture has to maintain with whatever remains outside it, lest it "gain" that immobility so hotly pursued and a fatal closure, the opposite of what would allow us to rectify the request for essential sense. Opening up to relations and flow, not shutting ourselves up behind walls – and just think how terribly topical that is today! – allows some relief from the metaphysical anguish; opening up to the becoming of the world, whether we assign whatever sense we can to it or else we accept its unfathomable otherness, is the condition on which we are able to continue being creative, *poetic* in the high sense of the word, but this also means recognizing that otherness and the fact that it is not subject to our

[3] This may be one of the profound reasons why movement cannot seem to fit into either philosophical or scientific thought, and it is a further fundamental component to be reintegrated into a complex model of humanity. See Sheets-Johnstone, 2011.

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wishes. It is a delicate step, since in part at least it nullifies the claims for control and management of the existing on which the tale of Modernity is founded and further back the imaginal strife of the Western paradigm: this is why the thought of flow and movement has never been popular in our culture, although it has continued to surface along its way to seek acceptable forms of expression such as Simmel's Door or Weber's finite section.

The first, immense thinker who glimpsed the cosmic dance and sought instruments fit to put it into words (he was not called the Obscure without reason) was Heraclitus of Ephesus, at the dawn of philosophy, who claims: «Of all whose discourses I have heard, there is not one who attains to recognizing that the wise is set apart from all» (Colli, 1993, p. 33). The creating knowledge implies being aware of the *outside* and the intuition of the fact that it is from the relationship with the outside that things acquire sense and existence; we access this knowledge only in part, with difficulty, yet we manage to draw our world from it. Heraclitus calls this moulding, generative instance *pyr*, Fire, which, as Fink observes, «does not mean that out of which all things exist, but rather the arranging power that strikes all individuated beings with the character of a beautiful, gleaming total dispensation» (Fink, 2016, p. 50).[4] It is process *and* order, it is creation *and* destruction, and going beyond the either/or paradigm's potential to settle things, it escapes us, so that we see only one side of it: order, which by itself leads to paralysis; destruction, which in our secular cosmogony has taken the form of entropy. Its unilateral accentuation, typical of our scientific vision in the form of the Second Principle of thermodynamics, is revealed as another figure of anguish invoking the *fondamentum* which we try to drive out the door, but which returns through every window. Of a completely different imaginal stamp, the search for a Second Law capable of describing the *pars construens* (Holland, 1996; Kauffman, 1995) and overcome the limits of the paradigm – thus opening up to Morin's self-eco-organized system (1993) where life and death, firing up and extinguishing cohabit incessantly – is a further sign corroborating the rise of new cognitive constellations, but it too requires suitable theoretical frameworks and the courage to face the bewilderment that «senseless questions» bring with them.

III. The Idea of the Real

In this new frame of understanding some measure to re-establish a balance among the deep desires that, according to Saint Augustine, drive the human adventure in the world would be required. Augustine speaks of three *libidines*: *libido dominandi, libido sciendi* and *libido sentiendi*. The first is the easiest to interpret: thirst for power and dominance; the second aims at knowledge for its own sake; and the third touches upon the joy that comes from understanding. They are normally intermingled, at both subjective and cultural levels, but the present mix tends strongly towards an alliance between *libido dominandi* and *libido sciendi*, with the latter pushed into second place. All *libidines* should instead be equally important to begin to assess the true scope of the cultural enterprise, as we have seen it through Simmel's and Weber's insights. The current paradigm hinders this, however, since such re-balancing would mean giving up the promise of control and certainty on which it has constructed its long domination, even though this promise has shown itself illusory and unfounded: «We had to await the events of the second half of the twentieth century to learn what Socrates meant by his puzzling statement "I know that I know nothing". Ironically, our continually perfected scientific-technological society has granted us the fatal insight that we do not know what we do not know. But this is precisely the source of the dangers that threaten humanity» (Beck, 2009, p. 47). Modern arrogance is being undermined by the healthy caution of those who find themselves once more constrained and without guidance in a universe of which they know a good deal but not enough, with the aggravation – so to express it – of having no idea of what they do not know. The rephrasing of Socrates's saying is radical: no longer a quantitative issue to be remedied through discoveries and scientific progress, it is rather an issue of the quality of knowledge, which shows itself as a set of vistas out onto an incomprehensible overall reality; vistas which throw light on certain aspects but leave others – how many? which? – more or less in the dark, indeed at times without the faintest glimmer of light. "I know that I cannot know" is probably the new form of those old words.

The fact that this way of thinking may seem utterly alien to Western tradition merely goes to show the efficacy of the discourse so far prevailing. Its roots are firmly within the same culture to which we owe cognitive exceptionalism, a culture rich and well-structured in alternative visions often incompatible with one another. Only continual simplification – today reaching levels of vulgarity unthinkable only a few years ago – can possibly present it as monolithic and consistent, in the glorious isolation of the Superior against all and everyone. What is called *the* culture and *the* vision is only one culture and one vision among many, although

[4] The idea of a separated «arranging power» has strong connections both with Oriental thought and contemporary quantum physics, which are much closer than most would think, as Capra (1975) noted a few years ago. This is especially the case with Bohm's recent theory of an *implicate order* (1980), that seems to give a new, scientific look to the Ephesian's intuition.

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materially it has proved incredibly successful: and we are all about to pay for it. Initially however, when this constellation emerged from the far-flung stars, the figures who were to become referential in the Scientific Revolution had different opinions on the extent and potential of the new method of investigating reality. Newton, who considered himself more of an alchemist than a scientist, might have inspired Morin's outlook on uncertainty: «We should teach strategic principles for dealing with chance, the unexpected and uncertain, and ways to modify these strategies in response to continuing acquisition of new information. We should learn to navigate on a sea of uncertainties, sailing in and around islands of certainty» (Morin, 1999, p. 3). The idea of knowledge as an archipelago of solid, trustworthy notions is nearer reality than the illusion of objective truth and is the constant counterpoint to the misleading story of the modification and dominance of the world. It is an archipelago and an ecosystem where different branches of knowledge cohabit in relations of exchange and co-evolution, instead of each shutting itself up behind its own fences and holding all the others in contempt. The danger of such a situation and its consequences have already been described through Heisenberg's words in his speech recalling Goethe, from which it is evident how close the correlation is between the way of carrying out knowledge-creation processes and the rest of society life: work, weapons, political movements are the examples chosen by the speaker; decades later their troublesome nature has done nothing but increase, confirming his concerns and Goethe's far-sightedness, today as then embodying the possibility of another science, founded on other choices and other values and yet not less rational and understandable. In order to set up a discourse going against consolidated commonplaces and rhetoric, we need to start from afar and ask a question that many would define as idle: how to conciliate the «fatal insight», highlighted by Beck and arising from the scientific adventure, with opposing claims formulated by a large part of its experts and leading figures.

Without beating about the bush, what is at stake is the very idea of reality: a world mechanically ordered, knowable through rational procedures and tools and existing quite apart from human action and intentions on the one hand; on the other, the issue of an unceasing task in affronting something beyond, out of scale even with respect to our remarkable abilities of comprehension, and in giving shape to its results. To better understand the latter, it is time we went back to Weber and his beautiful definition of culture, delving a bit deeper into his meaning. I believe it marks one of the most far-sighted efforts to define the human condition and touches on a great many of the (dis)qualifying aspects of the current order. What emerges from it at first glance is no longer a knowable world waiting for someone to discover its laws, but a difficult, delicate creation, a constant struggle to make sense of a «tiny part» of infinity that intrinsically possesses none, at least as immediately regards man. This is the first great fracture in the common sense that for so long has been an essential ingredient in our «finite section», to the point of intimately influencing the very language of knowledge: the idea of "research" presumes something already existent yet to be found, just like "discovery" and the rest of the baggage of investigative expressions. This is a belief originating long ago in the religious vision of the world when the gods, then God, had turned their hands to powerful cosmogonies, the outcome of which is what surrounds us, therefore rife with the sense willed by the creator and artfully hidden to test and mature his beloved children. Galileo, among the fathers of the Scientific Revolution, wrote in *Il Saggiatore* (*The Assayer*) (1623) that «philosophy is written in this grand book, the universe, which stands continually open to our gaze. But the book cannot be understood unless one first learns to comprehend the language and read the letters in which it is composed. It is written in the language of mathematics, and its characters are triangles, circles, and other geometric figures without which it is humanly impossible to understand a single word of it; without these, one wanders about in a dark labyrinth».

Unveiling the magnificent natural book written by God was the task of the scientist. This idea has been at the basis of each successive cognitive effort, although in the meantime faith has withdrawn to other spheres and fewer and fewer have believed in the divine role. God has hidden himself so deeply within hearts as almost to disappear, yet the question on the pre-existing order for which he was responsible has not been asked. Meanwhile the new certainty sheltering it from undesirable doubts depended on the mechanistic interpretation of the universe, seen as a perfect machine whose working sooner or later would fall completely within our grasp; this would surely happen through the evolution of the *calculus*, discovered and perfected by Newton, which greatly helped mathematics to gain the aura that still surrounds it: it is the key to open the last lock to the treasure trove wherein lies the sceptre of control and the solution to the problems and difficulties afflicting humanity. As for any self-respecting machine, the instruction manual guarantees the user reliability and defined performance, allowing him to manage it as he likes for the ends he is seeking at any given time. There is no longer any trace of the machine's builder, but the evidence of the machine stays with us as does the dream of one day commandeering its course. However, if we stop to think, the removal of the problem does not constitute its solution: it merely enables us to continue along the road we have long been on, in an excellent example of paradigmatic inertia.

But here comes Weber; to the unasked question he provides an answer both courageous and terrible: it is vain to seek a pre-existing sense, since our

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world is only a «finite section of the meaningless infinity of events in the world, endowed with meaning and significance from a *human* perspective». These words resolve the great misunderstanding and reinvest man with the responsibility that he has so far shown himself incapable of accepting: what we thought we would find is in fact what we ourselves placed there, having constant care and maintenance of that portion of reality we had managed to retrieve from chaos and build up, «endowed with the capacity and the will to adopt a deliberate *position* with respect to the world, and to bestow *meaning* upon it». Culture is today understood mainly as being in clear opposition to Nature, being what is human as opposed to what is there through the work of another – whether demiurge, god, or impersonal mechanics. All said and done, it is there to be exploited. Few will bother to think that this is the umpteenth deceptive dichotomy, that both one and the other are terms of a continual to-and-fro in which all pre-exists and all is created at some point in its existence, not only in its planning but also in its *thinkability* as an object and in its *admissibility* to be part of the world; or in its reduction to that single dimension, as has been happening for a long time to our bodies. These are scarcely obvious dynamics, above all in the light of the current representation of the human being as rational, transparent and ever present to himself and to others, in particular in the assessment and pursuit of his own interest. From this point of view Weber himself cannot be considered quite guiltless.

As I already noted, both he and Simmel (the former more so than the latter) shared with Modernity this representation of the human being, a heroic vision but harbinger of problems and difficulties. The very generation and attribution of sense, an immense task, is something Weber believes to be conscious and voluntary, which makes it incomprehensible in some ways: who amongst us can seriously state to have consciously set hand to the sense of the world, when so often it puzzles us or seems inexistent? When we are convinced that it must have been here since the beginning, quite apart from our existence and our intentions, so much so that in contrast we think our existential condition to be absurd: the world has a sense, while I can find none in my life… The deliberateness Weber speaks of requires detailed discussion, since many of the primordial choices at the core of the Western paradigm date back to eras when consciousness and awareness were vastly different from how we are used to thinking of them today, often wrongly, calling upon heuristic and cognitive processes, where subjectivity – again as we understand it – played, at most, a marginal role. In the inclusive view we are trying to sketch here, that does not mean that whatever has to do with the generation of reality happens solely below the threshold of consciousness or in ways in which the latter is not fully involved. How can we otherwise account for the careful imagination that calls for change and the adaptation of the real to ideals it considers better and more worthy? Progress itself, Modernity's myth *par excellence*, can only be conceived of in the light of a malleability of the stuff of the world that its present definition as objective and radically separated from the cognitive, active subject reduces to a brutal instrumental intervention. In order to clarify this point, for the moment we will take as valid Weber's formulation and will try to understand it better.

IV. The Care of the World

With this in mind, it is well to recall two key terms from the philosophical tradition, *Realität* and *Wirklichkeit*, in order to highlight an aspect of reality that would escape us without such terminological exactitude. Both in fact translate into English with "reality", but while *Wirklichkeit* refers to effective reality, that which exists and is taken for granted, the former refers to an inexhaustible potential; in other words it describes «the meaningless infinity of events in the world» Weber speaks of. This philosophical pair sets forth in another register the tension implicit in Weber's text: confronting a matrix infinity, limitless in its signifying potential but insignificant in itself – at least from man's point of view – is the world that humankind has brought about since its appearance, everything that a myriad of cultures following one upon the other on earth have achieved in the different finite sections they have generated. In this light, *Wirklichkeit* appears to be formed by the whole array of the objective cultures, present and past, living and dead; and that is largely how it has been understood. Yet this is an interpretation strongly affected by the Nature/Culture dichotomy, therefore removing the former from the process and limiting the latter to the usual, more or less sophisticated list of discoveries and inventions, spiritual and material. What Weber has in mind is something else: the genesis of the finite section springs from deeper origins, from the selection of what may or may not be thought of or construed as a component part of reality; from the construction processes of what Fink was to call the «being-a-thing of things» (2016, p. 59), to which, post-Heraclitus, no-one has given much thought: «We are accustomed by a long tradition to make statements concerning beings. Beings lie before us; we experience, observe, investigate them. From our insight into their concrete content, we take the facts of the matter pertaining to them and formulate this in language. The thing becomes the "about-which" of our statements, becomes the underlying thing for our speech—which is about or on it» (Fink, 2016, p. 58). As Morin has underlined, there is also the «*determination of master logical operations*» (1999, p. 8), the preference given to a certain way to relate things: exclusion-inclusion, disjunction-conjunction, implication-negation.

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It is only later on, after such crucial choices, that what we are used to considering the zero degree of the relationship with the world begins, the evidence of Being which imposes itself upon our investigation as independent and separated, and the construction of Nature as the indifferent environment in which man finds himself acting, by divine gift/punishment or by some evolutionary accident. Before acquiring the awareness of potentially being responsible or co-responsible for certain events – still today little understood, as the environmental issue dramatically demonstrates – «threats […] remained in essence "blows of fate" that assaulted human beings from "outside" and could be attributed to "external" gods, demons or nature» (Beck, 2009, p. 7): outside the ordered world of culture, the encircling walls, the confines of cultivated fields. If the proposal that I am formulating has any plausibility, I need at this point to explain how it was possible that the primordial choices disappeared from memory, that the idea of a safe haven within *Realität* only reappeared at the start of the twentieth century, yet without influencing in any way the vision of the world perhaps right up until today. One possible reading points to a weakness in the historical imagination recognized by Vico as fundamental to the understanding of man's journey down the ages: we project backwards the kind of awareness we are used to, the corresponding state of the reason and the current state of knowledge, thus failing to get the feel of what it was like to live in other times. We imagine how *we* would have done things, would have thought thoughts, and we guess that *they* must have done the same; so we get a biased version of the past that fits well within our frameset of reference. Moreover, there was no evidence of any founding gestures of such importance; and in any case, whoever would have thought that remote, undeveloped civilizations might be capable of them, had such an issue ever crossed their minds? Finally, the most remote traces indicated a continuity in knowledge beyond any reasonable doubt: this is the «long tradition» Fink speaks of.

The fact is, we had no idea how very remote our origins were and how very different *they* were from us! The discovery of the dizzying history of humankind – 200,000 years from the appearance of modern *Homo Sapiens*¸ between 8,000 and 12,000 from the discovery of agriculture – is all too recent and still far from being metabolized: «It is not a question of hypostasizing a redemptive primitivism, as many have done over the centuries, but of considering that our existence as humans has a much wider horizon than the one we name civilization, which wholly includes our repressed proximity to the animal» (Cavalli Sforza and Padoan, 2013, p. x). We should begin to take this into account and revise our deep-set convictions accordingly. It is true, from what was previously known, nothing could have justified the idea of a progressive, still on-going, creation of reality. And yet it is somewhere within our species' enigmatic journey that the first choices were made, before language and seminal subjectivity, when the tool for understanding the world was the image, myths and rites the strategies for bringing it to light and shaping it. Opening up these amazing panoramas with their discoveries, today's sciences have forced a revised narration of the human saga and an acknowledgement of the role, still central today, played by our *poietic* potential in knowing and caring for the finite section we inhabit. There is irony in the coincidence, nowadays, of a sudden, destabilizing opening out towards the farthest past, dramatically relativizing the tale of the triumphs of global civilization, and an entrenchment in the present. From the conquest of a new awareness of the concrete dimension sacrificed by modern tension between past and future (Maffesoli, 1979), this becomes the paradoxical ultimate line of resistance against that very erosion (Mongardini, 1993), the attempt to safeguard the epic of division on which Modernity is founded: «*The asymmetry between nature and culture then becomes an asymmetry between past and future. The past was the confusion of things and men; the future is what will no longer confuse them.* Modernization consists in continually exiting from an obscure age that mingled the needs of society with scientific truth, in order to enter into a new age that will finally distinguish clearly what belongs to atemporal nature and what comes from humans» (Latour, 1993, p. 71). Close in sense, past/future reproduces the nature/culture pair and as such comes to a crisis when everyday experience and the constant gathering of anomalies more and more clearly belie the device for definition and order that gave them sense.

This dynamic appears hardly surprising if we employ greater pathos in trying to understand what Weber says. In accord with the separation between intellect and passion typical of modern disenchantment, our «finite section» would be thought of as a piece of engineering, issuing from rational choices and procedures aiming to consolidate it, making it unassailable from what gives it origin – which is in fact what has been happening for centuries. If however we re-energize words, the first question is: how can infinity possibly be reduced? What method is required for the generation of the world and how to ensure its duration confronted with inevitable disaggregation? It appears almost obvious that as something finite, submerged in an infinite Becoming, is constantly subjected to torsions, pressures and the need to adapt and compensate, it would require similarly continuous maintenance and ceaseless dedication, lacking which rigidity and rupture would inevitably follow. The first obvious objection to this discourse regards the figure of the technician appointed for such a delicate task: if so few people are aware of it and of its crucial necessity, it is difficult to make out who has been dealing with it over the past few thousand

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years. Perhaps it is possible to find a suitable argument to oppose such an observation.

A role of this kind today would require at least a couple of degrees, specialization and certification courses of all kinds, and the unshakeable certainty of the actual possibility of its exhaustive description and transposition into procedures, and the range and typology of needful interventions. Such certainty, however, comes from the same idea of knowledge that we are criticizing, according to which reality is a finite set of data, however complex and stratified, and the knowledge concerning it is an ever more meaningful percentage of the whole. Reasoning on an infinite that remains unfathomable is another thing again. Knowing we are unable to know implies a caution unknown to recent human action, lost in its *hybris* of domination, the wary humility of the inhabitant of an archipelago of certainties laboriously built up, lost in the ocean described by Newton and Morin. Coping with the limits of our knowledge requires other strategies, tapping also different spheres from the clear Cartesian consciousness which has instead become the essential requirement for humanity. We have been teetering along this perilous brink for so long that we have forgotten about it, except in those rare, often life-changing epiphanies; this is perchance the geometric place of humanity, the contradictory balance between dimensions that reason can do no more than separate and that instead coexist in cycles and rhythms that we experience without understanding them: how can we cohabit with the awareness of our own finiteness, how can we cohabit with the perception of the impermanence of the world and of our own place within it? Behaving "as if" the problem did not exist, as if days were infinite and reality were solid and welcoming: "We fundamentally develop the capacity of *not doubting*, that is acting *as if* the world in which we live were absolutely *certain*" (Jedlowski, 1994, p. 35). It is a fundamental art, given what is at stake, yet requiring the specific wisdom of knowing when to give it up, in a ceaseless coming and going between distraction, illusion and clarity of mind: «The *doubt* that common sense *suspends* is the doubt that things can be "standardized" in different ways, i.e., that reality can be unlike what it appears to the mind bogged down in everyday activities. Common sense is a sort of mechanism aimed at keeping this doubt out of reach, at least until situations turn up for the management of which we must review what up to that point had been taken for granted» (Jedlowski, 1994, p. 37).

Everyone's life is an excellent gymnasium for practising "as ifs" because, before we reach the foundations of the real we are speaking of, there are many other levels of complexity interwoven in the finite section in which we live, of which we are unaware, and that are of no use for living pragmatically (or rather one usually thinks they are of no use, an idea sadly encouraged by today's political-media discourse), but whose existence we suspect at such times when common sense fails us and we need to set it up again with some trick such as "it's obvious", "everyone knows that..." and suchlike. In the argument we are developing, common sense offers a model for the conduct of the maintenance man of the real while being at the same time an integral part of it: we just have to hazard the hypothesis that its effect goes much deeper than we had thought so far. Jedlowski recalls Garfinkel's ethnomethodological experiments and the dramatic consequences they had on their unfortunate subjects: «They were apparently harmless exercises, but invariably they caused unease, anguish, anything up to panic in their subjects» (Jedlowski, 1994, p. 38). This was due to the fact that the "simple" request for a detailed explanation of the expression "to have a flat tyre" brings to light «the existence of a dense weft of assumptions that implicitly regulate our life, assumptions that we tacitly take for granted, the break-up of which plunges us into chaos» (Jedlowski, 1994, p. 38). The adverbs chosen by Jedlowski give a good idea of the somewhat undefined space required by the knowledge of not being able to know, where certainty and uncertainty transfigure one into the other like mirages: the tacit, the implicit, what is not expressed or in some cases what cannot be expressed are interwoven with what is said, with the evident, with the explicit; they fuel it and are fuelled by it in a reciprocal relationship – the *Wechselwirkung* we have seen streaming between the inside and the outside of a door; it is a dynamically balanced flux made of deferments and regenerations, vastly different from the clear, distinct ideas that rule the model of an individual who has hardly any kinship with the tightrope-walker with whom man can be compared: «Existence as such is an acrobatic achievement, and no one can say with certainty what training provides the necessary skills to master this discipline» (Sloterdijk, 2013, p. 63).

The answer to the query of who is in charge of repairing the real therefore requires not only a reformulation of the idea of knowledge, but also of the idea of man, both central elements of that *taken for granted* that is so useful and so dangerous. The man *as he is* seems rather different from the man *as he should be* according to the current proposition, rationalistic, disenchanted, bit by bit shedding every dimension that is not conscious or calculating. He is a complex being, fragile yet resilient, living in an equilibrium continually perturbed by intimations springing from his innermost being and from the environment around him; the latter also being his own work and requiring constant commitment for its safeguard and enhancement. He frequently takes on these responsibilities obliviously, through routine and reliance on strategies having explicit meanings and implicit motives, like the famous Hopi rain dance (Merton and Barber, 2004) or the exclamations

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studied by Goffman (1981). Another theme turns up here: the relationship between non-intentionality and success and conversely the damage that excessive procedure-making and planning may have on the things of the world, of some interest at a time of hyper-bureaucratizing such as the present. It is a theme in which the "as if" fits in nicely, since it allows a degree of spontaneity not otherwise obtainable and a privileged access to the tacit sphere of knowledge, which operates best in situations in which conscious reasoning may hinder rather than help, as the oriental disciplines teach, supported recently by important scientific discoveries (Goleman, 1995). It might even be possible to add to the debate the roguish idea that part of the destabilization and disharmony afflicting modern societies can be put down to the systematic depreciation of this basic part of human behaviour, reverberating through the quality of cohabitation and, as we suggest, through the very holding capacity of the real.

From this viewpoint, an essential ingredient of this is in fact the sharing of confidence in its *having sense*, the possibility that the appearance of doubt of its conventionality can be answered with a statement of significance that goes beyond everyday practical needs: «The aims for which we can act are multiple. What characterizes "common sense" is that in some way these too can be taken for granted. Common sense selects in the infinity of possible aims those that are plausible within the area of our culture, and supplies a framework of instructions on how we can organize our conduct to achieve them. But it *presumes* that these objectives are "sensible". In this regard, subjectivity is an anarchical principle. Strange questions pop up. "Why am I alive?", for example, or else "is what I am doing right *for me*?"» (Jedlowski, 1994, p. 22). The working of common sense closely recalls that of Kuhn's paradigm, in the normative choice of acceptable objectives and why they are acceptable: «One of the things a scientific community acquires with a paradigm is a criterion for choosing problems that, while the paradigm is taken for granted, can be assumed to have solutions. To a great extent these are the only problems that the community will admit as scientific or encourage its members to undertake. Other problems, including many that had previously been standard, are rejected as metaphysical, as the concern of another discipline, or sometimes as just too problematic to be worth the time. A paradigm can, for that matter, even insulate the community from those socially important problems that are not reducible to the puzzle form, because they cannot be stated in terms of the conceptual and instrumental tools the paradigm supplies» (Kuhn, 1996, p. 37).

Yet the «sensible» aims at any certain instant may not be sensible thereafter; it should be the task of thought and politics to choose new configurations for them, more suitable to the new circumstances. Even when this does not come about, however, the sense consciously chosen is founded on reservations and deeper layers on which to draw in continuation, up to the last regeneration that comes from the irrepressible tension between finite and infinite, allowing the very existence of the human cultural world while constantly putting it at risk. The agreement on the quality of the real is the primordial support on which the other dynamics rest; it is this that the present paradigmatic rigidity is submitting to a potentially damaging torsion. The construction of reality as separate and objective denies any possibility of intervening in its favour, radically lifting responsibility from each individual and making unthinkable his involvement in a process in which he could feel himself near others, united in a common task which is perhaps the very foundation of *social cohesion*, although at the level of dissimulation and unawareness of which we have spoken. Even without any specific thematization, the *sensation* of the active maintenance of the world and of the corresponding chance of modifying it as a consequence may be the root of self-esteem and commitment; it is the shortage of these that causes astonished and anguished lamentations and interrogation under the skies of the twenty-first century.

We have no idea of how many retreats into doubt the stuff of reality can tolerate before giving way and allowing infiltration of the chaos that always seeks dominance: «I believe life always tends towards chaos and that our system of tolerating anguish consists in producing a laboured, incessant attempt to tidy it up; but then we exchange our necessary memory box for the world, and we say that for nature men and women exist, men and animals, species hierarchically ordered, superior and inferior races, masters and slaves, soul and body, spirit and matter» (Cavalli Sforza and Padoan, 2013, p. 67). We have no idea how deep «the "evil eye" of the disenchanted» (Fink, 2016, p. 114) may reach before drying up the last sources of sense and interrupting the needful renewal of the finite section that exists and resists – another «open system» (Morin, 1993) – in relation to the infinite from which it springs. As in every cosmogony or later fantasy saga, we may hope that seeds remain of white trees or forgotten chalices to which we may have recourse, but the fear that the amputation of the roots has gone well beyond the sustainable is little more than formal optimism, and the sensation of the urgent need for a careful, conscious intervention is very much alive. A multidimensional intervention, yet cautious, courageous and calculated, since the umpteenth dichotomy it is intended to remedy – the clear-cut opposition between the hard, concrete sciences and the sciences of the spirit – proffers the fallacious belief that what concerns the latter is only a smoke-screen and plaything for irremediably unproductive people; it hides the basic practical correlation between *Wirklichkeit* and *Realität*, confining it within a metaphysical "elsewhere", whereas it is *here*

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and now: what we do not know that we do not know exists beside what has been defined as real, influencing it and conditioning it at every instant. The gap between the two is not an abstruse, distant issue: it is everyday non-alignment, perverse effects and deluded expectations, an incessant flaking away of the proclaimed solidity of the world.

Reducing infinity is a titanic move, a source of pride for humanity, yet it comes at a cost; it means honestly acknowledging limits and moderation in order to be able to oppose resistance to the Becoming. It is up to those who realize this to think of ways to make it come about so that – on the rim between consciousness and immediacy, between responsibility and poetry – we may continue to go forward. As Beckett wrote, to fail again. To fail better.

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The Linkage between Input and Output in the Innovation Ecosystem

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Abstract- An innovation ecosystem is characterized by numerous interactions between its various components. The proper functioning of an innovation ecosystem is a necessary condition to increase the chances of successful innovative activities. This research aims to investigate the relationship between input and output in the innovation ecosystem of countries. For the empirical evaluation, the Global Innovation Index (GII) was used as a proxy of the innovation ecosystem. This index tracks innovation inputs and innovation products in various countries. Using annual country data, an unconditional quantile regression model was estimated to identify the structural relationship between innovation input and output, including with lag application. Our findings show that innovation input has a significant and positive effect on innovation output in countries. These findings are useful for national innovation policies, since they emphasize the need to promote better innovation incentives.

Keywords: innovation ecosystem; global innovation index; innovation input; innovation output; innovation policies; innovation in countries; national innovation; quantile regression.

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The Linkage between Input and Output in the Innovation Ecosystem

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Abstract- An innovation ecosystem is characterized by numerous interactions between its various components. The proper functioning of an innovation ecosystem is a necessary condition to increase the chances of successful innovative activities. This research aims to investigate the relationship between input and output in the innovation ecosystem of countries. For the empirical evaluation, the Global Innovation Index (GII) was used as a proxy of the innovation ecosystem. This index tracks innovation inputs and innovation products in various countries. Using annual country data, an unconditional quantile regression model was estimated to identify the structural relationship between innovation input and output, including with lag application. Our findings show that innovation input has a significant and positive effect on innovation output in countries. These findings are useful for national innovation policies, since they emphasize the need to promote better innovation incentives.

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I. Introduction

The result of new arrangements between the factors of production that lead to new goods, new production processes or new forms of industrial organization is associated with the notion of innovation introduced by Schumpeter (1934). Innovation is the key to a dynamic economy. Easterly and Levine (2001) and Helpmann (2004) argue that it is not so much the accumulation of more capital that determines the long-term economic growth, but how capital is used, i.e., the innovation process.

Innovation increases employment, income, and competitiveness, thereby leading to economic development. Countries need to create incentives for innovation in order to raise their standard of living (Moretti, 2004; Helpmann, 2004; Cooke, 2008; OCDE, 2010; Atkinson, 2013; Gogodze, 2016; Hernandez & González, 2017). However, the decision making of policy makers should be preceded by studies that qualify and quantify the specificities of innovation, in order to identify the state of the art and prepare adequate strategies to promote it.

The Global Innovation Index (GII), created in 2007, resulted from a collaboration between Cornell University, INSEAD (European Institute of Business Administration) and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). The goal was to create procedures and metrics to measure the different dimensions of innovation in a number of countries (SaiSana, 2011). The GII tracks innovation inputs, which are related to a favorable innovation environment (Institutions; Human Resources and Research; Infrastructure; Market Sophistication and Business Sophistication), and outputs, defined as the results of innovation (Knowledge and Technology-based Products; Creative Products). Innovation inputs and outputs are sub-indexes that generate the GII (Dutta & Benavente, 2011).

However, the methodology of GII does not empirically assess the possible linkage between innovation inputs and outputs over a particular time. The GII only synthesizes the final annual result for the status quo of innovation in several countries based on the mapped categories. GII methodology states that the direct relationship between inputs and innovation products should be viewed with caution, since the effect may not be automatic or contemporary.

Our research has identified a relative scarcity of scientific studies on the possible links between innovation inputs and outputs, and how this relationship can develop over time. As such, we aim to investigate the relationship between input and output in the innovation ecosystem. We test the hypothesis that innovation input affected output in the GII results between 2009 and 2019.

We estimate an unconditional quantile regression model with contemporaneous and lag adjustment to identify the (hypothetical) structural relationship between innovation input and output in countries. Our study proposes a different approach for analyzing the innovation ecosystem that may be useful for global innovation policies.

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II. Innovation Ecosystem

Following Schumpeter (1934), other authors and organizations have proposed new innovation concepts (OECD, 1997; Edquist, 1997; Sundbo & Gallouj, 1998; OECD, 2005). To summarize, innovation is now understood as the implementation of something new or significantly improved (Product or Service, Process, Marketing Method; Business Organization Method, Commercial Models, Practices, Workplace Organization or Foreign Relations).

Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz (1996) and Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (2000) proposed the Triple Helix innovation model to identify the role of companies, governments and universities. In this model, the university encourages the relationship with companies and government in generating, accumulating and applying new knowledge (technological innovations) in favor of economic development. Campbell, Carayannis and Rehman (2015) broaden the notion of Triple helix by introducing civil society as a fourth helix, emphasizing democracy and the importance of political and civil rights in the innovation system. Carayannis, Barth and Campbell (2012) and Carayannis and Rakhmatullin (2014) include sustainable development as another dimension in the helix models, resulting in a five-helix model.

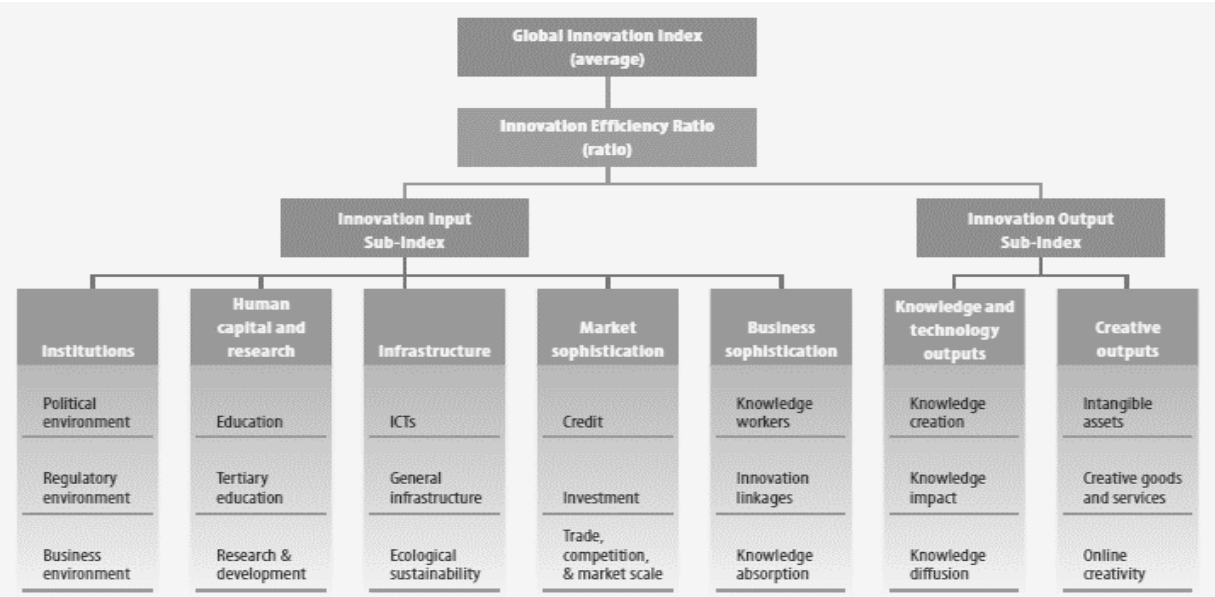
In addition, the innovation phenomenon has been systematically investigated and measured, under the open system and ecosystem approach (Dosi, 1988; Lundvall, 1992; Nelson, 1993; Freeman, 1995; Moore, 1996; Dahlander & Gann, 2010; Remneland Wikhamn & Wikhamn, 2013; Dedehayir & Seppänen, 2015; Brown, 2016; Adner, 2017; Dedehayir et al. 2017).

The innovation ecosystem has become an organizational paradigm and has served as the primary reference in formulating strategies for innovation (Teece, 2007). The functioning of the innovation ecosystem proposed for Moore (1996) is characterized by multiple interactions between its different components. In this respect, it is important to manage and expand the benefits of the ecosystem, which requires mapping and creating metrics to quantify and identify gaps in its performance, possibly correcting any bottlenecks (Jackson, 2010). The proper functioning of an ecosystem is needed to broaden the effectiveness of entrepreneurial and innovative activities, creating jobs and providing the conditions for economic prosperity.

III. Global Innovation Index (GII)

The GII was created based on the reasoning that innovation is important for driving competitiveness and economic progress in developed and developing economies. According to Saisana, Domínguez-Torreiro and Vertesy (2017), in 2017 the index was calculated for 127 countries based on 79 indicators; in that year, the index measured innovation ecosystems that covered 92.5% of the world's population and 97.6% of GDP (in USD).

The GII adopts the concept of innovation originally devised by the Oslo Manual and expanded by the European Community and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Figure 1 shows that the GII consists of seven large innovation areas divided into 21 sub-areas.



Source: Adapted by Authors (2019) based on Saisana, Domínguez-Torreiro and Vertesy (2017)

Figure 1: Composition of the Global Innovation Index (GII)

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Input innovation is monitored by five large areas, which determine environmental aspects favorable to innovation, and two large areas monitor innovation output. The GII then aggregates the large areas into two sub-indices: Input and Output. Next, the Innovation Efficiency Ratio the ratio between the sub-indices of Innovation Input and Output, is calculated. Finally, the Global Innovation Index (GII) is calculated by arithmetic mean of the sub-indices.

The GII and its sub-indices are quantitative measures that range between 0 and 100; the higher the score, the more developed the innovation ecosystem. The complete GII methodology can be accessed in greater detail in the annual reports published jointly by Cornell University and WIPO.

SaiSana (2011), Saisana and Philippas (2012; 2013), Saisana and Saltelli (2014), Saisana and Domínguez-Torreiro (2015) and Saisana, Domínguez-Torreiro and Vertesy (2016; 2017) assessed the GII using the *Handbook on Constructing Composite Indicators: Methodology and User Guide*, produced by the Applied Statistics and Econometrics Unit of the Joint Research Centre (JRC) of the European Commission in Ispra (Italy) in partnership with the OECD. These authors tested the GII from two perspectives: conceptual and statistical coherence. They concluded that the multilevel structure of the GII is statistically coherent and has a stable structure, since it is not dominated by any of the sub-ind. The ranking obtained by a country is reasonably robust given the methodological assumptions (estimated lost data, weighting and aggregation formula).

IV. Literature Review

Studies that investigate the GII derive from a more specific approach reported in specialized journals, which analyzed the GII empirically. Al-Sudairi and Bakry (2014) explored the results of the GII for Saudi Arabia. Sohn, Kim and Jeon (2016) re-examined the GII using a structural equation model for 2013 data. These authors analyzed innovation input (institution, human capital and research, infrastructure, market sophistication and business sophistication) and output (knowledge and technology, and creative solutions). However, they did not consider the possible structural relationship between the factors that affect a country's innovation performance.

Crespo and Crespo (2016) assume that countries can achieve high innovation performance in the GII using various combinations of input. The authors discuss the internal sub-pillars of innovation input and establish two sub-samples (high and low-income countries). They find that several input combinations lead to high innovation performance in both groups, and that in the low-income group none of the individual conditions is sufficient to predict good innovation performance, while in the high-income group infrastructure, human capital and research conditions are sufficient to obtain a better innovation performance. Carpita and Ciavolino (2017) found evidence of a positive relationship between Business Sophistication (explanatory variable) and Innovation Input (response variable), using the GII data for 27 European Union (EU) countries in 2012.

Gogodze (2016) analyzed the relationships among the components of GII, employing the Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) techniques in 77 countries, between 2011 and 2015. Gogodze (2016) found results that support the existence of a causal link among the various sub-indexes of the GII. The author concluded that the efficient management of institutional capital in high-income countries is essential to innovation success.

Vlasova, Kuznetsova and Roud (2017) investigated the GII results for Russia between 2013 and 2016. The authors analyzed the strengths and weaknesses regarding progress in science, technology and innovation in the country. Jankowska, Matysek-Jedrych and Mroczek-Dabrowska (2017) used the GII to explain how national innovation systems can transform innovation input into output in different countries. The authors assume that more innovation input generates more innovation output in a country. They used cluster analysis with 228 countries. Subsequent results obtained for Poland and Bulgaria contradicted the initial results. The authors then try to explain how and why national innovation systems fail (or succeed) in creating innovation.

There is also a series of studies available in the GII reports that discuss its theoretical-methodological concept and results (Dutta & Benavente, 2011; SaiSana, 2011; Dutta, Benavente & Wunsch-Vincent, 2012; Saisana & Philippas, 2012; Wunsch-Vincent, 2012; Slater and Wruuck, 2012; Saisana and Philippas, 2013; Hollanders, 2013; Xiangjiang, Peng & Kelly, 2013; Dutta et al, 2014; Saisana & Saltelli, 2014; Scott & Vincent-Lancrin, 2014; Dutta et al, 2015; Saisana & Domínguez-Torreiro, 2015; Reynoso et al, 2015; Goedhuys, Hollanders & Mohnen, 2015; Atkinson & Ezell, 2015; Chen, Zheng & Guo, 2015; Chaminade & Moskovko, 2015; Gopalakrishnan & Dasgupta, 2015; Ecuru & Kawooya, 2015; Dutta et al, 2016; Saisana, Domínguez-Torreiro & Vertesy, 2016; Poh, 2016; Gokhber & Roud, 2016; Dutta et al, 2017; Andrade & Domingos, 2017; and Lybbert et al, 2017).

Dutta and Benavente (2011), Dutta, Benavente and Wunsch-Vincent (2012), Dutta, Benavente and Wunsch-Vincent (2013), Dutta et al (2014), Dutta et al (2015), Dutta et al (2016) and Dutta et al (2017) report that, although the scores for Input and Output in the GII may differ substantially, leading to important changes in a country's classification, there is a positive relationship between them. To summarize, based on the data

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available for the respective years, these authors infer that the efforts made for better innovation input are rewarded with improved innovation results. On the other hand, the GII methodology warns that the relationship between inputs and innovation products should be viewed with caution, since the direct effect may not be automatic or contemporary.

Along these same lines, the present study sought to confirm whether innovation inputs statistically affect the products of innovation in the GII results. One of the differences, however, is to make an assessment over an extended period (2009 to 2019), through the quantile econometric method, including the use of lags.

V. Sample Design

The sample was based on the availability of the GII sub-indices (innovation input and output) and the data were obtained from the annual GII reports. The other control variable selected was Gross Domestic Product Per Capita based on Purchasing Power Parity (GDP) in 2011 USD, obtained from the World Bank.

The sample includes all the available years of the GII between 2009 and 2019. However, the current year GII is based on country data from the previous two years. In order to estimate the empirical model, we consider that the results of the GII always refer to the two years prior to publication.

Table 1: Number of countries mapped by the GII

Countries	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
GII	130	132	125	141	142	143	141	128	127	126	129
GDP PPP per capita	128	130	123	140	141	143	141	128	127	126	129

Source: Authors (2019). 1- Note: The GII data for 2009 to 2010 correspond to the previous version, which varied between 0 and 1. To reconcile the earlier version with the current one, the data for 2009 to 2010 were multiplied by 100. For more information on the methodology, see the annual reports.

As can be observed, the non-homogeneous number of countries mapped each year by the GII requires some specific methodological treatment.

VI. Empirical Model

The GII sub-indices use a variety of information on a country's innovation ecosystem (see Figure 1). However, since the index covers several countries with varying economic performance, it is important to consider the possible high heterogeneity in the structural relationship between input and output in the innovation ecosystem environment. As such, we propose estimating a quantile regression model with fixed effects in a panel data setting in order to test the possible relationship between innovation input and output.

The quantile regression model with fixed effects is credited to different authors (Koenker, 2004; Bache et al., 2013; Powell, 2017). In this study, we use quantile regression with fixed effects, as proposed by Bache et al. (2013):

$$y_{it} = x_{it}\beta\,(\tau) + s_i\pi + \varepsilon_{it}, \quad (1)$$

We estimated a Correlated-Random-Effects (CRE) model (unconditional) according to Bache et al. (2013):

$$OUTPUT_{It} = \beta_0(\tau) + INPUT_{it}(\tau)\beta_1 + GDP_{it}(\tau)\,\beta_2 + D_k + s_i\pi + \varepsilon_{it}, \quad (2)$$

where i is the index for countries and t is the index for years. The time-invariant unobserved effects are controlled by the covariate vector si, constructible from repeated measurements of the time-varying covariates in xit (time-invariant covariates, such as geographic region, are not used to construct si). In general, si is constructed using the t-means (averages over time) of the time-varying covariates in xit. This allows for unobserved characteristics to correlate with xit. In addition, the unobserved effects can affect both the scale and location of the response distribution. The si vector enters linearly in the criterion function and the unobserved effects are allowed to vary with each quantile. Nevertheless, the estimator proposed by Bache et al. (2013) allows the use of unbalanced panels (si is constructed using the years available for each country). The model was estimated using log variables (coefficients are elasticities), and Dk are dummies to capture the particular effect of different regions on innovation output. The regions are labeled based on United Nations criteria, as follows: EUR = Europe; NAC = North America; LCN = Latin America and the Caribbean; CSA = Central and Southern Asia; SEAO= Southeast Asia, East Asia, and Oceania; NAWA = Northern Africa and Western Asia; SSF = Sub-Saharan Africa. We selected CSA as the base region. The response variable and the covariates are in logs, except for the dummies.

Considering that the possible relationship between innovation inputs on outputs may not be automatic, we still apply a lag one-year quantile model,

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where, for example, 2018 inputs will be contrasted with their 2019 counterparts, while inputs from 2019 are also modeled. This is because both 2018 and 2019 inputs can simultaneously affect 2019 innovation products. In addition, we take into account that this lag models may be endogenous, since innovation outputs may include innovations that are be correlated with innovation inputs, such as process innovations. To overcome this possible problem, we have included a last quantile model whose input will be lagged by one year and contrasted exclusively with innovation outputs.

VII. Results and Discussion

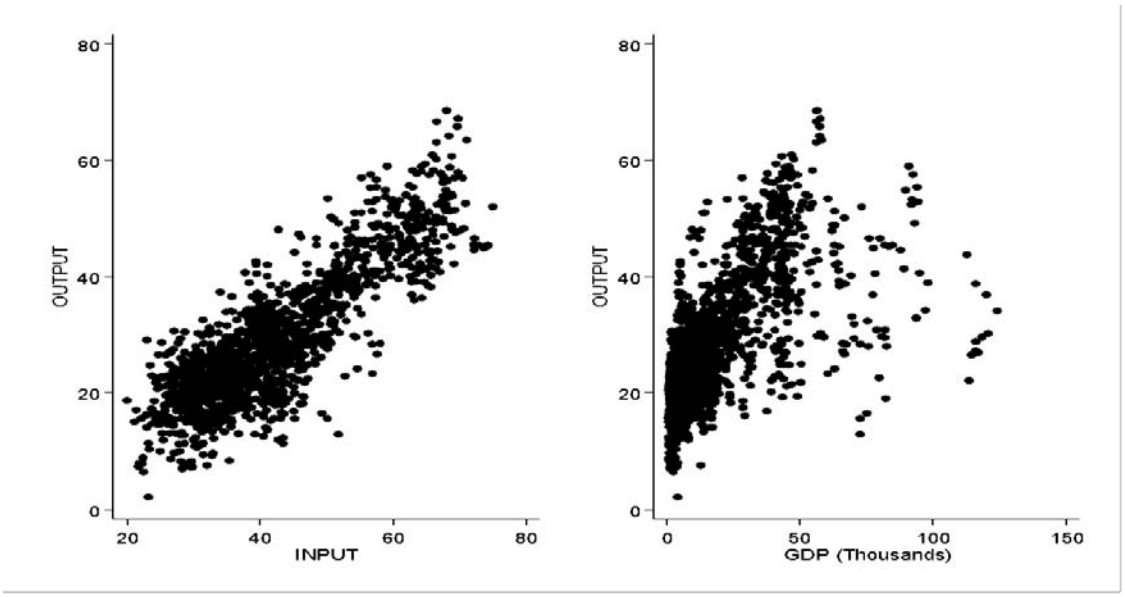
Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics of the variables (Innovation Input, Innovation Output, GDP Per capita) in the period. With the exception of the standard deviation, note that the statistical values of innovation inputs and outputs differ substantially, suggesting that the average and median effort of innovation inputs is greater than innovation results. The minimum and maximum values demonstrate that innovation results are significantly lower than innovation inputs. However, the standard deviation between these variables is relatively similar.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for the inputs, outputs and GDP variables (2009 to 2019)

STATISTIC	INPUT	OUTPUT	GDP
Average	42.49	29.43	20,704.56
Median	40.49	26.97	13,776.03
Standard Deviation	11.82	11.45	20,578.98
Minimum	19.90	2.10	670.78
Maximum	74.90	68.60	12,4024.57
Observations	1464.00	1464.00	1,456.00

Source: Authors (2019)

The average GDP was above the median, with high standard deviation, and its minimum and maximum values show the wide variability of economic performance between countries. In general, the distribution of all observed variables is heterogeneous. Figure 2 shows the scatter plots for inputs, outputs and GDP, where It is possible to observation that the variables inputs and GDP are linearly associated with innovation outputs. As expected, the distribution of innovation input data is better matched with innovation product observations.



Source: Authors (2019).

Figure 2: Dispersion of the inputs, outputs and GDP in the period (2009 to 2019)

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It is important to note that the more than 120 countries present in the sample are markedly different in their own characteristics, from economic and social to political, cultural, and territorial aspects, among others. Thus, to properly investigate the wide variability in data distribution of the sample variables, Table 3 presents a statistical description by quantiles, which organizes the distribution of countries monotonically according to the median.

Table 3: Quantile median of the variables (2009 to 2019)

VARIABLES	INPUT	OUTPUT	GDP
10%	28.85	16.90	1,848.24
20%	32.00	19.90	3,470.13
30%	34.70	22.03	6,058.04
40%	37.80	24.38	8,689.13
50%	40.49	26.97	12,400.89
60%	43.01	29.90	16,684.51
70%	46.90	33.84	23,505.04
80%	53.08	39.38	33,411.80
90%	62.20	46.60	44,315.39

Source: Authors (2019).

Nine quantiles were established for the sample hierarchy. This procedure enabled the formation of groups of countries with lower standard deviation. The 10% quantile value, for example, is represented by the lowest values in the distribution of input and innovation product and economic performance data. However, the countries with the highest values are above the 90% quantile.

Table 4 summarizes the results of quantile regression no lag for countries between 2009 and 2019. Innovation input has a significant positive effect on innovation output, except for the 10% quantile. As such, this result confirms our hypothesis and partially corroborates that of Dutta and Benavente (2011), Dutta, Benavente and Wunsch-Vincent (2012), Dutta, Benavente and Wunsch-Vincent (2013), Dutta et al (2014), Dutta et al (2015), Dutta et al (2016) and Dutta et al (2017), which claims there is a positive relationship between the sub-indexes.

However, countries located in the initial quantile seem unable to translate their innovation efforts into innovation products. Another important finding is that, the farther we move to the right tail of the innovation output distribution, the greater the effect of innovation input. In the 90% quantile, the magnitude of the coefficient is smaller, compared to the 80% quantile.

Table 4: Results of quantile regressions for countries between 2009 and 2019

OUTPUT	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9
INPUT	-0.0501	0.2263***	0.2642***	0.5363***	0.6146***	0.8100***	0.846***	1.418***	1.0713***
	(0.085)	(0.037)	(0.060)	(0.096)	(0.088)	(0.082)	(0.129)	(0.174)	(0.301)
GDP	-0.8089***	-0.4725***	-0.3203***	-0.1038***	-0.1879***	-0.0946***	-0.1574*	-0.5245***	-0.3589***
	(0.119)	(0.046)	(0.070)	(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.093)	(0.082)	(0.103)
EUR	-0.1116**	0.088**	0.1719***	0.2178***	0.2494***	0.3236***	0.2270***	0.0289	0.0022
	(0.043)	(0.039)	(0.054)	(0.028)	(0.030)	(0.037)	(0.063)	(0.054)	(0.024)
LCN	0.088***	0.1471***	0.0755***	0.0333*	-0.0011	-0.0235	-0.1157***	-0.1551***	-0.0933***
	(0.032)	(0.035)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.043)	(0.023)	(0.030)
NAC	-0.2886***	-0.0355	0.0598	0.0962***	0.1402***	0.2874***	0.3164***	0.2721***	0.3662***
	(0.052)	(0.037)	(0.046)	(0.021)	(0.039)	(0.044)	(0.036)	(0.061)	(0.100)
NAWA	-0.0988**	0.1204***	0.1473***	0.104***	0.0706***	0.0416**	-0.0532	-0.1611***	-0.0951***
	(0.044)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.020)	(0.012)	(0.020)	(0.062)	(0.020)	(0.034)
SEAO	-0.1291***	0.0824**	0.1634***	0.1780***	0.1849***	0.2489***	0.1233**	0.0087	-0.1587***
	(0.043)	(0.038)	(0.049)	(0.015)	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.058)	(0.023)	(0.048)
SSF	-0.1599***	-0.0301	-0.0359	-0.0471***	-0.0221	0.0099	0.0246***	0.0479***	0.0164*
	(0.034)	(0.029)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.020)	(0.014)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.008)

Source: Authors (2019). Asterisks denote the significance level: ∗ 10%; ∗∗ 5%; ∗∗∗ 1%. Bootstrapped standard errors are given in parentheses.

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Table 5 shows the results of contemporaneous and lagged variables. The cumulative effect, that is, when we add the contemporary and lagged result of innovation inputs, we observe a positive and significant effect on the 30%, 40%, 50%, 60%, 70% and 90% quantiles of the response variable (results innovation). This indicates that more innovation inputs positively affect innovation output in countries located in the right tail of the response distribution, especially in countries with the highest GII output sub-index scores, with the exception of the 80% quantile. The cumulative effect of innovation inputs on innovation output in the 10% and 20% quantiles is non-significant. Once again, these findings are evidence that countries with a relatively weak innovation ecosystem cannot translate their innovation efforts into product innovation.

Table 5: Results of quantile regressions for countries between 2009 and 2019

OUTPUT	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9
INPUT	-0.0125	-0.4430***	-0.1238	0.1259**	0.1669*	0.5315***	0.7253***	1.4693***	0.9386***
	(0.102)	(0.077)	(0.091)	(0.055)	(0.091)	(0.092)	(0.224)	(0.222)	(0.350)
LAGINPUT	-0.4999***	0.0857	0.2615***	0.3146***	0.5176***	0.3083***	0.3720***	0.0854	0.2200*
	(0.082)	(0.102)	(0.052)	(0.092)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.078)	(0.103)	(0.115)
GDP	0.8961***	0.8264***	0.3598***	0.407***	-0.0521	0.1414	0.3331**	-0.2249	0.2107
	(0.308)	(0.127)	(0.112)	(0.138)	(0.167)	(0.176)	(0.165)	(0.145)	(0.143)
LAGDP	-1.8926***	-1.5918***	-0.8329***	-0.6517***	-0.2462	-0.4101*	-0.8104***	-0.3016*	-0.5891***
	(0.318)	(0.176)	(0.129)	(0.133)	(0.162)	(0.209)	(0.157)	(0.157)	(0.181)
EUR	-0.0054	0.2006***	0.3301***	0.3473***	0.3139***	0.39***	0.1862**	-0.0261	0.0342*
	(0.076)	(0.035)	(0.058)	(0.032)	(0.043)	(0.056)	(0.084)	(0.037)	(0.020)
LCN	0.1360***	0.1923***	0.1991***	0.1170***	0.0037	0.0112	-0.1541***	-0.1704***	-0.0814***
	(0.050)	(0.037)	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.017)	(0.035)	(0.047)	(0.037)	(0.025)
NAC	-0.1625**	0.1057***	0.2341***	0.219***	0.1977***	0.337***	0.2543***	0.1913***	0.3792***
	(0.082)	(0.034)	(0.047)	(0.022)	(0.050)	(0.038)	(0.045)	(0.050)	(0.089)
NAWA	0.0151	0.2345***	0.2934***	0.2007***	0.0753***	0.0552	-0.1499**	-0.2267***	-0.0972***
	(0.073)	(0.034)	(0.044)	(0.033)	(0.022)	(0.046)	(0.072)	(0.045)	(0.028)
SEAO	-0.0833	0.1558***	0.2831***	0.2446***	0.2133***	0.2903***	0.0984	0.0007	-0.198***
	(0.079)	(0.031)	(0.049)	(0.021)	(0.042)	(0.053)	(0.061)	(0.031)	(0.044)
SSF	-0.1545***	-0.02	0.0636**	0.014	-0.0384*	0.005	-0.0299***	-0.0085	-0.0019
	(0.049)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.002)

Source: Authors (2019). Asterisks denote the significance level: ∗ 10%; ∗∗ 5%; ∗∗∗ 1%. Bootstrapped standard errors are given in parentheses.

We further tested in Table 6 whether the shift in production input lag only affects innovation output in subsequent years. We found evidence that innovation inputs (Institutions; Human Resources and Research; Infrastructure; Market Sophistication and Business Sophistication) positively and significantly impact innovation outputs (Knowledge and Technology-based Products; Creative Products), except in the 10% and 20% quantiles. This result corroborates the previous findings, especially at the higher quantiles.

Table 6: Results of quantile regressions for countries between 2010 and 2019

OUTPUT	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9
LAGINPUT	-0.4087***	-0.0388	0.2407***	0.4197***	0.5927***	0.5808***	0.7591***	0.7717***	0.6969***
	(0.052)	(0.082)	(0.084)	(0.082)	(0.060)	(0.089)	(0.101)	(0.125)	(0.144)
LAGGDP	-1.0839***	-0.8879***	-0.5197***	-0.2715***	-0.2771***	-0.2307***	-0.4388***	-0.3621***	-0.3074***
	(0.116)	(0.080)	(0.097)	(0.045)	(0.043)	(0.067)	(0.079)	(0.103)	(0.093)
EUR	-0.0714	0.1455***	0.2902***	0.3156***	0.2961***	0.3755***	0.1807**	-0.0358	0.0048
	(0.073)	(0.034)	(0.057)	(0.031)	(0.044)	(0.053)	(0.077)	(0.048)	(0.024)
LCN	0.084*	0.1502***	0.1691***	0.0938***	-0.0073	0.0071	-0.1480***	-0.1666***	-0.0948***
	(0.049)	(0.035)	(0.028)	(0.032)	(0.016)	(0.032)	(0.042)	(0.029)	(0.028)
NAC	-0.2393***	0.0432	0.1895***	0.1841***	0.1806***	0.3289***	0.2603***	0.1936***	0.3567***
	(0.083)	(0.032)	(0.046)	(0.020)	(0.053)	(0.037)	(0.041)	(0.056)	(0.083)
NAWA	-0.0934	0.1488***	0.2332***	0.1552***	0.0574***	0.0594	-0.1193**	-0.1989***	-0.1084***

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	(0.078)	(0.029)	(0.041)	(0.030)	(0.015)	(0.036)	(0.059)	(0.029)	(0.028)
SEAO	-0.0736	0.1622***	0.2871***	0.247***	0.2119***	0.2826***	0.0854	-0.0131	-0.2066***
	(0.076)	(0.031)	(0.049)	(0.021)	(0.041)	(0.054)	(0.062)	(0.029)	(0.044)
SSF	-0.2277***	-0.0766***	0.0244	-0.015	-0.0477**	0.0147	0.0002	0.0207***	-0.0004
	(0.056)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.003)

Source: Authors (2019). Asterisks denote the significance level: ∗ 10%; ∗∗ 5%; ∗∗∗ 1%. Bootstrapped standard errors are given in parentheses.

Our analysis also includes GDP per capita as control variable. Interestingly, GDP per capita shows a negative and meaningful relationship with innovation outcomes across the quantiles (Tables 4, 5 and 6). The effect of accumulated GDP also remains negative and significant. However, these results may be attributed to three reasons: i) a decline in the economic growth rate in many countries during the period; ii) GDP per capita may be affecting innovation output differently in the short, medium and long run; and iii) the relevant information for explaining innovation output is already contained in the innovation input sub-index.

In general, the results of the region dummies (relative to CSA) in Tables 4, 5 and 6 reveal that on the European continent, innovation results seem to increase from the left to right intermediate quantiles. In Latin America, significant positive results are found in the lower quantiles, while the countries of North America show significant positive results in the right tail of the quantiles. The NAWA and SEAO regions exhibit significant positive results in the intermediate positions between the 20% and 60% quantiles. The Sub-Saharan Africa region produced varying results. The non-significant or negative significant and s effect in quantiles may be associated with stagnant innovation results. All regions had divergent effects across the quantiles. No significant effect was found for some regions likely because they are located in emerging countries with low innovation levels. Moreover, there are specific variables in emerging economies that affect innovation input such as high levels of informal competition, and low levels of inter-organizational cooperation.

VIII. Conclusion

This study presents evidence that innovation input positively affects innovation output, as measured by the GII, especially in the high quantiles. The results show that the effect of innovation input on innovation production occurs from both the contemporary point of view and the lagged variables. The effect seems to decline the more we move to the left tail, which would corroborate, to a certain extent, literature studies supporting the theory that that more efforts directed to innovation input are always rewarded with better innovation results. This argument seems to be more plausible at high quantiles, whereas encouraging more input when we are at the right tail might only moderately affect innovation results.

The relationship between input and innovation output in the GII has already been recognized, but we have attempted to broaden the discussion by monitoring all countries included in the GII. Furthermore, we observed a longer period than that of past studies. We also included regional dummies in order to capture more information on the behavior of innovation output. The non-significant or significant and negative effects found demonstrates the need for more efficient policies, in order to reverse the stagnation trend in some quantiles, and enhance the effectiveness of input in materializing innovation products in countries with developing economies.

We should also consider the limitations of using GII. Although the index methodology considers a variety of innovation dimensions, we know that the innovation process is multifaceted, and impossible to be faithfully reproduced. There are therefore a variety of blind spots in assessing innovation performance in countries. However, the GII provides coverage of important data that is useful for scientific research and decision-making in innovative ecosystem management.

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Hannah Arendt and the Freedom to be Free: Reflections on Freedom and Revolution

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Abstract- *La Libertad de ser libres* (the freedom to be free) is an unpublished essay in which Hannah Arendt reflects on the relevance and the true meaning of the concept of freedom. The paper dates from 1967 in the United States, but it had not been published in its Spanish version until the summer of 2018 by Taurus publishing house (Barcelona, Spain). In this review, I attempt to reflect on the most important political ideas that the author presents in her essay on freedom and revolution, starting from comparing the American Revolution and the French Revolution. While the former was a great local success, the latter was a turning point in history but ended in disaster. Hannah Arendt's essay reflects the strength and rigor of her political thought and the need to rethink the concept of revolution, with its possibilities and failures, and its implications for achieving freedom in public space, once in a free society a new beginning is possible, which connects with the most pressing challenges of our time.

Keywords: *freedom, revolution, hannah arendt, liberation, equality, a new beginning.*

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Hannah Arendt and the Freedom to be Free: Reflections on Freedom and Revolution

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Abstract- ***La Libertad de ser libres*** **(the freedom to be free) is an unpublished essay in which Hannah Arendt reflects on the relevance and the true meaning of the concept of freedom. The paper dates from 1967 in the United States, but it had not been published in its Spanish version until the summer of 2018 by Taurus publishing house (Barcelona, Spain). In this review, I attempt to reflect on the most important political ideas that the author presents in her essay on freedom and revolution, starting from comparing the American Revolution and the French Revolution. While the former was a great local success, the latter was a turning point in history but ended in disaster. Hannah Arendt's essay reflects the strength and rigor of her political thought and the need to rethink the concept of revolution, with its possibilities and failures, and its implications for achieving freedom in public space, once in a free society a new beginning is possible, which connects with the most pressing challenges of our time.**

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I. Introduction

Una vez más Hannah Arendt (1906-1975) nos sorprende con su sabiduría a través de un texto inédito, publicado en inglés en el verano de 2017 y posteriormente en castellano en 2018, a través de la editorial Taurus. *La libertad de ser libres* es un ensayo que fue escrito alrededor de 1967 y que no ha visto la luz hasta ahora, si bien su referente más próximo es el libro de la autora *Sobre la Revolución*, publicado originalmente en 1963. Este último se centra en el concepto de revolución y se remonta a un curso monográfico en Princeton en 1959 —hay que tener en cuenta que Arendt fue una autora muy prolífica, cuya obra además de en sus libros se refleja también en numerosos artículos, ensayos y conferencias—.

No obstante, aunque *La libertad de ser libres* se trata de un texto bastante corto, no por ello es menos intenso, puesto que en él se condensan las principales ideas que Arendt había expuesto en su monografía *Sobre la Revolución*. Este ensayo nos aporta una nueva concepción de la *libertad*, pero también se trata de una contundente revisión del verdadero significado de la *revolución*. Por tanto, podemos advertir ya desde un principio esa ligazón que hay en Arendt entre ambos conceptos.

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II. The Concept of Revolution

En primer lugar, en el capítulo inicial, "Las condiciones y el significado de la revolución", Arendt nos introduce al concepto de la revolución, que lo considera fundamental, puesto que para ella "el fin del imperialismo, bajo la presión del nacionalismo, ha dado lugar a la propagación de la idea de revolución a lo largo y ancho del planeta" (p. 11). Por lo tanto, todo su ensayo va a girar en torno a la idea de revolución, y es importante en este punto aclarar el significado de este concepto.

La revolución, a diferencia de la guerra, para Arendt no es un concepto genérico, sin fecha de origen, sino que es a partir de la Revolución francesa y de la americana cuando se constituye su verdadero significado. Hasta entonces, el término *revolución* no gozaba de gran protagonismo en el ámbito político: "en el siglo XVII…se refería al movimiento eterno, irresistible y recurrente de los cuerpos celestes", lo que implicaba metafóricamente un "movimiento, un regreso a un orden predeterminado" (pp. 17, 18). Esta concepción de la revolución como "restauración" apareció por primera vez en la Revolución Gloriosa de la Inglaterra del siglo diecisiete, una vez restaurada la monarquía frente a las fuerzas parlamentarias. Pero para Arendt el verdadero significado de la revolución se manifestaría "cuando sus actores iban adquiriendo consciencia de que se habían embarcado en una empresa completamente nueva y no en el regreso a una situación anterior" (p. 19).

III. Public Freedom and Meanings of the Revolution

Si el concepto de revolución cambió a finales del siglo dieciocho, también lo haría el de libertad. La libertad, para Arendt, pasó de significar "la libertad restaurada por la bendición de Dios", a conformar "el derecho a participar en los asuntos públicos" (p. 21). Para la autora toda revolución es al mismo tiempo *liberación* y *libertad*, de forma que "resulta difícil ver y determinar dónde acaba el deseo de liberación, de verse libre de la opresión, y dónde empieza el deseo de libertad, de vivir una vida política" (pp. 22, 23). Importante distinción en Arendt, de forma que podemos discernir la *libertad de*, es decir, la liberación; y la *libertad para*, la libertad orientada hacia el fin de que todos los ciudadanos participen en los asuntos públicos

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y asuman sus responsabilidades. Esta libertad pública se opone a:

> La liberación de la opresión [que] podría haberse conseguido perfectamente con un gobierno monárquico pero no tiránico, mientras que la libertad como modo de vida político requería una forma de gobierno nueva, o mejor dicho, redescubierta, esto es, la instauración de una república (p. 23).

A continuación, Arendt destaca el papel de *les hommes de lettres,* aquellos que disponían de tiempo libre y ni tenían amo ni estaban ocupados en ganarse la vida, que se dedicaban a estudiar la vida de la antigua Roma. Mientras en EE. UU., como bien indica la autora, estos se habían acostumbrado a participar en asambleas de municipios y distritos para deliberar sobre los asuntos públicos, en Francia no tuvo lugar tal fenómeno, pero "la mentalidad era la misma" (p. 26). En ambos casos, la Antigüedad proveía del ejemplo necesario para animar a la revolución y al espíritu republicano de participar en los asuntos públicos.

En este punto, la autora aclara que, frente al "vicio" de la ambición, que "persigue el poder como un fin en sí mismo", lo que conduce a los hombres a luchar por la libertad pública es el "deseo de destacar entre otros" (p. 28), ese deseo de disfrutar del reconocimiento de los otros. Aunque "ese tipo de libertad exige igualdad, solo es posible entre iguales" (p. 29). Esto es fundamental en la teoría política de Arendt, pues para ella el espacio público se constituye por medio de la acción política entre libres e iguales.

Sin embargo, unas peores condiciones sociales en Europa condicionarían la revolución. En palabras de Arendt:

> Los hombres de las primeras revoluciones, aunque sabían muy bien que la liberación debía preceder a la libertad, no eran conscientes aún del hecho de que aquella significaba algo más de la liberación política de un poder absoluto y despótico; que *la libertad de ser libres* significaba ante todo ser libre no solo del temor, sino también de la necesidad" (p. 32, la cursiva es nuestra).

Mientras que el pueblo americano era libre y no se encontraba en la pobreza —a excepción de los esclavos negros—, en la Revolución francesa fue el propio *peuple* francés, *les malheureux* —los pobres y desgraciados, en términos de la época— quienes para gozar de la libertad pública, que requiere ser libres de la pobreza, visibilizaron su situación de miseria a través de la revolución, y de ahí su trascendencia.

Aun así, "la Revolución francesa acabó en desastre y pasó a ser un punto de inflexión en la historia universal; la Revolución estadounidense fue un éxito clamoroso y no pasó de ser un acontecimiento local" (p. 41). De forma que, a excepción del caso americano, las revoluciones a partir de la francesa terminarían con la vuelta al despotismo y al absolutismo ilustrado, lo que se convertiría en la "norma" de todas ellas a juicio de Arendt, debido a que el objetivo de la revolución era el de lograr la felicidad del pueblo antes que conformar un nuevo orden político basado en la libertad e igualdad públicas (p. 42) —en clara referencia al periodo del Terror que transformó la naturaleza y el fin de la Revolución francesa—.

Por tanto, Arendt señala que "la liberación de la pobreza no puede abordarse de la misma manera que la liberación de la opresión política", porque "responder con violencia a las condiciones sociales siempre ha desembocado en el terror" (p. 44). Aquí Arendt nos da una gran lección, pues si bien resalta en buena medida la trascendencia de la Revolución francesa —como el acontecimiento más importante de la historia reciente, que marca un antes y un después en torno a las concepciones de revolución, igualdad y libertad—, también nos advierte de sus peligros, pues el cambio siempre conlleva invariablemente miedo y esperanza al mismo tiempo.

IV. A New Beginning

Otro aspecto relevante de las revoluciones en el que hace hincapié Arendt es el hecho de que la experiencia de la libertad se vincule a con el comienzo de algo nuevo, ya que "se consideraba que ser libre y empezar algo nuevo era lo mismo" (p. 47). Es decir, en toda revolución existe:

> Una alabanza al *nacimiento como tal*, a la llegada de una nueva generación, al gran suceso salvífico o "milagro" que redimirá a la humanidad una y otra vez…la afirmación de la divinidad del nacimiento y de la creencia en que la salvación potencial del mundo radica en el propio hecho de que la especie humana se regenera de forma constante y eterna (pp. 46, 47).

Para Arendt, esta característica de comenzar algo nuevo, que se inicia con el nacimiento y termina con la muerte, no solo es propia del ser humano sino también de la política, porque la propia acción política, que se expresa principalmente mediante el habla, supone un volver a empezar, un cuestionamiento de lo establecido para ofrecer soluciones públicas a problemas comunes, y constituye un tipo de actividad que en términos de la propia Arendt (1993, 201, 265) sería como un "segundo nacimiento".

Sin embargo, Arendt también sabía bien que la revolución conlleva riesgos, pues el mayor peligro para ella es el que surge de la pobreza, "el grandísimo peligro de que el intento fallido de fundar instituciones de la libertad dé lugar a la abolición más absoluta de la libertad y de todos los derechos inherentes a ella" (p. 50, 51), debido al carácter irreversible de las revoluciones, que hace que estas jamás se olviden.

Por ello, cabe decir que la revolución supone una oportunidad —frente a un vacío de poder o una autoridad despótica—, pero si el resultado de la revolución se orienta hacia la ambición de poder o hacia la satisfacción de las necesidades materiales únicamente, entonces lo que empezaba siendo la

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condición redentora de la sociedad — un nuevo comienzo irrevocable entre libres e iguales— se acaba convirtiendo en la condena de la sociedad misma, al regresar a un estado de tiranía y despotismo igual o mayor al del anterior régimen.

V. Thomas Meyer Epilogue and Conclusion

Por otra parte, este volumen cuenta con el epílogo de Thomas Meyer, titulado "Hannah Arendt o la revolución del pensamiento". Además de aclararnos en este epílogo el origen de este ensayo, ya mencionado anteriormente, también nos explica Meyer el porqué del nombre del libro y alude a un discípulo de Arendt (p. 59), Jerome Kohn, amigo y ayudante de la autora, que encontró el texto entre los documentos de Arendt y que publicó la versión original en inglés en verano de 2017. Además, Meyer, relata algunos de los hitos que marcaron la vida y la obra de Arendt y aclara una serie de cuestiones sobre su pensamiento.

Como bien dice Meyer, "el ensayo de Hannah Arendt *La libertad de ser libres* sigue siendo una obra de absoluta actualidad, más de cincuenta años después de haberse escrito" (p. 57), ya que los conceptos de libertad y de revolución siguen siendo fundamentales para comprender el mundo en el que vivimos. Arendt nos predispone a una actitud de "vigilancia activa", a la expectativa de las promesas y de la libertad que la revolución puede traernos, pero también de los peligros que esta conlleva (p. 69). Pero quizás lo más revolucionario de las ideas de Arendt sobre la revolución —valga la redundancia—, en términos de Meyer, es que sus reflexiones suponen:

> Un cambio de dirección radical…Arendt se oponía con todas sus fuerzas al catastrófico siglo que le había tocado vivir, que en los campos de batalla y en los campos de exterminio parecía encontrar la legitimidad de un pensamiento que o bien acababa en deseo de muerte o bien estaba dispuesto a sacrificarlo todo en aras de las utopías (p. 73).

La idea de Arendt de que con el nacimiento de cada individuo se produce un "nuevo principio, tan pequeño como radical, que viene a refutar cualquier experiencia histórica y toda forma de pesimismo" es novedosa en la historia del pensamiento moderno (p. 73). Se trata de lo que Arendt llama "pensar sin barandillas" (p. 74), sin soportes previos, atreviéndose a cuestionar todo lo establecido, de forma tal que el verdadero acto del pensamiento se manifiesta solo cuando somos capaces de ser libres en nuestra propia mente, aunque este intento pueda precipitarnos al vacío. Este acto puro de pensar se da en los momentos revolucionarios, donde el pueblo se revela consciente de su situación y se muestra capaz de participar y decidir por y sobre sí mismo acerca de los asuntos comunes.

Si por poner en riesgo nuestras convicciones somos capaces de adquirir unas nuevas y evitar un riesgo mayor —como que nuestra sociedad pierda su libertad y su autonomía o que caiga de nuevo en la opresión y en la tiranía—, entonces el peligro habrá merecido la pena. Y así nos lo deja claro Arendt, en una época en la que pensar de forma autónoma no estaba de moda —algo que en nuestros tiempos, tampoco parece que lo esté— y que debemos recuperar para que un nuevo comienzo tenga lugar al mismo tiempo en cada uno de nosotros y en el mundo en que vivimos.

Finalmente, en la edición de este libro se añade una bibliografía titulada "Hannah Arendt en español" con las principales obras de Hannah Arendt —entre ellas *Los orígenes del totalitarismo, La condición humana, Sobre la revolución*— así como una gran variedad de libros y ensayos sobre la obra de la autora que nos muestran el gran legado que ha dejado Arendt a la Teoría Política.

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Contribution of Rural Non-Farm Enterprises to *Buen Vivir* in Protected Areas in the Amazon

By Pedro Henrique Mariosa, Henrique Dos Santos Pereira, Veridiana Vizoni Scudeller, Maria Olívia De Albuquerque Ribeiro Simão & Duarcides Ferreira Mariosa

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Abstract- Rural non-farm activities are adaptation strategies that local communities develop as socioeconomic alternatives, for facing imposed restrictions in protected areas. To highlight these strategies, this study aimed to relate the socioeconomic variables of social agents (SAs) with their perceptions about the impact of rural non-farm enterprises (RNFEns) on the *Buen Vivir* of their community as residents of the Sustainable Development Reserve of Tupé, Manaus, Amazonas. In this exploratory research, through semi-structured interviews and participatory observations, the perceptions of the SAs about the dimensions of *Buen Vivir* (Psychological Well-Being, Time Use, Community Vitality, Culture, Environment, and others) were evaluated and how these perceptions relate to the socioeconomic variables of the RNFEns. In the perception of the SAs, the RNFEns positively impact Buen Vivir in the dimensions with the strongest collective tendency and negatively in the dimensions with the strongest private tendency, with pluriactivity being the explanatory variable.

Keywords: rural non-farm activities; sustainable development reserve; lower rio negro; pluriactivity.

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Contribution of Rural Non-Farm Enterprises to *Buen Vivir* in Protected Areas in the Amazon

Pedro Henrique Mariosa [α], Henrique Dos Santos Pereira [σ], Veridiana Vizoni Scudeller [ρ], Maria Olívia De Albuquerque Ribeiro Simão [ω] & Duarcides Ferreira Mariosa[¥]

Abstract- Rural non-farm activities are adaptation strategies that local communities develop as socioeconomic alternatives, for facing imposed restrictions in protected areas. To highlight these strategies, this study aimed to relate the socioeconomic variables of social agents (SAs) with their perceptions about the impact of rural non-farm enterprises (RNFEns) on the *Buen Vivir* of their community as residents of the Sustainable Development Reserve of Tupé, Manaus, Amazonas. In this exploratory research, through semi-structured interviews and participatory observations, the perceptions of the SAs about the dimensions of *Buen Vivir* (Psychological Well-Being, Time Use, Community Vitality, Culture, Environment, and others) were evaluated and how these perceptions relate to the socioeconomic variables of the RNFEns. In the perception of the SAs, the RNFEns positively impact *Buen Vivir* in the dimensions with the strongest collective tendency and negatively in the dimensions with the strongest private tendency, with pluriactivity being the explanatory variable.

Keywords: rural non-farm activities; sustainable development reserve; lower rio negro; pluriactivity.

I. Introduction

The possibility of implementing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) necessarily passes through actions developed exclusively or mainly in rural areas, since they represent 78% of the 169 corresponding SDG targets (BERDEGUE, 2019). In this sense, it is necessary to monitor the dynamics of rural employment in the country, since this has been changing in recent decades with the increase in the actions of family economic units that start to undertake, in greater intensity, non-agricultural activities, replacing strictly agricultural activities (MATTEI, 2015; SCHNEIDER, 2009).

Enterprises managed by familial economic units in rural areas have a greater capacity to positively influence the social cohesion of a community, than conventional companies in urban centers (VLIET et al., 2015).

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Studies on different impacts of rural non-farm activities on economic and social issues are growing in Brazil and worldwide (FAIGUENBAUM; BERDEGUE; REARDON, 2002; HAGGBLADE; REARDON; HYMAN, 2007; HAGGBLADE; HAZELL; REARDON, 2010; MATTEI, 2008; MATTEI, 2015; NUNES; MARIANO, 2015; REARDON; STAMOULI; PINGALI, 2007). In this sense, it is desirable, in the complementation of these economic and social studies, other studies focusing on the impact of these activities in the environmental, ecological, political, and cultural dimensions.

According to Brazilian legislation, rural areas occupied by traditional communities may be declared under special environmental protection, which is the case of Sustainable Development Reserves (SDR) as Conservation Units (CUs). In these CUs, rural, farm, and non-farm economic activities area allowed and promoted as they are believed to guarantee the conservation of the environment and at the same time ensure the social reproduction of local communities (BRASIL, 2000).

Nevertheless, the lack of clarity in the regulation of agricultural and non-agricultural activities in protected areas causes uncertainty regarding the economic and environmental risks to which social agents (SAs) are subject. In the specific case of the locus of this study, the Tupé RDS, there are gaps in the Management Plan (SEMMAS, 2016; 2017), which does not accurately determine the economic activities allowed in the Intensive Use areas, which are specific areas for the undertaking activities that guarantee the social reproduction of the RDS SAs. This context influences the change in the dynamics of rural employment in the locality and, therefore, the SAs starts to develop income generation strategies with a greater focus on non-agricultural activities.

The change in the dynamics of rural employment and the association of multiple rural activities as an alternative, whether agricultural or non-agricultural, in this study, is seen as pluriactivity, a characteristic common to all the SAs in this research. De-Silva; Kodithuwakku (2010) consider pluriactivity as a survival strategy and Kinsella et al. (2000) points out that this pluriactivity must be understood broadly and not as just the combination of agriculture with other non-agricultural activities. In this sense, Loughrey et al. (2013) points out that the greater the number of

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activities, added to the entrepreneurial quality of their ASs, the lesser the dependence of family economic units on obtaining income outside their properties, however the greater the barriers for the succession of the rural property. As the RDS is treated as a territory for collective use, the concept of pluriactivity by Fuller (1990) and Capellesso and Cazella (2011) should be preferred, since these authors consider pluriactivity within the territoriality where the activities are developed.

Much earlier, Evans and Ilbery (1993) already signalled that the understanding of pluriactivity as a category of analysis must combine these two complex phenomena, part-time agriculture and agricultural diversification, to form a broader term of reference. Fuller (1990) already exalted it within a theoretical discussion that included, in addition to these two aspects, unpaid activities (financially) within the process, opening the concept of pluriactivity to formal and informal work relationships.

Given the complexity of endogenous and exogenous factors that affect the SAs that undertake economic activities in SDR, there is a need to expand the dimensions of economic analysis of the enterprises. If, on the one hand, there is a high reliability in the studies carried out on the rural non-farm economy, on the other hand, the targeting of these consists predominantly in the assessment of the impact of non-agricultural activities in the economic and social spheres of local development.

Within this territorial perspective of activities, there is a need to incorporate issues beyond the economic sphere of activities, always seeking to overcome modernist/colonial pre-notions about the dynamics of the work of traditional populations in rural areas and, finally, syncretize the forms of organization, worldviews, and the guarantee of social reproduction of these populations, with the need to conserve areas with special environmental protection.

This search for perspectives that invert the logic of development based on a colonial/modernist vision and that starts to give prominence to traditional ways of life in interrelation with the environment, have emerged in several places in South America, with greater representation in countries like Bolivia and Ecuador, paths that have come to break with the socio-economic anthropocentric vision, and suggest developing differentiated political measures, laws and norms as a matrix economic model. One of these perspectives, which proposes the inversion of the colonial developmental model, is the so-called Well Living or Good Living (translated of *Buen Vivir*), a polysemic concept.

This polysemy translates into multiple ways of interpreting its concept by academia and society, with emphasis on: a) perspective for a new paradigm of production and consumption (MORAIS; BORGES, 2010; ATAWALLPA, 2014; SPARN, 2019; MORA, 2020); b) process of changing the ethical/political perspective (ACOSTA, 2012; QUIJANO, 2012; ENDERE and ZULAICA, 2015; LACERDA and FEITOSA, 2015; ALCANTARA and SAMPAIO, 2017a); and, c) alternative approach to modernist/colonial development (QUIJANO, 2012; KOTHARI; DEMARIA and ACOSTA, 2015; MERINO, 2016; ALCANTARA and SAMPAIO, 2017a, 2017b; COSTA and KÜHN, 2019). Whether as a paradigm, process or approach, there is alignment in relation to the core of *Buen Vivir* about its ability to bring to the centre "(...) social movements, from themes such as ecology to feminism, have regained their centrality in people's lives and in nature, in the defence of basic rights, such as education, health and social equality…" (ALCANTARA and SAMPAIO, 2017a, p. 232).

For these authors, the concept of *Buen Vivir* has an Andean origin, spanning from southern Venezuela to northern Argentina and is derived from two indigenous peoples, the *Quechua* (Ecuador) and the *Aymara* (Bolivia). There are other authors who, in addition to the origin of *Buen Vlvir* in the *Quechua* and *Aymara* peoples, also point to *Guarani* (IHU, 2010) and *Baniwa* (CRUZ, 2015).

Alcantara and Sampaio (2017a) emphasize that the concept does not remain in its theoretical sphere, emphasizing the *Buen Vivir* as a debate around alternative development proposals that consider the relationship between environment and society. *Buen Vivir* is an important tool for overcoming mechanistic economic growth and Brazil has the potential for its incorporation based on its cultural, ecological, and human diversity (ACOSTA, 2012).

Endere and Zulaica (2015) use the guidelines of the 2013-2017 National Good Living Plan of Ecuador as guiding a qualitative indicator for assessing the socio-cultural sustainability of an archaeological site located in an area with special environmental protection. Other authors also use *Buen Vivir* as a guide for the development of qualitative indicators. Morais and Borges (2010) have instrumentalized a methodological conception about *Buen Vivir* that, in addition to excelling for new production and consumption paradigms, takes advantage of the conceptual proximity of Gross Domestic Happiness (FIB), which consists of a methodology alternative to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) conventional approach.

Morais and Borges (2010), then, elaborate a methodological script on *Buen Vivir*, based on qualitative analyses that seek to understand the capacity of a project/enterprise to impact the quality of life based on the perception of social agents. The objective of the *Buen Vivir script* is to understand what the issues are projects collectively limit or boost the Well Living of SAs and the Community to which they belong.

Based on the studies by Morais and Borges (2010) and Endere and Zulaica (2015), this study intends to broaden the perspective of *Buen Vivir* by

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conceiving it as a theoretical and methodological basis for the rupture of purely economic models, with scope for enterprise evaluation, projects, and other civil society initiatives.

In conducting this study, we aim to find the answers to a central question: how do SAs perceive the impact of their enterprise on *Buen Vivir* of the Community? Our objective is also to assess how the socioeconomic characteristics of the social agents affect their perceptions about the impact of the enterprises in the collective dimensions of the Community.

II. Method

This study was carried out at the headquarters of Livramento Community, located in the Tupé Sustainable Development Reserve (Tupé SDR), 25 km away from Manaus downtown area (SCUDELLER et al., 2005), with 20 SAs responsible for 21 enterprises that perform rural non-farm activities, from March to September of 2017. Each Rural Non-Farm Enterprise was identified by a number (random numerical sequence), and were conceived as the space used by the SAs, in which the family economic unit undertakes its activities. The social agent responsible for the economic activity was identified as "SAs nº (random number sequence)". This social agent was identified as the reference person for providing the perceptions of Buen Vivir. Regarding the concept of traditional populations, traditional people, and communities, we follow the National Policy for Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities - PNPCT, in its Article 3, item I, which states that Traditional Peoples and Communities are:

> "Culturally differentiated groups that recognize themselves as such, that have their own forms of social organization, that occupy and use territories and natural resources as a condition for their cultural, social, religious, ancestral and economic reproduction, using knowledge, innovations and practices generated and transmitted by tradition" (BRASIL, 2007).

Most of the SAs responsible for one of the enterprises identify themselves as belonging to the traditional community or people, whether *Ribeirinhos* (river dwellers) or indigenous. We followed the self-identification principle, which for Almeida (2008) is the declaration of belonging to a people or group, as an identity factor, with the objective of claiming rights. Specifically, for the *Ribeirinhos* people, Neves (2009, p.89) states that these "are thus immediately identified when the reference highlights this environmental condition of life" and also concludes that this category, in relation to identity, is expressed as "(...) a category that is more political than economic, which is why it raises the qualifying remission of an advocate way of life as sui generis". Regarding the indigenous people in the *Livramento* Community, according to one of the SAs, there are altogether 13 different ethnicities residing in the locality. However, there is a leadership role of the *Baré* ethnic group in the undertaking non-agricultural rural activities in the community.

Considering the diversity of the SAs, we sought to adapt the Roadmap to *Buen Vivir* as an instrument for assessing perceptions about the dimensions and the relationship with the socioeconomic profile of the SAs. Therefore, an emic approach was adopted, by which "members of cultural groups have their own interpretation of their culture" (ROSA and OREY, 2012, p.867). During the development of the research, a frequent dialogue with the SAs was maintained, from April to September 2017. This form of research relationship (BOURDIEU, 2008) allowed us to use creativity and innovation in the methodological processes, also minimizing the pre-notions (BACHELARD, 1996) about traditional populations in protected areas and, establishing a relationship of trust between the researchers and the SA subjects.

The interview script made it possible to record the SAs' assessments of the influence of enterprises on the multiple dimensions of individuals and the community during semi-structured interviews. These records were combined with the direct observations made during the fieldwork. The analysis of the discourses of the SAs were made qualitatively through content analysis (BARDIN, 2009), grouping the main themes within the following macro (dimensions) and micro (definitions) categories and main questions about *Buen Vivir,* adapted from Morais and Borges (2010):

a) *Dimension:* Psychological Welfare;

   Definition: Satisfaction and optimism of the social agent in relation to one's own life;

   Main Questions: Does the enterprise contribute positively to the quality of life? And in a negative way? How does the enterprise help to increase your confidence in a better life?

b) *Dimension:* Use of Time;

   Definition: Distribution of time between work, family, friends, and other activities;

   Main Questions: How much has the enterprise contributed to having more time available and thus developing other activities that you did not do before?

c) *Dimension:* Community Vitality;

   Definition: Relationships and interactions in communities, sense of belonging, affective relationships, mobilization, and self-cooperation;

   Main Questions: Has the enterprise changed your relationship with the Community? Are the enterprise and its respective SA invited to organize or participate in any collective action?

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d) *Dimension:* Culture (or culture diversity);

Definition: Maintain, affirm, and foster local traditions and cultures, existence of cultural and artistic events and discrimination based on religion, race, or gender;

Main Questions: Did the enterprise contribute to strengthen the region's traditional culture? Did the enterprise make the SAs participate more in the cultural activities of the Community?

e) *Dimension:* Environment (or ecological resilience);

Definition: Quality of water, air, soil, biodiversity, and the perception of the quality of the environment in general;

Main Question: How do you perceive the interference of the enterprise in the conservation of the Community environment?

f) *Dimension:* Governance and Citizenship (or good governance);

Definition: Participation and transparency in government decisions, social movements, media, judiciary, electoral system and the influence on citizenship and the enforceability of rights;

Main Questions: Does the undertaking, or does it not, make the SA remain more informed about its rights and duties? Does the enterprise make SA charge more for its rights, and exercise his/her duties more?

g) *Dimension:* Life Standard;

Definition: Material living conditions, individual and family income, debt level, housing, consumption patterns and financial security;

Main Questions: Does the enterprise change the income of the SA, in a positive or negative way? And your standard of living? What are the points most affected by this change in income?

h) *Dimension:* Health;

Definition: Health policies, self-rated health, disability, exercise, sleep, and nutrition;

Main Question: Did the enterprise contribute to improving the health of the SA?

i) *Dimension:* Education;

Definition: Formal, informal education, skills, children's education, values in education and environmental education;

Main Questions: Does the enterprise contribute or not to expand the knowledge of the AS, to bring new information about the Community, region, or the Country? Does the entreprise facilitate access to an educational service?

Based on the dimensions of *Buen Vivir*, thematic guiding questions were elaborated, carried out only when it did not reveal spontaneously during a semi-structured interview, thus allowing to fill existing gaps and allowing the later categorization of perceptions in positive, neutral, and negative, using the same categorization in macro and micro categories. (BARDIN, 2009). To reveal correlations between the dimensions and the profile of the respondents, initially a cluster analysis is established, using the Ward method, which for Tomaz, Peternelli and Martins-Filho (2010, p. 02) "consists of analysing the formation of groups by maximizing homogeneity within groups. The sum of squares within the groups is used as a measure of homogeneity" and has been adored to identify possible groupings considering minimal variations in the perception of SAs. For this analysis, the data were grouped in a matrix that lists the SAs and the dimensions *Buen Vivir*, with a value of 1 for perceptions of positive impact, 0 of neutral impact and -1 of negative impact.

To determine which one has the greatest potential for influencing perceptions, this same matrix had been used as a database for principal component analysis (PCA) that allows individuals to be grouped according to the variance of their characteristics (HONGYU, SANDANIELO and OLIVEIRA -JUNIOR, 2016). The values of main component 1 were used to relate the socioeconomic factors (Table 02) with the perceptions of the SAs, using a simple linear regression model (KRAJEWSKI, RITZMAN and MALHOTRA, 2009), in all the socioeconomic factors and the values of the first main component. Both ACP and simple linear regression were processed using the PAST 3.2 program (HAMMER, HARPER and RYAN, 2001).

All research followed a strict authorization process by all agents and social agencies involved and to comply with the norms of the Resolution of the National Health Council (CNS) 466/2012, the Research Ethics Council (CEP) of the Federal University of Amazonas approved this research through opinion No. 66467317.6.0000.5020.

III. Result and Discussion

Livramento RNFEns have different profiles (Fig.1). Those related to the retail trade and food and beverages predominate, which correspond to 52% of the RNFEns and represent 76% (46,000 of 60,800 R$) of the monthly income declared by the total of the RNFEns.

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SA ID	Main Activity	Nº Total Activities	Workers	Lifetime	Revenues	Profit Sharing
SA 01	Retail Business	2	2	1 month	-	Individual
SA 02	Drinks and Foods	2	1	8 months	800 R$	Familiar
SA 03	Retail Business	2	2	21 years	4500 R$	Familiar
SA 04	Commercial Representation	2	1	8 months	-	Familiar
SA 05	Drinks and Foods	4	3	2 years	1200 R$	Familiar
SA 06	Dressed	2	1	22 years	-	Individual
SA 07	Drinks and Foods	2	7	12 years	1500 R$	Collective
SA 09	Sports Association	3	12	3 years	5000 R$	Collective
SA 10	Handmaid Art	4	1	2 years	800 R$	Individual
SA 11	Cultural Association	4	12	8 years	-	Collective
SA 12	Retail Business	4	3	2 years	28000 R$	Assalariado
SA 13	Drinks and Foods	2	4	1 year	2000 R$	Familiar
SA 14	Transports	2	1	15 years	2000 R$	Familiar
SA 15	Drinks and Foods	4	6	15 years	4000 R$	Collective
SA 16	Cultural Project	4	1	1 year	1000 R$	Individual
SA 17	Handmaid Art	3	4	29 years	-	Familiar
SA 18	Retail Business	3	2	15 years	5000 R$	Familiar
SA 19	Retail Business	4	2	22 years	3000 R$	Familiar
SA 20	Cultural Project	2	2	4 months	-	Collective
SA 21	Handmaid Art	3	1	11 years	2000 R$	Collective

Fig. 1: Synthesis of the socioeconomic diagnosis of the Rural Non-Farm Enterprises (N = 21) of the Livramento Community.

A characteristic of RNFEns that differs from the logic of conventional enterprises is the sharing of the benefits obtained. The majority (76%) of the SA declared that the sharing of the benefits obtained in the RNFEn is carried out in a collective or family way. This situation is intensified for 4 out of 5 RNFEns linked to retail business and drinks and food.

Another unique feature of this study is to consider both Enterprises and Sociocultural Associations as undertakings, as they play a relevant social role for the Well Being of the Community and that by definition "...are undertakings that focus their main business on solving, or minimizing, a problem social or environmental impact of a community" (SEBRAE, 2013). In this case, Baumel and Bass (2004) conception on pluriactivity is adequate to the research universe, since pluriactivity is configured in a social practice resulting from the search for alternative ways to guarantee the reproduction of families (...) in other occupational activities, in addition to of agriculture" (2004, p.139).

Territoriality was the guiding parameter to determine the list of activities of an RNFEn and not just in a specific physical space. This view was considered based on Capellesso and Cazella (2011) that associates pluriactivity with the territoriality of the activities developed, which can be developed exclusively outside rural activity or concomitantly.

a) The Buen Vivir of the Collective to the Individual

When dealing with public policies in the Health dimension or addressing the quality of life in the Psychological Welfare and Life Standard dimensions, this "quality of life" does not mean a scale between living poorly or living well, or of living better by providing from modern-western concepts, or international public health standards, but to the set of values that translate into the conceptions of the SAs on *Buen Vivir*, quality of life, environment and health.

The dimensions of *Buen Vivir* are related to both the sphere of private life and that of the community, in different degrees. The following dimensions were considered to have the greatest tendency to the private sector: Psychological Welfare, Use of Time, and Health; in a neutral trend the dimensions: Environment, Governance and Citizenship and Standard of Living; and in a greater tendency towards collectively, the dimensions: Culture, Community Vitality and Education (Fig.2).

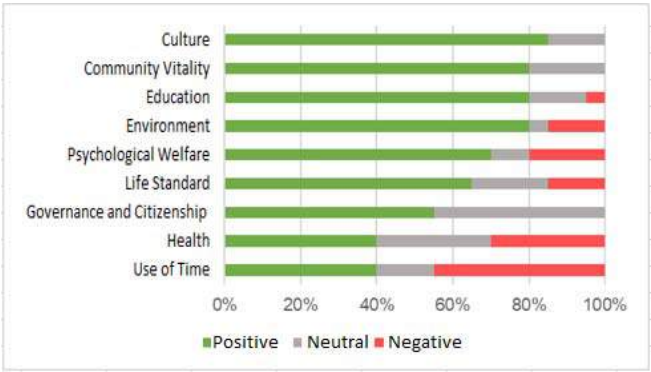

Fig. 2: Total number of perceptions about the dimensions of the Buen Vivir of Social Agents (N = 20) of Livramento Community segregated by effect (positive, neutral, or negative) based on the interpretation of the responses obtained by the interviewed SAs.

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Regarding the collective dimensions, the dimensions of Community Vitality, Culture, Environment and Education have an expressive positive quantity, all of which belong to the collective or neutral tendency. Regarding the other perceptions, two dimensions of negative impact, Health and Use of Time, stand out, both in the private sphere. In the analysis of similarity (Fig.2) of the perception of the SAs on the dimensions of Well Being, it is possible to observe three well-defined groups, which here will be called macro cluster (MaC).

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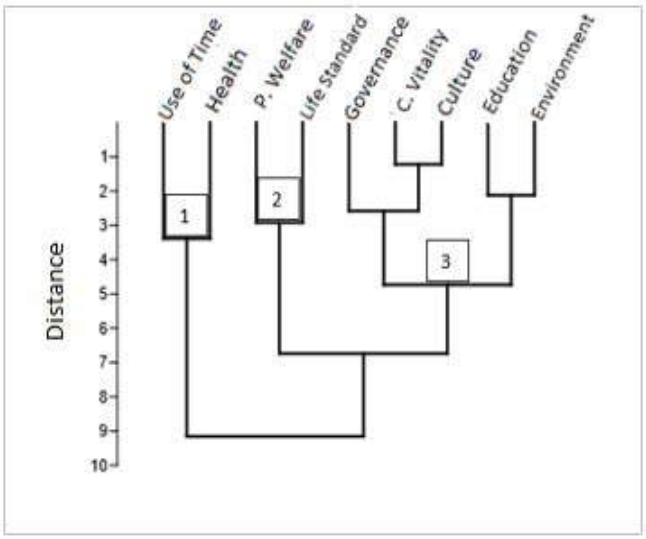

Fig. 3: Graphical representation of the Cluster Analysis carried out from the Dimensions of Buen Vivir (N = 20) by Similarity of Perceptions of the SAs of the Livramento Community - RDS Tupé.

In MaC 1 there are the dimensions of private tendency, Use of Time, and Health, with a lower evaluation and distancing from the others. This indicates that the Use of Time and Health dimension are evaluated in a similar way and interrelated by the SA. In MaC 2 there is a private and a neutral dimension: Psychological Well-Being and Standard of Living. In both, the financial condition and the quality of the housing structure directly impact the perception. In MaC 3 there are two neutral dimensions and the 3 collective dimensions, which are evaluated by everyone in a positive way. It is worth mentioning Community Vitality and Culture, which presented the greatest similarity between dimensions.

RNFEns have a positive impact on the Community's *Buen Vivir* as a whole. There are similarities in perception between collective dimensions and similarities between private ones, which signals an inter-influence between these dimensions.

b) The Buen Vivir of the Individual to the Collective sphere

Some dimensions had a negative result in the sum of perceptions, just as individual totals did. According to Morais and Borges (2010), *Buen Vivir* consists of a qualitative analysis that seeks to understand the individual's impact on the community, so one or another isolated negative case does not distort their contribution to the Community's *Buen Vivir*.

i. *Psychological Welfare*

A concept of quality of life was not pre-defined, leaving the interviewees the possibility to freely associate their impressions. Positive perceptions can reflect impacts beyond the individual and that the improvement in quality of life is associated with the quality of food, for example, since RNFEns benefits food products and that this brings improvements "for both me and my family" (Interview with SA 02, on 20/05/2017).

In general, the RNFEns contribute to a positive psychological welfare for the SAs of Livramento community, as supported by one of the premises of the evaluative concepts of subjective welfare, which signals that a positive result does not imply "exactly in the absence of negative factors, but rather in the predominance of positive affects over negative affects" (ALBUQUERQUE and TRÓCOLLI, 2004, p.154).

ii. *Use of Time*

There was an expressive perception about the negative impact in relation to the use of time for other activities not related to work: "time to do my things at home it has decreased, then you must have a control of it, if not, you will not handle both" (interview with SA 05, on 02/06/2017).

The result of the Use of Time dimension expresses meanings in relation to what Seabra (2004) calls two levels of social practice for the definition of ways of using time: territorial insertion and insertion in daily life. On the one hand, the negative result is related to restrictions on certain economic activities and, on the other, insertion in daily life contributes to this result not to worsen, since the SAs combine economic activities with the routine of the people's ways of life of family economic units in the territory.

iii. *Community Vitality*

The perception about this dimension is mostly positive regarding SAs engagement in the community. This involvement is directly related to the way in which the activity is performed, which results in an improvement in personal prestige and popularity and social relations, as SA 15 explains: "I became well known in all Communities, Julião, Tupé (São João do Tupé), Ebenézer, Fátima, Agrovila, São Sebastião and Caioé, only Central I have never been" (interview with SA 15, on 06/06/2017).

As they are cohesive and highly transitive (WATTS and STROGATZ, 1999), social relations are the key point for the result presented in the Community Vitality dimension since Sales et al. (2013) indicate that communication and cooperation between SAs are the necessary instruments for Community Vitality.

iv. *Culture*

There is a major perception that the RNFEns contribute to integrate activities and attitudes related to cultural appreciation. The most emphatic reports are about the absorption of private costs in exchange for social benefits in the Community: "(...) at the Community party and whenever there is a tournament (...) I use my transport to bring musicians to the party (...) at the Community party I participate selling and donating some things" (Interview with SA 03, on 23/05/2017).

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Due to the existing valuing of traditional habits and intercultural practices (CRUZ, 2014) present at the Headquarters of the Livramento Community, it is possible to understand the reasons for the Culture dimension not to present negative evaluations. As Boff (2017) pointed out, humans being an integrated and complementary beings with their peers in their actions, having the ability to respect differences, promotes mutual cultural appreciation, since they reflect human diversity.

v. *Environment*

The environment is positively affected, as exemplified by SA 16, which states that Cultural Center he/she manages does not only encourage actions aimed at cultural appreciation, but in "(...) sustainability in general, because here they make crafts and one may sell some day, understand the value of it, they take the raw material on the riverbank, take seeds and turn it into something that can serve them later on, right?" (Interview with SA 16, on 23/05/2017).

In areas traditionally occupied by traditional peoples, governmental and civil society projects to encourage the development of sustainable handicrafts, since they dynamize the relations between the visitation of tourists and the performance of projects. This dynamism is beneficial from the perspective of the traditional artisans themselves, as it promotes the physical structure of work, the dissemination of the material and the transmission of knowledge about the maintenance of sustainable practices for the next generations. (Cestari, Caracas and Santos, 2014).

In this perspective, the Cultural Center is a fundamental enterprise as a mediating agency for the sustainability of the Community, in the dynamism between the economic relations of the sale of handicrafts, the environmental relations of obtaining the raw material and the cultural relations of the transmission of the traditional practices of confection.

vi. *Governance and Citizenship*

The SAs assess that the RNFEn contributed to a better understanding of their rights and duties as a social agent. Most positive perceptions are linked to the performance of daily activities: "(...) we took the burden of other people who were running this business here (...) and nowadays we find that in the same way who have duties, we have priorities" (interview with SA 12, on 20/05/2017).

The role of SAs in the Governance and Citizenship dimension represents a potential to be worked on, since participatory strategies can "(...) contribute to strengthen community bonds of solidarity and increase the technical and political power of communities in decision-making processes (FREITAS, 2004, p.152).

vii. *Life Standard*

As in the Psychological Welfare dimension, there is an emphasis on the signs of belonging, with housing as the main influence on the Life Standard, which corroborates the similarity already presented previously. The fact that some SAs do not relate income to the standard of living can be understood more clearly in the collective and cultural construction of the concept of standard of living peculiar to the Community. In their existential daily life, based on cultural relativity (MINAYO, HARTZ and BUSS, 2000), we tried to understand what this conception is and its influences on the collective of SAs and not on the individual. This line presents an important contribution to think of *Buen Vivir* as a paradigmatic instrument of opposition to modernist/ colonial development.

viii. *Health*

Regarding the perception of Health, in both positive and negative there are directly linked to the Use of Time. RNFEn has a negative impact on health when linked to manual activities: "It got worse, I don't do the kind of work I used to do (...) because I don't have that skill anymore, but at the end of the day I think it's worse to work like this, because working a lot while the blood doesn't circulate". (Interview with AS 14, on 12/08/2017).

ix. *Education*

Of the perceptions that indicated a positive impact in education, it is worth highlighting those that express the improvement in learning. SA 11 reported the importance for him/herself and other SAs of the actions carried out by the association: "Today we have come to know people of different habits (...) and this has changed a lot our communication, we end up learning from *parentes* [expression used to refer someone from any other ethnic group] and even from white people. We had 3 students here who went to State University of Amazonas and did pedagogy and are trained, and it was through the Association". (Interview with SA 11, on 05/03/2017). For Seabra (2004), social practices have two levels, one of territorial insertion and another of insertion in daily life. Thus, there is a positive influence when this SA is inserted in daily life, integrating the spaces of use of the Community with the activities developed.

c) *Influence of socioeconomic profile factors on the perception of SAs*

The principal component analysis was carried out from the perception's matrix (Fig. 3) and used for grouping and dispersing the SAs' responses and perceptions patterns. Principal components 1 and 2 together explain 54.84% of the variance (PC1 35.36%; PC2 19.48%) of perceptions.

To detect which socioeconomic variable could be related to the perception patterns of the SAs, the values of PC1 were used as a dependent variable in a multiple regression where the independent variables

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were the socioeconomic characteristics of the RNFEns (Fig. 1). Among the variables analysed (Fig. 1), the one that showed significant results was pluriactivity, that is, the number of activities developed by the SAs ($r^2 = 0.3465$, $p = 0.0063$) (Fig. 3).

Those with up to 2 activities rated only 0.5 dimensions negatively, on average. Those with 3 and 4 activities negatively rated 1.75 and 2.3 dimensions, on average, respectively. This indicates that the greater the number of activities that a SA develops, the greater the tendency of this SA to perceive that RNFEn negatively influences the dimensions of *Buen Vivir*, especially those with greater individual impact, such as Health and Use of Time (Fig. 2).

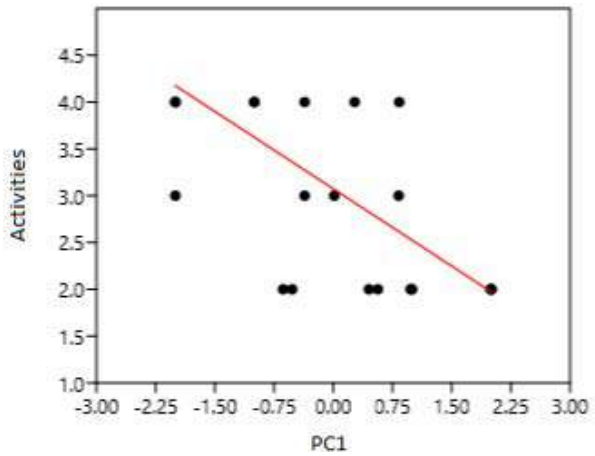

Fig. 3: Principal Component 1 regression analysis in relation to pluriactivity (r2 = 0.3465).

IV. Conclusion

Exploring with the concept of *Buen Vivir* as a theoretical and methodological basis for the analysis of collective dimensions proved to be effective to capture the qualitative perception of SAs on the impact of their enterprises on the *Buen Vivir* of Communities living in protected areas in the Amazon. The RNFEns, in addition to being an economical alternative to face the restrictions on the use of natural resources imposed in protected areas, can represent a significant and recognized contribution to the *Buen Vivir* of resident populations.

In turn, the cluster analysis points to mutual influences between some dimensions, which confirms that these dimensions must be understood in a systemic way. SAs tend to evaluate similarly and positively or neutrally the influence of RNFEns on the collective dimensions of *Buen Vivir*: Governance and Citizenship, Community Vitality, Environment, Culture and Education. The dimensions Psychological Welfare and Life Standard Living are the dimensions most strongly interrelated. The dimensions of Health and Use of Time are also related, but in the similarity of negative perceptions.

Regarding the influence of the socioeconomic variables of the RNFEns on the perception of the SAs, only the variable indicating pluriactivity was related to the variation in the perception patterns between the SAs. The greater the number of activities that an SA develops within an RNFEn, the greater the tendency the SA to negatively assess private dimensions, such as Health and Use of Time.

We can conclude that the RNFEns positively impact the Livramento Community *Buen Vivir*, with emphasis on the dimensions of collective tendency, such as Education, Culture, and Community Vitality, however there is a need for attention to those SAs who develop more than 3 activities in their RNFEN.

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Spatial and Socio-Economic Dimensions of Street Children in Ibadan, Nigeria

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Abstract- Consequent to the widely recognized influence of rapid population growth on streetism, this paper examines the spatial and socio-economic dimensions of the street children phenomenon in Ibadan, Nigeria. The study analyses the intra-urban pattern of child streetism and analyses the characteristics of street children in the study area. The study participants are children working and or living on the streets of Ibadan, the administrative headquarters of Oyo state, Nigeria. The study enumerates street children in selected activity nuclei in urban high, medium and low residential densities. 10% of the observed number of street children was included in the survey using the convenience sampling method. In all, a total of one hundred and fifty-two (152) copies of questionnaires were administered to the willing street children. The study employs Z-scores to compare the intensity of the problem and ANOVA to analyze the variation in the incidence of street children within urban residential densities. The result of the ANOVA shows that with f=14.587 and p= 0.001, there is a significant difference in the observed variations in the incidence of street children among residential densities.

Keywords: *street children; spatial pattern, socioeconomic; population growth; poverty.*

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Abstract- Consequent to the widely recognized influence of rapid population growth on streetism, this paper examines the spatial and socio-economic dimensions of the street children phenomenon in Ibadan, Nigeria. The study analyses the intra-urban pattern of child streetism and analyses the characteristics of street children in the study area. The study participants are children working and or living on the streets of Ibadan, the administrative headquarters of Oyo state, Nigeria. The study enumerates street children in selected activity nuclei in urban high, medium and low residential densities. 10% of the observed number of street children was included in the survey using the convenience sampling method. In all, a total of one hundred and fifty-two (152) copies of questionnaires were administered to the willing street children. The study employs Z-scores to compare the intensity of the problem and ANOVA to analyze the variation in the incidence of street children within urban residential densities. The result of the ANOVA shows that with f=14.587 and p= 0.001, there is a significant difference in the observed variations in the incidence of street children among residential densities. The study also confirms that the street children phenomenon is a function of social issues such as poverty (79.8%) and family maladjustment (68%). It concludes that the incidence of street children is related to urban social-economic and physical attributes. The study recommends poverty alleviation programmes, effective land use planning and management, and sustainable rehabilitation.

Keywords: street children; spatial pattern, socioeconomic; population growth; poverty.

I. Introduction

The twenty-first century presents a remarkable threshold in the demographic history of the world, particularly in developing nations such as Nigeria. In this century, described by the UN Habbitat (2012) as "Urban Millenium", the world's urban population has grown from 220 million to almost three billion (Isabelle – Jasmin, 2012). It has also been observed that over 70% of the world population will be urbanized by 2050 (UNDP, 2006). While Africa is the most urbanizing region in the world (Habbitat 2012), Nigeria is one of the greatest contributors) to its urbanization profile (Adeboyejo, 2013). This unprecedented population growth has been accompanied by rapid and tremendous changes that have transformed the urban physical, economic and social environments. The impacts of these changes are felt by almost every urban dweller, but the urban poor is the most vulnerable. Consequent to these changes is another growing global problem of the rising number of street children in urban areas, mostly within the developing world. Street children are a complex phenomenon and certainly one of the challenges presented by urban poverty (Consortium of Street Children, 2009).

Nigerian urban centres are not exempted from this phenomenon; in recent years, the number of children on Nigerian streets has grown exponentially (Oloko, 1992; Okpukpara and Odurukwe, 2003; Owasanoye and Wermham, 2004; Fakoya, 2009). Although there is no statistical evidence to support this claim in Nigeria, it has been reported that over 7.3 million Nigerian children of school age were not in school (Faloore, 2009; Fakoya, 2009, UNICEF, 2005). This ugly trend has its social consequences, one of which is the spiralling population of street children in major towns and cities in Nigeria (Fakoya, 2009).

While there are no reliable figures on the number of street children in Nigeria, there is a consensus in the literature that various factors such as poverty, hunger, insecurity, child abuse, domestic violence, inadequate care, death of a parent (or of both parents,), need for income in the family, inability to continue school, willful deviance in a few children, literacy, housing challenges, drug use by children and peer influences (Okpukpara, et al, 2006; Faloore, 2009, Fakoya, 2009; Obioha, 2009) are major factors, pulling children into the streets in Nigeria.

However, the point of concern is that the increasing number of street children in Nigerian cities constitutes serious environmental problems, health hazard and immense challenges to national security (Ngowanji et al., 2009). The street children are socially relegated and stigmatized; they are subject to neglect, exploitation, and the female among them are vulnerable to sexual abuse (Ikechebelu et al., 2008).

The extant literature and policy recommendations on street children and such allied social problems as child labour and child prostitution notwithstanding, the escalating incidence of street children in Nigeria, like most developing countries, calls for a refinement of empirical approach and tailor-made programme formulations. It has been observed that most of the recommendations that have emanated from researchers and adopted by government and support providers for policy measures and support networks are adaptive in nature and so ineffective. The reason is that the recommendations were not based on intensive

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empirical research with a holistic approach focusing on the spatial, socio-economic and socio-cultural dimensions of street children in Nigeria. According to Jelili (2009), the analysis, control and management of most sociological problems or social vices (of which street children is one) in cities without recourse to their spatial implication account for the failure of most policies or efforts at addressing such problems. This research gap motivates this study to examines the spatial and socio-economic implications of street children in Ibadan, the largest city (in terms of spatial extent) in sub -Sahara Africa (Adeboyejo, 2013).

II. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The literature is extant with conceptual clarifications of the term street children (WHO, 1993; Veale, 1992;). For instance, it has been argued that the appellation "street children" is a socially constructed term that in reality does not form a clearly defined homogenous population or phenomenon (Faloore, 2009; Brick and Malcom, 2000; Veale, 1992; CSC, 2009; Ogunkan, 2013) and that, particular circumstances in a particular society dictates who should be included in the definition (Owoaje et al, 2009). However, the definition provided by the Inter-NGO (1995) is attractive and adopted in this study more so that it enjoys the support of practitioners, Scholars and Policymakers. According to Inter-NGO (1995), street Children as any girl or boy who has not reached adulthood, for whom the street (in the broadest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland etc.), has become her or his habitual abode/or sources of livelihood and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults.

While the definition of street children defies universal agreement, there is a level of consensus in the literature on the factors responsible for the phenomenon of street children. The factors, which may be social, economic, political or environmental are broken down by scholars across the Globe. In a study of Columbian street children conducted by Pineda et al (1978), it was discovered that such factors as extreme poverty, family disintegration, physical abuse and search for adventure are responsible for the phenomenon of street children. World Health Organization (1993) identifies such factors as family breakdown, poverty, armed conflict, natural and man-made disasters, famine, physical and sexual abuse, exploitation, dislocation through migration, urbanization and overcrowding, and acculturation. Kombarakara (2004) opines that children run away from home because of such factors as physical abuse by parents, rejection by step-parents or guardians, extreme poverty and family discord. In Nigeria, there is a consensus in the literature that such causative factors as poverty, family maladjustment, death of parents, parents' illiteracy, the disintegration of the extended family system, hunger, insecurity, abuse and violence, unemployment, housing difficulties, rural-urban drift among several others (Ebigbo, 1989: Okpukpara et al., 2009; Ogunkan, 2013).

These underlying factors lead to harmful consequences that are obvious in the Nigerian urban environment. Street children constitute environmental eyesores, present an ugly scene of an urban environment (Ogunkan, 2013), and the pool of recruits as armed robbers, urban terror gangs and violent critics (Ngoawaji, 2009). Many of them eventually become criminals and a threat to society (NCWD, 2009). The nature of life on the street has exposed children to unforeseen circumstances such as motor accidents (NCWD, 2009), physical and sexual assault, vagrancy and kidnapping (Faloore, 2009). They suffer from malnutrition and ill-health (Ogunkan, 2014).

The problem of street children is a comparatively new phenomenon in Africa. Therefore the problem is not well documented in the continent as in Latin America and South-East Asia (Mehta, 2000). However, the rapid unguided and uncontrolled urbanization process has made the street children phenomenon a significant issue in developing countries (Kopoka, 2000; Mehta, 2000). Although sub-Saharan Africa is currently the least urbanized region of the developing world, with less than 30 per cent of the population living in the urban area (Mehta, 200), it has the highest urbanization rates average of 4.6% per annum (UNCHS, 1996). In addition to this, Africa is one of the continents experiencing high population growth rates with an estimated annual growth rate of 3.6 per cent (UNDP, 1990). Consequently, African cities are increasingly confronted with a rising number of street children.

Nigeria may not be the most urbanizing country in Africa, but pieces of evidence have shown that it has contributed immensely to the urbanization profile of Africa (Adeboyejo, 2013). The National Population Census conducted in 1952 put the Nigerian population at 30.4. million, 11% of which was classified as urban (Olayiwola, 2000). In the official census of 1963, Nigeria's population was around 55.6 million, out of which 10.6million (about 19.1%) were living in 183 cities and town (Olujinmi, 2000). By 1991, the population of Nigeria Urban population had also risen by 36.3%, with 359 urban centres existing in the countries (Odeyemi 2002). The last conducted 2006 census indicates total population figures of 140,542,032. (NPC, 2006). These figures also revealed a tremendous increase in the urban population, and consequently an increasing population of street children. (Fakoya, 2009; Faloore, 2009; Obioha, 2009; Ogunkan, 2013). There is no denying that the obviousness and enormity of the problem of street children have attracted considerable research attention in Nigeria. However, there is little or

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no evidence of studies in the spatial dimensions of street children in street children in Nigeria.

III. Data and Method

a) The study setting

The study setting is Ibadan, a pre-colonial urban centre in Nigeria. Urbanism as a way of life in Ibadan predates European colonization of the country. The city has the farthest spatial extent among cities in sub-Sahara Africa. It has distinct residential neighbourhoods of urban high, medium and low residential densities. Ibadan metropolis consists of locations in five Local Government areas: Ibadan North, Ibadan North East, Ibadan North West, Ibadan South East and Ibadan West local governments. The city of Ibadan has recorded substantial growth due to its central location in Yorubaland, and its accessibility from the colonial capital city of Lagos (Udo, 1994). In addition to rural-urban migration, urbanization in Ibadan is due to immigration from other urban centres within and outside Nigeria (Afolayan, 1994)

b) The Study Population

For this study, the research population was defined to be children living and working on the streets. This definition was deliberately adopted, and it includes all groups of children who regarded the street, at a minimum, as the place where they get their subsistence. Some of these children, it was recognized from the outset, would be school-goers and have homes and families they go back to daily. Others have no homes to go back to and therefore would be residing full time on the streets

c) Sampling procedure

Ibadan is a pre-colonial urban centre with a vast spatial extent and well developed and easily distinguishable residential densities; the urban high, medium and low-density residential areas. Each residential density is homogenous in terms of physical layout, socio-economic and environmental characteristics (Adeboyejo and Onyeonoru, 2002). This framework is the spatial unit upon which data were collected. it is advantageous to analyze urban issues based on this spatial unit because each density exhibits certain consistent features in terms of location, the types, structures and layout of housing, housing conditions and occupancy ratio, which reflect social, economic and cultural attributes of residents (Adeboyejo and Onyeonoru, 2002; Afon, 2007; Adeboyejo et al., 2012). In each residential density, street children-prone-areas were surveyed. However, for objective comparison among densities, five categories of locations were recognized in each residential density as:

i. One largest mosque in each residential neighbourhood (determined by the size of the weekly congregation).
ii. One largest church in each residential neighbourhood (determined as in (i) above).
iii. One popular market in each residential neighbourhood (determined by the spatial extent and degree of patronage);
iv. One popular junction in each residential neighbourhood (determined by the intensity of use); and
v. One popular motor park (determined by the extent of patronage and spatial extent).

These locations, defined here as Data Delineated Areas (DDAs), are well known as major attractions for street children, being centres/areas of intense socio-economic or religious activities and consequently centres of population concentration.

Table 1: Selected Locations (Data Delineated Areas)

Residential Districts	DDA A	DDA B	DDA C	DDA D	DDA E
HIGH	Oja Oba Central Mosque	OkePadi Catholic Church	Gbagi- Dugbe Market	Dugbe junction	Gbagi – Ogunpa-Dugbe Motor Park
MEDIUM	Alhaji Arisekola Mosque	OritaMefa Baptist Church	Agodi – Gate Market	Iwo Road Roundabout	Iwo Road Motor park
LOW	Bodija Community Mosque	Living Spring Church	Bodija Market	Sango/ polytechnic junction	Sango Motor Park

Source: Authors compilation

In each of the locations described above,

1) Data on the incidence of different categories of street children were obtained through the method of direct counting. This was done with the help of trained assistants. Street children, being a mobile population, will inevitably move between DDAs, carrying a moveable business. Therefore, to ensure that double or multiple counting is avoided, the counting was done simultaneously in all the DDAs with the help of trained assistants. The counting was done on four different days of the week, i.e. Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Wednesday and was measured by "Relative Incidence of Street Children" (RISC). The RISC is defined as the addition of the

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number of street children identified in four days divided by four.

2) For further investigation, 10% of the number of identified street children age population of street children (RISC) in each of the DDAs derived above was selected and a questionnaire administered to elicit information on the socio-economic, socio-cultural and other economic characteristics of the street children. The choice of 10% is premised on Conroy (2006)'s postulation that a good maximum sample is usually 10%, provided it is not more than 1000.

d) Data Analysis

The data collected were analyzed using descriptive statistic such as average, cross-tabulation and standard scores. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was employed to analyze the variations in the incidence of street children across the residential neighbourhoods.

IV. Results and Discussion

a) Incidence and Spatial Analysis of Street Children

The results of the street children enumeration is as shown on Table 2.

The distribution in the Table indicated that street children were more concentrated in Market (24.9%) than any other location. This is followed by Motor Park (20.3%), Mosque (19.9%), Junction (19%) and Church (15.9%) in the order of magnitude. It follows, therefore, that the market, motor parks and mosque are the three highest attractors of street children.

Table 2: Incidence of Street Children in the selected locations

Residential Zone	HIGH		MEDIUM		LOW		Total	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Mosques	216	25.7	46	13.0	42	12.7	304	19.9
Churches	140	16.7	65	18.4	37	11.2	242	15.9
Markets	143	17.0	101	28.5	136	41.1	380	24.9
Junctions	164	19.5	90	25.4	35	10.6	289	19.0
Motor Parks	177	21.1	52	14.7	81	24.5	310	20.3
Total	840	55.1	354	23.2	331	21.7	1525	100

Source: Authors' fieldwork

The high concentration of street children in Market may not be unconnected with the fact that market provides a convenient spot for street children, especially child hawkers and child traders to sell their wares. Motor Park also provided avenue for street children to engage in a number of commercial activities such as selling of packaged sachet water, selling of items such as handkerchiefs, face towels, recharge cards for mobile phones, chiled soft drinks and fast food to travellers. Motor park is also a convenient spot for child beggars to beg for alms for the reason that when people are traveling they attach much importance to giving alms at motor parks as a way of pleading God for safe journey (Jelili, 2009). The relatively high incidence of street children in Mosque has religious implication as charity or almsgiving *(zakat*, in Arabic) is one of its five pillars. Therefore, mosques are good and convenient places for child beggars to beg for alms.

The aggregation of data by residential neighbourhood shows that the highest proportion of street children (55.1%) are found within high residential neighbourhood. This is followed by medium (23.2%) and low (21.7) densities residential neighbourhoods.

For locational specific analysis, the incidence of street children in all the locations was transcribed into Standard scores (Z-scores), irrespective of their assigned neighbourhood. The results of their Z- scores were plotted on the scatter graph in Figure. The Figure shows that all the locations in the top half of the graph are locations with a high incidence of street children. These locations include Oja-oba central mosque; Gbagi- Ogunpa Motor Park; Dugbe Junction; Oke Padi Catholic Church; Gbagi- Dugbe Market; Bodija market. Locations with low incidence are at the bottom half. These include Agodi – Gate Market; Iwo Road roundabout; Sango Motor Park; Orita Mefa Baptist church; Alhaji Arisekola Mosque; Iwo road Motor Park; Bodija Community Mosque; living Spring Church and Sango/ Polytechnic Junction.

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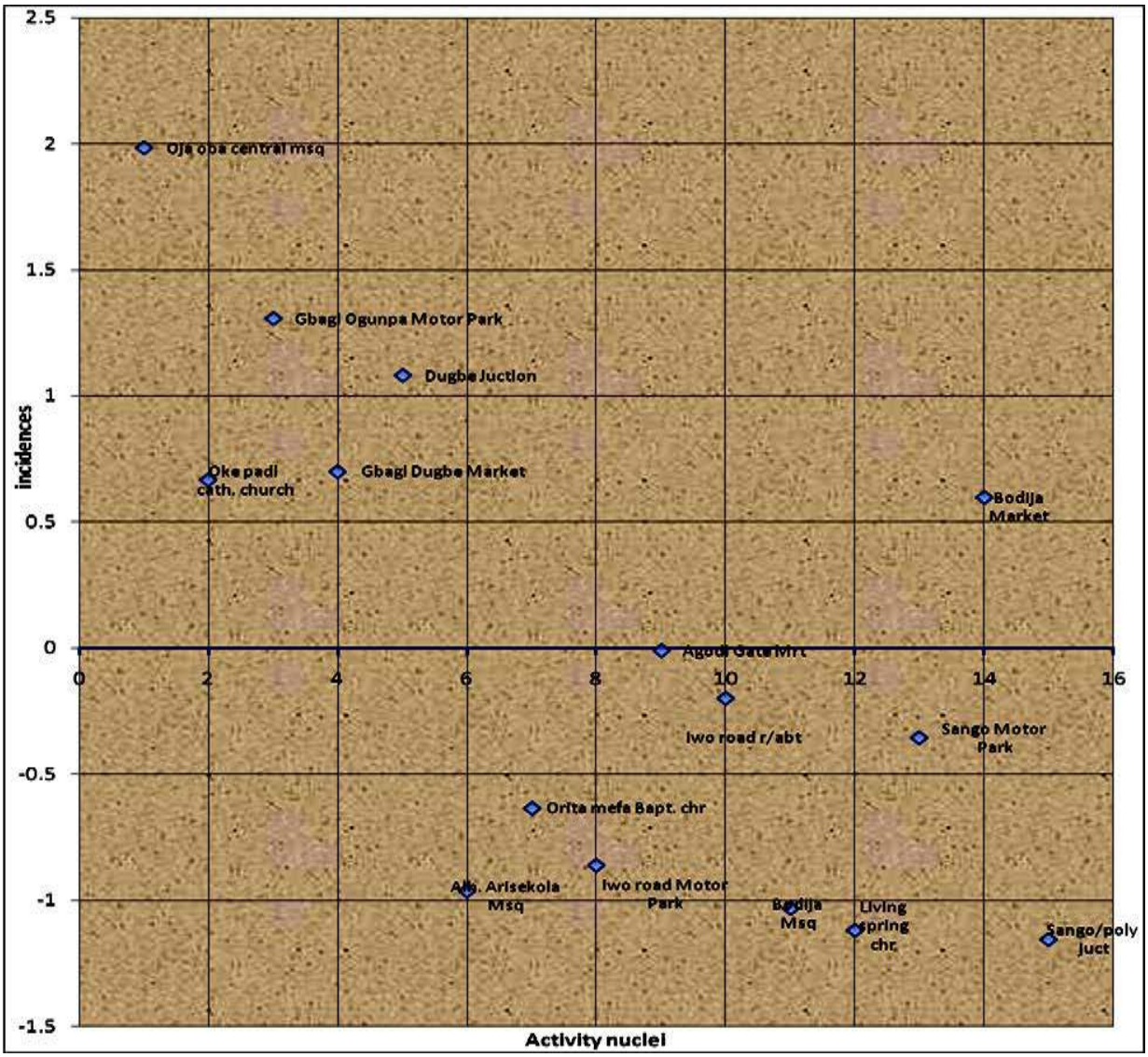

Source: Authors' fieldwork

Figure 1: Scatter Diagram of Distribution of Street children in Ibadan

As shown in Figure 1, all locations but one within the top half of the graph are locations in high-density residential neighbourhoods, while those at the bottom half are either located at medium or low-density residential neighbourhoods. The point to be stressed in this analysis is that the physical and socio-economic attributes of location play significant roles in the incidence of street children. The breakdown of the distribution of street children shows that the high-density residential neighbourhoods had the highest proportion of street children; this is followed by medium and low-densities neighbourhoods with 23% and 22%, respectively. This variation in the distribution of street children across residential neighbourhoods further attests to the impact of physical and socio-economic attributes of locations on the incidence of street children.

Table 3: ANOVA: incidence of street Children among Residential Densities

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	33053.733	2	16526.867	14.587	.001
Within Groups	13595.600	12	1132.967		
Total	46649.333	14			

Source: Author's Computation

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However, it is important to test how significant is the variation as observed above. Given this, the incidence of street children defined by RISC was subjected to ANOVA. The result of the ANOVA shows that with f=14.587 and p=0.001, there is a significant difference in the observed variations in the incidence of street children among residential densities. This result implies that the incidence of street children varies significantly among residential neighbourhoods; with the high-density residential neighbourhood having the highest distribution. This distribution was not unexpected since the high-density areas are characterized by the low socio-economic class and poor housing quality, and low environmental quality (Afon, 2007). Also, there is a great deal of informal activity from which street children can eke out a living and prevalence of makeshift structure used by the informal operators, which provide a haven for the street children.

The low incidence observed in low-density areas is a result of the physical and social attributes of the area. The low-residential areas usually have well-planned layouts; good quality housing; good quality environmental services; and a high proportion of the higher income and better-educated residents. There is simply no hiding place for street children in these areas.

b) Socio-Economic Characteristics of Street Children

As shown in Table 4, the majority of the street children were within the age range of 15 – 17 years (46.1%); followed by those in the age range of 12- 14 (32.9%), while children between 9 –11 years had the lowest proportion of 21.1%. This age distribution pattern evolved because only street children who disclosed their ages between 9 to 17 were involved in the survey. The study, however, concentrated more on those within 12 - 17 because they showed better knowledge of issues under investigation. Therefore, they were able to respond satisfactorily to various questions asked. The evolving age pattern conforms to the result of a similar study by Owoaje et al. (2009), where a significant proportion of street children within the age bracket 15-17 constitute the majority of street children interviewed.

Table 4: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Street Children

Characteristics	n	%
Age		
09 – 11	32	21
12 – 14	70	46.1
15 – 17	50	32.9
Total	152	00 1
Gender		
Male	106	70
Female	46	30
Total	152	100
Schooling Status		
Primary Schl	57	37.5
Junior Secondary Schl	29	19.5
Senior Secondary schl	5	3.0
Not In School	61	40
Total	152	100
Income		
₦1 – ₦200	49	32.2
₦ 201 – ₦ 500	43	28.3
₦ 501 – ₦ 1000	28	18.4
₦ 1001 - ₦ 1500	17	11.18
Above ₦1500	15	9.87
Total	152	100
Nativity		
Towns in Ibadan	106	65.8
Towns outside Ibadan but in South – West	24	17.1
Town outside South West	15	12.5
Town outside Nigeria	07	4.6
Total	152	100
Tribe		
Yoruba	124	81.6
Hausa	14	9.2
Igbo	08	5.2
Others	06	3.9
Total	152	100

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Religion		
Christianity	79	51.9
Muslim	71	46.7
No Religion	02	1.31
Total	152	100

Source: Authors' fieldwork

The gender of street children varied from place to place, but WHO (1995) puts the proportion of girls among street children as less than 30% in developing countries. A similar finding from the Lusaka study puts the proportion of street girls at 20% (PCIZ, 2002). This finding was corroborated in this study as the bulk of street children encountered were street boys (69.1%) compared with the proportion of street girls (30.9%). Literature from other countries shows similar gender disproportion among street children (UNICEF, 1993; Malcom, 2001; FREPD, 2003; Wargan and Dershem, 2009). As noted by Aptekar (2001), this gender disparity may be attributable to the fact that girls are expected to help at home more than boys, especially in female-headed households. The observation here is that girls are more sought after and employed as a housemaid in fairly well-to-do homes. Also, girls are more at risk than boys. Therefore, the fear of molestation by street boys and criminals must have kept most girls off the street. Moreover, the clandestine nature of girls works makes them less visible on the street than boys.

The educational status of street children indicates that about two-fifths (40.1%) of the children were schooling. However, about one- third (37.5%) were either in Primary school or Junior Secondary School. A few (3%) claimed they were in Senior Secondary School. The distribution suggests there is a connection between the cost of education and the street children phenomenon. Despite that the basic education in Nigeria is almost free of charge, the so-called "free schools" have hidden costs that make them unaffordable for many street children. Even though there are no tuition fees, there are often charges for school supplies and materials, uniform, transportation and extra – curriculum activities. Many families are extremely poor, and cannot afford the other cost of schooling.

The income level of street children shows that the majority (32. 2%) made between ₦1 – ₦200 per day. About 28.2% earned between ₦201 – ₦500 per day on average, while 18.4% earned between ₦500 to ₦1000 per day. Interestingly, about 20% of the street children made as much as ₦1000 per day, while another 9.9% made well above ₦1500 a day. The daily income for street children compares favourably with the daily take-home of some operators of informal activities. It is also observed that, if these children lived with their poor families, such economic opportunities would not be available. Further results show that major sources of income of the street children were menial jobs such as hawking (47.4%), alms from benevolent individuals (26.7%) and load-carrying (13.2%). The economic attractions of being on the street may be one of the major reasons why it is difficult for the government to get the children off the street.

Contrary to the submission that street children in Ibadan are mostly migrants (Faloore, 2009), this study shows that seven out of every ten street children (69.7%) had lived their entire lives in Ibadan (Table 4). In the remaining groups, (24%) were migrants from adjoining towns like Ile-Ife, Osogbo, Ikirun, Iwo, Ikire, while 9.9% were from other regions outside South West Geopolitical Zone. Only 4.6% came from outside Nigeria, in particular Chad and the Niger Republic.

The findings also revealed that an overwhelming number of children on the streets of Ibadan identified themselves as Yoruba (81.6%). Hausa and Igbo were 9.2% and 5.3%, respectively, while children from other tribes were 3.9%. Bearing in mind the analysis on the nativity of street children, the aggregate distribution of tribe of street children is in line with the expectation because the bulk of street children are from Ibadan and adjoining towns which are largely Yoruba speaking towns.

In Nigeria, religion has pervaded every sphere of social life (e.g., family, school, helping and coping behaviour of individuals and economic life). The religious affinity of the street children as analyzed in this study shows that 83 (54.6%) were Christians; 67 (44.1%) were Muslims, while 2 (1.3%) indicated they had no religious affiliation. However, this does not influence their values; attitudes, emotions, and behaviour as a number of them have been linked with a string of negativities such as pickpocketing, prostituting, recruits as armed robbers, urban terror gangs and violent cultists (Ngowaji et al, 2009, Boakye – Boaten, 2006)

As a matter of comparison, the socio-economic variables discussed above for the three residential densities were subjected to Analysis of Variance (ANOVA).

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Table 5: ANOVA: Socio-economic Characteristics of street Children among Residential Densities

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Socio-Economic Variable	Between Groups	2.240	2	1.120	1.415	.246
	Within Groups	117.967	149	.792		
	Total	120.207	151			

Source: Author's computation

The results of ANOVA in Table 5 shows that out of the socio-economic variables discussed, only income (with f=18.762 and probability value of approximately 0.000) varies significantly with density. However, the observed variation in the overall socio-economic characteristics among residential densities is not statistically significant at f= 1.415 and p=0.246. This finding agrees with those of Zuberi, (2005); Owoaje, (2009); WERK, (2009); and Ekpenyong and Sibiri, (2011), which suggest that street children have similar characteristics irrespective of their locations.

c) Parental Characteristics of Street Children

The distribution of the parental characteristics of street children shows that contrary to reports in some studies (Isangula, 2011, Nichols et al. 2014; Pillay 2016), streetism may not directly correlate with orphanhood. More than two-third (121 or 79.6%) of the sampled street children indicated both parents were alive. This distribution suggests that their being on the street had the tacit approval of either or both parents. Nearly nine in every tenth street child (133 or 87.5%) reported their mothers were still alive, while more than three-quarters of street children (130 or 85.5%) claimed that their father was still alive. (see table 5)

The public perception that the majority of street children were pushed to the street as a result of dysfunctional family structure (Ruto, 1999; Kudrati et al., 2001; Kopoka, 2009) may not be entirely accurate; because a higher proportion (32.2%) of street children were from "apparently stable families". Nevertheless, one cannot completely rule out the possibility of a dysfunctional family being a contributory factor. The reason is that 19.3% of sampled street children were from broken homes, while 15.1% had their parents separated but not divorced. 6.7% had single-parent families. 26.9% were from widowed families having lost either of the parents.

Table 6: Parental Characteristics of Street Children

Characteristics	n	%
Parents Mortality Status		
Both parents alive	120	78.9
Both parents dead	10	6.0
Mother alive, father dead	13	8.6
Father alive, mother dead	9	5.9
Total	152	100
Fathers' Occupation		
Farming	13	10
Petty Trading	21	16.2
Artisan	28	21.5
Driving	19	14.6
Clerical	15	11.5
Unemployed	31	23.8
Retiree	03	2.3
Total	130	100
Mothers' Occupation		
Farming	06	4.5
Petty Trading	59	44.4
Artisan	06	4.5
Clerical	18	13.5
Unemployed	44	33.1
Total	133	100
Fathers' educational Level		
No formal Education	89	68.5
Primary Education	31	23.9
Secondary	06	4.6
Technical Education	01	0.7

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Post Technical Education	03	2.3
Total	130	100
Mothers' educational Level		
No formal Education	113	85.2
Primary Education	13	9.5
Secondary	5	3.8
Technical Education	-	-
Post Technical Education	2	1.5
Total	133	100

Source: Authors' fieldwork

As summarized in Table 6, almost one third (33.1%) of the children said that their mothers had no stable occupation or not working at all as against the less than a quarter (23.8%) who claimed that their fathers were unemployed. The mothers of an appreciable (44.4%) percentage of the children were involved in petty trading as compared to other types of work, which includes farming (4.5%), Artisan (4.5%) and clerical (13.5%). Many fathers, as claimed by the children, were more involved in skilled manual work (21.5%) and driving (14.6%). Petty trading appeared to be the occupation of fewer fathers than mothers (16.2%). Other occupations associated with the fathers were clerical job (11.5%) and farming (10%). A small proportion (2.3%) said their fathers had retired from employment. This distribution clearly illustrates the precarious socio-economic status of the families of these children.

According to FREPD (2003), street children come from families with the lowest educational attainment. This finding has been validated in this study that 68.5% of fathers and 85.2% of mothers had no formal education. Almost a quarter (23.9%) of the children said that their fathers did not go beyond primary school, while less than a tenth (9.5%) reported that their mothers did not have secondary education. About 4.6% and 3.8% respectively for fathers and mother had completed secondary education while only one father (0.7%) reportedly attended Technical school.

V. Recommendations and Conclusion

It can be concluded from the above analysis and discussion that:

1. Well planned, good quality environmental services tend to generate a low incidence of street children, while a poorly managed environment generates a high incidence of street children.
2. The phenomenon of street children is a symptom of the larger poverty problem, being the main cause for children ending up living on the street.
3. Education is an important human right to break the poverty cycle that street children experience. The disintegrating nature of the urban family and the breakdown or the weakening of the African kinship systems in the urban setting could be the important contributing factors to the problem of street children in Nigeria.

Thus, it is concluded that the street children phenomenon is the expression of a complicated web of social, economic and environmental problems. It is, therefore, essential to find structural solutions to the problem.

Arising from the above, the following recommendations are put forward to tackle the increasing trend of street children in Ibadan and, by extension, Nigerian urban centres.

- Urban planners are urged to ensure that the new layout (residential, industrial, commercial etc.) plans discourage open spaces that may not be manageable by the potential users. When such are created, adequate provisions should be made on how to manage them, and such provisions should be well implemented to guide against springing up of indiscriminate location of squatter-informal-sector activities which street children of different categories mingle.
- Government Poverty Alleviation Programmes should be restructured if not re-designed and should be centred on the basic needs' approach. This can be done through the establishment of environmentally attractive and affordable schools, provision of shelter, provision of scholarship for their children and setting up of medical centres in the urban slums
- In line with this, the government should introduce policy measures to ensure that all children of relevant ages are included in compulsory education and that education is provided free of charge, at least up to the secondary school level. This will assist to keep children off the street. The introduction of Universal Basic Education represents a positive step in this direction. However, the effect of over-politicization and corruption on the programme should be addressed to ensure compliance with policy recommendations for solving educational issues of street children in line with the context of the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All strategies that the country has signed.
- The traditional kinship system, where the extended family functions as a social safety net for its members, should be encouraged. The reintroduction of collective responsibility for the

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upbringing of children in African societies can be promising for the prevention of streetism.

While it could be stated that the recommendation mentioned in this work are by no means exhaustive, it is strongly suggested that they can go a long way in addressing the problem of ever-increasing problem of street children in the country.

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Acknowledgments

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The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

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Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

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The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

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A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

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Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

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Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

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Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

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Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

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1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

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7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

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11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

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22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

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- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

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Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

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Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

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Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

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- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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