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Highlights

School Grade Repetition in Brazil

Cultural Interactivity in the Digital Age

Traditional Preparation of Baba Neagra

Total War System & Youth Culture in East Asia

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Kola San Jon De Cova Da Moura: An Instrumental Case of Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguarding in the African Diaspora in Portugal

By Tchida Afrikanu

Abstract- This essay approaches the trajectory of a Cabo Verdean traditional popular festivity, and its implications in the contemporary urban scape of Lisbon, when figured out as a transnational phenomenon that has become one of the greatest challenges in the field of Contemporary Anthropology in current Portuguese society. The Kola San Jon de Cova da Moura is construed as one of the several outcomes of an immigrant associative phenomenon which occurred in the metropolitan area of Lisbon since the 1990s, and whose mobilization has generated a diversity of strategies of struggle, among these, the political and pedagogic use of traditional cultural practices kin to the African immigrants. Throughout an ethnographic immersion, for a period of seven years, the author has apprehended a complex mesh of individual and collective trajectories, experience and individual narratives from persons and social actors committed to the decolonial principle of annulment of prejudice by means of social conviviality, music, and dance, as well as, through the construction of place.

Keywords: *kola san jon. labour migration. associativism. traditions of struggle. intangible cultural heritage.*

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Abstract- This essay approaches the trajectory of a Cabo Verdean traditional popular festivity, and its implications in the contemporary urban scape of Lisbon, when figured out as a transnational phenomenon that has become one of the greatest challenges in the field of Contemporary Anthropology in current Portuguese society. The *Kola San Jon de Cova da Moura* is construed as one of the several outcomes of an immigrant associative phenomenon which occurred in the metropolitan area of Lisbon since the 1990s, and whose mobilization has generated a diversity of strategies of struggle, among these, the political and pedagogic use of traditional cultural practices kin to the African immigrants. Throughout an ethnographic immersion, for a period of seven years, the author has apprehended a complex mesh of individual and collective trajectories, experience and individual narratives from persons and social actors committed to the decolonial principle of annulment of prejudice by means of social conviviality, music, and dance, as well as, through the construction of place. The main goal of this essay consists of offering an analytical field to comprehend how the festivities of Kola San Jon de Cova da Moura, while correlating with migrant association agendas and the residents, researchers, and volunteers' individual activity, privilege the resilient forms of African traditions, while the usual controversies about symbolic contents keep on taking place. The acknowledgement of the festivity of Cape Verdean matrix as intangible cultural heritage in Portugal keeps on stirring up questions, which we look forward to answer throughout this paper.

Keywords: *kola san jon. labour migration. associativism. traditions of struggle. intangible cultural heritage.*

Opening note

Lisbon city, June 3rd, 2017.

Saturday: 17h00.

Early in 2016, the expectations on travelling to Europe had been frustrated. The Entry Visa request had been denied (...). After ordinary procedures at Lisbon airport, we got a taxi. The driver was a man at his 40s, and I was not surprised when I learnt that the music in the car's audio player was Kuduro (an electronic music and dance gender from Angola, influenced by other music styles like sungura and rap). As soon as I told the driver the destiny's address, he readily opposed to the idea of driving into Cova da Moura's neighbourhood, in Buraca. According to him: "that is a violent favela" (slum). I could not believe it. I strongly insisted so that he would give in and accept driving us, at least until the Polidesportivo de Damaia, which is on the 7th of July Street, one of the neighbourhood's southern accesses. On the ride, during which we were enjoying the urban landscape and the typical buildings of Lisbon city, when approaching our destination, but still in the neighbourhood of 6 de Maio, we noticed the rubbish of what appeared to be private houses' demolition. It was all about the program of demolition of "illegal neighbourhoods" carried out by the Municipality of Amadora, said the taxi driver. In his opinion, Lisbon was going through a major restructuring phase, ending with the "bairros de lata" and the "illegal communities" (referring to the self-built poor neighbourhoods, equivalent to slums in Brazil or the bidonvilles built in the outskirts of Paris by Portuguese migrants in the 1960s). I was aware of the ongoing situation. I had been taking notes, surfing social medias, reading papers, journals, and gathering information through whatever means necessary. I was aware of the precarious housing situation by a considerable part of the African immigrant communities in Portugal. But, at that specific moment, listening to the opinions of the Portuguese man behind the taxi's wheel, I noticed a certain strangeness regarding the way in which the image of these "communities" had been constructed in the imagination of people who, fearfully, were compelled to deal with this situation (research field notes, June 2017).

I. Introduction

This excerpt from research fieldwork notes carries a powerful symbolic value and narrates a situation that played an important role in the decision making, and the consequent reconfiguration and hierarchy of the objectives of the PhD research, concluded in 2020. Once we were in Lisbon, although the process of arrival and entry into the country was fine, the case of the taxi driver's attitude reported above is quite significant and raises serious critical questions around Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) issues in Portugal. One must question whether that was an isolated event, but it will be something I feel compelled to disagree with. That was not an isolated fact, and other examples can be pointed out as well. However, after the chat with the taxi driver, during which he kept reaffirming the idea of the neighbourhood as a "no go zone", illustrating ghastly scenes, using negative examples (reinforcing: "exactly as it happens in the *favelas* in Brazil"), we arrived at the place where, according to him: "from now on, I don't cross. It's dangerous." We paid the fare and got out of the taxi. He helped with the luggage, said goodbye, and left. We stand in front of the *Águas Livres* Sports Centre, commonly called *Ringue* by the residents. We stood next to my *Son Jon*'s drum and

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acoustic guitar, and our luggage. Besides the inelegance of the transport service provider, his behaviour denounced the insensitivity of the Secretary of Tourism of the Lisbon City Council in updating the working class. For me, that moment had a clear meaning: just as there were demolitions in the now extinct neighbourhood of *Damaia*, there was a risk that it could also happen in Cova da Moura. The taxi driver's biased attitude had just stated, "that possibility".

During fieldwork research period (2017/2018-19), there were countless occasions when residents would make harsh complaints regarding the constant imposition of obstacles and the tightening of borders by both civil society and local administrative institutions. "These borders are everywhere", so they say. Of the most recent complaints, heard amongst residents and members of the association, one can mention: the refusal in delivering the neighbourhood by construction companies, or goods purchased in furniture and appliance stores such as IKEA; the postponing attitude of the *Amadora*'s Mayor Office in solving matters of urgent matters for the neighbourhood (such as the transfer of the former Integrated Basic School [IBS] building to the management of the Cultural Association *Moinho da Juventude* [ACMJ]. The process has been delayed for more than two years). Finally, there are constraining situations we experienced, too, e.g.: the closing down of the neighbourhood's access to the *Sta. Cruz Damaia* train station, after nine o'clock every night on weekdays, and its total lock-down throughout the weekend; among several other issues.

II. Prospects for a Possible Double Application to the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity – UNESCO

The will expressed through the desire of the *Kola San Jon* group from *Cova da Moura*, on carrying out a double candidacy, between Portugal and Cape Verde, on the *Colá* Festivities to the UNESCO diploma on Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity is real, legitimate and, somewhat, unusual. As one knows, candidacies of this profile have already taken place between contiguous countries. In pairs, according to the examples of Senegal and Gambia, about the Mandingo initiation ritual *Kankurang* (2005); and in a trio, between Benin, Nigeria and Togo regarding *Gelede*'s oral heritage (2001), amongst other cases considering the African continent. In South America one can mention the case of Argentina and Uruguay regarding Tango in 2009. As one can see, at first glance, these examples seem to be quite different from the Cape Verdean and Portuguese eventual double candidacy. In this case, one needs to deal with a historical relationship between metropolis and colony prior to 1975.

In this paper, I approach the safeguarding process of *Kola San Jon de Cova da Moura,* as a performative practice registered in the National Inventory of ICH (NI/ICH) in Portugal and published in the Official Bulletin (OB) on October 13th, 2013. The main argument supports a fact, that has been evidenced by different social and individual actors, related to the moment the festivities were registered in the ICH inventory. Among several good reasons hold by the residents and members of the group, within the scope of the association, as well as by anthropologist (Júlia Carolino) and ethnomusicologist (Ana Miguel), who worked with ACMJ during the safeguarding process, there is one that stands out: the one that guarantees the qualification of the neighbourhood; prevent the threats of demolition; and stand against the different types of segregation suffered by the residents.

That said, this study aims at the trajectories of social struggles and cultural resistance carried out by African immigrants and descendants. The subjects of study are the residents of the *Cova da Moura* neighbourhood. They have been collectively represented by ACMJ, since the mid-1980s, in the Municipality da *Amadora* - Lisbon metropolitan area, Portugal. In this context, we aim at a diversified and comprehensive transnational trajectory, in which the strategies and their programs comprise the ethical, moral, and epistemological aspects considered during knowledge production processes by and for the communities. Therefore, we refer to the fundamental role played by immigrant individuals and social actors in various instances. A practice characterized by the multiplicity of features that cover a network of African communities[1] residing, mostly in precarious self-built neighbourhoods, resulting from the occupation of idle land on the banks of large metropolises, or, in other cases, abandoned buildings in degraded urban areas.

Between the 1980s and 2000s, with PALOP's[2] immigration increasing, with the same segregation constraints as in the past, these neighbourhoods integrated the landscape of all Lisbon's municipalities. Their topography was demarcated, in the eyes of geographers and architects who saw them as a continuity, labelled "the Cape Verdean belt", contrasting with the urban fabric. An expression that pervades other areas in the Humanities with a doubly suffocating

[1] In the early 1990s, there were about a dozen immigrant associations in Portugal. Six years later, the number went up to almost eight dozen associations. Currently, the ACIDI network recognizes the existence of approximately one hundred and fifty immigrant associations, and an indeterminate number of other entities, which, although not officially recognized by the Portuguese state as immigrant associations, develop activities within the scope of supporting immigrant communities in various areas of influence (LOPES, 2020, p. 390).

[2] African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*).

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meaning. On the one hand, the persistence of "a still open wound"[3] in the Portuguese social fabric, that is, a malaise that prevented the development and the social transformation so expected by the Portuguese then. On the other hand, even though African immigrant individuals come from different countries such as Angola, Guinea Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, or even, Senegal, Zaire, Guinea Conakry, all this diversity was deliberately stifled in a single Creole identity: Cabo Verdean.

III. *Alto da Cova da Moura*: The Neighbourhood

Before the 1980s, *Cova da Moura*'s neighbourhood (16 ha^2 area) was in the enclave of the Parishes of *Buraca* and *Damaia* and belonged to the Municipality of *Oeiras*. Currently, these three zones, plus the southern area of the Parish of Reboleira are integrated into a single administrative area: The Parish of *Águas Livres*, Municipality of *Amadora*. *Cova da Moura* is located at 15 kilometres from Lisbon, with easy access to public transportation (subway, train, and bus), as well as to the main highways that cross the surroundings (HORTA, 2000, p. 146).

Cova da Moura's history dates to the 1940s, during the *Estado Novo* regime (1933-1974). A dictatorial regime characterized, on the one hand, by a strict control and supervision of illegal land occupation and, on the other hand, by the permanent struggle of temporary agricultural workers for a parcel of land, in the face of large properties and large estates, to guarantee housing and subsistence stability (Baptista, 1994, p. 910).

The neighbourhood's historical trajectory can be summarized in three periods: a) the first dwellings, when the area was essentially agricultural (1940-1974); b) the "revolution" (1974-1978), characterized by the moment of socio-political upheaval and coinciding with the arrival of half a million returnees from the former colonies, and the increase in African labour immigration; and, finally, c) its "consolidation", that is, the period of the housing self-construction boom, during the 1990s. We refer to the time when public policies, social housing programs, immigration policies, issues concerning citizenship etc. were inaugurated. A time span covering since Portugal's accession to the European Union and the Euro era, until today.

The story of *Cova da Moura*'s trajectory is about times of standing tall against an identity policy that reduced poor immigrant residents to hegemonic representations both of illegality and criminality. The official discourse was unable to conceive them as an "administrative and judicial problem. Rather, the emergence and development of neighbourhoods like *Cova da Moura* have always been a "social problem" that required state intervention (cf. Antunes, 2017).

In turn, from an insider's perspective of the neighbourhood, during the process of construction of the place, the first voices that arose among the demands were those of the "returnees". Men, usually heading their families, referring to themselves as victims of decolonization and forced displacement. The late creation of the neighbourhood residents' commission in the late 1970s carried a protest from this group that sought to categorically distance itself from the other African immigrant residents, mostly Cape Verdeans from the island of Santiago (*badius*).

Over the decades, these speeches have been appropriated by official mechanisms and the media, which reduced all the neighbourhood's residents to a group of lawless, illegal, and marginalized individuals. Official documents, and papers published in the academic field seemed to agree with the definition of *Cova da Moura* as "a model illegal neighbourhood", which "had taken on its illegal origins" and the struggles for "legalization" (Horta, 2000, p. 213).

a) Associativism and cultural identity

Since *Cova da Moura*'s foundation, the mobilization around Cape Verdean identity has worked as an important resource for articulating strategies of struggle amongst residents. Note that, identity is an event that comprises the flowing of subjects' life experiences, beyond an abstract series of oppositions. According to Cuberos- Gallardo, the process has been endowing residents with a criterion of cohesion and defining group limits. Hence, the trajectory led to the adoption of its own codes and shared referents, to the extent that the processes of residents' mobilization have been systematically reinforced since their origins by resorting to the forms of traditions and modes of sociability of Cabo Verde islands (2017).

In *Cova da Moura*, resident's struggling for basic infrastructures has always demanded lots of efforts. The Cape Verdean population, which had been increasing since the beginning, took place, without leading, in the neighbourhood residents' commission. The institution initially revolved around Portuguese residents, returnees, and a supposedly small African elite. As the few improvements made in the neighbourhood were selective, Cape Verdeans began to feel ignored and their claims postponed by other commission's priorities.

The emergence of ACMJ happens in response to a doubly conflicting situation: one with an external root, leading residents to organize themselves in the defence of their demands before uninterested government institutions; and the other, a conflicting situation of an internal character that made them confronting the situation of abandonment, forming their

[3] See Preamble to Decree-Law n. º 163/1993, of May 7th.

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own association in order to face an older population in the neighbourhood, ethnically Portuguese, to whom the urgency of their needs was not an option (Cuberos-Gallardo , 2017, p. 245).

In this context, the association favoured a healthy confluence of factors enabling the population to activate a process of self-organization in which lack of material infrastructure was systematically paired with the claim of its differentiated cultural identity - the Cape Verde traditions. At this point, we argue that as a phenomenon historically built of resistance to the constraints imposed by the host society in several segregation dimensions: residential; educational; political; religious; citizenship; and, in relation to the alienation of labour rights, the practice of popular traditions originating in Cabo Verde's archipelago, such as *batuko* (RIBEIRO, 2012), *funaná*, as sound dimensions of *tabanca* (CIDRA, 2011; TRAJANO FILHO, 2016)[4] or the *São João* festivities (MIGUEL, 2010; 2016; QUEIROZ, 2019; LOPES, 2017; 2020) are strategies forged within ACMJ to represent migrant communities. Such practices have been adopted during the struggling process for visibility waged by social and cultural movements.

This essay focuses on the festivities of *Kola San Jon*, organized, and carried out by residents in the neighbourhood of *Cova da Moura* since 1991. They were recognized as ICH in Portugal, in 2013. In this wake, the festivities of *Colá Son Jon* in *Porto Novo*, *Santo Antão* – on the Cabo Verde islands – are staged as a comparative background and, at one time, reproducing a secular cyclical phenomenon that pervades the entire construction process of Porto Novo Municipality and spreads through Cape Verdean Diaspora[5]. The research methodology adopted in this work does not deal with the perspective of linear progress, but seeks to build its arguments through a cyclical historical context, in which critical phases end cycles that, in turn, will necessarily be followed by a phase of social resilience: a decolonizing cycle of construction.

From this historical perspective we seek to identify, amongst the countless troubled episodes that occurred since the late 1970s, and throughout the 1980s and 90s, other narratives that describe the violent and explicit processes, involving the demolition of houses in *Cova da Moura* and the consequent abandonment of unprotected families. At the same time, we try to learn about the creative (re) construction skills developed by the increasing resident population, whose collective construction activities supplanted the municipality's capacity for inspection and demolition.

Mr. Ribeiro, coordinator of the *Kola San Jon* group, refers to "intruders". Once, I asked him why he used that word, he explained that these were elements that used to come to the neighbourhood to carry out demolitions, without the residents knowing exactly to whom responsibility those destructive acts should be credited. It is possible that public officials would be secretly involved in negotiations that fuelled a greater cycle of political clientelism. Mr. Ribeiro confirms an episode written elsewhere, which mentions a violent demolition action that brought down sixteen houses at once. The residents mobilized and claimed the creation of a residents' committee in 1979. Before that, according to the *Kola San Jon* member, there were attempts, but the immigrant residents had not been allowed to represent themselves by a committee of residents.

In Portugal, the implementation of public policies aimed at migrant populations have been neglected for an awfully long time. Suppression of rights and/or exacerbation of inherent requirements for granting them at the local level, were related to the legacy inherited from the *Estado Novo*'s political system, namely: "the weak penetration of the state apparatus in certain areas of the administrative structure and the ubiquity of informal relations in the elaboration of local policies" (RUIVO, 1993 *apud* HORTA, 2000, p. 103).

Twenty years have passed since researching carried out by Horta (2000), in which, the local nature of institutional responses (Municipality of *Amadora*) to the African immigration process was investigated. By that time, Horta alerted to the complex and contradictory nature of the production and implementation practices of those policies. She denounced that national integration policies had been appropriated and reformulated at the local level in a configuration, according to which power structures not only shaped the patterns of integration of immigrants, but also imposed specific profiles of subjectivity, while marginalizing others. Horta also focused on the emergence of deterritorialized association processes and the ways in which they influenced the development of policies and collective patterns of immigrants' organization (2000, p. 97).

ACMJ, while emerging as an entity that clashes with the "old ways of doing politics" established an atmosphere of tension with prior manners of dealing

[4] Cape Verdean musical genres from Santiago: a) *batuko*, considered the oldest Cape Verdean cultural manifestation, has records from the 18th century. A performative practice, essentially feminine, involving music and dance, with poetic components and the use of collective singing and percussion; b) *funaná*, a musical genre created during the 20th century, belonging, like batuko, to the sound dimension of the ritual of *tabanca* and characterized by the experience of the populations of the interior of the island of Santiago. Since National Independence (1975), funaná has been a source of inspiration for musicians living in the diaspora with a biographical connection to their traditional context (CIDRA, 2011, p. 6). For more information on *tabanca* see Trajano Filho (2016).

[5] It is worth to warn the reader on the approach adopted in this text. It does not directly affect the festivities of *Kolá San Jon de Rª de Julión*, on the island of São Vicente, nor *Colá San Djon de Praia Branca*, on the island of São Nicolau, although it constantly refers to them.

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with local issues administration. Indeed, the association's trajectory is permeated by situations of great tension, such as police violence. It stands against all types of behaviour considered inappropriate or unjustified. The ACMJ also engages - through its members - in the protection of the neighbourhood and its residents, while developing strategies of security in a community level, as well as individual and collective practices of sustainable social life. Therefore, ACMJ is credited as an agent that pursues dialogue and constant contact with other institutions to fight segregation (cf. Queiroz, 2019).

Regarding the Public Security Police (PSP) and their respective activities in neighbourhoods that meet the same conditions produced by urban marginality, the different voices in communities speak of police violence, brutality, collective humiliation, and assassinations. They denounce, as corroborated by the European Union Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 2018), Commission's report; the presence of a racist supremacist extreme right wing infiltrating the structures of the police corporation in Portugal. The times I witnessed police activity in the area in 2018 and 2019, actions were ostensible. I once witnessed a police van (nicknamed as *carripana*) speeding through some of the neighbourhood narrow and crowded streets. Exceptionally, in 2017, a couple of police officers had accompanied the cortege on the day of *Kola San Jon*'s festivity in *Cova da Moura*, without incidents.

During fieldwork in Portugal, I paid attention to the process brought by the Public Ministry against a group of seventeen PSP agents: the *Alfragide* Police Station[6]. Initial charges included crimes of racism and torture committed against six young men from Cova da Moura, later dropped by the Prosecutor who accompanied the trial. On May 20, 2019, I read in a Portuguese newspaper that an unprecedented judicial decision took place in Europe: eight *Alfragide* policemen had been convicted, nine had been acquitted and the victims would receive compensation.

During the victims and witnesses of police aggression's testimonies, at *Sintra* Civil Court, some of them had several complaints. Some young men testified that right after the violent episode occurred at the *Alfragide* police station, when leaving home early to work, or sometimes, when arriving home at night, they would cross paths with one, or two of the accused agents, in uniform and patrolling the neighbourhood, as if nothing had happened. Some went so far as to declare that they had undergone psychological treatment because they feared for the integrity of their lives. Regarding our study, we should highlight the recent harassment of PSP agents to the group of *Kola San Jon* and companions during the celebration of the festivities in 2018. The episode took place when the group was paying homage to the late Eduardo Pontes (1936-2015) in a small square of the same name located in front of *Alfragide*'s police station, on June 23rd, 2018 (cf. LOPES, 2020, p. 412- 423).

Throughout its trajectory, the population of *Cova da Moura* has developed an associative dynamic always stimulated within the ACMJ. As we know, other neighbourhood associations[7] are also engaged in community practices, so that the capacity for mobilization has reached a state of maturity revealing unusual operational abilities and remarkable resilient skills by *Cova da Moura*'s residents (QUEIROZ, 2019). In 2002, three neighbourhood associations came together and, supported by the *Buraca* Social Parochial Centre, they formed a Neighbourhood Commission willing to fight for the rehabilitation and requalification of the area.

While doing fieldwork, I had access to a vast volume of research and publications on the history and trajectory of the neighbourhood and its associations. Talking to the current President of the Governing Council, Flávio Almada, about the production of academic discourse concerning the area, its population, and the association, he mentioned a number over a hundred dissertations and theses, which would be totally or partially related to the history of Cova da Moura and the migrant association. In one of the first meetings, I attended in 2017, one of the points defended by him, was the question of the association critically assuming its social role as a producer and holder of knowledge and practices.

In this context, conducting fieldwork both in *Cova da Moura* more generally, and in the ACMJ more specifically, proved to be a complex task and often questioned by several subjects, who were generally curious and sensitive to understand the objectives and the reasons exposed in the research. In other words, the subjects of study, when approached, were armed with the most diverse questions and critical questions about the "true reasons hidden in the researcher's intent".

Quite contrary to the disheartening landscape painted by the taxi driver during the trip from Lisbon airport to *Cova da Moura* in *Amadora*, that Saturday, June 3rd, 2017, we had a most wonderful dinner at Lieve's[8]. We had had such great discussion about traditional culture, that she was willing to show us the people of *Cova da Moura* and ended up introducing us to some people that same night. A curious fact: it was at that occasion that I had the pleasure of witnessing, for the first time, a woman playing the *gaita* (an eight bass

[6] https://www.publico.pt/caso-esquadra-de-alfragide.

[7] Residents 'Association (former Residents' Commission) and the *Alto da Cova da Moura* Social Solidarity Association (ASSACM).

[8] Godelieve Meersschaert, Belgian psychologist and activist, resident in *Cova da Moura* since 1980s, and co-founder of ACMJ.

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accordion) and singing *funaná*. It was a *badju di gaita*, adapted to *kotxi pó* (electronically programmed rhythm of *funaná*), while the woman played the accordion and sang *badiu* verses, one man played electric bass guitar, another played the *ferinho* and in the background the binary pattern was heard on its beating electronically programmed in the drum machine. People danced excitedly, rotating their bodies on themselves or in pairs through the steady two-step rhythm of *funaná* music.

A diversity of cultural events is associated with *Cova da Moura*. *Noites Cabo- verdianas* are usual on a weekly basis, when the *mornas*, *coladeiras* and the Zouk Antillean rhythm songs are played. These parties usually take place in the restaurants *Bibia* and *O Coqueiro* where one can dance, eat, and drink, until dawn. Over the months, I learned that, baptisms, confirmations, weddings, birthdays, and even funerals are celebrated. Apart from distinguished residents' funerals, in which there may be *tchoru* (lament) accompanied by *batuko* rhythm, without *tornu* dancing; and/or *Son Jon* drumming during burial, the festivities of *Santiaguenses* and descendants, are usually held with long *batuko* sessions. During these events, family members, relatives and acquaintances arrive from other neighbourhoods, cities or even countries, just to be part of the family event.

IV. *Moinho da Juventude* Cultural Association: An Inside Look

On Tuesday, June 6th, 2017, I attended the first group meeting held by the Tomkiewicz Centre[9] (a kind of think tank that seeks solutions to problems faced by the association and the neighbourhood in general). The group of professionals at the meeting consisted, among employees, volunteers and visiting researchers or in field work, of thirteen people. Among them, there was a member of the *Moinho* board, four researchers working in the field (in addition to me, two Brazilians, one Portuguese and one Austrian) and several professionals living and working in Cova da Moura[10].

Thus, at that meeting a reflection was proposed on the participation of ACMJ in the Seminar on Diversity, Education and Citizenship held at the Institute of Education of the University of Lisbon (IE-UL), in June 2017; and several issues about the methodology and the effective participation of the community in the events promoted by the association were discussed; finally, the evaluations of that academic year were displayed, as well as the adjustment of priorities for the next academic year of 2017/2018 were planned.

Regarding issues related to ICH and tourism, there was a discussion about *Sabura*[11] project. On the occasion, it was discussed the organization of a course for "guides", the term used to describe future professionals was "experts from experience". Individuals who are qualified for this role must have an in-depth knowledge of many stories related to the history of the neighbourhood, its residents, and the history of immigration in general. People do not just qualify themselves for this role, there is a certain tacit consensus expressed by the community that gives them some or no authenticity at all.

Other issues addressed in that meeting referred to the issue of the neighbourhood's requalification and the resistance strategies adopted by the community in relation to the various problems involving the troubled relationship with the Municipality of *Amadora*, and the Public Security Police. In addition, other topics such as alcoholism, drug abuse, police violence, gender-based violence etc. prompted reflections and strategic discussions in favour of the victims and the respective denunciation of possible aggressors.

The impact of the topics covered during the meeting, as well as the many more meetings that would follow on a two to three events per week basis, especially in the periods leading up to the festivities, during fieldwork is unquestionable. In reality, the field research methodology had to be adapted, in order to cope, on the one hand, with the richness of opportunities provided by the resident's interaction within ACMJ, and in the abundance of potential data that could be collected in various ways. On the other hand,it provoked a critical curiosity around the person of the researcher (his/her academic qualifications, his/her practical skills); his/her techniques (e.g. interviews, participant observation, etc.); and created conditions for fostering a collaborative approach in anthropological research, during which the researcher is willing to act as a volunteer in one or more of the valences of the associative structure, depending on his professional abilities or skills.

Still at that meeting, Flávio Almada - also known as LBC SoulJah (*Luta bu Consigi* – Fight for It), rapper, human rights activist, educator, mastering in Translation

[9] Stanislas Tomkiewicz (1925-2003) was an internationally recognized paediatrician and psychotherapist. He dedicated his whole life to children and adolescents in psychological distress, and victims of injustice and ill-treatment.

[10] The initiative for meetings and projects carried out by the Tomkiewicz centre was launched since 2013.

[11] The *Sabura* project, a Creole expression that means "to appreciate what is good; to taste" aims to organize visits like projects developed in other social districts (e.g., Johannesburg - South Africa). The objective is to show that their reality is quite different from that stigmatized by social communication, which confuses punctual and fracturing events with a daily and normal experience. In this sense, ACMJ seeks to present the daily life and social dynamics of the neighbourhood, its cultural and human heritage, its "ethnic wealth" (diversity), and integration in the community where this population is inserted. Visits can be scheduled by email. During the visit, a resident of the neighbourhood (the expert of the experience) guides the visitors and tells the story of the place and its people.

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and Creative Reading, poet and current President of the ACMJ's Board of Directors raised a question that would guide, from then on, the form and character of the relationships built with the research subjects, within the scope of the association and the neighbourhood in general, during fieldwork process: He proposed a discussion around the training practice and work methodology performed by ACMJ and the Tomkiewicz Centre (CT). An analysis of the methodologies used in working relations, concerning the community's emancipatory processes, the educator spoke about the need for "endogenous agendas and methodologies", emphasized the importance and the need for the community to edit its own agenda and designing of methodologies by the people themselves. Then he warned about caution with research questions on everyone's agendas.

The conversations, with Flávio became common facts during our daily activities at ACMJ. We would discuss authors, activists, activists, martyrs of the African revolution and classics of contemporary African critical theory[12]. In early June 2020, the *Antipode Foundation* released online a documentary entitled "Geographies of Racial Capitalism" starring the geographer, professor at the University of New York City, abolitionist, activist, and scholar of the phenomenon of mass incarceration, Ruth Gilmore and, aforementioned Flávio Almada.

Gilmore admits to having identified with the project and nicknamed it *Pop-up Universities*. This narrative refers to the same subject inferred by Flávio during the meeting held in 2017 at the Tomkiewicz centre. At the end of 2018, during the fieldwork period, an exceptional event took place. On the afternoon of October 10th, 2018, Ruth Gilmore, Achille Mbembe and Mamadou Ba (former football player, activist, and Portuguese politician) chaired a round table where the situation of incarceration of the migrant population in Portugal was discussed, in a room occupied by more than fifty people at ACMJ, in the Cova da Moura vicinity.

V. The Vernacular and its forms: From the Forbidden Culture to the Estimated Heritage

The first encounters with members of the *Kola San Jon* group in *Cova da Moura* happened spontaneously. Since the meeting at which I was formally introduced to the group and received, in a way, a collective endorsement, permission, and even invitations to visit their homes, took place on June 11th, 2017. During the time spent with *Kola* members, they often took the initiative and created effective conditions for me to carrying out fieldwork within the group. Before that day, however, I met Mr. Alves, a natural *tamboreiro* (drummer) from *Vale da Garça* in *Santo Antão*, and resident at Cova da Moura. Mrs. Delgado (Niche) one of the coordinators of *Kola San Jon* and Chef at the *Cantina Social do Moinho*. Like her, several nannies who take care of children in their homes, such as the *tamboreira* Ana Gomes, as well as others who attend at the day-care centre *Árvore*, maintain a routine that requires begin the day before sunrising. Many parents must leave home early to their shifts as employees in cleaning companies: supermarkets; offices; Schools; transport stations etc.

Both during dawn and at dusk, the clientele use public transportation is ethnically marked. The heterogeneous presence of a human frame whose mobility depends essentially on this system is unmistakable. Cape Verdean, Angolan, Guinean, São Toméans, Mozambicans, Senegalese (among other African nationalities) immigrants, as well as Afro-descendants (I mean Portuguese descendants of Africans), Brazilians, and to a lesser extent, immigrants from Asian countries such as India, China, Pakistan and Bangladesh (see Malheiros *et al*., 2013) are part of this "sea of people" from which foams a mixture of diverse languages unknown to Europeans native speakers.

This "human frame" unfolds people, subjects of study, life stories, projects, capabilities, and limitations. Transnational mothers, parents of more than one family, couples who are proud of their children and grandchildren's ancestry that extends from Brazil to Scandinavia. *Tamboreiros*, *tamboreiras*, *coladeiras*, *chief commander*, amongst other characters: all members of the group *Kola San Jon de Cova da Moura*. *Batucadeiras* of *Finka Pé* group, rappers, and *funaná*, *morna*, zouk love, *kola* dance and *kotxi pó* singers.

By adopting vernacular perspectives (of linguistics, history, rationality, art etc.) methodology applied to revisiting the history of the Cova da Moura neighbourhood and, by affinity, the history of Cape Verde, the possibility of multiple narratives around the same facts is considered, such as: the process of genesis, formation and consolidation of *Cova da Moura* neighbourhood; the foundational moment of the festivities in *Cova da Moura*; the plural narratives about the long cycles of starvation on the remote island of *Santo Antão*, in Cabo Verde etc.

From different local contexts and their interrelations, we focus on the notion of "traditions of struggle" pointed out by Mbembe. According to him, "tradition" does not involve a "trip" to the past nor the preservation of a supposed authenticity through any object, ritual, or artifact. But an innovative and creative

[12] Names like Frantz Fanon, Kwame Ture, Frederick Douglass, WEB Du Bois, CRL James, Michel- Rolph Trouillot, Cedric Robinson, Patrice Lumumba, Amílcar Cabral, Walter Rodney, Reiland Rabaka, Milton Santos, Ruth Gilmore, Achille Mbembe, among many others, populated the conversations, their works were sometimes admired, other times respectfully and vehemently criticized when confronted with equally urgent current problems, which demand total attention.

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attitude from which subjects reinvent themselves in the contemporary world. That happens from an attitude of evocation, activation and updating the original experience - tradition - and finding the truth of oneself not outside him or herself, but rather, from one's own standing ground (Mbembe, 2016, p. 67). Above all, the ability to constantly experience *being-before- oneself* (*ibid*., p. 152 my emphasis).

Therefore, in *Cova da Moura*, it is from the mobilizing actions within the neighbourhood that a new logic is developed. In which, Cape Verdean identity is mobilized as an axis of resistance in face of speculation implied in the institutional plans of requalification[13]. For twenty years, the neighbourhood's history has been a succession of disputes stimulated by the speculative wave of landowners and construction companies interested in the area (Gallardo, 2017, p. 248; Jorge and Carolino, 2019).

In this context, *Cova da Moura*'s trajectory is woven in a dynamic tapestry of crises pervaded by mobilization and resistance cycles: adaptation to new challenges and opportunities; overcoming the constraints through community's mobilization – the *Junta mõn* institution. This dynamic fabric also suggests a cortege, in which creative resistance struggles ensue through sports practicing, the improvement of education, leisure conditions, and the associative trajectory for the reconstruction of archives based on the negotiation of new content in the light of old forms of tradition: the walking archives (cf. Borges, 2020).

VI. Colá Son Jon / Kola San Jon: Two Versions of the Same Archive?

In this regard, we approach the pervasive nature of the archive, as a memory institution concerning life experiences, negotiated through different layers of meanings, interpretations, and prospects. Instead of figuring out aligned words that ignite thoughts, once formed in another time and place, in visible characters in the great mythical book of history, we choose the density of discursive practices, systems establishing what is said as if it were the deed[14]. Speeches that are established as events, with their own conditions and mastery of appearance, and things, with their own possibilities and fields of use. According to Foucault, all the elements that make up the systems of declarations, events or things are defined as archives (2002, p. 104).

The permeability of the archive is paradoxical, and it comprises, in the first place, expanded discourse - interpenetrated interpretive layers encompassing archival institutions and their role in Western societies - as well as the plurality of narratives that depend on it. Second, this penetrability describes a fluid practice or experience. And, thirdly, it does not expend the necessary efforts to represent the emerging social practices derived from the changing archival institutions (Ivacs, 2012, p. 471-2).

Although this reference is peripheral, it reminds us the historical conjunctures which understanding is essential to apprehend the occurring transformations in the process' development. Let us report back to the last forty years. They were marked by the fall of Berlin wall (1989); the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991); and the crisis of ideologies in Western societies. The so-called crisis surrounding the fallibility of the exclusive reference to certain modalities of reason, as a *sine qua non* condition for understanding the world through totalizing schemes, has given the planet's dominant forces a turning point in the socio-cultural and aesthetic.

In the Euro-American academic centres, concerns revolved around national identity based on popular and/or working-class culture, but also, on the issues raised by the increasing immigration flows from the former colonies. In the context of the 1990s, a "new" irreversible process of "reckoning with the past" began. This was multiculturalism process, which has proven to be more complex than believed. And, despite the explicit efforts undertaken by the old imperial regimes in order to erode/destroy the traditional archives of previously subjugated nations, these have been transformed and gained an increasing voice as "the undeniable truth of past sins and sufferings" (*ibid*.).

According to Jacques Derrida, the narrative, in scientific discourses concerning the difficulty of interpreting archives as cultural and physical phenomena is not new. However, after "Archive Fever: a Freudian impression" (1995), most of the critical approaches to the treatment of archives have focused on the epistemological doubt about fragmented and biased storage by these institutions. It is undeniable that nowadays diverse voices are rising claiming new archives, while the technological and informational revolution participates and structurally reconfigures the nature, features, credibility, and authorship of the archives.

Through wars, ethnic conflicts, and genocides provided by the maintenance of colonial imperial systems during the 20th century; cataclysms, epidemics, and, pandemics that we have been mask-facing in this millennial transition, we have learned that it takes a

[13] As is it known, despite its persistence over the past four decades, *Cova da Moura* has been the target of several institutional and private actions aimed at its demolition. In 2006, 78% of the population expressed a desire to stay in the area according to a survey conducted by the Faculty of Architecture of Lisbon. However, reports commissioned by the CMA suggest 80% of demolitions in the built fabric of the neighbourhood (Lopes, 2020).

[14] Institution here entails a more comprehensive conception than the conventional domains established within the scope of nation-states and modern societies. It mainly refers to structures or mechanisms of a social order, which regulates behaviour of a group of individuals within a given community

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bigger structure, than mere official documents, political regimes or testimonies from "secret agents", to apprehend all these traumatic processes and events. In this sense, research on oral history, recording of interviews with mundane actors from historical scenes, permission to infiltrate discrete devices, notes, and autobiographical data in the ways of exploring historical repositories, from the beginning, intends to create a mass criticism of raw material about private individuals, useful for the historical and social construction. A practical method which could be quite useful, not only for those whose history is liable to be excluded, but that could also highlight the positive role memory institutions play in building more cohesive societies based on democratic principles (Ivacs, 2012, p. 478).

It is believed that Derrida foresaw the promising future of the archive, and provided a new definition for archiving to include the subject of the source, the human being himself in the therapeutic mission of the archive in the quest to cure the collective trauma. The philosopher defines two major dynamic forces acting, dialectically, during the objectification process defining individual responsibilities for preservation, to the detriment of suppression. At this point, Derrida questions the traditional historiography[15] and he prevents that media memorization, like the archiving process, does not provide full objectivity or completeness. Omissions or suppressions must be recognized as attributes of the psyche, and archives must play the role of consignment, as an external technique to assist the memory process (cf. Derrida 1998; Ivacs, 2012)

VII. The "*Archons*" in Cortege

a) Kola San Jon de Cova da Moura

Festivities led by *Cova da Moura*'s residents are part of the cultural and sports groups, study, and discussion groups' annual agendas, within the associations, but they do not stick to them. They are also part of a dialectical relationship with a great variety of partner institutions. The mains supply is necessarily daily. Communication is one of the most important aspects. The flexibility of holiday dates is seen as a resilient approach. The work done within the group of Kola San Jon, in the associations and by the community, helps the self-recognition of internal qualities. It helps building an image of the festivities that deconstructs discourses of stigmatization and segregation imposed from the outside. Such unpleasant attitudes find strong resistance there as they contrast with a strong sense of closeness and community grown within the scope of local community (cf. Queiroz, 2019).

Kola San Jon Festivity, held since 1991, at *Cova da Moura*, in *Amadora* is associated with a specific founding moment evoked by different actors involved in a recent and equally specific historical context (Ribeiro, 2000; Horta, 2000; Miguel, 2010; 2016; Ribeiro, 2012; Queiroz, 2019; Lopes, 2020). One refers to the historical context in which they are involved, both the late colonial process undertaken in African colonies under the Portuguese yoke - forced labour; voluntary and involuntary international migration programs etc. (cf. Monteiro, 2018); and the events that have happened in Portugal, since the outbreak of the liberation wars in Africa - the crisis of the returnees; the gradual intensification of immigration from the "new" countries (former colonies); the increase in demographic pressure and the crisis around property in the process of democratization after 1974; and the consequences of this phenomenon that survived until today in the problems faced by Portuguese society (cf. Antunes et al. 2016; Antunes, 2017).

Regarding immigration, although several Portuguese authors treat the phenomenon as a novelty, the city of Lisbon, has always been subject to demographic pressures, preoccupying the civil authorities since the end of the 19th century. However, authorities have always addressed this problem ineffectively, preferably through segregativity measures, carried out on the basis of police prohibition, interdiction, coercion [violence], with collusion of the media, especially after the process of accession to the European Union, 1986 (cf. Horta, 2000; Alves, 2013; Antunes, 2017).

Celebrations of *Kola San Jon* serve some hermeneutical provocations pertinent to the recent history of African immigration, and the process of building ICH in contemporary Portugal. The first provocation is a critical perspective concerning the approaches that interpret colonial institutions and their rites as events of resistance to colonial domination, from a simplified binary relationship as resistance/ collaboration (cf. Trajano Filho, 2006). Second, we refer to the arbitrary uses and abuses of "prohibition" and "punishment" categories by public and private authorities against the neighbourhood's residents, throughout their story. As demonstrated, the questions about the stigmas of illegality, criminality and violence in the discourses, policies and practices of migrant "integration" in Portugal, as well as structural negligence, the suppression of rights and the exacerbation of the requirements inherent to granting them at the local level have always been tough obstacles for post-1960 African labour immigrants.

In this wake, based on the evidence that the neighbourhood was built with great effort by the residents themselves - thus realizing the "dream of life" of many, and giving the place its own geography - one argues that the rhizomatic configuration woven in several intertwined arteries over time, has made it

[15] See the discussion on the concept of history and the process of professionalization of the historian's social role, in Trouillot (1995).

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possible for previously purely strategic spots to become places of encounters, points of sociability, for example: *cafés*, associations, alley corners, squares. These places carry their own stories, they are significant spaces in the social organization of those who inhabit the neighbourhood (*ibid*.). In this context, one argues that these were the similar conditions on which choices were based. We mean the path's symbolic mapping taken annually by the group of *Kola San*, through the streets and alleys of *Cova da Moura*. Which brings us to the "specific founding moment" mentioned earlier (Lopes, 2020, p. 222-23).

The argument around the "specific founding moments" of the group and the festivity of *Kola San Jon* in the *Cova da Moura* neighbourhood is less related to the essence of an "authentic" moment, than with the identification of relationships' networks established amongst different individual and social actors who acted, consciously and collectively, within the community. This initiative was supported by an important social actor – the ACMJ, to encourage a festival, through which they could celebrate their cultural identity: The *Kola San Jon* Festivity. A process that resulted in a case which the construction of a heritage safeguarding process demonstrates an instrumental nature: to guarantee the urban qualification, and fight against social/racial discrimination to change the neighbourhood's reality. This is an authentic objective, although it proposes a quite different image of *Colá Son Jon* in *Santo Antão* island.

b) Colá Son Jon de Porto Novo

In this paper, *Colá Son Jon de Porto Novo* festivities act as a comparative background that works as framework, not exclusive, to be modulated or falsified. Other similar festivities pertaining to the Cape Verdean Creole universe, such "F*esta das Bandeirsas*" (Flag's Festivity) and *tabancas*, are also considered. However, at this moment we are less interested in the description of the *Colá Son Jon* festivities (Lopes, 2017), than understanding the historical aspects and social, economic, political and religious factors that influenced the construction of the famous festivities since they existed before the foundation of the city of Porto Novo itself.

c) What do historical narratives tell us (written archives)

The island of Santo Antão is at the northwest of the archipelago, and it was discovered in 1462. However, it was populated only in 1548. The main settlements were initially established in the island's north and northeast, in the village of *Maria Pia* (now Ponta do Sol) and in the village of *Santa Cruz* (*puvoson*). For a long time, the mountain range that separates the northern region from the island's southern region was considered insurmountable. The island was governed by a Captain Donatory, equipped with overseers, with wide administrative, legal, and economic powers, over the entire community.

It was mostly populated by enslaved people captured on the Guinea Coast, some Europeans (around a dozen) and elite mestizos from the islands of Santiago and Fogo, which, at that time, were already populated (cf. Cabral, 2015). Among the great contradictions and gaps that permeate the private and official narratives about Cabo Verde islands by Portuguese and Brazilian authorities and adventurers (cf. Santos, 2017), it seems that the island of Santo Antão was the most punished by the starvation cycles and the consequent scourges that plagued the Cape Verdean archipelago until the middle of the 20th century.

We argue that the starvation cycles experienced by the island's population, are pervaded by a mysterious foggy veil and a mountain range of obstacles of all kinds[16]. If, on the one hand, subsistence agricultural production was conditioned by drought cycles and torrential rains, on the other, when there was agricultural production, due to the lack of roads, but mainly, due to the island's topology, there was no mobility of goods in an intensity that could transform the island's economic conditions (Évora, 2005, p.35).

It is worth arguing that the reasons encouraging the settlement of Cabo Verde islands were strictly economic. Hence, it is wiser admitting that the weight of the crime against humanity, which resulted from the initial activities of the colonists from the Iberian Peninsula, took place under the Portuguese Crown Royal Charter of 1466. This charter, allowed the creation of Treasury and Judiciary Offices, granted "absolute rights" over Africans and secured an exclusive license to trade on the adjacent coast (Rodney, 1970). It should be noted that while the Crown encouraged the settlement of islands and archipelagos, it strictly prohibited the presence of European traders on the coast of the continent. If this were not the case, most settlers of European descent that could be found off the coast of Guinea, although their presence there was illegal, were from the Cabo Verde islands.

[16] When assessing the number of victims, in relation to the total population to assess its importance, Cabral shows that in the periods of crisis of the 18th century, hunger claimed 50% of the population of the islands. Among cyclical crises, which occurred between periods of approximately two decades, we have a peak of 40% at the end of the 19th century and 35% in the last crisis of the 20th century. Cabral demonstrates that in 223 years (1747-1970) the people of Cape Verde lived more than half a century of hunger, with a total number of victims higher than the population of the archipelago in the 1970s. In the 20th century, the country suffered 21 years of hunger, having lost in each of the "great famines" (precisely those that will coincide with the 1914-18 and 1939-45 wars), between 15% and 35% of the population. In every four years of the last two centuries of Portuguese domination, the Cape Verdean man who lived in a permanent state of "specific hunger", suffered a year of "total hunger". Thus, in his fierce denunciation of Portuguese colonial imperialist forces, Cabral reiterated then: "this is yet another denial of the so- called civilizing and Christian work of Portugal in Africa" (CABRAL, 2015 p. 140).

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In the same year, the Crown was alerted of the Cape Verdean traders' presence on the African coast, it granted the trade with the Guinea Coast's monopoly to Fernão Gomes, a prominent Lisbon trader. The legislation that resulted from this agreement restricted the Cape Verdeans participation in legal trade in Guinea. The establishment of a list of goods and products to be exploited exclusively by the Crown or its tenants was one of the ways that the kings of Portugal used to stifle their participation in African trade:

> *As a rule, these goods comprised the items most demanded by the Africans: iron bars and tolls, tin bracelets, beads, cotton, and other types of cloth. Therefore, Cape Verdean traders were allowed to carry to the Guinea coast only goods produced in the islands – horses, cotton thread and cloth, and amber – and in vessels equipped and commanded by the islanders* (TRAJANO FILHO, 1998, p. 102).

Subsequently, a 1517 decree still prohibits Cape Verdean commercialization in the ports of Sierra Leone. A little later, Cape Verdean presence in trade relations between Portuguese and traders in the Coast was totally illegal. The accusers complained about the "evils that Cape Verdean residents inflicted upon business at the Guinea Coast" (*ibid*., p.75). As of 1550, while trade between Cape Verde-Guinea was leased a Royal *Feitor* was residing permanently in Santiago. In religious matters, the Guinea Coast also belonged to the jurisdiction of Santiago, since its creation in 1533, the Diocese of Cape Verde-Guinea stretched between Gambia and Cabo das Palmas in present-day Liberia (Rodney, 1970, p. 78).

d) What do collective memory tell us (walking archives)

Currently, the dry bed of a limestone stream, where rests the small chapel, considered the Mother Church of the City of Porto Novo, is believed to be a holy place. There, on the 23rd and 24th of June, various religious events related to the saint's celebrations are held. Because, according to "the ancients", that is the place where the saint was initially sheltered by the legendary *Mé Maia* (Mother *Maia*). According to the late *tamboreiro* and storyteller known as Jon de Nhonhô, here is his statement:

> "We listen to the stories about Son Jon and Mé Maia because they have their history. There are still descendants of Mé Maia alive. She ended up in Porto Novo, through fishermen, but she was originally from *Ribeira Grande*. (...) She found the saint by the sea, after realizing the saint's desire to live in a quiet place, she sheltered him in a cave on the banks where the church was to build and took care of him. It was customary to stroll along the seashore at that time in search of something that the sea could offer as food. She dedicated herself to being with the saint for her entire life and, despite the difficulties, Son Jon always answered her prayers. According to the people who told the story to my father, mother, and grandmother, how *Mé Maia* and *Son Jon* governed their lives. When she was old, *Mé Maia* asked *Son Jon* to let her see her family. Her relatives, knowing of her condition, came from the sides of *Figueiral*, to visit *Mé Maia* in *Porto dos Carvoeiros*. I remember an old lady telling me and my father this fact in *Coculí*, in 1942. *Mé Maia*'s family members came to Porto Novo, with a tick stick (the sisal flower), to improvise a bed on which she it would be carried to *Ribeira Grande*, on the back of men. When she heard about these preparations from her family, she said so to *Son Jon*; '- *Oh Jon, they came to pick me up, but I don't agree to go with it. Give me my strength and my courage so that I can reach Ribeira Grande'*. While the men were preparing themselves to face the way back carrying *Mé Maia*, she decided to walk a little ahead to say goodbye to the people, accompanied by some ladies who also came to pick her up. When the men went on to reach *Mé Maia*, they never did. She was assisted by *Son Jon*. On very dark nights she used to go by the sea, she would turn a turtle upside down, and used her meat to feed herself and make oil from its grease to light the saint" (João Baptista da Luz, 1932-2018, known as Jon de Nhonhô, adapted from Lopes, 2017, pp. 55-56).

A careful reading of the above excerpt, with no pretension in interpreting myths, suggests that the cult of the saint, in this case guarded by a woman, precedes the settlement of that arid region. In a more extended versions of the myth, the same storyteller refers to the maintenance of order in the old place of the festivities. Nhonhô (2018) explains how *Mé Maia* ruled *Son Jon* and, according to him, the saint not only accepted, but also helped, instructed, and guided *Mé Maia* in solving her problems[17].

This kind of narratives is abundant in the *Santantonense* historical oral heritage. Rodrigues (1997) presents us with an interesting collection of songs and traditional sayings from the island. As argued in Lopes (2017), the multiplicity of musical, poetic and performance events that take place during the cycle of festivities, from May 3 to June 29, is impressive. These cultural activities, almost always, attest the sociological tension between countryside and city, in the plurality of festive corteges that arrive in the city. The artistic events, transversal to the religious dimensions of secular and popular Catholicism, interpenetrate the profane, the erotic, the corporeal and the sacred.

Historically, drumming on the island has had commercial and communication functions. And, until today drumming drives a 22 km annual pilgrimage. An event which is permeated by the heterogeneity from migrant life trajectories. As we know, few countries in the world have been as profoundly shaped by migration as Cabo Verde (Carling and Batalha, 2008). Immigration and emigration processes define the structural construction of the nation's identity.

In addition to religious obligations, profane motivations (whether civic or erotic) present in the history of the festive corteges in *Santo Antão*, it remains to

[17] *Código de Vida – Jon d'Nhonho*. Documentary exhibited on October 7th, 2018. Available in: http://rtc.sapo.cv/index.php?paginas= 13&id _ cod=72217. Accessed on: 25/06/2020.

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consider that of despair, agony and suffering imposed by starvation. The secular procession of "*os flagelados do vento leste*" who wander through dry nature and finally witness the marginal trajectory that leads to the formation of *Portonovense* society.

First, as a natural harbour through which enslaved people were transported from the African continent towards Europe or the New World, *Porto dos Escraveiros*. Second, as fishermen and small traders' village, and at a time when charcoal was widely used while kerosene was considered a "luxury item", *Porto dos Carvoeiros*. And finally, the contemporary city of Porto Novo, the current stage of the most disputed pilgrimage festivity in the country, the *Colá Son Jon* festivity (LOPES, 2017). Provider of young migrant labour to European countries, especially Portugal, Italy, and Luxembourg.

In turn, *Kola San Jon de Cova da Moura* festivity, identified as a performative practice involving percussion, vocalization, dance, and the use of artifacts, is constituted through a political approach to tradition in a transnational dimension. The heterogeneity of the neighbourhood's population proves that the adherence of various flags to the procession gives legitimacy to the festivity as a performative arena, taking into account linguistic, musical and bodily aspects, as well as the exercise of a cultural identity as a process. A resilient cultural identity in process.

Kola San Jon's festivity reminds us of both the cycles of starvation and death, compensated by periods of lesser scarcity and extremely rare moments of abundance; and the painful dialectic of a population that, facing all the evils of retreatants, in the exodus, ended up in an arid region that leads to a port. It symbolizes the hope for *escaping* (migrate), or otherwise, the despair of contemplating an insurmountable blue obstacle. It is related to this phantasmagoria as well as to its reinvention in the socially precarious situation imposed on African immigrants in Portugal, during contemporary times (Lopes, 2020, p. 576).

Finally, we believe that one is facing a case in which the quest for heritage uncovers aspects of an instrumental nature: ensuring the qualification of *Cova da Moura*; facing the constraining/blocking forms of discrimination imposed on the neighbourhood and its population, both by civil society and State institutions (i.e. the Public Security Police; the Municipality of Amadora; companies providing services and deliveries etc.).

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Los Programas De Educación Para La Maternidad Como Medio De Empoderamiento Social. Un Ejemplo

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Abstract- La salud de las personas se inicia en la gestación. Los programas de educación prenatal y postnatal son una poderosa herramienta para que las mujeres tomen el control de su salud y se empoderen. Los programas han demostrado su eficacia para producir cambios en los hábitos, los conocimientos, las técnicas de autocontrol, la seguridad, la autoeficacia y la vinculación con sus bebés. Este trabajo aporta un ejemplo de cómo los programas prenatales y postnatales no sólo cambian a los individuos que asisten a ellos, sino que favorecen la formación de grupos de iguales que establecen relaciones de colaboración, lo cual facilita un cambio social, que a su vez incide en la salud de los individuos de la comunidad, generando una espiral de desarrollo "individuo-grupo-comunidad". Este ejemplo puede promover investigaciones sobre los cambios sociales que facilitan los programas de educación para la salud impartidos desde la concepción de empoderar a la població.

Keywords: prenatal education, childbirth education, centering pregnancy, empowerment, achievement educational.

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I. Introduction

Este capítulo muestra como la educación para la salud produce cambios en la salud de los individuos que repercuten en su entorno social.

La salud de las personas comienza en la etapa prenatal, es decir, en el periodo de gestación, cuando el feto se desarrolla en el útero materno (Jacob, 2020). Durante esta etapa, desde la alimentación a las emociones de la madre, todo puede influir en la futura expresión de los genes que se configuraron en el momento de la concepción del nuevo ser humano (Higgs-Howarth, 2021). Los avances de la "epigenética" están mostrando los mecanismos que hacen posible la influencia del estado físico y psíquico materno sobre el desarrollo fetal (Casavilca-Zambrano, 2019; Hollister, 2019). A tenor de este conocimiento, la Organización Mundial de Salud (OMS), ha elaborado la Estrategia Mundial para la Salud de la Mujer, el Niño, y el Adolescente (2016-2030), que plantea mejorar la salud de la infancia desde el periodo de gestación (WHO, 2015). Desde todas las perspectivas posibles: biológica, psicológica, familiar, social, sanitaria, económica, etc., el embarazo toma una nueva dimensión de estudio y atención.

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Antes de hablar de embarazo, hay que reseñar la situación de las mujeres en el mundo. Según la OMS, las mujeres sufren las mayores tasas de mortalidad, morbilidad, analfabetismo y pobreza. En el informe de 2014, se estima que, cada día, mueren 800 mujeres en el mundo, por causas prevenibles relacionadas con el embarazo y el parto. Los países en vías de desarrollo computan el 99% de esta mortalidad materna (Karlsen, & colbs, (2011). Estas cifras visualizan la necesidad de la atención a las mujeres en la gestación y la crianza. Se puede decir que, la salud de las mujeres es una prioridad mundial que plantea retos a la asistencia obstétrica. ¿Cómo aumentar la calidad de la atención sanitaria en el embarazo y el puerperio? La evidencia muestra que cuidar a las madres es cuidar a los hijos y a las familias, la base de la estructura social. Reseñar que el concepto de calidad asistencial propugnado por la International Society for Quality in health Care (USQua) indica que la calidad comprende seis parámetros: seguridad, eficacia, centrada en el paciente, oportuna, eficiente y equitativa (USQua, 2019). Es decir, la asistencia sanitaria, para ser de calidad no puede producir ningún daño; debe ajustarse a los mejores conocimientos científicos disponibles; tiene que tener en cuenta el contexto social y las necesidades específicas de cada persona; hay que administrarla cuando se necesite sin demoras; debe llegar a todos los individuos por igual.

Dado que el embarazo es un periodo relevante en la salud futura de la persona y la situación de las mujeres en el mundo es claramente peor que la de los hombres, queda claro que hay que mejorar la calidad de la asistencia obstétrica directa y propiciar una educación prenatal y postnatal que permita que las mujeres y sus parejas tomen el control de su autocuidado en estos periodos, es decir, que se empoderen. Según Asoh (2010), el empoderamiento, es "*el proceso mediante el cual las personas fortalecen sus capacidades, confianza, visión y protagonismo, en cuanto que forman parte de un grupo social para impulsar cambios positivos en las situaciones en las que viven*". El concepto de empoderamiento puede analizarse desde diversas teorías. En este marco, interesa la perspectiva de género (IV Conferencia de Acción de Beijing) (2015) y la psicología comunitaria (Zimmerman, M. A., & Rappaport, J., 1988; Israel, B. A., Checkoway, B., Schulz, A., & Zimmerman, M., 1994;

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Peterson, N. A., & Zimmerman, M. A., 2004) que incluyen el cambio de las personas, los grupos y la sociedad. El concepto de empoderamiento de la psicología comunitaria es una vía de desarrollo y transformación de las comunidades que, desde los componentes cognitivos, afectivos y conductuales de las personas, identifica y fomenta capacidades para la promoción del bienestar individual y grupal, que llevan al cambio social (PPD, 2013). Esta teoría de la psicología comunitaria da sustento a las intervenciones educativas de salud al identificar los elementos intrapersonales, cognitivos y conductuales del empeoramiento. Cada vez que un sanitario pregunta a su cliente: ¿qué siente?, ¿qué quiere?, está trabajando directamente sobre el componente intrapersonal de la motivación. Cada vez que pregunta ¿por qué sucede?, está actuando sobre el componente intrapersonal de locus de control. Cuando pregunta ¿qué sabe, ¿qué piensa?, ¿qué puede?, está incidiendo sobre el componente intrapersonal de la autoeficacia. La pregunta ¿qué tiene?, lleva al componente cognitivo. Las preguntas, ¿cómo lo hace?, ¿cómo puedo mejorarlo?, fomentan el uso de destrezas analíticas. Y las preguntas, ¿cómo empezamos?, y ¿qué me ayuda a seguir?, desarrollan el elemento de empoderamiento conductual que desarrolla acciones para la toma de control (Fernández, 2017).

Todas estas preguntas son relevantes en cualquier proceso de asistencia sanitaria individual. En el marco de la educación para la salud son la base del empoderamiento grupal. Su aplicación desarrolla la autoconfianza y la asertividad, lo que permite que el individuo tenga mayor autoridad en la toma de decisiones y se produzca un cambio individual que favorece la interrelación grupal. El grupo así constituido, cambia a su vez, se empodera, toma el control y produce cambios a nivel social, que a su vez repercuten en las posibilidades de mejora de los individuos. Los profesionales sanitarios, a través de los programas de educación para la salud, tienen la oportunidad de informar, educar, y crear espacios de reflexión y apoyo para que los participantes puedan desarrollar su autonomía, su autoeficacia, su control y su capacidad de participación social. Ello lleva a la creación de grupos de autoayuda que fomentan la continuidad de las mejoras obtenidas y permiten que el cambio grupal repercuta sobre la comunidad. Y el cambio comunitario a su vez influye sobre los individuos, estableciéndose una espiral de mejora que puede retroalimentarse: "individuo-grupo-comunidad" (Fernández, 2017).

Para que los profesionales sanitarios tomen conciencia de su poder como promotores del cambio social en salud, es necesario un cambio de rol profesional. El rol tradicional sitúa al sanitario en un nivel superior de capacitación del que la persona que atiende respecto a su salud, en el que la información fluye del sanitario al cliente mayoritariamente. El nuevo rol, mantiene la capacitación del profesional sanitario, pero permite que la información fluya de forma bidireccional, con lo que le da, al sanitario, la oportunidad de aprender de cada intervención y de ser el motor de un cambio de salud en la persona que recibe su atención (Fernández, 2017). Este cambio del rol profesional sanitario ya se evidencia en algunos ámbitos. Como ejemplo, podemos aportar la base de la filosofía, el trabajo y las intervenciones de las matronas australianas, para las que "matrona" (Midwife), significa: "con la mujer" (*Bradfield*) y han desarrollado el marco teórico "Partnership midwifery care" que promueve la salud de las mujeres a partir del desarrollo de su autonomía (Bradfield, Z., Hauck, Y., Duggan, R., & Kelly, M., 2020; Freedman, 2006).

En Educación para la Salud, los conceptos de Calidad y Empoderamiento han revolucionado los programas educativos, haciéndolos más adaptados a las necesidades reales de los participantes. Así, los consumidores de salud pueden comprender lo que es posible y lo que no, y pueden encontrar la mejor manera de participar y tomar el control sobre su proceso de cambio en salud.

II. Ejemplo de Empoderamiento

En este capítulo se muestra cómo los programas de educación para la maternidad /paternidad pueden empoderar a la población. Se exponen los pasos a través de los cuales, el aprendizaje de los individuos, favorece un cambio grupal que lleva al cambio social.

Cuando hablamos de programas de educación para la salud, fácilmente pensamos en programas relacionados con enfermedades crónicas físicas y/o psicológicas. Programas para diabéticos, hipertensos, fumadores, obesos, bebedores, deprimidos, etc., que tienen una larga trayectoria evolutiva. Los programas de Educación Maternal o programas de Educación para la Maternidad/Paternidad son programas educativos dirigidos a la mujer y/o su pareja en la gestación y en el puerperio. Tienen por objeto contribuir a la salud materno-infantil durante los procesos de gestación, parto y postparto (Karlsen, 2011). Se planifican e imparten en el ámbito sanitario público y privado. Surgieron en Europa en los años treinta del siglo XX para facilitar el parto de las mujeres, cuando estas dejaron de parir en sus casas rodeadas de sus familiares, para ir a dar a luz solas, en los hospitales, con toda la tecnología obstétrica del momento. Son programas que nacieron con el objetivo de ayudar a las mujeres en el parto hospitalario, pero que con el tiempo han evolucionado y se han extendido por todo el mundo. La mayoría de las escuelas de educación prenatal han cambiado su paradigma. Han dejado de poner su enfoque en mejorar el parto de las mujeres, para ampliar su punto de mira. Ahora se trabaja porque la maternidad y la paternidad sean procesos conscientes desde la gestación a la crianza, pasando

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por el momento del nacimiento, el parto, que puede ser un encuentro afectivo con el hijo. Se ha incorporado toda la psicología prenatal y postnatal, además de todas las técnicas de autocontrol emocional y de dolor. Favorecen la creación de grupos de iguales que permiten la aparición de nuevas redes sociales de crianza, en un mundo en que los hijos llegan, a menudo, en individuos y parejas muy independientes. Facilitan una crianza más compartida, más saludable, e indudablemente, más feliz (Fernández, 2019).

En España, se da la particularidad, de que estos programas de educación pre y postnatal se contemplan en la cartera de servicios del Sistema Nacional de Salud con cobertura para toda la población del territorio del Estado Español desde 1983 (Fernández, 2014). Se ofertan a través de las consultas de las matronas de Atención Primaria (Instituto Nacional de Salud, 2001). Estos programas constituyen uno de los medios estatales para disminuir la morbi-mortalidad materna y neonatal tradicional. Y ahora, que se ha conseguido que esas cifras sean muy bajas, se han convertido en un pilar para el cambio de rol personal que conlleva la maternidad y la paternidad y para el establecimiento de la reestructuración familiar que requiere la llegada de un hijo. El programa español consta de tres niveles de atención. El primero son sesiones educativas que se imparten antes de las 20 semanas de gestación. El segundo nivel son las sesiones que se imparten de la 28 semana de gestación al final del embarazo. El tercer nivel son las sesiones que se imparten en el puerperio. El segundo nivel es de obligado cumplimiento, por lo que es el que más se oferta. El tercer nivel está creciendo dada la demanda de las nuevas madres. En un principio, la asistencia era sobre todo de embarazadas. Ahora, cada vez son más las embarazadas que acuden con sus parejas (Fernández M, Muñoz I, Torres J., 2013).

a) Los programas de Educación Prenatal promotores del "Cambio Individual"

La eficacia de estos programas para alcanzar los objetivos educativos a nivel de los asistentes está demostrada (Fernández, 2013). El trabajo de Fernandez de 2012 evaluó los programas en toda una comunidad autónoma, la comunidad de Madrid donde recogieron 928 cuestionarios (Fernández, 2012). Los indicadores de "eficiencia", que miden el tiempo y los recursos, mostraron escasez de matronas en atención primaria en relación con la población que tenían que atender. Obtuvieron un ratio de 1 matrona cada 422 partos, cuando la OMS promueve un ratio de 1 matrona cada 160 partos. Esta escasez de profesionales hace que los grupos tengan más asistentes, una media de 20 mujeres y 10 parejas (Fernandez 2014). El número de asistentes recomendado para los grupos de educación para la salud es de un máximo de 15 personas y /o 7 parejas. Los indicadores de "eficiencia" mostraron que había que hacer un esfuerzo por captar a la población inmigrante, las mujeres de menor nivel cultural y las de riesgo por edad menor de 19 años y/o mayor de 40. Los indicadores de "funcionalidad", o evaluación de los propósitos y el proceso del programare mostraron muy buenos indicadores en todos los elementos de organización contemplados. Los indicadores de "efectividad", o evaluación de si se consiguen los objetivos educativos, mostraron un cambio importante de hábitos en los cuidados de la gestación, la alimentación, el ejercicio y el descanso. Así mismo, mostraron resultados estadísticamente significativos en cuanto a la adquisición de conocimientos sobre el embarazo, el parto, el postparto, la lactancia, los cuidados de recién nacido y los signos y síntomas por los que acudir a urgencias. También mostraron resultados estadísticamente significativos en cuanto al aprendizaje de ejercicios de suelo pélvico, técnicas de respiración y técnicas de relajación. El nivel de satisfacción con el programa fue muy alto, en una escala tipo Likert, donde 0 es el menor valor y 10 el mayor valor, obtuvieron una satisfacción de 8,9. Una media de 7,5 sesiones de programa y una asistencia media a 6,8 sesiones. Los indicadores de "impacto" a corto plazo, en el momento de finalizar el programa mostraron resultados estadísticamente significativos en cuanto a la sensación de control o seguridad que adquirían los madres y parejas asistentes hacia el embarazo, el parto, el postparto, la lactancia y los cuidados del bebé. Así somo la vinculación afectiva positiva hacia su hijo (Fernández M, Muñoz I, Torres J., 2014).

Todos estos datos muestran estadísticamente que los programas prenatales estudiados producen cambios a nivel de los individuos que asisten a ellos. No se han encontrado estudios que midan como estos programas producen cambios a nivel grupal y social. La aportación de este trabajo está en relación con la experiencia de estos cambios en un centro de salud del Norte de la Comunidad de Madrid, España.

b) Del "Cambio Individual" al "Cambio Grupal"

En el centro de atención primaria "Rosa de Luxemburgo" de San Sebastián de los Reyes" de la Comunidad de Madrid (España), la media de asistencia a los grupos de educación prenatal en el Segundo nivel o de las 28 semanas al final de la gestación es de una 21 embarazadas al mes y 13 parejas. Se trata, por tanto, de una población joven. Su nivel cultural y económico es medio y alto. Durante el desarrollo de los grupos presenciales y ahora "on-line", por la situación de COVID-19, se realizan actividades que promueven el trabajo activo de las parejas y el intercambio de dudas y experiencias. Con ello se favorece el conocimiento por parte de los integrantes de los grupos que, normalmente, inician una relación a través de la creación de un grupo de "guasap". Este grupo les permite seguir

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en contacto cuando termina el programa. Se forma lo que se conoce como grupo de "autoayuda". Es un grupo de iguales, en este caso mujeres y sus parejas al final de la gestación, que se conectan para compartir su final de embarazo, su parto y su inicio de crianza. En el nivel 2 o nivel del programa que se imparte al final de la gestación, el cambio grupal no suele pasar de compartir experiencias a través del "guasap". Sin embargo, estas mujeres y parejas vuelven a coincidir en el tercer nivel del programa, en el puerperio. Para facilitar la asistencia a estas sesiones de apoyo al puerperio, la lactancia y la crianza se ha dispuesto, en el centro de salud, una sesión fija todos los miércoles de 12 a 14 horas. Antes presencial y ahora online. Cuando era presencial la asistencia era muy alta. El horario muy libre. Esta sesión presencial de crianza se convierte en un espacio de salud y de encuentro de las mujeres, sus parejas y sus bebés en un momento crucial de sus vidas. En él se resuelven dudas, se comparten experiencias, se imparten los temas que las madres y los padres demandan, desde lactancia, cuidados del bebé, masaje del bebé, explicación del apego, desarrollo psicomotriz, ejercicios postparto con bebé, etc. Las mujeres pueden acudir siempre que lo deseen, no hay un número limitado de sesiones. Se trabaja la interrelación grupal de iguales y surgen amistades. Las mujeres empiezan a organizarse para quedar fuera del grupo del centro de salud y quedan en las salas de reunión de las comunidades de sus casas, en los parques, en los cafés y en los centros comerciales. La llegada de un bebé cambia la vida las personas. Los programas dan una gran oportunidad a las mujeres y sus parejas de conectar con mujeres y parejas de su comunidad, en las mismas circunstancias, para mejorar su satisfacción y sus recursos tras la llegada de su bebé.

c) Del "Cambio Grupal" al "Cambio Comunitario"

Una mujer, o una mujer y su pareja, con solo su bebé, se mueven por la comunidad con todas las dificultades que la arquitectura civil presenta en la actualidad. Estas dificultades hacen que muchas mujeres y sus parejas salgan poco de casa con su bebé, en los primeros meses de crianza. Sin embargo, un grupo de mujeres con sus cochecitos y sus bebés se sienten más fuertes, realmente se empoderan, para hacerse un espacio en parques, centros comerciales, restaurantes, y en todos los espacios sociales. Se ponen de acuerdo para solicitar a los ayuntamientos espacios de encuentro. En San Sebastián de los Reyes, el ayuntamiento, a través de la Delegación de Igualdad, ha estado organizando, durante dos años, encuentros semanales de mamas y sus bebés. También piden, a través de las páginas web de los ayuntamientos, de los centros comerciales, los restaurantes, etc., ascensores para poder acceder con los cochecitos, salas de lactancia, cambiadores de bebés en los aseos de mujeres, de discapacitados y de hombres.

d) Del Cambio "Comunitario" al "Cambio de los Individuos"

Todas estas mejoras solicitadas, repetidamente, por las nuevas madres y los nuevos padres, se van produciendo con el tiempo. Ello conlleva un cambio comunitario que mejora las posibilidades de la vida social de los nuevos padres. Todas las entidades que reciben las necesidades de los nuevos padres efectúan mejoras que repercuten directamente sobre los individuos. Aparecen señalizaciones de amplios ascensores para que puedan subir los cochecitos de los bebés, salas de lactancia, restaurantes con espacios para aparcar los cochecitos, gimnasios que imparten clases para las madres con sus bebés, etc. Este cambio comunitario ha promovido que algunos cines implanten, lo que han denominado "sesión teta", o sesiones de cine matutinas, de bajo coste, en salas adaptadas para que las madres puedan ver películas actuales mientras dan el pecho a sus bebés sin que nadie se moleste por ello.

e) Del "Cambio Grupal" al "Cambio del Individio"

No hay que olvidar el efecto que los grupos tienen sobre los individuos. Como se ha visto, los grupos dan seguridad a las personas para la toma de decisiones, lo que hace que las personas puedan ser más efectivas y hagan mejor uso de los recursos disponibles. Pero, en el caso de la maternidad y la paternidad, es de reseñar el efecto del grupo de iguales sobre las maternidades diferentes y/o especiales. Valga, como ejemplo, el de una madre de 17 años que acude al programa con todas las inquietudes de su edad, de su cambio de vida y todos los problemas familiares, económicos y sociales que su maternidad inesperada conlleva. La experiencia es que es grupo la escucha, la apoya, la acoge, la protege y la acompaña en este momento tan decisivo de su vida. Modestamente pienso que ningún acompañamiento profesional exclusivo tiene la potencia de un acompañamiento profesional conjunto a un acompañamiento grupal de madres iguales. He visto a "niñas" perdidas por una maternidad inesperada convertirse en mujeres adultas y madres competentes capaces de retomar el control de sus vidas. Tengo mucho que agradecer a los grupos de mujeres anónimas que contestan "guasap" a cualquier hora del día o de la noche a las madres diferentes, a las inseguras y a las primerizas. Y qué decir de su labor ante las maternidades, digamos especiales. Cuando una mamá y un papá esperan un hijo sano y la vida les sorprende con un hijo con una "enfermedad rara", una malformación congénita, o cualquier otro problema de salud que va a requerir cuidados especiales de por vida. Los grupos de iguales ayudan en el duelo que supone la aceptación de un hijo diferente, permiten expresar el profundo dolor que sienten por no tener un hijo sano. Acompañan el proceso de convertirse en una

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madre normal para un niño con necesidades especiales. Esto es importantísimo para que se mantengan en el ámbito social y no se sientan relegadas al ámbito de los enfermos. El grupo facilita la aceptación de la diferencia con su contacto y su apoyo. Normaliza la maternidad especial al promover la relación con madres de niños sanos y facilita muchos recursos, ya que todas las madres buscan la forma de poder ayudar a la madre de un niño especial. Surge entre ellas una conexión que evita que muchas madres se desconecten de una maternidad afectiva, aunque tengan todas las dificultades que puede conllevar la maternidad y la paternidad de un niño enfermo.

III. Conclusion, Implicaciones y Recomendaciones

a) Conclusiones

La Salud de las personas se inicia durante el periodo de gestación. La gestación no es solo un tiempo de desarrollo físico, sino que también es el tiempo en el que se inicia la vinculación afectiva entre la madre o la madre y la pareja con el futuro hijo. Los programas educativos prenatales han demostrado su eficacia en la promoción del cambio individual y el empoderamiento que ejercen sobre las personas. La experiencia muestra su poder para promover el cambio grupal y social para que los nuevos padres tomen el control de su salud, de la de sus hijos y promuevan la adaptación social a sus necesidades de crianza en su entorno inmediato. Los programas prenatales y, sobre todo los postnatales, favorecen nuevas redes sociales de crianza que van a permitir un mejor desarrollo familiar y social de los nuevos núcleos familiares.

b) Implicaciones

Conocer el poder de la educación para la salud para empoderar a la población permite diseñar estrategias de atención sanitaria y programas educativos con esta perspectiva de empoderamiento. Esto es, contemplando que el desarrollo de las personas con necesidades específicas permite la creación de grupos de iguales que pueden mantener los cambios individuales en el tiempo y facilitar cambios en la comunidad.

c) Recomendaciones

La pandemia de COVI-19 ha cambiado la forma de impartir los programas de educación para la salud de la forma presencial a la forma on-line. La experiencia muestra que la asistencia a las sesiones del final de gestación no se ha visto modificada en cuanto a número de asistentes, pero ha disminuido la interacción grupal entre los mismos. La asistencia a las sesiones de puerperio se ha visto muy disminuida en cuanto al número de asistentes on-line. Aunque se mantiene el día y la hora para atender a la población en el puerperio, son menos las madres que se conectan a las sesiones. Se recomienda retomar la forma presencial de los programas que se imparten en el puerperio por la riqueza de interacción que da la presencialidad, frente a las sesiones online. Se recomienda hacer un esfuerzo de diseño de estrategias de comunicación grupal en toda la educación para la salud on-line. Que no se pierda el objetivo de formar grupos de iguales que perpetúen los cambios individuales y favorezcan el cambio social.

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Total War System and Youth Culture in East Asia Looking at 20th Century Culture from the Changes of Mobilization Mode

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Abstract- In recent years, the relations between the governments of Japan, China and South Korea have been very tense. The Chinese government often sends military aircraft or warships to the Senkaku Islands (the Diaoyu Islands), and the South Korean government stationed its troops on Takeshima (Dokdo). Their domestic media also reported daily on Japan's right-leaning. An atmosphere of opposition to Japan is slowly brewing in the societies of the two countries. The media in Japan also daily report the "airspace and territorial water violations" of Chinese military aircraft and warships, as well as anti-Japanese trends in China and South Korea. The societies of the three countries are slowly permeating an atmosphere of mutual hatred. It seems that the entire East Asia lies in a vortex of opposition.

In a sense, the government's declaration and media reports, as well as the dissemination of literature and art, are all modes of mobilizing the public. But looking at the current situation in East Asia, the results of the two mobilizations are completely opposite. Behind it are mobilization changes.

Keywords: subculture, mobilization, theatre-type mobilization, total war system, mobilizer and mobilized, huang jiguang, three bomb soldiers, god of war.

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Total War System and Youth Culture in East Asia Looking at 20th Century Culture from the Changes of Mobilization Mode

Takumasa Senno

Abstract- In recent years, the relations between the governments of Japan, China and South Korea have been very tense. The Chinese government often sends military aircraft or warships to the *Senkaku Islands (the Diaoyu Islands),* and the South Korean government stationed its troops on *Takeshima (Dokdo).* Their domestic media also reported daily on Japan's right-leaning. An atmosphere of opposition to Japan is slowly brewing in the societies of the two countries. The media in Japan also daily report the "airspace and territorial water violations" of Chinese military aircraft and warships, as well as anti-Japanese trends in China and South Korea. The societies of the three countries are slowly permeating an atmosphere of mutual hatred. It seems that the entire East Asia lies in a vortex of opposition.

In a sense, *the* government's declaration and media reports, as well as the dissemination of literature and art, are all modes of mobilizing the public. But looking at the current situation in East Asia, the results of the two mobilizations are completely opposite. Behind it are mobilization changes.

The culture of mobilizing the masses began after the emergence of modern culture in the 19th century. We temporarily call it the "theatre-type mobilization" model. A characteristic of this *culture model* is that the mobilizer (creator, country, etc.) is clearly separated from the mobilized (receiver, the public, etc.). The limit of this model is the cultural mobilization under the total war system, that is, all the people and all the cultural resources in the country are invested for one purpose. Such a culture has existed throughout the world from the 1930s to the end of the Cold War. We can see typical examples in the propaganda pictures of the Nazis, the former Soviet Union and China, and the elementary school texts in China and Japan.

In the 1980s, after the so-called era of globalization began, the boundaries between mobilization and mobilization in literature and art began to blur. The transnational common prevalence of subcultures is one of this new mode of cultural mobilization. Looking at today's society from the above changes in the mode of cultural mobilization, we can see two possibilities. One is negative and the other is positive. The negative possibilities are as follows. Many teenagers are only interested in their hobbies and just play with their friends, which greatly reduces their attention to society. The positive possibilities are as follows. Although it is only a superficial thing on the surface, young people have achieved close cross-border cultural exchanges. Although its content is not positive, they already have a common heart. Furthermore, it seems that they have formed a common cultural circle, and there is no friction between them, but they enjoy and assist together. This means that the above model of cultural mobilization has the potential to change the current tension. When we think about whether and how today's culture can promote reality, youth culture may provide us with a new frame of reference.

Keywords: subculture, mobilization, theatre-type mobilization, total war system, mobilizer and mobilized, huang jiguang, three bomb soldiers, god of war.

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I. What is the Problem?

In recent years, the relations between the governments of Japan, China, and South Korea have been very tense. Since the Japanese government decided to nationalize the Senkaku Islands (尖閣諸島)——the so-called Diaoyu Islands（钓鱼岛）in China——in 2012, the relationship between the governments of China and Japan has deteriorated and summit meetings have not been held until now. The Japanese and Korean governments also deteriorated their relations due to Takeshima Island（竹島）——the so-called Dokdo Island (独島) in Korea——, comfort women and wartime recruitment issues, and until now there has been no summit meeting either. In addition, the Chinese government often sends military aircraft or warships to the sea and airspace of Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu Islands), and the South Korean government stationed its troops on Takeshima (Dokdo Island). Their domestic media also daily report the right-leaning of Japanese society. An atmosphere of opposition to Japan is slowly brewing in the societies of the two countries. The media in Japan also daily report the "infringement of airspace and territorial waters" by Chinese military aircraft and warships, and anti-Japanese trends in China and South Korea. Hate speeches against China and South Korea are gradually appearing in Japan, and Japanese society is slowly pervading the atmosphere of hating China and South Korea. It is not only the relationship between China and South Korea and Japan, but also serious conflicts between China and Southeast Asian countries in the South China Sea. It seems that the entire East Asia is in a vortex of opposition. It has really developed to the point where many people worry about it.

However, by looking at the youth culture, we can reach a completely different East Asia. When Haruki Murakami（村上春樹）contributed to the Asahi Shimbun（朝日新聞） and advocated that "the way of

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soul communication cannot be hindered in one day," he said: "Music, literature, movies, and TV programs have basically been freely exchanged for equal value to please the eyes and ears of most people" ("Asahi Shimbun, September 28, 2012). In other words, it seems that a common cultural circle has formed in East Asia.

For example, in March 2002, the well-known Japanese advertising company "Hakuhodo（博報堂）" Asian life research group conduct market research in Tokyo, Taipei, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Beijing, Seoul, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Ho Chi Minh, and ten Asian cities,. and published a book called "*Starting Asian Sales Strategies from Here*（アジアマーケティングをここからはじめよう）" (Hakuhodo Asia Life Research Project , PHP Research Institute, 2002, Tokyo). This book contains photos of young people taken on the streets of the above cities. If you don't pay attention to the letters on the back sign (Chinese characters or Japanese kana, Korean Hungle or Thai alphabet, etc.), you certainly can't tell which city they are boys or girls. Because including clothing, hair, makeup, their entire appearance is almost indistinguishable. This phenomenon confirms that the consumer life of young people in contemporary Asian cities is very similar no matter which city they are in.

Not only consumer life, but their cultural interests also have many things in common. In the existing cultural fields such as television, movies, popular music, and entertainment literature, we can see many examples of two-way prevalence instead of one-way propagation. The phenomenon of cross-border cultural commonality in the subculture field is even more obvious.

Do readers know the following works? "*Detective Conan*（名探偵コナン）", "*Evangelion*（新世紀エヴァンゲリヲン）", "*Slam Dunk*（スラムダンク）", "*Arrest Warrant*（逮捕しちゃうぞ）", "*Samurai Spirits*（侍スピリッツ）", "*Heartbeat Memories*（ときめきメモリアル）". These are all very popular works among young people in East Asian cities a few years ago. The first two started from animation, and later expanded to comics, novels, games, collection of figures and other fields. The middle two started from comics, the latter two started from video games, and later expanded to other areas as well. The above works are all Japanese originals. From the 1980s to the 1990s, Japanese manga and cartoons swept Asian cities. In fact, in the 21st century, young people in various cities have begun to enjoy works from all over Asia, and two-way prevalence has become a common phenomenon.[1]

For example, the cartoon character "mashimaro", which was originally popular on the Internet in Korea, became popular in mainland China and Southeast Asia. Many video games popular in Japan are made in Shenzhen, China.

In the field of subculture, the above-mentioned common phenomenon has its own characteristics. Most young people in East Asia, including Japan, like to watch common cartoons, light novels, or play common video games. And they not only appreciate the work, but also participate in cosplay equivalent activities, create their own original or second creation works, and publish fan magazines with their friends. Their activities have become transnational exchanges, which are very active. Here we can see the actual face of the above-mentioned common phenomenon.[2] To say the least, there is no opposition or friction here, but there is sharing and assistance.

Now through this paper, I would like to explore the issue of contemporary culture from another point of view. That is to say, the mode of mass mobilization. From a certain point of view, the above-mentioned government and media reports are very similar to the dissemination of literature and art. In other words, they are all modes of mass mobilization. Government declarations and media reports are of course mobilization of the public. Literature and art can excite the large number of readers, audiences, and listeners. It is nothing more than a mode of mass cultural mobilization. But looking at the current situation in East Asia, the results of the mobilization are completely opposite, and behind it there are changes in the quality of mobilization. I would like to analyze the characteristics of contemporary culture from this point of view, and to consider the meaning of changes in mass mobilization and the relationship between the current cultural transition and mass mobilization. We first consider the

[1] To give an example, China's domestic publications basically use simplified characters, but subculture fan magazines almost use traditional characters. Because it has become common for them to communicate with Chinese friends in Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas.

[2] Fans of subcultures are not only involved in creation and fan activities, their methods of reading texts and requirements for works are also different from before. If it can be said that the previous readers focused on the storyline, the writer's thoughts, the style of the work, etc., the current subculture lovers focused on the character of the work. What supports this kind of reading is modularization. They do not regard the work as an organic whole, but as a combination of several elements (=modules), freely divide the work into modules for appreciation (such as watching characters, etc.), and store it in their minds' database, and freely recombine the modules (such as combining their favorite characters) and appreciate them. Regarding the "requirements for works", the following changes have also been made. If it can be said that previous readers focused on contacting human, social, and historical truths through works, current subculture lovers focus on communicating with fellow fans. Here is the reason why they like to participate in the secondary creation and share with their friends and participate in fan activities. This can be said the most fundamental cultural transition since the formation of modern culture in the 19th century. It's detailed situation and analysis were written in "*Where are we going now? Subculture in East Asian cities and the heart of youth*" (CULTURAL STUDIES 2020, VOL. 34, NO. 2, 208–234. Please refer to it.

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changes in the mode of cultural mobilization since the 19th century, and then discuss the characteristics of the current mobilization.

II. The Birth of "Theatre-Type Mobilization"

It is generally said that cultural mass mobilization began after the emergence of modern culture in the 19th century. Before modern times, literature and art were basically things that only a few elites could enjoy. Art and music are all such things. Artists basically painted and made sculptures for princes, nobles, churches, and other patrons. Their works were placed in palaces, noble houses or churches, and the people inside appreciated them. The musicians also compose music for their patrons, the work is played in-house, and the people inside appreciate it. The same goes for drama. As we all know, the emperor of the Qing Dynasty gathered theater troupes from various places in the capital and asked them to perform frequently in the palace. Through the exchanges of various theater troupes, a comprehensive artistic Peking opera has been formed. Folk drama was basically developed as a drama dedicated to the gods, and ordinary people could only see drama during festivals and so on. Of course, literature is no exception. Only those who could get the manuscripts and engraved editions could appreciate it.

But after the rise of the bourgeoisie in the 19th century (correctly speaking, in the first half of the 19th century in Europe, at the end of the 19th century in Japan, and at the beginning of the 20th century in China), the situation changed dramatically. Many citizens began to appreciate all kinds of literature and art. For example, many citizens began to go to art galleries to see art exhibitions and to recitals to listen to music. The common people's habit of going to theaters to see plays has become common in modern times. The same goes for literature. With the development of printing technology, large number of books, magazines, and newspapers have begun to be published, and literary works have become things that citizens can touch in their daily lives. In other words, the cultural model of mobilizing the masses began. We temporarily call it the "theatre-type mobilization" model.

In the 20th century, the era of copying technology came, as Benjamin said, and new media such as movies and radio appeared, and later television, and gradually formed a culture that could mobilize larger number of people. The real mass culture, in other words, the more developed "theatre-type mobilization" culture began. The culture of this era has realized a circulation system of "production-consumption-reproduction". In this system, creators (writers, artists) express their own images or thoughts in their works, delivered them through mass media to an unspecified number of recipients (readers, listeners, audiences), and reproduce the work by their reaction. The above cultural circulation system has a characteristic. The thought and image that the creators express in their works is not the most important issue. The problem is how to effectively convey their images and ideas to the public through the media, in other words "efficiency". For example, Marxist authors may express Marxist ideas in their works, fascists may express their images, and art supremacists who want to avoid political interference may express various trends of modernism. From the perspective of ideology, they are all very antithetical things. However, the above-mentioned circulation systems do not ask about their ideological differences, as well as the quality or depth of their thinking. The important thing is whether it can be welcomed by many readers, listeners, and audiences, in other words, whether it can mobilize the public. Therefore, although the Nazi literature and art or propaganda paintings and the works under the former Soviet Stalin system are ideologically polarized and completely opposed, the images are very similar and sometimes have a strong modernist atmosphere. And both are enjoyed by the public. For example, Leni Riefenstahl's "*Olympia*" and Eisenstein's "*Battleship Potemkin*" are completely ideologically opposed, but both have a strong modernist flavor and are both popular with the public.

The 20th-century culture with the above characteristics developed into a culture focused on unitary value in the 1930s, which can also be said the extreme mode of "theatre-type mobilization". We call it "the culture under the total war system." It is part of modern culture on a global scale. This kind of culture can be seen worldwide, obviously with the characteristics of the culture of the 20th century. Modern Chinese culture is no exception.

What is the culture under the total war system? What are the characteristics of Chinese culture under the total war system? If we want to analyze these issues, we must first understand the total war system.

III. What is the Culture under the Total War System?

Total war is a discourse aimed at the characteristics of modern warfare in the 20th century. The general meaning is as follows: ancient wars were basically battles between professional soldiers (so-called combatants). In case of mobilizing non-combatants, at least need to consider their rewards, which means that they are temporarily treated as combatants. The targets of the attack are basically limited to military buildings, equipment, and personnel. (Although snatching occurs frequently, this is an act that occurred after the battle, not the war itself.) But in modern times, the face of war has fundamentally

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changed. There has been a state where all the resources of the country are unconditionally invested in the war, and all the citizens are involved in the war. This kind of war is generally called a total war.

The original sign was the First World War. With the development of science and technology, new weapons such as tanks, planes, and machine guns appeared at that time, and a large amount of destruction and looting were achieved by them. *Simultaneously,* rapid and mass transportation vehicles such as railways and automobiles have also appeared, promoting the development of logistics and realizing a large amount of supply. In addition, the defense equipment such as bunkers has also improved. As a result, the war began to show a protracted war situation. Under the above circumstances, all citizens have been mobilized. Sometimes they were sent to the battlefield as soldiers, and sometimes they were used as supply personnel to support the war. The targets of attacks have also expanded to ordinary citizens and entire cities including ordinary residences. In short, war has become a major event in which all the resources of the country are invested. It is related to the survival and death of all citizens.

The resources invested here are not only military, political, economic, technological fields, but also cultural, ideological, and other resources. In other words, through propaganda, education and other methods, the legitimacy of the war is emphasized. All citizens, resources and talents of the country are required to contribute to the war. After the world economic panic in 1929, until the Second World War, the above situation developed to the point where almost all production, consumption and people's lives were mobilized by the state.

Such a society probably began in the 1930s and continued to the Second World War. At that time, Nazi Germany, Mussolini's Italy, militaristic Japan, and even the United States under the New Deal Policy belonged to this category of countries. Not only that, after the end of World War II, under the hostile situation of the United States and the former Soviet Union, the above system basically did not disappear. It changed its form and continued until the end of the Cold War. Culturally, the total war system can be interpreted as mobilizing all cultural resources for a single goal or value. All countries (including China, Japan, the United States, and the former Soviet Union) in the previous period (from the 1930s to the end of the Cold War) have this tendency in culture to some extent, and the tendency is often very strong.[3]

Then, how does the culture emerge under China's total war system?

Chen Sihe（陈思和）carefully analyzed the relationship between Chinese culture and war since the 1930s in "*The Cultural Psychology of War in ContemporaryLiterature*《当代文学当中的战争文化心理》" (Shanghai Literature《上海文学》, No. 6, 1988). What the paper discusses is the cultural issue under the total war system. Here I refer to his statement to summarize the cultural situation at that time.

Chen Sihe divided the 20th century Chinese culture into two stages: the first stage was the culture of the Enlightenment period beginning with the East-West collision and the political transformation of the Revolution of 1911; the second stage started with the War of Resistance Against Japan and was marked by the establishment of the People's Republic. The culture of this second stage is equivalent to the culture under the total war system in China. He said, "The cultural norms of this period have been developed to the period of the 'Cultural Revolution', reaching their peaks" (ibid.). Among them, he was most concerned about the second stage of Mao Zedong（毛泽东）'s thoughts. Chen Sihe emphasized that at that time Mao Zedong pointed out two ways for intellectuals: "first, unconditionally learn from the masses (mainly farmers), and take the ideological requirements and aesthetic preferences as his work goals; second, unconditionally enter the war, and serve everything for the victory of the war. That is, everything serves the political struggles and policy lines of a specific historical period. From here, we can see that these two requirements are clearly branded with the special marks of wartime culture." (ibid.).

The Chinese literature and art during the Anti-Japanese War obviously had the above characteristics, and almost everything was thrown into the war unconditionally. As its symbol, Chen Sihe cite three examples. The first example is All-China's Writers Association for Anti-Japanese War（中华全国文艺界抗敌协会）. He emphasized that "this is the first national literary and artistic organization established after the May Fourth Movement It has won unanimous support from all classes and factions. The literary collaboration tried to end the rambling situation of writers individual contributions to the war. It proposed: 'We must have a well-planned strategy to equip the various departments of literature and art to win. Time must not be wasted, and the pace must be

[3] For the definition of the total war system and its period, please refer to the following paper. Yasushi Yamanouchi" *Introduction to Methodology: Total War and System Integration* "(Yasushi Yamanouchi, Victor Koschmann, Ryuichi Narita," *Total War and Modernization* "Kashiwa Shobo, 1995. 山之内靖「方法的序論――総力戦とシステム統合」（山之内靖、ヴィクター・コシュマン、成田龍一編『総力戦と現代化』柏書房、1995年所収）山之内靖「総力戦体制からグローバリゼーションへ」).Yasushi Yamanouchi" *From Total War System to Globalization* ", (Yasushi Yamanouchi, Naoki Sakai, "*From Total War to modernization*", Heibonsha, 2003.（山之内靖「総力戦体制からグローバリゼーションへ」、山之内靖、酒井直樹編『総力戦体制からグローバリゼーションへ』平凡社、2003年所収）.

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unified. We divide the work on the united front, and we cooperate under the group' " (ibid.). In other words, All-China's Writers Association is nothing more than an organization that unites writers from all over the country to contribute to the war. It possesses the "prototype of a unified national literary policy" after liberation (ibid.).

The second example is "the Debate on the Issue of National Form（民族形式论争)". At that time, fierce disputes were launched in the so-called liberated areas and the Kuomintang-controlled areas（国民党统治区). Among them, Hu Feng（胡风）is a writer who represents one of these positions. Chen Sihe said: "Hu Feng is always discussing how literature and art serve the Anti-Japanese War and how literary and art workers can make their own unique contributions in this war. The main difference between Hu Feng and his controversial opponents lies in the disagreement on the evaluation of the May Fourth New Literature" (ibid.). This means that Hu Feng emphasized the contribution of the May Fourth New Literature, which was influenced by European and American literature, to modern Chinese literature. The opponents emphasized that China should have unique Chinese literature and art that Chinese people love. Although there are many differences in views between them, they all discussed how to serve the Anti-Japanese War and find the positions of literary and art workers in the war. The writers and artists who participated in the debate at that time were all unanimous on this point. It can also be said that it belongs to the controversy within the ideological framework of mobilizing all writers and artists into war.

Among the debates on national forms, Mao Zedong represented a different view from Hu Feng. His main thoughts can be seen in the speeches at the Yan'an Rectification Movement（延安整风运动）and Literary Forum. Especially the "*Speech at the Literary and Art Forum in Yan'an*《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》(the so-called *Literary Speech*《文艺讲话》)." This is the third example. Mao Zedong said in the *Literary Speech*: "To defeat the enemy, we must first rely on an army with a gun in hand, but only this kind of army is not enough, we also need a cultured army. This is an army that is indispensable for uniting us and defeating the enemy." Chen Sihe summarized his ideas as follows: "The core of "the speech" is to bring literature and art into the track of military struggle (later turned into political struggle) and make it an integral part of the entire revolutionary device" (ibid.). In short, the Chinese literature during the Anti-Japanese War obviously had the nature of mobilizing all resources for one goal(=war).

Regarding the above three examples, I basically agree with Chen Sihe's views. In the *Literary Speech*, Mao Zedong said that literature and art are part of the whole revolutionary cause, and emphasized that literature and art are things for the workers, peasants and soldiers, and asked writers to learn from them. During the Debate on the Issue of National Form, Hu Feng developed his own theory, saying that what is important to the writer is the burning of the "subjective fighting spirit (= the spirit of struggling with reality) ", the practice of "imaginative thinking (= thinking directly grasping reality without theory) ", and the view that " life exists everywhere (= you can live a struggling life wherever you are)". Regarding the relationship between literature and art and revolution, Mao Zedong and Hu Feng have no contradictions. If there is a difference, it is that Mao Zedong talks from the objective effect of literature and art in society, and Hu Feng talks from the subjective view of the writer. Other differences come from their environment. Mao Zedong was in Yan'an, speaking for the workers, peasants and soldiers gathered in the liberated areas. Hu Feng is in Chongqing（重庆), writing articles for readers in Chongqing. There are almost no workers, peasants and soldiers serving the revolution in his surroundings, and he can only find creative motivation in daily life. They all believed that they were the successors of serious Marxism. Mao Zedong developed his theory based on the reality of Yan'an and Hu Feng based on the reality of the Kuomintang-controlled area. But Mao Zedong's thought gradually became the standard theory across China, and Hu Feng was gradually regarded as an opponent of this theory. Anyway, at that time, the idea of letting literature and art contribute to the war covers the whole of China.

It should also be noted that not only during the Anti-Japanese War, but also after liberation, the above tendency has always existed. Although the method changed from military struggle to class struggle and political struggle after liberation, wartime culture continued to exert a considerable influence on contemporary literature and art. Chen Sihe gives a few more examples. He said that in the post-liberation literary criticism, "a large number of unprecedented military vocabulary appeared: battle（战**役**), struggle（**斗争**), signal victory（**重大**胜**利**), sharp-pointing(锋**芒直指**), pull down the white flag(**拔白旗**), raise the red flag(**插**红**旗**), major themes（**重大题材**)..." (ibid.). In addition, "it is difficult to get rid of the traces of wartime in literary works describing peaceful life. For example, in works reflecting socialist construction in contemporary literature, the heroic behavior of the protagonist is often encouraged from the memory of war. ..... …With the expansion of class struggle in the 1960s, even the theme of peace construction is full of gunpowder and battlefield atmosphere. The most typical one is the popular novel *Sunny Day*（艳阳天)" (ibid.).

Not only in literary works, but we can also see a strong atmosphere of war in the lives of the Chinese people after liberation. There is a "production brigade（生产大队)" in the People's Commune (人民公社), a "traffic squads（交通小队)" in the police, and a

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"reporting to the superior（向上司汇报）" in the "unit（单位）". Before the Cultural Revolution（文化大革命）, there were "air-raid shelters（防空洞）" everywhere, and young people were always allowed to participate in "military training（军训）". It affects the imagination of the people. Of course, it also has an impact on literature and art. That is to say, the people in China have always been culturally mobilized by the mobilize (=state). This kind of war atmosphere and relics, as well as cultural mobilization, have always existed in many countries and regions (including South Korea, Taiwan) in East Asia. And it has not disappeared until now.

Contemporary Chinese literature from the latter half of the 1930s to the Cultural Revolution did have the nature of contributing to a unified ideology, in other words, the characteristics of culture under the total war system. However, the nature of contemporary literature as above is not just a problem of Chinese culture, but a problem common to the whole world in an era. This perspective gives us another aspect of contemporary Chinese culture, and the conclusions that its thinking leads to are terrible.

IV. What does the Image of the Poster Tell Us?

Please look at the two pictures first. One is a propaganda poster of the former Soviet Union called "*Long Live the USSR Fatherland of the Workers of the Whole World*" (1931) *(Figure 1-1).* It depicts the unity of working people worldwide and advocates that the hometown of revolution is former Soviet Union. The other is a Nazi propaganda poster, "*Constraining Victory for the Front and the Rear*" (1943, Gustav Klutsis) *(Figure 1-2),* which describes the unity of the working people of Germany and advocates all citizens to contribute to the war. The first picture called for a socialist world revolution, and the second one called for the contribution of the fascist war of aggression, which is completely ideologically opposed and polarized. But what they claim (that is, "To achieve their goals, all citizens are required to make contributions.") and the image of the picture is so similar. This is not limited to the artistic performance of the above-mentioned two authoritarian countries. At that time, the propaganda posters in Europe and the United States were similar. Regardless of the big differences in ideology, their ideological frameworks (that is, contributing to unitary goal or value) are very similar. As a result, their artistic performance is also very similar. This is a characteristic of the cultural performance of the total war period.



Figure 1.1

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Figure 1.2

Not only are the pictures before World War II, the images of China after liberation are also very similar to those of the Soviet Union before the war. Please see Luo Gongqing's "Chairman Mao's Report on Rectification at the Yan'an Cadre Meeting" (1951) *(Figure 2-1)* and Gustav Klutsis's "Long Live Stalin's Generation of Stakhanov Heroes" (1936) *(Figure 2-2).* The former is the image of Mao Zedong, and the latter is the image of Stalin in the former Soviet Union. The descriptions are all revolutionary leaders. The image of their speech and the appearance of the audience, as well as the composition of the entire picture are very similar. To be honest, the image of these leaders is not just the two of them, but also very similar to the image of Nazi Hitler. *(Figure 2-3)* In addition to leaders, the image of workers is also the same. "A Thorough Criticism of Respecting Lin Biao, Confucius's Illegal and Reactionary Fallacy" (1974) *(Figure 3-1)* is an image of a model worker during the critical movement of Lin Biao and Confucius (批林批孔运动). Valentina Kulagina "Shock Workers of Factories and Collective Farms, Join the Ranks of the VKP (b)" (1931) *(Figure 3-2)* is an image of a model worker in the former Soviet Union. Although the former is the image 40 years after the end of the war, it is very similar to the image of the Soviet Union before the war. This also proves that the culture under the total war system continued from the 1930s to the Cultural Revolution.

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Figure 2.1



Figure 2.2

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Figure 2.3



Figure 3.1

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Figure 3.2

The above example tells us that propaganda posters from the 1930s to the end of the Cold War, regardless of ideology, belong to the framework of contributing to a unitary goal or value. There is no difference between them on this point. However, looking at the above picture, some people may suspect that the former Soviet Union and post-liberation China are both socialist countries. Of course, the images of the propaganda posters are similar, and they are both parts of the socialist culture. But ideology doesn't matter at all. For example, it can be seen from the above examples that the propaganda posters of the former Soviet Union and the Nazis are very similar. As a result, the images of China after liberation are very similar to fascists. The Chinese war hero Huang Jiguang （黄继光）during the Korean War and the Japanese Three Bomb Warriors（爆弹三勇士）during the Japan-China War are typical examples. The former was a soldier who died for the revolutionary war, and the latter were fascist heroes who died for the war of aggression against China. The Ideology is completely opposite, but the images are very similar. Not only posters, but other media have the same phenomenon. The most obvious example is the text of words. Their stories are included in elementary school language textbooks in China and Japan. The story of sacrificing one's own life to open the way for their army to attack and their heroic images in it are exactly same. Below, we analyze the similarities between descriptions and ideas through the textual analysis of elementary school textbooks, as well as the characteristics of cultural mobilization in this period.

V. Heroes in Language TextBooks in China and Japan

As we all know, the lesson "Huang Jiguang" is published in in the Chinese textbook of elementary school, and the text is as follows:

Huang Jiguang

In October 1952, the most fierce battle of Shangganling（上甘岭）began on the Korean battlefield. Huang Jiguang's battalion has continued to fight for four days and four nights. On the fifth night, the superiors ordered to seize the enemy-occupied 597·9 Highland before dawn.

The offense began. In the roar of the cannon, the soldiers rushed toward the enemy's position like tigers, occupying one hill after another, and they were about to reach the main peak of the 597·9 Highland. Suddenly, the enemy fired fiercely from a fire point. Dozens of machine guns ejected countless tongues of fire, intertwined into a

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tight fire net, blocking the soldiers from advancing. The soldiers made repeated assaults and were all pressed back. More and more comrades were injured.

Venus rises in the east, and the instructor looks at his watch. It is already past four o'clock. If they don't win this fire point quickly, they cannot capture the 597·9 Highland before dawn, and all the hills they have taken in one night's fighting will be lost.

Huang Jiguang stared at the enemy with piercing eyes, as if he was about to spray hatred at the enemy. He suddenly turned around and said firmly to the instructor: "Instructor, please give me the task!" The instructor clasped Huang Jiguang's hand and said, "Okay, I believe you can accomplish this glorious and difficult task." Full of confidence and strength, Huang Jiguang shouted: "Let the people of the motherland listen to the news of our victory!" He took two soldiers, took the grenade, and crawled towards the enemy's fire point.

The enemy found them. Countless flares rose into the sky, and night turned into day. Cannonballs exploded around them. They braved smoke and fire, crawling forward. Suddenly a soldier collapsed. Then another soldier was also injured. Only Huang Jiguang was left alone. Huang Jiguang crawled forward more tenaciously. The enemy's three or four machine guns all aimed at Huang Jiguang, and the bullets shot over like hail. Huang Jiguang was injured on both shoulders and legs. He tried his best to move his body with difficulty. Go forward, go forward! Twenty meters, ten meters... getting closer and closer.

Oh! Huang Jiguang stood up! Stood up in a storm-like bullet! He raised his right arm, the grenade gleaming in the light of the searchlight.

"Boom" the enemy's fire point collapsed, and Huang Jiguang also fainted. The comrades rushed up like flying. Unexpectedly, the enemy's machine gun screamed again. The soldiers who rushed halfway were stuck on the hillside. Huang Jiguang opened his eyes. He was seriously wounded in seven places and no longer has a weapon. It's almost dawn, and the allotted time is coming soon. He felt that the instructor was looking at him, his comrades were looking at him, the people of the motherland were looking at him, and the Korean people were looking at him! Huang Jiguang stood up again! He opened his arms, pounced on the fire point that sprayed the tongues of fire, and blocked the enemy's muzzle with his chest.

"Charge! Revenge for Huang Jiguang!" The earth-shaking shouts boiled over, and the soldiers rushed towards the enemy like the dashing of billows and occupied the position.

"*Elementary School Chinese*" sixth-grade fifth book

(《小学语文》六年级第五册)[4]

The following is a Japanese language textbook from 1942, "*Elementary Japanese Textbook 2*", which contains a lesson about Three Bomb Warriors（爆弹三勇士）. The text is as follows:

"Darn, Dahn."

With the sound of a tremendous cannon, the soil around it rises high. Machine gun bullets fly like rain hail.

"At 5 am on February 22, 1942, it is only 50 meters in front of the enemy of the Miaoxiang town（廟巷鎮）.

Now, our military engineers are divided into groups of three people, holding a long Bangalore torpedo and staring at the enemy's position.

Apparently, the enemy's position is tightly lined with barbed wire. Throw a Bangalore torpedo into this wire fence to create an assault path for our infantry. Moreover, it was a case where the time was only 30 minutes before the assault.

The engineers are waiting for an order every moment. But due to the fierce enemy shooting, we can hardly look up. Then our infantry also fired a machine gun, put a smoke screen in front of the enemy.

"Go ahead"

The order came down. The long-awaited first team of engineers bravely rushed into the wire fence. 10 meters, 20 meters. When they were about 14 to 15 meters away from the wire fence, the smoke screen we were relying on was getting thinner and thinner.

The first one fell, the second fell, and the third, fourth, and fifth all fell one after another. The first group finally failed.

The order was given to the second group.

The enemy's shooting became more and more fierce, and the time of the assault is getting closer and closer. Now, it is too late to ignite a Bangalore torpedo, when insert it into a wire fence. Therefore, the team leader ordered the fire rope of the Bangalore torpedo to be ignited first.

Inosuke Sakue（作江伊之助）, Takeji Eshita（江下武二）, and Susumu Kitagawa（北川丞）,these three engineers rushed toward the wire fence, holding the ignited Bangalore torpedo.

Kitagawa is at the forefront, followed by Eshita and Sakue.

Then, for some reason, Kitagawa fell. The next two also staggered along with it, but they responded steadily. Of course, none of the three had the Bangalore torpedo removed. However, in the meantime, the innocent fire burns down quickly along the fire rope.

Kitagawa wielded all his courage and stood up quickly. Eshita and Sakue bald Kitagawa, put all their strength into the Bangalore torpedo, and pushed from behind to move forward.

The hearts of the three were united through a single Bangalore torpedo they had. Moreover, after a few seconds, the Bangalore torpedo explodes with a terrifying force.

There was no death or life anymore. The three became one bomb and rushed straight.

They threw a Bangalore torpedo into the target barbed wire. Shaking the sky and the ground, and the sensational explosion sounded far away.

Immediately, a group of their infantry moved into an assault.

The team leader also directed his subordinates and proceeded. Sakue fell there.

"Sakue, well done. Is there anything left to say?"

Sakue replied.

"Nothing. Did you succeed?"

The team leader turned Sakue toward the defeated wire fence and shouted.

"Look, the battalion is assaulting from where you broke."

[4] In textbooks after 1979, this lesson is included in the eighth volume. There is also a version included in the fourth grade textbook. Now the general Chinese textbook has deleted a section of Huang Jiguang.

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"Long Live His Majesty the Emperor."
Sakue quietly closed his eyes.

"*Elementary Japanese Textbook 2*"
（『初等国語科教科書二』一九四二年）1942

From the above two texts, we can see the same description——encountering fierce resistance from the enemy, the bullets of the machine gun shot over like hail, facing a difficult situation to break through, and the last moment of their army's attack is approaching. When in such a tense situation, the soldiers braved the enemy's shooting to advance, finally "stand up" desperately and sacrifice their own life to open the way for their army to attack. And they didn't care about themselves at all, thinking about the success of their army's attack and the victory of the motherland.

One was a revolutionary hero in the 1950s after World War II, and the other was a hero of militarist aggression in the 1930s before World War II. Although the times and ideologies are different, a careful comparison shows that the images of Huang Jiguang and the Three Bomb Warriors are almost exactly same in the two texts. We can see the propaganda, education, and mobilization functions in the text of that time. Their image can be seen not only in textbooks, but also in other media. In China, the image of Huang Jiguang has been introduced in many media. In Japan, the "*Asahi Shimbun*（朝日新聞）" and "*Mainichi Shimbun*（毎日新聞）" at the time offered to compose songs for them and offered rewards for their lyrics.[5] These activities are welcomed by the common people. We can understand the impact of cultural mobilization.

Here is another example. It is the text of the lesson "*God of War* " in the current elementary school Chinese textbook. The text is as follows.

"*God of War* "

Outside Linjiangmen, Chongqing（临江门，重庆）, there is a clinic opened by a German. Walker, the doctor in the clinic, sat at the table with an aloof expression. Without looking up, he asked coldly: "What's your name?"
Liu Dachuan.（刘大川）"
"Age?"
"Twenty four."
"What disease?"
"The bandit hurt my eyes."

Walker put down the pen and got up to check the injury. A nurse walked into the consulting room and whispered: "Doctor Walker, the gentleman in bed 5 is afraid of surgery and asks..."

Walker roughly interrupted the nurse's words and said contemptuously: "Tell him to get out! Don't see this coward in my clinic again!"
The nurse retreated with muttering to herself.

Dr. Walker remained angry, but skillfully untied the bandage on the patient's right eye. He was startled, a look of surprise flashed in his blue eyes. He re-examined the person in front of him, and asked coldly: "What do you do?"
"Post Office Clerk."

"You are a soldier!" Dr. Walker said sharply, "I was a German military doctor. Only a soldier can calm down on such a serious injury!"

The patient smiled and answered keenly, "Doctor Walker, soldiers rely on their own judgment in handling matters, not the chattering like an old woman!"

Walker was startled again. He stretched out his hand to stop the nurse who rushed to hear the sound, staring at each other fiercely.

For a long time, Dr. Walker's eyes softened, and he suddenly told the nurse: "Prepare for surgery."

Walker changed into the surgical gown, washed his hands, and put on sterile gloves. At this time the nurse ran over and told him in a low voice that the patient refused to use the anesthetic. Dr. Walker raised his eyebrows, said nothing, walked into the operating room, and said fiercely, "Young man, follow the doctor's orders here!"

The patient calmly replied: "Doctor Walker, the eyes are too close to the brain. I am worried that the application of anesthesia will affect the cranial nerves. And I need a very clear brain in the future!"

Dr. Walker was stunned again, and he stuttered: "Can you bear it? Your right eye needs to be removed from the necrotic eyeball and cut off the rotten and new polyps!"
"Try it."

On the operating table, Dr. Walker, who has always been calm and calm, his hands trembled this time. Sweat rolled on his forehead, and the nurse wiped him again and again. Finally, he said to the patient: "If you can't help the pain, you can hum."

The patient said nothing. His hands tightly grasped the white pad under him, his arms were sweating like rain, and his veins got up violently. He worked harder and harder, and the brand-new white pad was caught.

Dr. Walker, who took off his surgical gown, walked over, wiping his sweat, and said sincerely, "Young man, I'm really worried that you will faint."

The patient's face was pale. He smiled reluctantly and said: "I have been counting your knife count."

Doctor Walker was taken aback, and asked in disbelief, "How many times did I cut?"
"72."

Walker was stunned and cried out: "You are a real man, a talking steel plate! From the German point of view, you are a god of war!"
"You flatter me."

The arrogant and violent Doctor Walker showed kindness for the first time. He held back what he wanted to say, waved his hand to let the nurse go out, then closed the door of the operating room, looked at the patient and said, "Tell me, what is your real name?"
"Liu Bocheng.（刘伯承）"

Dr. Walker was in awe: "Ah, the general of the East Sichuan Detachment（川东支队）, admiring you for a long

[5] In 1932, the "*Asahi Shimbun*" and "*Mainichi Shimbun*" offered a rewarding contest. The song of "The Asahi Shimbun" was nominated as "Three Meat BombWarriors （肉弾三勇士）", and the lyrics of journalist Riki Nakano（中野力）won the prize. The song of "*Mainichi Shimbun*" was nominated as "Three Bomb Warriors", and the lyrics of the poet and Tekkan Yosano（与謝野鉄幹）won theprize.

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time, it's an honor to know you. Yuan Shikai（袁世凯）is offering a reward of 100,000 for your head!"

Liu Bocheng said jokingly: "If you tell the Beiyang warlord government （北洋军阀政府）that I am here, you will be able to make a fortune."

Doctor Walker seemed to be insulted, and said angrily: "I will not hesitate to fight someone who insults my personality!"

Liu Bocheng smiled and said, "When my eyes are good, I will accompany you!" As he said, he stretched out his hand in a friendly manner.

"*Elementary School Chinese Textbook*（《小学语文》）"[6]

This is nothing more than the story of a soldier who was badly injured in the war. The text refers to it as the "God of War ". In fact, before World War II, Japan also referred to the Three Bomb Warriors as the "God of War."[7] One is called a soldier who sacrificed his life and wounded for the revolution, and the other is called soldiers who sacrificed their life for fascist aggression, which is completely ideologically opposite. But the title of "God of War", its image and the way of praise are very similar. Both "God of War" represent and promote the patriotic mood.

The cultural psychology represented by this title is not a thing of the past, but has been alive to the present. Nowadays, when Japanese criticize China, they often mention China's patriotic education. But this kind of statement is a little bit ignorant of China. Because China is a revolutionary country, most people take it for granted that they love the revolutionary motherland. For them, the Anti-Japanese War was a just war, and "patriotism" means positive. On the contrary, the Chinese may not understand the feelings of the Japanese. Saying "patriotism" in Japan is easy to think of education in the age of militarism. And the democratic education after the war has always denied the patriotic education at that time. Through patriotism, ordinary people can easily remember the history of the country requiring citizens to sacrifice. Therefore, "patriotism" for the Japanese is a very complicated concept, and most people generally do not want to simply talk about "patriotism". When the Basic Law of Education was updated a few years ago, there were also debates about adding the concept of "patriotism". This means that there are many people who oppose it. In this way, the Japanese are also uncomfortable with China's patriotic education.

More importantly, the above praise of war heroes is not just the characteristics of so-called totalitarian countries——similar to the Soviet Union in the Stalin era, or socialist countries such as China after liberation, and fascist countries such as Japan in the military era. The so-called liberal countries at the time, such as the United States, could also see the same phenomenon. For example, the movie "Flags of Our Fathers" (2006) carefully described how ordinary people were heroized in the United States during World War II and how they were used to promote war and mobilize citizens. From the 1930s on the eve of the war until the end of the Cold War, the culture under the total war system was so transnational, transcending ideologies, and existed worldwide. However, during the Cold War period after World War II, the performance of the West, including Japan, was vague and complicated. It was not as obvious as the totalitarian society of the former Soviet Union and China. Its manifestation should be studied carefully. But at least it can be said that the cultural psychology of war in contemporary Chinese literature and art has the characteristics of culture under the total war system. And the mood of the people who are so mobilized culturally has also been greatly affected. To this point, the culture under the so-called total war system from the 1930s to the end of the Cold War (in China is the culture from the Anti-Japanese War to the Cultural Revolution) is nothing more than a certain limit of the mobilization model of modern culture——in other words "theatre type" mobilization model.

The culture of this model has a characteristic. The mobilizer (creator, country, etc.) and the mobilized (receiver, the public, etc.) are clearly separated. Of course, the culture of New China is also part of it.

VI. Looking at Today's Problems from the Changes in the Cultural System——What does the Current Youth Culture Tell Us?

However, in the 1980s, after the beginning of the reform and open policy, the situation of Chinese culture has undergone tremendous changes. This is part of a major turning point in the world's literature and art after the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the so-called era of globalization. To put it simply, the boundaries between mobilizers and mobilized in literature and art are beginning to blur. For example, fine arts began to leave art galleries, installation art displayed on the street, performance art involving audiences. Music has also changed from the art of professional musicians composing and playing, and the audience appreciated it, to the art of enthusiasts organizing their own music teams to participate in

[6] The third-grade of Jiangsu Education. The fourth-grade of Hebei Edition and Henan Edition. The sixth-grade of People's Education Press.

[7] To be precise, Japan in the era of militarism established shrines for those who formulately recognized as God of War. (Because they are gods.) For this, the three warriors without shrines are not true God of War. However, there were widespread discourses in society that regard them as God of War at that time. For example, Eishin Ueno (上野英信) said in the book "*Long Live His Majesty: Preface to the Three Bomb Warriors"* Yosensha Modern Classics Shinsho, 2007 (『天皇陛下万歳：爆弾三勇士序説』洋泉社MC新書、2007年）": "I believe that the Three Warriors are the highest masterpieces of the image of a God of War produced by Japanese militarism."

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composing and playing. The same goes for drama. Many performances have begun to leave the theater, and the works with audience participation have also appeared. Literature is of course no exception. Fan activities in which readers participate in creation or performance are popular with young people.

Since the 1980s, Chinese society has introduced various cultural thoughts from overseas for decades of the 20th century. At that time, the world culture that the Chinese accepted was all "modern", but it should be noted that the world's modern culture absorbed was not just a "theatre-type mobilization" model in which creators (mobilizers) and receivers (mobilized) were separated. There is also a new model of literature and art where the recipient becomes a creator at the same time. And this kind of literature and art has a great influence on young people. Especially when discussing the culture of the new generation such as the "post-80s" in China, we cannot ignore its influence.

The youth culture common to East Asia that I introduced emerged from this background. In particular, the youth subculture has achieved the above-mentioned changes in the relationship between receiving works and creating works, in other words, it realizes the change of cultural mobilization mode. The reason why I said that "subculture activities are of crucial significance" lies in this.

For example, the above-mentioned young people's hobbies for subcultures such as animation and light novels are closely related to fan activities. The origin is the fan culture that has been very popular in Japan since the 1990s. Their activities include publishing fan magazines, participating in or organizing cosplay conventions, making video games, collecting figures together, etc., which are diverse and active. Most of the works published in their magazine are secondary creations, ——they are not original works, but are re-created works by borrowing the characters of certain works. In addition to comics, there are novels, reviews, and videos. Their works have almost nothing to do with the original. Although most of them are works like boy's love (similar to slash) or beautiful girl's pornography, there are also good works among them. Some Japanese writers who have won the Akutagawa Literature Award and the Naoki Literature Award, as well as some popular famous manga artists, are from fan writing backgrounds. Fan magazines and books that publish this kind of work are exchanged and sold on the fan's book market (called the comic market) or on the Internet. For example, in Japan, the nationwide comic market is held twice in the largest exhibition hall in Tokyo each summer and winter. This book fair is one of Japan's largest events. Fans from all over the world come to participate. Some magazines can sell tens of thousands of copies a day. This means that there are many people participating in these activities. There are more people who do not participate in fan activities, but who are interested in the above activities or support it. The social impact is so great. Needless to say, a similar situation can be seen in mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and other East Asian cities. Cosplay and collection figures are very popular, fan clubs, fan magazines and anime manga festivals are constantly increasing. Each Asian city holds a comic market several times a year. There are many young people participating in these activities, and they are increasing.

Looking at the above description, some readers may think of "Convergence Culture" by Henry Jenkins.[8] However, the youth culture in East Asia is very similar but different from it. Jenkins does analyze fun culture in subcultures, and he said it is a participatory and grassroots culture. But the object of his analysis is the activities of fans on the works provided by creators or companies. They want to better appreciate the original work and make activities. Jenkins's concern lies in the relationship between this activity and the enterprise, government, how to overcome the various problems that occur from it (such as copyright issues, etc.), and how to use its trustworthiness.[9] It can be said that the difference between the mobilizer and the mobilized still exists, which is part of the "theatre-type culture" in other words. Jenkins also admits that convergence culture is something between in the existing cultural system and in the new cultural movement. He said: "Welcome to convergence culture, where old and new media collide, where grassroots and cooperate media intersect, where the power of the media producer and the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways".[10]

But the activities described above are different. Their secondary creation only uses a very small part of the original work (the names and characters of the characters in work, etc.). The storyline has almost nothing to do with the original. They are not to better appreciate the original work, but to communicate and use the original work with their colleagues and expand their own world. When you publish your secondary creation, if you do it well, you will receive a huge response immediately and find your place. Their reason for borrowing elements from the original work is simply to facilitate communication with fellow fans. (If it is original, fellow fans don't know it, so you may not be able to share the world and characters of the work with them, etc.). Until now, there have been no copyright issues between fans, creators, and companies. This is not only because the copyright laws in Japan and East

[8] Henry Jenkins "*Convergence Culutre* "New York University Press 2006

[9] Japan and East Asia also have the same activities, such as Mobile Suit Gundam and Evangelion's fan activities. They hold several social activities such as model exhibitions and sales events each year. The copyright is restricted by the company, and fans cooperate with them.

[10] ibid. pp 259-260

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Asia are not as strict as those in Europe and the United States, but also because their activities are basically independent and have almost no impact on creators and companies. Instead, they help promote their works. The characteristic of their activities is that readers not only appreciate the works, but also participate in the creation and communicate with each other. This kind of interaction has become a great charm to them. On this point, it can be said that the activities of the above subculture lovers do not belong to "theatre-type culture", and show a new cultural model.

This means that the pattern of cultural mobilization since the 1980s has gradually begun to change. The boundary between the mobilizer (creator, etc.) and the mobilized (reader and audience) is getting blurred, and the mobilized may become the mobilizer at the same time. We have seen such changes in mobilization patterns during the color revolution in the Middle East and so on. This may mean a fundamental turning point in modern culture since the 19th century.

VII. Where are We Going?

So, looking at today's problems from the changes in the above-mentioned cultural mobilization model and the current situation of youth culture, how can we think about it? I think there are two possibilities. One is negative and the other is positive.

The negative possibilities are as follows. Many young people are only interested in their hobbies, and only play with their friends. They do not take advantage of the characteristics of mutual mobilization, which greatly reduces their attention to society. At the beginning of this essay, I said that the governments of Japan, China and South Korea advocate their own positions every day by sending military planes, warships, or stationing troops. The media also reported each other's extreme movements every day, which encouraged mutual hate feelings. In other words, they mobilize citizens of their own country every day. This means that "theatre-type mobilization" (or total war-type mobilization) is still going on. Not only to continue, but it is possible to mobilize large number of people in a different form. That is, sending fake news through SNS, the Internet and other new media etc. The propaganda of the former President Trump and the division of American nationals it brought about is a terrible example.

I also said that previous literary readers paid attention to the storyline, the writer's thoughts, and the style of the work, and sought to get in touch with the truth of human, society, and history through works. As a result, they are sometimes inspired by such literary reading and begin to think about various important issues of human, society, and history.[11] However, young people who love subculture now read works differently. When they read the works, they focus on admiring the elements of the pieces of works such as characters, and focus on communicating with their colleagues. If such a change in the way of reading does not create a new understanding or perspective on human, society, and history, it is just a decline in attention to real world. In fact, most of the works produced in their activities are boy's love or pretty girl pornography. It is hard to say that new value has been added to the culture. As a result, they may become more and more introverted, and their voices towards society become less and less.

In addition, the trends of Chinese students in the United States also show the same tendency. Many Chinese students go to study in the United States every year. They enjoy a free student life there and participate in various cultural activities such as fan activities. In the past, most of them wanted to stay in the United States after graduation. But now most of the students want to go back to China.[12] Of course, the reasons are complicated. The United States has not been too successful in controlling the epidemic. Instead, China has basically controlled it. China's rapid development

[11] To put it simply, such literary reading is formed through the following changes. In modern times, reading behavior has changed. The Japanese writer Sei Ito（伊藤整）once explained this change as follows:

> The author writes the work in the secret room, and the reader appreciates it in the secret room. ...Under these conditions, readers begin to listen to the secret words of others, and peek into the secret behaviors and thinking of others. Sometimes it is the distressing voice of guilty humans telling God, sometimes it is an inner monologue that satisfies lust or curiosity.
>
> ("*The Method of Novel* (小説の方法)" Revised Edition, Shinchosha, 1959)

In other words, modern readers want to peek into the heart of the characters in work, and hope to connect with their own hearts. However, if the characters in work are completely irrelevant to the reader, the work is still just a hypothetical story about others, unable to relate to one's inner world. Therefore, literary works gradually formed the following narrative characteristics.

> Individuals who exist in realworld are very accidental and cannot afford to be human. So creating a "fictional person" let him assume humanity. It's just that one person cannot represent all people, so several protagonists are arranged, and their Pueraria lobata and their cooperation represent human beings.
>
> (Sugiyama Yasuhiko, "*The Art of Language* (ことばの藝術)", Taishukan Shoten, 1976)

This "fictional person" is the "typical". Because he/she is a "typical", the characters in literary works can represent part of the reader's heart, and the reader can invest in the world and characters in work. After such a change in narrative, readers began to expect to get in touch with a certain kind of feeling on human, social, and historical "truth" through literary works. In other words, in modern times, literature has become something that allows readers to feel a certain "realism" through this narrative mode. It can also be said that since then, literature has a certain sacred mission, which is to inspire readers to think about important issues of human, society, and history.

[12] According to the "*NHK Close up Gendai*（クローズアップ現代）" broadcast on July 1, 2021, 62% of Chinese students studying in the United States in 2006 stayed in the United States after graduation, but 82% returned to China in 2018.

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and the relative decline of the United States, and the intense domestic discrimination against China and Chinese people in the United States over the past few years, may be important reasons. But we cannot ignore the mentality of young people behind it not paying attention to social problems. Because they are in the United States, they all know what is going on in China. For example, the human rights issues of Xinjiang Uyghurs, Hong Kong's national security maintenance law, and China's ubiquitous surveillance system, all kinds of speech oppression and other issues. But they don't think this is a big problem, so they want to go back to China.[13] It should be noted that some of them participate in social activities such as poverty relief campaigns in China. Although they have not completely lost their attention to society, it must be said that many young people avoid looking directly at the problems of China's domestic society, but instead feel that the Chinese government is doing well. Most of them are children of middle-class and above families. They can find a good job when they return to China. Looking at their own future, they feel that it is better to return to China. In other words, the cultural mobilization of young people with each other leads to a result close to nationalism.

But there are also positive possibilities different from the above. I have a question about the above situation. Although the government and the media mobilize the citizens every day, and fake news also breaks the citizens every day, do citizens of every country really welcome this situation? When I was in class at universities in Japan and China, I asked students what they thought of the dispute. At the beginning of the question, "Which country does the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu Islands) belong to? Do you support the government's statement?" Almost all students answered that these islands belonged to their own country, *supporting* the government's statement. But continue to ask, "Do you think all the citizens of the other country support their government's statement?" "Does it cost a lot of money to send a military plane or warship? Do you think it is necessary?" Their answers were obviously different, saying, "I don't trust the citizens of the other country all support their government's statement." "There is no need to spend so much money on this issue." Finally, I asked "How do we treat this question?" Most students answered "Don't be nervous each other, talk to each other. We should also do something for this." Of course, there are various opinions on the position of the government and the media. Looking at the answers above, to say the least, regardless of their political stance, most people are unwilling to be nervous. In this regard, the wishes of many people may be the same. If this is the case, we do not need to follow the government and the media, we can instead unite across the border. Anyway, the time we live now is not an era in which citizens are always mobilized. While we are being mobilized, we can become mobilizers. With the development of technologies such as the Internet and social networks, citizens have acquired tools that can mobilize the public. The transnational joint activities in the youth culture described above prove that we can mobilize each other. Moreover, through the movement of Japanese SEALDs[14], the anti-Japanese demonstrations in China, the American occupation of Wall Street, and the color revolutions in the Middle East, we have already known that the changes in the relationship of "mobilize-be mobilized" indicate specific possibilities.

Looking at the current situation, it seems that the governments of each country cannot withdraw their own ideas and cannot regress each other. But if citizens unite with each other to form a transnational "not nervous" public opinion, it may open a way for the government and the media to regress and talk to each other. This may seem like a dream. However, we already know that although it is only superficial things, young people have achieved close cultural exchanges across borders. Although its content is not positive, they already have a common mood. Furthermore, it seems that they have formed a common cultural circle, and there is no friction between them. When we think about whether and how today's culture can promote reality, youth culture may provide us with a new frame of reference. Can this say a piece of hope?

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[13] A Chinese student responded to an interview and said, "Because of his interest in American animation and comics, he went to study in the United States. He envied the freedom of speech and democracy there. But now he is disappointed in the United States." When he was asked about the domestic speech oppression in China, he answered, "Is it necessary to answer this question. But I don't think it has a big impact on ordinary people. The Americans criticized China for not having democracy and freedom of speech, but this is not the case. Everyone lives an ordinary life."(*"NHK Close up Gendai*（クローズアップ現代）" broadcast on July 1, 2021)

[14] SEALDs (Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy-s). A student-centered political group established against the "Specified Secret Protection Low" and the "Japan-US New Security Regislation". Activities started in May 2015. For a while, more than 15,000 young, old, men and women were mobilized to march around the National Diet Building, publish videos, and make political declarations and other activities. It disbanded in August 2016.

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Appendix

1. Original text of "Huang Jiguang"

黄继光

一九五二年十月，朝鲜战场上，最激烈的上甘岭战役打响了。黄继光所在的营已经继续战斗了四天四夜。第五个夜晚，上级下达命令，要在天明之前夺下敌人占领的五九七·九高地。

进攻开始了。在大地的轰鸣中，战士们像猛虎一样朝敌人的阵地扑去，占领了一个又一个山头，就要到达五九七·九高地的主峰了。突然，敌人一个火力点凶猛地射击起来。几十挺机枪喷射出无数火舌，交织成严密的火网，阻挡着战士们前进。战士们屡次突击，都被压了回来。负伤的同志越来越多了。

东方升起了启明星，指导员看看表，已经四点多了。如果不很快地拿下这个火力点，天明前攻不下五九七·九高地，一夜奋战所夺去的山头就会全部丢失。

黄继光目光炯炯地注视着敌人，好像要把满腔的仇恨向敌人喷射出去。他忽然转过身来，坚定地对指导员说："指导员，请把任务交给我！"指导员紧握着黄继光的手说："好，我相信你一点能完成这个光荣而艰巨的任务。"黄继光充满了信心和力量，喊了一声："让祖国人民听我们胜利的消息吧！"他带上两个战士，拿了手雷，向敌人的火力点爬去。

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敌人发现了他们。无数的照明弹升上天空，黑夜变成了白天。炮弹在他们周围爆炸。他们冒着浓烟，冒着烈火，匍匐前进。突然一个战士倒下了。接着另一个战士也负伤了。只剩下黄继光一个人了。黄继光更加顽强地向前爬去。敌人的三四挺机枪，一齐对准黄继光，子弹像冰雹一样射过来。黄继光肩上腿上都负了伤。他用尽全力艰难地挪动着自己的身体。前进，前进！二十米、十米……近了，更近了。

啊！黄继光站起来了！在暴风雨一样的子弹中站起来了！他举起右臂，手雷在探照灯的光亮中闪闪发光。

“轰”敌人的火力点塌下了半边，黄继光也晕倒了。同志们飞一般地冲上去。不料敌人的机枪又叫起来。冲到半路的战士们被压在山坡上。黄继光睁开了眼睛。他身负七处重伤，已经没有一件武器。天快亮了，规定的时间马上到了。他感到指导员在望着他，战友们在望着他，祖国人民在望着他，朝鲜人民在望着他！黄继光又站起来了！他张开双臂，向喷射着火舌的火力点猛扑上去，用自己的胸膛堵住了敌人的枪口。

“冲啊！为黄继光报仇！”惊天动地的喊声沸腾腾来，战士们像海涛一样冲向敌人，占领了阵地。

（《小学语文》第五册）

2. Original text of "Three Bomb Solduers "

三勇士

「ダーン、ダーン。」

ものすごい大砲の音とともに、あたりの土が、高くはねあがります。機関銃の弾が、雨あられのように飛んできます。

昭和七年二月二十二日の午前五時、廟巷の敵前、わずか五〇メートルという地点です。

今、わが工兵は三人ずつ組になって、長い破壊筒をかかえながら、敵の陣地を、にらんでいます。

見れば、敵の陣地には、ぎっしりと、鉄条網が張りめぐらされています。この鉄条網に破壊筒を投げこんで、わが歩兵のために、突撃の道を作ろうというのです。しかもその突撃まで、時間は、あと三十分というせっぱつまった場合でありました。

工兵は、今か今かと、命令のくだるのを待っています。しかし、この時とばかり撃ち出す敵の弾には、ほとんど顔を向けることができません。すると、わが歩兵も、さかんに機関銃を撃ち出しました。そうして、敵前一面に、もうもうと煙幕を張りました。

「前進」

の命令がくだりました。待ちに待った第一班の工兵は、勇んで鉄条網へ突進しました。一〇メートル進みました。二〇メートル進みました。あと一四、五メートルで鉄条網という時、頼みにする煙幕が、だんだんとうすくなって来ました。

一人倒れ、二人倒れ、三人、四人、五人と、次々に倒れて行きます。第一班は、残念にも、とうとう成功しないで終わりました。

第二班に、命令がくだりました。

敵の弾は、ますますはげしく、突撃の時間は、いよいよせまって来ました。今となっては、破壊筒を持って行って、鉄条網にさし入れてから、火をつけるといったやり方では、とてもまにあいません。そこで班長は、まず破壊筒の火なわに、火をつけることを命じました。

作江伊之助、江下武二、北川丞、三人の工兵は、火をつけた破壊筒をしつかりとかかえ、鉄条網めがけて突進しました。

北川が先頭に立ち、江下、作江が、これにつづいて走っています。

すると、どうしたはずみか、北川が、はたと倒れました。つづく二人も、それにつれてよろめきましたが、二人は、ぐっとふみこたえました。もちろん、三人のうち、だれ一人、破壊筒をはなしたものはありません。ただその間にも、無心の火は、火なわを伝わって、ずんずんもえて行きました。

北川は、決死の勇気をふるって、すっくと立ち上がりました。江下、作江は、北川をはげますように、破壊筒に力を入れて、進めとばかり、あとから押して行きました。

三人の、心は、持った一本の破壊筒を通じて一つになっていました。しかも、数秒ののちには、その破壊筒が、恐ろしい勢で爆発するのです。

もう、死も生もありませんでした。三人は一つの爆弾となって、まっしぐらに突進しました。

めざす鉄条網に、破壊筒を投げこみました。爆音は、天をゆすり地をゆすって、ものすごくとどろき渡りました。

すかさず、わが歩兵の一隊は、突撃に移りました。

班長も、部下を指図しながら進みました。そこに、作江が倒れていました。

「作江、よくやった。いい残すことはないか。」

作江は答えました。

「何もありません。成功しましたか。」

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班長は、撃ち破られた鉄条網の方へ、作江を向かせながら、
「そら、大隊は、おまえたちの破ったところから、突撃して行っているぞ。」
とさけびました。
「天皇陛下万歳。」
作江はこういって、静かに目をつぶりました。
『初等国語科教科書二』一九四二年

3. Original text of "God of War "

军神

在重庆临江门外，有一个德国人开设的诊所。诊所里的医生沃克端坐桌后，神情孤傲。他头也不抬，冷冷地问：“什么名字？”

“刘大川。”

“年龄？”

“24。”

“什么病？”

“土匪打伤了眼睛。”

沃克放下笔，起身正准备查看伤势，一位护士走进诊室，悄声说：“沃克医生，五号病床的先生害怕做手术，要求……”

沃克粗暴的打断了护士的话，鄙夷地说：“叫他滚蛋！我的诊所里再不要见到这胆小鬼！”

护士诺诺连声的退走了。

沃克医生余怒未息，但熟练地解开了病人右眼上的绷带。他怔住了，蓝色的眼睛里闪出惊异的神情。他重新审视着眼前这个人，冷冷地问：“你是干什么的？”

“邮局职员。”

“你是军人！”沃克医生一针见血地说，“我当过德军的军医。这样重的伤势，只有军人才能这样从容镇定！”

病人微微一笑，敏锐地回答：“沃克医生，军人处事靠自己的判断，而不是老太婆似的喋喋不休！”

沃克又一次怔住了。他伸手制止了闻声赶来的护士，双目火辣辣地盯着对方。

良久，沃克医生的目光柔和了，他突然对护士吩咐：“准备手术。”

沃克换上了手术服，洗净手，戴上了消毒手套。这时护士跑过来，低声告诉他病人拒绝使用麻醉剂。沃克医生的眉毛扬了起来，二话没说，走进手术室，火腾腾地说：“年轻人，在这儿要听从医生的指挥！”

病人平静的回答：“沃克医生，眼睛里脑子太近，我担心施行麻醉会影响脑神经。而我，今后需要一个非常清醒的大脑！”

沃克医生再一次怔住了，竟有点口吃地说：“你，你能忍受吗？你的右眼需要摘除坏死的眼球，把烂死和新生的息肉一刀刀割掉！”

“试试看吧。”

手术台上，一向从容镇定的沃克医生，这次双手却有些颤抖。他额上汗珠滚滚，护士帮她擦了一次又一次。最后，他对病人说：“你忍不住痛可以哼叫。”

病人一声不吭。他的双手紧紧抓住身下的白垫单，手臂上汗如雨下，青筋暴起。他越来越使劲，崭新的白垫单居然被抓破了。

脱去手术服的沃克医生擦着汗走过来，由衷地说：“年轻人，我真担心你会晕过去。”

病人脸色苍白。他勉强一笑说：“我一直在数你的刀数。”

沃克医生吓了一跳，不甚相信的问：“我割了多少刀？”

“72。”

沃克惊呆了，失声嚷道：“你是一个真正的男子汉，一块会说话的钢板！按德意志的观点，你堪称军神！”

“您过奖了。”

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孤傲暴躁的沃克医生头一次浮出慈祥的神情。他想说什么又忍住了，挥手让护士出去，然后关上手术室的门，目视着病人说："告诉我，你的真名叫什么？"

"刘伯承。"

沃克医生肃然起敬："啊，川东支队的将领，久仰久仰，认识你很荣幸。袁世凯悬赏10万买你的头！"

刘伯承开玩笑地说："你要是告诉北洋军阀政府我在这儿，准能发一笔大财。"

沃克医生像是受了污辱，怒气冲冲地说："对侮辱我人格的人，我不惜决斗！"

刘伯承微笑道："眼好以后，一定奉陪！"说着，友好地伸出了手。

4. Questionnaire survey documents conducted in classes at Waseda University and Shanghai University

Q1 The governments of China, South Korea and Japan claim that the Senkaku Islands (the Diaoyu Islands) and Takeshima (Dokdo) are inherent territories of their own countries. What do you think?

1: The government's claim is completely correct.
2: The government's claim is more reasonable.
3: The government's claim is not so reasonable.
4: The government's claim is completely wrong.
5: I don't know how to judge
(The most students answered 2)

Q2 What do you think of the claim of the other country's government?

1: The opposing government's claim is completely wrong.
2: The opposing government's claim is quite wrong.
3: There is some truth in the opposing government's claim.
4: The opposing government's claim very reasonable.
5: I don't know how to judge
(Answer 2 is the most)
Q2-2: Why do you think so? Please briefly explain the reason.

Q3 Do you think the people of Mainland China, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, and Okinawa are all taking the stand of their governments and looking at territorial disputes?

1: Most of them support their government's position.
2: Probably half support the government's position and half do not support it.
3: Probably most of them don't necessarily support their government's position.
4: I don't know how to answer this question.
(Answer 2 is the most)

Q4 China and Japan continue to send warships or military aircraft to the the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu Islands); South Korea stationed troops on Takeshima (Dokdo). All these require a large amount of taxes paid by citizens. According to statistics, China and Japan spend more than tens of billions of yuan each year on this. Do you support such actions and their costs?

1: It should be done, it can be spent as much as possible.
2: It can be done, but it should be spent as little as possible.
3: It should not be done, but if we only spend a small amount of money, we don't care.
4: It shouldn't be done, don't spend a penny.
5: Don't know how to answer this question.
(Answer 2 is the most, followed by 3)

Q5 Why have territorial disputes between Northeast Asian countries so intense in recent years? Can you rank the reasons listed below according to their importance (1 is the most important)?

1: The historical memory of Japanese militarism's invasion of South Korea and China。
2: The economic development of various parts of Northeast Asia has a strong demand for energy under the ground/under the sea。
3: Governments in Northeast Asia have intensified international territorial disputes to shift their internal conflicts。

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4: China's power expansion backed by the economic "rise"。
5: The United States "returns to Asia" in order to maintain its world dominance。
6: Other reasons (please simply write down the reason you confirmed)。
(Chinese students answered E the most, and Japanese students answered C the most.

Q6 Facing the current tensions among Northeast Asian countries, what do you plan to do as a member of the ordinary people (multiple choices available):

1: This is a government-to-government affair, we ordinary people have nothing to do.
2: To learn more about the thoughts of people in other countries/regions, and to develop cross-border exchanges of ideas and joint actions.
3: This is not just a matter of the country, but also a matter of the people. We must use various methods (public gatherings, the Internet, neighborhood chat, etc.) to express our views.
4: Learn more from authoritative channels such as television, radio, newspapers, etc., to understand the truth.
5: It is a matter of national territory. We must stand firmly on the side of the government.
6: Territorial disputes are very boring, I am not interested.
7: If there is a war in the territory, I am willing to join the army to defend national interests.
8: Others (please simply write the actions you are willing to take).
9: Never thought about what I should do.
(Answer 2, 3 is the most)

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School Grade Repetition in Brazil: History of the Configuration of a Political and Educational Problem

By Natália Gil
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Abstract- This article intends to argue that the movement of students through the Brazilian mandatory school only acquires signs of an educational political problem from the 1930's on. It indicates that the current sense of the notion of student failure came to be defined only in the twentieth century, although it was possible to fail students since before. It intends to show further that, in articulation with political and cultural changes in education – such as the emergence of compulsory school, the definition of grade-based model of school, and the primacy of homogeneity of classes – the emergence of better and systematic statistics after 1931 contributed decisively in defining the conditions for the possibility of inclusion of student failure as a problem on the political agenda.

Keywords: history of education, educational statistics, school performance, educational policy, student achievement.

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School Grade Repetition in Brazil: History of the Configuration of a Political and Educational Problem[1]

Natália Gil[2]

Abstract- **This article intends to argue that the movement of students through the Brazilian mandatory school only acquires signs of an educational political problem from the 1930's on. It indicates that the current sense of the notion of student failure came to be defined only in the twentieth century, although it was possible to fail students since before. It intends to show further that, in articulation with political and cultural changes in education – such as the emergence of compulsory school, the definition of grade-based model of school, and the primacy of homogeneity of classes – the emergence of better and systematic statistics after 1931 contributed decisively in defining the conditions for the possibility of inclusion of student failure as a problem on the political agenda.**

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I. Introduction

In the second half of the twentieth century, grade repetition emerged in educational debates and on the public agenda as a serious problem of the Brazilian school, one of great proportions and which needs to be denounced, understood and resolved. Otaíza Romanelli (1978), when examining school statistics between 1930 and 1971, indicated that the expansion of the school in this period showed "insufficient supply", "low internal performance" and remarkable "social discrimination". This stemmed from the realization that enrollment growth was significant in those decades, but did not offer vacancies to all school-age children; of the students enrolled in the first grade of primary education, few graduated to the following grades, dropping out of the school along the way; and school failure and dropout rates were higher among students from the popular strata.

Interested in understanding the processes of social discrimination within the school and committed to criticism of the role assumed by school psychology in legitimizing this discriminatory process, Maria Helena de Souza Patto defended in 1987 the thesis that resulted in the book *The production of school failure*, which is in keeping with these analyses. In her research, the author claimed that poor school performance of poor children was generated by selective mechanisms internal to the institutional dynamics and was not due to students' cognitive deficiencies, or to any deficit or cultural difference. Patto (1993, p.346) also pointed out that the research allowed us to understand that "the failure of elementary school is managed by a scientific discourse that, hiding in its competence, naturalizes this failure in the eyes of all those involved in the process".

The presence of more detailed statistics on school failure and dropout and the educational debate that presented the issue as a serious distortion of the Brazilian school led to some political actions aimed at presenting solutions. Thus, different initiatives were proposed, such as the basic cycle, acceleration classes and school reinforcement classes. Márcia Jacomini (2010, p.22) mentions that

> Although the discussion about annual non-failure policies has taken place in Brazil since the 1920s, it was not until the 1960s that some municipal and state public education networks organized the teaching in a non-serial way and adopted annual non-failure policies.

The author adds that, "in general, proposals for the organization of teaching in cycles have arisen from the need to find alternatives to face the high rates of school failure and dropout and to construct a less selective and excluding school" (Jacomini, 2010, p. .22).

It must be admitted, however, that student *failure* has occurred since long before. From the installation of modern school in Brazil, still in the colonial period, students are expected to undergo exams, in which they can pass or fail. The notion of *repetition* itself, however, could only arise when the grade school is established at the end of the nineteenth century. It is from the existence of the physical separation of students according to the grades indicated in the curricula, alongside the adoption of simultaneous teaching, that it became necessary that, at the end of a school year, those who did not present learning corresponding to the minimum expected, in terms of mastery of the program of the grade attended, would resume it from the beginning the following year. That is, to repeat the same grade.

Therefore, events such as the existence of students who did not learn the contents provided in the program at the expected pace, the fact that they

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[2] As will be discussed later in this paper, school failure is the result of poor student performance in school evaluations reported at the end of a cycle, which may be annual or not, and repetition refers to the grade or step repetition phenomenon at which the student failed.

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continued in school for longer until their mastery of curriculum contents became evident, the fact that they would not attend school as soon as they or their families felt they had already learned enough, or that they would not even advance further in learning, all of these were not necessarily considered as a political-educational problem. Only later will these occurrences be taken as distorting the path of students. It is therefore interesting to locate and understand the period in which these events are taken as a problem in educational talk, specialized discourses (by pediatricians and psychologists, for example) and political talk.

In this article I intend, first, to make some theoretical-methodological remarks regarding the understanding of statistics and the words they mobilize. I also indicate the conceptualization used on what is established as a problem on the political agenda. Second, I present a brief discussion about the emergence of exams as a disciplinary practice in modern school, the exceptional nature that examination rituals assume in the path of students who attended school in the nineteenth century in Brazil, and the slow definition of the annual rhythm as characteristic of compulsory school. Next, I try to understand how, in the first republican decades, the adoption of serial school represented a slow and decisive process of change in school culture, in which the circulation of specialized discourses on the efficiency of teaching and normality standards in children's school performance had a strongly prescriptive effect from practices and behaviors. Discussions regarding the importance of testing and the advantages of homogeneous class organization have engendered the widespread circulation of the belief that most individuals learn in the same way and at the same paces. Finally, I argue that the emergence of systematic, higher quality statistics on education – especially on enrollment, attendance and failure – after 1931 is a determining factor for the perception of educators and public managers of that period of what is now considered as "distortions" of students' learning paths, giving rise to a debate that emphasized students deficiencies as the cause of the phenomenon and which proposed actions in the scope of educational policy to make teaching more efficient, but not necessarily more adapted to the students' needs.

II. Words, Numbers and Problems: Some Theoretical-Methodological Considerations

It is largely due to the emergence of more comprehensive and systematic educational statistics in the 1930s and 1940s that certain student movements through school grades can be perceived, analyzed and described as "distortions". In this sense, the debates about failure have as a condition of possibility the production of statistics that allow to see the characteristics of students' movement in the school, to evaluate the pace of learning and to establish, from this, normality standards. The production of numbers depends, however, on the prior establishment of categories that guide the collection of data, that is, it depends on the definition of certain social situations expressed in words. Annie Fouquet (1995, p.135-136) emphasizes that the statistician's job is to count what was previously socially defined and that "the numbers he publishes are the result of countless descriptions of reality often made without him, and of which he is only the counter". These definitions and descriptions are the result of a historical process in which words take on specific meanings according to agreed upon and often not clearly expressed social uses.

Thus, the work presented here dialogues with the assumptions of the History of Concepts, as proposed by Reinhart Koselleck. According to this author,

> without shared concepts there can be no society and, above all, there can be no unity of political action. On the other hand, concepts are based on socio-political systems that are far more complex than one is made to suppose from their understanding as linguistic communities organized under certain key concepts (Koselleck, 2006, p. 98).

It also highlights, from this, that Social History therefore cannot dispense with the contributions of the History of Concepts, insofar as it endeavors to understand "from when the concepts can be rigorously used as indicators of political and social transformations of historical depth" (Koselleck, 2006, p.101). It is thus important to examine the semantic field of concepts in order to identify the use of terms in the social and political sphere by contemporaries and previous generations, as well as perceive the conflicts by the definition of terms, which aim to maintain or impose political and social positions.

Beyond these observations, the socially ascribed importance of statistics has largely been based on the shared belief that they would present a *neutral and objective description of reality*, ensured by the universality of numbers and the unequivocal character of carefully chosen words in the composition of categories. However, statistics are far from having the neutrality that is often ascribed to them. Produced from defined purposes, by particular individuals and restricted to the possibility of presenting only numbers, constrained by certain categories, statistics show partial aspects of society. The choices made – in deciding what subjects can and/or should be counted, in defining the categories that are the basis for the collection of primary data, in selecting what should be included in the tables of disclosure of results, in comparisons made, etc. – are neither automatic nor evident and determine the image obtained from the procedures that

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characterize the production of this type of knowledge. As Jean-Louis Besson (1995, p. 32) warns, "we must now realize that we are not dealing with a simple picture that we could compare with what we see." That is, statistics do not "reveal" reality. Rather, they integrate and participate in its construction insofar as they conform to the ways in which the real is perceived.[3] Such choices, although not fully conscious, are linked to the motivations that led to doing the research and correspond to necessary cutouts that result in an always necessarily partial angle.

The choice of this theoretical approach defines my intention to show that the school situation that in the twentieth century comes to be described as a problem of student flow through the school is a historical construction that involves both numbers and words. In this sense, it is important, on the one hand, to consider, as suggested above, that statistics are representations constructed from certain conditions and that they end up collaborating in the construction of certain social situations, although they are referred to as an instrument of mere description of these situations. On the other hand, it is important to stress that, in the historical analysis of these processes, it must be considered that statistics are produced linked to words (categories) whose choice and definition precede the collection of numbers. Such words have no unambiguous meaning in their own period of use and, over time, are interpreted in different ways.

In view of these considerations, it is important to mention the senses found, from the investigation of the documentary *corpus*, for the following terms: failure, retention and repetition. *Failure* refers, in the period examined, to the results in exams or final evaluations indicating that the student did not attain the minimum performance level expected. *Retention* is a consequence of this failure, since it determines, assuming the serial teaching model, the student's inability to follow in the normal flow from one grade to the next. On the other hand, *repetition* points to the phenomenon of students remaining in the school because they were retained in a certain grade, who will be submitted to attending it again. The understanding of these senses, as already argued, is not given for any historical period. Thus, we need to consider that the current sense that we give to these terms has been formed progressively. It should be remembered that for a long period – and this is also the case today in certain levels or modalities of teaching – in the face of retention, students often dropped out of school. Such dropping out was often seen as quite natural, allowing us to suppose that the school results were experienced as a sentence of the individuals' (in) abilities and (im) possibilities to continue going to school. It is only with compulsory schooling, linked to the social realization of the advantages of schooling for the whole population, that the permanence in school will prevail, even in the face of negative outcomes, such as failure. It is in this context that a student taking the same grade again becomes permissible and, increasingly, obligatory, making repetition quantitatively expressive.

That is, these movements were not always assumed as a political-educational problem. These occurrences will be considered as distortions of the path of students only in the twentieth century, when the expectation is that everyone attends and completes primary education. Until the 1930s, in Brazil, the debate revolved around the issue of children's access to school, evoking both the lack of schools and adequate facilities to serve the population and families' lack of interest in sending and keeping their children in school. From that point on, there was concern that even if children went to school, still they had no guarantee of pass and permanence in the institution. As a result, debates about the need for policies that could make teaching more efficient and prevent students from failing and dropping out of school were recurrent. In the 1940s, the issue of grade repetition is mentioned in reports, but it is only in the 1970s and 1980s that there is a significant debate describing it as an undesirable phenomenon to be addressed by public policy makers.

It is thus important to emphasize that social situations only engage governmental officials when certain conditions are present. John W. Kingdon (1995, p.109-110)[4], in a study that seeks to understand how items enter or leave the political agenda and why some items and alternatives gain prominence, while others are neglected, states that "situations are defined as problems when we come to believe that we should do something to change them. Problems are not simply the conditions or external events themselves; there is also a perceptual, interpretive element." For a given situation to be assumed as a problem, a set of elements must be present, such as the value given to the observations, the comparisons made and the categories mobilized to describe this situation. Thus, the same situation can be understood as a problem or not, depending on the value that the subjects responsible for the definition of the agenda give to it and if they consider that it is an issue on which it is possible to act. Also, comparisons between situations can cause a problem to be delineated. Kingdon (1995, p. 11) points out that "if one is not achieving what others are achieving, and if one believes in equality, then the relative disadvantage

[3] In this regard it should be noted that it is assumed here that statistics exert what Bourdieu (1998) calls the "theory effect", since, by producing forms of world's intelligibility, they create the conditions of existence of what they describe.

[4] I would like to thank Libia Aquino for alerting me about the relevance of John Kingdon's studies to understand the configuration of political problems.

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constitutes a problem." He mentions further that "people will see a problem quite differently if it is put into one category rather than another. Thus, much of the struggle over problem definition centers on the categories that will be used and the ways they will be used" (Kingdon, 1995, p.111).

Kingdon emphasizes that problems are not entirely self-evident and therefore one must understand what processes and elements cause a particular situation, which would otherwise be disregarded, to receive attention from decision makers. At this point, statistics play an important role, as do the debates that take place from them. Governmental and non-governmental agencies regularly monitor various activities, and this is followed by historical numbers and series of numbers that are assumed as indicators of various situations. It is worth noting, as the author warns, that "such indicators or studies are not used primarily to determine whether or not a problem exists; such determination is a matter of interpretation" (Kingdon, 1995, p. 91). In the context of this article, I intend to argue that failure has existed since the emergence of the modern school, but it will only be viewed as a political-educational problem in the twentieth century. It is at the confluence of the debates that take it as an issue worthy of attention and of the existence and analysis of educational statistics that one can identify some of the conditions of possibility for school failure to be configured as a political problem.

III. School Exams and the Definition of a Time to Learn

Exams have existed since the emergence of modern school. For example, in 1599, when *Ratio Studiorum* was published, providing detailed guidance for teaching in Jesuit schools, regular written examinations were planned to be held, in which students could show the results of their learning (Saviani, 2007). Also in the work of Jan Amos Comenius, *Didactica Magna,* published in 1657 and which provides the foundations of the Protestant pedagogy of the seventeenth century, exams, exercises and weekly tests are proposed (Saviani, 2007). Foucault (1987, p. 166) highlights the disciplinary character of this school practice and states that in Modernity "the school became a sort of apparatus of uninterrupted examination that duplicated along its entire length the operation of teaching." He points out, as an example, that the Brothers of the Christian Schools wanted their pupils to be examined constantly. Such considerations make it necessary to recognize that the examination, as a systematic written or oral practice of proving learning, has been foreseen since at least the sixteenth century.

In the nineteenth century, in Brazil, the imperial legislation does not go into detail on the development of teaching and evaluation activities. Thus, examinations will take place in the first letter schools following provincial regulations. For Rio Grande do Sul, for example, according to the Regulations of 1876 and 1927, examinations and exercises should be performed annually in rituals coordinated by the general inspector (Hawat, 2015). Date and time would be defined in advance, and an examining committee would be constituted. Joseane El Hawat (2015, p.64) points out that

> the students considered fit to take the examinations were individually questioned by the examiners in all subjects according to the level of education reached – 1st or 2nd. After this stage of oral evaluation, which respected the time that each examiner considered "sufficient to form his judgment," the student took a written test by writing an excerpt, to evaluate spelling and calligraphy, and solving arithmetic problems.

From the performances observed in these assessments, students were graded into simply approved, fully approved, approved with distinction, or failed.

In reference to schools for girls in Minas Gerais, Monica Yumi Jinzenji describes public examinations in the 1830s. According to the author,

> the publication of examinations results in newspapers usually occurred a few days after it and did not vary much in form, always bringing the same idea that a citizen witnessed the examination and then reported the event. He described the number of students present, the contents examined, and the students' performances, highlighting those fully approved or advanced and, in the end, the teacher's speech at the opening of the exam (Jinzenji, 2010, p.183).

She also highlights the low attendance of students on these occasions for possibly varied reasons, including the embarrassment of public exposure to a situation when they were not always able to show high achievement.

However, it would be a mistake to consider that the experience of participating in exams was generalized to the childhood at that time. It should be remembered that very few individuals came to attend school in the nineteenth century. Even among those who did go to school and long enough to be able to undergo this type of evaluation, there is evidence that the usual practice was to send for examination only students whose previous assessment by teachers indicated that they could pass. Joseane El Hawat, analyzing the minutes of the examinations carried out in the public schools of Porto Alegre between 1873 and 1919, notes that few students submitted to the ritual in comparison to the total enrolled. Clearly, in that context, not all the individuals who attended class were submitted to examinations.

Few individuals carried out the public tests provided by the laws and the precariousness that characterizes the production of school statistics in the period results in the absence of a systematic survey

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and publication of numbers of failures. A social understanding of school exclusion prevailed as a matter of course, and indeed, in quantitative terms, that was the rule. An analysis of enrollment books in Porto Alegre shows that the time spent in school until at least the 1920s is very short[5]. Most of the students attended school for only 1 or 2 years; those who attended the same school for 3 and 4 years were rare, and those who remained for more than 5 years were even rarer.

It should also be noted that the period of the year in which children could be enrolled in school, that is, when they could begin to go to school, is extremely broad. For Rio Grande do Sul, decree no. 89, of 1897, in art. 46, indicated that children's registration could be done from the beginning of the year until September. In several of the books analyzed, initial registrations appear concentrated in the first months of the year, from January to April. At any rate, the most noteworthy is the continued enrollment of students throughout the entire year, almost always up to the deadline set by law (October or November). This implies considering, as Rita de Cássia Gallego proposes, that school times were defining themselves slowly. From documents of São Paulo, this author emphasizes the historicity of these aspects by remembering that

> school time, as one of the social times, is also diverse and plural. It consists of a social system of temporal references from which the functioning, rhythms, coordination and synchronization of interactions within the school are defined, organized and regulated; thus, it is the result of a cultural and pedagogical construction (Gallego, 2003, p.18).

With regard to examinations and failure, it should be emphasized that the very notion of the calendar year as a time limit for checking learning and for setting the outcomes, such as pass and failure, is something that will only be effectively established in the twentieth century.

Also the ages of learning were being established in this process. Maria Cristina Gouveia points out that, in Brazil, compulsory schooling laws established the age group of students, corresponding roughly to what Rousseau indicated as the learning period, that is, between 7 and 12 years. According to the author, in the Brazilian case,

> the nineteenth century incorporated pedagogical discourses that defended the educability of childhood, the civilizing role of education and, within this reflection, the definition of an ideal period for the acquisition of elementary education. In the 1800s, this was increasingly understood as having to take place in school spaces. Public education projects were directed to the child in the 7-14 years age bracket (Gouveia, 2004, p. 275).

In agreement with this author's and other interpretations, the results of the empirical research we did on enrollment books has evidenced that the process of defining childhood by the student condition was slow. For example, in 1897, the laws of Rio Grande do Sul indicated that "only children from 7 to 13 years of age can be enrolled in public schools" (Decree 89, article 39). An analysis of the enrollment books, however, shows the possible presence of 4-6-year-olds and also the attendance of some individuals above that age bracket. This allows to argue that the normalization of learning times and the definition of the annual progression in school, although predicted earlier, did not prevail in school practices until at least the 1920s. Well, to assume failure and repetition as distortions of the students' flow through the school grades presupposes the standardization of these times in the laws and in the discourse that prescribes pedagogical practices. But it also implies a change in school culture, and this is not an immediate and automatic consequence of that standardization. Thus, it is with the broad adherence of pedagogical thinking and teaching practice to the idea ofhomogeneity and standardization, as well as with the effective expansion of vacancies in compulsory school, that makes it possible to see in the exclusion of students who do not learn an educational problem.

IV. Grades and Homogeneity of Classes

The organization of primary education in grades along the nineteenth and twentieth centuries throughout the West will be constituted as denotative of the pedagogical rationality considered as coherent, durable and adequate for the universalization of education (Souza, 2006). "Based on the homogeneous classification of students, the existence of several classrooms and several teachers" (Souza, 1998, p.15), the use of grades in schools will imply, among other things, the development of an appropriate architecture, the creation of specific furniture and learning materials and a new understanding of school times and learning rhythms.

In Brazil, the first initiative in this sense took place in São Paulo, in the midst of the proposals headed by the republican elite that wanted to organize society in line with the new regime. In 1893, school groups were created in São Paulo, where the teaching was organized in grades, each arranged in its classroom governed by the same teacher. This implies emphasizing that the grade-based school in São Paulo presupposed simultaneous teaching, in which the contents were taught to all students in the same way and at the same time.

[5] We analyzed 22 registration books of isolated schools of Porto Alegre, located in Rio Grande do Sul Historical Archives, covering the period from 1895 to 1919. In those documents the characteristics of the entrance in school were examined input of the institution, as the age of the students for instance, and the trajectories of the students enrolled.

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The adoption of simultaneous teaching and grades was based on the understanding of the possibility and necessity of organizing homogeneous classes. It was considered that, in order for the school to be efficient, able to teach in the timeframes established by the official programs, it was necessary to improve the criteria of class composition so that students with equivalent learning performance and content proficiency levels were put in the same grade. The make-up of these classes was based primarily on two resources. The first one focused attention on the prior assessment of each child's abilities, even before the beginning of schooling, resorting to psychological, schooling, and developmental tests. The second was the school-based assessment proper, which relied mainly on mastery of the contents taught, leading to passing or failure at the end of the school year. Thus, the student who did not prove sufficient mastery of the contents taught in a particular grade was prevented from proceeding to the next grade, having to restart the grade in which he/she failed. That is, he repeated the year. In this arrangement, failure, retention and repetition are understood as necessary for the proper and efficient functioning of the school.

If it worked as planned, this model would allow each grade level to correspond to the age range of students. So, ideally, children would start going to school at age 7 in first grade, would be 8 in second grade, and so on. Nevertheless, the regularity in that flow was not confirmed in the daily life of schools, and already in the first decades of the twentieth century there were frequent discussions about the distortions that prevented the functioning of the model. But what was called into question was not the appropriateness of the assumption that supported the model, but students' disabilities and limitations. Extensive debates and numerous studies sought to identify "abnormal" children in order to avoid that they could hinder the smooth running of the school. Based on this understanding, improvement of teaching presupposed the development of tests that allow to identify and classify slow or incapable students.

Tests for selection and classification of students were then taught and widely recommended to teachers as a way to help improve the quality of primary education. In psychology textbooks for teachers, which circulated in the early twentieth century, it was commonly

> recommended the use of intelligence tests, especially those developed by Binet, which allowed to identify retarded children and determine each student's mental level, in order to direct them to the most appropriate type of education for their individual needs (Lima and Viviani, 2015, p.103).

Alfred Binet was one of the most important researchers of experimental psychology in Europe and, since the late nineteenth century, he engaged in developing procedures supposedly capable of measuring mental functions (Monarcha, 2009). In 1904, Binet was appointed by the Ministry of Education in France to join a commission whose assignment was to diagnose students' mental level "for subsequent creation of special classes and application of educational programs appropriate to the levels of intelligence found" (Monarcha, 2009, p.186). The French government was particularly interested in identifying students with low intellectual capacity in order to remove them from regular schools, intending thereby to ensure a more efficient pedagogical achievement. In this sense, Claparède, an enthusiast of the proposal, said:

> We are at a time when the issue of abnormal children has begun to worry the spirits in France. While in Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland a special education for this category of children had long been in place, nothing had yet been provided to them in the French school organization (*apud* Monarcha, 2009, p.186).

Studies by Binet have been read with interest by the Brazilian elite that intended to organize the nation through schooling. With a strongly liberal bias, these individuals were engaged in "evolving biometric practices and propose an education that is consistent with innate abilities, which was considered to be the way to settle the dilemma of legal equality and biological difference" (Monarcha, 2009, p.208).

Of the psychological tests proposed for the Brazilian school in this period, the "ABC Test" deserves mention[6]. Developed by Lourenço Filho, at the time occupying the chair of Pedagogy and Psychology of the *Escola Normal da Praça da República*, in São Paulo, and strongly based on Binet's studies, the "ABC tests", a set of tests meant to evaluate motor coordination, memory, attention, etc., sought to identify students' maturity levels for learning to read and write. In the book *Introdução ao estudo da Escola Nova*, 1930, Lourenço Filho (*apud* Monarcha, 2009, p.221) stated:

> On a trial and error basis, experimental psychology succeeded in obtaining practical means for investigations necessary to classify individuals, which is possible today without long or hard work through relatively simple objective means. These means are the *psychological tests*, small exams under well-defined conditions, and whose significant values are only set after biostatistical investigations.
>
> Through them, one not only gets to the rational organization of homogeneous classes, to selective and differentiated (or "tailored", as Claparède called it) instruction, but also to the scientific classification of *abnormal intelligence*, the organization of classrooms or schools for supernormal individuals, professional guidance and selection, discrimination of temperaments and special skills.

The principles of pedagogical rationale were clearly expressed there, whereby it would be possible to identify the retarded children, for whom standard

[6] It is noteworthy that only in the 1930s the "ABC test" will be discussed in educational media and used in schools.

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education would be unproductive, and to organize selective classes in the first elementary grade, each being educated according to their pace. Thus, it was thought to be possible to arrange homogeneous classes in which simultaneous teaching would be not only possible, but efficient.

Faced with similar concerns, the School Enforcement and Statistics Division, Federal District, attempted the homogeneous classification of students between 1933 and 1935. André Paulilo (2012, p.42) emphasizes that "the formation of classes in those years was a technical possibility not only to organize the school, but to make it achieve, optimize its processes and ensure learning." The composition of these classes resorted to the tests in vogue at the time. This process, according to the author,

> not only added standardized tests to the field of school observations, but considered students' behavioral events in order to distinguish a class of students from another. The degree of attention devoted to the objective settings of the classroom situated more than the children, their achievement, their fitness, their expressive manifestations, and character in the scope of public education policies (Paulilo, 2012, p.42).

The classificatory rationality framed the conviction that the more accurate the procedures for homogeneous distribution of students, the better the results in terms of learning. In 1936, the Department of Education and Public Health published a bulletin titled *Failures in elementary school*, which presented a study on the issue carried out at the request of Almeida Júnior, then Secretary[7]. Luiz Gonzaga Fleury, author of the study, claimed that one of the causes of failure was the "heterogeneous classes, whether in degree of student learning, or their mental index" (São Paulo, 1936, p.17). He stressed further that this cause could not be avoided in isolated schools – where repetition rates were, in fact, higher, he said – or even in the small school groups, but it seemed undeniable the need for better and more comprehensive student selection processes and organization of classrooms in other schools. In another bulletin published by the same department, Noemy Silveira Rudolfer, of the Applied Psychology Laboratory of the Institute of Education, reported that in a class whose grouping has taken place randomly (i.e., did not follow any selection criteria), there will likely be 16% strong, 16% weak and 68% intermediate students. It then concluded that, in this way, teaching would always be inadequate for a significant portion of students. This warranted the provision of a detailed sequence of procedures that should be used in schools, such as the assignment of students to strong, intermediate and weak groups, the double promotion scheme in the school year, the organization of special classes for the most severe cases, and use of tests (ABC and Dearborn and Ballard), as well as the consideration of the academic performance of the previous year.

It should be noted that the emphasis on the homogeneity of the classes meant, as highlights Rosa Fátima de Souza (2006), the establishment of a contradiction: a greater efficiency was sought so as to allow democratization of schooling, while at the same time it strengthened selectivity and school exclusion. According to the author,

> on the pedagogical level, the establishment of divisions in schools enabled a better performance of the school institution, but the school became more selective because the grouping of students in homogeneous classes supposed favoritism of the best at the expense of the "weak" students. In addition, the classification in courses generated improvement of exams and created the notion of *repetition*, which would constitute one of the greatest problems of elementary education of all times (Souza, 2006, p.45, original italics).

It is clear, therefore, already in the early 1900s, that repetition appears as a notion and failure begins to appear in official documents as a matter deserving attention. However, neither had yet been featured as an issue to be managed by the Brazilian education policy makers. We must consider that the specialized discourses that supported teacher training activities and official speeches that sought to prescribe legally authorized school practices during the first republican decades, make us see the existence of these issues. But, in quantitative terms, school attendance still remained very restricted. On the one hand, it is important to point out that, until the 1930s, a very small portion of the population went to school, whatever it was, and remained there for a short time. On the other hand, even with the continuous increase in access to education throughout the twentieth century, it took more than has been assumed for most students to attend grade-based schools, governed by teachers who had been trained in accordance with modern pedagogical discourses (which taught to teach simultaneously in homogeneous classes, for example), arranged according to the requirements mentioned above. These two elements allow us to understand why, despite the earlier circulation of skilled and official discourses about school selectivity, failure and repetition do not appear as a political-educational problem before 1930. Add to this the lack of well-organized statistics to be able to account for school attendance in the country, showing the number of students who passed and failed and repeaters and dropouts. In other words, the number of enrollments was still small, and those enrolled were not always subjected to the times and paces imposed by the law and modern pedagogy, and the ability of the

[7] We reviewed 18 bulletins published by the Educational Board of the Department of Education and Public Health of São Paulo, between 1936 and 1938, during the administration of Almeida Júnior.

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state to know these phenomena quantitatively was still insufficient.

V. School Statistics and the Visibility of Failure

The production of school statistics was improved throughout the 1930s, expanding the categories collected and advancing in terms of technique[8]. In 1930, the Ministry of Education was created and soon a division specifically designed for the production of educational statistics was proposed to be part of it[9]. In 1937, the creation of INEP gave a fresh impetus in this direction, since one of the functions of the new body was to conduct studies on the educational situation of the country, including the organization of more reliable and complete statistics.

In 1931 the Inter-Administrative Agreement of Educational and Related Statistics was signed, an unprecedented initiative in the country designed to articulate efforts between federal agencies in conducting these surveys. This agreement will effectively allow to conduct more systematic and regular surveys covering the entire national territory. Also, it will press federal units to seek these data, fill out forms, and follow standard categories. Although this process is full of flaws and gaps, often highlighted in reports by those in charge of data compilations, it provided some organic quality in statistical production and resulted in a significant amount of information on enrollments. These figures allowed to develop interpretations and analyses of school movement, expansion of enrollments, and flow irregularities over the next decade.

Beside the effective expansion of access to school observed after 1930, the possibility of having a greater amount of reputable, good quality statistical data allowed to see school failure, repetition and dropout as statistically significant phenomena. The very systematic publication of figures alone allowed to see the flow distortions, which perhaps had existed for a long time but without the visibility provided by the numbers. The increase in the absolute number of enrollments will also assume, by the mere size of the figures, a surprising quality.

In 1936, in the above-mentioned bulletin *Failures in elementary school*, an analysis of failures in elementary schools of São Paulo was carried out by means of the school statistics available for the period. The study focused on the data of 17 municipalities in the region of the State capital. In this region, in 1935, of the 116,060 children taking exams, 48,824 failed, which meant a 42% failure rate. The analyses in the Bulletin show that Almeida Junior's consideration of the statistics is not naive. Indeed, the author states that "failures are accurate numerical data; but the criteria that determine them, as we know, change from school to school" (São Paulo, 1936, p.3). He argued that it was necessary to understand that "there are 'lowish' decision makers, who are content with little, but there are also "highish" ones, willing to tighten the belt of passes" (São Paulo, 1936, p.3). He thus expresses the ability to take numbers only partially, due to variations such as the one mentioned. With regard to failures, for example, he does agree that they indicate a problem in the state school system, but his argumentative emphasis is otherwise as he mentions, by the way, that "promotion is important because it means efficiency of informative education – but this does not exhaust school functions" (São Paulo, 1936, p.3).

Reports in the INEP, published between 1939 and 1944 by the federal government[10], have also featured a discussion of the flow of students in elementary school. In these publications, the primary axis of the analysis is the *enrollment* of children in primary education. The most common is the comparison of enrollment totals at various times. From this, the enrollment growth rates in each state are calculated and then compared to the national average. In the Bulletins, the discussion on school performance often refers to the ability to enroll a significant contingent of the school population. The issue of passes rarely appears as worthy of attention. They are, however, present at times. In Bulletin No. 19, for example, there are data on growth of primary education institutions, graduated teachers, general enrollments, and information on pass and course completions: "It should be noted that the movement of passes in general, and course completions, especially in ordinary elementary school, showed, in the same period, a higher growth than that of enrollments" (Ministry of Education and Health, 1942, p.15). From this it follows: "Not only more

[8] This is a process that Brazilian statistics in general go through in the same period. We have, for example, the creation of IBGE in 1937, experts' agreement on the higher quality of the 1940 census data, increasing mathematization of demographic procedures in the following decades. For further details about the organization of statistics in Brazil, see Senra (2006; 2014).

[9] In 1931, with the creation of the Ministry of Education, the *General Board of Information, Statistics and Dissemination* was founded. In 1939, it was renamed as *Statistical Service of Education and Health* (SEES).

[10] With regard to the documents at the federal level, in the research that supports the argument presented here we analyzed especially those produced by the Education and Health Statistical Office (SEES), coordinated by Teixeira de Freitas, and the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (INEP), organized by Lourenço Filho. Both bodies were subordinate to the Ministry of Education. In the former, we analyzed the series "Teaching in Brazil," published between 1939 and 1946. In the latter, INEP Bulletins between 1939 and 1944 were analyzed. In 1944, the INEP created the Brazilian Journal of Pedagogical Studies, whose articles have also been considered in this analysis. Another journal we consulted was the Brazilian Statistics Journal, published since 1940. In addition to these documents, some books of authors who took part in discussions about educational statistics in the period were consulted too.

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students were able, therefore, to attend schools, but also a higher percentage of students earned the benefit of passing and completing courses" (Ministry of Education and Health, 1942, p.15).

In a Bulletin entitled *Teaching in Brazil in the five-year period 1932-1936*, published in 1939, it is argued that, in order to be able to appreciate the "real work" and the "effectiveness of teaching", it would be necessary to examine the movement of enrollments, promotions and course completions. The observation makes one assume that the performance of teaching would be based on two interrelated elements: the first was student attendance to classes, without which, it was believed, the progress of the second factor – namely, the result of the year-end exams – was unlikely. Lourenço Filho, in charge of the publication of the Bulletins, emphasizes in this regard that "the number of school units indicates the *supply* of education. The general registration, its *demand*. But the true measure of the result of school work will only be provided by promotion and course completion rates" (Ministry of Education and Health, 1939, p.33, original italics). At the time, for general primary education, the provided data were as follows:

Table 1

Years	Registration	Pass	Rate
1932	2071437	831 223	40%
1936	2750014	1153212	42%

(Ministry of Education and Health, 1939, p.33)
Note that less than half of the registered students passed in the period.

The bulletin *General situation of primary education*, published in 1941, features an item entitled "General aspects of teaching performance", which provides general enrollment data, the percentage of passed students in relation to total enrollments, and course completions. With regard to these data, the following analysis is provided: "The general pass rates, calculated upon the effective enrollments or remaining students at the end of the year, portray [...] the real teaching achievement, allowing to acknowledge the *overall deficiency of the school system*" (Ministry of Education and Health, 1941, p.40, added italics). According to this document, in 1937 the pass rate was 52.1%. Despite the mention, which indicates that these numbers are perceived as a problem in Brazilian primary school, the most prominent discussion in relation to achievement is around the so-called "exodus", "avoidance" or "defection" of students. In 1937, of 2,702,383 individuals enrolled in primary education, 417,479 would have left school early (15.45%).

Noteworthy in this regard is a debate between Teixeira de Freitas and Lourenço Filho, held in the 1940s, which shows the importance ascribed to the issue by the very commitment of both in arguing, and indicates interpretations in dispute. In 1940, the *Brazilian Statistical Journal* brings an article entitled, "Demographic dispersion and education" by Teixeira de Freitas (1940a). This same study was deepened and developed in certain points to be presented in a public session of the Brazilian Society of Statistics, in November 1940, under the title "School dropout in the Brazilian primary education" (1940b). The same journal would publish in 1941 an article in which Lourenço Filho reports his disagreements about the analysis presented in that study. Finally, in response to Lourenço Filho's criticism, one last article by Teixeira de Freitas was published, "Still on school dropout in the Brazilian primary education" (1941).

Several aspects are discussed by the authors in these articles. One of the significant differences between the authors concerned *repetition* rates. It should be emphasized that this problem had not featured the educational debate with the severity with which it came to be mentioned in the second half of the twentieth century. Rather, it was considered a natural and inevitable element in school movement – just like dropout, to a certain degree. Teixeira de Freitas points to the evidence of a marked improvement of achievement in second as compared to first grade, as well as in the third compared to second grade, although this last difference was weaker. The author points out that

> This improvement, however – one must say – should not be interpreted as a rapid elevation of the mental level of the pupils, or as a greater efficiency of teaching in higher grades. It is obvious that it stems from the progressive selectivity with which the later series are constituted, by virtue of the actual dropout seen, which *naturally eliminates* the least apt or least devoted students from the student body (Teixeira de Freitas, 1940a, p.504, italics added).

It follows from this the inconsistency, pointed out by Lourenço Filho, in using, in that statistical study, an equal dropout rate to each of the different grades of primary education, as well as the option to disregard the occurrence of repetition of the same grade for more than once. He criticizes, for not being what was observed in fact, the "criterion used, which was to compute the repetition just once in the 1st year, two in the 2nd, and three in the 3rd" (Lourenço Filho, 1941, p.543). He goes on to argue that "higher rates of simple repetition, or its multiple incidence, are present precisely in the first grades or degrees of the course. And these, of course, contain the largest number of students" (Lourenço Filho, 1941, p.543), and completes stating

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that "as can be seen in official reports, repetition for three, four and even five times in the 1st grade occurs even in urban school systems, such as in the Federal District" (Lourenço Filho, 1941, p.543).

In his response to this criticism, Teixeira de Freitas (1941, p.572, original italics) says Lourenço Filho would have misread the table in the study:

> But reread, our dear Professor Lourenço Filho, the table in question, noting the meaning of abbreviations. And then you will see it does not show what you supposed, but exactly "the abstraction of the particular case of multiple repetition *of the same* grade". Take, for example, the movement of the 3rd grade in 1936. The three portions there allude, right, to *repeaters*; but they are not repeaters of the grade (the 3rd) more than once, but *new* or *repeaters of the 3rd grade for the first time*, but who were previously repeaters - of one, other or both preceding grades (1st and 2nd), never, however, more than once in each – likewise the established assumption.

Once clarified that what seemed to refer to multiple repetitions of the same grade was not so, it is fitting to ask why the author ignored this phenomenon in his analysis. According to him, as there are no studies or data that match the whole country with regard to the occurrence of multiple repetitions, a technical device was used, namely, to make a substitution, with negligible error, considering all repeaters as simple. Teixeira de Freitas (1941, p.578) argues that "statistically, we are considering such students if not rigorously equivalent, at least as minimally disparate so that they can in practice be considered equal". For doing so, the author claims that for the purpose of the study, which was to know the time when each generation would have dropped out of school, this device would be satisfactory.

Teixeira de Freitas considered that *multiple repetition* was not so significant as to be necessary to consider it. It is worth to remember that the conclusions the author draws from his statistical study point primarily to the dropout problem. So, what he wants to emphasize is that children leave school before completing the minimum acceptable years of schooling he considered at that time. Therefore, it is reasonable that he gives little importance to multiple repetition since, following his reasoning, one must admit that instead of staying in school doing the same grades several times, most failed children, with more or less resistance, ended up dropping out of school altogether. Lourenço Filho, however, does not have the same view. According to him, a complete analysis of the dropout phenomenon "would take the rates of dual grade repetition, especially important in the 1st grade, where the variety of student rating criteria is so great from one to another educational system" (Ministry of Education and Health, 1941, p. 38).

It is also interesting to note that Lourenço Filho argues for the need to consider that failures in the 1st year not always have the pedagogical significance of an actual failure. That's because, he said, "in fact, we do not have in our schools a first grade to be held normally in a year of studies" (1941, p.544). That is, in some regions, in the same school, there was a "delayed" first year and an "advanced" one. Fernanda Cristina Campos da Rocha (2013) identifies this situation by analyzing the registration books of school group Sabará, in Minas Gerais, between 1907 and 1916. According to the author, the current practice in that institution was to divide the first-year program into two parts, each developed over one school year. Until 1912 the documents contain the names "1st year of the 1st half" (referring to the content provided for the first half of the 1st year) and "1st year of 2nd half." From 2013, such documents contain the words "1st year delayed" and "1st year advanced". Under these circumstances, "retention is much more related to school practices of the group, in an attempt to be able to cover the content under the program" (Rocha, 2013, p. 10). The author emphasizes that younger children – of the 1st year of the 1st semester or 1st year delayed – were not even submitted to exams, especially those between 6 and 7 years of age, because they are not considered yet ready for evaluation. In this sense, Lourenço Filho (1941, p.544) argued that one should consider that "often, for students, parents, and the effect of the appreciation of the work of the teachers themselves, students passing from a 1st year A to a 1st year B, or from delayed to advanced, meant promotion".

You may notice from this analysis that what gives rise to debate is, indeed, the existence of statistics on the flow of students through the school. These numbers were not produced in order to measure failure, repetition or even the dropout phenomenon. The intention was primarily to follow the expansion of enrollments and the scope of Brazilian primary education. However, the existence of this information will give visibility to initially unforeseen issues, such as repetition and dropout. In this sense, the documents analyzed are inaugural[11] of an important debate, which hitherto had no conditions to be addressed. Even if failure, repetition and dropout have been configured as possible moves of students through the school before 1930 – as they are tied to the emergence of modern school and then the adoption of the grades model – it is statistics that that make their quantitative dimension visible and expressive, allowing them, in some measure, to be taken as problems on the political agenda, as suggested in Kingdon's analysis (1995).

[11] Although they may not be the only ones, as the survey was restricted to only Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Distrito Federal and the documentation published by the central government - MEC, INEP, SEES and IBGE.

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VI. Final Remarks

This article was intended to argue that, although school exams and student *failure* existed since the installation of modern school in Brazil, even in the colonial period, is only from the 1930s that poor school results enter the political agenda as a problem of national education. To admit the existence of school exams does not mean that all the students were subjected to these rituals. In the nineteenth century, only those deemed fit by teachers and education inspectors, from little explicit criteria, took the exams. At such times, they could pass or fail – simply, fully or with distinction. As compulsory schooling consolidates and it is established that the annual grades should organize the paces and times to learn, during a slow process that is only defined in the Republic, a decisive process of change in school culture is witnessed. In this sense, the circulation of specialized discourses of teaching efficiency and the normal standards in children' school performance ends up in a heavily prescriptive feature of practices and institutional behaviors. Tests and the primacy of homogeneous classes are part of this process and significantly mark the relations between students, teachers and subjects. It is, however, linked to the production of more systematic, higher quality educational statistics that one realizes the existence of a political and educational debate on issues related to students flow through the school, especially on failure and dropout, in the 1930s and 1940s.

In the following decades – 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1980 – it is known that the issue continued to be discussed with characteristics that deserve to be better understood, which motivates the continuation of research on the subject. It is notable, though, the force with which this same issue has come back to the debate now, after more than two decades (following the constituent and the constitution of 1988), whose emphasis on educational discussion and the proposition of policies for education tended to the design of an inclusive school, open to diversity, instead of the selective and exclusive school that was established in Brazil during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We may not have been sufficiently aware of the fact that, in the context of schools and social debate, this discussion has not occurred with the same emphasis that it had in academic and intellectual circles of education.

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Cultural Interactivity in the Digital Age

By Sebastián Urrutia Delgado

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Abstract- The essay addresses mediated communication in a context of technological convergence that has reorganized the logic of production and transmission of symbolic content worldwide. To do this, it focuses on the cultural dimension of participation that audiences have today, particularly on their ability to interact and the implications this has for the media industry and our society. This is particularly sensitive in the midst of a global pandemic, where long-term personal relationships that are important to our well-being are lost or modified.

It describes some conceptual approaches that deserve some attention due to their relevance to the debate and their daily manifestation in social life. Finally, it warns of certain risks, particularly associated with some principles that may be threatened in this process of rearranging the media ecosystem.

Keywords: *audiences, convergence, interactivity, cultural participation, media.*

GJHSS-C Classification: *FOR Code: 420399*



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Cultural Interactivity in the Digital Age

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I. Introduction

Reviewing modern history, it's possible to identify some technological innovations that have resulted in paradigmatic transformations on how to scale the supply of information and symbolic content. The invention of the printing press, the development of cinematographic projection, the introduction of satellite television or fiber optics are some contributions to a phenomenon whose main consequence has been a rearrangement of space and time.

In recent years there has been a legitimate concern about the quality of the content that circulates through interactive platforms, search engines, and digital media. Episodes such as the Cambridge Analytica scandal or the 2016 US presidential election have opened an area of concern regarding false information, civil society misinformation, and its effects on the democratic system.

In Chile a series of forest fires that affected the central and southern areas in 2017, led to one of the first episodes of large-scale circulation of false information that linked its origin to the Mapuche community members or non-existent electrical outages. During the social outbreak of October 2019, false news was spread regarding specific events of confrontations, murders, and burned buses; and in the current health crisis resulting from the global pandemic, wrong information has been spread about side effects of some vaccines or remedies that mitigate the possibility of contagion, and home self-diagnostic tests.

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However, this transformation also has positive effects; digital platforms, and social media "*lower the cost of maintaining relationships that are rooted in real-world interactions, so in fact, they promote heterogeneity within social circles*" (Valenzuela and Rojas, 2019). The old public sphere described by Habermas (1989), where citizens and authorities discussed issues of social interest, expands and acquires hybrid characteristics as a result of interactive platforms whose operation gives unusual capacity of interpellation to those who are part of that old construct called the mass audience.

In this context of digital convergence, this essay seeks to analyze the tensions generated in terms of exchange and cultural participation of the communications ecosystem. The hypothesis is that this transformation has awakened a renewed interest in audiences and their ability to understand, propagate and even rework content that is symbolic, and at the same time, interactive.

II. Access to Information Sources

The overwhelming alternatives of the content offered by interactive platforms and the media have increased the competition for users' attention. The mobility of reception devices has generated an "abundant" and "environment" media ecosystem. Abundant, since never in history, we've seen a volume of information like today; and environment, because it is not necessary to search for information since it reaches us constantly through social networks, portals, and traditional media (Boczkowski, 2019). This oversupply of information fuels consumption habits that often become incidental, non-hierarchical, and detached.

The evidence regarding these differential diffusion dynamics shows "*that users are more likely to pay attention and distribute news that is novel, emotionally arousing and/or have practical value*" (Valenzuela and Rojas, 2019). Novelty attracts human attention, contributes to decision-making, and fosters the exchange of information by updating our understanding of the world. Likewise, it has a social value since it transmits status due to exclusive knowledge (Vosoughi *et al*., 2018). However, novelty loses value if that information is not accurate or verifiable.

In emotions, their manifestation can occur in different forms such as anger, anxiety, sadness, optimism, and happiness. According to Valenzuela and Arriagada (2016), "*news that attracts attention are those that are emotionally charged and the greater the*

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emotionality, the more impact they have on people's memory and behavior."

These new terms of participation have fragmented and atomized the old mass audience. As McQuail (2010) suggests: "*More options for audience formation based on shared interests are available to more people, and there could be greater freedom and choice.*" Today, that old massive scale can only be seen in media events that require prior planning. They are broadcast live or interrupt the normal flow of daily life (such as the results of national elections or sporting and cultural events).

On the other hand, this fragmentation has resulted in a growing migration of advertising investment to digital platforms such as Google and Facebook. They become more effective intermediaries for advertisers in terms of influence and massiveness. Consequently, the traditional media have been challenged to seek strategies that convince the audience to start paying for digital content that historically has been for free. It's key to study audiences in small groups, using methodologies that integrate multiple platforms and establishing segmentation different and complementary from the conventional sociodemographic profiles.

III. Digital Interactivity

The new dynamics of the digital ecosystem have opened opportunities for the formation of small audiences based on common objectives and identities, which serves dispersed groups and propose a model of participation where users become consumers and producers of messages that are "*shaping, sharing, reformulating and mixing in an unprecedented way*" (Jenkins *et al*., 2013). This is manifested in practices of cultural participation where individuals and/or groups of agents appropriate, modify and disseminate content "*such as memes, remixes of songs or collective writings*" (Rodríguez, 2020).

However, economic valuation systems remain anchored in aggregated measurements (such as sales, reading surveys, clicks, and ratings) instead of focusing on the degree of impact and the potential effect of the message. In the digital age, this business model has been consolidated under the "attention economy" (Davenport and Beck, 2001), which monetizes the permanence of users through data collection. The more information obtained from the audience, the easier it is to anticipate consumer tastes and preferences to capture advertising revenue. In the words of Zuboff (2019): "*The person is the mine of digital wealth.*" In her book "*Surveillance Capitalism,*" she develops the concept of "*behavioral surplus,*" the capital gain that derives from the commercialization of personal data resulting from its free capture, storage, and finally processing in predictive products or profiles.

The 2016 US presidential election represents the milestone that marked the greatest global concern and skepticism towards interactive platforms and social media. The incessant search to capture the data of the audiences unveiled unscrupulous practices of production of fake content that is circulated by intelligent algorithms and sophisticated statistical methods based on our past behavior (scores, ratings, recommendations, and images shared) or voluntarily when someone signs the terms and conditions that are rarely read.

These systems tend to reinforce pre-existing beliefs by transmitting information and symbolic content that is consistent with our preferences. Still, they risk reducing the perceptions of the world around us by skewing our opinions through misleading confirmations. This phenomenon has been called "*filter bubbles*" or "*echo chambers,*" since in practice, they are semi-closed systems where divergent views appear little or nothing.

IV. Conclusion

The influence of interactive platforms in the nature and extent of cultural participation is a phenomenon in full development. In times of catastrophe such as the current global pandemic, the need to share experiences, understand other people's perceptions and make sense of uncertain realities acquires enormous relevance.

The new production, storage, and dissemination logics that arise from this digital convergence have ramifications beyond the communications sector and its business model, affecting areas of public interest such as intellectual property, privacy, and political-democratic systems. The preceding evidence shows a phenomenon that is in full development. However, the enigma of the gaps that can be generated in access to quality information, the privatization of knowledge and the management of subjectivity strongly emerges.

In this scenario, it becomes imperative to create awareness of the costs, and benefits (not only economic) of adopting these platforms, moving from a user logic to digital citizenship where higher levels of transparency are discussed, questioned, and demanded.

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Traditional Preparation of Baba Neagra, a Moldovan Culinary Treasure

By Eugenia Covaliov, Olga Gutium, Viorica Cazac & Coralia Babcenco

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Abstract- It is known that food itself reflects the identity and culture of a region; becoming an important component of local heritage. Baba Neagra is an iconic dessert for Republic of Moldova, which has been passed down from generation to generation to Moldovan housewives, but forgotten by many, especially restaurants. In this sense, the aim of the current study is to emphasize some technological and cultural aspects attached to Baba Neagra in Republic of Moldova. The paper presents the full preparation of the Baba Neagra as it is traditionally carried out in north of Moldova and lists the main ingredients.

Keywords: *baba neagra, culture, republic of moldova.*

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Abstract- **It is known that food itself reflects the identity and culture of a region; becoming an important component of local heritage. Baba Neagra is an iconic dessert for Republic of Moldova, which has been passed down from generation to generation to Moldovan housewives, but forgotten by many, especially restaurants. In this sense, the aim of the current study is to emphasize some technological and cultural aspects attached to Baba Neagra in Republic of Moldova. The paper presents the full preparation of the Baba Neagra as it is traditionally carried out in north of Moldova and lists the main ingredients.**

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I. Introduction

Food usually reflects the traditional tastes formed by many generations, although it is no less important that, that in this field there is an intensive process of mutual enrichment of cultures, to which restaurants largely contribute today (Kim and Eves, 2012). Eating pattern is known as a kind of connection between the experiences of people from different eras, making it possible to explain the past through the present. At the same time, we must mention that each era brings both new foods and experience, inherited elements, which intertwine with the innovative ones. Unlike other elements of material culture, food loans do not constrain the national cuisine, on the contrary, they enrich it or their assimilation takes place (Tregear, 2003). On the other hand, gastronomy has become an increasingly important motivation for choosing a destination, offering a growing potential to stimulate local economies (De Jong et al., 2018). Although currently, culinary tourism is practiced only by a niche of tourists, it manages to attract more and more tourists passionate about gastronomy and more, because through local cuisine you can discover some of the culture and history of a particular area, food being a basic service in any tourist package (Razpotnik Visković and Komac, 2021).

Moldovan cuisine is the result of synthesizing, over time, the tastes, ideas and gastronomic habits specific to the Moldovan population (Gutium, Olga et al., 2020). It has greatly influenced the traditional cuisines of other peoples on its territory and at the same time has been complemented by elements of Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Gagauz, Russian, and in past centuries Greek and Turkish cuisines (Baltsiotis, 2014; Jianu and Barbu, 2018). Moldovan cuisine is diverse: it includes countless culinary customs and traditions, specific dishes, along with customs from the intersection of gastronomic culture with the traditions of other peoples, with whom Moldovans have come into contact throughout history (Sturza and Ghendov-Moşanu, 2021). Although throughout history, Moldova has been under the leadership of many peoples (Turkey, member of the Soviet Union, etc.); *pure* Moldovan dishes can be still found in the Moldovan gastronomic arsenal.

Baba neagra (Black baba) (Figure 1) is a traditional Moldovan food, which housewives in northern Moldova have been preparing for years and which is considered the "queen" of the 5 traditional Moldovan dishes (along with *sarmale*, *placinte*, *mamaliga* and chicken *zama*) without which a holyday meal is not considered complete and guests are looking forward to enjoying it at the end of the meal (Alozie, 2016). The name *Baba neagra* is used in Moldova and Romania. Regarding the word *baba* (grandmother, old women) there are some opinions, the most common of these is that grandmothers cooked this sweet dish for their grandchildren, hence the allegory. In some regions of Ukraine the desert is known as *kapronka*, due to its elasticity and porous structure. Nowadays, the *baba neagra* is less and less common on Moldovan tables, even if it is distinguished by the simplicity of the ingredients and a special taste and appearance. In this sense, the purpose of the current study is to revive the importance of this dessert, emphasizing some technological and cultural aspects attached to Baba Neagra in Republic of Moldova.

II. Technological Aspects

It is very difficult to say what this dessert looks like: not a cake, and not a toffee, and not a gingerbread, and not a biscuit, but just something really magical and bewitching. Moderately sweet, moist, very porous and firm dessert. It contains simple ingredients, even trivial at first glance, but the preparation technique is important and needs to be strictly followed. The taste of the dessert is balanced - moderately sweet, moderately moist, interesting and unusual, although it is made from the most common products. It is baked at low temperature for a full 6 hours, during which the sugar

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turns into caramel and gives the cake a rich brown color and delicious taste.

Unlike other desserts, the black baba goes through strange metamorphoses. It is about the fact that there are no dark products between its ingredients. On the contrary – all the ingredients- are all white as snow. And in order to obtain the necessary consistency and, even more importantly, the coveted small bubbles in the dough, the sequence of operations with the ingredients must be strictly observed.

a) Ingredients

As mentioned, the black grandmother is an old dessert, and the housewives of that time did not have to go to the store or the market for products to prepare it. Everything they needed for *black baba* could be found in the household: milk (500 ml), sour milk (300 ml), eggs (10 pcs), oil (200 ml), wheat flour (300 g), sugar (300 g), brandy (50 ml), and baking soda (8 g).

b) Preparation

First, the dried products are mixed - sifted flour and a similar amount of sugar or powdered sugar, to which baking soda is added. To this mixture, vegetable oil is added and mixed until a homogeneous mass is formed. Then the warm sour milk is gradually added - it serves as a catalyst for baking soda and easily starts the quenching reaction, which during baking will materialize in small bubbles frozen on cooling (Fordtran et al., 1984; Lansky, 2004). After sour milk, it's milk's turn, up to half a liter can be added. The last liquid ingredient is brandy or vodka, which is considered to compensate for the specific pronounced taste of baking soda in the final product. In the last stage, ten eggs must be beaten until a fluffy and frothy mixture is obtained. Then the beaten eggs are carefully placed in the dough.

Baba is baked in a bowl with a thick bottom, covered with a lid, for example a cast iron cauldron, which is richly greased with butter over which breadcrumbs are sprinkled, after which the mixture is poured into the bowl and covered with a lid or staniol foil (Figure 2). The bubbles that form during baking (Figure 3) are the result of adding the right amount of baking soda and vodka, or any other tasteless and odorless alcohol. During baking, carbon dioxide gas made from baking soda (or if you use vodka - alcohol vapor), helps to grow/lift the dessert up (Sumnu, 2008). For this reason the lid is not removed during baking, it helps to block the gases inside and to form bubbles, or craters specific to this dessert. Once upon a time, in the Moldovan villages, the black baba was baked in the brick oven - the cauldron was put in the oven in the evening on hot coals and was taken out only in the morning. In the contemporary oven in the first hour and a half the baba bakes at a temperature of 200 ^{0}C, and in the next 90 minutes at 100 ^{0}C.

The caramelized brown color is not from cocoa, but is due to the interaction between baking soda, sour milk and oil during the long cooking time. Also on one hand, due to the high baking temperature from the first baking stage, the caramelization of carbohydrates present in milk and sugar takes place. On the other hand, presence of baking soda speeds up the Maillard reaction that takes place due to egg proteins and sugars (Lersch, 2012).

The prepared dessert is as fine and soft as a classic soufflé. At the same time it is elastic and restores its shape when it is finger pressed.

III. Cultural Aspects

Several large portions of baba neagra are baked at once, because Moldovan feasts are a general gathering of numerous relatives, godfathers, friends. Baba neagra is served both at weddings, christenings and funerals. In this sense it can be called ritual food. It is served on the table with baba alba (white grandma) from homemade noodles on a wide platter, cut into cubes. White and black grandmothers complement each other, symbolizing the unity of opposites, the beginning of the feminine and masculine.

Specifically, it was served because it is currently being prepared less and less. And the food outlets that have it on the menu can be counted on fingers. It is difficult to find a justification and an explanation for this trend, because for many of the inhabitants of the country, the black grandmother is associated with the nostalgic taste of childhood.

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Figure 1: Baba neagra just baked

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Figure 2: Prepared cauldron with white dough for baba neagra



Figure 3: The section appearance of the black baba

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Interconnectivity among Sustainable Development Goals through Women's Perspective

By Farah Diba
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Abstract- If we divide the world's population into two parts, one part would be women. However this large part has always been neglected in terms of opportunities and rights. They have significant roles in forming a better society to live. From childbirth, rearing them, make them learn the good values, caring of elders, and other households chores; women bear all the responsibilities without any compensation. Not only family responsibilities but they work outdoor to increase family income for the fulfilment of family needs and gain a better lifestyle. "The participation of women employment into the workforce as human capital for a sustainable development is very important for acquiring the environmental and production perception, an increase in their income creating financial resources for saving and investment, and getting more respect in society" (Yildiz, 2016). To make the world a better place to live, United Nations has declared 17 goals that are essential for sustainable development, so that all human beings can survive without any biases. In Principle, Rio Declaration said that "Women have a vital role in environmental management and development. Their full participation is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development" (Warth & Koparanova, 2012).

Keywords: sustainable economic growth, social development, environmental sustainability, empowerment, interconnectivity.

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Interconnectivity among Sustainable Development Goals through Women's Perspective

Farah Diba

Abstract- If we divide the world's population into two parts, one part would be women. However this large part has always been neglected in terms of opportunities and rights. They have significant roles in forming a better society to live. From childbirth, rearing them, make them learn the good values, caring of elders, and other households chores; women bear all the responsibilities without any compensation. Not only family responsibilities but they work outdoor to increase family income for the fulfilment of family needs and gain a better lifestyle. "The participation of women employment into the workforce as human capital for a sustainable development is very important for acquiring the environmental and production perception, an increase in their income creating financial resources for saving and investment, and getting more respect in society" (Yildiz, 2016). To make the world a better place to live, United Nations has declared 17 goals that are essential for sustainable development, so that all human beings can survive without any biases. In Principle, Rio Declaration said that " Women have a vital role in environmental management and development. Their full participation is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development" (Warth & Koparanova, 2012).

This situation demands equality in society to empower women, which is an essential for sustainable economic growth, social development, and environmental sustainability (Lohani, 2017). In Brutland Report (1987)," Sustainable development is defined as the "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Yildiz, 2016). To achieve sustainable development and environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it (Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, 1992). "The Sustainable Development Goals with Agenda 2030 is the world's first comprehensive blueprint for sustainable goals. The recognition of the synergies between health, education and gender equality are among the core goals of this Agenda "(Deshpande & Bhat, 2019).

In this paper, the researcher will find out the role and connection of women in sustainable development because women are the important and inseparable factors. Researcher will see the interconnectivity of these seventeen goals in terms of the overall development of the society. Furthermore, this study will describe that why women's empowerment is essential, especially in the Indian context. According to Kofi Annan, "There is no tool for development more effective than the empowerment of women." (Lohani, 2017) In this study, a narrative literature review method will be used. Various documents and related literature will be analyzed for the research. The results of the study will explain the importance of social, economic, political, emotional empowerment of the women for the sustainable development.

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I. Introduction

If we divide the world's population into two parts, one part would be women. However this large part has always been neglected in terms of opportunities and rights. They have significant roles in forming a better society to live. From childbirth, rearing them, make them learn the good values, caring of elders, and other households chores; women bear all the responsibilities without any compensation. Not only family responsibilities but they work outdoor to increase family income for the fulfilment of family needs and gain a better lifestyle. "The participation of women employment into the workforce as human capital for a sustainable development is very important for acquiring the environmental and production perception, an increase in their income creating financial resources for saving and investment, and getting more respect in society" (Yildiz, 2016). To make the world a better place to live, United Nations has declared 17 goals that are essential for sustainable development, so that all human beings can survive without any biases. In Principle, Rio Declaration said that "Women have a vital role in environmental management and development. Their full participation is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development" (Warth & Koparanova, 2012).

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First of all, it is needed to know what are the sustainable goals and their connection with the life of women. These are-

1) Poverty
2) Zero Hunger
3) Good health and well being
4) Quality Education
5) Gender Equality
6) Clean water and sanitation
7) Affordable and clean energy
8) Decent Work and Economic Growth
9) Industries, innovation, and infrastructure
10) Reduced Inequality
11) Sustainable cities and communities
12) Responsible consumption and production
13) Climate Action
14) Life below Water
15) Life on Land
16) Peace, Justice, and strong institutions
17) Partnership for the goals

These all 17 goals are interconnected if seen through the women's perspective for the developing society in a better way.

1) *Women and Poverty:* Poverty among women can be eradicated only by giving them empowerment which plays a vital role in women's lives and gives them power or hold of their own life, which further reflects in their decisions. Page & Czuba (1999), defined Empowerment as a "multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important".

When women use their power of decision-making in the economic field, it will increase family income which leads to the reduction of poverty. "Sustainable development aims at eradicating poverty through, in particular, creating greater opportunities for all, reducing inequalities, raising basic standards of living and fostering equitable social development and inclusion" (Lohani, 2017). "The strategies focusing on women employment and reducing poverty lead to faster and stronger economic growth and sustainable development. In summary, it can be said that an increase in women workforce brings a noticeable increase in family welfare, national welfare and that of global welfare respectively" (Yildiz, 2016). "As women dedicate more time to unpaid activities, they are often dependent on men's income and less protected through financial savings, pension entitlements, and property in their name. This means that women are at greater risk of poverty and have fewer opportunities in the labor market. The general understanding is, therefore that, women need to be "empowered" to narrow the "gender gap" and to create an equal playing field between women and men before gender equality can be reached and maintained" (Lohani, 2017)." Globally, more than 800 million people are still living on less than $1.25 a day; much lacking access to adequate food, clean drinking water, and sanitation. "Rapid economic growth in countries like China and India has lifted millions out of poverty, but progress has also been uneven. Women are disproportionately more likely to live in poverty than men due to unequal access to paid work, education and property". SDG's goal is to end poverty by 2030 to improve the lives of disadvantaged people by providing them basic (facilities. https://www.in.undp.org/content/india/en/home/p ost-2015/sdg-overview/goal-1.html)

"Based on employing a new poverty line of $1.25 per day at 2005 Purchasing Power Parity (PPP), made available on account of new information on PPP exchange rates, due to the efforts of the International Comparison Program, the World Bank estimates that 41.6% of India's population (approximately 455 million) is now living below the poverty line (Basin, 2009).

"Over the past two decades, India has witnessed sound economic growth to emerge as one of the world's fastest-growing economies. Poverty has been more than halved since 2004, but the spread of the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) in 2020 hampered the country's economic growth trajectory and caused severe health, social, and economic impacts.ADB intends to sustain its regular assistance program and deploy additional resources to support India's many COVID-19-related challenges. The bank will seek to accelerate efforts for financial leveraging to attract private investments and promote local resource mobilization". (https://www.adb.org/publications/india-fact-sheet 2021)

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"There is need for a faster and robust development of the agricultural sector, to provide both immediate employment and basic food (and caloric) requirement. Also there is a need to put in place a more enlarged and efficiently working public distribution system, along with a responsive, regulated, accountable, and functioning public health system, to take care of the nutritional and health needs of vast masses of poor and marginalized people. The State must assume major responsibility and increase investment in agriculture, health and other social welfare sectors substantially, to make some dent in the gross income and health inequalities (Bhasin, 2019)".

Although the Indian government has made several initiatives with the support of UNDP, WHO, and the Ministry of Rural Development to provide cheap housing to everybody and promote employment possibilities, particularly for women, the situation remains dire. Skills development programs for better livelihood were funded by the India Development Foundation, UNDP, and Xyntéo, with support from the IKEA Foundation. National Service Scheme (NSS) and Yuva Kendra Sangathan (NYKS) (2014-2017) The Government of India began involving youth engagement in peace and sustainable development programmes in collaboration with the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports. https://www.academia.edu/49242883/Sustainable_Develop ment_Goals_2015_A_Review

2) *Zero Hunger and Women:* Hunger is the consequence of low income and high expenses. In other words, if the family income is low or nil and requirements are more than income, the family will suffer from poverty and hunger. It is a basic right of every human being to get food for their survival. Every government and other organization should work toward this goal. Women can contribute significantly to increase the family income by working from home and outside the home as well. It is possible only when they get an equal chance for education and work. In India, many Self Help Groups are Government supported for women empowerment and human development. Women are involved in the field of Micro Financing, not just for poverty eradication but to make themselves good managers and entrepreneurs so that they can get skill development, literacy, health, schooling, and gender sensitivity training. For example, APMAS (Mahila Abhivruddhi Society, Andhra Pradesh) and Kudumba shree in Kerala (Reddy and Manak, 2005) are working for poverty eradication successfully. In Gujarat, the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) has worked for women's employment to make them self reliant and decision workers. Pradhan, based in Rajasthan focuses on poor tribal communities to generate forest-based livelihoods and natural resource management (Anand et al, 2019).

With over 15% of the population deemed undernourished, South Asia continues to be one of the most hungry regions on the planet. India's agriculture sector employs over 40% of the country's workforce. Agriculture, forestry, and fishing, on the other hand, account for only 15.5 percent of GDP value-added. The Indian government has also made important initiatives to improve food security, such as establishing a targeted public distribution system across India, establishing a National Nutrition Mission, and enacting the National Food Security Act. The Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana, the Government Mission on Sustainable Agriculture, and a slew of other national initiatives in horticulture, agricultural technology, and livestock are all helping to improve the situation. (https://in.one.un.org/page/sustainable-development-goals/zero-hunger-programme-sdg-2/)

3) *Good Health -Well Being and Women:* It will not work if half of society will be ignored in terms of health benefits and well-being as the whole family should be healthy in every manner. So, women should have equal rights for being healthy and getting all the facilities. Then only they can take care of other family members. They are mothers who have a responsibility to bring healthy babies for our future generation. Furthermore, they have a double workload as they work at home and outside as well. That's why in 2014, United Nations member states proposed a set of sustainable development goals (SDGs) to help further the millennium development goals that they had proposed in New York in 2000.

Of these 17 SDGs, Goal 3 (i.e., SDG 3) was titled "Good Health and Well-Being" This goal highlighted women's health and well-being via two key objectives. The first, SDG 3.1, aimed to reduce maternal mortality rates (MMR), and, the second, SDG 3.7, aimed to ensure access to sexual and reproductive health care services. (Daher-Nashif & Bawadi, 2020) "The health of people, particularly of women throughout the world, has remained a matter of concern. No doubt the health of people is improving but, our health system has not always understood the factors that influence the health status of women, nor has it addressed women's health issues adequately. Several factors resist women from availing themselves of health facilities globally. Among the prominent ones include persistent disparities between women and men notably in parts of Asia" (Deshpande & Bhat, 2019).

Females' health is still an issue of concern. The coexistence of disease burdens linked to reproductive health, nutrition, and infections, as well as the developing epidemic of chronic and non-communicable diseases, has increased as a result of population aging

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and changes in the socio-economic determinants of health. women's health has belonged not only to maternity and child health. This broader perspective includes health issues that affect women beyond their reproductive years, as well as those that affect men. (https://www.thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/lancet/PIIS0140- 6736(15)60497-4.pdf)

In India, women's health, (Bhasin, 2019). is a big issue as there are a variety of diseases that are communicable like tuberculosis, malaria, HIV, and many non-communicable diseases like blood pressure, diabetes, and cardiovascular diseases. On the other hand, over 50,000 people die per day in India of diseases that emerge from pathogens and animals. Dengue and Chikungunya are also on the increase (Draft National Health Policy, 2015). India accounts for most of the infant deaths globally. Diarrhea and pneumonia continue to be the biggest killers in children. Malnutrition is also a factor of ill health and mortality. As per the District level Health Survey of 2013-14, in Tamil Nadu, which has made good progress in the health sector, 49.2 percent of women in their reproductive age-15-49 are anemic. That's why they give birth to underweight children.

The government with its state Government has started Swachh Bharat Abhiyan (Clean India Movement) to ensure the health of its people. India has taken health as its basic duty to achieve SDGs. In Post the UN Sustainable Development Summit, a Draft National Health Policy was put in 2015, which talks about programmes for addressing CD and NCDs with the laudable aim of "the attainment of the highest possible level of good health and well-being, through a preventive and promotive health care orientation in all development policies, and universal access to good quality health care services without anyone having to face financial hardship as a consequence." It recognizes the salience of preventive and promotive health, integration of AYUSH with mainstream, and ensuring adequate investment. For safe drinking water, The National Rural Drinking Water Programme ensures, at least 90 percent of rural households are provided with the piped water supply that by 2022 as many states like Bihar has only 2.60 percent piped water. http://ris.org.in/pdf/SDGs_Report_Chapter_3.pdf

Many programmes were implemented in India, such as The Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India began a scheme called "Kishori Shakti Yojna" (KSY) in 2000, which was a Nutrition Programme for Adolescent Girls to empower them.

Thereafter, (NPAG) was launched as a pilot project in 51 identified districts across the country in 2002-03 to address the problem of under-nourishment. Underweight adolescent girls are given 6 kg of free food grains per month as part of the programme. Both projects have had some impact on the lives of adolescent girls (AGs), but not to the extent that was hoped for.

4) *Quality Education and Women:* This is the most important goal because the development of any society depends on the level of education of its population. So, the Right to education must be provided to all genders without any biasness. In any society, various kinds of people exist who have different educational needs. These needs should be fulfilled 246 at every level primary, secondary or higher education in their required languages. It will enhance not only social status but the economic status of the communities because all the members can work equally. In Education for Sustainable Development Goals: Learning Objectives (UNESCO 2017a) stated about cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioral learning to achieve the target of getting knowledge and upskilling children, youth, and adults with the idea of "lifelong learning for all" will be achieved by micro, meso, and macro-level perspectives, specifically referring to the role of (1) individuals and their families (the micro-level); (2) schools, education, and training initiatives (the Meso level); and (3) regulating governments (the macro level) (Boeren, 2019). In this way when Government take initiative with the help of academic institution, definitely individuals will get quality education whether they belong to either gender.

"The story of India's educational achievements is one of mixed success. On the downside, India has 22 percent of the world's population, but 46 percent of the world's illiterates, and is home to a high proportion of the world's out-of-school children and youth. On the positive side, it has made encouraging recent progress in raising schooling participation".

The article also mentioned the data from the Education for All Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2006)where the literacy rate of 15+ age which is 61.0 percent in total, 73.4 percent male and 47.8 percent female. Although age between 15-24 years literacy rate in total is76.4 in which 84.2 percent are male and 67.7 percent are women. The government of India introduced many programmes (Smith, A. 2010).

For universalization of elementary education, encourage higher education in its directive principle of State Policy in Article 45, Constitutional Amendment 2002 to make education as a Fundamental Right and enactment of RTE (Right to Education) Act. For that Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA-Education for all) has been launched, with States/Union Territories since 2000-01. Its overall aims are to enroll all children in school and eradicate all gender and social category gaps at primary and upper primary stages two special schemes, supported under SSA. These are:

The National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL) was launched in 2003 which

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emphasizes the responsibility of teachers to recognize such girls who are not able to cope with the pace of learning in the class or feel neglected and pay special attention to bring them in the mainstream to save them from dropping out. By the end of 2012-13, 41.2 million girls have been covered in 3,353 EBBs in districts, 41,779 Model School Clusters have been established. Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) Scheme: These are residential upper primary schools for girls from marginalized communities to include them in the school system with all security measures where schools are at great distances It is launched in 27 States/UTs. Up to the year 2012-13, in 3,609 KGBVs, 500 girls were enrolled.

The Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA), is established in March 2009, revised in 2013 for improved secondary education in which the Girls Hostel Scheme and National Incentive Scheme for Girls, A sum of Rs.3,000 is a fixed deposit in the name of eligible girls up to class tenth were included.

Mahila Samakhya (MS) Programme: It was launched in 1988 to pursue the objectives of the National Policy on Education, 1986. It recognized the importance of education for women empowerment through capacity building among poor women to address gender and social barriers to education and for the establishment of women's rights at the family and in society.

Saakshar Bharat Scheme: It was implemented in 2009 up to 31 March 2017 were 2.86 crore learners (including 2.05 crore females passed the biannual basic literacy assessment tests under basic literacy conducted by the National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS), up to March 2014. Almost 1.53 lakh Adult Education Centres are functioning. Vocational Training programme through Jan Shikshan Sansthan between 2009 to 2014, 29 lakh learners benefitted under out of which the women beneficiaries were 25.02 lakhs.

Beti Bachao Beti Padhao: It has been launched on 22 January 2015 where the overall aim was to save the girl child and educate them properly (http://www.ris.org.in/sdg/india-and-sustainable-development-goals-way-forward).

Government of India has done a lot of work of women education but still miles are left to cover.

5) *Women and Gender Equality:* According to Lohani (2017) "UNDP focuses on gender equality and women's empowerment not only as human rights, but also because they are a pathway to achieving the Millennium Development Goals and sustainable development". If a society can't see equally to all its members, it can't use the potential of them fully. To gain all the benefits from its population, a society must facilitate equal rights to all the genders, especially women who are being ignored from way back. This equality should be there in social, economic, political, education and in the work field to empower them. "Women's empowerment can also be seen as an important process in reaching gender equality, which is understood to mean that the "rights, responsibilities and opportunities of individuals will not depend on whether they are born male or female" (Lohani, 2017).It should be applicable in all walks of like e.g. education, employability, social justice and so on.

As India is a patriarchal society, women are not attaining equal rights in all walks of life especially in social life. "The workforce participation rate of India's women is significantly lower than that of the men; and amongst the women, the employment levels of urban women are lower than those of their rural counterparts. Using the findings of the 2018 Periodic Labor Force Survey (PLFS), released in 2019, this brief provides an overview of the current state of female labor force participation in urban India. It analyses data on vocational training and employment, education and employment, rural versus urban employment, and employment in social groups. The brief makes recommendations for arresting the decline in urban women's inclusion in the workforce. It outlines the ways in which the skilling, education, and labor departments can work together to skill the labor force in the jobs that are commensurate with education levels, and also diversify the areas in which the skilled and educated candidates can work"(Ratho, 2020).

Gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls is both across cutting issue as well as a goal in its own right. To account for the overlap of SDG 5 with the majority of the other SDGs, the UN Secretary-General's synthesis report suggests that each target should only be considered achieved if it is met for all relevant income and social groups, which includes women, must be followed.

6) *Clean Water–Sanitation and Women:* Men and women equally involve in water consumption, sanitation, and water conservation. Their awareness and education towards this issue are equally important. Although women's awareness will be more helpful in preventing extra water consumption. In this way, water can be saved. "Women's advocacy groups have drawn attention to the important role that women are playing as natural resource managers and agents of change. It is important to recognize this role and to draw on women's commitment and expertise in shaping strategies and decisions" (Warth & Koparanova, 2012). "Globally, billions of people still do not have access to safe water. Every day they need to travel far to fetch water, and most of them are women (Irianti & Prasetyoputra, 2019). So, policies related to clean water and sanitization affect more on women.

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"For much of India, toilets are all about an issue of sanitation, health, privacy and dignity, and gender rights. According to a UNICEF fact sheet, India with 626 million people who practice open-air defecation has more than twice the number of the next 18 countries combined. This accounts for 90 percent of the 692 million people in South Asia who practice open-air defecation. 59 percent of the 1.1 billion people in the world who practice open-air 374 defecations live in India (Banerjee, Pasha, M. A. M., Fatima & Isaac, 2013)". "Public defecation goes hand in hand with unclean drinking water and leads to disease and malnutrition and thus pollution caused by feces mixing in with crops and water. In addition, this lack of sanitation is exacerbated by a lack of hygiene products, specifically for young women, a problem that becomes an impediment not only to their education but to their lives. These conditions are all interconnected but can be resolved by a hygienic environment in India (Villarreal, 2015)".

7) *Affordable and Clean Energy and Women:* Same like water, energy sources can also utilize in saving mode if the people will be aware especially women. New ways can be found for better environments and women can be helpful in this matter as they are the main consumers in the home. Yildiz (2016) mentioned that "According to the Basic Needs approach, the very first aim of development should be nutrition, housing, clean water, energy, health, education and employment for a better life".

According to Ataniyazova (2003) Environmental pollution has a negative health impact on the local populations who are exposed to high levels of toxins in the drinking water. Women and children are particularly affected (Warth & Koparanova, 2012).

For clean energy moment, the Indian Government has initiated renewable energy by 2022 and signed on the International Solar Alliance (along with France) to get non-costly energy than coal. The Government also invited to business and private sectors to work with central and state governments to plan innovative renewable energy ideas such as home energy systems and renewable energy mini-grids, businesses 395 can help 396 remote communities. (https://in.one.un.org/unibf/energy/).As women are more affected, so they will be the first beneficiaries through these projects.

8) *Decent Work and Economic Growth:* Women need a favourable and enabling environment to work without any kind of exploitation. A healthy environment boosts their capabilities which converts to the economic growth of the society. So, social and economic security should be there.

According to UN Women Report, globally, 94 percent of men are working but only 63 percent of women (aged 25 to 54) are in the labour force. Women's participation rate In Central and Southern Asia, the rate has fallen to 37 percent. Only in Latin America and the Caribbean, it rose from 57 percent to 68 percent. In India almost 50 percent of the population are women but only 29 percent are in employment (Shetter, 2015).

Currently, the gender gap in pay scale informal jobs stands at 23 percent worldwide will not close until 2086 in the same scenario. On the other hand, women are involved in many substandard jobs, unpaid jobs that are very difficult to find in data. Also, some jobs are designated to women only which are lower in status and pay. There must be equality in providing jobs, equal opportunities, equal pay, and facilities for women especially mothers for day care centres for their babies so that they can go out for their livelihood. Therefore, it is targeted in UN Women report that "By 2030, achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value" and "Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular, women migrants, and those in precarious employment (Rosa, 2017)".

India is an agricultural country where women are mainly occupied on no or very less pay scale. Through public investment and new technologies, productivity can be increased by Government intervention. It can be done by Increasing the labour force participation of women which will convert to National development. The government's National Skill Development Mission, Deendayal well as the National Service Scheme, and the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme are launched for better opportunities of employment. (https://in.one.un.org/page/sustainable-development- goals/sdg-8/)

"The contribution of women to India's GDP is 18 percent, one of the lowest proportions in the world, reflecting the fact that only 25 percent of India's labour force is female. More than 70 percent of the potential GDP opportunity comes from increasing women's participation in the labour force by 10 percentage points, according to McKinsey Global Institute's recent report, The power of parity: Advancing women's equality in Asia-Pacific"

9) *Industries, Innovation and Infrastructure, and Women:* In all walks of life, women can play a vital role and their full potential can be used in Industries as workers, managers, CEOs, or owners. Their innovative ideas can lead society towards development.

So, suitable infrastructure should be given to them for proper growth. "Infrastructure developments in transportation as well as urban planning, which take into account the safety and mobility needs of women, are important factors enabling women to move around freely.

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Safe and affordable transport enables women to fully participate in economic activities as well as in community life and plays an important role in broadening access to health and education opportunities. Safe environment also means not being exposed to health risks created through environmental degradation such as air and water pollution"(Warth and Koparanova, 2012).

To support economic development labour human well-being, construct excellent, reliable, sustainable, and resilient infrastructure, including regional and trans-border infrastructure, with an emphasis on affordable and equitable access for all. That's why the Indian government has started new programmes as Make in India and Start well as Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay Shramev Jayate Karyakram to increase innovation and sustainable industrial and economic development for all including women (https://in.one.un.org/page/sustainable-development-goals/sdg-9/).

Espinosa said she is very much looking forward to engaging and working together with India under her presidency of the 193-member UN General Assembly. Furthermore, "India is indeed a very important player of the multilateral system. It is a friendly country to the United Nations. If India succeeds in the achievement of the 2030 Agenda - we are talking about 1.3 billion people - this really can change the face of the world," she told here. (https://www.unadap.org/post/india-s-stance-on-sdg-9- industry-innovation-and-infrastructure)

10) *Reduced Inequality:* Reduction in inequality is a must not only among all the people but between men and women as well. Equality in opportunities and rights and the precondition of equality is to be given to the women so that they can work in a positive environment and can prove themselves. "By providing the same opportunities to women and men, including in decision-making in all kinds of activities, a sustainable path of development can be achieved to ensure that women's and men's interests are both taken into account in the allocation of resources" (Lohani, 2017). According to the United Nations Development Programme- "Income inequality has increased in nearly everywhere in recent decades, but at different speeds. It's lowest in Europe and highest in the Middle East. In 2016, 22 percent of global income was received by the top 1 percent compared with 10 percent of income for the bottom 50 percent. These widening disparities require sound policies to empower lower-income earners, and promote economic inclusion of all- regardless of sex, race or ethnicity".

(https://www1.undp.org/content/oslo-governance-centre/en/home/sustainable-development-goals/goal-10-reduced-inequalities.html). It is seen that inequality is there among the countries but within the countries, women are more vulnerable than men.

"In 2017, the richest 1% of the world's population held 50.1% of the world's wealth, while the poorest 70% of the world's working-age population people together hold only 2.7% of the global wealth. a total of 36 million millionaires, who account for 0.7% of the world's adult population – control 46% of total global wealth".

By 2030, the UN has set a goal to empower and promote social, economic, and political inclusion of all people, regardless of their age, gender, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion, or economic or another status, by ensuring equal opportunity and reducing inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies, and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies, and practices. Adopt policies, particularly budgetary, wage, and social protection programmes, to gradually attain greater equality. (https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/envision 2030-goal10.html)

11) *Sustainable Cities and Communities and Women:* According to UN Women, the target of providing access to safe, affordable, accessible, and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety with a special arrangement of safeguards for women, children, disabled, and senior citizens will be considered to fulfilled by 2030. Also providing universal access to safe, inclusive, and technical assistance to strengthen them.

"By 2030, a historic 60 percent of people worldwide will likely to live in cities. For women and girls, urban residency can open doors to more income, better work, and increased independence. Yet many, particularly lower-income women, are far from experiencing their equal rights to all the benefits and opportunities that urban areas can offer". (https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/women-and-the-SDGs/sdg-11-sustainable-cities- communities)

Urban settings, public transport, medical facilities at the time of childbirth, clean water, and sanitization are not adequate for women especially in urban slums which is the major concern for sustainable development goals.

India is increasingly urbanizing. The country's urban population expanded by 91 million people between 2001 and 2011. Between 2018 and 2050, India is expected to gain 416 million urban residents. India is anticipated to have seven megacities with populations of more than 10 million people by 2030. Rural areas account for 68 percent of the country's total population, while slums account for 17 percent of the urban population. The Smart Cities Mission, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission, and the Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) are all trying to improve urban spaces in India.

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The Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, launched by Prime Minister Narendra Modi, aims to accomplish houses for all.

Men and women are equally responsible for consuming accessible, green, and public spaces, affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums, sustainable urbanization, protecting cultural and natural heritage, disaster management, paying special attention to air quality and municipal and other waste management, and helping underdeveloped countries through financial and producing the resources. So both can equally participate to achieve them. As women are a major role in SDGs, their education, awareness, and active participation are essential for achieving the targets. "In the sustainable development approach, the main problem is the attitude of human beings as the consumers and producers. That's why it was discussed during the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and it reaffirms the vital role of women and the need for their full and equal participation and leadership in all areas of sustainable development and decided to accelerate the elimination of all kind of Discrimination against Women" (Yildiz, 2016).

12) *Responsible Consumption-Production and Women:* Women particularly those from socially and economically disadvantaged socio-cultural and economic layers, are harmed by unsustainable production, waste generation, and pollution. Women are impacted by the depletion of natural resources, which they rely on for survival. Women frequently face bad working circumstances in areas of the workforce that are becoming increasingly "feminized." Women in poor nations are increasingly performing unpaid and informal labour in industries such as textiles and waste management, resulting in increased involuntary and misinformed exposure to dangerous products and chemicals. Women are more susceptible to harmful side effects. (https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/7ff96708-en/index.html? item Id=/content/component/7ff96708-en)

In India as well, the same situation is present for women. It has a male dominating society. Thus women's sufferings are uncountable.

13) *Climate Action and Women:* United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 2020, briefed that "Climate change has a greater impact on those sections of the population, in all countries, that are most reliant on natural resources for their livelihoods and/or who have the least capacity to respond to natural hazards, such as droughts, landslides, floods, and hurricanes. Women commonly face higher risks and greater burdens from the impacts of climate change in situations of poverty, and the majority of the world's poor are women. Women contribute to sustainable development but they are also affected by the implications of environmental degradation and the negative effects of climate change" (https://unfccc.int/gender) Personal actions to prevent climate: Special Euro Barometer/Wave 72.1

According to this Euro Barometer, women are more actively participate in achieving the goal of climate conservation by their acts. Warth & Koparanova (2012) mentioned that the Euro barometer survey on attitudes towards climate change in 2009 found that women more often than men reported to have undertaken personal actions such as recycling, saving water and energy at home, and using environmentally-friendly transports. The OECD also found that "men generally tend to perform energy-saving activities less often than women" (OECD, 2011: 67).

India is the world's third-largest emitter of carbon dioxide, accounting for 6.9% of worldwide emissions. India finally ratified the historic Paris Agreement on October 2, 2016. India has pledged to reduce its GDP-related emissions by 20-25 percent by 2020. The Indian government has also created a National Action Plan on Climate Change, as well as a National Mission for Green India, to directly address this issue. These national plans are supplemented by a slew of individual programmes focusing on solar energy, improved energy efficiency, sustainable habitats, water, the preservation of the Himalayan ecology, and the promotion of strategic climate knowledge. (https://in.one.un.org/page/sustainable-development-goals/combat-climate-change-sdg-13/)

14) *Life below Water and Women:* Marine industry has many challenges like marine debris and nutrient pollution, improper harvesting, overfishing, illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing and destructive fishing practices, conservation of coastal areas, maintaining national and international laws, increase scientific knowledge, develop research capacity and transfer marine technology are included. UN report says- "The world's oceans—spreading over 70 percent of the planet—are in crisis from decimated fish stocks, pollution, and acidification. Sustainable management is essential since oceanic changes can result in globally significant climate shifts. Equally vital is the protection of human livelihoods.

Nearly a billion people, 12 percent of the global population, depend on oceans, seas, and marine resources. Women are the most venerable who face the risks of ocean degradation with fewer assets and alternatives for income who are mainly involved in fish processing and marketing on very low pay without any health safety and labor rights. The maritime business is managed by men. According to the data, in 2016, only one of the top 100 seafood companies was run by a woman.

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According to India's Fifth National Report to the Convention on Biological Diversity, the country boasts a 7,517 kilometre-long coastline that nourishes and offers a source of income for more than 250 million people. India is the world's second-largest fish producer. The Sagarmala Project, also known as the Blue Revolution, is an initiative of the Indian government to improve the state of India's ports and coastlines. The government has launched a National Plan for the Conservation of Aquatic Ecosystems to protect marine ecosystems. The protection of coastal and marine biodiversity is a priority for India. (https://in.one.un.org/page/sustainable-development- goals/sdg-14/)

In India, 3.8 million fishermen and 1.6 million fisherwomen are among the 5.4 million active fishermen. They mostly deal with the processing and sale of fish. However, in the fields of aquaculture, research, development, and education, their participation and contribution are expanding. Women's participation in these activities provides them with additional revenue to help sustain their families. The National Bank for Agriculture (NABARD) has established several programmes to help women in the fisheries industry better their socioeconomic condition, with a focus on providing credit support through self-help groups.

(Samantaray & Pathak, 1998) Although women are just as productive as men, they get paid nearly half or unpaid. (Samantaray & Pathak, 1998, Ogden, 2017).

15) *Life on Land and Women:* According to Ryan (1992) tropical forests are shrinking and continue to decline per year. Simultaneously the population of the world has increased rapidly.

Forest became half of its size and population became double of its size (WRI, 1994). In this context, women's roles have generally attracted attention for their potential part in fertility reduction rather than in economic growth and development (As cited by Mehra, 1995).

Jacobson (1992) and Sen (1992) emphasized that policymakers have always given more attention to women's part in reproduction than to their part in production (as cited by Mehra, 1995). So, Women can reduce the percentage of the new population and increase the productive force to maintain the balance in ecology. By 2020, the UN has targeted to ensure the conservation, restoration, and sustainable use of terrestrial and inland freshwater ecosystems and their services, in particular forests, wetlands, mountains, and drylands, and natural habitats. Also to stop deforestation and desertification, poaching and trafficking of protected species. According to the UN women's Annual Report- "Around the world, 1.6 billion people depend on forests for their livelihoods, yet forests are being felled at an astonishing rate. Between 2010 and 2016, 3.3 million hectares were lost, often for profits that bypassed local communities.

Women, particularly those who are poor and living in rural areas, often depend on forests for fuel, fodder, and food. Deforestation for some means spending many more hours each day walking long distances to secure these needs". Further said that women have restricted rights on the land which hinders them from making decisions about the use of land. Although 25 and 35 percent of women are involved in forestry, they must be considered appropriately.

The Constitution of India provides equal rights to both men and women but they don't have proper access but after Hindu Succession Act (Amendment), 2005, has expanded the space for enhanced women's land rights. and implementation of Forest Rights Act (FRA), 2006 (provisions of mandatory joint titling) are making significant contribution Reduction of stamp duty, for the lands registered in the name of women, has encouraged women's property ownership rights in some states Secure land rights of women have demonstrated enhanced agricultural productivity and building resilience among the small and marginal farmers, who constitute 75 percent of the farming community. (https://landportal.org/debates/2017/womens-land-rights-India-and-sustainable-development-goals-SDGs)

According to the Agriculture Census, 2010-11, nearly a third of cultivators in India are women, but they own less than 10.34 percent of land and operate 12.8 percent of holdings, although 75 percent of the female workforce, largely marginal or landless, relies on agriculture for survival. The average size of a woman's landholding is 0.93 hectares, compared to 1.18 hectares for men and 1.15 hectares for everyone. The regional inequality in women's land rights was noticeable, with states in the southern region having a disproportionately higher number and area of landholdings operated by women, while states in the northern and eastern regions have a worse condition. In the last ten years (2001-2011) (Choudhury et al, 2017)

16) *Peace, Justice, Strong Institutions, and Women:* For gaining these goals, equal socio-political settlements are required. No community can develop if there is no peace among its citizens on social, political, economic grounds which are part of strong foundations of justice. This applies in women's context as well. "The most basic and important premise for women's empowerment is peace and the absence of violence, including domestic violence" (Warth and Koparanova, 2012). "Women employment for sustainable development should be taken into consideration in terms of political choices, education, financial support, and social perceptions. The participation of women's employment into the workforce as human capital for sustainable development is very important for acquiring the environmental and production

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perception, an increase in their income creating financial resources for saving and investment, and getting more respect in society" (Yildiz, 2016).

"Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels." This is an important recognition that we cannot achieve poverty eradication and sustainable development Without tackling conflict and insecurity especially with the reference to women. Women are still being excluded from peace talks, post-conflict recovery processes are still failing to reflect the priorities of women and girls, police and peacekeeping forces remain male-dominated, and women and girls continue to face violence on an alarming scale, around the world (LEAD, 2016). India is not far behind. Almost the same issues Indian women are facing in a patriarchal society where men are dominant traditionally and religiously.

17) *Partnership for the Goals and Women:* Targets can be achieved only when all the stakeholders participate fully. Not only men and women but all the government organizations, public-private organizations should also work. Efforts should be done individually and mass level as well as nationally and internationally.

It can be seen that all the goals are interconnected. Without education, equality, peace, and justice, all other goals are difficult to achieve. Women's contribution to sustainable development, and their knowledge and skills, must be recognized. (Warth and Koparanova, 2012). A woman who performs duty as a daughter, sister, wife, mother in the family where children are growing and being respectful to the environment, nature, history, cultural values, women are models to those children by doing the right things in front of them. The relationship between woman's employment and the five capital model is shown in this figure (Yildiz, 2016). Five –Woman Employment and Capital Model for a Sustainable Development (Yildiz, 2016).

II. Conclusion

Sustainable goals are meant for the development of all the people who are living in this world currently and have provisions to save the biodiversity of the earth for future generations. In this article, the researcher is looking through women's perspectives, their participation, and their role in achieving sustainable development goals. According to Dankelman (2010), although women are involved in every aspect of these goals they are equally affected by the consequences of environmental changes and degradation. Women face more challenges than men like they have to bear pregnancy, child-rearing responsibility, and taking care of elders with other household chores. In this stage, pollution affects more to them. So, there should be protective measures for them. Equality in every walk of life, better women/girls pro opportunities, rights, and policies should be made for them. "To take gender issues into account in their daily work, policymakers need to be sensitized to gender dimensions. There are many examples of gender training in the UNECE region. In Lithuania, for example, the National Programme of Equal Opportunities for Women and Men for 2005-2009 covered the integration of a gender equality perspective in environmental protection. Between 2006 and 2009, gender equality training for environmental specialists was organized. A total of 82 specialists of the Ministry of Environment received gender equality training (Warth & Koparanova, 2012). Another important aspect is 'Awareness' which is very essential to use the full potential of women. By awareness, they can be thoughtful producers and consumers and can help in achieving sustainable goals effectively.

"Both climate change itself and related policies are likely to have wide-ranging effects on gender relations, especially in developing countries. Poor women face many gender-specific barriers that limit their ability to cope with and adapt to a changing climate; these must be removed in the interests of both gender equity and adaptation efficiency" (Terry, 2009). Dankelman (2002) in his article said that "climate change not only requires major technological solutions but also has political and socio-economic aspects with implications for development policy and practice. Questions of globalization, equity, and the distribution of welfare and power underlie many of its manifestations, and its impacts are not only severe but also unevenly distributed".

Dankelman (2002) further said that there are links between gender and the environment, both positive and harmful which help to show the present and potential ties between gender and climate change, as well as climate change's gender-specific consequences. It also shows how women's participation might translate into more gender-sensitive outcomes in the run-up to the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD).

The main thing is that women should have all the rights which men own. On social grounds, they have the independence to live their life freely. They should have decision-making power related to their own life. They must have the right to education and work equally as men and getting the same salary for the same work which will help reduce hunger and poverty. Clean water, sanitation, clean energy, a suitable work environment, and infrastructure for economic growth will play an important part and enhance women's good health and well-being. Peace, Justice, and strong institutions in the society will encourage political empowerment which will provide them the right to vote and they will have their own political opinion. These empowerments will

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be helpful to achieve sustainable goals. So, the governments should make policies accordingly.

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Tráfico de Tierras en Áreas Periurbanas de Lima, Perú: Tipos e Implicancias Político- Institucionales y Socioculturales

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Resumen- El propósito de este artículo es analizar, determinar y describir los tipos de tráficos de tierras, así como las implicaciones políticas, institucionales y culturales. En específico, en el aspecto político-institucional se toma en cuenta el rol que cumplen las municipalidades y las prácticas clientelares que derivan del uso de instrumentos de reconocimiento para la posesión del suelo. En los aspectos sociales y culturales, se considera la transformación de dirigente gestor a dirigente traficante y las fracturas de las comunidades campesinas.

Palabras clave: *tráfico de tierras, mercado de suelo, periurbanización, lima, perú.*

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Tráfico de Tierras en Áreas Periurbanas de Lima, Perú: Tipos e Implicancias Político-Institucionales y Socioculturales

Nekson Pimentel Sánchez[1]

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I. Introducción: Escenario y Antecedentes

Un aspecto persistente y creciente en el Perú es la inaccesibilidad a la vivienda y al suelo urbano que sea seguro y de bajo precio que, en definitiva, afecta sobre todo a sectores con escasos ingresos socioeconómicos y hace que surjan y extiendan intereses por convertir al suelo urbano en una mercancía. Esta situación es nutrida y acompañada por un discurso político pro titulación pero con una ausencia de decisiones y políticas de Estado que permitan garantizar ese acceso, así como un mayor control y uso de su suelo por las comunidades y el propio Estado.

Este fenómeno se expresa en la proliferación de ocupaciones de tierras en zonas periurbanas, productivas o no, que ya no son directamente por necesidad de residencia, como las ciencias sociales había registrado en el estudio de las barriadas en el siglo XX, sino están impulsadas por motivaciones de transacción y acumulación de capital, donde se encuentran involucrados diversos agentes urbanos. En las últimas décadas, incluso, se ha hecho más evidente la presencia de tráfico de tierras, realizado no solo por organizaciones criminales sino también por familias, dirigentes y autoridades, ya que los terrenos ocupados son vistos como una opción de acumular dinero.

No existen cifras oficiales que nos permitan saber con exactitud sobre la dinámica del mercado de suelo, y en especial del tráfico de tierras. Sin embargo, Espinoza y Fort (2020: 11) estiman que el nuevo suelo urbano creado entre 2001 y 2018 en las 43 ciudades con mayor población del país se distribuye sobre ocupaciones del modo siguiente: 47 % de las nuevas urbanizaciones a nivel nacional corresponden a ocupaciones legales; el 46% a lotizaciones informales; 6% a urbanizaciones formales y 1% a proyectos de vivienda social. De las ocupaciones ilegales, el 10% correspondería al tráfico de tierras.

Sin desconocer otros aspectos vinculados a este fenómeno del tráfico de tierras en términos de cumplir un rol importante en la producción de la ciudad en nuestros tiempos, en las transacciones del suelo, establecimiento de precios, agentes involucrados y funciones del suelo urbano; el presente artículo tiene el propósito de analizar y describir los tipos de tráficos de tierras, así como las implicaciones políticas, institucionales y culturales. Se considera la dinámica de cada tipo y sus mixturas y proximidades con prácticas como el clientelismo, la corrupción y la criminalidad. En cuanto al aspecto político-institucional, se toma en cuenta el rol que cumplen las municipalidades y las prácticas clientelares que derivan del uso de instrumentos de reconocimiento para la posesión del suelo. En los aspectos sociales y culturales, se considera la transformación de dirigente gestor a dirigente traficante y las fracturas de las comunidades campesinas. Asimismo, como punto de entrada, haremos un breve estado del arte a las aproximaciones sobre el fenómeno.

El análisis, fundamentalmente, es realizado a partir de la información producida mediante un trabajo etnográfico, en especial la aplicación de técnicas como diarios de campo, observación participante, informante y entrevista con dirigentes y vecinos de los asentamientos urbanos que, desde 2012, se formaron mediante ocupaciones y fragmentaciones en zonas no productivas situadas a la altura del centro poblado de Punchauca, distrito de Carabayllo, al noreste de la urbe limeña y margen izquierda del valle del río Chillón: Asociación de Vivienda El Mirador Nadine Heredia, Asociación Juventud Solidaria de Carabayllo y Agrupación El Mirador José de San Martín de Punchauca. Además, se toma en cuenta información

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[1] En memoria de Maribel, mi hermana del alma que vive en mi ser, hoy y siempre.

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de fuente secundaria sobre el fenómeno en otras áreas.

Partimos de la idea de que existen tres tipos de tráfico de tierras: sistemático, intermedio y circunstancial. Cada uno de ellos será desarrollado con detenimiento más adelante, pero podemos decir que dependiendo de su nivel de especialización y despliegue, se vincula a prácticas de criminalidad, clientelismo y corrupción.

¿Y cuál es el estado de la cuestión sobre el fenómeno? Si bien el tráfico de tierras no es un fenómeno reciente, las aproximaciones y estudios sobre este fenómeno ha ido en aumento en los últimos años, pero una primera mención, aunque no desarrollado, se encuentra en Collier (1978), quien señala que debido al gran número de barriadas formadas durante el periodo de Odría, mucha gente tomó conciencia de las oportunidades que estas ofrecían, y "para aprovechar estas oportunidades, se creó una nueva ocupación, la de "traficante", esto es, la persona que se ganaba la vida trabajando como promotor de invasiones y consejero de barriadas en problemas legales y de otra índole" (Collier 1978: 86). Según el autor, aunque estos promotores hacían uso de sus influencias en el gobierno y en los partidos, generalmente estaban muy dispuestos a variar sus lealtades políticas, cuando la situación lo requería: "Dos de los más importantes "traficantes" del periodo de Prado habían adquirido sus primeras experiencias sobre formación de barriadas en las invasiones auspiciadas por Odría y Beltrán, durante el gobierno de Odría" (p. 87).

En otros trabajos (Pimentel 2014, 2017, 2020), hemos señalado la dinámica del tráfico de terrenos y que es un fenómeno de vital importancia para comprender los cambios en la producción de la ciudad y la configuración de nuestra sociedad actual, es decir, tomar en cuenta el fenómeno a partir de los intereses y prácticas de los actores, las relaciones que se establecen entre ellos y los mecanismos y procedimientos que sirven de soporte, ya que estos cambios también pueden estar asociados a un proceso de individuación donde la lógica pragmática es preponderante y una constante en búsqueda de beneficios y favores. De manera similar que en las prácticas clientelares, los agentes que participan en este fenómeno cuentan con intermediarios que reproducen las acciones de violencia contra quienes tienden a apropiarse los espacios que se encuentran dentro de sus expectativas, o a tratar de negociar cuando ya se haya concretado la toma de tierras.

Calderón (2016) señala que lo que está en cuestión en la actual discusión respecto a los asentamientos urbanos no es el cambio de un modo de acceso al suelo, sino una la imagen positiva, epistemológicamente construida, de la conquista de la ciudadanía social, la armonía, la solidaridad y la acción colectiva que ya no existiría más o que, en todo caso, se habría reducido a su expresión mínima. Esto por el proceso de individuación y mercantilización de la vivienda en curso desde 1990, momento que en que se instaura el neoliberalismo en el Perú.

Por su parte, Arriola (2019) estudió la respuesta del Municipio de Ate a las invasiones producto del tráfico. Precia que el comportamiento del Municipio depende del tipo de traficante y los intereses del actor ilegal: cuando se trate de un traficante político, el Municipio intervendrá convenientemente, brindando facilidades a cambio de apoyo político; mientras que en el caso que el traficante sea económico, el Municipio seguirá manteniéndose en estado de *stand off* frente a dicha invasión; pues su intervención no le generará ganancia política alguna. Si bien lo común de ambos tipos de traficantes es el interés económico, pero se diferencian en el modo que intentan controlar a los invasores: los traficantes *políticos* son pacíficos, buscan la legitimidad de los residentes de la asociación y el mantenerse estables en la dirigencia, por lo que producir vínculos con la Municipalidad aparece como una de sus principales prioridades para luego recibir beneficios de la Municipalidad (visación, obras, etc.), el cual no será gratuito: los dirigentes deben concretizar apoyo político al alcalde de turno. En tanto, los traficantes *económicos* son violentos, se concentran en los beneficios económicos de la actividad ilegal y no tienen intención de establecerse en una sola asociación como dirigentes (van invadiendo y traficando en distintas partes cada cierto tiempo), de ahí que no tengan motivos para generar legitimidad dentro de las invasiones creadas.

Manuel Antonio Vásquez (2020), desde una perspectiva histórica, investiga la usurpación de tierras del Estado en Puente Piedra. En especial, analiza cómo en1894, al comprar el Fundo Copacabana, Rigoberto Molina cometió el delito de apropiación ilícita por incluir en su escritura pública notarial un área de propiedad del Estado, e involucró en este delito al vendedor, al notario público, a los testigos, a los registradores públicos, a Beatriz Sattler, viuda de Norman, a jueces de Primera Instancia, otros notarios públicos y, finalmente, a Tomás Marsano. Este hecho habría perjudicado a la población y posterior desarrollo de Puente Piedra en términos sociales, culturales, económicos y urbanísticos.

Centeno, Gerónimo y Huarha (2020) estudian la confluencia entre corrupción y tráfico de tierras en Villa María del Triunfo. Entienden que ambas prácticas se admiten en la vida cotidiana, las cuales pueden ser asumidas para lograr objetivos individuales o colectivos. Así, concluyen que el tráfico de tierras sirvió a los pobladores para solucionar su problema de hábitat, asunto que responde a la necesidad de ciudadanos de bajos recursos que recurren a este mecanismo de toma de tierra como medio para satisfacer su necesidad de vivienda. Encuentran que la

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"la corrupción no solamente sirve para que los traficantes de terrenos lucren ofertando terrenos como si fueran zonas para vivienda, sino que agrega riesgos para las familias sobre lotes que no cuentan con los requisitos mínimos de seguridad para construir y vivir" (p. 184).

Se suma el estudio sobre el tráfico de tierras en zonas rurales. Shanee y Shanee (2016) investigaron los casos de San Martín y Amazonas, y explican que en pueblos rurales los traficantes dependen de las autoridades locales para falsificar documentos que prueben la propiedad anterior de la tierra y permitiéndoles el derecho a venderlos. Consideran al fenómeno como causa y consecuencia de la escasez de tierras y vinculadas también al proceso de migración, pero con una notoria ausencia de respuestas estatales frente al fenómeno del tráfico de tierras, incluso, tratándose de áreas de conservación.

II. Mercado y Tipología del Tráfico de Tierras

Según Topalov (1984), el mercado de suelo urbano es el lugar social donde se intercambian parcelas de terrenos que sufrirán un cambio de uso y que serán el soporte de la construcción de edificios destinados a distintos usos. Considera que "la condición previa histórica y estructural de la existencia de ese mercado es la separación entre propietarios del suelo y constructores capitalistas, los cuales constituyen su contrapartida, desde el punto de vista de la oferta y desde el de la demanda" (p. 240). La oferta no es autónoma, los terrenos no son puestos a venta de manera espontánea por los propietarios, pues, es la demanda de suelo la que genera la oferta y el cambio de uso determina el precio de transacción y los precios de ofertas posteriores. Así, la oferta no es autónoma de la demanda, esto debido a que en el mercado de suelo no se vende un producto sino un derecho, ya que el suelo no se produce. Es decir, no es el lugar de intercambio de equivalentes, ni es reproducible, pues, su precio no está determinado por su costo de producción, sino por la cercanía a los efectos útiles de aglomeración que ofrece el entorno urbano (L'Huillier, 2020: 71).

El suelo urbano no es producido por el trabajo, se trata de una mercancía ficticia, en consecuencia, el aumento de la oferta no necesariamente significará la reducción del precio de los terrenos urbanos. Según Baer y Kauw (2016), aquí se da un fenómeno conocido como "demanda derivada", donde "la mayor parte de la demanda no compite por suelo urbano para su consumo directo, sino por la actividad que le da soporte, en otras palabras, que […] compite por el suelo en función de las expectativas sobre el tipo e intensidad de uso que dicho suelo tolera en términos económicos, urbanísticos y normativos" (Baer y Kauw 2016: 7). De esta manera, se configuran las prácticas especulativas de distinto tipo (L'Huillier, 2020). Y la mayor parte de la demanda no compite por suelo urbano para el consumo directo e inmediato, sino por la actividad que le da soporte y las expectativas de ganancia económica y son estas expectativas de rentabilidad son las que estructuran los precios del suelo urbano. Las externalidades pueden ser diversas, y "es por ello que el suelo es una mercancía heterogénea que conforma un mercado segmentado y presenta precios diferenciados" (Baer y Kauw 2016: 7).

La heterogeneidad, asimismo, implica la existencia de ciertas lógicas en la producción de las ciudades. Abramo (2009) precisa que en América Latina, la producción de las ciudades resulta del funcionamiento de tres lógicas: la del estado, la del mercado y la de la necesidad. En nuestros tiempos, predomina la lógica del mercado (Ñiquen 2017, 2018; Pimentel, 2017). De ese modo, la lógica de necesidad se transforma en una lógica de "mercado informal de suelo", donde la acumulación a partir del valor de campo del suelo constituye uno de los principales de los agentes y una fragmentación de la oferta. En ese sentido, hay una proliferación de tráfico de tierras en espacios periurbanos.

El tráfico de tierras puede considerarse como la usurpación, apropiación ilegal y comercio de tierras (Shanne y Shanne, 2016). Lo común del tráfico de tierras es que en cuanto a utilización, el lote ya no es un soporte material para un proceso de edificación directa por quien realiza la ocupación, sino funciona y forma parte de la estrategia de transacción inmediata a usuarios finales y en otros casos como estrategia de reserva de valor (expectativa de valorización). Además, si bien el suelo puede funcionar como reserva de valor, no es comerciado por los propietarios, sino por quienes la ocupan ilegalmente.

El tráfico de tierras resulta siendo, al mismo tiempo, todo un sistema de intercambio especulativo del suelo, toda una unidad orgánica con una mixtura de elementos: crimen, dinero, símbolos de apropiación del territorio, conflicto, disimulo, sutileza, redes, agudeza, ingenio, organización, complicidad, alegalidad, etc. Es toda una institución que constituye parte de una vivencia concreta de la sociedad. El tráfico, a diferencia del tiempo, es perceptible, asumido, vivido y negociado por los sujetos involucrados, usando para ello múltiples mecanismos e instrumentos, desde legales hasta elementos de producción de violencia. Hay una mixtura entre mercado, clientelismo, corrupción y criminalidad. Está claro que no constituye solo agentes económicos, sino también políticos y delictivos. En tanto, los espacios urbanos y periurbanos no han dejado de ser espacios de jerarquías, disputas, estratificaciones y relaciones de poder.

Un análisis sobre acontecimientos y datos etnográficos sobre el fenómeno, nos permite

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acercarnos a la existencia de tres tipos de tráfico de tierras: circunstancial, intermedio y sistemático. Cada uno de estos tipos tienen sus diferencias, sus propias complejidades, pero al mismo son semejantes en el sentido de que resultan siendo eficaces. La distinción de cada una de ellas pasa por distinguir el tipo de tráfico de tierras, los agentes que participan, las características de estas y sus respectivas movilidades espaciales.

a) Tipo Circunstancial

Es el tipo donde se busca transformar la tierra urbana, el área ocupada, para luego realizar la transacción, sea de manera inmediata o bien cuando el lote tome un mayor valor. La ocupación se realiza con una expectativa de ganancia monetaria a partir de la modificación especial (adecuación). Aquí se asemeja a los parceleros de zonas productivas, quienes pueden optar por la estrategia de usar el suelo como reserva de valor. En términos de especialización, es el tráfico de tierras menos sofisticado, temporal y practicado por diversos sujetos participantes de las mismas invasiones (pobladores, coordinadores, dirigentes, etc.) o supuestos comuneros de áreas aledañas a la Metrópoli limeña, los sujetos sumergidos en esta actividad no cuentan con aparatos para hacer esto de modo sistemático. No se puede negar que en ciertos momentos recurran a contingentes de sujetos con fines de generar temor o producir violencia delictiva, pero ello no es recurrente, solo sucede en momentos polarizados.

Los vínculos de los agentes de este tipo con los miembros de la asociación son mínimos, solo para buscar garantizar la ocupación del lote. A lo sumo asumen la función de coordinadores de sector de la asociación urbana, puede traficar pero eso sucederá solo hasta cuando culmine su periodo, o lo mismo sucede con los pobladores que tomaron tierras y luego venden los lotes que han ocupado. Después de la venta del lote se alejan por completo de la Asociación. Se ha podido registrar en el espacio de nuestra investigación a sujetos invasores que se apropian de varios lotes haciendo alusión a familias, sobre todo nucleares. Aquí predomina la lógica racional del "por si acaso" (Ñiquen, 2018)[2] y "aprovechar la ocasión", en un sentido que buscan situaciones mínimas posibles para lograr un beneficio. En concreto, aquí se encuentran los "domingueros", una denominación estimatizante para referirse a aquellos que adquirieron un lote pero no residen y solo asisten los domingos para cuando se desarrollan las reuniones (Pimentel, 2020).

Es de carácter circunstancial ya que es el menos elaborado orgánicamente, los sujetos pueden transferir sus terrenos después de adecuarlo para la construcción de una vivienda, sobre todo provisional. Y como el propósito es garantizar la ocupación del lote que adquirirá valor una vez sea adecuado, puede tener lazos mínimos con los dirigentes actuando como clientes y aliados de los mediadores que son los dirigentes, ya que estos son los encargados de hacer la gestión de la constancia de posesión, delimitar el tamaño y ubicación de los lotes, etc.

Los agentes urbanos que la practican no están organizados de manera sistemática para realizar estas actividades, pero lo que no quiere decir que no sea deliberado y premeditado. El sistema de transferencia es lo que en el sentido común se conoce como "traspaso", sistema de intercambio también especulativo del espacio y como parte de un submercado ilegal de tierras (Calderón, 2016, 2005). Y la movilidad que desarrollan estos agentes es de carácter intra-asentamiento, es decir, su movimiento dentro del asentamiento es para defender su lote que es visto como una ocasión de tener algún beneficio monetario.

Estas prácticas por cierto no son nada recientes, incluso Matos Mar (1977) incluso ya había identificado en alguna medida en sus primeros trabajos sobre barriadas, pero no le prestó la debida atención. A pesar de que los sujetos pretenden ver de ese modo, el "traspaso" no es de ninguna manera una apropiación personal o grupal de los productos del trabajo, menos una apropiación asociada a la finalidad de residencia. El discurso persistente a la hora de buscar convencer o realizar la transacción que "el pago es solo por su trabajo, es su derecho, porque pampear cuánto cuesta", lo que confirma que el traspaso es vista de modo natural como derecho adquirido por el esfuerzo realizado por el ocupante primario. Indudablemente, el dirigente trasfiere terrenos baldíos que no fue ocupado por él, mientras que el socio o poblador hace "traspaso" de "su terreno".

Se presenta aquí otra figura, aunque aparentemente exista una suerte de identidad con el territorio, el "traspaso" es una negación de identidad del sujeto con el lote primariamente ocupado, lo que le permite tener por ello un ingreso monetario, pero también le permite ser partícipe de un intercambio especulativo, sobre todo asociado a un tipo de intercambio conocido en el sentido común como "remate", cuyo significado y agudeza alude el uso del menor tiempo posible para la concretización de la transferencia y al precio que sea, más aún si hay ausencia de demanda. El remate se asocia con la zozobra del traficante a ser descubierto por las autoridades del asentamiento. Con otras palabras, el "traspaso resulta siendo un quiebre entre la necesidad de residencia y la ocupación para la transferencia.

[2] La socióloga Jimena Ñiquen Castro-Pozo (2018) ha desarrollado ampliamente el sentido de esta lógica del "por si acaso".

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b) Tipo Intermedio

Es intermedio tanto por el nivel de especialización que presenta una mixtura de elementos de tipos circunstancial y sistemático, así como por la intermediación que los agentes involucrados realizan entre los demás miembros del asentamiento urbano y los agentes del Estado, en especial durante el proceso de búsqueda de reconocimiento y formalización de la organización urbana y la posesión de los lotes. Los agentes de este tipo pueden ser miembros de una familia que de manera estratégica y deliberada toman posesión de varios lotes con fines comerciales, incluso, mediante el uso de violencia pero a pequeña escala. El propósito es acumular el mayor número de lotes posibles para su comercialización. Buscan tejer lazos de confianza y lealtad con socios que participaron durante la ocupación, pero con propósitos claros de beneficio familiar o personal.

En otros casos, y en su búsqueda de control del mayor número de lotes, los agentes de este tipo intermedio buscan ocupar cargos y funciones dentro de la Junta Directiva. Estas funciones son instrumentalizadas para desarrollar la venta de lotes. Los que llegan después de la ocupación, pagan el derecho de inscripción y el precio establecido por la junta directiva, y los dirigentes pueden decidir distribuirse para que los ingresos por ciertos lotes sean para determinados dirigentes. En estos casos, el precio del lote pasa por una especulación[3] consensuada de la Junta Directiva. Estos dirigentes usan sus vínculos con políticos y agentes del Estado para persuadir que podrán gestionar la formalización del asentamiento y de los lotes. Aquí se asemeja a lo que Arriola (2019) ha denominado como *traficante político*, en el sentido que buscan legitimidad de los residentes de la asociación y mantenerse estables en la dirigencia, por lo que producir vínculos con la Municipalidad aparece como una de sus principales prioridades para luego recibir beneficios de la Municipalidad (visación, obras, etc.), y a cambio los dirigentes deben concretizar apoyo político al alcalde de turno. En términos de práctica política, están asociados al clientelismo, ya que utilizan sus nexos con autoridades municipales para tejer redes y pueden incluso hacer de intermediarios de políticos y autoridades estatales que hacen de patrones. Como refirió David Collier (1978), hacen uso de sus influencias en el gobierno local y en los partidos, muchas veces variando sus lealtades políticas, cuando la situación lo amerita. No obstante, hay, además, una instrumentalización de las herramientas y procesos de formalización. No solo buscan mantenerse en el cargo el mayor tiempo posible mediante reelecciones o extendiendo los procesos de elección de la nueva Junta Directiva, sino hacen que los procesos de formalización como la visación del plano, constancias de posesión, etc., se aplacen, esto debido a que con la legibilidad de la información sobre el número de lotes en el asentamiento sería más complicado el control y comercialización de manera oculta.

La persuasión es un mecanismo clave para convencer sobre la posibilidad de vender un lote a usuarios finales y moverse espacialmente en un nivel intra e inter-asentamientos, esto es, el despliegue de estas prácticas en más de un asentamiento urbano. Otra posibilidad de la movilidad inter-asentamiento está referido a los usos de conocimientos prácticos adquiridos sobre gestiones de servicios elementales y de formalización del nuevo asentamiento que pasan por un proceso de negociación y a cambio de "asesoría" solicitar lotes a dirigentes del nuevo asentamiento urbano. Entonces, estos agentes generalmente han ocupado u ocupan cargos en otros asentamientos urbanos de origen y usan supuestos conocimientos (gestión de servicios elementales como agua, luz y desagüe, visación del plano, constancia de posesión, etc.) para adquirir lotes en nuevas ocupaciones en proceso de formación. El radio de acción de los traficantes de este tipo es entre su asentamiento y los nuevos. Se ha evidenciado que estos agentes trafican en zonas periféricas y zonas de ampliación de sus asentamientos de procedencia y pueden ser muy cercanos a los funcionarios municipales. Si bien no llegan al nivel de mafias organizadas, estos traficantes pueden esporádicamente formar cuerpos de choque para ocupar un territorio o formar asociaciones fantasmas para apropiarse de varias hectáreas de terrenos para lotizarlos y comercializarlos.

Los agentes de este tipo de tráfico están vinculados a prácticas de clientelismo y corrupción. Al clientelismo porque aprovechan tejer lazos y mecanismos de intercambio informal con las autoridades del Estado en búsqueda de beneficio. Y a la corrupción porque, en ese proceso, especulan y realizan la comercialización de lotes de manera oculta y consensuada en provecho personal, además de la malversación y robo de los fondos del asentamiento. Sobre esto último quiero referir al momento en que se formó la Asociación El Mirador Nadine Heredia. Era 2012 y la tarea de la Junta Directiva giró en torno a la negociación con supuestas autoridades de la comunidad campesina de Jicamarca para la posesión legal de los terrenos invadidos, así como delimitar la jurisdicción al que pertenecería finalmente la asociación. Los comisionados de hacer la negociación con las autoridades comunales de Jicamarca se reunieron con las autoridades municipales de San Antonio que les informó que las tierras ocupadas eran de la comunidad y no del distrito y, por tanto, debían negociar directamente con las autoridades de la

[3] Sobre especulación en el mercado de suelo, véase Abramo (2011) y L'Huillier (2020).

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comunidad. No llegaron a concretar esa reunión, pero al retorno, alegaron que habían negociado con las autoridades comunales, presentando documentos falsificados.

> Nunca se llegó a conversar con las autoridades de la comunidad campesina de Jicamarca. Llegamos al Municipio de San Antonio de Chaclla y el alcalde nos dijo que conversemos directamente con el presidente de Jicamarca porque esos terrenos que habíamos ocupado eran de la comunidad. Yo fui porque era coordinador de un sector, pero los dirigentes de la Junta Directiva Central hicieron documentos falsos y presentaron en la reunión a los socios como si fuesen documentos verdaderos. Confiados, los socios depositaron los montos que pidieron a la cuenta de uno de los miembros de la Junta Directiva, pero una vez que la mayoría depositó se llevaron esa plata y ya no regresaron más. Por eso es que se separó la gente y formó la Asociación Juventud Solidaria de Carabayllo.[4]

Esos mecanismos de corrupción y las fricciones internas llevaron, finalmente, a un proceso de fragmentación, la formación de nuevos asentamientos urbanos y a la fragilidad de la figura de autoridad por la desconfianza y los escenarios de incertidumbre generados. En términos espaciales, disputan lotes mediante una movilidad intra-asentamiento e inter-asentamiento, y, por lo general, disponen de información privilegiada sobre los lotes aún no ocupados.

c) Tipo Sistemático

Es el tráfico a gran escala y con un alto grado profesionalización que implica una agudeza en la planificación de los instrumentos que servirán para obtener una mayor eficacia en la apropiación y manejo de los terrenos usurpados. Los agentes constituyen mafias organizadas que pueden actuar mediante el uso de la violencia y persuasión. Cuando se trata de ocupaciones que van en contraposición a sus intereses, los traficantes responden mediante el uso de la violencia. Sin embargo, no descartan ningún tipo de negociación persuasiva, pero donde el objetivo es que los usuarios o invasores tomen las reglas de juego marcadas por estos traficantes, en especial en aquello que tiene que ver el establecimiento de los precios de los lotes ocupados que, por lo general, va en sintonía con los precios establecidos por empresas inmobiliarias en zonas productivas, lo que ayuda a definir a esta práctica como aquella práctica súmamente especulativa.

Este tipo de tráfico obedece a un estilo de vida marcado, donde los agentes que desarrollan estas prácticas tienen como actividad primordial al tráfico de terrenos. Un determinado estilo de vida reproduce una mentalidad, pues, implica la participación premeditada de muchos sujetos, desde profesionales, hasta autoridades de las instituciones públicas, lo que le permite definirse como todo un aparato en base a la correlación de muchos factores, elementos y sujetos. Dentro de toda esta organización, existe una práctica delincuencial, un sistema de intercambio, un contrato coercitivo (cupos), y cuyos efectos pueden originar incluso la muerte. El crimen parece convertirse en un acto consciente, desmedido y eficaz para lo que se encuentran dentro de este círculo. Se puede negociar, pero la no sumisión a las reglas de los que consideran sus víctimas, puede producir muerte.

Los traficantes de este tipo se mantienen generalmente en el anonimato y utilizan a mediadores, denominados "operadores" o "testaferros", para que puedan ejecutar la promoción y venta de los lotes. Los intermediarios reproducen las acciones de violencia contra quienes tienden a apropiarse los espacios que se encuentran dentro de sus expectativas, o a tratar de negociar cuando ya se haya concretado la ocupación de tierras. Los intermediarios pueden ser miembros de la red de parentesco, amistad, pero siempre sujetos de la más alta confianza. Los intermediarios tienen el propósito de resolver lo que consideran como "problema", es decir, lo que interfiere a sus intereses.

En concreto, el tráfico sistemático implica la organización y manejo de un complejo de elementos y acciones como la obtención de financistas, formación de asociaciones de vivienda, manejo de sistemas de información del Estado y las comunidades, constructores, vendedores que ofertan los lotes, fuerza de choque o brazo armado que evite el arrebato del terreno usurpado, vínculos con autoridades locales y comunales, articulación vía corrupción con funcionarios públicos de diversos niveles y abogados para la defensa de los terrenos usurpados y a los promotores de los lotes.

Como se ha descrito, está claro que este tipo de tráfico está ligado a la criminalidad y a la corrupción, y los agentes tienen una movilidad espacial inter-asentamientos, interurbana y regional, es decir, para desarrollar sus prácticas se mueven en varios asentamientos de la ciudad e, incluso, en otras urbes y regiones cercanas.

[4] Antenor Huamán, ex dirigente de sector de la Asociación Juventud Solidaria de Carabayllo. Conversación personal, 20 de julio de 2021.

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Tabla 1: Tipos de tráfico de tierras: agentes, características y movilidades

Tipo	Agentes involucrados	Característica y acciones	Asociadas a prácticas y movilidad espacial
Circunstancial	Familias ocupantes Vecinos en zonas periféricas o de ampliaciones Miembros temporales de asociaciones	- Ocupan y forman parte de asociaciones de vivienda. - Adecuación del terreno para traspaso. - Lógica de "lo que salga"	- Clientelismo: hacen de clientes [Movilidad intra-asentamiento]
Intermedio	Dirigentes traficantes Traficante político Dirigentes de ex cooperativas (zonas productivas)	- Instrumentalización de las herramientas y procesos de formalización: visación del plano, constancias de posesión, etc. - Negociar lotes por asesorías a dirigentes nuevas asociaciones. - Lazos políticos con autoridades municipales - Rol mediador entre asociación y Estado	- Corrupción y clientelismo (mediadores y satélites personales) [Movilidad intra e inter-asentamiento]
Sistemático	Mafias organizadas Alcaldes traficantes Traficantes alcaldes	- Organizan ocupaciones y venden lotes de manera progresiva. - A gran escala y extendida en varios espacios de la ciudad. - Violencia delictiva - Extorsión al comprador por otros pagos de construcción o servicios básicos (vigilancia, agua, luz, etc.) - Duplicidad de venta (reventa) - Manejo del sistema de información del Estado y las comunidades campesinas.	Corrupción y Criminalidad [[Movilidad inter-asentamiento, interurbana y regional]

Fuente: elaboración propia.

III. Implicancias Político-Institucionales y Socioculturales

Lo mencionado líneas arriba nos lleva a peguntarnos sobre las implicancias político-institucionales del desarrollo del tráfico de tierras. Por ello, con el propósito de aproximarnos, abordaremos el aspecto político, sobre todo acerca del rol que cumplen las municipalidades y las prácticas clientelares que derivan del uso de instrumentos de reconocimiento para la posesión de los predios ocupados. Y en el plano sociocultural, se considera la transformación de dirigente gestor a dirigente traficante y las fracturas de las comunidades campesinas.

a) Papel de Alcaldes/Municipalidades

En los últimos años, por primera vez en la historia del Perú republicano, se ha dado el fenómeno de que varios alcaldes de los municipios distritales han sido allanados y enjuiciados penalmente no solo por corrupción, sino también por su relación con el tráfico de terrenos,[5] usurpación de propiedades públicas y privadas, sicariato y crimen organizado. En un primer momento, estos hechos evidencian que la producción y gestión de la ciudad y la práctica política vienen siendo presididas por el delito, mediante la formación de redes delictivas que constituyen organizaciones que operan desde diversos niveles sociales, lo que hace ver que es un fenómeno estructural y sistémico, en que los involucrados materializan sus propósitos con un manejo del sistema de información que produce el propio Estado, fundamentalmente disposiciones normativas y legales vinculadas con la formalización y titulación de

[5] En el Código Penal se incluye dentro de la usurpación del patrimonio. Sin embargo, la séptima disposición complementaria y final de la Ley de Titulación de las Tierras de las Comunidades Campesinas de la Costa, Ley N°. 26845, del 23 de julio de 1997, precisa que"aquellos que realicen tráfico ilegal de tierras para fines urbanos o rústicos serán objeto de las sancionespenales y civiles previstas en la legislación de la materia. La compensación económica dictada por las autoridadespertinentes deberá guardar relación con el valor de las tierras objeto del tráfico ilegal. El PETT, así como toda otraautoridad cuya función esté relacionada con la titulación y registro de tierras rústicas y urbanas denunciarán a los responsables de dichos actos".

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los predios urbanos y rurales. La producción y gestión de la ciudad se mezcla con prácticas delictivas que en muchos casos son organizadas, mediadas y operadas por los mismos agentes del Estado, desde las mismas instituciones públicas como las municipalidades locales, así como por las formas de organización social reconocidas por el Estado en colusión con sujetos vinculados a lo delictual.

En las urbes peruanas existe una relación profunda entre la práctica política y las actividades económicas delictivas como el tráfico de terrenos asociados con la violencia del crimen organizado, en que se encuentran coalicionados y vinculados diferentes actores y agentes, los cuales van desde las familias de bajos ingresos hasta familias de gran poder económico inmersos en el mundo inmobiliario, el Estado, instituciones del orden, agentes de comunidades campesinas, instituciones, organizaciones religiosas, personas naturales y jurídicas, familias, entre otras, que de manera estratégica tejen redes para hacer más efectivo la materialización de los procesos de enriquecimiento.

Sin embargo, el fenómeno que hoy conocemos en Perú como tráfico de tierras se remite fundamentalmente a la forma cómo el Estado renunció su responsabilidad de resolver la problemática estructural de la desigualdad social y económica, y como parte de ello el acceso a una vivienda para la ciudadanía. El crecimiento intensivo de la ciudad en las últimas décadas debido al crecimiento exponencial de la demografía y los procesos de implementación de políticas neoliberales, fundamentalmente con el gobierno de Alberto Fujimori, contribuyeron a la mercantilización del suelo urbano y que se convierta en una mercancía (ficticia) (Harvey, 2007), cuya transferencia puede hacerse efectiva mediante la cultura del contacto, esto es, prácticas y hábitos de tejer lazos estratégicos bajo ciertos propósitos particulares y que tienen como base las redes parentales y de amistad que pueden cumplir el papel de intermediarios en el mercado ilegal de tierras.

La implementación de las políticas neoliberales significó la consolidación de la noción propiedad privada y, bajo esos propósitos, el Estado implementó COFOPRI, mediante Decreto Legislativo N°. 803[6], como un organismo de carácter público y descentralizado, con la finalidad de que se encargue del diseño, la ejecución del programa de formalización de propiedad y de su mantenimiento dentro de la formalidad de los asentamientos regularizados; así como de la formalización gratuita de asentamientos humanos o de otras formas de posesión que en principio se consideró desde antes del 22 de marzo de 1996, pero luego se amplió hasta el 31 de marzo del 2001.

La presencia de proyectos inmobiliarios ha implicado la disputa entre organizaciones delictivas vinculadas al tráfico ilegal de tierras en colusión con autoridades municipales y comunales. Si hacemos una comparación, entre el tráfico de terrenos promovido y organizado por sujetos que operan dese el poder municipal y el tráfico de terrenos promovido por dirigentes de asentamientos urbanos, puede resultar una primera diferencia: desde el primer nivel existe una mayor facilidad para su formalización que solo desde el segundo nivel.

El tráfico de tierras es una práctica que compromete a una diversidad de actores y agentes: supuestos propietarios (incluida la comunidad campesina), autoridades municipales, COFOPRI, SBN y otros agentes del Estado, políticos, traficantes especializados, dirigentes de los asentamientos urbanos y los mismos pobladores que bajo el supuesto de reservar lotes para familiares luego destinan para la venta. En ese sentido, el tráfico de tierras, como práctica instituida, acoge una serie de tejidos sociales que penetran el propio comportamiento y hábito de las personas con intereses particulares asociados sobre todo al poder económico, generando formas de organización social urbanas más efímeras y proclives a fragmentaciones continuas.

Además, a partir de su ingreso de estos traficantes al poder local, existe un manejo de todo el sistema de información municipal, así como la facilidad de los procedimientos de formalización de la posesión de los predios. Estamos frente a la relación de fenómenos de tráfico de terrenos, corrupción, clientelismo y criminalidad. Ya hemos descrito los hilos que lo conectan, así como los rasgos que los diferencian, tanto en relación con el poder como en sus mecanismos de funcionamiento. La red del tráfico de terreno articula agentes y actores, pero, al mismo tiempo, articula modos de delito, modos de ocupación, fuerzas de choque, comportamientos, reglas, lógicas y estrategias e intercambios económicos. Condicionan sistemas de vidas desiguales expresados en primer medida en la falta de acceso de servicios elementales de las urbes producidas en periodos de tiempos indefinidos con una alta permanencia de lo "provisional".

Así, el proceso de periurbanización no solo implica la transformación física de áreas agropecuarias, comunales o baldías en urbanas sino también una trama de redes entre agentes y una diferenciación entre

[6] Y en 2004, mediante Ley N°. 28391, el Estado designó a COFOPRI como órgano técnico de asentamiento de los gobiernos locales. Para el 2008, COFOPRI se convirtió en una institución encargada de formalizar sistemáticamente la propiedad urbana y rural a nivel nacional. Es en ese marco jurídico, el 28 de junio de 2008, mediante el Decreto Legislativo N°. 1089, se establece de manera excepcional y extraordinaria, un régimen temporal, extraordinario de formalización y titulación de predios rurales, por un plazo de cuatro años, dirigido a formalizar y a titular, como interés nacional, predios rústicos y tierras eriazas habilitadas que hayan sido declarados así con anterioridad al 31 de diciembre del 2004.

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los mismos con intereses consensuados y divergentes que pueden llevar a un escenario de conflicto, y donde las prácticas ilícitas para la posesión de espacios son recurrentes, muchas veces con procedimientos diferentes, pero que en conjunto forman una unidad a la hora de constituir un mercado de suelo urbano, es decir, se trata en el fondo de la manera cómo se produce y gestiona la ciudad en estos tiempos, con implicancias en términos políticos, económicos y de acceso a servicios elementales, produciendo segregaciones socioespaciales, donde lo "provisional" se hace constante y duradero y en el tiempo condicionan la construcción de redes clientelares vinculados sobre todo a la instrumentación por parte de las autoridades locales de los diferentes herramientas urbanas para la formalización de los asentamientos que surgen por invasión/tráfico y mediante programas inmobiliarios.

Sin embargo, es importante tener en cuenta que las relaciones clientelares en estos escenarios de producción y gestión de las ciudades en el Perú, ya no implican solo la relación directa patrón/cliente ni es una práctica de arriba hacia abajo sino tiene múltiples sentidos y con características más localizadas, mediante la presencia de diversos agentes urbanos, en un escenario donde las herramientas de las municipalidades han sido absorbidos por la búsqueda de intereses subalternos, y asociadas a prácticas políticas y de acumulación económica. Por el lado de la oferta no solo están los traficantes sino también los propietarios de parcelas y los promotores inmobiliarios que logran el desarrollo de programas inmobiliarios sin estudios técnicos y de suelo necesarios, por lo que una vez realizada la venta, los usuarios deben formar sus comités barriales para la gestión de los servicios elementales y la búsqueda de la propia regularización.

Existen instrumentos que utilizan las municipalidades como parte de su competencia en la política correctiva, y en especial tiene que ver con la facultad que tienen desde el 2006 para emitir los certificados o constancias de posesión que mantiene vigencia hasta la instalación de los servicios elementales en un inmueble. Está prohibido que las municipalidades otorguen estos certificados de posesión a poseedores de inmuebles ubicados en áreas zonificadas para usos de equipamiento educativo, reservados para la defensa nacional, en las zonas arqueológicas o que constituyen patrimonio cultural de la Nación, en áreas naturales protegidas o zonas reservadas, así como aquellas calificadas como zona de riesgo. Sin embargo, en la práctica esa prohibición se ha visto transgredida, en consecuencia, se ha reconocido ocupaciones en áreas de riesgo y en todos los espacios que la norma prohíbe. Habiendo transcurrido más de una década desde que las municipalidades tienen la facultad de emitir certificados de posesión, podemos decir que existe la presencia de una paradoja: ha permitido la regularización de la tenencia y el acceso de los usuarios a servicios elementales, pero al mismo tiempo ha sido instrumentado para la construcción del clientelismo.

Por otro lado, en la actualidad, las municipalidades realizan tres tipos de reconocimiento: 1) reconocimiento del asentamiento urbano, 2) reconocimiento de la organización y 3) reconocimiento de la posesión. Pero también en zonas donde no exista notario, el juez de paz está facultado para otorgar constancias de posesión, domiciliarias, de supervivencia, de convivencia y otros[7]. Esta herramienta no ha escapado al uso e instrumentación por los traficantes de tierras y que alimentan no las preventivas sino las políticas correctivas donde las municipalidades tienen un rol fundamental.

Tabla 2: Herramientas de formalización y posesión

Normas	Establece
Art. 28 del D. S. Nº 017-2006-Vivienda, reglamento de la Ley Nº 28687 "Ley de Desarrollo Complementaria de la formalización de la Propiedad Informal, Acceso al suelo y dotación de servicios básicos"	Para que la municipalidad distrital o provincial, cuando corresponda, emita el Certificado o Constancia de Posesión, el o los interesados deberán presentar, única y exclusivamente, los siguientes documentos: 1. Solicitud simple indicando nombre, dirección y número de DNI. 2. Copia de DNI. 3. Plano simple de ubicación del predio. 4. Acta de verificación de posesión efectiva del predio emitida por un funcionario de la municipalidad distrital correspondiente y suscrita por todos los colindantes del predio o acta policial de posesión suscrita por todos los colindantes de dicho predio. El Certificado o Constancia de Posesión tendrá vigencia hasta la efectiva instalación de los servicios básicos en el inmueble descrito en dicho Certificado o Constancia.
Art. 29 del D. S. Nº 017-2006-	El Certificado o Constancia de Posesión no se otorgará a los poseedores de inmuebles ubicados en áreas zonificadas para usos de equipamiento educativo, reservados para la defensa nacional, en las zonas arqueológicas o que constituyen patrimonio cultural de la Nación; en áreas naturales protegidas o zonas reservadas, así como aquellas calificadas por el Instituto Nacional de Defensa Civil como zona de riesgo.
Art. 17 de la Ley N° 29824-Ley de justicia de paz, (3/12/2011).	En zonas donde no exista notario, el juez de paz está facultado para otorgar constancias de posesión, domiciliarias, de supervivencia, de convivencia y otros.

Elaboración: propia.

[7] Véase el Art. 17 de la Ley N° 29824, Ley de justicia de paz.

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b) El Cambio del Dirigente Gestor al Dirigente Traficante

En las bases sociales también hubo transformaciones importantes. Desde las últimas décadas del siglo pasado, se ha pasado de manera predominante de un dirigente gestor en el siglo XX a un dirigente traficante en el siglo XXI. Utilizamos los conceptos de "dirigente traficante" y "dirigente gestor" para describir los cambios existentes sobre todo en la forma y función que han venido a tomar los que asumen la representación de las organizaciones en los asentamientos urbanos, agentes que tuvieron un rol determinado en el siglo pasado, hoy han adquirido una naturaleza distinta.

El dirigente gestor obedece a compromisos institucionales con la organización social urbana, vinculado en especial con la gestión de la demanda del lote y asociado en buena medida a organizaciones ideológicas y políticas, cuyo poder y acción no busca sino la regularización del asentamiento urbano, con una capacidad movilizadora y de convocatoria debido a su evidente rol político profesional expresado en su función de intermediación y canalización de las necesidades de la población frente al Estado y la articulación de la organización social barrial mediante trabajos colectivos para la implementación de infraestructura y la construcción de vías. Su lógica está marcada por la búsqueda de una articulación social y el logro efectivo del reconocimiento de la organización, el asentamiento urbano y la gestión para el acceso de la población a servicios elementales. Puede vivir de los trámites que implica la gestión de la formalización de las barriadas, tejer redes clientelares y acumular terrenos, pero sus propósitos no contienen la instrumentación de su función dirigencial para la mercantilización del suelo urbano en base a intereses individuales o subalternos. En términos históricos, este tipo de dirigente corresponde a la mayor parte de las organizaciones barriales del siglo XX, un contexto en que predominó la ocupación en función de la necesidad de residencia. Podía ser el promotor de ocupaciones informales, donde lo que hacía era dar el paso inicial, en que luego llegaban las familias, pero no acumulaba capital con eso.

En contraste, el dirigente traficante es un agente del mercado ilegal de tierras, un agente de la oferta y tiende a actuar con racionalidad económica; moviliza fuerzas y acciones con la finalidad de institucionalizar la lógica del mercado y la mercantilización del espacio desde su presencia en la dirigencia y estructura organizacional de los propios asentamientos urbanos, consolidando una forma dominante del acceso al suelo en las periferias urbanas mediante el uso de la necesidad de residencia o de vivienda de los "usuarios finales" (Morales s/f), y donde terrenos comunales, privados y del Estado pueden ser vistos como móviles de acumulación y de la "redistribución económica en favor del capital (conocida como economía de la oferta)" (Brenner, Peck y Theodore 2015: 214), pero que genera como producto una desigualdad socioespacial y polarización social en donde la coerción y la violencia delictiva adquieren sentido que deviene en la desestabilización de la organización social urbana, así como de su capacidad de resistencia frente a los mecanismos de coerción de otros agentes y condiciona la construcción de redes clientelares que aparecen como hábitos y compromisos tomados por las mismas bases sociales toman ante la urgencia de buscar la regularización de sus predios. Puede subyugar a la población a las fuerzas del mundo delictivo y del mercado ilegal de tierras. Las acciones del dirigente no son ajenas a los procesos de urbanización y de gestión, conviven junto a estos contextos y procesos de regularización, pero imponiendo límites para el no avance de los mismos. Es decir, el dirigente traficante puede operar como barrera para la formalización y regularización del asentamiento urbano ocupado y como un desestabilizador de la organización social urbana expresados en fragmentaciones constantes y persistentes, como una oportunidad para continuar no solo con la mercantilización del suelo sino con la construcción de una incertidumbre de los actores sociales usuarios y la instrumentación de la colectividad en función de lo individual.

El dirigente traficante, en resumen, puede desplegar un abanico de mecanismos como cumplir el rol de mediación[7] entre usuarios finales y otros agentes traficantes de mayor rango para tener múltiples posibilidades de ganancia, reclutar a la población para promover ocupaciones informales, insertarse como representante de la organización urbana, arreglos y alianzas con traficantes y empresas inmobiliarias, búsqueda de arreglos con posesionarios originales del lote, constituir un bloque coercitivo y operar como barrera para que el asentamiento se mantenga en condiciones informales para continuar con la mercantilización del suelo y la instrumentación de la colectividad en función de lo individual que en conjunto reproducen una incertidumbre en usuarios que ocupan el lote.

En el Perú, en paralelo a dirigentes de asentamientos urbanos de origen informal, los dirigentes de las cooperativas agrarias, también, se convirtieron en agentes del mercado de suelo, lo que facilitó el proceso de parcelación de las tierras agrícolas y la formación de nuevos agentes urbanos especializados en el financiamiento y la promoción inmobiliaria. Y naturalmente, además de la pérdida de confianza en la estructura dirigencial, desencadenó en

[8] En el Perú muchos dirigentes barriales han devenido en convertirse en "testaferros" de alcaldes/traficantes y otros agentes del mercado ilegal de tierras.

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conflictos y tensiones entre los parceleros y los dirigentes de la cooperativa, por la ausencia de balances sobre su la gestión dirigencial, la venta ilegal de áreas no ocupadas, estado de las parcelas (proceso de adjudicación, titulación y los ingresos recibidos por estos servicios), copia actualizada del padrón de asociados, información de adjudicatarios y compradores desde el ingreso como dirigentes y la tergiversación en el otorgamiento de las escrituras y las constancias por la venta de terrenos remanentes de la cooperativa agrícola.

Estas trasformaciones en las bases sociales y la presencia de una alta demanda del suelo urbano han llevado a la constitución de lógicas y formas de relación que legitiman la producción de diferencias socioespaciales, fracturan la tenencia colectiva y profundizan la ruptura de organizaciones urbanas, todo esto en un escenario de procesos de neoliberalización. Y, siguiendo a Harvey (2013: 11), "para que cualquier forma de pensamiento se convierta en dominante, tiene que presentarse un aparato conceptual que sea sugerente para nuestras intuiciones, nuestros instintos, nuestros valores y nuestros deseos así como también para las posibilidades inherentes al mundo social que habitamos. Si esto se logra, este aparato conceptual se injerta de tal modo en el sentido común que pasa a ser asumido como algo dado y no cuestionable". La idea de casa propia y la adquisición del lote con su respectivo reconocimiento se convirtieron en propósitos convincentes y sugestivos, pero que a la larga fue aprovechada por sujetos para mercantilización de la tierra por medio de mecanismos ilegales, tanto en los procesos de urbanización mediante programas inmobiliarios en zonas agrícolas como en ocupaciones en zonas no productivas.

c) Fracturas en las Comunidades Campesinas

Existe una fractura dentro de las comunidades campesinas que se encuentran en zonas de expansión urbana y consiste, en primer lugar, en la fragmentación de la propiedad comunal por la presencia creciente de tomas de tierras informales y la formación de nuevos asentamientos urbanos que en principio tomaron contacto con la comunidad para legitimar la posesión, se convirtieron en anexos y luego terminaron por dominar el territorio bajo diversos mecanismos. La segunda fractura está relacionada con la desestructuración de la organización matriz debido a la independización de nuevas formaciones urbanas para formar organizaciones distintas, con normas, reglas de juego propias y autonomía en sus decisiones que significó la desestabilización de la organización interna de la comunidad matriz y el surgimiento de múltiples organizaciones y dirigencias paralelas en nombre de la comunidad que empezaron a tener mayor protagonismo y obstruyeron las funciones de la organización original tanto en la administración de los terrenos como en la articulación de los miembros. Cuando se dan ocupaciones informales, quienes se presentan como comuneros no son los de la comunidad matriz sino de los anexos urbanos independizados; pero muchas de estas nuevas organizaciones se encuentran en condiciones de ilegalidad, sin reconocimiento y vinculadas incluso a actos delictivos como el tráfico de terrenos. Hoy existe tensión y conflicto de la comunidad matriz con estas diversas organizaciones y entre estas últimas. Sin embargo, es preciso mencionar que en algunos casos, la creación de nuevos asentamientos fue promovida por la organización de la misma comunidad matriz con la finalidad de preservar su integridad territorial (Gutiérrez 1998) por la amenaza cada vez mayor de ocupaciones informales, pero la ruptura se profundizó con la expansión urbana, la escasez del suelo urbano, el predominio de lógicas mercantiles y la implementación de las políticas neoliberales.

El proceso de neoliberalización en el Perú, en ese sentido, ha tenido implicancias no solo en la restauración del poder de clase (Harvey, 2013), sino también en la producción de la ciudad y en la funcionalidad de las diversas instituciones y organizaciones sociales como las comunidades campesinas, mediante la reproducción de leyes en favor del denominado libre mercado considerado como "el mecanismo óptimo del desarrollo económico" (Brener, Peck y Theodore 2015: 211). El propio Estado ha sido tomado por la lógica del libre mercado y su estructura adquiere y funciona cada vez más con la estructura de una empresa privada, sumado a la apropiación en las mismas bases sociales de la lógica de mercantilización de los bienes, sean estas individuales o comunes.

En el marco del proceso de neoliberalismo se ha incentivado la propiedad privada, la instrumentación de las instituciones para la consolidación de una economía de mercado y un comportamiento individualista. En el caso de las comunidades campesinas de la costa recibieron la facultad de adjudicar sus territorios que significó en el Perú el proceso de consolidación dela individualización de la propiedad colectiva que inició durante el segundo gobierno de Fernando Belaunde,[8] con la parcelación de las cooperativas agrícolas formadas durante la reforma agraria en los setenta, cuya desintegración definitiva se dio durante el primer gobierno del APRA. El gobierno de Fujimori promovió la neoliberalización de las instituciones del Estado y de la implementación de un proyecto reglamentador promotora de la inversión privada desde la propia constitución; esto a partir de asumir como parte de su línea política el Consenso de Washington. En el caso de las comunidades en el año

[9] Decreto Legislativo 2.

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1995 se aprobó la Ley Nº 26505, más conocida como Ley de Tierras. Lejos de incentivar el fortalecimiento de las organizaciones comunales, esta Ley desarrolló los mecanismos para que las comunidades, sobre todo de la costa, puedan disponer de sus tierras pero no aportó nada al proceso de formalización de su derecho de propiedad (Del Castillo 2004: 91). Y fue a partir de la Ley de Titulación Ley de Titulación de las Tierras de las Comunidades Campesinas de la Costa, Ley N°. 26845, promulgada el 23 de julio de 1997 que declaró de "interés nacional el otorgamiento de títulos de propiedad y la inscripción registral de las tierras de las comunidades campesinas de la costa y las de sus comuneros que adopten la decisión de proceder a la adjudicación en parcelas individuales o en copropiedad, con el fin de garantizar los derechos de las comunidades campesinas de la costa al uso y la libre disposición de sus tierras, los derechos de los comuneros a la propiedad individual y a la herencia, y al ejercicio de la iniciativa privada".

Con la finalidad de promover la inversión privada, el gobierno implementó esta normativa que facultaba a las comunidades a parcelar y adjudicar las tierras. A una buena cantidad de comunidades campesinas que se encuentran en la costa, y en zonas de expansión urbana, se les dio el derecho de decidir libremente el régimen jurídico de la propiedad comunal. Ninguna de estas normas buscó el fortalecimiento de la organización comunal, pero sí abrieron el camino para el desarrollo intensivo del mercado de tierras, fenómeno no tan nuevo en las comunidades, aunque de modo limitado hasta entonces. En ese sentido, con la constitución del 93 y las normas mencionadas, el terreno comunal dejó de ser intangible (Riofrío y Cabrera 2010) y dejó abierta la posibilidad para poder ser individualizado y mercantilizado, fenómeno que confirma que con el neoliberalismo existe "primero, la *destrucción* (parcial) de los acuerdos institucionales y compromisos políticos vigentes mediante iniciativas de reforma orientadas al mercado; y segundo, la *creación* (tendencial) de una nueva infraestructura para el crecimiento económico orientado al mercado, la mercantilización de bienes y servicios y el predominio del capital" (Brenner, Peck y Theodore 2015: 226).

De manera paralela, Lima experimentó un proceso de crecimiento desbordante, sobre todo desde la segunda mitad del siglo XX, cuando las grandes barriadas se convirtieron en nuevos distritos y formaron nuevas centralidades. En nuestros tiempos, más de una decena de distritos de Lima Metropolitana tienen conexión con territorios de comunidades campesinas, produciendo escenarios de negociación, conflicto y disputa por el terreno.

En este escenario instituido, las comunidades experimentan fracturas en su organización y dinámica interna, y donde sus integrantes han desarrollado mecanismos de comercialización de la tierra. Según la normativa, las comunidades campesinas de la costa deben adjudicar los terrenos a quien las necesita, pero a lo largo de los años existen evidencias de que estas comunidades mercantilizan terrenos, incluso, buscando formas para ampliar sus áreas de extensión que les permita disponer de esos predios. Esto se debe también a cómo se encuentra la estructura de las comunidades en áreas de expansión urbana, sobre todo de la costa, y la forma cómo han sufrido una desestructuración de su organización matriz a partir de la formación de otras organizaciones urbanas desconectadas de la organización matriz producto del crecimiento urbano

En cuanto al nivel de articulación entre las municipalidades y las comunidades campesinas en relación al uso del suelo en zonas de expansión urbana, las evidencias sugieren que no existe compatibilidad entre las normas que rigen a las municipalidades con las normas que rigen la dinámica de las comunidades campesinas, mucho menos construyen ideas o planes para el crecimiento de las ciudades. La municipalidad no necesariamente tiene información de la transferencia de los terrenos que realiza la comunidad campesina, "no se entera de absolutamente nada". Muchas veces, el alcalde mantiene conocimiento cuando llega el expediente para el pago respectivo de los impuestos de esos terrenos. Si dos sujetos de ideas opuestas tienen poder en la comunidad campesina y en el municipio, puede generar mayor conflicto y la dificultad para los traficantes, por ello, convertirse en autoridades municipales, resulta muy un mecanismo efectivo para organizaciones o sujetos dedicadas al tráfico de terrenos.

En síntesis, la ausencia de un proyecto de ciudad, la falta de una ley de suelo, la naturalización del reconocimiento de la posesión del lote y no el acceso a vivienda, las desestructuración de la organizacional comunal y la apropiación de la lógica mercantil de las políticas económicas neoliberales, son algunos de los factores que han legitimado el mercado ilegal de tierras, fenómeno conocido como la práctica del tráfico de tierras que ha entendido la especulación inmobiliaria.

IV. Reflexiones Finales

Hemos buscado comprender los tipos de tráficos de tierras, así como las implicaciones políticas, institucionales y culturales. Se ha analizado el rol que cumplen las municipalidades y las prácticas clientelares que derivan del uso de instrumentos de reconocimiento para la posesión del suelo; así como la transformación de dirigente gestor a dirigente traficante y las fracturas de las comunidades campesinas.

Como se ha descrito, los tipos de tierras se distinguen por el nivel de especialización, pero también por el desarrollo de lógicas de movilidad espacial: El tipo circunstancial corresponde a una movilidad de nivel

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intra-asentamiento, porque en la lógica del "por si acaso" y "aprovechar la ocasión", la preocupación de los agentes gira fundamentalmente en asegurar la tenencia del lote porque servirá como reserva de valor y el traspaso, y, por ello, la disputa por el lote es dentro del asentamiento, mucho más situado y localizado. El tipo intermedio involucra una disputa por los lotes mediante una movilidad intra-asentamiento e inter-asentamiento, los agentes se mueven en más de un asentamiento y, por lo general, disponen de información privilegiada sobre los lotes aún no ocupados, ya que ocupan cargos de dirigentes o hacen de supuestos asesores para la gestión para la formalización del asentamiento y la respectiva instalación de servicios elementales. El tipo sistemático significa el despliegue de una movilidad espacial inter-asentamiento, interurbana y regionales, es decir, para desarrollar su práctica los agentes de este tipo se mueven en varios asentamientos de la ciudad e, incluso, en otras urbes o regiones contiguas.

En términos de su relación con prácticas como el clientelismo, corrupción y criminalidad. El tipo circunstancial tiene una relación directa con el clientelismo, ya que los agentes tejen lazos con los mediadores para proteger su lote y, por lo general, actúan como clientes. El intermedio, se vincula con la corrupción y clientelismo, en especial como mediadores y satélites personales, con el propósito de tejer redes con autoridades municipales y utilizar estas como mecanismo de legitimación para traficar dentro del asentamiento en formación. En tanto, el tipo sistemático está vinculada al despliegue prácticas asociadas a la criminalidad y a la corrupción, corresponde a agentes que constituyen mafias organizadas que pueden usar de manera estratégica la violencia y mecanismos de persuasión para la promoción y venta de los lotes usurpados, con un manejo sistemático de la información del Estado y las comunidades.

No obstante, no podemos perder de vista de que los agentes de los tipos circunstancial e intermedio puedan llegar a prácticas sistemáticas, es decir, todos estas distinciones y prácticas pueden significar procesos transicionales para convertirse en algo más elaborado y orgánico. Existe la posibilidad, de que estos sujetos, los que no son propiamente traficantes especializados, tiendan a que estas prácticas produzcan su existencia material y social, desplieguen un hábito. Esta estandarización o normalización es lo que produce la multiplicación del crimen organizado, el tráfico de tierras y las relaciones clientelares, así como el uso instrumentalizado de todo tipo de mecanismo. El momento transicional más avanzado puede estar en el caso de los dirigentes, a que a diferencia de los pobladores, son los que disponen de todos los terrenos identificados como "vacíos", y trabajan con todas las disposiciones legales que les brinda la propia Municipalidad distrital después de su inscripción como dirigentes de la asociación.

En cuanto al rol que cumplen los municipios locales en toda esta trama, existen instrumentos que ellos utilizan ellos como parte de su competencia en la política correctiva, y en especial tiene que ver con la facultad que tienen desde el 2006, creado durante el gobierno de Toledo con la finalidad de lograr que la población que no contaba con título de propiedad tenga acceso a los servicios de agua y luz ha derivado en otro tipo de prácticas, específicamente clientelismo de los gobiernos locales. Además, en términos normativos, las municipalidades no pueden otorgar estos certificados de posesión a poseedores de inmuebles ubicados en áreas zonificadas para usos de equipamiento educativo, reservados para la defensa nacional, zonas arqueológicas o que constituyen patrimonio cultural de la Nación, en áreas naturales protegidas o zonas reservadas, ni en aquellas calificadas como zona de riesgo. Sin embargo, en la práctica esa prohibición se ha visto transgredida, lo que contribuye a la continuidad de prácticas clientelares y tráfico de tierras.

Finalmente, la continuidad y extensión de estas prácticas e, incluso, sus lazos con la corrupción y el crimen organizado, también se deben a trasformaciones en las bases sociales como el cambio de dirigente gestor a dirigente traficante y las fracturas dentro de las organizaciones de las comunidades campesinas, en este caso de la costa y próximas a las urbes, que no solo han adolecen de disensos por el surgimiento de nuevas asociaciones urbanas sino, como en el caso de Jicamarca, no usan ni controlan sus tierras, lo que es aprovechado por mafias organizadas para usurparlas y comercializarlas mediante el mercado ilegal de tierras.

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Acknowledgments

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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.

Abstract

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.

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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.

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

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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.

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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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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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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.

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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:

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

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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.

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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:

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

What to keep away from:

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- 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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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.

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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.
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- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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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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