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Social Capital on Chinese Consumers

The Training of Environmental Educators

Highlights

Reading Mahashweta Devi's Draupadi

Conflict of Laws on Occupational Accident

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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A Formação De Educadores Ambientais No Programa Cultivando Água Boa Da Itaipu Binacional: A Participação Como Um Elemento Desencadeador Da Governança Ambiental Comunitária

By Luzia Klunk, Jane M. Mazzarino & Luciana Turatti

Universidade do Vale do Taquari - Univates

Abstract- The present study shares data and information from the experience of Training Environmental Educators (FEA) of the Cultivando Água Boa (CAB) Program of Itaipu Binacional. Based on participatory methodologies, FEA seeks to stimulate reflection and collective action, valuing local knowledge in building more sustainable communities. FEA carries out the federal government's proposal synthesized in the Environmental Educator Training Program (PROFEA), whose creators are the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Education. This article presents the research results related to the processes of participation in the training of environmental educators and their contribution to the achievement of community environmental governance. The adopted approach was qualitative and as methodological procedures, bibliographic, documentary and field research were used, this was carried out based on observations and interviews.

Keywords: environmental education, training, PROFEA, collective, subject.

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A Formação De Educadores Ambientais No Programa Cultivando Água Boa Da Itaipu Binacional: A Participação Como Um Elemento Desencadeador Da Governança Ambiental Comunitária

Luzia Klunk [α], Jane M. Mazzarino [σ] & Luciana Turatti [ρ]

Resumo- O presente estudo compartilha dados e informações da experiência de Formação de Educadores Ambientais (FEA) do Programa Cultivando Água Boa (CAB) da Itaipu Binacional. Baseado em metodologias participativas, o FEA busca estimular a reflexão e ação coletiva valorizando saberes locais na construção de comunidades mais sustentáveis. O FEA realiza a proposta do governo federal sintetizada no Programa de Formação de Educadores Ambientais (PROFEA), que tem como idealizadores o Ministério do Meio Ambiente e o Ministério da Educação. Neste artigo apresentam-se os resultados de investigação relacionados aos processos de participação na formação dos educadores ambientais e sua contribuição para realização da governança ambiental comunitária. A abordagem adotada foi a qualitativa e como procedimentos metodológicos foram utilizados a pesquisa bibliográfica, documental e de campo, esta realizada a partir de observações e entrevistas. Os dados aqui apresentados denotam que o FEA coloca-se como um potente mecanismo de participação, diálogo e descentralização no processo de educação ambiental, no momento em que suas metodologias permitem a promoção da corresponsabilização e o sentimento de pertencimento em relação ao território, fatores estes, de grande importância para governança ambiental comunitária.

Palavras-chave: educação ambiental, formação, PROFEA, coletivo, sujeito.

Abstract- **The present study shares data and information from the experience of Training Environmental Educators (FEA) of the Cultivando Água Boa (CAB) Program of Itaipu Binacional. Based on participatory methodologies, FEA seeks to stimulate reflection and collective action, valuing local knowledge in building more sustainable communities. FEA carries out the federal government's proposal synthesized in the Environmental Educator Training Program (PROFEA), whose creators are the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Education. This article presents the research results related to the processes of participation in the training of environmental educators and their contribution to the achievement of community environmental governance. The adopted approach was qualitative and as methodological procedures, bibliographic, documentary and field research were used, this was carried out based on observations and interviews. The data presented here show that FEA is a powerful mechanism for participation, dialogue, and decentralization in the process of environmental education, at the time that its methodologies allow the promotion of co-responsibility and the feeling of belonging to the territory, factors that are, of great importance for community environmental governance.**

Keywords: environmental education, training, PROFEA, collective, subject.

I. Introdução

A construção de alternativas ao desenvolvimento a partir de uma proposta mais sustentável requer uma educação ambiental caracterizada pela criticidade, construção de cidadania e emancipação dos sujeitos; uma forma de aprendizado que privilegia a participação e o diálogo, e que, portanto, se paute por processos de comunicação que possibilitem a emergência da governança ambiental, a qual fundamenta-se na transparência, participação, cooperação, compartilhamento de responsabilidade e valorização dos saberes locais.

A hipótese de que o Programa Cultivando Água Boa (CAB) da Itaipu Binacional[1] realizava processos de educação ambiental nesta perspectiva levou à investigação da sua experiência de Formação de

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[1] A Hidrelétrica de Itaipu é uma empresa binacional constituída pelas Repúblicas do Brasil e do Paraguai, que teve sua construção iniciada em 1974, com conclusão em 1982. A construção do reservatório gerou uma área inundada de 1.350 km^2, afetando milhares de pessoas que habitavam as margens do Rio Paraná entre Foz do Iguaçu e Guaíra, o que provocou uma reordenação territorial, com a remoção compulsória de populações que, historicamente, ocupavam esses espaços. Da sua construção decorreram conflitos socioambientais (principalmente devido aos valores pagos a título de indenização pela desapropriação), o que gerou a atuação do Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens (MAB). O Programa Cultivando Água Boa (CAB) é decorrente da inclusão gradativa dos aspectos sociais e ambientais na gestão da Itaipu Binacional e busca estimular a participação das comunidades locais. O programa surgiu em 2003 na Itaipu e está sendo replicado no Mato Grosso, Distrito Federal, Minas Gerais, Guatemala, República Dominicana, Paraguai e Bacia do Prata, compreendida por cinco países (ITAIPU BINACIONAL, 2016a).

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Educadores Ambientais (FEA). O CAB ocorre junto a Bacia Hidrográfica Paraná III, localizada no oeste do Paraná, na confluência dos rios Paraná e Iguaçu, onde constituiu uma rede de proteção dos recursos hídricos que envolve 54 municípios e mais de 200 comunidades de aprendizagem, as quais reúnem milhares de participantes no território, convidados a protagonizarem um processo de gestão socioambiental. O Programa também congrega também um número significativo de parceiros[2] que representam as diversas formas de organização social.

O CAB prioriza a gestão participativa e os sistemas de produção sustentáveis, por programas, com difusão de ações e metodologias organizadas em eixos. As ações de educação ambiental perpassam diferentes programas do CAB, que também mantém um programa específico, o FEA – Formação em Educação Ambiental (CULTIVANDO ÁGUA BOA, 2016).[3] O FEA emerge do Programa de Formação de Educadores Ambientais (PROFEA), que é uma das linhas de ação elencadas pelo Programa Nacional de Educação Ambiental (PRONEA) do Ministério do Meio Ambiente. O PROFEA adota os Coletivos Educadores[4] como instância de formação e estratégia para a implementação da educação ambiental nos territórios.

Tendo como matriz teórica a concepção de educação proposta por Paulo Freire (2002), o FEA busca desenvolver uma educação popular, presente nas práticas dos movimentos sociais e ambientais e nas propostas de teóricos sociais. Entre os autores que inspiram o FEA está Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002), que no contexto da ecologia dos saberes se propõe a valorizar o diálogo, no lugar da monocultura do saber, os conhecimentos dos antepassados, o tempo não linear, a articulação entre as dimensões local e global, a valorização das experiências sociais nos territórios e as organizações econômicas populares. A conjunção destes referenciais conduz a uma proposta de educação como prática libertadora, na qual os atores participam, de forma ativa e crítica, de experiências transformadoras e dialógicas.

O FEA se utiliza da pesquisa-ação-participante (PAP), sigla que também refere-se a pessoas que aprendem participando. O PAP desmembra-se em quatro grupos. O PAP1 se configura pelos idealizadores nacionais da proposta (Ministério do Meio Ambiente e Ministério da Educação). O PAP2 é caracterizado pelas instituições com atuação regional na área socioambiental (Coletivo Educador). O PAP3 é representado pelos indivíduos que retratam o tecido social regional e atuam como multiplicadores. Já o PAP4 são os grupos sociais presentes dos municípios, que se organizam em comunidades de aprendizagem. Com esta estrutura e capilaridade, há um efeito de multiplicação e valorização dos saberes regionais (VITORASSI, 2014).

O Coletivo Educador é formado por instituições (universidades, movimentos sociais, organizações não governamentais, instituições públicas, associações, etc.), que lideram processos formativos de educadores ambientais populares (planejam, implementam e avaliam). As formações utilizam-se de "cardápios de aprendizagem", formados por métodos e conteúdos identificados como demandas do contexto onde se vai intervir com práticas de educação ambiental. O Coletivo Educador é responsável pela seleção dos participantes do PAP3, que lideram processos de educação ambiental em grupos comunitários. Esta seleção baseia-se no histórico pessoal de comprometimento com questões ambientais, atuação social, potencial de capilaridade e liderança, proporcionalidade quanto à diversidade sociocultural, territorial, profissional e de gerações. Os integrantes do PAP3 podem repetir o FEA continuadamente, já que os temas e os conteúdos são revistos a cada formação. Portanto, o PAP3 são os educadores ambientais populares. O PAP4 é formado por comunidades de aprendizagem nas quais os PAP 3 atuam, conforme suas escolhas, podendo ser, por exemplo, pescadores, grupos de mães, estudantes, grupos de jovens, etc.

Baseado em metodologias participativas e fundamentado em documentos globais e nacionais relacionados à educação ambiental como a Carta da Terra, a Agenda 21 e os Objetivos de Desenvolvimento do Milênio, o FEA busca estimular a reflexão e a ação coletiva valorizando saberes locais na construção de comunidades mais sustentáveis. A relevância do projeto é evidenciada em 2015, quando o CAB foi premiado pela Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU) como a melhor prática de gestão da água do mundo.

Ao se tomar conhecimento do contexto de aplicação deste programa, emergiu uma questão principal: O FEA pode ser considerado um processo

[2] Parceiros: Governos federal, estadual e municipais; associações e entidades de classe; instituições de ensino e pesquisa (escolas, universidades, fundações etc); organizações não-governamentais (cooperativas, empresas, associações etc); comunidade da área de influência da Itaipu, composta por 29 municípios da Bacia Hidrográfica do Paraná 3; Conselho de Museus; zoológicos (intercâmbio de animais silvestres); parques nacionais (Brasil, Paraguai e Argentina); ONU – Unesco e Instituto Brasil PNUMA (Programa das Nações Unidas para o Meio Ambiente); CIC – Comitê Intergovernamental Coordenador dos Países da Bacia do Prata; pessoas físicas voluntárias que atuam na recuperação das microbacias; e produtores rurais (CULTIVANDO ÁGUA BOA, 2016b).

[3] Em cada um dos municípios que participam do CAB foi formado um Comitê Gestor, criado por lei municipal e com a função de congregar interesses da comunidade, fiscalizar e acompanhar a execução de obras e serviços programados, aprovar o plano de bacia hidrográfica e os programas anuais e plurianuais de investimento, entre outros (SENRA; FRIEDRICH; DUALIBI, sd). Participam deste comitê universidades, ONGs, sociedade civil, empresas privadas, Prefeitura Municipal, funcionários da Itaipu, entre outros.

[4] O Coletivo Educador desenvolve processos formativos sincrônicos de educação ambiental e popular destinados a totalidade da base territorial onde atua, procurando atendê-la de forma permanente e continuada (BRASIL, 2006a, p. 28).

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gerador de governança ambiental comunitária, enquanto executor de uma política pública voltada para educação ambiental? Complementarmente, haviam outras questões, relativas aos elementos da governança, que as pesquisadoras buscavam compreensão: Como ocorrem as interações entre os diferentes atores envolvidos no processo? Como caracteriza-se a participação dos líderes? Há diálogo e descentralização no processo de educação ambiental do FEA? Há corresponsabilização e sentimento de pertencimento pelos participantes nas ações decorrentes do FEA? Como ocorrem as trocas entre os participantes do FEA e entre os programas que compreendem o CAB? Há valorização de saberes locais na articulação das ações decorrentes do FEA? O FEA se constitui em um processo transparente com acesso à informação e trocas pelos participantes?

Com base em tais inquietações, o estudo buscou investigar os processos de participação na formação dos educadores ambientais, aqui também consideradas as trocas de saberes, e sua contribuição para realização da governança ambiental comunitária. Apresenta-se em seguida um breve referencial teórico sobre o tema e os procedimentos metodológicos aplicados na pesquisa, que tem cunho qualitativo.

II. Nuances da Participação Para a Governança Ambiental Comunitária

O termo "governança" foi utilizado pela primeira vez na França como equivalente de "governo" (arte ou maneira de governar), nos séculos XII e XIII. No Iluminismo do século XVIII a expressão foi reutilizada relacionada ao respeito dos interesses e valores do povo. Enquanto isso, o termo inglês *governance* é usado na Idade Média (século XIV), como forma de expressar a partilha do poder entre os diferentes membros da sociedade medieval inglesa. Já no período contemporâneo, nos anos 1980, fala-se em governança corporativa, evocando a participação dos acionistas na gestão da empresa e na realização de uma coordenação mais ampla que o mercado. Nesse mesmo período, o termo é utilizado nas relações internacionais representando um conjunto de regras implementadas para chegar a uma globalização estruturada, com objetivo principal de criar um ambiente institucional favorável para os agentes econômicos nacionais e internacionais (RICHARD; RIEU, 2009).

O conceito de governança modificou-se ao longo do tempo. A pesquisa aprofundada de Richard e Rieu (2009) identificou o estudo de Hall que, num primeiro momento, não distinguiu governança de governabilidade, definindo-a como a forma pela qual o poder é exercido no momento do manejo do recurso natural, econômico ou social envolvendo instrumento de mercado e participação popular na sua execução. Depois, o mesmo autor em um trabalho em parceria com Rogers, passou a utilizar o termo governança, referindo-se a algo mais inclusivo que governo, abarcando a relação Estado, sociedade, mercado, Direito, instituições, políticas e ações governamentais.

Já Castells (2005) e Boaventura de Souza Santos (2010), atentos à realidade contemporânea, filiam-se a constituição de uma governança global baseada em redes. Santos (2010) refere que a governança adveio do questionamento das características sociais e democráticas do contrato social após o fim da Segunda Guerra Mundial. Movimentos estudantis, ecológicos e de mulheres solicitavam sua participação nos processos decisórios do Estado e afirmavam que sua exclusão acarretava em um processo não democrático. Assim, o questionamento acerca da capacidade estatal de enfrentar desafios apresentados pelo processo de globalização e de coordenar ações coletivas levou à inclusão de novos atores no poder de decisão.

Para Santos (2010), o poder disciplinar dominante, centrado nas ciências, crescentemente perde a confiança epistemológica e se vê forçado a compartilhar o campo do saber com conhecimentos rivais. Ao mesmo tempo, o poder jurídico, centrado no Estado e no Direito, está em declínio, desorganizado e coexistindo com o direito não oficial de múltiplos legisladores fáticos. Assim, o que eram certezas científicas não se sustentam mais e o Estado perde a força decisória, pois perde legitimidade. As funções reguladoras do Estado são vistas mais como incapacidades. Para ele, a solução talvez seria a criação de autoridades políticas supranacionais com poderes para impor o cumprimento dos novos contratos sociais globais. Portanto, como a crise do contrato social provoca a desregulação social, a reinvenção estaria na reconstrução do espaço-tempo da deliberação democrática.

Castells (2005) também refere que há uma crise de legitimidade das instituições políticas, caracterizada pela distância entre cidadãos e seus representantes, que se intensifica com o surgimento de uma sociedade civil global. Os instrumentos de que dispõem as instituições são insuficientes e inadequados, sendo necessários novos modelos de governança, diz. Por isso, sugere a constituição de um governo mundial, pois observa que, diante da dificuldade de gerenciamento do Estado-Nação, o mercado tem se encarregado do crescimento e do equilíbrio econômico e a sociedade civil global, constituída de ONGs e outras formas de agrupamento de interesses, tem organizado a representação do povo.

Conforme Castro (2007) para que a governança ocorra são necessárias ferramentas administrativas e técnicas que podem ser usadas em diferentes contextos para atingir um determinado objetivo. As

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decisões não podem ser tomadas por especialistas e tomadores de decisão somente, precisam ser decorrentes de um debate de alternativas, da definição dos fins e os meios que devem ser perseguidos pela sociedade, através de um processo de participação democrática. Para ele, a governança ocorre quando há construção social de crenças compartilhadas sobre a realidade, criação das identidades e regulamentação dos direitos e obrigações, além da definição de fins e valores sociais e dos meios para alcançá-los. Portanto, a governança é um processo que incorpora os diversos atores envolvidos na tomada de decisão, num processo participativo que deve primar pela transparência e pelo acesso à informação.

A busca por uma síntese dos elementos que constituem o conceito de governança por meio do estudo de diferentes autores leva-nos a características como: multiplicidade, equidade e percepção da interdependência entre atores; objetivos compartilhados; fronteiras fluídas entre público, privado e esferas associativas, o que requer um Estado mais flexível e descentralizado; multiplicidade de formas de ação, intervenção e controle, caracterizada por uma participação ética e comunicativa; conjunto de iniciativas, regras, instâncias e processos que permitem às pessoas, por meio de suas comunidades e organizações civis, a exercer o controle social, público e transparente, das estruturas estatais e das políticas públicas, por um lado, e da dinâmica e das instituições do mercado, por outro, o que pressupõem novas maneiras de interação, nos quais o modo de governar hierárquico tradicional e a auto-organização social são complementares (BESSA; PEREIRA; ZITZKE, 2011; DINIZ, 1999; FONSECA; BURSZTYN, 2009; JACOBI; SINISGALLI, 2012; RICHARD; RIEU, 2009; ZSÖGÖN, 2005).

Esses estudos evidenciam que, para ocorrer efetivamente, a governança deve obedecer aos princípios nela implícitos, podendo-se destacar: participação; negociação; cooperação; integração; comunicação; transparência; acesso à informação; regras, responsabilidades e objetivos compartilhados; interdependência; multiplicidade de formas de ação e controle; descentralização; equidade entre atores (iniciativa pública, privada e sociedade civil); processo de aprendizagem; eficiência, coerência e ética. Entende-se que a governança assume especificidades conforme a causa sobre a qual os atores se debruçam e o contexto (global, regional). No caso deste estudo, situado em um território de bacia hidrográfica, adotamos o termo governança ambiental comunitária.

O Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento (PNUD), por meio de seu Mecanismo de Governança da Água, define governança hídrica como sistemas políticos, sociais, econômicos e administrativos que influenciam o uso e a gestão da água (quem tem direito à água e serviços relacionados, e seus benefícios) (ONU, 2016). Portanto, a governança ambiental abrange a relação sociedade, Estado e mercados. Além dos demais pressupostos da governança, no caso da gestão hídrica, também está associada à qualidade de vida e ao bem estar, notadamente aspectos relacionados com a saúde ambiental, constituindo-se enquanto um processo participativo que é, acima de tudo, de aprendizagem (JACOBI; SINISGALLI, 2012). No mesmo sentido, Soares (2008) identificou que a melhor governança na gestão por bacia hidrográfica decorre da participação com descentralização, integração e envolvimento, além de processos de negociação e mecanismos para resolução dos conflitos de forma pacífica, rápida e satisfatória.

Alguns estudos empíricos que têm trabalhado com o conceito de governança hídrica nos territórios contribuem para a compreensão deste processo que, em última instância, é de comunicação social. Ananda e Procton (2013) pesquisaram como as configurações institucionais existentes em Darwin, no norte da Austrália, impactam sobre a gestão da água e verificaram a existência de uma governança centralizada, em desacordo com a governança colaborativa, havendo uma lacuna de informação da comunidade sobre os recursos hídricos.

Outro estudo também se depara com uma governança relativa. Para Larson, Wiek e Keller (2013) a governança hídrica se caracteriza por processos de decisão das partes interessadas que são afetados por atividades que envolvem usos da água de forma a garantir bem-estar social e econômico, sem comprometer a viabilidade e a integridade dos ecossistemas. A pesquisa dos autores buscou verificar se os princípios da governança estão sendo cumpridos na área metropolitana de Phoenix, Arizona, nos Estados Unidos da América, em relação aos seguintes aspectos: manutenção de recursos, equidade social, participação do público, iniciativas descentralizadas, abordagem holística, decisão colaborativa e diálogo. O estudo concluiu que há falhas na governança quanto à representação das partes interessadas e ao envolvimento; ao acesso à informação compreensível; no que tange aos conselhos de especialistas; às estratégias de remediação eficazes; e às negociações de compensação adequada.

Turatti entende que a governança ambiental refere-se a um efetivo instrumento de garantia do direito à água, no entanto, a autora salienta que pode haver manipulação de determinados grupos para o atendimento de interesses particulares: " [...] não é suficiente apenas assegurar a ampliação dos canais de participação, o envolvimento com a coisa pública e a formatação de ideais comuns, é preciso atentar para uma possível manipulação dos indivíduos por meio de grupos interessados e movidos por interesses particularizados" (TURATTI, 2014, p. 178).

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A autora sugere que o acesso ao debate público de forma igualitária e não baseado na reprodução de relações pode produzir transformações, o que requer a geração de confiança, partilha de valores, engajamento recíproco, percepção de interdependência e de vínculo, além de objetivos comuns, elementos ressaltados também por autores que debruçam-se sobre os conceitos de capital social e de capital comunicacional socioambiental.[5]

Estes conceitos frisam os elementos da cooperação e da conversação cívica para o tratamento de problemas socioambientais, de modo que colaboram com propostas de educação ambiental que têm enfoque crítico, libertador e emancipador, valorizadores da diversidade de saberes e das aprendizagens dialógicas e contextualizadas. Quando se experienciam essas características em uma formação de educadores ambientais, pode-se afirmar que possibilitam a criação de agentes de processos de governança ambiental comunitária.

Bernier, Bouchard e Lévesque (2003) classificam quatro tipos de governança, entre eles a governança comunitária. Cruz (2014) sistematizou esses tipos de governança apontando suas principais características no Quadro 1. Para o autor, na governança comunitária a esfera pública tem atuação descentralizada, baseada na confiança entre os agentes das comunidades, caracterizando-se como uma democracia direta, por sua inserção local e pela ênfase nas iniciativas regionais.

Quadro 1: Tipos de governança

Categorias	Burocracia Hierárquica (Governança Pública)	Mercado (Governança Corporativa)	Comunitária (Governança Comunitária)	Parceria (Governança em Parceria)
Princípio	Autoridade	Oportunismo	Confiança	Deliberação
Estado	Intervencionista, regulador e produtor	Estado é fraco e minimalista	Comunidade de Bem-estar	Parceiro, regulador, distribuidor
Mercado	Mercado é fraco (Limitador, socializador)	Auto-regulação	Barganha	Instrumentos superiores de coordenação, reconheceu fraquezas
Sociedade Civil	Sociedade civil é fraca. Vista como um custo.	Caridade, benevolência, filantropia	Solidariedade	Associação que garante os interesses sociais; é vista como importante
Governança	Centraliza hierarquicamente	Corporativa e mercantil	Baseada em comunidades locais	Distribuída, parceria
Relações entre as organizações	Propriedade estatal	Externalização, outsourcing	Distritos industriais	Networking, clusters, redes de associados
Relação com o território	Hierarquia	Tecnocracia e dualismo	Comunidade	Democracia e sistemas locais de inovação
Interesse geral	Benefício público Uniformidade dos interesses individuais	Benefício privado Soma de interesses individuais	Benefício conjunto Interesse coletivo	Pluralidade de interesses Acordo entre interesses individuais
Elaboração de políticas	Tecnocráticas (simplista e informal)	Corporativista (simplista e formal)	Redes políticas (pluralista e informal)	Parceria institucionalizada (pluralista e formal)
Implementação de políticas	Governo direto (direta e não competitiva)	Vouchers e incentivos fiscais (indireta e competitiva)	Regulação social e organizações sem fins lucrativos (indireta e não competitiva)	Regulação (normas e leis) e contratos (direta e competitiva)

Fonte: Cruz (2014) a partir de Bernier, Bouchard e Lévesque (2003).

[5] Segundo Coleman (1988), o capital social refere-se a criação de expectativas e obrigações recíprocas, baseadas na confiança e circulação de informação, que facilitam a articulação das ações coletivas e normas que garantem a sua aplicação. Ou seja, a participação, que pode levar a um consenso, gera confiabilidade, pois as obrigações e expectativas serão comuns e, portanto, cumpridas. O autor demonstra a necessidade da rede de relações entre todas as partes. Dessa forma, o capital social integraria a norma, a confiança interpessoal, as redes sociais e a organização social, portanto, exige o afastamento do individualismo e a busca da racionalidade nas ações coletivas. A partir desse conceito, Mazzarino (2012) propõe que o capital social comunicacional voltado para problemas socioambientais determinaria o surgimento do capital comunicacional socioambiental, já que as questões ambientais têm potencial de atingir a todos os cidadãos de forma global, em virtude da natureza da problemática. O debate público em torno desses temas pode gerar: cidadania ambiental; percepção de interdependência das formas de vida e sentimento de pertencimento entre as pessoas e o meio; criação de valores e objetivos comuns para solução de questões socioambientais.

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Cruz (2014) identificou que o movimento social objeto de seu estudo de caso, assim como podemos apontar no CAB, apresenta características de uma governança comunitária, principalmente por estar baseado em comunidades locais e visar ao interesse coletivo, e de uma governança em parceria, pois os atores das diversas organizações, tanto do Estado quanto da sociedade civil, deliberam em conjunto sobre cada caso a ser resolvido, em um ambiente de trabalho em grupo. A governança comunitária ainda se caracteriza pelas redes políticas, com a elaboração de políticas pluralista e informal. Já na governança em parceria, pela característica da institucionalização, havendo também a elaboração de políticas pluralista e formal. Nos demais tipos de governança a gestão é centralizada no setor público (governança pública) ou no mercado (governança corporativa).

A marca da governança ambiental comunitária, portanto, é o empoderamento da comunidade local, que tem na base de suas ações a confiança, a solidariedade e o interesse coletivo, atuando juntamente com o setor público e o setor privado, o que pode vir a ser uma experiência efetiva de participação. Segundo Schmidt e Guerra (2010, p. 120) quando a solução de problemas ambientais ocorre de forma participativa e transparente tem-se uma melhoria da "qualidade de vida local, tanto ao nível do bem-estar social, como da (re)apropriação dos espaços públicos, como, ainda, do exercício de uma cidadania mais pró-activa". É preciso relevar, portanto, que as formas de participação social assumem diferentes dimensões, podendo configurar-se como de mero acompanhamento ou serem mais ativas, o que ocorre quando o sujeito se coloca como mais engajado, mobilizado e envolvido, levando para a sua vida pessoal as ações de educação ambiental que desenvolve. Por isso, a participação tem um caráter ideológico e sua prática é variada[6].

O pressuposto da participação está presente nas orientações globais de educação ambiental, bem como nas nacionais. No Brasil, o PRONEA propõe a geração e disponibilização de informações que garantam a participação social. Dessa forma, entende-se que para a participação é necessário o acesso à informação, já que é a partir do conhecimento e da análise dos fatos que se podem propor alternativas (GRANZIERA, 2011). A pessoa informada pode tomar posição ou pronunciar-se sobre o assunto de forma responsável, constituindo-se em um exercício de cidadania (GENTILLI, 2005; MACHADO, 2011).

A informação possibilita a participação individual, mas são os processos de comunicação que potencializam as construções coletivas. Cortina (2005) ressalta, neste sentido, que para haver diálogo é preciso participação de todos os afetados ou seus representantes; disposição para ouvir o interlocutor, já que o diálogo é bilateral e não unilateral; disposição para manter seus argumentos, modificá-los ou acrescentá-los na decisão; preocupação em encontrar uma solução justa, esclarecendo o que se tem em comum e quais os pontos de divergência; tomando-se decisões que atendam ao direito de todos os afetados, estando elas abertas a revisões.

Como benefícios da participação, Cunha e Santiago (2008) elencam: melhor diagnóstico das necessidades, maior riqueza na busca de soluções, maior mobilização de recursos, melhor colaboração na aplicação das decisões, fomento da integração social, oportunidade de aprendizagem, maior flexibilização das decisões tomadas e desenvolvimento do sentimento de pertencimento. Por outro lado, os autores apontam como obstáculos à participação o conflito de legitimidade, os procedimentos metodológicos e a escassa transversalidade das informações, característica da rígida estrutura das administrações.

Levando em conta estas nuances conceituais sobre participação e governança no contexto ambiental comunitário, as autoras investigaram as dinâmicas que permearam a formação dos educadores ambientais do CAB, enquanto contribuição para a compreensão de processos de governança ambiental comunitária.

III. Procedimentos Metodológicos

O estudo possui uma abordagem qualitativa, que valoriza os significados individuais e a construção coletiva, como cabe ao estudo de caso (GOLDENBERG, 2013). Quanto aos fins, a pesquisa é explicativa e descritiva e quanto aos meios caracteriza-se como bibliográfica, documental e de campo. Analisaram-se documentos norteadores da educação ambiental, nacionais e internacionais; e também aqueles produzidos pela instituição coordenadora do CAB, Itaipu Binacional, como *site*, obras teóricas, vídeos e cartilhas. A pesquisa de campo se fez por meio de observações diretas, registro em diários de campo, entrevistas semiestruturadas e aplicação de questionários a diferentes grupos.

Como a amostra é qualitativa, não probabilística, não busca representatividade quantitativa

[6] Theodoro et al. (2005) propõe uma classificação para as diferentes formas de participação: a) participação individual, citando como exemplo o voto, as opiniões e entrevistas concedidas publicamente; b) participação coletiva, com um caráter associativo; c) participação passiva, que é esporádica, mais quantitativa do que qualitativa, tendo como clara expressão o censo; d) participação ativa, que implica na mudança de comportamento e atitude em nível individual e coletivo, caracterizada pela constância, comprometimento e formalidade, servindo como exemplo as ONGs e movimentos sociais; e) participação voluntária, que tem caráter espontâneo e de solidariedade, sendo o mutirão um exemplo dessa prática; f) participação instrumental, que se trata da mobilização que visa a conquista de posição ou poder e tem esse objetivo previamente elaborado por técnicos, como a participação desenhada por organismos de financiamento internacional. Na participação mais ativa, portanto, o sujeito constituiu seu campo de ação.

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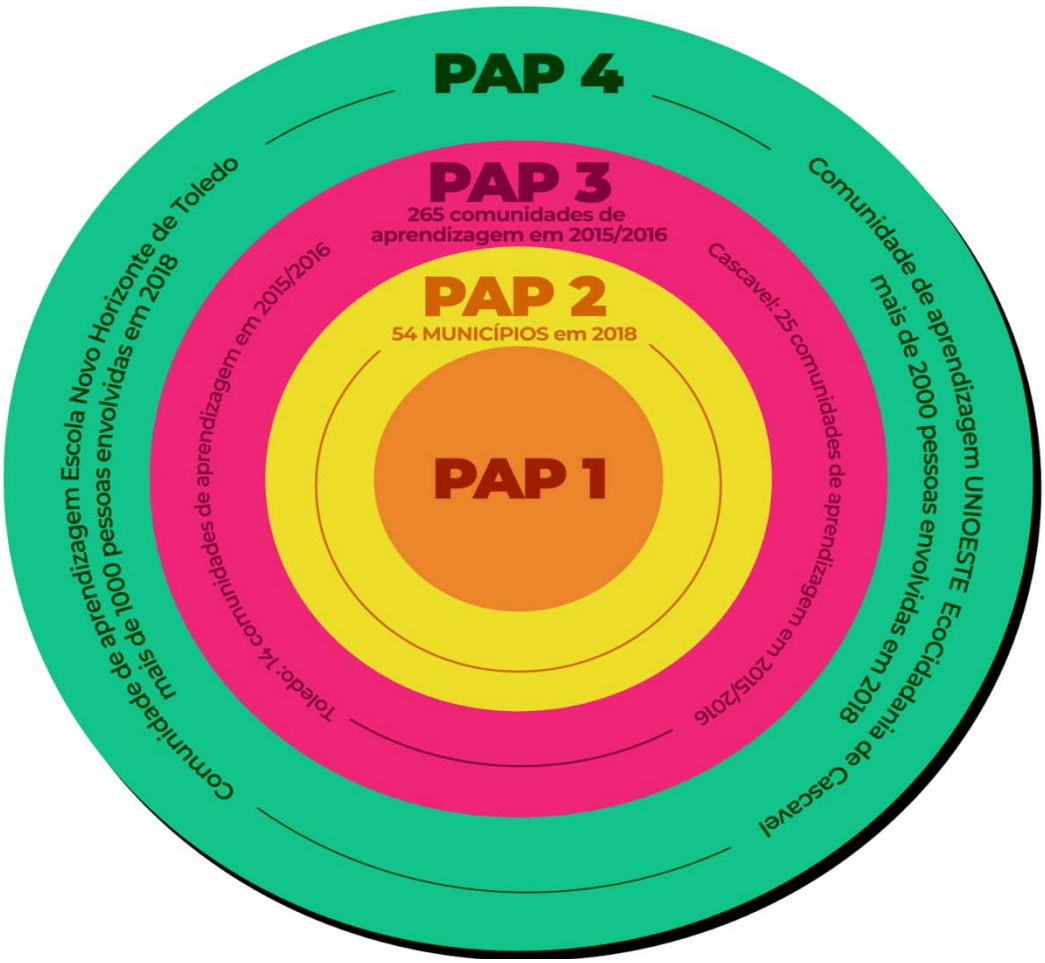
e tampouco generalização dos resultados. Foram selecionados informantes considerados representativos da população-alvo sobre a qual se buscou aprofundar conhecimentos. As entrevistas ocorreram com participantes dos municípios de Toledo e Cascavel, locais em que o programa mostrava-se mais fortalecido. Os representantes de Itaipu Binacional indicaram pessoas que auxiliaram na construção do programa e gestores de educação ambiental (PAP2) atuantes no programa, que, por sua vez, sugeriram outros gestores e também educadores ambientais (PAP3) que efetivam ações nos seus municípios. Na Figura 1 apresenta-se o número de participantes no CAB e nas comunidades de aprendizagem em que realizaram-se as observações. A comunidade de aprendizagem Escola Novo Horizonte de Toledo tem mais de 1.000 participantes diretos, envolvendo, além deles, em torno de 1.000 voluntários, como os familiares e os vizinhos dos alunos. A comunidade de aprendizagem Ecocidadania da UNIOESTE de Cascavel, por sua vez, possui mais de 2.000 participantes, incluindo alunos e professores. Nos dois grupos há participação da sociedade civil e da iniciativa pública e privada, salientando-se as empresas locais e as Prefeituras Municipais.



Fonte: As autoras.

Figura 1: Número de participantes no CAB e nas comunidades de aprendizagem em que realizaram-se as observações

Foram realizadas quatro entrevistas com gestores de educação ambiental de Toledo e quatro de Cascavel; seis com educadores ambientais em cada um desses municípios; três com funcionários de Itaipu Binacional, e, ainda, com a diretora da empresa que atuou diretamente na gestão do FEA do CAB (Nativa Socioambiental) e com duas pessoas que auxiliaram na construção do programa. Os questionários foram enviados para os educadores ambientais entrevistados destinarem aos integrantes das suas comunidades de aprendizagem, obtendo-se resposta de oito participantes do Projeto Florir Toledo; três participantes da Escola Estadual Novo Horizonte de Toledo e dois participantes da Defesa Civil de Cascavel.

Utilizou-se das seguintes siglas, seguida da data da entrevista nas citações diretas, para identificar

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as pessoas entrevistadas: AC (ajudaram na construção); FI (funcionário de Itaipu); NA (diretora da Nativa Ambiental); GEAC (gestor de educação ambiental de Cascavel); GEAT (gestor de educação ambiental de Toledo); EAC (educador ambiental de Cascavel); EAT (educador ambiental de Toledo).

Foram observadas algumas atividades do CAB que ocorreram no decorrer do período da pesquisa: Pré-encontro em Itaipulândia e Marechal Cândido Rondon e Encontro anual do CAB em Foz do Iguaçu; processo de formação em Santa Helena; e atuação do educador ambiental na comunidade de aprendizagem em Toledo e Cascavel. Os relatos das observações e as entrevistas foram transformados em documentos escritos e submetidos à análise, juntamente com os documentos citados. Os dados foram tratados por meio da análise de conteúdo, que sintetiza, descreve e interpreta os materiais de forma aprofundada, baseada na eleição de categorias (BARDIN, 1977). As categorias de análise que emergiram do referencial teórico e, espontaneamente, da pesquisa de campo, são analisadas de modo entrelaçado, referindo-se à: cooperação de múltiplos atores, negociação dialógica, comprometimento, troca de saberes. Estas categorias sustentam os processos de participação geradores da governança ambiental comunitária na CAB, realizada por meio do FEA.

IV. Análises e Resultados

A pesquisa de campo permitiu a realização de aproximações entre os elementos teóricos da participação e as ações desenvolvidas pelos participantes do CAB. Dos depoimentos e das observações emergiram elementos associados à participação, em especial quando se evidenciaram aspectos indicativos de uma governança ambiental comunitária como: cooperação de múltiplos atores; negociação dialógica; comprometimento; troca de saberes.

a) Cooperação de múltiplos atores

Ainda com relação à governança ambiental comunitária, tendo esta estreita aproximação com o comprometimento, percebeu-se ao longo do processo de observação junto a uma comunidade de aprendizagem em ação, em Toledo, durante uma caminhada que foi seguida pelo recolhimento de resíduos sólidos de uma sanga, o engajamento e a motivação dos participantes de diversos segmentos.

No momento da caminhada pela sustentabilidade e durante a limpeza da sanga evidenciou-se como um elemento da governança ambiental a presença de atores diversos (sociedade, Estado e mercados). A ação também foi marcada por ações que visavam a qualidade de vida e o bem estar da comunidade (JACOBI; SINISGALLI, 2012). Havia a presença da sociedade civil, já que a iniciativa era de uma professora educadora ambiental e alunos de diversas escolas, e estes contaram com ajuda de um morador (setor privado) que, voluntariamente, forneceu um equipamento para o carregamento no caminhão dos resíduos recolhidos. Também havia a representação do setor público com as gestoras de educação ambiental auxiliando na organização, além de funcionários da Secretaria da Saúde e Meio Ambiente da Prefeitura Municipal (que são PAP3 e 2), também com a disponibilidade de um caminhão para recolhimento dos resíduos. A Itaipu Binacional forneceu camisetas para identificação do movimento e havia a presença da gestora ambiental regional vinculada à empresa. Também do setor privado, uma empresa da área laboratorial forneceu as luvas.

Em um dos depoimentos colhidos ao longo da ação EAT1 (29/06/2017) citou: “Temos outros parceiros como a Sanepar, companhia de saneamento do Paraná, porém nesse dia não fizeram parte; Núcleo Regional de Educação, órgão do Estado; e Paróquia São Francisco que é do bairro onde está o colégio”. Em outras oportunidades em que a escola desenvolveu as atividades, a educadora ambiental entrevistada conta que houve a participação de diversos segmentos:

> A gente já se juntou com a Campanha da Fraternidade, porque dois anos seguidos, 2007 e depois 2010/2012, a Campanha da Fraternidade estava relacionada com as questões ambientais. Esse ano é meio ambiente também e aí nós nos juntamos com a igreja. [...] Trabalhamos sempre juntos. [...] Vários professores foram junto e nós fizemos esse trabalho (EAT1, 29/06/2017).

Outro ator entrevistado (GEAC2) mencionou que o CAB oportuniza abertura para a comunidade participar. Os projetos potencializam o envolvimento de diversos setores nas ações socioambientais organizadas. EAC5 (26/06/2017) referiu que os participantes da sua comunidade de aprendizagem “compraram a ideia”, o que se demonstra pela participação ativa de diversos segmentos nas ações do CAB. “Tem uma sequência de envolvimento, não ficou só a coordenação e eu”, explica (EAC5, 26/06/2017). EAT4 também referiu que é fundamental o envolvimento da comunidade de aprendizagem:

> A participação, tem que ter participação. Você tem que ir com o intuito de buscar conhecimento, constituir o grupo e envolvê-los. Conseguir envolvê-los para que isso seja, essa comunidade que eu vou constituir vai trabalhar também, vai se envolver, você vai ter envolver essa comunidade para que esse trabalho dê continuidade (EAT4, 30/06/2017).

Em relação à participação pública municipal, GEAT4 (17/03/2016) afirmou a importância do trabalho com a população, além do convênio financeiro. "O resultado é a médio e a longo prazo”. Para ele é o programa que alavanca essa participação:

> O CAB conseguiu alavancar isso e fazer com que todos os municípios trabalhassem. Foi devagar a coisa. Não foi jogado, foi um processo bem gostoso de formação,

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> discussão, entendimento. Várias reuniões com Ministério do Meio Ambiente, pessoas convidadas dos municípios. Todos os municípios fazem ações. Mesmo os que em 2000 não faziam (GEAT4, 17/03/2017).

Ainda segundo o mesmo ator, há uma resposta do poder público para as demandas que as comunidades solicitam. Dentre estas ele destacou: "Readequação de estradas, principalmente no interior, o asfalto, na minha cidade tem as principais vias com asfalto. Eles solicitam aterramento que é feito, melhoria na entrada nas propriedades, foi feita lei para entrar nas propriedades, abastecedouros que eles solicitam também" (GEAT4, 17/03/2017).

Para além da importância do ente público municipal, o entrevistado salientou que todos os parceiros têm potencial no processo participativo: "Tem muita parceria, Estado, ONGs, empresas, tem que estar aberto para parceiros. Todos os parceiros têm o seu potencial, temos desde cooperativa até ONGs. Não pode separar, cada um na sua particularidade tem seu potencial" (GEAT4, 17/03/2017).

Outros dois atores (EAC4 e EAT4) também consideraram que o CAB estimula a participação de todos os sujeitos pertencentes ao grupo social em que a atividade socioambiental é desenvolvida. Acerca disso referiram, por exemplo, que na comemoração de datas como o Dia da Água e o Dia do Meio Ambiente, as zeladoras da escola participavam sugerindo cartazes ou decorações para lembrar da importância dos temas. Outro exemplo, foi relativo a formação de uma comunidade de aprendizagem junto a um grupo de adolescentes com vulnerabilidade social, para o qual falou-se da importância dos produtos fitoterápicos e do seu cultivo em casa, no qual percebeu-se um grande envolvimento dos jovens e suas famílias.

É notório que a participação ativa dos diversos segmentos dos setores público, privado e da sociedade civil, componentes relevantes no conceito de governança ambiental, são determinantes para a continuidade das ações socioambientais e também do próprio CAB. A participação como valor cívico mantém relação de proximidade com a liberdade, segundo Cortina (2005). Para esta autora, a participação traz três significados para a liberdade: o direito de tomar parte de decisões comuns depois de uma deliberação conjunta; a independência produzida em relação aos direitos individuais, mas salientando que estes não se mantêm sem a solidariedade, pois o interesse privado precisa estar comprometido com a vida pública; e a autonomia que se conecta à aprendizagem, já que é o oposto que optar pela maioria (forma convencional). Isso exige a participação ativa do sujeito, uma postura de quem busca o saber e não de quem passivamente o recebe.

b) Negociação dialógica

Nesse sentido, percebeu-se no CAB que os participantes tomaram parte de decisões comuns depois de uma deliberação conjunta. No Pré-CAB, observou-se que aconteceram os trabalhos em grupo, com a apresentação em plenária, quando os participantes se colocaram em círculo para discussão, um representante de cada grupo fez a leitura dos avanços e discutiu os aspectos avaliativos com os demais participantes nas comunidades. Além disso, na oficina do programa de Educação Ambiental, no Encontro Anual do CAB, evidenciaram-se como efetivos os elementos de participação e do engajamento, quando da apresentação dos resultados das discussões dos eventos Pré-CAB. Já no encontro de formação dos gestores de educação ambiental, eles se manifestaram durante a palestra trazendo experiências pessoais, o que demonstra a valorização dos saberes próprios e sua autonomia. Neste evento, o engajamento também foi observado quando os participantes leram previamente os documentos propostos e construíram ativamente um cartaz sobre cada tema.

No momento de formação, em Santa Helena, os participantes se colocaram em círculo para discussão. Um representante de cada grupo fez a leitura em plenária do cartaz construído coletivamente e realizaram-se atividades participativas. Observou-se uma abertura no CAB para os participantes escolherem como desejariam trabalhar. Nesse sentido EAC6 e EAT2 esclareceram:

> Quando você impõe a uma pessoa ela não vai aceitar, ela precisa te ajudar a construir, porque senão não vai se sentir parte no processo. Acho que esse é um dos pontos fundamentais para o sucesso do Cultivando também. É o conhecer partilhado, não é uma coisa imposta pra gente. A gente tem o direito de escolher como vai fazer, como trabalhar, o que trabalhar. Ele põe limites bem amplos para gente e dentro desses limites vai desenvolver o que é melhor para gente (EAC6, 26/06/2017).

> [Referindo-se ao FEA] São o farol, referência, nos dão a liberdade que cada um, em cima da sua comunidade você monta. Eles dão as referências, dão todo o apoio, em nenhum momento eles falaram você vai fazer sal e sabão, não, para participar do FEA é um grupo (EAT2, 30/06/2017).

Em sentido semelhante EAT5 cita que os monitores do FEA são abertos a sugestões e auxiliam nas proposições dos educadores ambientais: "As informações do FEA são bem claras e o grupo que trabalhou com a gente é mão na massa, eles vão junto, a gente propõem de fazer alguma coisa e eles já vem com sugestões. É por esse caminho é por aquele eles são bem abertos a sugestões" (EAT5, 30/06/2017).

Além disso, no FEA, os conteúdos dos módulos são definidos a partir das demandas dos educadores ambientais participantes. FI1 lembrou durante a entrevista que quem define os conteúdos do próximo ano são os educadores que estão no FEA, o

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que é feito por meio da metodologia do "world café". São apresentadas 09 perguntas onde quatro são de avaliação do processo todo que envolvem o conteúdo, infraestrutura e também os critérios de avaliação, e outras cinco relacionadas a construção do processo do próximo ano, sendo que quem define os conteúdos é o próprio grupo (FI1, 19/11/2015).

A partir da avaliação realizada pelos educadores ambientais participantes do FEA (PAP3), o grupo do Coletivo Educador (PAP2), em reunião, discute o que foi apontado e organiza o planejamento para a próxima formação. Desse modo, o participante do FEA não é mero espectador, necessita agir e se manifestar. Segundo NA, esta situação pode gerar um desconforto por parte das pessoas mais retraídas, até ela perceber que tem um papel ativo para a continuidade das atividades do FEA e das ações socioambientais que serão realizadas.

Diante dessa desestabilização provocada pelas atividades do FEA, alguns participantes do FEA se afastam, mas, para a maioria deles, um papel político na construção coletiva passa a ser adotado. "No final do ano nós temos um cardápio construído coletivamente entre os PAP3, que sugerem aos gestores e, a medida do possível, ele é acrescentado", conta EAC4 (26/06/2017). NA relata que constroem o planejamento das ações com uso de metodologias participativas.

> A gente tem um planejamento que é feito por eles todo final de ano. Eles avaliam a caminhada do ano. Existe o planejamento que todo os programas fazem, o pré-CAB. Além dele ainda tem o FEA, o Coletivo Educador, os Comitês Gestores. No final do ano a gente faz uma metodologia de avaliação participativa de construção aonde eles avaliam o ano, cada processo, cada encontro, cada desdobramento no município deles, avaliam como que está o cumprimento do papel deles no município e eles planejam o ano seguinte. O planejamento do ano seguinte é tanto de formação que eles estão demandando quanto de estratégias que a gente precisa pensar (NA, 16/03/2016).

Também o grupo de jovens dos municípios participantes do CAB é incluído e atua, dividindo tarefas de forma não hierarquizada e autônoma em relação aos gestores do programa. Conforme EAC6 "não tem nada hierarquizado é tudo decidido em conjunto e nós acabamos dividindo entre três ou quatro pessoas. Um grupo cuida das mídias, vai fazer entrevistas, vai fazer *realizes* dos encontros" (EAC6, 26/06/2017). Esses adolescentes também utilizam metodologias participativas em encontros do Coletivo Jovem do CAB, momentos em que ativamente cooperam.

EAT2 (30/06/2017) percebe um engajamento dos participantes da comunidade de aprendizagem em que está inserida. Em uma oficina de sal temperado realizada no grupo do projeto Florir Toledo "todos foram, levaram avental, panela, eles mesmos fizeram, foram lá na horta colher". EAT3 (30/06/2017) completa: "eles demonstraram interesse porque são bem dedicados nas atividades que são propostas. O coordenador abraça todas as propostas e, realmente, os alunos deles topam fazer". EAT5, do mesmo modo, referiu que na sua comunidade de aprendizagem há participação ativa dos PAP4.

Portanto, predomina a percepção de que há engajamento nos processos participativos ativos do CAB, na avaliação e no planejamento das atividades, bem como nas ações propostas, capaz de transformar opiniões particulares em saberes coletivos, exercitando-se o papel de sujeitos de conhecimento. Há, assim, um processo de formação da subjetividade, resultado do amadurecimento provocado pela necessidade contínua de resolver problemas, o que se dá por meio da competência comunicativa dos sujeitos em situações discursivas em que não foram citados constrangimentos. Desse modo, pode-se afirmar que os participantes do CAB exercitam a comunicação em processos de negociação e interação dialógica. Os participantes entrevistados referiram que, quando têm dificuldades, resolvem com conversas. "As pessoas estão amadurecidas para dialogar sem brigar. Não quer dizer que isso não vá acontecer. Nas oficinas, nas primeiras acontecia muito (FI1, 19/11/2015). Ou ainda conforme GEAC2: "Tomamos decisões em grupo. Não é todo mundo que concorda com a mesma ideia, então a gente discute, coloca em votação quando tem desacordo, mas há respeito entre todos. É uma comunidade muito bem resolvida não tem problema de brigas e discussões pesadas (GEAC2, 27/06/2017). E ainda segundo EAT3

> [...] "já teve desacordo, resolve com diálogo. No Coletivo Jovem já houve divergência de opinião e daí era no diálogo mesmo. Por exemplo, uma última questão que teve. Há pouco tempo a gente ia levar para votação para decidir o que se fazer. Teve uma discussão muito intensa. No FEA e no Coletivo municipal nunca teve discussão, mas nos encontros do FEA, se tiver uma divergência era no diálogo, numa boa, bem sossegado (EAT3, 30/06/2017).

O exercício de dialogia não evita os conflitos e não é algo generalizado no CAB, pois GEAT2 e GEAT3 citaram problemas na comunicação, frisando que é algo que precisa avançar.

> Muitas professoras de escolas, às vezes, não divulgam o que estão fazendo, as ações que elas fazem. A gente fica sabendo, nós da Secretaria até a gente tem um conhecimento, mas tem uns que a gente acaba nem divulgando, fica sabendo tempos depois de situações ou de pais que fazem relatos. [...] O que tem facilitado um pouco é a questão do *whats*, porque você monta um grupo e tem pessoas que já fizeram o FEA há mais de 2 anos e ela continua no grupo, então aí você tem uma comunicação mais direta, acabam postando fotos, ações (GEAT3, 28/06/2017).

> A gente acaba não conseguindo ali acompanhar se quem fez a formação anterior está continuando a sua comunidade de aprendizagem, então isso é algo que a gente precisa

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> avançar no futuro, de conseguir entender e de agir mais com aquele que não está mais no Coletivo porque não tem disponibilidade de participar da reunião, mas que continua com o programa, com sua comunidade, continua atuando (GEAT2, 28/06/2017).

Assim, por vezes, os desencontros entre participantes do CAB ocasionam a falta de acesso às informações relevantes. Não há publicação dos dados de projetos por área, região ou mesmo o número de pessoas envolvidas, embora as gestoras dos projetos tenham referido que está sendo providenciada a coleta e tabulação desses dados para divulgação. Evidenciou-se a dificuldade de acesso à informação entre comunidades de aprendizagem e também para o público externo ao CAB.

Além disso, há outros elementos que podem enfraquecer a participação, como a falta de estímulo pelas chefias dos participantes do CAB. GEAT3, EAC4 e EAT4 acreditam que o entendimento do que são as atividades do CAB pelos superiores facilitaria a adaptação do horário de trabalho para participar das ações e das formações. É neste sentido o depoimento de GEAT3: "O apoio da gestão, dos nossos gestores municipais, a adesão do município em nome do Prefeito, a questão da compreensão dos chefes imediatos, dos Secretários. Se eles não estiveram alinhados e abertos à proposta nós não conseguimos desenvolver nada disso" (GEAT3, 28/06/2017).

Portanto, a compreensão acerca da educação ambiental pelos superiores imediatos se mostra fundamental, já que determina o nível de participação dos educadores ambientais nas atividades do CAB. Muitos precisam negociar sua participação, já que estão inseridos em um sistema de trabalho conservador. O tempo despendido pelos educadores ambientais em formações e no desenvolvimento das ações socioambientais precisam ser compreendidos como parte do seu exercício profissional e como um agregador para a comunidade, o que requer o apoio do gestor sobre questões práticas, como a adaptação do horário de trabalho e o incentivo no desenvolvimento das atividades[7]. EAT3 (30/06/2017) considera fundamental esse entendimento e citou que tem que "se ausentar dos locais de trabalho para desenvolver essas atividades e a Secretaria de Saúde, em todos os momentos, apoiou, em todos os sentidos". GEAT3 também cita como fundamental o apoio da gestão municipal para o desenvolvimento das ações em educação municipal.

Já as entrevistadas GEAT2 e GEAT3 sentem que suas chefias não as valorizam enquanto educadoras ambientais, embora as respeitem e as ouçam. Com isso, as chefias provocam uma certa desmotivação. Evidenciou-se que a valorização da temática ambiental pelos governantes ou chefias foi determinante para o aumento da participação e a evolução das ações em educação ambiental. Há, ainda, outros elementos que desmotivam. Uma educadora ambiental não se sente valorizada financeiramente (EAT6) e outra não se sente valorizada pela gestão pública municipal após a troca de governo (EAC4). Nesse sentido, EAT4, por sua vez, lembra que em alguns municípios o CAB ajuda a sensibilizar gestores públicos em relação à educação ambiental.

Mesmo não sendo unanimidade entre os entrevistados, a maioria se sente valorizada. EAC6 cita que todas as pessoas que trabalham com ela reconhecem muito as suas ações. FI3 salienta que "está aberto para todas as visões e olhares. Tudo que se traz é valorizado, independente se for crítica ou elogio. É a governança compartilhada, e coloca corresponsabilidade dentro do processo" (FI3, 19/11/2015). De forma semelhante EAT3, refere que "nós sempre fomos muito bem vistos e valorizados, tanto por Itaipu como pela Nativa que não está mais, mas que era a empresa que fazia os encontros no ano passado. Valorizam muito e é por isso que nós temos a responsabilidade" (EAT3, 30/06/2017).

A maioria dos participantes de comunidades de aprendizagem de Toledo e de Cascavel (PAP4) considera que suas contribuições são valorizadas. Portanto, evidenciou-se que no processo de formação e de constituição das comunidades de aprendizagem há majoritariamente a percepção de valorização das contribuições dos participantes do CAB.

c) Comprometimento

Além disso, para além da mera participação, eles demonstram comprometimento, caracterizado pela corresponsabilização e pelo engajamento na execução e articulação das suas atividades. EAT2 e EAT4 contaram que, a partir do FEA, mudaram seu modo de viver, seus pensamentos e atitudes, pois a experiência possibilitada pela formação as fizeram refletir sobre diferentes aspectos da vida e do meio ambiente.

> Tudo mudou e eu sou uma pessoa antes e uma depois com o FEA. Não tem como fazer um programa como este e entrar e sair a mesma pessoa. Não tem como. Primeiro pela estrutura que o programa Itaipu ofereceu, toda a equipe que dá assessoria. É um trabalho que não vai morrer nunca, é uma sementinha, tudo mudou: ações, pensamentos e atitudes (EAT2, 30/06/2017).

NA atribui à metodologia e ao viés espiritual do FEA essa mudança ocasionada no comportamento e na vida pessoal dos participantes:

> [...] Quando você trabalha a questão da espiritualidade dentro dos processos formativos, você tem um ganho grande, de mudança mesmo, de valores, de hábitos, a meditação, algumas técnicas de danças circulares que a gente fez muito com as metodologias dentro do FEA. [...] Criar um afeto entre as pessoas, a solidariedade, de ter as

[7] As decisões tomadas sob o poder discricionário podem seguir critérios como a oportunidade, a conveniência, a justiça, a razoabilidade, a equidade e o interesse público (DI PIETRO, 2007).

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pessoas olhando nos olhos das outras, de estar tocando. Isso veio dentro de metodologia de danças circulares, de meditação, da espiritualidade, da arte. Pessoas vieram para contribuir ao longo do processo (NA, 16/03/2016).

Além dessa reflexão e ação provocadas no FEA, a metodologia de avaliação e planejamento do CAB organiza as ações, definindo o que será realizado e quem será o responsável, a curto, médio e longo prazo, o que proporcionaria o engajamento. É o que demonstram as falas de GEAT4 e FI2 ao citarem a Oficina do Futuro como um momento para se refletir sobre seus sonhos e projetos.

EAC4 (26/06/2017) afirma que se sente profundamente engajada e responsável. Citou que pelas atividades que desenvolve é que "vive e respira, dorme e acorda" e considera "isso maravilhoso". EAC6 (26/06/2017) relatou: "Me sinto totalmente responsável. [...] Se uma pessoa falha ou não dá conta de fazer aquele trabalho, vai afetar o trabalho de todo mundo, então a gente tem que se responsabilizar mesmo, tem que chamar e fazer". Para ele, o comprometimento dos participantes é fundamental para o programa acontecer. Ao responderem ao questionário, os participantes de comunidades de aprendizagem de Toledo e Cascavel (PAP4) afirmaram que se sentem engajados e responsáveis nas atividades em que estão envolvidos, sendo diverso o nível de engajamento e responsabilização, predominando a resposta "Um pouco", que foi seguida pela resposta "Extremamente".

O engajamento e a participação estimulada a partir dos processos formativos e das avaliações e formas de planejamento, fortalece o pensamento coletivo como perspectiva de vida. As gestoras de educação ambiental de Toledo consideram que o trabalho em grupo fortalece e motiva as pessoas, auxilia a encontrar uma solução para os problemas e é determinante para o sucesso das ações. "No grupo a gente tem um fortalecimento, um apoio. Eu estou com dificuldade em determinado setor, vamos junto com você lá. [...] Eu valorizo muito isso no programa e sem isso a gente perde muito (GEAT2, 28/06/2017).

Para GEAC3, o que motiva as pessoas a estarem juntas para a realização das ações de educação ambiental é a visualização do trabalho sendo realizado. Além disso, os participantes do CAB entrevistados (PAP2 e 3) e que responderam ao questionário (PAP4) assinalaram que realiza-se o que é combinado. Esse fator estimula a continuidade das ações e o engajamento.

Verifica-se, assim, que os resultados apontam que há participação ativa dos sujeitos que compõem o CAB, de PAP2 a PAP4. Com relação aos educadores ambientais (PAP3), a participação é estimulada desde as formações (que desacomodam, pois exigem atividade), o que é repassado para as comunidades de aprendizagem.

Os relatos evidenciam que a participação de diversos segmentos da iniciativa privada, pública e da sociedade civil e os modos de fazer construídos coletivamente apontam para um processo de governança ambiental comunitária desencadeada por meio do CAB. Há a deliberação conjunta para o processo de tomada de decisão, que se efetiva por meio da negociação e da interação dialógica nos encontros, formações, avaliações e planejamentos realizados, o que gera comprometimento e senso de responsabilidade coletiva dos sujeitos. Esses elementos relativos ao processo participativo são sustentados pelas trocas de saberes entre os envolvidos, que, por sua vez, fortalecem a participação, ou seja, percebe-se um processo de retroalimentação entre participação e valorização dos saberes.

d) Troca de saberes

Há um propósito de multiplicação dos saberes compartilhados, que caracteriza a rede de relações dinamizadas no CAB. Todos os entrevistados percebem uma multiplicação dos saberes, principalmente ao constituírem suas comunidades de aprendizagem e desenvolverem as ações socioambientais com os PAP4, os quais medeiam informalmente esses saberes para seus familiares e vizinhos. Conforme EAT6: "A coisa deu tão certo por ser esse sistema de mandala, onde todo mundo dentro da sua célula fez o seu trabalho e fecham uma vez por ano para todos mostrarem o que estavam fazendo. Depois cada um retorna para sua comunidade levando o aprendizado" (EAT6, 30/06/2017). Ou, ainda, segundo EAT1: "O FEA faz isso, é um processo, aprendo repasso e segue-se a corrente do bem". (EAT1, 29/06/2017).

Itaipu promove encontros, trocas e formações, que proporcionam motivação e estímulo, porque articula diversos segmentos (públicos, privados e da sociedade civil) em ações que contam com incentivo financeiro. O incentivo financeiro é algo relevante a se ter em conta, pois viabiliza as ações do Programa de Gestão por Bacia Hidrográfica, que tem metas definidas coletivamente a serem alcançadas por diversos setores em curto, médio e longo prazo. EAT6 ressalta a importância do suporte financeiro para as ações: "Metade é a vontade das pessoas. Agora as pessoas têm conhecimento, sabem o que é bom e o que é ruim e sabem onde buscar, não tem mais como terminar. Agora sem dinheiro não faz nada, tem que ter parceria, é tudo muito caro" (EAT6, 30/06/2017).

Também é neste sentido a fala de EAT3: Itaipu que manda mudas e matrizes para reproduzir no viveiro. [...] O carro, a gente precisa do carro para estar carregando as coisas. [...] A gente sempre teve o apoio da Secretaria da Saúde, humanos e financeiros (EAT3, 30/06/2017).

Fica evidenciado assim que a articulação promovida por Itaipu alavanca as interligações que

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constituem a rede. Educadores ambientais de Toledo e Cascavel entendem que o CAB proporciona o trabalho em rede, que consideram mais proveitoso e motivador do que as ações isoladas de educação ambiental. Eu trabalhava com os alunos, mas dava a impressão que eu estava isolada naquele trabalho e, quando nós estamos no CAB, a gente vê que é uma conexão, que é um trabalho todo, que o planeta inteiro está envolvido. (EAT5, 30/06/2017).

Embora tenha referido que no FEA muitas ações são isoladas e pontuais e que os encontros são esporádicos, EAT1 considera que o programa agrega pessoas, proporcionando melhores resultados socioambientais.

> No FEA você consegue visualizar que tem muito mais gente fazendo coletivamente a gente consegue resultados melhores. [...] O FEA trouxe a esperança que a gente possa fazer coletivamente onde nós estamos e o resultado na região da Bacia do Paraná 3. [...] O FEA é a força coletiva pra mim, você não trabalhar sozinho pensando que você pode conseguir muito mais do que aquilo que você faria sozinho (EAT1, 29/06/2017).

Durante as observações diretas percebeu-se que alguns segmentos demonstram uma maior integração ao CAB, inclusive havendo disparidade entre grupos de professores que compõem a rede escolar. EAC5 (26/06/2017) referiu que: "o FEA é mais voltado para professores eu percebi. Tem poucos que não são professores. Acredito que seja importante valorizar áreas diferenciadas de outros grupos, engenharias, e não um foco único". A fala de GEAC2 também demonstrou que o envolvimento das escolas estaduais é menor nos processos.

Para GEAC4 (26/06/2017), o trabalho com o Núcleo Estadual de Educação e a Secretaria da Educação faz com que haja maior representatividade das escolas, "porque a escola tem pessoas, tempo e currículo. Os professores também têm algum tipo de incentivo e projetos curriculares, que são as horas de projetos. Muitas vezes até no governo do Estado, em forma de horas, dá quase que uma bolsa".

Verifica-se assim que o alcance das ações de educação ambiental possuem uma limitação, pois, ainda que abertos para o público em geral e tendo se originado em contexto extraescolar de educação não-formal, predomina a participação de escolas. A explicação para tal fenômeno pode residir no fato da temática estar prevista nas diretrizes curriculares como tema transversal, que segundo a legislação precisam ser atendidas. Também é preciso levar em conta que a rede escolar já esta constituída para o desenvolvimento das atividades socioambientais. Há de se salientar, no entanto, que também foi observado que o desenvolvimento dos projetos socioambientais, muitas vezes, ultrapassa a carga horária e o espaço escolar, integrando os alunos à sociedade e envolvendo outras instituições.

Tal cenário pode ter colaborado para fala de EAC3 que refere a necessidade de mais encontros para trocas de experiências e informações. O mesmo foi mencionado em Toledo, quando os entrevistados afirmaram sentir falta de mais interação entre as comunidades de aprendizagem.

Acerca dos momentos efetivos de troca, EAT3 mencionou que nas reuniões do Coletivo Educador de Toledo as comunidades de aprendizagem relatam suas experiências: "Durante as reuniões é justamente para isso, para a T…., que é a gestora de educação ambiental no município, passar as pautas que a própria Itaipu faz com eles e para a gente fazer a troca de experiências, cada um falar como estão suas atividades". (EAT3, 30/06/2017). E EAT4 e EAT5 trazem exemplos de momentos de trocas entre comunidades de aprendizagem no município.

> No ano passado fizemos um momento de trocas com as comunidades de aprendizagem aqui no município. Então nós nos reunimos na sala verde e os educadores que faziam o FEA traziam a apresentação das comunidades de aprendizagem e a gente vai interagindo também e foi feito esse momento de troca. Uma vez por ano é feito. O próprio FEA faz. No ano passado, se não me engano em setembro, foi feito em Marechal Candido Rondon, um momento onde foram reunidos os 3 núcleos de FEA e foi feita essa apresentação das comunidades. Feito em estilo *word café,* também, onde foram circulando nas mesas, fizemos o que cada município está trabalhando como é a comunidade de cada município (EAT4, 30/06/2017).

> Nesses encontros nós fizemos as trocas de experiência nos grupos. Nós temos encontros do FEA, são 5 por ano, todos os municípios, mas nós temos encontro no município e temos além dos encontros por município nós temos uma troca entre os grupos também (EAT5, 30/06/2017).

No Coletivo Educador de Toledo a comunicação e as trocas ocorrem por meio eletrônico (redes sociais, e-mails). Outros depoimentos sugerem que há o fortalecimento da comunicação entre PAP2 e PAP3, bem como há discussões e reflexões entre diversos setores.

Do total dos PAP4 que responderam ao questionário, nove consideram que há trocas entre seu grupo e os outros grupos do CAB (sendo oito de Toledo e um de Cascavel); três consideram não haver essas trocas (dois de Toledo e um de Cascavel) e um não respondeu. Assim, a maioria dos integrantes das comunidades de aprendizagem entrevistados consideram que as trocas são realizadas. Portanto, pode-se concluir que sua efetivação difere a partir do ponto de vista pessoal de cada entrevistado e que em ambos os municípios os participantes do CAB desejam ter mais encontros para socializar as experiências e conversar, já que esses são elementos motivadores para a ação.

Já em relação ao envolvimento de diferentes segmentos sociais e o diálogo entre eles, os quais

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pertencem a diferentes áreas de saber, foi constatado que este de fato ocorre. FI1 lembrou que

> Não há mais grupos distintos, uma diferença tipo eu sou professora e não dialogo com catador, isso foi um conflito que foi superando no decorrer do processo que é os segmentos se respeitarem enquanto estruturas organizadas. [...] Um outro avanço que percebo foi o envolvimento de diferentes segmentos no processo. [...] Eu acho que pastorais, agentes de saúde, um grande ganho é esse no diálogo com as pessoas você vai vendo vai descobrindo que novos segmentos você precisa ter dentro do CAB. Precisa interagir (FI1, 19/11/2015).

NA e GEAT4 concordam que a troca de saberes no CAB é um de seus elementos mais relevantes. NA afirma: "Trabalhar a diversidade de saberes, trazer todo e qualquer tipo de linguagem, de vivência como sendo um aprendizado dentro do processo [...] É uma mandala onde toda a educação ambiental está dentro interligada no CAB "(NA, 16/03/2016). O mesmo ocorre com o compartilhamento de conhecimentos.

> Neste ano nós vamos fazer uma formação dentro do Coletivo Educador de Cascavel na área de prevenção e combate a incêndios, na área de urgência e de proteção a desastres. Nós vamos compartilhar isso com nosso Coletivo, assim como já compartilhamos dentro da educação ambiental aqui do FEA e da reunião de gestores, em forma de palestra, a redução de riscos e desastres, e quando voltar o FEA um módulo dentro, sobre a política de redução de riscos de desastres. A gente já vê fruto dessa parceria, compartilhamento de saberes (GEAC1, 28/06/2017).

A valorização da diversidade de áreas de saber leva a um envolvimento por diversos segmentos sociais, que se sentem motivados em fazer parte do CAB. Além disso, predominou a posição dos entrevistados de que os saberes locais são valorizados. E neste contexto foram citadas as experiências dos pescadores, indígenas, agricultores familiares que são apresentadas nas formações para o CAB.

Portanto, evidenciou-se que o CAB oferece formações mais amplas, menos focadas em área de interesse específico dos sujeitos e que o aprofundamento nessas questões deve ser realizado pelos participantes. Assim, o programa funciona como um despertar para a sustentabilidade, motivador de ações de educação ambiental e de participação popular.

Conclui-se por meio da análise, que são fatores que marcam o processo de participação para a governança ambiental comunitária a articulação, as trocas de informações e experiências (entre as comunidades de aprendizagem, a organização e com o público externo), e a diversidade de saberes utilizados nas formações e ações socioambientais, sendo que a qualidade da comunicação determina o nível de sucesso nesses fatores (mais trocas geram mais interação que, por sua vez, gera mais complexidade). A comunicação como exteriorização de informações, sentimentos e experiências permite a constituição de uma rede de relações e a construção coletiva.

Por predominar a participação de escolas, por ser insuficiente a divulgação de oportunidades aos participantes pelos gestores, assim como as trocas de experiências entre as comunidades de aprendizagem e, ainda, por faltar informação sobre o CAB voltada para o público externo, conclui-se que, às vezes, a falta de comunicação no CAB tira sua potência, apesar de possibilitar a criação de redes.

V. Discussão Dos Resultados

A comunicação se mostrou o elemento determinante para oportunizar a participação e as trocas de saberes. Percebeu-se que o resultado positivo do programa de educação ambiental é determinado pelo nível de comunicação entre participantes, gestores e com o público externo. Esta comunicação como exteriorização de informações, sentimentos e experiências permite as interações, que geram o engajamento, a construção de um pensamento coletivo. Esses elementos são caros aos processos de governança ambiental comunitária do CAB.

A comunicação é inerente à atividade humana. A sociedade se constitui a partir da comunicação e da interação humana, que surgem de processos semióticos. O homem precisa nomear e o faz arbitrariamente, criando o símbolo - palavra, signo. As circunstâncias históricas e os anseios espirituais, ao longo do seu processo de desenvolvimento, foram criando a necessidade de nomeação dos objetos. Assim, um dos aspectos compositivos básicos da palavra é o seu caráter simbólico, visto que os objetos só se relacionam com os nomes através do sentido (CITELLI, 2002). Para um ato comunicativo é necessário haver um acordo de signos entre os comunicantes, ou seja, o quadro significativo deve ser comum entre eles, pois a comunicação "implica numa reciprocidade que não pode ser rompida. Por isto, não é possível compreender o pensamento fora de sua dupla função: cognoscitiva e comunicativa" (FREIRE, 2002, p. 67). Freire ressalta, ainda, que "todo ato de pensar exige um sujeito que pensa, um objeto pensado, que mediatiza o primeiro sujeito do segundo, e a comunicação entre ambos, que se dá através de signos linguísticos" (FREIRE, 2002, p. 66).

A comunicação, portanto, é a interpretação de signos que se dá socialmente num contexto ideológico e cultural, por meio de mediações diversas, que no CAB possibilitam o diálogo pautado em um processo de comunicação e aprendizagem social, para os quais são inerentes a escuta dos pontos de vista e a negociação, o que pressupõem transparência e acesso à informação. A informação é relevante para possibilitar a

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participação (GENTILLI, 2005; GRANZIERA, 2011; MACHADO, 2011). Embora os gestores dos projetos tenham referido que no CAB a coleta e tabulação dos dados para divulgação está sendo providenciada, percebeu-se, tanto quando das observações quanto por meio das falas dos entrevistados que, quando não há publicação dos dados de projetos por área, região, ou mesmo sobre o número de pessoas envolvidas falha-se no sentido de se assegurar a informação, que é determinante para a participação e para as trocas de saberes. Neste sentido, observou-se, por vezes, que também há dificuldade no acesso à informação entre comunidades de aprendizagem, já que não existe a compilação dos dados dos projetos de cada uma delas e o número de participantes, e também para o público externo ao CAB. A divulgação é escassa. Assim, as ações socioambientais desenvolvidas pelo programa pouco se expandem para além de seus participantes. Também foi possível evidenciar que o CAB envolve diferentes setores, articulando a criação de redes de pessoas. Predomina, contudo, a participação de escolas, o que faz com que, em relação a troca de saberes sejam atraídos principalmente aqueles constituídos a partir da educação formal.

Entre os participantes verificou-se a presença, na sua maioria, de: a) sujeitos que já tem uma motivação intrínseca para a educação ambiental, vendo no programa uma oportunidade de alavancar projetos socioambientais; b) setor público, que recebe de Itaipu *royalties* e recursos para o desenvolvimento das infraestruturas locais públicas; c) universidades e escolas, que possuem uma política pedagógica nacional a ser cumprida, que inclui a educação ambiental; d) setor privado, cumprindo uma responsabilidade socioambiental. Há, portanto, uma motivação para participar que é o cumprimento de papéis e deveres de seus membros ou a satisfação de interesses particulares.

Esses participantes compõem um público bastante amplo: mais de 2.200 organizações em 54 municípios. Entre eles, efetiva-se a cooperação, a participação, a interligação e a identificação de objetivos comuns. O seu propósito é multiplicar. O incentivo financeiro (para eventos e formações), possibilita os encontros para trocas de saberes entre educadores ambientais, o que os motiva. Sem o recurso, possivelmente muitos realizariam as ações de educação ambiental nas comunidades, mas de forma isolada, sem essa ampla rede de relações.

Embora existam falhas no acesso às informações no que diz respeito ao registro de dados e à divulgação, o que afeta a memória social e as trocas, as interligações entre diversos segmentos e áreas do saber e as promoções dos encontros entre as pessoas para as trocas de saberes, permitem concluir que a multiplicação do conhecimento e a estrutura de malhas de ligações são os principais pontos de êxito do programa.

Portanto, a comunicação é um pressuposto para a complexa estrutura em rede, porém, mesmo havendo necessidade de avanços nesse campo, a cooperação, a multiplicação, as trocas de experiências e a canalização de esforços para uma finalidade comum caracterizam o CAB. Uma rede se instala com base na comunicação, na participação e na cooperação. Seu propósito é "multiplicar, manter os participantes interligados e com a energia canalizada para a finalidade do coletivo" (FIGUEIREDO apud BRASIL, 1998, p. 151 e 152). Com maior circulação de informação, a rede constituída pelo CAB se fortaleceria.

Caracterizando morfologicamente a rede, Castells (2000) faz uma analogia com o processo biológico, em que as células se rearranjam quando uma cessa de desempenhar sua função, mas cada uma é dependente da outra enquanto se encontram dentro da rede. A rede, assim, é um conjunto de nós interconectados, não tendo um centro[8].

Para Scherer-Warren (2002, p. 68), a difusão de novos valores e um efeito multiplicador decorrem do caráter propositivo da rede, que desempenha "um papel estratégico, enquanto elemento organizador, articulador, informativo e de empoderamento".

No CAB, as principais características da rede são: a participação de diferentes atores, as articulações e a comunicação. A competência comunicativa dos sujeitos se dá pelo amadurecimento provocado pela necessidade contínua de resolver problemas, o que permite a constituição de relações que culminam com um processo de engajamento. Em síntese, o poder do CAB é conectar pessoas comprometidas com o bem comum, formando uma rede socioambiental articulada de relações. Este é o seu capital social maior.

Estimulando as trocas de experiências, está se valorizando os saberes locais. Os educadores ambientais constituem-se concomitantemente por meio do desenvolvimento de sua identidade pessoal e da identidade coletiva do próprio CAB. Essas duas dimensões (pessoal e coletiva) se influenciam. A identidade pessoal é, para Giddens (2002), a autoidentidade, relativa aos aspectos íntimos da vida pessoal, ao "eu", à política-vida, que supõem emancipação da rigidez da tradição e de condições de dominação hierárquica. Trata-se de uma política da escolha do estilo de vida, uma autenticidade interior, por meio da qual a vida é entendida como uma unidade contra o pano de fundo dos eventos sociais em mudança, dando coerência às suas convicções mesmo diante das circunstâncias exteriores. Os debates e as

[8] Para Castells (2000), a nova economia tem três características fundamentais: é informacional, é global e está em rede. A introdução de tecnologias de informação e comunicação permitem às redes flexibilidade e adaptabilidade, afirmando sua natureza evolutiva.

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contestações apoiam-se no projeto reflexivo do eu. Trata-se de um poder pessoal com capacidade transformadora e envolve o questionamento: quem eu quero ser?

A identidade coletiva, por sua vez, para o autor, refere-se às conexões sociais de grande amplitude, às instituições, à sociedade. A política emancipatória está interessada em "libertar os indivíduos e os grupos das limitações que afetam negativamente suas oportunidades de vida" (GIDDENS, 2002, p. 194). Visa romper as algemas do passado e ter uma atitude transformadora em relação ao futuro ou superar a dominação ilegítima de alguns indivíduos ou grupos por outros. A política emancipatória torna imperativos os valores de justiça, igualdade e libertação, cuidando para superar relações sociais exploradoras e opressivas, para que o sujeito seja capaz de uma ação independente, mas reconhecendo as obrigações coletivas. Os sujeitos usam, reflexivamente, esta emancipação na constituição da autoidentidade, já que uma supõe a outra.

Os sistemas, como aquele que o CAB engendra, estão envolvidos na ordem institucional (identidade coletiva) e na formação e continuidade do sujeito (identidade pessoal). "Eu" e "sociedade" estão inter-relacionados e existem múltiplos tipos de conexões intermediárias. As relações entre autoidentidade e instituições são influenciadas pelas circunstâncias e se influenciam mutuamente. "Influências globalizantes penetram profundamente no projeto reflexivo do eu e, inversamente, os processos de auto realização influenciam as estratégias globais" (GIDDENS, 2002, p. 197).

A autenticidade interior dos educadores ambientais do CAB, que constitui a sua identidade pessoal, alimenta e dá forma única ao programa, constituindo uma identidade coletiva por sua vez também singular, que também afeta os sujeitos que participam do FEA. Nesse sentido, Mazzarino (2013) refere que os valores, estilos de fazer, carências, condutas e ideologias pessoais, entre outros fatores, afetam as relações internas e externas de uma organização e determinam a sua identidade coletiva, percebidas como interdependentes. Os atores sociais que participam de um processo coletivo podem construir uma nova identidade, redefinir sua posição social e transformar a estrutura social. Desta forma, as identidades pessoal e coletiva tendem a retroalimentarem-se em contextos de construção de governança ambiental comunitária.

Trata-se de um movimento societal, como denominado por Touraine (1998). Seus membros participam em uma ação coletiva baseada no empenho (convicção) e desempenho (ação), nunca acabada. Para o autor, o movimento societal tem duas vertentes: uma é utópica, de identificação com os direitos dos sujeitos; e a outra é ideológica, de luta contra um adversário social. É conduzido por um projeto e objetiva a obtenção de resultados, sendo que seus membros apelam por orientações culturais próprias, afirmando a prioridade destas sobre a ação política. Os valores sociais que defendem não se reduzem aos seus interesses próprios. Por esses movimentos terem uma aspiração democrática, procuram levar os sujeitos a participar na formação das decisões políticas e econômicas.

É o caso do CAB, que coloca em ação um conjunto de mediações simultaneamente culturais, ambientais, sociais e políticas e realiza uma formação focada nas demandas sociais e na valorização dos saberes e das culturais locais, o que torna o processo envolvente para os atores. São demandas e forças de influência que operam mais em nível local, com influência do contexto global, e estão orientados para a defesa dos sujeitos e da diversidade, que supõem o pluralismo da diferença (TOURAINE, 1998).

O CAB, pode-se afirmar, está ambientado em um espaço cultural complexo. Estes espaços se caracterizam por serem "formados de multiculturalidades locais, regionais, globais; as quais, por sua vez, afetam subjetividades/identidades pessoais e coletivas" (MAZZARINO, 2013, p. 22). Mesmo surgindo a partir do setor público, a dinâmica do CAB é de formação de sujeitos individuais e coletivos, como no movimento social caracterizado por Mazzarino. Para a autora, no ambiente sociocultural global contemporâneo, o movimento social influencia e é influenciado pelo sistema social em que está inserido (mediado pelas interações internas e com outros campos sociais), por meio de trocas simbólicas que atuam na formação da identidade dos sujeitos via relações de comunicação.

Tem-se assim que, no que se refere à interação, é possível afirmar a potência da participação, do diálogo e da descentralização no processo de educação ambiental do FEA, bem como a efetivação da corresponsabilização e do sentimento de pertencimento vivenciado pelos participantes em relação ao território onde este acontece, o que se efetiva por meio de ações práticas. Evidenciou-se, com o estudo, que os elementos que constituem uma padronagem da governança ambiental comunitária do CAB estão baseados na participação dos setores público, privado e da sociedade civil no processo de tomada de decisões e na execução das soluções de forma coletiva. Há a deliberação conjunta, negociação e interação dialógica, assim como o comprometimento com a coletividade.

Quanto às trocas de saberes, cabe referir que a valorização de saberes locais está relacionada à articulação das ações decorrentes do FEA e à constituição do programa em um processo transparente com acesso à informação, mesmo que sua circulação não seja totalmente plena. O fato da

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troca ocorrer por meio de pactos municipais também gera o intercâmbio entre comunidades de aprendizagem o que se mostra relevante, pois motiva e fortalece as ações dos atores.

VI. Considerações Finais

O legado para os processos de governança ambiental comunitária ofertado pelo CAB a partir da sua experiência em educação ambiental, que coloca em prática uma política pública federal, está baseada na conexão de pessoas e organizações que formam uma rede em torno de um objetivo comum, caracterizada pela horizontalidade das relações entre seus membros.

A força do educador ambiental aparece enquanto articulador dos processos e atividades e a promoção da reflexão, do senso crítico e do agir em prol dos interesses coletivos. É ele, quem engaja e enreda atores, tornando possível efetivar um programa de educação ambiental que gera um processo de governança ambiental comunitária.

Este estudo sugere que, quando se dá a oportunidade da horizontalidade para as interações entre os setores público, privado e da sociedade civil, pode se formar uma rede de relações poderosa, capaz de transformar vidas e realidades, proporcionando o engajamento tão esperado na construção de uma sociedade mais sustentável.

A governança ambiental comunitária devolve legitimidade ao conjunto de organizações, de redes, de costumes políticos e sociais e de atores públicos e privados dinamizando o contexto sócio-histórico em que tem lugar, contribuindo para a construção da cidadania e da sustentabilidade local. No caso da CAB, a construção de um objetivo comum entre os atores dá ânimo à cidadania e à subjetividade, já que intensifica relações interpessoais por meio de ações de reciprocidade. A governança ambiental comunitária desperta vocações e desenvolve potencialidades dos sujeitos e das comunidades.

Sabe-se que a disponibilidade de recursos existente para o Programa é fator de grande relevância para os resultados produzidos pelo CAB mas, também há de se reconhecer que se não houvesse a recepção deste pela comunidade, o projeto não teria alcançado tamanho êxito.

As ações locais do CAB, principalmente após o seu reconhecimento pela ONU, reverberaram globalmente, sendo sua metodologia replicada em diversos países, servindo de inspiração para ações coletivas, especialmente em contextos de bacia hidrográfica. No entanto, o padrão de governança comunitária ambiental do CAB não é totalmente replicável, dependendo dos elementos dos diferentes contextos.

O estudo aprofundado revelou algumas linhas de que é feito o tecido da governança ambiental na comunidade da Bacia Hidrográfica Paraná 3, por meio da potência do FEA. Ele não se encerra aqui, mas abre-se para novas análises e discussões a partir de novos fatos, novas políticas e práticas, para se avançar no conceito de governança ambiental comunitária. Ao final do estudo, ficam algumas inquietações para reflexões futuras em relação aos processos de governança ambiental, como a necessidade de se discutir os desníveis de poder entre atores, a (im)possibilidade da governança quando não pautada em elementos democráticos, gerando seu uso deturpado, inclusive para disfarçar injustiças de ordem mais profunda ou mesmo como intento a práticas despóticas e seculares.

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Conflict of Laws on Occupational Accident Death Benefits: Presented with Actual Cases in Taiwan

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Keywords: *occupational accident; death benefit; conflict of laws.*

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Conflict of Laws on Occupational Accident Death Benefits: Presented with Actual Cases in Taiwan

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Abstract- When a worker dies due to an occupational accident, the labor insurance death benefit being applied for by his/her survivors subject to more conditions due to the revision of the Act. When the survivor does not meet the requirements, the labor insurance will not be paid. At this time, the survivor of the occupational accident worker shall instead turn to the employer for compensation to pay the labor insurance premium as the Bureau of Labor Insurance did not pay. The employer had to pay out of its pocket to compensate the survivor for the absurdity of the death compensation by the Labor Standards Act. A large company can take care of family members in terms of corporate responsibility or financial resources, if it is a small and medium-sized enterprise or even a microenterprise, it cannot pay this huge amount, and family members have to fight for compensation through litigation. However, it is not commonly known that the premiums of the labor accident insurance are not shared by the government or workers, and 100% of the total amount is paid by the employer.

Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act adopts a no-fault compensation system for occupational accident compensation. Regarding occupational accidents, most previous research focused on compensation, contractual agreements, and tort liability issues in the Labor Standards Act. There are few death benefits in labor insurance and compensation for occupational accident deaths in Subparagraph 4, Paragraph 1, Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act to discuss the interaction of the issues between the two. In the past, conflicts between the two were rare; however, with the declining birthrate, same-sex marriage, and the revised labor insurance system in 2009, they gradually emerged.

This research tries to find a reasonable way from the conflict between the death benefit of labor insurance coverage for occupational accident insurance and the death compensation of Subparagraph 4, Paragraph 1, Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act, as a balance between the labor and management when an occupational accident occurs. It can also avoid excessively aggravating the employer's responsibilities to protect both labor and enterprise development.

Keywords: occupational accident; death benefit; conflict of laws.

I. Introduction

The International Labor Organization (ILO) has been vigorously promoting workplace safety programs since 2001. However, in recent years, there has been an average of 300,003,700 workplace accidents worldwide each year. Every day, about 6,300 workers are "injured and die at work." More than 2.3 million workers died at work each year[1].

The labor force is the silent giant behind Taiwan's economic growth, and labor safety is the gear that maintains business operations. According to statistics from the Bureau of Labor Insurance, Taiwan has about 50,000 occupational accidents every year, causing workers to be injured, disabled, handicapped, and even die. Taking 2019 as an example (as shown in Table 1), the number of applications for occupational accidents is still as high as nearly 50,000 cases, among which 512 persons died due to occupational injuries or occupational diseases.[2] For a total of 69 years from 1950 to 2019, the number of deaths due to occupational injuries alone was 59,346 persons, the average annual death toll is 860 persons, and labor insurance payments amounted to NT$32,850,618,714[3]. Every occupational accident is a story woven by laborers with their disabled bodies. The occupational accident statistics of the Bureau of Labor Insurance do not include the insurance of employed workers under agricultural insurance and fishery insurance. There is also an unwillingness to increase insurance due to card debts or accidents caused by employers with less than four uninsured persons and friends of occupational accident workers.

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[1] Al-Tuwaijri, S., Fedotov, I., Feitshans, I., Gifford, M., & Gold, D. XVIII World Congress on Safety and Health at Work.
[2] The website of the Bureau of Labor Insurance, https://events.bli.gov.tw/report/reportY.aspx?y=108&f=h350, was last viewed on June 30, 2020.
[3] The website of the Bureau of Labor Insurance, https://www.bli.gov.tw/0021061.html, last viewed on June 30, 2020.

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Table 1: Number of occupational injuries and labor insurance payment amount in 2019

Total	Injury and illness	Disability	Death
Occupational injuries			
49326 persons	46723 person	2118 persons	485 persons
Occupational diseases			
744 persons	542 persons	175 persons	27 persons

Data source: Bureau of Labor Insurance website, https://events.bli.gov.tw/report/reportY.aspx?y=108&f=h350.

Wang, Cheng, Wang, and Guo (2009) explained that the occupational accident compensation system in Taiwan is currently based on the occupational accidents in the Labor Insurance Act, with "negligence" and "social insurance" as the legislative principles; however, there is also the "no-fault" compensation liability imposed by the Labor Standards Act on employers, and the Civil Code and Occupational Safety and Health Act imposes "negligence" civil compensation and criminal liabilities on employers. Therefore, the overall design of the occupational accident compensation system and the related laws and regulations in Taiwan are very complicated. As a result, not only are payment calculation methods different, the applicability and mutual interaction between them are also quite complicated, which is ultimately detrimental to the protection of rights for workers or family members who have experienced occupational accidents. Therefore, Chen (2008) doubts whether occupational accident workers can receive compensation quickly. It may not protect the victims and their families according to the design and purpose of the occupational accident compensation system. The occupational accident insurance rates are currently divided into industry-specific accident rates and "on and off duty" accident rates, and they are adjusted every three years. For the insured units that employ more than a certain number of employees, the industry-specific accident rate mentioned in the preceding paragraph adopts the Merit Rate System, based on the ratio of the total amount of occupational accident insurance payments in the previous three years to the total amount of occupational accident insurance premiums payable, which is adjusted annually by the insurer under regulations. Another important law to protect workers from occupational accidents is the Act for Protecting Worker of Occupational Accidents, in the funding source, in addition to the budget that the central competent authority should prepare, the rest is collected from the occupational accident insurance of the labor insurance fund in a referral of the balance of expenditure, and an amount of more than 40% and less than 60% of the previous year's income and expenditure balance shall be allocated annually.

In 2018, the "Actuarial and Financial Valuation for Occupational Accident Insurance Rates of Labor Insurance" was entrusted by the bureau of Labor Insurance, the Ministry of Labor, and it also mentioned that the current occupational accident insurance fund has a surplus of about NT$20.8 billion (actuarial base date is December 31, 2017). Therefore, labor occupational accident insurance is not like the general accident insurance of labor insurance, which has bankruptcy concerns.

Not only that, for the death benefit of occupational accident compensation which is the front-line labor insurance, Article 65 of the Act stipulates that survivors' pension benefits and survivors' allowance shall be payable to the entitled survivors(s) according to the order prescribed below: 1. spouse, son and daughter; 2. father and mother; 3. grandfather and grandmother; 4. grandson and granddaughter; 5.brother(s) and sister(s). Survivors listed on the rear order as stipulated in the previous paragraph are not entitled to apply for survivor's pension benefits or survivor's allowance if survivors listed on the front still exist. Among them, the fourth-ranked grandchildren and fifth-ranked siblings must receive survivor's pension or survivor's allowance and shall also be eligible for support. This part is following Subparagraph 4, Paragraph 1, Article 59 of Labor Standards Act which provided that the order of receiving death compensation is the same, but the fourth-ranked grandchildren and fifth-ranked siblings in the order of receiving death compensation in Subparagraph 4, Paragraph 1, Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act are not as dependent on the labor insurance limits. (It is collated as Table 2). This situation has created the phenomenon that the employer does not pay the labor insurance, but the employer has to pay for occupational accident compensation. Moreover, after the implementation of the amendments in July 2008, for a labor insurance insured person who has been insured for the first time, in the event of occupational injury resulting in death, by Article 63 of the Labor Insurance Act: The insured person's spouse, child, parents, grandparents, or dependent grandchildren, brother(s) or sister(s) may also claim for survivor's benefits. In addition, there are more conditions limiting pension payment eligibility.

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Table 2: List of comparison between occupational accident deaths in labor insurance and Labor Standards Act

Terms	Labor Standards Act	Labor Insurance
1. Survivor order	Same as on the right, but grandchildren and siblings are not restricted by their support.	There are 1 spouse and children, 2 parents, 3 grandparents, 4 grandchildren supported by them, and 5 siblings supported by them.
2. Spouse and children	No limit	I. The spouse conforms to one of the following circumstances: 1. At least 55 years old and the marriage relationship has lasted for more than 1 year. However, this does not apply to children who are unable to earn a living or support children in point II below. 2. At least 45 years old, the marriage relationship has lasted for more than 1 year, and the monthly work income does not exceed the first level of the labor insurance salary scale. II. Children (adopted children shall have an adoptive relationship for more than 6 months) conform to one of the following circumstances. 1. Minor. 2. Inability to earn a living. 3. Under the age of 25, in school, and the monthly work income does not exceed the first level of the labor insurance salary scale.
3. Parents	No limit	Parents and grandparents who are at least 55 years old and whose monthly work income does not exceed the first level of the insured salary scale.
4. Grandparents	No limit	Same as above
5. Grandchildren	No limit	1. Minor. 2. Inability to earn a living. 3. Under the age of 25, in school, and the monthly work income does not exceed the first level of the labor insurance salary scale.
6. Siblings	No limit	1. Minor. 2. Inability to earn a living. 3. At least 55 years old, and monthly work income does not exceed the first level of the insured salary scale.

Data source: Collated as part of this research

The same situation is in the Act for Protecting Workers of Occupational Accidents, which is classified as social insurance payment, but there is no such provision. Imagine a company or employer that normally pays labor insurance and occupational accident insurance premiums. When the worker dies in an unfortunate occupational accident and his/her survivor is claiming the labor insurance benefit, he/she does not meet the requirements and cannot obtain protection quickly, and he/she must seek compensation from the company or employer; you can imagine the state of his/her mind. For companies that obey the law, 100% of the labor occupational accident insurance premium is paid by the employer, and the labor or the government does not contribute. However, due to the payment conditions of the bureau of Labor Insurance, the payment of insurance premiums cannot be guaranteed, which is good for large enterprises; for small and medium-sized enterprises or even snack bars, in addition to facing compensation from their families in an occupational accident, they also have to deal with labor inspections and various safety improvements, which would be a heavy burden on small and medium-sized enterprises. The purpose of this article is to identify the logical contradictions between the labor insurance, Act for Protecting Worker of Occupational Accidents, the Draft of Labor Occupational Accident Insurance Act, and the Labor Standards Act related to the occupational accident compensation and relief system to establish a reasonable occupational accident compensation system.

This article will discuss using the document analysis method and the case study method. The document analysis method is based on the topic of occupational accidents, through investigation documents and laws and regulations to obtain information, to fully and accurately understand and grasp the current status and laws of “occupational

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accident death payments." The case study method is to investigate and analyze the problems in the current laws and regulations of occupational accidents, to clarify their characteristics and the process of formation, and to investigate and study the existing problems. This research is divided into four sections. In addition to this section, the second section is a document analysis, which analyzes the protection level of the current framework by collecting the current laws and conditions of occupational accidents. The third section is to further analyze the conflicts of laws and regulations through existing problems and related letters of judgment. The final section is the conclusions and recommendations of this article.

II. Literature Review

a) Definition of social insurance

Hsu (2011) expressed that the Bismarck Government in Germany passed the Compulsory Sickness Insurance Act in 1883, compelling employers and employees to jointly pay for participation, creating the first social insurance system and creating the first social insurance system. In addition, Yang (2000) explained that there are several basic principles of social insurance, the most important of which is to assume that social insurance is open and sustainable and that the finances of insurance are sufficient to pay for the benefits. Social insurance has these features: no longer completely indulged in free-market competition, advanced prevention instead of relief after the fact, and we generally call it social insurance; it is currently a major social welfare system project in developed countries.

Labor insurance is the most representative social insurance in various countries, mainly because it covers the vast majority of the working population, and its payment is closely related to the protection of people's right to work. Its reform has become the focus of state governance. Ko (1997) explained that labor insurance, also known as laborer insurance or worker insurance, is a type of social insurance. Taiwan's labor insurance was started from 1950 to April 2020; it has 572.431 insured units, 10,484,046 insured persons, and an average insured salary of NT$32,546[4]. Labor insurance can be one of Taiwan's very important social insurance systems. The breadth and depth of its coverage are rare in other social insurances, and it can be the most important pillar of Taiwan's social security system. Labor insurance is established to protect workers. This can be found in Article 1 of the Labor Insurance Act: "This Act is enacted to protect workers' livelihood and promote social security. Matters not provided herein shall be governed by other relevant laws or regulations."

[4] Data is a summary of statistics of the Bureau of Labor Insurance in April 2020.

Furthermore, the High Administrative Court and Administrative Litigation Division of the District Court mentioned in the symposium on September 17, 2018 that the nature of labor insurance is social insurance and is on-the-job insurance for labor. It is not only devoted to protecting labor's life but also has the effect of promoting social safety. For public welfare purposes, it uses the compulsory method and shares risks by the state, the insured units and insured persons to incorporate the working labor into the social insurance system as much as possible so that the worker or his/her beneficiaries can be based on the labor insurance contract when a specific insurance accident occurs and receive a living allowance. Among them, the insured units referred to in the Labor Insurance Act means the units must purchase labor insurance for the insured person; in addition, when the insured units are employers, they shall pay accident insurance premiums (70%) and occupational accident insurance premiums (full payment) for the insured person based on the insured person's total monthly salary. If the insured units are employers, the status is equivalent to the proposer of the insurance contract (see Article 3 of the Insurance Act). Moreover, since they are instructed by the state to ensure its employed workers to protect their lives, they have insurance interest in the subject matter of the insured, rather than just the actual interest.

b) Identification of international occupational accidents

Liu and Hsu (2009) expressed that since the twentieth century, advanced industrial countries have gradually developed a set of occupational accident insurance systems, which partially replaced the responsibilities of the government and have also formed the core of occupational accident labor protection systems in various countries. According to the 2004 statistics of "Social Security Programs throughout the World" of the US Social Security Administration, more than 168 countries worldwide have implemented occupational accident insurance systems.

The Occupational Accident Insurance (Unfal-lversicherung) is based on Bismarck's social state concept. As early as 1871, when the German Empire was founded, the "Empire Mandatory Liability Act" (Reichhaftpflichtgesetz) was promulgated, certain legal responsibilities shall be given to business owners in specific industries, such as mining, to protect the livelihood of their employed workers in the event of occupational injuries and illnesses. This Act regulates the compulsory law and the employer's responsibilities under private law, the earliest occupational accident protection system. Shieh (2010) indicated that after the Empire Accident Insurance Act (Un-fallversicherungsgesetz) was promulgated in 1884, it formally intervened with the power of the state to form the right of employees to claim payment from the state's public law after the accident.

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According to the explanation of Tang (1992), the United Nations International Labor Organization (ILO) has formulated the following: Convention of "Agricultural Workers' Compensation for Accidents," Convention of "Workers' Accident Compensation," Convention of "Workers' Occupational Disease Compensation," Convention of "Compensation of Foreign Workers and Domestic Workers Should Be Treated Equally," Convention of "Occupational Injury Payments," etc. In addition, there are various related proposals, which serve as the basis for each member state to formulate an occupational accident compensation system, urge each member state to formulate it and stipulate occupational accident compensation standards and related matters as norms in labor legislation.

While Huang (2012) expressed that due to labor occupational accident compensation in Europe, it was only based on the Common Law in the past, and the Employer's Liability Act with Faulty adopted the liability without fault to stipulate that employers should be responsible for various obligations of their workers. However, when the worker is injured, it is necessary to prove that the occurrence of the accident was caused by the intention or fault of the employer or his work partner as a compensation element. Otherwise, the employer will not pay compensation. Therefore, various enterprises often dispute compensation for worker occupational accidents due to legal interpretations and adopt a liability without fault system, which stipulates that worker accidents are caused by their duties or accidents caused by the performance of their duties. Regardless of whether there is a fault or not, all employers shall be liable for compensation to solve the problem of compensation for occupational accidents, and then maintain the life safety of workers and the improvement of the labor force.

The International Labor Organization's interpretation of an occupational accident is: "It is based on occupational traumatic injuries or diseases, which can cause the victim to suffer temporary or permanent disability or death, and is not caused by the victim's intentional or gross fault." From this interpretation, it is understood that the criteria for identifying occupational accidents are based on the causal relationship between accidental accidents and the performance of duties. In addition, Lai (2006) defined the labor accidents in Paragraph 1, Article 2 of the Japanese Labor Safety and Health Act as: "Buildings, equipment, raw materials, gases, vapors, dust, etc., or work activities and other businesses related to the worker's employment which can cause injury, illness or death." Meanwhile, Lin and Liu (2010) also showed that occupational accidents, also known as labor accidents, are a type of accidental accidents, and they are accidents caused by workers in a working environment that lacks safety controls or insufficient safety controls.

c) Identification of occupational accidents in Taiwan

Taiwan's Labor Standards Act and the Act for Protecting Workers of Occupational Accidents do not have defined provisions for "occupational accidents." However, by the latter paragraph of Paragraph 1, Article 1 of the Labor Standards Act, if this Act does not provide for it, the provisions of other laws shall apply. According to the "Occupational Safety and Health Act" (former name: Labor Safety and Health Act, from now on referred to as the Occupational Safety Act), Article 2 of the Occupational Safety Act amended and promulgated in 2013, the term "occupational accidents" referred to in this Act means any diseases, injuries, disabilities, or death of workers caused by buildings, machinery, equipment, raw materials, materials, chemicals, gases, vapors, dust, etc., at the place of duty[5], or as a result of work activities, or due to other occupational causes[6]. As for the definition of labor, the Labor Standards Act and the Occupational Safety and Health Act are roughly the same, and both refer to those employed to work and receive wages.

Therefore, "occupational accidents" can be regarded as labor accidents caused by occupational reasons such as the employer's provision of workplace safety and sanitation equipment[7]. Occupational accidents, also known as labor accidents, are a type of accidental accident, which refer to accidents that happen to workers in an operating environment that lack safety controls or insufficient safety controls. The criteria for identifying occupational accidents shall meet the following requirements: 1. "Arising in the course of employment": the accident is the status that occurs in the process of labor performing duties. It is based on the labor contract under the supervision of the business owner. This can be roughly summarized into the following three situations: (1) Work under the control of the employer; (2) Work under the control of the employer but not do the job; 3. Work under the control of the employer but not under the management of the employer (realistic supervision). 2. " Arising out of employment" means that there is a causal relationship between the duty and the accident, and this causal relationship can be divided into the establishment of

[5] Place of duty referred to in subparagraph 5, Article 2, Paragraph 1, Article 36 and Paragraph 2, Article 37 of the Act includes the following places:1.For the duration of the labor contract, the place where the employer assigns laborers to carry out work services to fulfill the terms of the contract.2.The actual place where self-employed workers engage in work.3.The actual place where other people engaged in work and directed or supervised by the responsible people in workplaces engage in work.

[6] Article 5 of the Enforcement Rules of the Occupational Safety and Health Act, the occupational reasons referred to in Paragraph 5, Article 2, this Act refers to those who have a considerable causal relationship in all necessary labor activities and their accompanying behaviors derived from work activities.

[7] 1989 Tai-Shang-Tzu-No.371 Judgment of Supreme Court.

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responsibility and the scope of responsibility, and all the relationships should be identified based on the equivalent causality[8].

Whether commuting accidents can be regarded as occupational accidents, and the application of the provisions of compensation for occupational accidents, it should be considered whether it is placed under the command and supervision of the employer. It is a car accident or other accidental accident that occurs when a worker must travel through to and from work. It is not a natural hazard caused by occupation or work. It is an illegal infringement by a third party and should not be an occupational accident.

Labor insurance is social insurance, and in principle, commuting accidents are regarded as occupational accidents. However, if the insured has an accident due to traffic violations and other reasons attributable to him/her, labor insurance does not regard it as an occupational accident. Conversely, as far as employers are concerned, the danger of workers traveling to and from the workplace is beyond their control. If commuting accidents are regarded as occupational accidents under the Labor Standards Act, as long as the accident occurs on the way to and from the workplace, regardless of whether the worker is accountable or not, it is all due to reasons for the worker. The basic law's compensation for occupational accidents adopts no-fault liability, and employers shall bear the responsibility for compensation for occupational accidents, which seems unfair to employers.

Cheng (2009) stated that although the protection of labor rights is the legislative purpose of the Labor Standards Act, the promotion of economic development is also one of the legislative purposes. Regarding commuting accidents as occupational accidents under the Labor Standards Act, there is still room for discussion whether it will unreasonably aggravate employers' responsibilities, affect their competitiveness, and hinder economic development.

d) Taiwan labor insurance and occupational accident death compensation

Huang (2012) explained that employment accident insurance is the most commonly implemented labor welfare measure in the social insurance system. The occupational accident compensation system is a typical system that transitions from labor law to social law. The early occupational accident compensation was based on employer liability, supplemented by insurance liability. There was even a tendency to break away from the employer's liability and become purely social liability insurance. Taiwan's current occupational accident compensation system includes, in addition to labor insurance and the Act for Protecting Worker of Occupational Accidents that came into effect in 2002, and the Draft of Labor Occupational Accident Insurance Act currently sent to the Executive Yuan.

The regulation in Paragraph 1, Article 63 of Labor Insurance Act: "In the event of the death of an insured person during the effective period of the insurance, the person who pays for the funeral could claim for the funeral grant. Furthermore, the insured person's spouse, child, parents, grandparents, or dependent grandchildren, brother(s) or sister(s) may also claim for survivor's benefits."[9] If the insured person has insurance seniority before the amendment of the provisions of this Act in 2008 came into effect, his/her survivors may not only claim annuity payments by the preceding paragraph but also choose to apply for a lump sum survivor allowance. The restrictions in the preceding paragraph shall not be changed after verification and payment by the insurer. The funeral grant is paid to the insured person in a five-month lump sum based on the average monthly insured salary.[10] If you choose to apply for the lump-sum survivor's allowance, the insured's average monthly insured salary will be paid for 40 months. Those who apply for survivor's annuity[11]: according to the total insurance years of the insured, it is calculated as 1.55% of the average monthly insurance salary for each full coverage year.

The regulation in Paragraph 1, Article 64 of Labor Insurance Act specifies that survivors who meet the requirements of Paragraph 2, Article 63 of the same

[8] 2007 Lao-Shang-I-Tzu-No.32 Civil Judgment ofTaiwan High Court.

[9] The regulation in Paragraph 2, Article 63 of Labor Insurance Act: The conditions for spouses and children to claim survivors' pension benefits are: (I) The children meet one of the following circumstances: (1) Minor. (2) Inability to earn a living. (3) Under 25 years old, in school, monthly work income does not exceed the Level 1 of the insured salary scale. (II) The spouse meets one of the following circumstances: (1) Over 55 years of age, and the marriage relationship has lasted for more than one year. (2) Be at least 45 years old and have a marriage relationship for more than one year, and the monthly work income does not exceed the Level 1 of the insured salary scale. (3) Inability to earn a living. (4) Support the children mentioned in (I) above." (III) In addition, the conditions for parents and grandparents to apply for survivors' pension benefits are: "Those who are at least 55 years old and whose monthly work income does not exceed the Level 1 of the insured salary scale." (IV) The conditions for grandchildren to apply for survivors' pension benefits are same children. (V) Brothers and sisters meet one of the following conditions (1) Minor. (2) Inability to earn a living. (3) "Those who are at least 55 years old and whose monthly work income does not exceed the Level 1 of the insured salary scale."

[10] Subparagraph 2, Paragraph 3, Article 19 of Labor Insurance Act: funeral grant and survivor allowance are calculated based on the average actual monthly insured salary of the insured person in the first six months from the month in which the insurance accident occurred.

[11] Subparagraph 1, Paragraph 3, Article 19 of Labor Insurance Act: It is calculated by averaging the highest sixty monthly insurance salary during the period of joining insurance coverage; for those who join the insurance for less than five years, it would be calculated using the average monthly insurance salary for the actual insurance period.

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Act may apply for the survivor's pension benefit and a lump sum payment of ten months of occupational accident death compensation based on the average monthly insured salary of the insured. However, if the survivor does not meet the conditions for claiming the survivor's pension or survivor's allowance, or if there is no survivor, he/she will receive a ten-month funeral grant based on his/her average monthly insured salary. This is stipulated in Subparagraph 1, Article 63-2 of the Labor Insurance Act[12].

Paragraph 1, Article 65 of the Act stipulates that "survivors' pension benefits and survivors' allowance shall be payable to the entitled survivors(s) according to the order prescribed below: 1. spouse, son and daughter; 2. father and mother; 3. grandfather and grandmother; 4. grandson and granddaughter; 5. brother(s) and sister(s)." Among them, grandchildren or brother(s) and sister(s) need to be supported by them before they can apply for the survivor's pension[13,14]. Paragraph 2 of the same Act stipulates: "Survivors listed on the rear order as stipulated in the previous paragraph are not entitled to apply for survivor's pension benefits or survivor's allowance if survivors listed on the front still exist." For the payment of the survivor's pension, there is another provision to stop the payment[15]. In addition, the survivors of the first order have unknown whereabouts or are abroad. Submit a waiver petition. If the claim is not filed within one year after meeting the requirements, the survivors in the second order may apply for the survivor's pension. Based on the principle of non-repetitive payment of social insurance, when the beneficiary meets the conditions for claiming a disability pension, old-age pension, or survivor's pension, it is necessary to choose one to claim disability, old-age payment, or survivor's allowance[16,17].

III. Case Study

a) Offset of labor occupational accident death compensation

i. *Offset of labor insurance*

The occupational accident compensation items and standards in the Labor Insurance Act are stipulated in Article 59 of the same Act, among which Paragraph 1 of the Act states: When an occupational accident causes death, disability, injury or illness to a worker, the employer shall compensate according to the following provisions. However, for the same accident, according to the labor insurance regulations or other laws and regulations, if the employer has paid the compensation, the employer may offset it; and the occupational accident insurance premium is borne by the employer in full, so the insurance payments can fully offset the compensation fees for occupational accidents stipulated by the Labor Insurance Act.[18] And to avoid the employer's double burden, the proviso stipulates that following the Labor Insurance Act or other laws and regulations, the employer may offset the compensation for expenses paid by the employer.[19] The employer's liability for compensation under Article 59 of the Labor Insurance Act is a statutory compensation liability, which is different from the liability of compensation for torts under the Civil Code. Article 60 of the Labor Insurance Act stipulates that the amount of compensation paid by an employer by Article 59 of the same Act may offset the amount of compensation for damage caused by the same accident.

Moreover, the labor occupational accident insurance is the Bureau of Labor Insurance established by the central competent authority as the insurer, and the employer is responsible for the insurance premium. When the worker experiences an occupational accident, the worker receives insurance payments. This is in line

[12] Administrative Appeal Decision Lao-Su-Tzu-No.0990003494, Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan.

[13] The regulation in Paragraph 1, Article 1117 of Civil Code: "Persons entitled to maintenance shall be limited to those who cannot support the living and are unable to earn a living."

[14] To further explain the "scope of the inability to earn a living," the predecessor of the Ministry of Labor, the Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan, issued an explanation in the letter of Labor Insurance-II-Tzu-Decree No. 0970140586.

[15] Article 63-4 of Labor Insurance Act: Survivors pension payments shall be suspended if the survivors have one of the following conditions during the receiving period: 1. Spouse: (1) Re-married; (2) is less than 55 years of age and the children he/she supports are not qualified for the application conditions stipulated in the second subparagraph of the second paragraph of Article 63; (3) doesn't conform to the claiming criteria stipulated in the first subparagraph of the second paragraph of Article 63. 2.Children, parents, grandparents, grandchildren, brothers ,and sisters who don't conform to the claiming criteria in second to the fifth subparagraph of the second paragraph of article 63.3.Should there is any condition as described in the third and fourth subparagraph of the third paragraph of Article 54-2.

[16] The regulation in Paragraph 3, Article 65 of Labor Insurance Act: "Should the survivors listed in first-order are all disqualified for the survivors pension payments or having one of the following conditions when there is no survivor qualified in the same order, the survivors in the second-order could claim for survivors pension benefit: 1. die while claiming the survivor pension benefit; 2. nowhere to be found or are in overseas; 3. submit a claiming waiver; 4. don't apply within one year when qualified for claiming benefits." The regulation in Paragraph 4, Article 65 of Labor Insurance Act: "When the survivor in the first-order of the previous paragraph claim the benefits or re-confirm to the claiming criteria, the benefit would not be granted to other survivors, and the survivors in the first-order could claim the benefits; however, if the benefits are already granted to the survivors in the second-order, the benefits would not be reissued to the survivors in the first-order."

[17] Article 65-3 of Labor Insurance Act: The insured person or his/her beneficiary is entitled to apply for only one kind of benefit if he or she is qualified for disability pension, old-age pension payments, or survivors pension benefit at the same time.

[18] Please refer to (1986) Tai-Nei-Lao-Tzu-Letter No.374797 of the Ministry of the Interior.

[19] Please refer to Tai-(1995) Labor-III- Tzu-Letter No.11182 of the Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan.

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with the labor occupational accident insurance of the Labor Insurance Act. The purpose of the compensation is similar, and it is a system that guarantees the compensation for workers' occupational accidents and reduces the employer's financial burden.[20] It can also avoid the damages caused by workers or other claimants in the same occupational accident. For the employer, it is a repeated request, and there is the principle of offsetting gains and losses[21]. The legislative spirit of the offset provisions aims to avoid the double benefit to workers and to protect the employer's payment of insurance premiums to protect the workers' payments.[22]

ii. *Compensation for occupational accidents in the Labor Insurance Act adopts a no-fault offset application*

The compensation provisions in Article 59 of the Labor Insurance Act are special provisions for protecting labor, strengthening labor-employment relations, and promoting social and economic development, and are not compensation for damages. Article 61 of the same Act also stipulates that the right to receive compensation shall not be offset, and Article 217 of the Civil Code shall not be applicable for fault.[23]

Also, according to occupational accident compensation, it is a system that provides timely and effective salary payments, medical care, and labor reconstruction measures to employees who have suffered "work-related injuries." This ensures that employees and their dependent family members will not fall into poverty, thus causing social problems. Its purpose is not to impose sanctions or impose responsibilities on employers who violate their obligations or have a deliberate fault, but to protect the right to survival of workers and their families and to preserve or rebuild the labor force of individuals and society. The characteristic of the accident compensation system is to adopt the principle of no-fault liability. All employers shall be liable for compensation for the occurrence of occupational accidents, regardless of whether they have an intentional fault or not. Even if the employees are at fault, they shall not be derogated from due rights.[24]

Therefore, Article 59 of the Labor Insurance Act stipulates that employers adopt the principle of no-fault liability; that is, employers shall not refuse to pay compensation because they think they are not at fault.[25]

iii. *The problem of offsetting occupational accidents*

By Article 59 of the Labor Insurance Act, An employer can only pay compensation following the provisions of the Labor Insurance Act or other applicable statutes and administrative regulations. The employer may deduct any compensation already paid. Therefore, it is common for employers not to insure the workers under the company, and the workers themselves join the insurance under the occupational union. The employer has not provided insurance for the labor declaration, but the occupational union has joined the insurance. In the event of an occupational accident, the employers are not allowed to offset the occupation accident payments of labor insurance received[26]. In addition, when a worker dies due to an occupational accident, the employer shall pay the insurance premium for the insurance claim paid by commercial insurance for the injured worker due to the same accident. The beneficiary shall be as stipulated in Subparagraph 4, Paragraph 1, Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act. In the case of different or non-ranked persons, the employer can still offset the compensation for occupational accidents by the provisions of the Labor Standards Act. If there are still shortcomings, the employer should make up for it by the compensation order stipulated in the Act.[27] In addition, the spouse, children, and parents of workers who died due to occupational accidents have their independent right to claim damages against their employers. Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act also stipulates that the survivors of workers have special provisions on the order of death compensation. The survivors inherit and jointly receive the compensation, so the employer cannot claim the compensation amount received by others to offset the damage compensation amount of the person who has not received the compensation.[28]

By the provisions of Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act, the employer may offset the compensation between labor insurance and occupational accident insurance payments and the compensation obligations of the Labor Standards Act. Among them, Article 34-1 of the Enforcement Rules of the Labor Standards Act, in the case where a worker encounters the event of death or disability due to an occupational accident, if the employer has insured

[20] Please refer to 2016 Tai-Shang-Tzu-Civil Judgment No.44 of Supreme Court.
[21] Please refer to 2015 Chung-Lao-Shang-Tzu-Judgment No.53 of Taiwan High Court.
[22] Please refer to 2004 Su-Tzu-Civil Judgment No.113 of the Taiwan Keelung District Court.
[23] Please refer to the 4thCivil Court Meeting of the Supreme Court in 2000.
[24] Please refer to 2015 Lao-Shang-I-Tzu-Civil Judgment No. 86 of Taiwan High Court.
[25] Please refer to 1998 Tai-Shang-Tzu-Verdict No.1629, 1998 Tai-Shang-Tzu-Verdict No.233 of Supreme Court.
[26] Please refer to (1989) Tai-Labor-III- Tzu-Letter No.23866 of the Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan.
[27] Please refer to Fu-Lao-An-Tzu-Letter No.0960103792 of the Tainan County Government.
[28] Please refer to the Forum on Civil Code Issues of Taiwan High Court and Subordinate Court in December 1999.

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him/her by the Labor Insurance Act and the accident has been approved by the insurer as an occupational insurance accident, the employer shall provide compensation by Article 59 of this Act based on the average wage of the worker and the difference in average insured salary shall be calculated by the standards specified in the third and fourth subparagraphs of Article 59 of this Act. The system is updated, and in response to the application of labor insurance pension, the disability benefit of labor insurance offsets the Labor Standards Act occupational accident and disability compensation method and technically avoids the difficulty of calculating the total pension benefit (Hsu, 2017). Therefore, if the employer has already paid labor insurance for the worker, on the one hand, the worker can request disability payments from the insurer based on his/her average insured salary. On the other hand, he/she can follow Article 34-1 of the Enforcement Rules of the Labor Standards Act and Subparagraph 3, Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act. According to the provisions, the employer is requested to pay compensation for the disability from an occupational accident based on the difference between the average salary and the average insured salary. There is no problem that the overlapping part should be offset.[29]

The regulation in Paragraph 4, Article 6 of Act for Protecting Worker of Occupational Accidents: When the employer concerned compensates an occupational accident by the provisions of Labor Standards Act, subsidy referred to in Paragraph 1 may be deducted. It can be seen from this that between the occupational accident compensation systems, by the provisions of the current law, employers can claim to offset their compensation liabilities in the Labor Standards Act.

Although the provisions of Article 34 of the Enforcement Rules of the Labor Standards Act stipulates: "If the compensation is paid from funds jointly contributed by the worker and the employer, only the portion contributed by the employer shall be deducted," by the latter paragraph of Article 15 of the Labor Insurance Act, occupational accident insurance premiums are all borne by the insured unit. Therefore, for the same occupational accident, if the worker has received compensation by the provisions of the Labor Insurance Act, the employer has the right to deduct full compensation for the amount of compensation, and only the shortfall needs to be paid.[30] We organize the above content in Table 3 and present it as follows:

Table 3: Death compensation for the occupational accident of the insured persons of labor insurance

Term	The Labor Standards Act	The Labor Insurance Act
Occupational Accident	Follow Article 2 of the Occupational Safety and Health Act	Article 34 of the Labor Insurance Act and the Regulations of the Examination of Injuries and Diseases Resulting from the Performance of Duties by the Insured Persons of the Labor Insurance Program
Commuting Accident	If it does not violate Article 18 of the Regulations of the Examination of Injuries and Diseases Resulting from the Performance of Duties by the Insured Persons of the Labor Insurance Program, it shall be considered as occupational accidents.	Same as on the left
Beneficiary Order	Subparagraph 4, Paragraph 1, Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act	Paragraph 1, Article 63 of the Labor Insurance Act
Funeral Grant	Funeral expenses for five months' average salary	Subparagraph 1, Paragraph 1, Article 63-2 of the Labor Insurance Act
Death Compensation (Survivors' Allowance)	Death compensation for forty months' average wages should be given to the survivors in one lump sum	Paragraph 2, Article 64 of the Labor Insurance Act
Survivors' Pension	None	1. Subparagraph 2, Paragraph 1, Article 63-2 of the Labor Insurance Act 2. Paragraph 1, Article 64 of the Labor Insurance Act 3. For those with insurance seniority before the implementation of the revised provisions on July 17, 2008, the survivors' allowance and survivors' pension can be applied for either.

Data source: Collated as part of this research

[29] Please refer to 2015 Chung-Lao-Shang-Tzu-Judgment No.53 of Taiwan High Court.

[30] The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the former central labor administrative authority, also made the same explanation in (1986) Tai-Nei-Lao-No. 374797.

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b) *Labor Insurance Survivors' Pension Restrictions and Employers' Risk Liabilities*

This research will illustrate the restrictions of receiving labor insurance survivors pension and the employer's risk liabilities through the following eight questions and related administrative interpretations and judgments.

Question 1: Among the order of receiving survivor's pension and survivor's allowance, the rank fourth grandchildren and the rank fifth brother(s) and sister(s) are all subject to their support restrictions. The order of compensation for occupational accidents in the Labor Standards Act is the same, but there is no restriction on their support qualifications in the Labor Standards Act. As a result, the rank fourth grandchildren and the rank fifth brother(s) and sister(s) cannot apply for labor insurance payments if they do not meet the eligibility requirements. Although the employer pays 100% of the occupational accident insurance premiums for labor insurance, the survivors of occupational accident workers cannot apply for labor insurance payments; in addition, the employer is also responsible for the compensation liability in the Labor Standards Act.

Related administrative interpretations and judgments:

The survivors' allowances in Article 63 and Article 64 of the Labor Insurance Act are based on ethical relationships between spouses, children, parents, and grandparents. They shall all be received by Article 65 of the same Act. The rest of the grandchildren and brothers and sisters shall have the fact that they are exclusively supported by the insured before receiving the payments, which is based on the principle that the survivors should be taken care of it. However, given the survivors' allowance, as stipulated in the above regulations, the survivors' allowance was originally set up to subsidize the living expenses of the survivor that the insured had supported before his/her death to avoid displacement and life in desperation. Therefore, the survivors' allowance should also be insured. The fact of support and inability to earn a living is the essential requirement, and it is by the preceding constitutional decree.[31]

Question 2: Labor insurance survivors receive survivors pension benefits and survivors' allowances. In addition to the order of the survivors, there are also restrictions on the survivors' conditions. As long as the survivors do not meet the requirements, they cannot apply for labor insurance survivors' pension and survivors' allowances. However, the employer is still responsible for compensation in the Labor Standards Act.

Related administrative interpretations and judgments:

By Subparagraph 3, Paragraph 2 and 3, Article 63 of the Labor Insurance Act, parents under the age of 55 are not eligible for claiming survivors' pension payments or the survivors' allowance conditions. Still, under the provisions of Subparagraph 1, Paragraph 1, Article 63-2 of the same Act, the survivor can still request a ten-month funeral grant based on the average monthly insured salary.[32]

Question 3: When the survivor is eligible to receive two or more survivors' pension benefits, they should choose one to apply. The survivors' pension application that caused the survivor's abandonment of employment shall be changed to the employer.

Related administrative interpretations and judgments:

Under Paragraph 3, Article 63-3 of the Labor Insurance Act, if there are more than two survivors in the same order, and one of them applies for the survivor's pension, the payment shall be issued to the survivor's pension payment. Those who apply for the survivor's pension shall meet the requirements for the survivor's pension benefits. Therefore, the spouse currently does not meet the requirements for the survivor's pension benefits and can only apply for the survivor's allowance.[33]

Question 4: The insured has died due to an occupational accident, and the survivors do not meet the requirements for claiming survivors' pension benefits. It is also not possible to claim the lump sum of ten-month occupational accident death compensation. As long as the survivor does not meet the requirements for claiming the survivor's pension benefits, even the ten-month occupational accident death compensation cannot be received.

Related administrative interpretations and judgments:

According to Article 64 of the Labor Insurance Act[34], has specified that if the insured person died due to occupational accidents, the beneficiary could claim the survivor's pension benefits and occupational accident death compensation lump-sum payment if the beneficiary meets the conditions for payment of the survivor's pension. The survivor's pension payment and occupational accident death compensation lump-sum payment cannot be claimed separately. According to this, if the survivor does not meet the survivor's pension application requirements, he/she cannot apply for the death compensation lump-sum payment for the occupational accident. If the survivor meets the survivor's pension application requirements, the Bureau will issue the survivor's pension and occupational accident death compensation lump-sum payment. In the future, the survivors will meet the requirements for

[31] Please refer to J. Y Interpretation No.549.

[32] Please refer to2015 Lao-Shang-I-Tzu-Civil Judgment No.108 of Taiwan High Court.

[33] Please refer to the Labor Insurance-II-Tzu-Letter No. 0990082761 of the Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan.

[34] Please refer to the Labor Insurance-III-Tzu-Letter No.1050140304 dated June 2, 2016, of the Ministry of Labor.

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survivor's pension payment in Paragraph 2, Article 63 of the same Act, and the survivors may apply for survivor's pension payment and death compensation lump-sum payment for the occupational accident. In addition, the original 10-month funeral grant does not need to be returned, and it will be explained.

Question 5: Should the survivors listed in first-order are all disqualified for the survivor's pension payments or having one of the following conditions: nowhere to be found or are overseas, submit a claiming waiver, don't apply within one year when qualified for claiming benefits; and when there is no survivor qualified in the same order, the survivors in the second-order could claim for survivor's pension benefit.

However, the employer is still responsible for the compensation liability in the Labor Standards Act for the survivors listed in the first order. This may cause the survivors of the first order to abandon the claim and the second-order to claim, but the employer still has to pay the first order survivors. The employer is responsible for compensation under the Labor Standards Act.

Related administrative interpretations and judgments:

Paragraph 3, Article 65 of the Labor Insurance Act: If the insured person has a first-order survivor (i.e., spouse or children), the rear order survivor (parents) cannot apply. However, if the parents of the insured person are in the same circumstances as stipulated in Paragraph 3, Article 65 of the Act, they may apply to the Bureau for survivors' pension benefits. If the spouse and children of the first order do not file a claim within one year of meeting the requirements, the parents of the second-order can also apply for the survivors' pension benefits one year after the death of the insured person. Still, this rule only applies to the second-order (parents) and shall not extend to the survivors below the third order. In addition, if the insured person has insurance coverage seniority before January 1, 2009, the beneficiary in the current order cannot claim the survivor's allowance. The beneficiary shall issue a claim waiver (but if the beneficiary is a minor, he/she shall not waive the claim). The claimed waiver shall be stamped with a seal certificate, and the seal certificate shall be attached or certified by the court or a private notary public. The subsequent beneficiary may apply for the survivor's allowance within the 5-year claim time limit and explain.

Question 6: When the insured person, or his/her beneficiaries meet the conditions for claiming disability pension, old-age pension, or survivor's pension, they should choose one of them to claim disability, old-age benefits or survivor's allowance. If the survivors renew their disability pension or old-age pension and waive application for the survivor's pension and turn to the employer to seek compensation, the employer still has to bear the compensation liability under the Labor Standards Act.

Related administrative interpretations and judgments:

Article 64 of the Labor Insurance Act[35] has specified clearly that if the insured person died due to an occupational accident, the beneficiary could only apply for the survivor's pension benefit and occupational accident death compensation when the beneficiary meets the conditions for the survivor's pension benefit and death compensation lump-sum payment for the occupational accident, and the two cannot be claimed separately. By Article 65-3 of the same Act, if the beneficiary has chosen to receive his/her old-age pension benefit but does not choose to receive the survivor's pension benefit, he/she shall not be allowed to separately claim a death compensation lump-sum payment for the occupational accident.

A worker who died of an occupational accident was insured by the employer by the Labor Insurance Act.[36] The insurer has approved occupational accident insurance, and the survivors of the worker have received labor insurance payments due to "the same accident" or when the employer pays the insurance payments according to other laws and ordinances, the employer can only offset its death compensation according to the Labor Standards Act. If the worker dies in an occupational accident, his/her survivor is eligible to claim the survivor's pension and renew his/her old-age pension by Article 65-3 of the Labor Insurance Act. As a result, he has not received the survivor's pension payment, which is not consistent with the same accident. If the employer has paid compensation for expenses, the employer shall still pay the survivors 40 months of average wages for death compensation and five months of average wages for funeral expenses under the Labor Standards Act. However, if the survivor receives the funeral grant of the 10-month average monthly insured salary under the provision of Paragraph 1, Article 63-2 of the Labor Insurance Act, the employer may claim this part to offset the funeral expenses and death compensation of the Labor Standards Act, and the shortfall shall still be made up by the employer.

Question 7: Commuting Accidents, the injuries suffered by workers in traffic accidents while commuting are not caused by equipment or operating activities in the workplace, and occupational reasons, which are not within the course of employment, and workers on the way to and from the workplace are also not within the scope of the command and supervision of the employer. The hazard occurs due to factors beyond the employer's control. However, as long as the worker does not violate the provisions of the Regulations of the Examination of Injuries and Diseases Resulting from the Performance of Duties by the Insured Persons of the

[35] Please refer to the Labor Insurance-III-Tzu-Letter No.1050140304 dated June 2, 2016, of the Ministry of Labor.

[36] Please refer to Labor Act-II-Tzu- Letter No. 1050130149 of the Ministry of Labor.

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Labor Insurance Program, the commuting accident is an occupational accident.

Related administrative interpretations and judgments:

Article 4 of the Regulations of the Examination of Injuries and Diseases Resulting from the Performance of Duties by the Insured Persons of the Labor Insurance Program established by the former Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan according to Paragraph 2, Article 34 of the Labor Insurance Act stipulates that the insured person shall commute to and from the workplace at appropriate times and by appropriate means of transportation to and from the place of employment. Injuries caused by accidents during the commute are regarded as occupational injuries. The occupational accidents in Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act shall also are interpreted in the same way.[37]

Paragraph 1, Article 4 of the Regulations of the Examination of Injuries and Diseases Resulting from the Performance of Duties by the Insured Persons of the Labor Insurance Program: "Insured persons incur injuries resulting from accidents occurred while they are on and off duty, at the proper time, on the way of round trips from daily residences to employment places, or for another duty between employment places, injuries are considered as occupational injuries." Article 18 stipulates: "In case insured persons under the stipulation of Article 4, 9, 10, 16 and 17 incur injuries from conditions as follows, injuries shall not be considered as occupational injuries: (1) Personal activities are not necessary for daily life. (2) Drivers have no drivers' license of types of cars for driving. (3) Drivers are under the period of invalidation or taking disciplinary action against the invalidation of their drivers' license. (4) Persons drive against traffic regulations and barge into the red light while they pass through intersections with restraints of light marks. (5) Persons barge into the crossover of railways. (6) Persons drive their cars while their alcohol concentrations are over the stipulation standard; they take drugs, psychedelic or controlled drugs. (7) Persons drive against traffic regulations on the shoulders of highways. (8) Drivers drive their cars without following the direction that they should obey, or competing to drive, contesting, crawling or driving in other dangerous ways. (9) Drivers drive their cars into the carriageway for coming without depending on stipulations." Therefore, as long as the worker does not violate the Regulations of the Examination of Injuries and Diseases Resulting from the Performance of Duties by the Insured Persons of the Labor Insurance Program, the commuting accident is an occupational accident and the employer shall bear the relevant responsibilities.

Question 8: Workers employed by two companies are insured at the same time. If the worker died in an occupational accident in Company A, the survivor can choose one of the companies to receive the labor insurance death benefit. The survivor will likely choose to submit the application to Company B for general death benefits of labor insurance. When requesting compensation for occupational accidents from Company A, even though Company A has added labor insurance for the worker and paid the insurance premiums in full, it could not cover Company A's liability.

Related administrative interpretations and judgments:

The Council of Labor Affairs (the predecessor of the Ministry of Labor)[38] explains that employers responsible for compensation under Article 59 of the Labor Standards Act for employees who were engaged in more than two jobs and encountered occupational accidents shall be subject to the same provisions. The amount of the labor insurance benefit offset by the income is based on the compensation for the expenses paid; that is, the employer can only calculate the offset based on the average monthly insured salary declared for the labor insurance participation of the worker. As for the worker's participation in the labor insurance due to other jobs, the payment is higher than the previous amount. As it is not caused by the employer's payment of compensation, there is no valid claim for offset, and it will take effect on the same day.

IV. Conclusion

To take care of the employees and their dependents, social insurance prevents them from falling into poverty and social problems, but it increases the employer's responsibility. As long as the survivors have experienced one of the factors from Question 1 to Question 8, and the survivors' pension or survivors' allowance of labor insurance cannot be claimed, or they do not meet the requirements due to other factors, the employer still has to bear the responsibility for occupational accident compensation by the Labor Standards Act.

Labor insurance is compulsory insurance with a social welfare nature, which is different from general insurance. Its purpose is to maintain the stability of the basic economic life of workers and their families and prevent the lives of workers and their families from getting into trouble due to the occurrence of individual insurance accidents. To implement the social policy to protect workers, the system design adopts the benefits treatment for workers[39]. Furthermore, the labor occupational accident insurance system makes employers pay insurance premiums, and the state will provide occupational accident compensation on behalf

[37] 2018 Tai-Shang-Tzu-No.958 Judgment, 2003 Tai-Shang-Tzu-No. 1960 Civil Judgment, and 2012 Tai-Shang-Tzu-No.544 Civil Judgment of Supreme Court and the results of the 2011 Legal Symposium of the Taiwan High Court and its affiliated courts are available for reference.

[38] Please refer to the Labor-III-Tzu-Interpretation No.0990130102.

[39] Please refer to 2019 Lao-Shang-Tzu-Civil Judgment No.4 of Taiwan High Court.

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of employers to ensure the fair and rapid compensation of labor occupational accidents. The payment made by the state under the Labor Occupational Accident Insurance Act is only to reduce the economic burden of the employer, and in essence, is still the labor occupational accident compensation under the Labor Standards Act.[40] However, for employers, the current occupational accident insurance for workers is paid by the employer in full, but its payment conditions are stricter than commercial insurance. In addition to the disadvantages for the employers, it is also not conducive to the development of the enterprise.

Therefore, the future legislation of the Labor Occupational Accident Insurance Act should not just copy the occupational accident part of the labor insurance and the Act for Protecting Worker of Occupational Accidents. The compensation for occupational accident deaths in Taiwan's current Labor Standards Act is very different from the compensation for occupational accident deaths in labor insurance, which in turn causes losses to enterprises and damage to the labor force. Take Japan as an example, although the Labor Standards Act is still the basic law of compensation for industrial accident insurance, the content and amount of compensation are completely the same. Therefore, it is hoped that the future legislation of the Labor Occupational Accident Insurance Act can solve the current problems or integrate the current labor law on occupational accident compensation. We organize the conclusions as follows:

1. The definition of occupational accidents and the compensation responsibilities for commuting accidents in the labor law shall be unified and consistent to avoid confusion.
2. The beneficiary orders of occupational accident compensation in the Labor Standards Act and the conditions for receiving compensation shall be consistent with the restrictions on beneficiaries and the conditions for receiving survivors' pension or survivors' allowance in the labor insurance or Labor Occupational Accident Insurance Act.
3. The survivors of the Labor Occupational Accident Insurance Act will receive various insurance payments under the Labor Standards Act.
4. Regardless of whether it is the insured person, beneficiaries or survivors under the Labor Occupational Accident Insurance Act, regardless of the name or amount on any insurance payments under the Act, the employer's occupational accident compensation liability can be offset, and any shortfall will be made up by the employer.
5. Regardless of where the two companies apply for labor insurance death payments, the calculation should be based on the average insured salary. If the occupational accident is verified by the Bureau of Labor Insurance, it should be claimed as an occupational accident insurance payment for survivors. The survivors' insurance payment amount can be used to offset the company's occupational accident compensation liability.

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[40] Please refer to Tai-Shang-Tzu-Civil Judgment No.617 of Supreme Court.

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Story and Transformation in a Reading Laboratory for the Elderly in Pandemic Times – An Experience Report

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Abstract- Literature is one of the finest ways to express the human art and creativeness, therefore, is a path to reach the understanding of human nature. In this article, we will discuss the use of literature in group debate of elders which participated in a senior program of a Brazilian university as a resource to stimulate a personal discovery of inner resources to deal with this challenging period of life during the Covid 19 pandemic in 2020. Our participation started in 2017 with a group formed by men and women above 60 years old attending this program. Until 2019, there were 65 participants in a yearly program, but in 2020 there was a variation between 40-70. The experience to be discussed derives from an aesthetic attitude, starting with literary reading followed by a group discussion in order to stimulate affective social bonds among the participants. Further discussed themes were the impact of the online version and the use of technology in a senior group.

Keywords: elder; reading; literature; open university; humanization, pandemic, technology.

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Maria Teresa Mendonça De Barros [α], Professor Dante Marcello Claramonte Gallian [σ] & Professor Simeão Sass Ph.D [ρ]

Abstract- Literature is one of the finest ways to express the human art and creativeness, therefore, is a path to reach the understanding of human nature. In this article, we will discuss the use of literature in group debate of elders which participated in a senior program of a Brazilian university as a resource to stimulate a personal discovery of inner resources to deal with this challenging period of life during the Covid 19 pandemic in 2020. Our participation started in 2017 with a group formed by men and women above 60 years old attending this program. Until 2019, there were 65 participants in a yearly program, but in 2020 there was a variation between 40-70. The experience to be discussed derives from an aesthetic attitude, starting with literary reading followed by a group discussion in order to stimulate affective social bonds among the participants. Further discussed themes were the impact of the online version and the use of technology in a senior group.

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I. Introduction

Covid-19 pandemic has brought countless challenges in several social and educational aspects, and mainly a more attentive look about public policies that concern the elderly. The combination of fear of catching the disease and the fear of dying, together with imposing and long social isolation has caused much anxiety and has increased the risk of mental illness, mainly depression. Here we ask a guiding question in order to conduct our article: what can we develop as group activity that allows virtual meetings that provide a personal reflection on life and relationships, but can also promote a pleasant esthetic experience?

That question has led us to suggest literary text as a foundation of the reading Project with our target population chosen for the present study: the elderly group of the Open University for the Elderly (Uapi). Literature has always been one of the most significant ways to express human condition through art and creativity. Therefore, it is a way to reach a major understanding of living and sharing. We intend to approach both topics under a humanization viewpoint. The main reason is that literary texts are a suitable starting point to establish a group discussion in order to make possible to increase the experience in the being's environment.

The idea came from several experiences that had already been developed by the study group on History and Philosophy of Health Sciences (CeHFI), a group we have been connected with since 2014. The Reading Laboratory inside CeHFI has existed for more than 18 years. Gallian & Bittar (2020) write that the experience "allows the launching of perception and attitude that approaches a more humanistic perspective and allows the expansion of the scope of the being's presence". There is a massive production of Ph. D. thesis, master's dissertation, and articles. They cover different aspects of that activity, done for different public, inside and outside university environment.

Named "Reading Laboratory", it is a three-step activity: the first step occurs when the person talks about the experience of a lonely reading; during the second step, they discuss the text itself as well as the relation with personal experience; the third one ends with the report on the impact on group experience.

Within this context, personal narration establishes a "dynamic relation that links language and reality" (id.). This looks to us very appropriate when one works with the purpose of humanizing relationships. This is the matter proposed and discussed in the present article. In order to corroborate the option for a project on literature, we recall the words by Paulo Freire (1982) in the introduction of his book *The importance of the act of reading* from 1982: "Reading the world precedes the word reading. Thus, the subsequent reading of the later cannot forego the continuity of the reading of the first one. Language and reality are linked together in a dynamic manner. Text interpretation to be achieved by its critic reading implies perception of the relations between text and context". We believe the exchange of experiences stimulated by literary texts allows, among those who have already a long life way, the expansion of their awareness regarding the world and himself/ herself.

When we think of public policies for the elderly, we reach for Kalache (2020), who points out the need to develop policies in favor of an active and healthy aging. The foundation would lie on health promotion, permanent learning, by encouraging civic participation

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and protecting the weakest in advanced age. During pandemic, the importance of actions linked to elderly people has become more evident as this age group have already been dealing with the risks of isolation and fragility either physical or mental well before 2020.

Furthermore, the social relevance of the present study on this age range increases as we face an accelerated aging of the Brazilian population. Therefore, it is necessary a discussion about public policies that comprehend this population segment and help to perform a critic reflection in order to improve health services for the elderly. Leandro-França (2014) bring the history of current public policies, and both point out data scarcity regarding policies as well as studies conducted about the elderly. The main milestones of public discussion on health promotion for the elderly have been developed from the legal texts following the 1988 Federal Constitution (FC/1988), mainly the Elderly National Policy (PNI) of 1994 and the Elderly Statute of 2003.

The way we refer to the elderly may indicate if the attitude towards them is out of respect or contempt. Altman (2011) stresses the difference between old and elderly: old is the person who lost his/her capacity or skills to continue his/her active life; elderly is the one with an older age, but did not necessarily lost his/her autonomy. Leandro-França & Murta (2014) underline the importance of preventive actions concerning mental illness, including emotional illness, and refers to the work developed in open universities as one of the options.

Usually, the elderly already faces several challenges in regular times as the place he occupies inside his/her family and society has changed. The emergence of depressive symptoms is very frequent in this life stage where countless losses take place. Brasil et al. (2013) mention, for instance, the somatic manifestation of illness that exposes human fragility and finitude the elderly must face inexorably, increasing the feeling of vulnerability besides the risk of isolation and loneliness. Another point that is common during this life stage is the loss of personal autonomy, mainly female elderly who is used to a routine of taking care and not to be taken care of.

There is still another fear regarding social death, which would surely lead to illness or even to death wish. Isolation is always a threat that surrounds physical and mental balance, and it increased in 2020 with Covid-19 pandemic. Hammerschmidt, Bonatelli and Carvalho (2020) comment on the difficulty in valueing the elderly's biological, psychological and social background within the current public policies. It is also difficult to appraise the place he/she occupies in the family scope: his/her financial help, but he/she has no voice, he/she remains in the listening position, without space to express himself/herself. That fact worsened during pandemic. According to a document issued by the State Secretariat of Health of a southwestern state, in September 2020, the authors encourage the establishment of activities and spaces, including virtual ones, in order to promote the dialogue and elderly listening as a strategy to decrease affective spacing and to avoid the increase of depressive symptoms and illness risk and even suicide. That will be our reflective journey, which has brought the establishment of a triad for reflection: elderly, literature and technology.

A short bit of the story of the Open University 21th anniversary, and 2020 turning point

By contextualizing the project of the Open University of the Elderly (Uapi), at Unifesp, the project has been part of the Geriatrics and Gerontology department, since 1999. The minimum age to participate is 60 years old, and diplomas or education certificates are not necessary to join the project.

Uapi is a very suitable research field for post-graduates and undergraduate research internship. It is linked to the Dean's Office for Graduate and Research Studies of Unifesp. It started in Campus São Paulo and today it extends to other campi of the University. Their goal is to foster reflection on the needs of the aging process.

Uapi is founded on three pillars: 1) an educational planning that links undergraduate and each campus extension; 2) encouragement of the organization of the newcomers in associations, and 3) college management with undergraduate professors and alumni. All activities aim at encouraging the interaction among generations in order to develop healthy relationships with the elderly as well as the acknowledgment of his/her support in building family and social life. Professors and monitors are spontaneously invited to assist the development of Uapi senior participants.

According to her report, Uapi coordinator states that the main goal is to give a better physical and mental quality of life to the elderly. It also intends to provide their cultural and social integration by giving guidance regarding physical, mental and spiritual health under the scope of integrative care. By means of classes, lectures and experience, it occurs an upgrade in general knowledge in studies such as Law, Psychology, History, Fine Arts, Memory Workshop, Portuguese Language, Literature, among others. Activities are free and take place twice a week. The course lasts 8 months (academic year), but it is possible to last longer, which occurs to many participants.

In 2017, we were invited to participate in Uapi activities. We accepted the challenge, which gave us the opportunity to conduct a research on the elderly. Since the beginning, it had become very clear the importance to conduct an activity that could bring the already mentioned benefits regarding enhanced mental illness

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prevention due to isolation and feeling of worthlessness. Cognitive stimulus through reading and text discussion increases the possibility of growing self-confidence, which makes feasible the opportunity to be listened and points out the existence of value in their individual narrative.

It was possible to note the impact in one of the participants' statement during on-site activities in 2017:

> I think that [Lablei meetings] moved me. I think that the three [three short stories], but this one (The Imaginary Invalid), I think it had a strong emotional impact on me. Another day we went to have some coffee, and I enjoyed it. Because people get together. (Debora, 2017)

II. Method

This experience report discusses the experience performed with the group from Open University of the Elderly (Uapi), at the Federal University of São Paulo (Unifesp). Among Uapi activities, we will focus on the experience at the Reading Laboratory (LabLei). We will use the methodology developed by Gallian and his coworkers at the Center of Studies of History and Philosophy of Health Sciences (Gallian, 2002; Sakamoto, Gallian, 2004; Gallian, Reginato, 2009; Bittar et al. 2013, Lima et al. 2014; Gallian, 2016; Carvalho, 2017; Logatti et al. 2019). During these pandemic times, some adjustments had to be done to attend the elderly as well as to adapt them to the virtual environment.

It is about an elderly group formed by 65 people between 60 and 84 years in 2017 and 2018. The number of people corresponded to places available in order to join the Uapi yearly schedule. In 2020, the number of participants were between 40 and 80 as we were dealing the changes imposed by the pandemic, both for the format (which became virtual) and for the number of participants. in the beginning there where three coordinators formed by the Center of Studies of History and Philosophy of Health Sciences (CeHFi).

The criteria for choosing the texts were based on the consideration if there would be a more suitable literary genre to such a different group of people, with great differences in education and family background. In terms of reading habits, they range from no reading activity to those who call themselves "avid readers". We also took into consideration short stories themes, and we searched those that had sensible themes for the elderly. We have chosen: "O Mergulhador" (The Diver), by Karen Blixen; "O Espelho" (The Mirror), by Machado de Assis; "O Doente Imaginário", (The Doctor in spite of Himself) by Molière (all from 2017); "O Pássaro Encantado" (The Enchanted Bird) and "A Volta do Pássaro Encantado" (The return of the Enchanted Bird), by Rubem Alves in 2018; "Alicerce" (Foundation) by Geni Guimarães and "A Menina que Carregava Bocadinhos" (The girl who carries small bits), by Valter Hugo Mãe in 2020. We decided to consider short stories that would not inhibit their desire to read, as they would be too long and complex. The practical application would allow us to check the adequacy of the choice made.

Altogether, we had 20 meetings: 11 took place in 2017; 4 in 2018, and 5 in 2020. In 2017, there were three om-site meetings on literature. Applying group discussion suggests a path that can be followed. The purpose establishes the enlargement of the dialogue among participants, encourages the individual expression that rescues, in narratives, what had been lived during life. In 2018, there was only one meeting, with three on-site meetings. In 2020, we had two new opportunities to try out the activity, this time virtually. Here, benefits were maintained and even expanded. The given dynamic made possible an exchange of rich personal experiences among all people involved. It also allowed many personal discoveries together with some surprises on their own development potentials.

Therefore, we thought about another guiding question towards the future: how can that on-line activity helps the present context? They were asked to talk about their experience during the laboratory meetings by writing it, which we called "stories about social interaction".

a) Method applied in reading laboratory

Our project is part of a research umbrella of the Center of History and Philosophy of Health Sciences based on Literature in Health Humanization work. Sakamoto and Gallian (2016) describe the reading laboratory as a method developed by CeHFi named as Laboratory of Humanities. It refers to a subject offered in modules to students, professors, university employees as well as to the general community with a varied number of meetings depending on the length of the selected literary work.

The main goal of the reading laboratory is to provide a new look and a new place to Literature, by allowing an esthetic and humanizing experience, as a space of reflections on challenges and anxieties concerning human existence. It is like one of the project planners:

> [...] the Reading Laboratory, as a place of experience that works with this magical and mysterious subject, cannot be understood under the modern and scientism perspective of the word (as a space of mass technique), but preferably under the old perspective, where *labor* (work, experiment) takes place from *oratio* (prayer, contemplation). (Gallian, 2017:211).

The experiment is divided into three parts organized along a pre-determined period. We started with *Reading stories*, when everyone tells if they had read and how was the individual and solitary reading. The second part is named *Discussion itinerary*, and that is when the exchange of ideas in the group and the participants' spontaneous manifestation is prioritized. That is a very enlightening stage, when the participants

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can realize the diversity of viewpoints and feelings that arise in other persons of the group when they enjoy the same text. At last, at the last meeting, we have Stories of social interaction, where everyone talks about the experience of collective discussion and are invited to write a small report about the experience.

It has been more than eighteen years of the Reading Laboratory. There were many formats and environments studied by Sakamoto (2016), Carvalho (2017), Bittar (2020), *Logatti et al. (2019) (2020)* Mituti, Sass and Gallian (2021). The results were relevant, and appeared the possibility to extend the experiment to the elderly group.

Our experience at Uapi was the first to include an elderly group in the research team of CeHFi. Since the beginning, it became very clear the importance of promoting an activity that could bring the benefits of preventing mental illness, in an environment worsened by pandemic due to isolation and feeling of uselessness.

III. Discussion

The Open University of the Elderly of Unifesp and the Reading laboratory are certainly spaces to support the building and promotion a healthy aging. Covid-19 pandemic increased the need to look at the elderly more closely and help them maintain or attain a larger confidence to face their daily life as well as avoid the negative impact of information on cases of death or physical and mental illness.

The even greater isolation from family members, mainly in the first months of pandemic, pointed out the elderley's need to look more frequently to himself/herself as well as to find out new ways to keep the contact channels open to the exterior world. One of the concerns regarded autonomy itself, in other words, the fear of losing autonomy, which is a recurring topic among the participants of the group. That was one of the topics that came out in several group discussions.

Uapi activities, that have been on-site since 2019, became virtual with synchronous and non-synchronous moments. This implied the choice of more suitable technological resources, which came from presentation and training to their use.

The exchanges in classroom were fulfilling to the elderly as well as to the invited professionals, who participated in the meetings voluntarily. For many of them, it was an opportunity to be reinserted in group activities, that leaves an isolation situation inside the family circle.

Cognitive stimulus through reading and text discussion improves self-confidence and makes us believe that it is possible to be listened and to exist some value in personal narratives. As an example, we brought the statement of one of the on-site activities in 2017:

> In the LabLei what happened to me is that I pick a book, read at least twice – in the first one I don't understand much; in the second, I take notes. The best is that in the group, Estela has an opinion, Ramona has another one, and Clara a third one. (2017, Estela).

Facebook conducted the first lab experiment on virtual reading. However, some difficulties in interacting with the elderly via chat rose such as lack of a speedy typing and missing the train of thought if the elderly try to interact through chat. As the coordinator pointed out:

> As the migration has become successful, we realized that it worked well and everyone got used to the innovation of turning off the audio, and turn it on again if you are going to speak. […] *It's funny how we become able to do that* [bold added].

Based on challenges, the coordination cared about creating an instruction manual adapted to the elderly. A ludic and well designed booklet was created. It includes every button and function. Pruchno (2019) writes about the intersection between technology, and acknowledges the challenge for the present elderly generation, that did not start their lives already plunged into the virtual world. At the same time, that intersection mobilizes their adaptive capability.

The coordinator herself was surprised by the well-succeeded initiative, although many veteran participants had not joined the new format fully. One group chose to keep contact only during non-synchronous activities that had been gradually offered.

At first, the group that attended the virtual meetings varied from 50 to 80 participants out of the 130 enrolled in February.

The narrative of Uapi's coordinator help understand the context of the Open University, and provided a record on the development and changes of the group activities, in charge of the development of successful solutions found during pandemic times. She realized that many changes came for good, and one of them refers to the feasibility of maintaining the hybrid model. She is very enthusiastic about the results: "Well, we beat lots of teenagers in the way we deal with the quarantine."

The narratives of the group participants confirm what she had said: "In the beginning, being in lockdown was almost the idea that I was going to a spiritual retreat" (Clara). "I, Ramona, have already said that this pandemic was amazing. I did not enjoy reading and now I have already read 14 books so far."

Considering losses and gains of the project in changing from on-site meetings to virtual ones, we notice some losses that had been partially made up due to the attention and participation of participants even if that happened through computer or cell phone.

> Regarding Uapi, at the beginning, I thought it was awful… I am very fond of affection, hugs… and I have lost it at Uapi, during pandemic. That was very restrictive. I do not have a family; I have no place to go to enjoy nature, that I love so

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much… so, all this made me a little mad at Uapi. I said I would not attend Uapi any longer. Zoom technology has nothing to do with me. I am not against technology, for God's sake. Not at all. It is cold, distant." (This is Estela talking about her response to virtual meetings).

It seems we have a greater interaction, instead of one behind the other… here you show yourself. Roberta, but I say that this gave us the freedom to be one with the other. (Clara)

During the experience, we discovered some positive aspects that we have never thought of like the attendance of individuals who, in some other way, would not be there: "I am going to an appointment with the doctor"; I am here in the waiting room and I am attending the meeting"; "Oh, I am travelling"; "I am in the countryside". The virtual environment opened doors to things that the on-site relations do not allow. However, the feeling of human warmth was there. A participant realized the same thing: in virtual environment, the feeling of support and presence remained:

In on-site meeting affection rises etc. It something shows up, and I hug someone and tell him/her something, only the person hears. However, when I am on a virtual meeting, whatever I want to say, everyone will hear. If someone embraces my feeling, if I cry, if I get upset. *All of them (either she or he)* [bold added]. Even if Lucila says that on-site meetings we would be hugged, *we know that in a given moment, in silence, in that look, there is a presence.* [bold added]. […] by attending a virtual meeting, there is a possibility of being present. It is not as cold as everyone says. *I say we are more focused* (Clara 2020) [bold added]

Another advantage was the opportunity to collect records that will certainly be a rich source of future considerations of such an important project like Uapi. Allowing a deep plunge into the Self was fundamental to live these pandemic times. Many activities were planned in order to help participants to cope with the isolation of family and friends: "Classes of musical memory, taste memory, movies, discussion, things that allowed that non-synchronous moment was as rich as the synchronous one" (Lucila, 2020).

In the light of the above, we believe it is important to perform a brief reflection on the technological issue regarding the elderly population. The second leg of the tripod referred in the introduction refers to the insertion of technological resources in the project developed with the elderly. The "new normal" brought up by pandemic accelerated the need, previously detected, to integrate the elderly in on-line activities in order to avoid them from being even more isolated. It is obvious that it is a big challenge, sometimes impossible, mainly concerning populations that have fewer financial resources or live far from big centers.

There are many positive perspectives by using technology, although there is a risk of an inaccurate use. In this sense, it is important to identify the elderly's purpose by connecting the internet. During a conversation via zoom technology with Uapi elderly, one of them mentioned that she decreased the amount of literary readings as she was spending much time in social networks. Reversely, another participant, who is already used to the virtual world when pandemic started, became the coordinator's main assistant to conduct the virtual meetings and interaction with other participants.

Back to technology matter, a special issue of *The Gerontologist* (vol. 59 of 2019) journal on the interface between elderly population and technology releases a series of relevant studies. The studies focus on the viewpoint of gerontologists, engineers, developers and researchers, among others. The articles approach as technological issues as those linked to behavior, development, physical and mental health.

Pruchno (2019) stresses the intersection between technology and ageing as well as the dramatic growth of ageing in the last years. The author acknowledges that there is a long way to cross and alerts that, when there is no integration among different knowledges, there is a major risk of wasting resources in products that, in practice, do not work properly as we did not listen to the demands and limitations of the target population.

The advantages regarding internet also include a broader access to information about health and quality of life. Croff et al. (2019) point at the growing need of a preventive work with the elderly that is not linked to medical treatment. The authors criticize the lack of scope of several strategies linked to the work with the elderly. That is due, either because they focus on one single risk factor or one certain subgroup, or because they do not take into consideration the social, economic or cognitive reflections linked to the well-being of the population that is the study target. When we think under the integrative perspective, we look not only at the individual but also at community factors.

Besides identifying the elderly's purposes when they use internet, it is necessary to understand the reasons that hinder their adequacy to such technologies even when they are active users. Technological development is very dynamic which makes difficult follow-up and absorption of new technologies. Furthermore, as Czaja (2019) suggests, it looks relevant to establish a dialogue with the elderly when equipment or software are developed for them. It is necessary not to consider the concept that the elderly resist to changes and are not willing to interact with technological products. Available data lead to the opposite direction, and point out that the elderly are more receptive to the use of computers, for instance, which is confirmed by the Uapi coordinator regarding the elderly excitement during computer classes. Nevertheless, it is not possible to deny that it occurs a cognitive and motor coordination loss that hinders the elderly's interaction in on-line training programs. Thus,

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technology must be introduced in an intelligible way to people that are outside the digital generation.

During her interview on Uapi on pandemic times, the coordinator confirms Cajza's opinion, including the quality of technological resources available for the elderly:

> The use of an older cell phone. Many get it from their sons and daughters when they replace them. Here lies a little criticism because this must be taken into consideration. It is not because the person is older that he/she can have old cell phones. It is not about a device that can do wonders, but a device that allows that communication exists for the elderly. If the device is not useful to him/her, this is a cognitive mistake; a limiting belief he/she is building by saying that he/she is unable to use it. Actually, it is the own device that does not give special conditions.

In case of Brazilian reality, Miranda & Farias (2009) add that difficulties rising from limiting economic or cultural issues in developing countries such as Brazil are not provided with data on the real improvements that a regular use of cell phone can offer to that public (p. 386).

Even though, the advantages brought by internet are undeniable as internet introduces new ways of information, of cognitive stimulus that can assist in communication as well as in leisure. It also eases the access to general and scientific information about health, which is relevant to persons whose age bracket demands a major health care. That set of resources is useful to prevent social isolation, estrangement and emotional instabilities. It also encourages brain activity. Similarly, it promotes social interaction as well as it helps overcome the limiting barriers. This happens mainly to the elderly that did not have a broad network of social contacts. Games, videos, libraries, distance education, virtual communities are some of the possibilities, and we add the possibility of virtual collective meetings, which is the way chosen by Uapi. Reading laboratory also activates these advantages.

The experiments indicated that it is necessary the elderly to consider the use of technologies as something useful, easy and relevant to the accomplishment of diverse tasks as well as education. Consequently, it appears a network among the elderly themselves of a horizontal exchange of knowledge. Similarly, it enlarges the possibility of contacting relatives and friends; decreases loneliness and increases well-being according to the study conducted by Szabo, Allen, Stephen and Alpass (2018). Contact with peers (emotional benefits) eases group learning, where a participant who has more capacity can help the other, by using an adequate language. That language leads the elderly to identify himself/herself with, understand and make use of it.

As the access to information and active participation in different experiences becomes larger, a trademark in a global society, the elderly has the opportunity to reach several scopes, including leisure. He/she will also be able to give a new meaning to his/her life, apprenticeship, to his/her importance as a citizen who has rights and legal guarantees, to his/her own ageing and levels of his/her effective participation inside society (Gaspari, Schwartz, 2005, p. 74).

Therefore, we get to some questions: (1) why technology is difficult to use in so many cases; (2) how to develop technology aiming at an easier and more effective use, and (3) how effectively teach persons to use and embrace the available technology. Those are vital reflections to adapt technological resources to the elderly group, a part of the tripod of our considerations.

Bringing back the experience on the reading laboratory, the reflections comprehended on-site experience as well as virtual experience in 2020. The reading laboratory, in its different versions, and depending on the public it aims at, always brings a wide range of emotional benefits, as it was confirmed in the reports of participants from different public, generations and education:

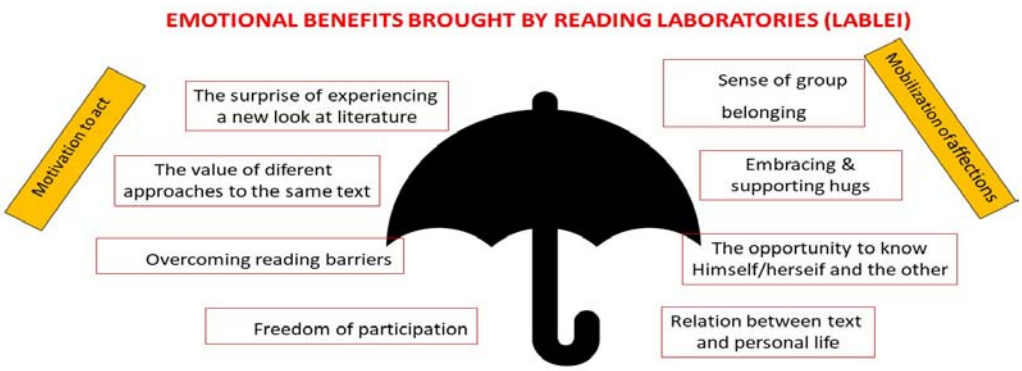

Fig. 1

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Regarding Uapi experience in 2020, we have:

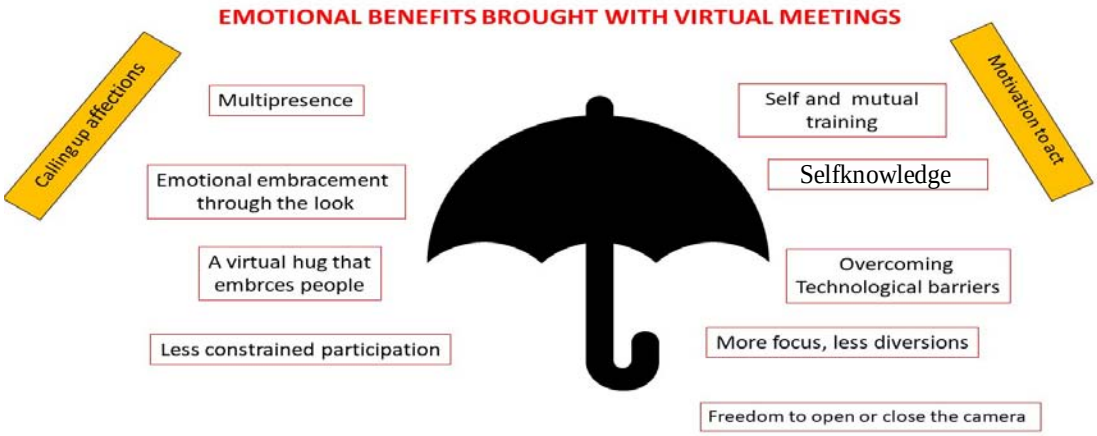

Fig. 2

In some moments during group meetings, we hear reports that now it is possible to participate when we are at home, in traffic or in a waiting room. Another advantage is that it is possible to reach persons who are in further places, even in other cities, and who have more difficulties to connect with the elderly group whether because of the absence of elderly people in the place where they live, or as a result of not knowing such activities.

Within a perspective of disadvantages, we may mention the difficulty or even the resistance of a group that gave up the course either because they were not acquainted with technology or because they alleged the lack of presence warmth, rustling, contact with friends from the group. Summarizing the losses:

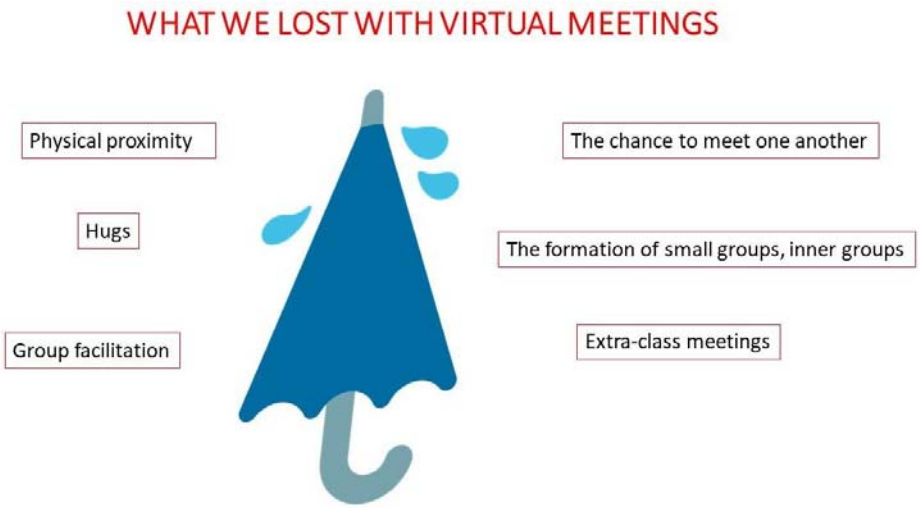

Fig. 3

Nevertheless, the Uapi's coordinator herself realized that, although she misses the on-site contact, she was surprised by the positive results of the on-line version: "I have never experienced such a significant growth of myself and of the others in the last 21 years at Uapi". That is a comment that rewards the effort of adaptation and encourages us to continue, in a promising future.

Since the first intervention, we were able to notice the surprise and the pleasure before a new activity. According to what Clara (2020) states about her perception of the reading laboratory even before taking part in Uapi in 2017:

> At some moment [2017], I heard people saying, "Wow, four classes is too much for us to talk about". That is because there is a dynamic. At first, I read something about that

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experiment on Vida Simples magazine, where Dante gave an interview. I thought, "How blessed those guys are as they share that experience". It is so good to have someone that helps me look at the text, enjoy it. When Uati appeared I said, "Wow, the universe is conspiring in my favor again".

This positive comment did not lose its way in the transition to the laboratory on-line model. Every time we were with the virtual group, we noticed a more significant participation of persons that bring several approaches to the same text. Even the participants that criticized the amount of meetings in every reading cycle acknowledged that they learnt a lot. The results surprised, as Raissa states in the "stories of acquaintanceship":

> Having a day and time to talk about what we read was amazing! I sensed what it would be like when I received the short novel and the survey. I was very curious and could not wait to get here, today, at 2 p.m. It was very nice. I want more of it. Please, come back soon. (Raissa, 2020).

For most participants it is difficult to express themselves during the meeting. However, they come to talk about it through the written record. The record is encouraged, but it is not compulsory. This is the case of Maíra (2020): "Teacher, I have some difficulty in speaking in public. My words get mixed up, and it is difficult to me to make myself clear when I read something. I would really like to be eloquent". Another aspect that may be studied in a future project: if we ask for some feedback after the experience through the virtual channel, through WhatsApp that will lead to more answers. At the several laboratory interventions, I received very few written stories on conviviality. Does that make a difference as we are before a group that is not obliged because it is not about an elective of an undergraduate course?

Nevertheless, even the shyest ones acknowledge the group encouragement, and many of them are able to overcome the original shyness. We also noticed there were a larger participation in the comments made on virtual meetings, which makes us consider if on-line meetings decrease some shyness. Shyness proves to be more frequent in laboratories of on-site readings of 2017 and 2018. However, we must confirm that.

By whatever means, the experiment at the Reading Laboratory provided, to many of them, the opportunity to carry on with the journey through literary texts in search of personal achievement. As one of the participants of the experiments of 2017 and 2020 said:

> Well, I think that kind of work makes people to question things, from the story, from the text, because not all of them understand the same viewpoint. What moves you? It is because the text reaches nearer the issue you live and feel. Thus, many people willingly joined a reading club owed to the laboratories. (Clara, 2020).

Another characteristic that the virtual meeting confirms is something we had already noticed at the on-site meetings. Besides the esthetic experience obtained from the encounter with Literature, people have the chance to correlate parts of the short story with their own life experiences:

> Like the character pictured in the short story, I searched the end of submission. The sense of feeling is beyond words. The girl from the short story might have felt the same emotion. It seemed the thicket she ran to, was going to burst into flame. (Maria, 2020)

> The class reminded my childhood. The young girl [of the short story] took off her dressy outfit, that made her beautiful, and rushed to obey her [employer] […] How many times, in childhood, I had to obey. What I wanted to be, they decided in my place. (Clarice, 2020).

> It was a marvelous experience to roll back time as I was able to realize how much I must thank God for the achievements and life appreciation!!! (Milena, 2020)

There is a new perspective as well as a new relation with books and literature. The dynamics of the reading laboratory is an invitation to think about life. As a 2020 participant puts it very well:

> This is something I did not figure out because when I read, I saw in books, in stories things that belonged more to my world than to the reading. I did not get into the character by bringing it to me. Unless when the book was romantic (laughs). Now, I see another reality by entering the characters, the story and bringing an analysis of our life. (Ramona, 2020)

Those words inspired us to summarize the process that lies in the dynamics of reading laboratory: "Because the book each of us reads is not totally the same as it was read by the other. At the meeting and together we were able to bring things to think about that had not occurred to us. Sharing experiences increased the perception about oneself, the other, the short story itself, the author himself" (Clara, 2020).

Another participant of 2017 and 2020 considered us responsible for making her get interested in reading literary text. We do take the blame with much delight and joy.

We were also surprised by the creative production of some participants and we bring two examples. At our last laboratory meeting, we had the poetic creation of two participants. Both were inspired by the text read in 2020. This gathers a collective memory of important landmarks for the elderly generation – words like clothesline, sewing, the self-discovery, and the discovery of several selves:

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Who's this that lives inside me?
There are so many…
Several versions of the same girl-origin,
A scribble made with a piece of chalk,
Which can be erased and remade,
Null and void, but with marks that remain,
Memories, hope, dreams…
Improve as time goes by
And make this person grow, with different facets, images,
The border of myself,
In the core, one single person, divided
In stages, ages, moments
Who is that who represents me, faces me and questions me?
There are plenty of me, which wander right inside me,
Meetings and disconnection, in search of some identity
Strong, determined, passionate personality
To be still tamed
As a girl, never finishes her apprenticeship
Fragments of several kinds, sizes, kept, hung,
Inside myself like a clothesline
Several versions, colorful or colorless models
Sometimes it is even impossible to recognize that first one,
Layers of faces, facts, pictures (Janice, 2020)

The thin needle with a long thread
After all, it is not about a mere sewing
Both enter in one side
And leave from the other
Permeating all sides
In different times
Sometimes crying, others, smiling, sometimes bursting into laughter
Together in one single thread
The thread now is tight, and then it is loose
Now it is with us, and then it is cut
Dreams become true one by one, the ones that are ready to become true
And others that are still to come
They impel us to fly. (Bruna. 2020)

Here, we reviewed all the results. The reading laboratory has the benefit of featuring a low-cost activity at on-site modality. It can be replicated in other environments that embrace the elderly. In turn, virtual modality requires some investment in technology regarding spaces to welcome the elderly and the elderly themselves. However, the number of people who have at least a cell phone is high. Finally, we believe the changes that occurred in meeting format, provided a wide range of possibilities of access by the elderly public that frequently have some difficulty in on-site participation.

One of the greatest findings is that the "60+ group" is not exactly a passive group, mainly when they discovered or re-discovered they still have a voice. The awareness of oneself and of the other can serve as a lot of inspiration, as a new attitude towards personal recognition and appreciation. It helps avoid the feeling of not being important to others anymore. That feeling is present in complaints about depression. Some

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participants found out their personal talent. Inspired by the last meeting, Raissa states: "I thought it would be better to write right now, grabbing the peak of the conversation". Human warmth returns to warm up aged hearts, full of personal experiences, and rich in creative potentials that have not been discovered or acknowledged.

Briefly, we suggested a low-cost activity that comprises literature followed by group discussion. It can be developed in elderly assistance center, community centers, and open universities to the elderly or any other institution for this kind of public.

Advantages and challenges were approached in the present text. The transformations endured during the literature project for the elderly in 2020 stressed the relevance and the contemporaneity of the proposal directed to a group that felt threatened by the new situation. The reading laboratory is an experience that allows the integration of individual and collective activities.

Our research ended by being crossed by the pragmatic need of unexpected changes. However, those changes were not less founded as we hope we made it clear through the text. It was an experiment that can be replicated in many places of our vast Brazil. It is a low-cost activity, but its benefits to the elderly are high.

IV. Conclusion and Implications

Our article dealt with "an experience inside another experience". In other words, the impacts and results of the reading laboratory in its on-site and virtual versions in the program of the Open University for the elderly.

The reading laboratory underwent some important changes in the interaction format regarding the number of participants at on-site meetings as well as considering the pandemic. Those initiatives allowed the continuity of the group, and overcame the feeling of strangeness during lockdown period. It also brought benefits to the development of the elderly participants, who did their best to get new cell phones in order to participate in the group. Nevertheless, part of the group gave up pursuing the meetings due to personal issues.

Studies on this matter are not very frequent in Brazil. However, the concern about the relation between digital technology and ageing has increased in the last years. It is also due to the growth of the population above 60 years of age. Within this context, Uapi can provide a field of study of a successful example of adaptation to the new reality, mainly in pandemic days. Our proposal on a reading laboratory, adapted to senior population and to virtual reality joined the challenge to further the same activity in different ways: passive (silent and individual reading of the text, and listening moments of the group), and active (discussion and reports written at the end of the activity).

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Abbreviations

Unifesp	Federal University of São Paulo
Cedess	Center of development for University Teaching in Health
Uapi	Open University for Senior Citizens
LabLei	Reading Laboratory – Literature group discussions
CeHFi	History and Philosophy of Health Sciences

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The Image of a Child as a Young in the Cinema of the Soviet Thaw

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Introduction- The character of the Thaw cinema is a young person who was born at a time of great uncertainties. The Soviet Thaw is characterized by a new conflict, which is based on the misunderstanding between children and adults. The appearance of the Soviet juvenile cinema can be marked by the release of the movie “Broken shoes” by Margarita Barskaya. This genre was further explored during the period of the Thaw.

While adults destroy their dreams, children try to realize them. A child of the Thaw is not a helpless creature lost in the city; he is a personality who tries to find his place in the huge world. The child's image in the cinema has changed since the release of Tatiana Lukashevich's “The Foundling.” The main character of the movie “Splendid Days” can defend his rights without the help of children's services.

The generation gap is carefully analyzed in such Thaw movies as “Ivan's Childhood,” “Destiny of a Man,” “The Boy and the Dove,” “Welcome, or No Trespassing.” So, we can state that there was a big misunderstanding between children and adults.

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THEIMAGEOFACHILDASAYOUNGINTHECINEMAOFTHESOVIETTHAW

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The period of the thaw influenced all groups of young people. They had to face reality ("Walking the Streets of Moscow, Ilyich's Gate") and confront their teachers' dogmatism ("We'll Live Till Monday"). The same was true about children.

The development of a young character in the Thaw cinema can be analyzed by studying of the conflict between the child and society. Besides, it's necessary to empathize that the idea of a child's consciousness is an essential feature of the Thaw.

I. A Young Character

a) French and Soviet young characters

The movie characters created by directors embodied the manifest of freedom and humanity. The Thaw character acts as the voice of the director. Young characters took up a significant position in the cinema of the Thaw period. Being the embodiment of a new epoch, children and the youth have to conflict with the older generation.

The Soviet cinema of the 60s was given the name New Soviet Wave. In 1954 in the essay "A certain tendency of the French cinema," Francois Truffaut, a French movie director, expressed his perspective on the cinema. His ideas became the basis for French New Wave. Truffaut was the first man who spoke on this particular topic. Antoine Doinel's growing up story reveals the child's conflict with the adult world. The film "The 400 Blows"[1] is about Antoine Doinel, who can be considered an alter-ego of the director. The character, like the director himself, tries to communicate with his surroundings. However, he is misunderstood by the parents, who cannot see the reality outside their value system. The world has changed. So, the previous perception of reality also needs to be reformed.

The Soviet young movie character, like the character of the French New Wave, is a person who has the right to express his thoughts openly. The topic of existential crisis is well known to the young character in the cinema of the Thaw. The 20-year-old characters from Marlen Khutsiev's movie "Ilyich's Gate" and the 5-year-old boy from Georgiy Daneliya and Igor Talankin's "Splendid Days" feel lost. In the world of adults, young characters have to face misunderstanding and overcome it. By the way, the older generation cannot advise the younger and more conscious ones.

"The Mischief Makers" by Francois Truffaut depicts a gang of boys who examine the life and its social aspects. The characters walk in the streets and persecute two young lovers. Their secret plan of moving around the city can be explained by their curiosity and desire to be close to Bernadette, a young woman they are infatuated with. In the world of adults, the young characters gather in groups and develop their models of behavior. In Elem Klimov's comedy "Welcome, or No Trespassing," made in 1964, both the children and the camp counselors are against the rules of the head of the Pioneer Camp. They develop a secret plan of a theatrical procession. Thus, the appearance of like-minded groups can be viewed as a common trend for French and Soviet films of the 60s.

Young characters have to confront the adults' world. For example, Mikhail Kalik's movie "Man Follows the Sun" shows the conflict between a child and society. Most people don't treat a child as a personality.

The main character of Albert Lamorisse's fantasy featurette is a little boy. In the movie, you may see children walking across the town. French movie "The Red Balloon" follows the city adventures of the boy who carries a big red balloon. Adults believe that it is extremely indecent to bring a balloon to school, church,

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or on the tram. The hero has to leave the ball on the street. So, the boy has to leave it in the street. However, the red balloon is a fictitious character with a soul and emotions of its own. The ball follows the tram and then patiently waits for the boy. The adventurous story ends with a cluster balloon ride over the city. The boy becomes greater than the adults who close themselves off from the world. He is open to the world and hovers over it like a bird.

Andrei Konchalovsky's short film "The Boy and the Dove" brings up a similar theme. The flight of a bird symbolizes the highest degree of freedom. The young character realizes that the tethered pigeon feels caged up and sets the bird free.

Soviet and French children's movies of the 1960s have the same feature, which is the freedom of young characters and awareness in decision making. The young character of Louis Malle's movie "Zazie in the Metro" dreams about visiting the Paris metropolitan. Zazie tries every Metro station, but all are shut. So, she decides to explore Paris walking.

The young characters of the 1960s go outside from the closed space of their houses despite the prohibitions of adults. This "despite" encourages children to follow the sun and fly in the sky.

However, the young characters are confronted with changes in society. The situation in cities in the 60s is far from being perfect. We can state that time and values have changed. In Tatyana Lukashevich's movie "The Foundling," we see that everyone wants to use a girl, trying to claim his right to adopt her.

b) Archetypes of the Thaw period

Lidiya Alekseevna Zaytseva says about the appearance of new movie characters the following: "the joy of knowledge, the thirst for color transformation, the dizzy carelessness, the acceptance of everything that surrounds us- all these things made their way through everyday specifics in almost every modern work." [1]Young characters of the Thaw period explore life. The art of that time defined several metalanguage categories in which we can trace the connection between the concepts "HOME and ROAD." These two archetypes represent human origin and existential spatiality. The YOUNG HERO is a man of the Thaw, who forms a basic archetype in the mythologized structure.

In the movie "Splendid Days," released in 1960, the house symbolizes family values. Seryozha, the main character, faces a tragedy when his family moves to another city and leaves the boy alone in the old house. The home doesn't have the same power without the family. The family is the most precious thing for the character. A home is a place where the life of Seryozha starts. It is a place where his life guidelines and values are formed.

Andrei Tarkovsky's short movie "The Steamroller and the Violin" shows how the young characters go outside from the closed space of their houses. Going outside and crossing the yard is a real challenge for a seven-year-old boy. The character has to confront reality; he tries to avoid some other boys mocking him for playing the violin. When Sasha (Igor Fomchenko) becomes a friend of the driver of a steamroller, the city no longer seems hostile. Then his own home becomes a place of misunderstanding and lack of freedom. Sasha's mother does not let the boy go for a walk and makes him play the violin at home.

The archetype of the house symbolizes stability, whereas the concept of the road represents movement and development. Mikhail Kalik's movie "Man Follows the Sun" depicts a little boy who goes up to the roof and examines the sun's rays looking at them through the colored glass. The young character sets an unattainable goal to get the sun. The road to the sun is the road to his goals and dreams.

The young characters of the 1960s want to be free. However, their own home becomes a kind of cage for them. The children go outside to explore the world. The end of Francois Truffaut's movie "The 400 Blows" is about getting out of social boundaries. At the end of the movie, Antoine Doinel runs away to the sea. So, the open space of a world without borders is contrasted with the enclosed space of an observation center for troubled youths.

The sun's image in the movie "Man Follows the Sun" can be compared with the image of the sea. It's full of incomprehensible mysteries. The poetic image of the film "Man Follows the Sun" defines its stylistic coloring. We can see streets illuminated by the sun, roads glistening with rain, soap bubbles shimmering in the sun. The whole picture is shown from the subjective perspective of a child. The character of the movie "Man Follows the Sun" is a true man. The little boy has already formed an attitude towards the world of adults and realized his place in this world.

House roofs can be treated as a specific archetype in the cinema of the Thaw. Both the characters' adventures in "Man Follows the Sun" and "The Boy and the Dove" start on the roof of their house. At the end of Andrei Konchalovsky's film "The Boy and the Dove," the main character goes up on the roof. We see that the character's got older. He realizes that the caged bird can never feel free. So, the boy climbs onto the roof and sets the bird free.

II. Generational Conflict

a) I am 20 years old

The conflict of generation is a conflict not only between a child and an adult or a child and society, but

[1] Zaitseva L.A. Screen image of the Thaw period (the 60s): monograph. - M.; SPb.: Nestor-History, 2017.-p 5.

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it is also a conflict between parents and children. Marlen Khutsiev's film “Ilyich's Gate” (1964) begins with the symbolic episode. So, at first, we see three Red Guards walking around Moscow, then the period changes and, the audience meets three young men. The change of time visually indicated in the movie points to the main conflict of the Thaw, which is the conflict of generations.

Sergey Zhuravlyov (Valentin Popov), the main character of the movie, doesn’t have any goals and strong life guidelines as his life was previously broken by the war. The father who died in the war cannot pass on his life experience to the son. When Sergey asks the father’s help, he just gets a typical well-known phrase, "I am 21, and you are 23 years old". The portrait of the young lost generation in the cinema of the Thaw was highly criticized and censored. However, analyzing the young characters’ desire for freedom, we can see that the characters are not secure.

Marlen Khutsiev, Grigory Danelia, Mikhail Kalik tried to establish a dialogue between different generations, but the destructive force of the war ruined their plans. Mikhail Kalik’s drama “Goodbye, Boys,” tells about the future life of the soldiers who are called to the war. In the movie, we can hear the words from Bulat Okudzhava’s song: “And our boys had to part with their youthfulness. They grew up, of their day far ahead.” Inspired by poets of the sixties, the directors continue to develop the theme of freedom in their works. For example, in Khutsiev’s movies, young characters visit the poetry readings at the Polytechnic Museum to get answers to their questions.

The conflict of generations and the poetic theme are intertwined in the film "Man follows the sun." The boy's romantic desire to walk around the globe drives him to start on a journey. During his trip, he explores the world of adults. We hear the policeman’s sermonizing: “Today you follow the sun, tomorrow you will resell cinema movie tickets». However, the character doesn’t pay much attention to the silly words. He doesn’t give up and continues to follow his dream.

b) Adult Children

The main character of the movie "Man follows the sun" is a little boy who is getting older in front of the camera. This character perfectly realizes his ultimate goals. Traveling around the city, the child faces lots of life challengers. The character meets a lottery tickets seller, happy fathers near the maternity hospital, a girl with colorful balloons hurrying to, a motorcyclist performing a deadly stunt; a policeman who scolded the boy for being too independent, a girl watering sunflowers, and her boss, who ordered to rip out the flowers, a shoe polisher who lost his legs in the war; a boy who blows soap bubbles; people from funeral procession; goldfish in the city fountain. In one day, little Sandu (Nika Krimnus) gets acquainted with different aspects of life. By the way, the little Man successfully copes with different challenges. He shows wisdom in the conversation with the policeman, courage in the fight against the director of the park, and insistence in achieving his goal, which is to go around the globe and return home.

The young characters demonstrate independence not only during the traveling, but also in building their own House. In Marlen Khutsiev's film "Two Fyodors" (1958), little Fyodor (Kolya Chursin) helps the senior Fyodor (Vasily Shukshin) to rebuild their war-torn homes. Moreover, the child helps the man to recover and encourages him to live. The relationship between an adult and a little boy is not like a father-son relationship. Two Fyodors are equal, and they treat each other as brothers. The boy isn’t friendly with Natasha (Tamara Semina), who starts living in their home. The character feels like a small child who is not needed in the world of adults. The boy tries to take the same position as Natasha does. He decides to cut off the enemy's hair. However, this plan fails. The senior Fyodor scolds the boy for causing harm to other people. The missing child makes the adults change their attitude towards the child and create new tactics.

The main character of Georgy Danelia and Igor Talankin’s movie “Splendid Days” (1960) can be called a little rebel who does not agree with adults’ point of view. His mother treats him as a little child. However, the 5-year-old boy sees and understands everything. Korostylev (Sergey Bondarchuk), the boy’s foster father, treats Seryozha as an independent person with whom one can seriously discuss plans for the future and share serious thoughts.

The little boy runs after two teenagers who do not pay attention to him. The child shouts to them: “You know what? I have a heart.” Seryozha (Boris Barkhatov) demonstrates his position as he realizes his right to be treated by adults as equals. The world of adults in the film is presented through the eyes of the child. Thus, the audience gets the subjective image of the world, big trees, and tall people. The close-up of the 5-year-old boy’s face is replaced by the long shot of the endless field, where Seryozha is only a small lonely figure.

It seems that the sky touches the ground in Danelia’s movie. However, the sky is not so close; Seryozha has to stand on his toes to reach the sky. The little boy wants to become an adult. He proposes a toast during family dinner, climbs to the roof with the older children, and asks Lukyanych for a file to make an airplane. He criticizes Uncle Petya and says to him: "Uncle Petya, are you a fool?"

Seryozha feels like an adult; his behavior and thoughts show him as a strong personality. Korostylev encourages the boy to express himself. Discussing plans for the future, problems of education Korostylev always takes into account Seryozha's ideas. By buying a bicycle, Korostylev helps the boy to get respect from his peers.

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The whole movie is centered on the life of Seryozha. The main character looks at the collective farm from the top of the belfry, listens to the thoughts of adults about the future, and dreams of traveling by train.

In Danelia's film, an image of childhood is represented by a group of dreamers who seek adults' advice but become disappointed in old-fashioned value systems. Children don't have the right to speak their minds, as the parents have already created a "right" plan for children's future. Children are not treated seriously by adults. Seryozha asks people different questions but does not receive answers. Seryozha's mother (Irina Skobtseva) says: "Children mustn't criticize adults; they must respect them." The conservative society states that children should respect adults' actions, even if they are wrong. The young character of the Thaw fights for his right to be heard.

Seryozha is more impressed by seashell resonance than by Uncle Kostya's story about the long voyages. The tattoos on the body of the captain of the deep voyage make a greater impression on the children. The young characters wrongly take the tattoos as a symbol of freedom and adulthood. The children are ready to accept these improper values.

The Thaw period influenced reality. Everything in the world for children turned upside down and seemed so much better. Thus, in the very first episode of "Man Follows the Sun" we see the world upside down through the eyes of the main character. In this world happiness can be won in the lottery, children can be bribed with ice cream. The police amount the traveling to the sun to an administrative violation. However, the young characters continue on their way. They keep dreaming of reaching the sea and sky.

III. New Voice

a) Unlived childhood

Tatyana Lukashevich's movie "The Founding" (1939) tells a story about a girl walking around the city. Walking around the city on your own is not the main sign of adulthood. However, wandering around the city becomes an exciting adventure for 5-year-old Natasha (Veronika Lebedeva). She faces the adult world, where everyone wants to "take care" of the lost girl. The city was completely different before the war. It was bright, kind, and friendly. The children had parents; the parents had children.

The hairdresser in the movie "Man follows the Sun" says: "Now it makes no sense to remember what was before the war." Before the war, there were different football matches, the shoe shiner had legs, everyone had a childhood. The cinema of the Thaw presents a new image of war and the children of war.

The young character with the war-torn childhood is another theme of the Thaw cinema. In Andrei Tarkovsky's film "Ivan's Childhood" (1962), the childhood of 12-year-old Ivan Bondarev (Nikolai Burlyaev) is shown as an episode of dreams. The main character had to grow up early because he lost his mother and sister. The boy gets rid of childish naivety and infantilism. His actions are motivated by his hatred for the Nazis and the desire to avenge them. This builds the character of the young secret agent.

Little Ivan enjoys the sunlight, watches a flying white butterfly, laughs, but then we hear tense music, the light of the sun is replaced by a shadow, mother's smile dissolves. At this moment, the camera rapidly moves from the picture of the sky to the ground. Ivan wakes up. The plot of "Ivan's Childhood" is based on the previously mentioned archetypes of road and home. The road represents a path of the young characters, and the concept of home shows their ultimate goal. The half-ruined house shown in the last episode becomes the place where Ivan's memories of unlived childhood come to life. "I am my own master," Ivan says to adults who try to control his life. The moral teachings of adults push him to action. The young character is ready to break the ban and fight an enemy. So, he tries to prove his right to fight on an equal basis with adults. Andrei Tarkovsky shows the destructive war that disrupts the natural order of things.

Sergei Bondarchuk's film "Fate of a Man" also depicts a man whose life was destroyed by the war. However, the meeting of Andrei Sokolov (Sergei Bondarchuk) with Vanyushka (Pavel Polunin) becomes a sign of hope for a new life. The child who lost his family during the war starts to believe that childhood will return to him. "After all, one must live, one must somehow," Sokolov tells his son.

In Tarkovsky's movies, all positive images vanish as the war starts. The film begins with an idyllic picture of a forest lit by the sun. We see Ivan looking mischievously straight in the camera. The war will change him.

b) The slogan of freedom

The young characters go outside their houses, go up to roofs. These can be considered the start of freedom. In the film "Welcome or No Trespassing" (1964), Elem Klimov gives the young character the ability to fly.

Comrade Dynin (Yevgeniy Yevstigneyev), the head of the Pioneer Camp, represents remnants of Stalinism. He tries to protect children and camp counselors from the pernicious aspect of the Thaw movement. He believes that Kostya Inochkin (Vitya Kosykh) is a notorious criminal who violates the camp's rules and deserves punishment.

However, the expulsion of Inochkin from the camp makes him a hero in the eyes of the other children. It turns out that the children, the camp counselors, and even the state farmworkers were against the rules imposed by the head. The rehearsal of

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the open day depicts a criticism of post-Stalinist society. The counselors try on old costumes. There are raggedy uncomfortable costumes of "corn - queen of fields" among them. Dynin suppresses the camp counselors and children's dissatisfaction with the program of competitions. The head of the camp doesn't consider the fact that children pronounce the phrase "We are cheerful" with a sad look on their faces. There is only one way to get rid of the system, which is to organize their holiday. The event organized by the children and the camp counselors is highly appreciated by the parents who also want changes.

In the camp of the Thaw, there is no place for restrictions. Now children can swim out alone instead of swimming in the specially designated swimming area, supervised by staff. The grotesque image of Inochkin's flight from the camp to the island becomes a powerful sign for everyone who dreamt of violating the imposed rules. The camera follows Inochkin flying in the sky. We see a panoramic view of the seashore, the children, their parents, and all the camp staff swimming in the sea. Only Dynin is unhappy. He leaves the camp by the old truck.

Flight is the image of freedom in the cinema of the Thaw. Albert Lamoris's film "The Red Balloon" and Andrei Konchalovsky's movie "The Boy and the Dove" are about the young characters' dreams of flying. "Welcome, or No Trespassing" by Elem Klimov explores the characters' dreams of the sea, a long journey, and the sky. In the late 1960s, children get the freedom of action. This causes parenting problems. Freedom gradually turns into permissiveness.

c) Sentimental Education

The analysis of generational conflict helped to look at the parenting issue from another perspective. A new cinema movement, the main image of school, was formed at the end of the 1960s. It continued to flourish during the period of Stagnation. Education ideas proposed in the cinema of the 1970s destroyed Soviet educational principles.

In Stanislav Rostotsky's film "We'll Live Till Monday" (1968), there is no place for formal rules and instructions that Dynin loved so much. The movie focuses on the relationship between teachers and students. All old principles are left in the past. The teacher asks the students to reflect on the theme of love and to write an essay about their understanding of happiness.

Gennadi Poloka's "The Republic of ShKID" tells the story of homeless children. The director brings up the theme of education. Both children and adults try to organize an equal dialogue to solve the educational problem. Relationships between children and adults, based on common views and values, lead to the unwillingness of the youth to recognize the authority of adults. This conflict will serve as a basis for such films as "Practical Joke" (1977) by Vladimir Menshov, "Other People's Letters" (1976) by Ilya Averbakh, and "Dear Yelena Sergeyevna" (1988) by Eldar Ryazanov.

IV. Conclusion

The young hero is one of the main archetypes of the Thaw cinema. This concept is deeply connected with archetypes of Home and Road. The theme of growing up and developing the character is highly important in the films of the Thaw period. The same topic was brought up in the Soviet children films.

The poetic image of a child is a characteristic feature of the cinema of the Thaw. Movies of that time depict a strong image of a young character whose world is shown through his dreams about flying, traveling, reaching the sea and sky. The movies of the Thaw period show the conflict between generations, explore the theme of escapism from reality, unlived childhood, torn by the war. The new reality brings to the screen the image of the existent hero. It's a little man who is trying to find his place in the world.

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The short from the film “The Boy and the Dove” (1961) by Andrei Konchalovsky.

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Films

1. The 400 Blows,1959
Feature sound film
Running time: 99 min
Color: Black and white
Director: Francois Truffaut
Screenwriter: Marcel Moussy, Francois Truffaut
DOP: Henri Decae
Music by: Jean Constantin
Cast overview: Jean-Pierre Leaud as Antoine Doinel, Claire Maurier as Antoine's mother

2. Two Fyodors.1958
Feature sound film
Running time:83 min
Color: Black and white
Director: Marlen Khutsiev
Screenwriter: Valeri Savchenko
DOP: Peter Todorovsky
Music by: Yuliy Meitus
Cast overview: Vasiliy Shukshin as senior Fyodor, Nikolai Chursin as little Fyodor, Tamara Syomina as Natasha.

3. Welcome, or No Trespassing.1964
Feature sound film
Running time: 74 min
Color: Black and white
Director: Elem Klimov
Screenwriter: Semyon Lungin, Ilya Nusinov
DOP: Anatoly Kuznetsov, Mikhail Koroptsov
Music by: Mikael Tariverdiev, Igor Yakushenko
Cast overview: Evgeniy Evstigneev as comrade Dynin, Vitya Kosykh as Kostya Inochkin.

4. Ilyich's Gate. 1964
Feature sound film
Running time: 190 min

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Color: Black and white
Director: Marlen Khutsiev.
Screenwriter: Marlen Khutsiev,Gennady Shpalikov
DOP: Margarita Pilikhina
Music by: Nikolay Sidelnikov
Cast overview: Valentin Popov as Sergey Zhuravlyov, Aleksandr Mayorov - Sergey's father

5. Ivan's Childhood. 1962
Feature sound film
Running time: 96 min
Color: Black and white
Director: Andrei Tarkovsky
Screenwriter: Vladimir Bogomolov, Mikhail Papava
DOP: Vadim Yusov
Music by: Vyacheslav Ovchinnikov
Cast overview: Nikolai Burlyayev as Ivan Bondarev
Valentin Zubkov as Captain Kholin

6. The Steamroller and the Violin.1960
Feature sound movie
Short film
Running time: 46 min
Color: Color
Director: Andrei Tarkovsky
Screenwriter: Andrei Konchalovsky and Andrei Tarkovsky
DOP: Vadim Yusov
Music by: Vyacheslav Ovchinnikov
Cast overview:Igor Fomchenko as Sasha,Vladimir Zamansky as Sergey

7. The Red Balloon
Feature sound movie
Short film
Running time:34 min
Color: Color
Director: Albert Lamorisse
Screenwriter: Albert Lamorisse
DOP: Edmond Sechan
Music by: Maurice Leroux
Cast overview: Pascal Lamorisse as the boy

8. The Boy and the Dove
Feature sound movie
Short film
Running time: 20 min
Color: Black and white
Director: Andrey Konchalovsky, Evgeny Ostashenko
Screenwriter: Andrey Konchalovsky
DOP: Mikhail Kozhin
Music by: Vyacheslav Ovchinnikov
Cast overview: Nikolay Burlyaev as the boy, Vladimir Shurupov as the pigeon owner

9. The Foundling.1939
Feature sound movie
Running time: 76 min
Color: Black and white
Director: Tatyana Lukashevich
Screenwriter: Rina Zelyonaya
Writer: Agniya Barto
DOP: Semyon Sheinin
Music by: Nikolay Kryukov
Cast overview: Veronika Lebedeva as Natasha, Faina Ranevskaya as Lyalya

10. Splendid Days. 1960
Feature sound movie
Running time: 80 min
Color: Black and white
Director: Georgiy Daneliya and Igor Talankin
Screenwriter: Georgiy Daneliya, Vera Panova
DOP: Anatoly Nitochkin
Music by: Boris Tchaikovsky
Cast overview: Borya Barkhatov as Seryozha, Sergey Bondarchuk as Korostelyov,Irina Skobtseva as Seryozha's mother

11. Man Follows the Sun.1962
Feature sound movie
Running time: 72 min
Color: Black and white
Director: Mikhail Kalik
Screenwriter: Valeriu Gajiu, Mikhail Kalik
DOP: Vadim Derbenev
Music by: Mikael Tariverdiev
Cast overview: Nika Krimnus as Sandu

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The Effects of Social Capital on Chinese Consumers' Online Impulse buying in Social Commerce Environment

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Abstract- The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of social capital including social interaction, shared language and trust on Chinese consumer online impulse buying in social commerce platforms. To verify the hypothesis, we surveyed the Chinese customers who have buying experiences of using social commerce by snowball sampling technique. After analyzing 548 valid data, we confirmed that three dimensions of social capital, social interaction, shared language and trust, positively affects both peer intrinsic motivation and peer extrinsic motivation. In addition, peer motivation exerts a positively impact on consumer impulse purchases on social commerce. The findings not only provide a new theoretical perspective for studying consumers' impulse buying behavior in theory, but also have important implications for the online sellers in their follower's groups to improve online marketing.

Keywords: consumer socialization theory, online impulse buying, peer motivation, social capital, social commerce.

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The Effects of Social Capital on Chinese Consumers' Online Impulse buying in Social Commerce Environment

Yue Huang [α] & Lu Suo [σ]

Abstract- **The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of social capital including social interaction, shared language and trust on Chinese consumer online impulse buying in social commerce platforms. To verify the hypothesis, we surveyed the Chinese customers who have buying experiences of using social commerce by snowball sampling technique. After analyzing 548 valid data, we confirmed that three dimensions of social capital, social interaction, shared language and trust, positively affects both peer intrinsic motivation and peer extrinsic motivation. In addition, peer motivation exerts a positively impact on consumer impulse purchases on social commerce. The findings not only provide a new theoretical perspective for studying consumers' impulse buying behavior in theory, but also have important implications for the online sellers in their follower's groups to improve online marketing.**

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I. Introduction

Social commerce is a new form of e-commerce formed with the development of technology. It emphasizes the use of social media tools and users' online social networks to promote the transaction of products (Zhang & Benyoucef, 2016). By participating in social commerce, consumers could obtain practical shopping advice (Liang et al., 2011), find the products they are interested in (Phang et al., 2013) and get discounts, etc. (Kim, 2012), so as to improve the possibility of shopping. There are two modes of social commerce (Zhang & Benyoucef, 2016). The first mode is the socialization of traditional e-commerce, which is mainly reflected in the business expansion and innovation of traditional e-commerce enterprises through social media. The second model is to integrate company features into established social media platforms. This mode primarily uses social network networks (SNS) to incorporate commercial features, and takes advantage of the size and stickiness of social media users to offer a variety of value-added services or create e-commerce-based business channels to promote ads and transactions. SNS could be divided into social networking sites (e.g., Facebook, My Space), user sharing platforms (e.g., YouTube, Flickr), user generated content platforms (e.g., Wikipedia), blogs and microblogs (e.g., Travel blogs, Twitter, Sina Weibo), instant messaging tools (such as WhatsApp, QQ, WeChat) and online communities (e.g., Trip Advisor, Golden Forum). Compared with traditional e-commerce, social commerce emphasizes the communication, interaction and sharing between consumers, pays more attention to user-generated content, and provides consumers with unprecedented consumption experience (Wang & Zhang, 2012). Currently, more and more users tend to share product information on social media and buy products recommended by friends and relatives on social media (Cheng et al., 2019).

Due to the rapid development of online shopping, online impulse buying behavior has become common and attracted the attention of scholars. The convenience of online shopping and richer environmental stimulation make online environment more likely to lead to consumers' impulse buying behavior. Impulse buying is the behavior of buying without planning or sufficient consideration after being stimulated (Ho and Lim, 2018). There are three main schools of research on impulse buying in academia at the moment. The first believes that impulse buying is caused by the individual characteristics of consumers (Verplanken & Herabadi, 2001). For example, people with impulsive personalities are more likely to make impulse purchases (Youn & Faber, 2000), while those who do not exhibit this trait are less likely to make impulse purchases when shopping. The second school holds that both motivation and resources may drive impulse buying (Beatty & Ferrell, 1998). Researchers have identified the effects of two motivations (hedonic and utilitarian) and subjective norms, and argue that impulse alone is often insufficient to trigger impulse buying (Iyer et al., 2019). Conversely, the availability of resources combined with a failure of self-control leads to impulse buying (Baumeister, 2002; Hoch & Loewenstein, 1991). The third school focuses on the role of environment or external drivers. It believes that impulse buying could be influenced by external drivers, so retailers would invest a lot of marketing means to stimulate impulse buying (Iyer et al., 2019). The research variables and objects of the third school are constantly being updated. Early offline impulse buying literature emphasized how market factors such as store or shelf location, attractive displays, and in-store promotions led

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to impulse buying (Mischel & Mischel, 1983; Mattila & Wirtz, 2001). The literature on impulse buying in the medium-term e-commerce context emphasizes the factors of shopping websites, such as website characteristics (Liu et al., 2013), website personalization (Floh & Madlberger, 2013) and other influences on online impulse buying. Recent literature on impulse buying in the context of social commerce emphasizes social factors, such as social support (Hu et al., 2019) and social comparison (Liu et al., 2019). However, because social commerce is still a relatively new field nowadays, more research is needed to explore the causes and mechanisms of impulse buying in the context of social commerce. An earlier study suggested that people buy impulsively to get social status symbols (Dittmar et al., 1996). Meanwhile, Luo (2005) investigated the influence of different social factors on consumers' impulse buying behavior and found that shopping with companions would increase impulse buying behavior, while shopping with family would reduce impulse buying behavior. In addition, Bapna and Umyarov (2015) conducted an experiment to test the influence of peers from online social networking sites on consumers' purchasing behavior, and the results showed that peers led to an increase of more than 60% in the likelihood of purchasing products. With the emergence of social commerce, the quasi-social shopping environment also has an impact on the impulsive buying behavior of online consumers (Xiang et al., 2016). Prior studies have shown that the interaction between consumers and their peers significantly influence impulse buying behavior (Kim & Srivastava, 2007). Social business platforms provide convenience for the interaction between consumers (Huang & Benyoucef, 2013). Chen et al. (2018) points out that the interaction between people in social commerce can strengthen the impact of social factors on consumers' impulse buying. It can be seen that in the context of social commerce, social factors may have a strong impact on consumers' impulse buying behavior.

However, we found that there are still some deficiencies in the existing research. First of all, most of the existing research about impulse buying on the social commerce adopted basic theories, such as SOR model theory, the theory of trust, use and satisfy theory, there are few theories related to social commerce situations, so there is a lack of contextual theoretical framework. Secondly, the previous research on impulse buying in the context of social commerce is based on the whole social commerce community, and there is hardly any research study on the influence of factors within the follower's group in the social commerce community. Therefore, based on the consumer socialization theory, this study explores the influence of social capital on impulse buying behavior within a follower's group, including the web celebrity seller and his/her followers. Specifically, this study aims to achieve the following objectives: (1) To identify the social factors within the follower's group in the social commerce community, that is, social capital; (2) To explore how social capital influences peer motivation and leads to impulse buying behavior; (3) To expand the theory of consumer socialization into the research field of impulse buying behavior.

The research process of this paper is arranged as follows. The second part is literature review, which is to provide the theoretical basis for the research framework of the paper; Then the conceptual framework and hypotheses are put forward. The fourth and fifth parts respectively present the research methodology, data analysis and hypothesis testing results. The last part gives discussion and conclusion, implication and limitations as well as suggestions for future research.

II. Literature Review

a) *Impulse buying*

Stern (1962) believes that impulse buying is an unplanned purchase method, and Rook (1987) indicates impulse buying is a sudden and strong desire to buy when consumers are stimulated. Although there are different definitions of impulse buying, it is basically recognized that impulse buying has three characteristics: First, it is unplanned, that is, consumers have no prior purchase plan. The second is impulse reaction, namely, consumers react impulsively when they are affected by external stimuli. This impulsive reaction will lead to the generation of new purchasing needs or the stimulation of future purchase needs in the form of heavy, rapid, or unintended impulses (Parboteeah et al., 2008; Stern, 1962). The third is emotional response. Consumers are often accompanied by strong emotional reactions in the process of impulsive purchases. These emotional reactions such as desire, excitement, and pleasure make them temporarily irrational and produce impulsive buying behavior.

Research on impulse buying could be roughly divided into three stages: offline stores, e-commerce and social commerce. The first phase (1962-2002) focuses on impulse buying in an offline store environment. The second stage (2003-2015) is impulse buying in the context of e-commerce. At this stage, website stimulation and consumer psychological factors are regarded as the key determinants of impulse buying. Compared with offline, e-commerce provides consumers with more impulse purchase opportunities, because e-commerce makes it easier for consumers to access diversified products and make transactions easier. Luo (2005) pointed out that the presence of other people would increase the probability of impulse buying. However, in an e-commerce environment, online consumers are more independent than offline ones, which in turn reduces the possibility of impulse purchases. Therefore, social commerce came into

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being. The third stage (2016-present) is impulse buying in the context of social commerce. Social media provides consumers with more interactive occasions, which could further stimulate impulse buying (Huang & Benyoucef, 2013; Grange & Sung, 2010). Consumers are quite concerned about the consumption patterns of other consumers (Berger & Schwartz, 2011; Hinz et al., 2011). Thus, social factors may play an important role in the quick and intuitive decision-making style, that is, the impulse buying model (Blazevic et al., 2013). In this research, we use the theory of consumer socialization to study the impulse buying behavior of consumers in the context of social commerce.

b) Consumer Socialization Theory

Consumer socialization theory points out that the communication between consumers will affect their cognition, attitude, emotion and behavior (Ward, 1974). Through socialization, consumers have learned skills, knowledge and attitudes related to consumption. Consumer socialization theory emphasizes the transfer of norms, attitudes, motivations and behaviors to recipients through external environments or socialized agents (Moschis & Moore, 1984; Shim, 1996). This view is often applied to explain the process of consumer socialization in adult groups, especially between non-family members (Taylor et al., 2011; Gregorio & Sung, 2010). Gregorio and Sun (2010) found that the attitudes and behaviors of adult consumers related to employment are always influenced by the circle of friends and acquaintances.

Consumer socialization is stimulated and promoted by social media. Firstly, social media, such as Weibo and WeChat, provide communication tools and make the socialization process simple and convenient (Muratore, 2008). For example, past studies have found that new members could easily integrate into the virtual community through network communication and quickly learn relevant knowledge and skills through interaction with other members (Ahuja & Galvin, 2003). Secondly, with the corresponding mobile applications of social media, it becomes more convenient for consumers to use social media. Therefore, more consumers begin to use social media (Lin & Lu, 2015). Finally, social media promotes the dissemination of information, because there are a large number of friends or companions in social media, who act as social agents and rapidly provide a large amount of product information and comments (Gershoff & Johar, 2006; Taylor et al., 2011). Lueg et al. (2006) found that more and more consumers use online communication with others and search for product-related information to help themselves make purchase decisions.

c) Social Agents: Peers

Peer could greatly influence the consumption attitudes of others (Churchill & Moschis, 1979; Mukhopadhyay & Yeung, 2010). Based on the relevant literature of consumer socialization theory, peers, as socialization agents, have a greater impact on consumers than family members (Moschis & Churchill, 1978; Shim, 1996). Previous studies have shown that peer communication significantly affects users' attitudes towards advertising in social media (Gregorio & Sung, 2010) and shopping orientation (Lueg et al., 2006; Mangleburg et al., 2004), consumer decision-making, etc. (Shim, 1996; Smith et al., 2005). For example, frequent communication with peers on shopping issues lead to stronger purchase motivation (Shim, 1996; Moschis & Moore, 1984). According to the theory of consumer socialization, this study holds that peers use social media to act as social agents, and the behavior of newcomers who are influenced by peers through communication is the result of the socialization process. The communication between peers is related to understanding consumption, such as brand preference, degree of participation, or purchase intention. Consumers' behaviors or attitudes are often the results of learning obtained through interactions with other people. Different from the traditional e-commerce model, there are many web celebrity sellers in social commerce, that is, sellers with a large number of followers. After consumers become followers of the web celebrity sellers, they could use the social media platform of the web celebrity sellers to communicate with other followers as well as web celebrity sellers themselves on the Internet or in the follower's group. This means that consumers' impulse purchase desires may be stimulated by other consumers in the same follower's base. Consumers are paying more and more attention to the buying behavior of peer consumers (Berger & Schwartz, 2011; Hinz, et al., 2011). Consumers are more inclined to interact with consumers of the same age, which has a great effect on their willingness to buy (Churchill & Moschis, 1979; Mukhopadhyay & Yeung, 2010). Blazevic et al. (2013) also proposed that even without verbal communication, other consumers could influence the individual's decision-making process in some cases of non-verbal communication, which means that consumers will be affected to imitate other people's behavior without direct verbal communication with other consumers. Wang et al. (2012) also mentioned that peer communication is positively correlated with consumers' purchasing behavior. Social media provides consumers with a new channel through which product information could be obtained at a very low cost through interaction with peers (Kozinets, 1999). Therefore, the more information obtained from peers, the more interested consumers are in products or web celebrity sellers, and the more likely they are to have an impulse purchase desire.

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III. Hypothesis Development and Research Model

a) The influence of peer motivation

According to the motivation theory, there are mainly two kinds of motivation, namely extrinsic motivation and intrinsic motivation (Vallerand, 1997). These two incentives are key predictors of behavioral intention (Venkatesh, 2000). Hsu and Lin (2008) believe that for the users of blogs, perceived usefulness is extrinsic motivation, and perceived pleasure is intrinsic motivation. Previous research has also identified perceived usefulness and perceived pleasure as antecedents of impulse buying (Parboteeah et al., 2009; Xiang et al., 2016; Xu et al., 2020). Kong et al. (2012) examined the effects of peer intrinsic motivation and peer extrinsic motivation on consumers' buying impulse in social commerce and concluded that social commerce could provide both internal and extrinsic incentives to peers. Lee et al. (2005) mentioned that extrinsic motivation refers to some external things, such as bonus or external honor, that urge an individual to complete the behavior, while intrinsic motivation is to do it for the behavior itself. In this case, the behavior itself is interesting and satisfying. Therefore, in this study, the perceived pleasure of other members in the follower's group when buying at the web celebrity seller's store is the intrinsic motivation of peers, and the knowledge that other members of the follower's group have obtained specific rewards through the purchase behavior is the extrinsic motivation of peers.

Intrinsic motivation refers to the pleasure and satisfaction perceived from behavior (Vallerand, 1997). One disadvantage of online shopping is the lack of entertainment and social interaction (Liebowitz, 2002). In the context of social commerce, consumers interact frequently with others. From the perspective of intrinsic motivation, behavior is stimulated by feelings of happiness, joy, and fun. A previous research shows that computer gameplay is the intrinsic motivation that causes individuals to use the computer behavior intention (Venkatesh, 2000). Shang et al. (2005) also confirmed that perceived entertainment is the intrinsic motivation for online shopping. Lee. et al. (2005) defined that the intrinsic motivation based on emotions such as happiness plays a vital role in the user's behavior. Teo et al. (1999) also proposed that perceived pleasure is an intrinsic motivation. Parboteah et al. (2009) pointed out that perceived pleasure plays an important role in impulse buying. If a consumer finds that it is a pleasure to buy something from a web celebrity seller's store, he/she will be driven by internal incentives and enjoy this buying behavior. If consumers know that their companions get a sense of pleasure from shopping in the web celebrity seller's store, they will also desire to have this feeling, which will generate the urge to shop. Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

H1: Peer intrinsic motivation is positively correlated with impulse buying desire.

In the context of social commerce, web celebrity sellers often hold some activities to stimulate consumer participation and purchase. For example, they organize a lottery before each new product is released, and consumers could get a certain discount if they win, or their store adopts membership system, the higher the membership level, the greater the discount, and consumers also enjoy other store benefits. Followers could participate in these activities and observe the participation of the peers. Extrinsic incentives often rely on a reasonable calculation of value and benefit (Lee et al., 2005). From the perspective of extrinsic motivation, behavior is driven by perceived rewards or consequences, such as money, power, gifts, or recognition (Kong et al., 2012). Previous studies have also shown that bonuses and discounts are quite important marketing stimulus factors for impulse buying (Park et al., 2012; Beatty & Ferrell, 1998; Chan et al., 2017). When the peers are observed to participate in the activity and get rewards from it, the consumers themselves would like to join and get the corresponding rewards. Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

H2: Peer extrinsic motivation is positively correlated with impulsive buying desire.

b) The influence of social capital

The capital contained in the institutional system is referred to as social capital (Liu et al., 2013). Social capital, according to Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), is a holistic system for interpreting knowledge exchange in an organization. They pointed out that when (1) there is a structural connection between individuals (structural capital); (2) the individual has the cognitive ability to understand and apply knowledge (cognitive capital); and (3) the relationship between individuals has a strong positive to the characteristics (relational capital), it is conducive to the combination and exchange of information. The combination and sharing of information between people within the system is what each type of social capital is made up of. Wasko and Faraj (2005) further defined three key dimensions of social capital: structural, relational, and cognitive. Specifically, network linkages, network design, and appropriable organization are all part of the structural dimension. Common codes and language, as well as shared narratives, are all part of the cognitive dimension. Trust, norms, duties, and identity are all part of the relational dimension. The model of Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) focuses on social capital at the group level, while the model of Wasko and Faraj (2005) focuses on social capital at the individual level. The findings of these two studies show that social capital has two aspects: (1) it represents the relational essence and consistency of the relationship at the community level, and (2) it facilitates consumer behavior that represent their access to resources at the

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individual level (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995). The fundamental idea behind social capital theory is that network ties enable people to gain access to resources (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Therefore, social capital is an asset that could be mobilized through the network. This research focuses on such a unique online follower's group in the social commerce community, which includes the web celebrity seller and his/her followers. In such a unique group, social capital provides a way for consumers to obtain product-related information, so this study takes social capital as the antecedent variable of the model.

Structured capital refers to the overall pattern of connections between individuals (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Based on previous studies that social interaction is the embodied construct of structural capital, this paper regards social interaction as structural capital (Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998; Chang & Chuang 2011; Sun et al., 2012; Huang et al., 2015). Social interaction not only connects individuals, but also provides them with access to information and resources (Chiu et al., 2006). Coleman (1988) mentioned that information is vital for decision-making, but the cost of collecting information is high. Social interactions are essential to the diffusion of information, forming information channels that reduce the effort and time required to collect information (Chang & Chuang, 2011). Web celebrity sellers interact with followers and forward consumers' photos or content posted by other followers on social media, so that people who follow web celebrity sellers could see their peers' attitudes toward products and sellers without extra effort. From the perspective of consumer socialization, peers are regarded as important transmitters of attitudes and behaviors. Through this transmission, peers will adjust the behavior of others (Moschis & Churchill, 1978). When an individual consumer perceives the positive influence of his peers in social media, he/she will be motivated by his peers. Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

H3: Social interaction is positively correlated with peer intrinsic motivation.

Since social interaction constitutes the information channel, consumers could obtain much information about their companions only by following a web celebrity seller (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Members who engage in more social interactions are more likely to share information with their peers. Consumers like to compare with peers online (Wu & Lee, 2008). When peers are rewarded for purchasing from web celebrity sellers, for example, when they become members and receive discounts, customers will be encouraged and wish to join through shopping to enjoy discounts. Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

H4: Social interaction is positively correlated with peer extrinsic motivation.

Cognitive capital emphasizes the consensus between groups (Sun et al., 2012). Shared language is a concrete construct of cognitive capital (Huang et al., 2015). It represents the general terms, codes and narrative methods used throughout the interaction process (Chiu et al., 2006). Shared language enhances the ability of consumers to perform their duties as group members (Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). Shared language is essential for online communities because it promotes community members to understand each other and build a common language in their communities. People with a shared language are more likely to have similar values or visions, and better understand each other (Chiu. et al., 2006). In the context of social commerce, shared language allows consumers to easily and clearly receive the information that the web celebrity seller passes to him. When a customer sees that other followers of the web celebrity seller are glad to buy some product from the seller, they will believe that they may also get a similar sense of pleasure from the seller's store. Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

H5: Shared language is positively correlated with peer intrinsic motivation.

Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) pointed out that shared language promotes the ability of individuals to contact people and information. It helps to avoid potential misunderstandings in the interaction and enables consumers to obtain information more effectively (Sun et al., 2012). In a social commerce environment, shared language is able to promote more effective mutual understanding between followers and sellers. As a result, consumers who share same language with others can acquire more useful information from web celebrity sellers and other consumers. Consumers are driven by peer extrinsic motivation, which is defined as "understanding that community members achieve certain goals and incentives through purchasing behavior" (Kong et al., 2012). Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

H6: Shared language is positively correlated with peer extrinsic motivation.

Relational capital refers to the interpersonal relationships formed between sellers and followers as well as between followers and followers in the process of interaction. Trust is the embodied construct of relational capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Trust is also a significant aspect in the social commerce environment (Gefen.&.Straub, 2004). Trust is crucial in the interaction between buyers and sellers (Doney & Cannon, 1997). When customers have to rely on the information given by the seller to make a purchase choice, they are concerned about the seller's credibility and more likely to feel anxious (Kelly & Noonan, 2008).

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Trust allows followers to communicate with sellers and other followers without anxiety and worry. Followers may connect with web celebrity sellers with confidence if they have built a relationship of trust with them. They are more likely to get involved in and feel the emotions of other individuals while interacting with web celebrity sellers and other follower members. Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

H7: Trust is positively correlated with peer intrinsic motivation.

The influence of trust on peer extrinsic motivation can be supported by the link between affective bond and utility value (Hassanein & Head, 2007). When consumers do not trust a web celebrity seller, they may think that interaction with that seller is ineffective or even harmful. They will believe that the buying experience of other consumers forwarded by web celebrity sellers is fake, and that other consumers have not gotten rewards or benefits. When consumers trust web celebrity sellers, they will be more willing to believe the information released by web celebrity sellers, so they will receive more extrinsic incentives from peers. Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

H8: Trust is positively correlated with peer extrinsic motivation.

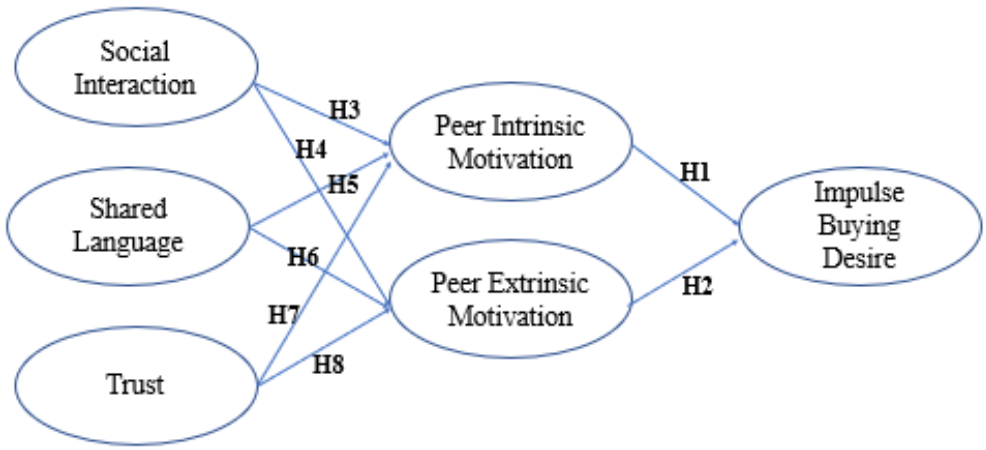

Figure 1: Research Model

IV. Methodology

a) Sample size and Data Collection

The population in this study was Chinese WeChat and Sina Weibo users who already had online buying experience through social commerce sites. Both Sina Weibo and WeChat are popular social commerce platforms in China. The number of daily active users on Sina Weibo had risen to 225 million by the end of 2020 (Statista, 2021a). Tencent's WeChat is an instant messaging application. WeChat had about 1.225 billion monthly active users at the end of 2020 (Statista, 2021b). Both online and offline retailers have built Weibo and WeChat accounts to publish information about their products in order to achieve such a huge user base. A lot of web celebrity sellers like to become friends with their followers on WeChat in order to provide timely updates about their goods to their followers. This helps to facilitate better contact with followers. Therefore, it is appropriate to choose users of Weibo and WeChat who already had online buying experience through social commerce site as research population.

Following a 30-person pilot test, a self-administered survey was performed online using the snowball sampling technique to collect the data. The sample size was determined using Cochran's formula with a 95% confidence level and a 5% error rate, respectively (Cochran, 1977). After calculating, the sample size was found to be 385. There were 609 questionnaires returned. 548 of these were considered available after deleting all replies with invalid answers (e.g., giving the same answers to all questions) and data cleaning.

b) Questionnaire Design and Measurement

All the measurement items used in this study are adopted from previous research studies and have been validated (Table 1). The questionnaire consisted of f three parts. The first part set screening questions, such as asking respondents whether they follow a web celebrity seller on Weibo or add a web celebrity seller as a friend on WeChat. If the respondent chooses "No", the questionnaire will be finished. If the respondent chooses "Yes", then he/she is required to fill in a Sina Weibo or WeChat account name of his/her favorite web celebrity seller. The second part contains all the test items of constructs in the conceptual framework. All items in this part are based on the five-point Likert Scale (1 ="Strongly disagree", 5 = "Strongly agree"). The third part is about the demographic information of the

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respondents, such as gender, age, the time and frequency of using Weibo or WeChat shopping, and their Weibo WeChat account, etc.

c) *Data Analysis Methods*

The data was evaluated using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) with AMOS 23.0 software to test the hypotheses. This approach will look at the impact of several variables in a dynamic model at the same time (Hair et al., 2013). Since the SEM approach applies multivariate regression to the model in a comprehensive way, it is considered more suitable to evaluate the multi-level conceptual framework (Urbach & Ahlemann, 2010).

Table 1: Source of Measurement Item in Questionnaire

Constructs	Measurement Items	Source
Social Interaction (SI)	There is a close relationship between the web celebrity seller and the followers.	Chiu et al. (2006)
	There is often interaction between the web celebrity seller and the followers.	
	There are frequent exchanges between the web celebrity seller and the followers.	
	A personal relationship is established between the web celebrity seller and the followers.	
Shared Language (SL)	Both the web celebrity seller and the followers use similar language and wording.	Chiu et al. (2006)
	The communication methods used by the web celebrity seller and the followers could be understood by each other.	
	The web celebrity seller and the followers use an easy-to-understand way to send messages.	
Trust (TR)	Followers believe that web celebrity sellers keep their promises and commitments.	Pengnate & Sarathy (2017)
	Followers believe that web celebrity sellers keep customers' best interests in mind.	
	Followers believe that web celebrity sellers are trustworthy.	
	Followers think that the web celebrity sellers will not do anything to take advantage of their followers.	
Peer Intrinsic Motivation (PIM)	I am strongly motivated by knowing other followers find the enjoyable shopping experience.	Kong et al. (2012)
	I am strongly motivated by knowing other followers find the exciting shopping experience.	
	I am strongly motivated by knowing other followers find the joyful shopping experience.	
	I am strongly motivated by knowing other followers find the interesting shopping experience.	
Peer Extrinsic Motivation (PEM)	I am strongly motivated by knowing some followers could enjoy a lot of benefits when they become members	Kong et al. (2012)
	I am strongly motivated by knowing some followers are loved by a lot of people	
	I am strongly motivated by knowing some followers have been given gifts that are hard to get	
	I am strongly motivated by knowing some followers have been given free gifts.	
Impulsive Buying Desire (IBD)	My purchase was unplanned.	Verhagen & van Dolen (2011)
	Before visiting the site, I did not have the intention to do the purchase.	
	I did not intend to do the purchase before a shopping trip.	
	My purchase was spontaneous.	

V. Data Analysis and Results

a) *Descriptive Statistics Analysis*

As Table 2 shows, a majority of the respondents was females. This is most likely due to the fact that generally women more tend to be inspired by peers to buy impulsively than men. The majority of the respondents is relatively young (under 25 years old) with bachelor's degree or above and has low levels of income. Additionally, we found that more than 90% of respondents used WeChat/Weibo to shop for more than 2 years, and nearly 70% of respondents spent more than 2 hours on Weibo/WeChat every day.

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Table 2: Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Demographics Characteristics		Frequency	% (n=548)
Gender	Male	159	29.01%
	Female	389	70.99%
Age (years old)	Under 20	205	37.41%
	21-25	257	46.90%
	26-30	36	6.57%
	31-35	22	4.01%
	36-40	13	2.37%
	41-45	9	1.64%
	Above 46	6	1.09%
Education Level	High school or less	68	12.41%
	Diploma	134	24.45%
	Bachelor's Degree	295	53.83%
	Master's Degree	48	8.76%
	Doctoral Degree	3	0.55%
Monthly Income	＜1000 RMB	243	44.34%
	1001-2000 RMB	164	29.93%
	2001-5000 RMB	88	16.06%
	5001-8000 RMB	39	7.12%
	＞8001 RMB	14	2.55%
Online shopping experience via social commerce platform	＜2 Years	49	8.94%
	3-5 Years	211	38.50%
	6-9 Years	253	46.17%
	＞10 Years	35	6.39%
Daily hours spend on WeChat/Weibo	＜ 0.5	28	5.11%
	0.5-1	21	3.83%
	1-1.5	45	8.21%
	1.5-2	72	13.14%
	2-2.5	135	24.64%
	2.5-3	104	18.98%
	＞ 3	143	26.09%

b) Reliability and Validity

The Cronbach's alpha for each build was greater than 0.7, indicating that our survey instrument has a high level of reliability (Nunnally,1978). Construct validity was measured by utilizing convergent validity and discriminant validity. Fornell and Larcker (1981) hold the view that convergent validity should be analyzed using average variance extracted (AVE), composite reliability (CR), Cronbach's alpha, and factor loading values. The factor loading was higher than 0.7,

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demonstrating a great model fit. As per Table 3, all indicators met the standard, indicating that the measurement model in this study had good convergent validity. The square root of each construct's AVE is compared to the square correlations of the other constructs to determine discriminant validity. As seen in Table 4, the square root of each construct's AVE value is greater than its square correlation with every other construct, as a result, all the results suggest good discriminant validity (Hair et al., 2013).

Table 3: Results of Validity and Reliability Analysis

Factors	Indicators	Factor Loadings (>0.5)	AVE (>0.5)	CR (>0.7)	Cronbach's Alpha (>0.7)
Social Interaction (SI)	SI1	0.831	0.726	0.912	0.872
	SI2	0.874			
	SI3	0.886			
	SI4	0.815			
Shared Language (SL)	SL1	0.801	0.716	0.841	0.835
	SL2	0.875			
	SL3	0.832			
Trust (TR)	TR1	0.846	0.703	0.897	0.841
	TR2	0.855			
	TR3	0.847			
	TR4	0.816			
Peer Intrinsic Motivation (PIM)	PIM1	0.867	0.781	0.946	0.915
	PIM2	0.892			
	PIM3	0.913			
	PIM4	0.889			
Peer Extrinsic Motivation (PEM)	PEM1	0.759	0.694	0.893	0.862
	PEM2	0.786			
	PEM3	0.851			
	PEM4	0.858			
Impulsive Buying Desire (IBD)	IBD1	0.852	0.749	0.928	0.857
	IBD2	0.808			
	IBD3	0.854			
	IBD4	0.843			

Table 4: Discriminant Validity of Scale Test

Constructs	SI	SL	TR	PIM	PEM	IBD
SI	**0.861**					
SL	0.512	**0.845**				
TR	0.469	0.369	**0.826**			
PIM	0.498	0.458	0.459	**0.887**		
PEM	0.339	0.357	0.361	0.532	**0.795**	
IBD	0.446	0.384	0.359	0.549	0.513	**0.843**

c) Assessment of the Structural Model

The model is considered suitable if its implicit covariance structure matches the sample data, as indicated by a reasonable value of the goodness of fit index (GFI) (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). Following the two-step rule proposed by Bollen (1989), after verifying and evaluating the measurement model, we continue to analyze and fit the structural model. Table 5 shows that all of the indexes meet their threshold values, indicating that the model is well-fitting. Hence, the structural equation model in this research is acceptable.

Table 5: Fit Indices of Measurement and structural models

Fit indices	$\chi 2$ /df	GFI	AGFI	CFI	NFI	RMSEA
Recommended Values	<3	>0.9	>0.8	>0.9	>0.9	<0.05
Measurement Model	1.956	0.938	0.847	0.942	0.913	0.046
Structural Model	1.931	0.935	0.849	0.943	0.914	0.042

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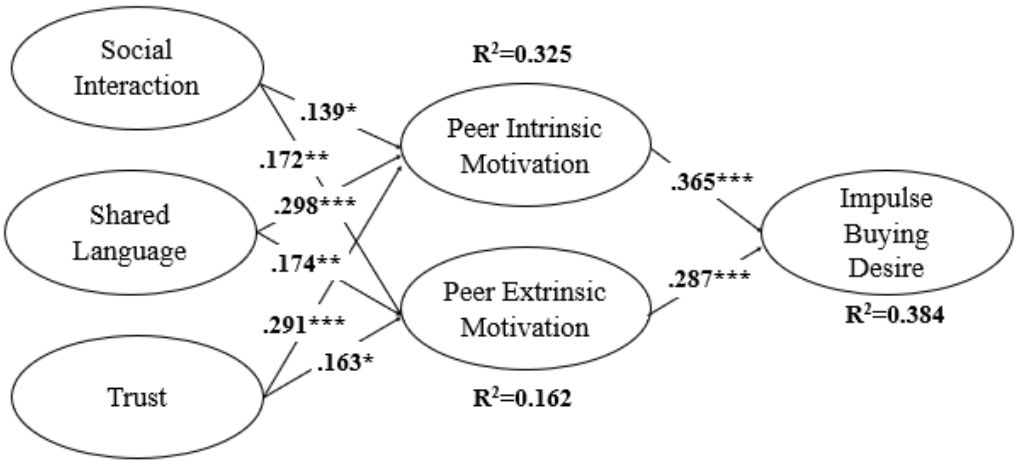
d) Hypothesis Testing Result

The hypotheses were tested as described in Figure 2 and the result of hypothesis testing are shown in Table 6. From Figure 2, concerning H1 and H2, both peer intrinsic motivation (β=0.365, p <0.001) and peer extrinsic motivation (β=0.287, p <0.001) has a significant positive effect on consumers' impulsive buying desire. Therefore, H1 and H2 are fully supported. Additionally, supporting H3 and H4, Social interaction was found have significant positive effect on both peer intrinsic motivation (β=0.139, p <0.05) and peer extrinsic motivation (β=0.172, p <0.01). With regard to H5 and H6, we found that shared language is significant positively correlated with both peer intrinsic motivation (β=0.298, p<0.001) and peer extrinsic motivation (β=0.174, p<0.01), supporting H5 and H6. Similarly, trust was also found to generate a significant positively effect on both peer intrinsic motivation (β=0.291, p<0.001) and peer extrinsic motivation (β=0.163, p<0.05), which means H7 and H8 are supported. Furthermore, the model successfully accounted for an amount of variability in impulsive buying desire with an R-squared value of 38.4 %, peer intrinsic motivation with an R-squared value of 32.5% and peer extrinsic motivation of 16.2%.



*Note: *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001*

Figure 2: Results of the Research Model Tests

Table 6: Result of Hypothesis Test

Hypothesis	Path	Path Coefficient (β)	Results
H1	PIM→IBD	.365***	Supported
H2	PEM→IBD	.287***	Supported
H3	SI→PIM	.139*	Supported
H4	SI→PEM	.172**	Supported
H5	SL→PIM	.298***	Supported
H6	SL→PEM	.174**	Supported
H7	TR→PIM	.291***	Supported
H8	TR→PEM	.163*	Supported

*Note: *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001*

VI. Discussion and Conclusions

a) Conclusions

The current research is one of the first studies to exam the potential mechanism through which social capital impacts online impulse buying under social commerce scenarios. More specifically, this study confirmed the three dimensions of social capital including social interaction, shared language and trust positively affect peer motivation (peer intrinsic motivation and peer extrinsic motivation). The results of this research accords with the results of prior studies (e.g. Kong et al., 2012; Gefen.&.Straub, 2004; Hassanein & Head, 2007), which suggested that social capital, such as common language and trust, is an important factor impact peer motivation. Moreover, the findings also revealed the peer motivation positively influence consumer online impulse buying behavior within follower's group. The results indicate that when web celebrity sellers tend to stimulate sales of their products, they could attract enough people to follow them by running their own social media accounts. When they have enough followers on social media, a huge follower group is formed. Within the follower group, the web

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celebrity seller may communicate with his/her fans about the product and other interesting issues. Sellers could hold some activities to encourage followers to buy more products, which makes consumers in the social commerce community more active and communicates with others more frequently. When followers are able to get rewards from web celebrity sellers because they communicate frequently in the follower's group or spend more in the shop, it may inspire others, leading to their desire to buy impulsively.

b) Implications

This study has two theoretical implications. First, in the context of social commerce, this research explores the influence of social factors, especially social capital, on impulse buying behavior. Consumer impulse buying behavior in social commerce communities is still a relatively new research topic, and the theoretical understanding of this topic in the field of information systems is still evolving (Zhang & Benyoucef, 2016). Previous studies on consumers' impulse buying behavior in social commerce have mainly revealed perceptual individuation (Setyani et al., 2019), social support (Hu et al., 2019), and recommender signal (Chen et al., 2019) on consumers' impulse buying behavior. Huang (2016) proposed that social capital positively influence peer communication and thus affect consumers' impulse buying behavior. However, in his study, social capital is simply defined as strong relational capital and weak relational capital. This study notes that social capital is the relationship resource in social commerce, which contains complex capital and cannot be simply considered as strong or weak relationship. Secondly, this research studies online impulse buying based on the theoretical framework of consumer socialization, which is different from the theories used in previous researches on impulse buying. Prior studies have often used the stimulus-organism-response (SOR) theory (Liu et al., 2013; Floh & Madlberger, 2013; Shen & Khalifa, 2012), flow theory (Hsu et al., 2012), and the cognitive emotion theory (Verhagen & Dolen, 2011). This research provides a new theoretical perspective for studying consumers' impulse buying behavior in theory. Based on the theory of consumer socialization, peers are regarded as social agents. By paying attention to a web celebrity seller and joining a follower's group, consumers could easily get in touch with peers' attitudes and experiences on products, and then be motivated by peers, resulting in a desire to buy impulsively.

The findings of this study also have practical implications for social commerce. First of all, the results show that social interaction could positively affect the peer motivation. Therefore, sellers should interact with their followers more frequently on social media. Consumers are able to reach retailers through interaction and then reach other followers. Consumers who obtain more peer shopping information are more likely to have impulse buying behavior. Additionally, it is found that shared language has a positive effect on peer motivation. This means that there should be a special mode of communication between sellers and followers, and this mode of communication should be applied to the follower's group. For example, sellers would name themselves and their followers after intimate words, and a special nickname could be given to their products as well. Finally, the results concluded that followers were more likely to make impulse buying decision if they trusted the seller. Based on this, sellers should pay attention to their commitments on social media to maintain their integrity. If a merchant releases a larger number of new products at once, for example, he/she should make sure that consumers who buy the product could receive the product as soon as possible and the product quality should be guaranteed as well.

c) Limitations and Future Research Directions

There are a few limitations in this study. First, the sample of this study are all Chinese users of social commerce. This is because the fierce competition is representative in the social commerce market in China. Future studies could test the model of this study in other regions and countries, and also could consider the moderating effect of cultural differences. Furthermore, this study focuses on the social commerce in Sina Weibo and WeChat. There are also some other social commerce platforms in China, such as Litter Redbook, Douban, Douyin and Taobao, etc. In addition, some new business forms have emerged currently, such as the popular live streaming. As a new business form with unique features, the model in this study may not be suitable for situations like live streaming. Future research could further explore the antecedents and mechanisms of consumers' online impulse shopping in the context of live streaming. Finally, based on the theory of consumer socialization, the impulse buying behavior of the follower group of social business are studied, but consumer impulse buying is a quite complicated process, this study only explored the influence of follower intra-group interactions, while future studies may also explore more group factors, such as group cohesion.

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An Approximation of Argentina, Brazil and Chile's Tensions before the ABC Pact, 1902-1915

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Summary- In recent decades of the 21st century, studies were recurrent in Latin America to address issues related to the formation of political and economic units, in other words, of subregional integration. Possibly as a result of the trade, strategic, economic and political conventions of MERCONORTE, MERCOSUR and UNASUR. This integrationist vision has given rise to numerous initiatives and projects, each with its own concerns, realities and contexts. The central purpose of this work is to show rapprochements, encounters, esttainments, unseatments and unseatments between Argentina, Brazil and Chile before the so-called ABC Pact of 1915.

Keywords: *Argentina, Brasil, Chile, panamericanismo.*

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An Approximation of Argentina, Brazil and Chile's Tensions before the ABC Pact, 1902-1915

Una Aproximación A Las Tensiones De Argentina, Brasil Y Chile Antes Del Pacto ABC, 1902-1915

William Alfonso Roa Barraza

Resumen- En las últimas décadas del siglo XXI se volvió recurrente en Latinoamérica realizar estudios que aborden temas referidos a la conformación de unidades políticas y económicas, en otras palabras, de integración subregional. Posiblemente como consecuencia de los convenios comerciales, estratégicos, económicos y políticos de MERCONORTE, MERCOSUR y UNASUR. Esta visión integracionista ha dado lugar a numerosas iniciativas y proyectos, cada uno de ellos con sus propias preocupaciones, realidades y contextos. El propósito central de este trabajo es mostrar acercamientos, encuentros, distanciamientos, desavenencias y desencuentros entre Argentina, Brasil y Chile antes del denominado Pacto de ABC de 1915.

Palabras claves: *Argentina, Brasil, Chile, panamericanismo.*

Summary- In recent decades of the 21st century, studies were recurrent in Latin America to address issues related to the formation of political and economic units, in other words, of subregional integration. Possibly as a result of the trade, strategic, economic and political conventions of MERCONORTE, MERCOSUR and UNASUR. This integrationist vision has given rise to numerous initiatives and projects, each with its own concerns, realities and contexts. The central purpose of this work is to show rapprochements, encounters, esttainments, unseatments and unseatments between Argentina, Brazil and Chile before the so-called ABC Pact of 1915.

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I. Introducción

Es necesario comentar a nuestros lectores, que para comprender y explicar las relaciones diplomáticas que se dieron en el período abordado Brasil tuvo un proceso independentista *sui génesis* debido a que desde el ámbito político se puede considerar este proceso como de continuidad y no de ruptura. Por lo contrario, en líneas generales, las poblaciones que fueron sometidas por la Corona española, en el caso que nos ocupa, Argentina, se enfrascó en un enfrentamiento violento en contra de España que duró varios años y trajo como consecuencia su emancipación y pugnas políticas en su espacio territorial. Distinta fue la situación que se presentó en Chile, debido a que luego de la separación con respecto al Imperio español tuvo una considerable estabilidad institucional interna.

La elaboración de este ensayo la dividimos en tres secciones. En el primero, nos aproximamos a la mirada y estrategia que plantearon Argentina, Brasil y Chile. Los continuos ítems, son la parte medular de este documento, abordamos los inconvenientes y roces suscitados entre estos países después de la tercera y cuarta Conferencia Panamericana.

II. La Visión Política y Estratégica de Argentina, Brasil y Chile

Fue a partir de la instauración de la república en 1889 que Brasil se interesó por establecer una relación cercana con América, especialmente con los Estados Unidos. La cordialidad entre estos y la preferencia del gobierno brasilero por el país norteamericano condujo a mantener una vez más el distanciamiento con Sudamérica. Esta estrategia apuntaba a liberarse de la influencia de Inglaterra. El objetivo de la diplomacia de Brasil, promovida por José María da Silva Paranhos, barón de Río Branco, quien se desempeñaba como ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, era realizar una alianza no escrita con Washington:

> […] hacerse de un status de potencia regional bajo la mirada indulgente de Estados Unidos. También es la razón que explica por qué desde el inicio del siglo pasado la diplomacia brasileña reconoce que el hemisferio está controlado por Estados Unidos, pero que la gestión del subsistema sudamericano es su responsabilidad, condición compartida con Argentina; que, por otra parte, teme el desarrollo del liderazgo brasileño, anunciando así importantes dificultades en la relación bilateral. (Silvain, 2008, p. 790).

La cordialidad le convenía a las partes involucradas, pues por un lado la nación del norte era el más importante mercado consumidor de Brasil, es decir, la economía brasileña dependía de las exportaciones hacia ese territorio. Así como a Washington por la estrecha relación diplomática y comercial que tenía Argentina a través su venta de carne y trigo con Gran Bretaña. (Baraibar, 2004). Esta

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cercanía se manifestó en la Primera Conferencia Internacional Americana, convocada por los Estados Unidos bajo la bandera del panamericanismo. Esta convención se desarrolló en Washington el 2 de octubre de 1889 y el 17 de abril de 1890, desde luego estuvo orientada al proyecto estadounidense financiero, comercial y político. (Mejía, 2012).

Antes de las deliberaciones correspondientes los delegados latinoamericanos fueron llevados a visitar los centros industriales, con la idea de que estos tuvieran una impresión favorable del adelanto tecnológico y manufacturero, y así considerar de manera positiva el proyecto de un arbitraje obligatorio y la unión aduanera. (Boersner, 2004). A través del panamericanismo se forjó una supuesta identidad, el discurso estaba basado en dos mitos. El primero, en la zona geográfica de las Américas, que formarían un hemisferio apartado e inmune a los problemas del mundo. El segundo, la finalidad política, expresada en los regímenes republicanos que se diferenciaban de las monarquías europeas. (Conduru, 1998).

Desde el punto de vista del propósito de la conferencia terminó en fracaso, porque la finalidad económica de establecer una unión aduanera continental no fue adoptada por la oposición de Argentina. Tal vez en el trasfondo la meta de los Estados Unidos en el continente era ver su poder de convocatoria y desafiar el predominio británico en América del Sur. (Morales, 2008). En cuanto al arbitraje obligatorio los delegados latinoamericanos estaban conscientes que este proyecto afectaría la soberanía de sus países y los colocaría bajo la tutela arbitral de la nación más fuerte del hemisferio. (Silvain, 2008).

Los intereses y pugnas entre el Imperio inglés y Estados Unidos que buscaba su consolidación como nuevo poder hegemónico alimentaron las discrepancias y rivalidades de Brasil y Argentina, con sus concernientes repercusiones subregionales, por aceptar los "favores" de una u otra potencia. (Mejía, 2012). El favoritismo de Brasil por Norteamérica, permitió evidenciar que aceptó el corolario Roosevelt de la Doctrina Monroe, dejando a Washington la autonomía para actuar en el Caribe y América Central. (Silvain, 2008).

Estos intereses geopolíticos y roces subregionales impulsaron la carrera naval y armamentista efectuada tras la Guerra del Pacífico. La noción de potencia militar implicaba una serie de conceptos culturales, superioridad racial, prestigio en las naciones y, sobre todo, el convencimiento que en el terreno naval la seguridad del Estado era proporcional a su poderío marítimo. De este modo, Argentina inició su carrera naval en 1896 con apoyo extranjero del rey Humberto I de Italia, quien ordenó a los artilleros Orlando y Ansaldo construir cruceros de más de 7.000 toneladas. A la par, los acorazados Varese y Garibaldi ondearon la bandera de la nación. En Chile hubo preocupación, el ministro de Hacienda, Zañartu, reconoció que había encontrado las puertas cerradas para concertar un empréstito en Europa que le permitiera seguir comprando armas y buques. Para solucionar la dificultad, el ministro logró un préstamo con el Banco de Tarapacá de 400 mil libras, y como esto derrumbaba el crédito exterior chileno, se disimuló la situación declarando que se trataba de una operación interna. (Garay, 2002).

El arribo del general argentino Julio A. Roca a la presidencia, quien ocupó este cargo por segunda vez, buscó mejorar las relaciones de Argentina y Chile, debido a que, en la administración gubernamental de José E. Uriburu, se desató una carrera armamentista entre estas repúblicas. Roca implementó una modernización y preparación de las Fuerzas Armadas para asegurar la paz. En este marco, el 28 de octubre de 1898, días después de haber asumido como mandatario, se logró un acuerdo directo con Chile respecto al litigio en los territorios de la Puna de Atacama. En este clima de distensión, Roca afirmó ante su congreso que *"Cuestiones que de tiempo en tiempo enervaban nuestras relaciones internacionales y que en ciertos momentos amenazaron con una ruptura violenta y con una guerra implacable que hubiera sido una vergüenza para la América y un escándalo para el mundo",* en la práctica este acercamiento duró muy poco. (Fraga, 1994, p. 20).

Debido a que los inconvenientes entre estas naciones aumentaron por los incidentes fronterizos, a los reclamos de la fundación de San Martín de los Andes, por la ocupación del Lago Lácar y a las incursiones policiales argentinas en Última Esperanza hizo reflexionar que una guerra estaba cerca. Empero, los créditos contraídos por los regímenes habían superado su capacidad financiera. Las bancas de Baring de Buenos Aires y Rothschild de Santiago de Chile, presionaron al gobierno británico para que detuviera la compra de más buques conllevando a los denominados Pactos de Mayo de 1902, el cual contenía de forma sucinta cuatro partes: 1) el acta preliminar, 2) El tratado general de arbitraje, 3) limitación de armamentos navales y 4) sentencia sobre los hitos demarcatorios en terreno. Los convenios tuvieron para Argentina una estrategia de aislar a Brasil que cada día incrementaba su poderío internacional con la supervisión de su ministro de Relaciones Exteriores y por su alianza con los Estados Unidos. Para Chile fue buscar canales de dialogo no solo para acercarse al país del cono sur, sino con la administración brasileña para contrarrestar la influencia norteamericana. (Garay, 2002).

En los inicios de esta política se puede evidenciar la intención imperialista de Brasil que encabezaba Río Branco; la respuesta de Argentina fue comenzar a influenciar en la subregión mediante una política armamentista para contrarrestar al país vecino.

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(Morales, 2008). Esto no significó que en los primeros años de la administración gubernamental de Roca no se diera aproximaciones con el gobierno brasilero, debido a que visitó al reciente electo mandatario de los brasileños, Manuel J. de Campos Salles. Las intenciones del viaje fueron:

> El próximo paso de este sutil juego diplomático consistía en ir a Brasil. Aunque nada concretáramos allá, los chilenos supondrían que habríamos de dejar algún entendimiento acordado con el gobierno de Campos Salles y esta sospecha contribuiría a moderar sus impulsos bélicos. Cuanto más negáramos que se hubiera convenido alguna manera de alianza, menos lo creerían nuestros vecinos transcordilleranos. Por otra parte, era aconsejable estrechar vínculos con los brasileños, con quienes habíamos tenido roces por las secuelas de la Guerra del Paraguay y por problemas fronterizos. Desde que Brasil era una república existían más afinidades entre ellos y nosotros. Era una buena oportunidad para evidenciarlo. (Rosendo, 1994, pp. 21-22).

En este escenario, Brasil adoptó una serie de principios innovadores que tuvieron como fin afianzar una supremacía subregional, la cual era promocionada a través de una buena relación con las naciones circundantes. De allí que el ministro y barón de Río Branco, encomiende la consolidación del espacio nacional mediante su efectiva ocupación y defensa, así como de la configuración de las fronteras, habiendo anexado al territorio más de 900.000 kilómetros, sin disparar una sola bala. (Mejía, 2012). Por sus cualidades personales de hombre de Estado, fue un enlace de continuidad y una expresión del potencial cambio, importante para entender la identidad internacional del Brasil. En este panorama, al resolver los inconvenientes de fronteras y consolidar la escala continental, permitió que sus sucesores priorizaran el desarrollo del espacio nacional. (Morales, 2008).

A través de los canales diplomáticos se buscó un acercamiento con Argentina y Chile. Su embajador en Washington Joaquim Nabuco en 1902 declaró *"Faço votos para que seja eterna, e cada vez maisestreita, a amizade entre a Argentina, o Brasil e o Chile"*. (Heinsfeld, 2012, p. 12). La prueba para Río Branco se presentó con el bloqueo naval impuesto por Gran Bretaña, Italia y Alemania a Venezuela por la no cancelación de las deudas contraídas. El ministro no dudó en identificarse con la posición neutral de los Estados Unidos quien fue notificado por los estados europeos interesados, ya que según él la Doctrina Monroe no estaba en cuestión, pues el bloqueo al puerto de la Guaira no implicaba la conquista territorial. (Clodoaldo, 2012).

De igual forma, cabe mencionar que, en 1904, Río Branco le expresó al ministro argentino en Brasil, la necesidad y conveniencia de un acuerdo entre ambos países para poner fin a la revolución que había comenzado en Paraguay. Las razones aducidas fue el peligro de una intervención europea en suelo paraguayo, si se mantenía el espíritu revolucionario. Agregó que había recibido un telegrama del representante brasilero que se encontraba en Estados Unidos, donde decía que el gobierno norteamericano deseaba que los dos países colocaran todos los recursos de cordialidad para pacificar al Paraguay. (Del Pilar, 1998). El arbitraje del cuerpo diplomático de Argentina y Brasil contribuyó con el acuerdo de paz que se firmó el 12 de diciembre de 1904, convenio que más tarde se conoció como el Pacto de Pilcomayo, en el que los liberales rebeldes llegan al poder. (Monteoliva, 2000).

En lo que Argentina se refiere, su representante en Río de Janeiro, Manuel Gorostiaga comunicó "*bajo la administración del Dr. Quintana con el propósito de darle un carácter tri-partito, a cuyo fin, una vez fijados las bases entre la Argentina y el Brasil, seria invitado Chile a participar en él"*. (Del Pilar, 1998, p. 61)

Manuel Quintana, quien arribó a la presidencia en Argentina murió en 1906, siendo sucedido por José Figueroa Alcorta que asumió una política contraria a su antecesor. El nuevo mandatario designó como ministro de Relaciones Exteriores a Estanislao S. Zeballos, el cual ocupó este cargo por tercera vez, y en esta oportunidad permanecerá hasta 1908. (Rosendo, 1994).

III. Acercamientos y Roces Después de la Tercera Conferencia Panamericana

En 1906 se celebró en Brasil la Tercera Conferencia Panamericana, en Río de Janeiro, en su sesión inaugural asistió el secretario de Estado norteamericano Elihu Root, quien evitó deliberar la Doctrina Drago[1]y llegó incluso a declarar que su país podría renunciar a cualquier intervención militar en las naciones sudamericanas en caso del no pago de la deuda. Argumentó que abordar la doctrina podría ser interpretado como un contubernio contra los acreedores europeos y que por tanto este asunto debía ser tratado en la Segunda Conferencia de la Haya, prevista para el año siguiente. (Alsaldi, 2008).

El tema principal para la diplomacia brasileña fue buscar su posicionamiento en el sistema interamericano, para conseguirlo tuvo que apoyarse en la política norteamericana a pesar de mantener una relación asimétrica especial. La historiadora Ilenia Gómez Tovar, afirmó con relación a la definición de la sede:

[1] La Doctrina Drago establecía que ningún Estado extranjero podía utilizar la fuerza contra una nación americana con la finalidad de cobrar una deuda financiera. Fue anunciada en 1902 por el ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Argentina, Luis María Drago, en respuesta a la renuncia de los Estados Unidos a ejecutar la Doctrina Monroe durante el bloqueo naval al puerto de la Guaira de Venezuela.

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> Evidentemente la escogencia de la sede para el desarrollo de las Conferencias Panamericanas estaba constreñida a las relaciones de intereses económicos, políticos e ideológicos que los Estados Unidos como país promotor de este modelo de integración, poseía con el resto de los países latinoamericanos, para de alguna manera facilitar la estrategia hegemónica planteada por la Casa Blanca a fin de lograr convenios satisfactorios a su política económica. (Gómez, 2011, p. 337).

Al igual que Argentina y Chile la política brasileña realizó una carrera armamentista, luego de la humillación por el acontecimiento del buque Panther, cañonero que descendió a marineros alemanes para detener a sus desertores en un puerto de Brasil, hecho que violó la soberanía territorial, y aunque se solucionó el incordio mediante gestos diplomáticos, evidenció el impedir el hecho. Ni siquiera con los encargos efectuados por Brasil en años preliminares, de cruceros, cazatorpedero, acorazados de tipo *Dreadnoughts*, submarinos y navíos auxiliares, fueron suficientes para defender sus fronteras. Esto explica, por lo menos en parte, la disposición de encargar en 1908 dos acorazados, diez destructores, dos cruceros y tres submarinos, plan que tuvo también como objetivo el engrandecimiento territorial, aumento de misiones diplomáticas a nivel de embajadas y el logro de alcanzar el primer cardenal sudamericano. La reacción y respuesta del presidente argentino Figueroa Alcorta fue que no podían permitir que ningún país del hemisferio los aventajara en poderío naval, por lo que era necesario realizar sacrificios para aminorar la situación. (Garay, 2002).

Otro factor que profundizó las tensiones es que Brasil intentó en las primeras décadas del siglo XX consolidarse como potencia subregional, y negoció el libre acceso de su café para el mercado estadounidense, a cambio de otorgar una tarifa ventajosa para el trigo norteamericano en su mercado. Esta maniobra la interpretó la diplomacia de la Argentina como una estrategia para impedir la colocación de su trigo en el Brasil. (Morales, 2008).

Esto ocasionó en los medios de comunicación impresos de ambas naciones un debate, por los lados de Argentina se habló de reciprocidad comercial, la prensa brasilera manifestó que no había ninguna razón de tener una relación de prioridad con su vecino, debido a su limitado mercado de consumo para productos brasileros. Ante tales situaciones:

> […] la zona sur del continente americano se transformó en un campo magnético, cuyos polos eran Río de Janeiro y Buenos Aires, Zeballos y Río Branco. Bolivia y Paraguay se aproximaron a la Argentina y, en virtud del convenio Pinillas-Soler, pidieron la mediación del presidente Figueroa Alcorta en su secular litigio fronterizo, lo que incomodó a Río Branco. (Rosendo, 1994, p. 39).

En octubre de 1907 el ministro de Relaciones Exteriores chileno Puga Borne y el ministro plenipotenciario argentino en Chile Lorenzo Anadón, redactaron una propuesta de tratado que hacía énfasis en una alianza militar defensiva, en caso de agresión externa no provocada, la equivalencia de las fuerzas navales, la prohibición de decidir cualquier compromiso con otro Estado sin el conocimiento del otro. (Heinsfeld, 2012).

Mientras tanto, en Argentina la tensión con Brasil se mantenía. Los ministros de Guerra y Marina de aquel país presentaron un plan de adquisiciones militares por costo de 150 millones de pesos. A la par, el ministro de Relaciones Exteriores Zeballos diseñaba y exponía un proyecto más imaginativo, donde exigía al gobierno brasilero dividir los buques cuestionados. En 1908 el secretario de Estados Unidos tiene una propuesta parecida, la de distribuir los acorazados, pero el régimen de Brasil se negó a la sugerencia, a pesar de tener relaciones cordiales con el país del norte. La reacción de Argentina fue ordenar la compra de dos *Dreadnoughts* para lograr el equilibrio naval en el Atlántico Sur. (Rosendo, 1994).

La opinión del canciller argentino era que Brasil trataba de aislar a su país con el apoyo de los Estados Unidos, para ello era fundamental buscar acercamientos con Bolivia, Paraguay, Chile y Uruguay, este último con una seria disputa de soberanía en las aguas del Río de la Plata. (Monteoliva, 2000).

No podemos aseverar tal afirmación, sin embargo, en noviembre de 1909, Brasil demostró su intención de un entendimiento con Chile. La firma estadounidense Alsop & Co., había obtenido derechos mineros del gobierno boliviano en territorios que después de la Guerra del Pacífico fueron reconocidos como chilenos. Esto representó que Chile no reconociera esos derechos, por tanto, los Estados Unidos mandó un ultimátum donde expresó que tendría que pagar una indemnización de un millón de dólares. Brasil a través de su embajador en Washington, Nabucco, a sumió la defensa de la nación aliada *"Não posso compreender que uma reclamação pecuniária desta natureza valha mais que a política pan-americana"*. La posición brasileña fue apoyada por Argentina y el proceso fue sometido a arbitraje internacional del rey Eduardo VII de Inglaterra, finalmente el régimen norteamericano dio un paso atrás y desistió de la exigencia. Este incidente sirvió para fortalecer los lazos y relaciones exógenas entre Chile y Brasil, el ministro plenipotenciario brasileño en Santiago, Gomez Fereira, reprodujo las palabras del ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Chile *"Chile nunca esquecerá inestimável serviço prestado por Brasil nesta emergencia"*. (Heinsfeld, 2012, pp. 17-18).

Es importante tener en cuenta que los vínculos bilaterales entre Estados Unidos y los sudamericanos se plantearon de manera disímil. Chile se hallaba bastante distanciado de Washington con motivo de los

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incidentes que se habían protagonizado entre ambas naciones. Brasil estaba interesado en establecer un acercamiento con los estadunidenses. Argentina mantenía fuertes relaciones con Europa, las cuales respondían a situaciones coyunturales. En 1908 se produjo el notorio y controvertido episodio del telegrama cifrado N° 9 del 17-6-1908, el cual fue enviado por Río Branco al representante brasileño en Chile. Según el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la República de Argentina, Itamaraty acusaba a su gobierno de imperialista, al contrario, la trascripción brasileña del texto decía que era vital una aproximación inteligente entre los gobiernos de Río de Janeiro y Buenos Aires. (Del Pilar, 1998).

En el banquete que Río Branco le ofreció al funcionario argentino Roque Sáenz Peña, este último pronunció un discurso donde resaltó la complementariedad económica que existía entre la Argentina y el Brasil cuando expresó que sus naciones no eran competidores en la producción, ni mucho menos rivales, sino aliados económicos como fueron en el proceso político continental en el pasado. (Solveira, 2001).

De igual forma, es significativo ponderar que de 1902 a 1912 el ministro Río Branco desarrolló una política exterior cordial con los vecinos sudamericanos, esta se basó en la creencia que un alto nivel de diálogo era imprescindible para asegurar la paz en la región. Específicamente con lo que respecta a las relaciones con Chile y Argentina, el discurso era la de mantener, fortalecer y preservar la convivencia pacífica. Con esta postura filosófica presentó el proyecto del tratado de cordialidad, inteligencia política y arbitraje para que fuera revisado por las tres naciones. (Conduru, 1998).

El acuerdo estaba compuesto por 13 artículos, de forma breve podemos parafrasear que buscaba estimular el progreso de América y asegurar la paz, defender como clave la soberanía de los Estados, impedir la confrontación entre los firmantes; en caso tal esto no fuera posible se debía con anticipación declarar una guerra y evitar que en sus espacios territoriales se reúnan grupos inmigrantes que promuevan desordenes y guerras civiles. (Heinsfeld, 2012).

Río Branco afirmó, el 20 de abril de 1909, en Itamaraty, que la paz era una condición básica para el crecimiento, desarrollo y prosperidad rápida de los pueblos. (Morales, 2008). Argentina, por su parte, usó tácticas dilatorias, pues se presentaban roces por la situación de Tacna y Arica, por lo tanto, pretendió no celebrar acuerdos que incomodaran al Perú.

IV. Acercamientos y Roces Después de la Cuarta Conferencia Panamericana

La Cuarta Conferencia Panamericana se realizó en 1910 en Buenos Aires, Argentina. Allí se trataron temas menos conflictivos, como la construcción de un ferrocarril panamericano, el intercambio de profesores universitarios; el único avance notable que en esa reunión se dio fue la trasformación de la oficina comercial de las repúblicas americanas en la Unión Panamericana. (Alsaldi, 2008).

En cuanto al ferrocarril, no se logró ninguna resolución que avanzara en su terminación, solo se adoptó una disposición que prolongaba la existencia del comité abocando la temática. En la conferencia la delegación brasileña propuso una moción de adhesión subregional a la Doctrina Monroe; el canciller argentino Victorino de la Plaza conversó con Charles Sherrill, ministro norteamericano en Buenos Aires, y con Henry White, jefe de esa misma delegación, la cual no arrojó satisfactorios resultados.

A Figueroa Alcorta se le culminó el período presidencial; asumió como mandatario de Argentina en 1910, Sáenz Peña el cual compartía ideas con Río Branco. Consideraba que la paz sólo podía sostenerse con el firme entendimiento con Brasil. Por ello procuró la formación de un bloque compacto subregional que se contrapusiera a la expansión de los Estados Unidos. (Morales, 2008).

Ese mismo año Brasil recibió dos *Dreadnoughts,* uno en Sao Pablo y otro en Minas Gerais; después encargó un tercero con el cual se rompía el equilibrio naval del Atlántico Sur, lo que llevó a Argentina a encargar también un acorazado. Para tratar de frenar esta carrera armamentista, que pesaba en su presupuesto, el presidente Sáenz Peña realizó en 1911 una ofensiva diplomática con el fin de distender la relación con Brasil. Por un lado, envió a una comisión oficial encomendada a Manuel A. Montes de Oca, y una privada encabezada por Ramón J. Carcano. (Rosendo, 1994).

J. Carcano, se reunió con el presidente de Brasil Hermes R. da Fonseca y Río Branco estableciendo el llamado "acuerdo de caballeros" en donde renunciaron al tercer acorazado. Además, propusieron un plan de acción común entre ellas y Chile para asegurar la paz de América del Sur. (Monteoliva, 2000). Estos rumores de coalición llevaron a pretender un entendimiento entre Bolivia, Colombia, Perú, Venezuela y Ecuador, a fin de instaurar una alianza por el posible acuerdo.

De 1911 a 1912 se da una guerra civil en Paraguay, quizás uno de los momentos más inestables de la política paraguaya. Este episodio creó la oportunidad para que Argentina y Brasil actuaran en la confrontación bajo el principio de neutralidad, garantizando al mismo tiempo los intereses de sus ciudadanos en el país vecino, así como la libre navegación por el río Paraguay. Sin embargo, no siempre hubo neutralidad de los militares y representantes diplomáticos, en particular de los argentinos, al respecto Río Branco, escribió:

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> Estou convencido [de que] governo argentino não favorece revolucionários. Protecção que elles temtido será de particulares eespeculadores argentinos e estrangeirosseduzidos por promessasdos revolucionários. [O] Governo argentino informou-nos confidencialmente quepouco antes de romper a revoluçãovendeu a essegoverno mil fuzis e um parque de artilharia. (Monteoliva, 2000, p.143).

Río Branco no pudo seguir más adelante con la iniciativa de la cordialidad, este murió. El dirigente argentino Sáenz Peña también falleció, esto no significó que sus políticas exteriores cambiaran de rumbo. El nuevo mandatario de Argentina Victorino de la Plaza y el canciller José Luis Marature mantuvieron los mismos principios internacionales. Esto se evidenció en el proceso llevado a cabo en el conflicto entre Estados Unidos y México en 1914 por parte del ABC que condujo al Tratado del Niagara Falls. (Morales, 2008).

Los regímenes sudamericanos en cuestión preocupados por el escenario bélico enviaron un telegrama, donde autorizaban a sus plenipotenciarios ofrecer sus buenos oficios para las partes interesadas en la solución pacífica del enfrentamiento. El presidente de los estadunidenses, Woodrow Wilson, contestó:

> […] animado de los mejores y más cordiales deseos de la paz y prosperidad de la América, deseos manifestados en la nota en que tales oficios se le ofrecían para solucionar las presentes dificultades entre el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos y aquellos que pretenden ahora representar a nuestra hermana República Mexicana aceptaba tan generosa oferta, esperando que los mediadores podrían encontrar en quienes representan los diferentes elementos del pueblo mexicano, buena intención y deseos para discutir las bases de un arreglo satisfactorio y permanente. (Isidro, 1974, pp. 298-300).

Aceptada la diligencia la administración norteamericana exigió la renuncia del general Victoriano Huertas, la formación de un régimen no provisional con la participación de revolucionarios, pero excluyendo a Venustiano Carranza y José Doroteo Arango Arámbula (Pancho Villa), y el armisticio de los ejércitos enfrentados. Huertas presionado por la invasión aceptó el arbitraje del ABC; sin embargo, la respuesta de Carranza fue categórica al negar la posibilidad de tregua, exigiendo a los mediadores no intervenir en cuestiones domésticas. (Yankelevich, 2007).

A la conferencia en Canadá fueron enviados en representación de Carranza, Fernando Iglesias Calderón, José Vasconcelos y Luis Cabrera. El dirigente mexicano envió una delegación integrada por Agustín Rodríguez, Emilio Rabasa y Luis Elguero con amplios poderes; mientras que los comisionados estadunidenses Joseph Rucker Lamar, Percival Dodge y Frederick Lehmann, debían someter cualquier propuesta de acuerdo con el presidente Wilson, a través del secretario de Estado William Bryan. Las conferencias comenzaron el 20 de mayo de 1914, pero los representantes carrancistas no asistieron porque su posición era que el arbitraje tenía por intención resolver problemas internacionales y no asuntos internos de México. (Martínez, 2015).

Los objetivos de las Conferencias del Niagara Falls, eran cinco. Primero, derrocar a Huertas. Segundo, terminación de la guerra civil. Tercero, establecimiento de un gobierno provisional integrado por elementos constitucionalistas bajo los auspicios del ABC y del régimen americano. Cuarto, convocar a elecciones. Y, quinto, continuación de las reformas iniciadas por los gobiernos anteriores. Las conferencias fracasaron y, si bien detuvieron la posibilidad de guerra, no solucionaron los problemas entre México y Estados Unidos. (Estellé, 1967).

En esta dinámica de continuidades y rupturas Carranza envió un telegrama a los representantes del ABC a través de Rafael Zubaran Capmany, con fecha del 20 de junio de 1914 donde les comunicó:

> Señores Embajador del Brasil, D. De Gama; Ministro de la Argentina, R. S. Naon y Ministro de Chile, E. Suárez Múgica. […] Pretenden ustedes, señores discutir nuestros asuntos internos, tales como la cesación de las hostilidades y movimientos militares, entre el usurpador Huertas y el Ejército Constitucionalista […], la cuestión agraria; la designación del Presidente Provisional de esta República, y otras más. […] Además, señores, me permito, con la debida atención, expresarles que estos actos resultan de no muy buenos oficios, sino de mediación, de arbitraje y hasta de intervención, que nosotros no habríamos aceptado. Por estas causas estamos convencidos de que las conferencias del Niágara no tendrán el resultado de que ellas esperábamos las partes interesadas y las naciones extranjeras". (Isidro, 1974, pp. 138- 140).

Esta posición se tornó más intransigente, en particular cuando la División Norte del ejército constitucionalista ocupó Zacatecas, precipitando la renuncia de Huertas; lo sucedió en la presidencia Francisco Carvajal, en esta situación Carranza no estaba dispuesto a negociar, por tanto, le comunicó a Wilson y a los gobiernos mediadores de Argentina, Chile y Brasil que sólo aceptaría la renuncia incondicional de Carvajal. (Yankelevich, 2007).

Las conferencias no tuvieron los resultados que esperaban los intermediarios del ABC por lo que ambicionaron una nueva conferencia. La reunión plenaria se formalizó el 24 de junio de 1914, en donde, previa información de que el proceso mediador continuaba, se firmaron los acuerdos alcanzados hasta esos momentos. Estos hacían referencia en sus aspectos primordiales: la renuncia de Huertas para formar un gobierno provisional, elecciones libres, sé otorgaría una amnistía general y se arbitraría para solucionar las quejas de los extranjeros. Estados Unidos no requeriría ninguna indemnización y se comprometía a reconocer el nuevo gobierno en conjunto con el ABC. (Del Pilar, 1998).

Días después, el licenciado Zubaran Capmany, a través de un mensaje a Carranza, le notificó lo que les

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había comunicado a los plenipotenciarios del ABC de no celebrar ninguna conferencia de avenimiento con el régimen de Huertas:

> Para el Ejército Constitucionalista el llamado gobierno del general Huerta constituye una violación permanente y continua de las Leyes Constitucionales mexicanas, que debe cesár, por la sumisión de los responsables a la ley; y lo cual equivale a decir que el único medio legítimo que existe para hacer cesar la lucha actual en México, y por lo tanto, el único que el Primer Jefe del Ejército Constitucionalista podría aceptar, es la rendición incondicional. (Isidro, 1974, pp. 175-178).

Fue esta mediación en las Conferencias del Niagara Falls, las que sentaron un precedente en las relaciones diplomáticas internacionales sudamericanas, pues brindó la posibilidad de un avance importante en el convenio del siguiente año y contribuyó en la renuncia de Huertas, y por supuesto, en la salida de tropas norteamericanas del territorio México.

El 25 de mayo de 1915 se decidió aprovechar esta concordia para que los cancilleres de Argentina, José Luis Marature, de Brasil Lauro Muller y de Chile Alejandro Lira firmaran el tratado de Pacto de No Agresión, Consulta y Arbitraje, el cual es conocido como el ABC, constituyéndose en un mecanismo permanente y automático para resolver las posibles disidencias, es decir, buscó obligar a los miembros suscritos la solución pacífica de los conflictos. También estableció que los inconvenientes que no se pudieran solucionar entre los firmantes por los canales diplomáticos debían ser sometidos por una comisión permanente con sede en Montevideo, Uruguay. El pacto únicamente fue ratificado por Brasil, debido a que en Argentina fue rechazado por el congreso y en Chile lo había pensado como un instrumento y herramienta para lograr protagonismo subregional y revertir su posición frente a los ascendentes poderes brasileros y argentinos. (Morales, 2008).

V. Algunas Consideraciones Finales

Los gobiernos impulsaban a principios del siglo XX la idea que el mayor poderío naval y prestigio militar era muestra contundente de seguridad del Estado, y por ende de superioridad cultural. Esta mentalidad se evidenció en la carrera armamentista que se desarrolló en Sudamérica, específicamente, en Argentina, Brasil y Chile. Esto ocasionó tensión, las cuales no solo están correlacionadas con la parte belicista, sino también con sus intereses comerciales, territoriales y estratégicos.

Brasil tenía relaciones cordiales con su mayor aliado comercial, Estados Unidos, esto conllevó al distanciamiento con los países sudamericanos, su cercanía con el país del norte se demostró con la denominada coalición no escrita donde el gobierno brasileño reconoció la influencia norteamericana en la región con el fin de contar con su beneplácito en sus pretensiones de líder subregional. Argentina ambicionó contrarrestar esta política comprando cruceros e implementó una modernización en sus Fuerzas Armadas que le permitió influir políticamente en la subregión. Chile preocupado por la situación consiguió un préstamo para comprar armas y buques para equilibrar la carrera armamentista que se estaba viviendo en esta parte del continente.

Contrariamente a lo que se podría pensar estas tensiones, mejoraron las relaciones diplomáticas entre Argentina y Chile, conllevando a un acuerdo directo con respecto al litigio en los territorios de la Puna de Atacama, pero este acercamiento fue exiguo debido a los incidentes fronterizos hicieron considerar que una guerra estaba cerca. Los créditos contraídos habían superado la capacidad financiera de estos países y llevaron a los denominados Pactos de Mayo. El presidente argentino Julio A. Roca intentó presionar con su carrera armamentista a Brasil, al tiempo que buscó construir vínculos más cercanos luego de los problemas fronterizos y de las secuelas de la Guerra del Paraguay.

Estas aproximaciones permitieron que el cuerpo diplomático de Brasil y Argentina trabajaran en conjunto y contribuyeran con el acuerdo de paz conoció como el Pacto de Pilcomayo. Brasil, por su parte, inició una carrera armamentista, ocasionando tensiones con Argentina, las cuales se profundizaron por el episodio del telegrama y el convenio preferencial tarifario que la administración brasileña le concedió al trigo estadunidense en su mercado interno. Al mismo tiempo se interesó en establecer unas relaciones cordiales con su vecino Chile, para demostrarlo defendió los intereses chilenos ante la posibilidad de una indemnización económica por el caso Alsop & Co., empresa norteamericana.

Las relaciones subregionales entre Argentina y Brasil mejoraron con la llegada al poder presidencial en argentina de Roque Sáenz Peña, que con su visión internacional impulsó un entendimiento para crear un bloque que se opusiera a la expansión de los Estados Unidos y tratar de frenar la carrera belicista brasilera. Opuesta a la intención de Argentina de consolidar un bloque defensivo contra la política absorbente del país del norte Brasil mantuvo sus buenas relaciones diplomáticas y comerciales, pues sus economías aunque disímiles las unía el café.

Estos acercamientos de las naciones de Sudamérica condujeron a que sus embajadores intervinieran en el conflicto entre México y Estados Unidos, mediación que sentó las bases para el pacto del ABC, pero los intereses geopolíticos y la posición interna de diputados ocasionó que solo Brasil ratificara el acuerdo.

Las relaciones trinacionales tranquilizaron las tensiones subregionales y permitieron concretar convenios respecto a la carrera armamentista. Punto sobresaliente de ese mejoramiento se evidenció en las

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Conferencias del Niagara Falls, ya que allí se sentaron las bases del pacto ABC de 1915.

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From Dopdi to Draupadi, from Oppression to Empowerment: Reading Mahashweta Devi's "Draupadi"

By Somjeeta Pandey & Bidhu Chand Murmu

Abstract- The subaltern stories by Mahasweta Devi, by refusing to conform to the conventions of the Indian literary canon have blatantly exposed the grim realities of the interplay of caste and class in the fabric of Indian society and as Rangrao Bhongle rightly asserts "have projected an unknown facet of social reality in the Indian context." The paper seeks to study "Draupadi", a short story by Mahashweta Devi and translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in 1988, which recreates the episode of The Mahabharata in which Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandavas, was asked to be stripped naked but was finally saved by Lord Krishna. Draupadi (Dopdi) Mejhen, the leader of Operation Bakuli in the story is caught by the police and raped by many. While no God comes to save her, she at the end derives strength from her naked body and finally stands as an empowered woman, a "terrifying superobject" (Spivak), in front of Senanayak the man who sanctioned her rape and who stands like an "unarmed target" (Spivak) in a state of paralysis.

Keywords: *dalit, empowerment, nakedness, oppression.*

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From Dopdi to Draupadi, from Oppression to Empowerment: Reading Mahashweta Devi's "Draupadi"

Somjeeta Pandey [α] & Bidhu Chand Murmu [σ]

Abstract- The subaltern stories by Mahasweta Devi, by refusing to conform to the conventions of the Indian literary canon have blatantly exposed the grim realities of the interplay of caste and class in the fabric of Indian society and as Rangrao Bhongle rightly asserts "have projected an unknown facet of social reality in the Indian context." The paper seeks to study "Draupadi", a short story by Mahashweta Devi and translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in 1988, which recreates the episode of *The Mahabharata* in which Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandavas, was asked to be stripped naked but was finally saved by Lord Krishna. Draupadi (Dopdi) Mejhen, the leader of Operation Bakuli in the story is caught by the police and raped by many. While no God comes to save her, she at the end derives strength from her naked body and finally stands as an empowered woman, a "terrifying superobject" (Spivak), in front of Senanayak the man who sanctioned her rape and who stands like an "unarmed target" (Spivak) in a state of paralysis. The paper will try to focus on the oppression of Dalit women and will throw light on their subjugation which exists at multiple levels – for being a woman, for being a Dalit woman, for belonging to the lowest strata of the societal hierarchy. For instance, exploitation takes a new face when Draupadi gets caught only because two of the Dalit men of her group had deceived her by giving her information to the police. The paper will also focus on how nakedness becomes, as Deepti Misri writes, "intelligible as a feminist mode of protest against the violence of the Indian state." The paper will further evaluate how through these writings, Devi is flagrantly contesting the caste and class prejudices that the Indian society reeks of.

Keywords: dalit, empowerment, nakedness, oppression.

Introduction

"Draupadi", a short story by Mahasveta Devi, translated by Gayatri Chakrovorty Spivak, first appeared in *Agnigarbha* ("Womb of Fire", 1978). May 25, 1967 saw the uprising of a peasant rebellion, which began with the slogan "land to tiller", in Jote village in Naxalbari, West Bengal. This movement spawned an indigenous agrarian reform leadership led by the lower classes including tribal cultivators. The coalition between the peasants and the intellectuals gave birth to a number of naxalbaris all over India. These movements intended to free the peasants of the oppression and in the process they received the aid of the Naxalites. But in 1970, East and West Pakistan indulged in an armed struggle. After the defeat of West Pakistan, the Indian Prime Minister was able to cut down on the Naxalites in 1971 because they supposedly had alliances with the freedom fighters of East Bengal (now Bangladesh). The rural people, especially the tribals, suffered the most.

Such is the backdrop of "Draupadi". Draupadi or Dopdi Mejhen, a twenty-seven-year- old Santhal woman is introduced to us through the conversation between two "liveried uniforms". As Spivak writes in the foreword:

> She (Draupadi) is introduced to the reader...between two versions of her name. Dopdi and Draupadi. It is either that as a tribal she cannot pronounce her own Sanskrit name (Draupadi), or the trivialized form, Dopdi, is the proper name of the ancient Dopdi. (Spivak, 387)

Dopdi Mejhen is in the list of wanted people. Now what might possibly be the reason behind this? The reason is that she and husband Dulna had escaped after murdering Surja Sahu and his son during Operation Bakuli. Thus, Dopdi and Dulna's escape increased the blood sugar level of Captain Arjan Singh. The police along with the Special Forces had tried and, in the process, had killed quite a few Santhals because "all tribals of the Austro-Asiatic Munda tribes appear the same to the Special Forces." (Devi, 393)

In a pointblank way, Devi starts the story. But one cannot obviously miss the underlying satiric attack on the social situaton. From the very beginning we are given an insight into the oppression the santhalsface. They are untouchables, dark-skinned people who, being denied access to drinking water during the drought, had killed the upper-caste people. The Special Forces had killed many santhals in the attempt of catching hold of Dulna and Dopdi as their complexions made differentiation difficult. The killing of these santhals was passed off as mere accidents. As Devi writes:

> By the Indian Constitution, all human beings, regardless of caste or creed, are sacred. Still, accidents like this do happen. (Devi, 393)

One important point is to be noted here. Dalits refer to those people who were outside the fourfold Hindu *Varna* system. Literally *Varna* means colour, and it was a fourfold framework to classify people and was

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generally used in the Vedic Indian society. The four classes included Brahmins who were the upper-caste priestly people, the Kshatriyas who were the administrators, rulers or warriors, the Vaishyas who were artisans, tradesmen, merchants and farmers and the Shudras who were the labouring classes. The *Varna* implicitly referred to another fifth group who were completely excluded from the fourfold system and they were the untouchables or the Dalits. With the emergence of Hinduism, the caste system became fixed and hereditary. The laws of Manu (*Manusmriti),* which date roughly back to the 3rd century AD uphold and preach the sanctity of the *Varnas* and also strictly inject the principles of rank and gradation. *Manusmriti* teaches the servility and impurity of the untouchables and uphold the view that Brahmans are the purest of all and they have the right to dominate the other groups. As a result, atrocities were exercised on the untouchables saying that they had a sinful past. For a long time the untouchables faced the oppression and therefore the dalit protests in the 20th century were explained as a reaction to the prejudiced Hindu caste system. Sociologists claimed that the dalit protests were due to the relative deprivation of the untouchables. But not even relative deprivation is enough to explain the protests of the dalits. Dalits were not allowed access to natural resources. Even in this story, dalits are shown as being excluded from the social circles as well as not allowed to use tubewells and wells during the time of drought. This is not just a relative deprivation but an instance of alienation and isolation. The dalits, even after being pushed to the outskirts of societal circles are not even allowed to eat or drink peacefully in order to sustain their lives. They have been completely excluded from the society as well as the natural resources like water and land. This is worse than a case of just relative deprivation. The brutal atrocities exercised over the dalits by the upper castes compel the dalits to protest in the most dangerous ways. Darupadi and her rebellious partners had not only killed SurjaSahu who had denied them access to water but had risen in protest with weapons like scythe, bow and arrow.

The treatment of the santhals might subtly suggest the danger that is looming large in Dopdi's fate. We are introduced to Senanayak, the elderly Bengali specialist in combat and extreme-Left politics. He is a man who has the capacity to understand and comprehend the activities of the opposition. He feels that it is the duty of every soldier to destroy fighters fighting with scythe, bow and arrow (Dopdi belongs to this category). Although this is his practice, in theory he respects his opposition. He believes that in order to catch hold of the enemy he needs to become one with the enemy. Thus he orders his men to hide in the Jharkhani forest so that they can easily hunt down Dulna and Dopdi. Many santhals get killed and their body parts become the food of fox, vulture and other maneaters.

While this search for these defiant, hungry untouchables goes on we are introduced to Dopdi Mejhen. A santhal woman, headstrong and rebellious, she comes to know from Mushai Tudu that the policemen have set a reward for finding her out. But she cannot be cowed down. She has the true spirit of a leader: "What will they do if they counter me? They will counter me. Let them." (Devi, 397) As she proceeds towards the Jharkhani forest, a flavour of the santhal life is presented to us through her reminiscences:

> Dopdi felt proud of her forefathers. They always stood guard over their women's blood in black armour. (Devi, 399)

Although two of her partners, Shomai and Budhna, had deceived them yet she was sure that "they were half-breeds...Otherwise, crow would eat crow's flesh before Santal would betray Santal." (Devi, 399) Infact their lifestyles are also primitive in nature. They use medicinal herbs to cure scorpion bite.

But very soon she is caught. Dopdi becomes the prey of the deception of her partners. Senanayak's reading of *First Blood* had helped him in anticipating her move – an intellectual with literative sensibilities, he felt overwhelmed with his success. Afterwards she is brought to the camp and questioned for exactly one hour. After her encounter is over, the well-read, sensible, simple Senanayak said "Make her. Do the needful." (Devi, 401) After that she is tied to four posts and raped continuously for days.

Hundreds of years ago, Draupadi, the daughter of King Drupad and wife of the five sons of the impotent Pandu was asked to be stripped. As Spivak writes in the foreward:

> Within a patriarchal and patronymic context, she is exceptional, indeed "singular" in the sense of odd, unpaired, uncoupled. Her husbands...are legitimately pluralized...Mahasweta's story questions this "singularity" by placing Dopdi first in a comradely, activist, monogamous marriage and then in a situation of multiple rape. (Spivak, 387)

In a game of dice, her eldest husband loses his possessions and Draupadi being one of those possessions, loses her too. As Spivak quotes from *The Mahabharata* (65:35-36):

> The Scriptures prescribed one husband for a woman, Draupadi is dependent on many husbands; therefore she can be designated a prostitute. There is nothing improper in bringing her, clothed or unclothed, into the assembly. (Spivak, 388)

She is dragged to the court by her hair and Dushana is ordered by Duryodhana to disrobe her. Draupadi helplessly and silently prays to Krishna and while Dushana pulls and pulls at her sari, there seems to be more and more of it. Draupadi is miraculously abundantly and endlessly clothed and Dushana is

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himself forced to stop due to exhaustion. Draupadi is thus saved by Krishna's miracle.

Many years after *The Mahabharata* was written, another Draupadi emerges in Devi's story but Draupadi is not a royal persona and is not involved in a polygamous marriage yet she becomes the victim of exploitation. As many critics have pointed out that, swinging between two names (Draupadi and Dopdi) she becomes a recreation of the famous Draupadi of the epic who was saved from being disrobed. In the third part of the story, unlike in the first two parts, she is addressed as Draupadi and not Dopdi. But unfortunately, no Krishna nor any other God comes to saves her. She is brutally and ruthlessly raped:

> Draupadi . . . Trying to move, she feels her arms and legs still tied to four posts. Something sticky under her ass and waist. Her own blood . . . Incredible thirst. . . She senses that her vagina is bleeding. How many came to make her? (Devi, 401)

She is shamed, tears fall from her eyes. A rebel, a true leader, stands haplessly tied to a post with her pride wounded and her body torn and deteriorated. Her fault is that she is a Dalit woman. An article titled "Dalit Women" published in International Dalit Solidarity Network states that Dalit women suffer at the hands of upper-caste members:

> Dalit women are therefore considered easy targets for sexual violence and other crimes, because the perpetrators almost get away with it. For example, in India, studies show that the conviction rate for rapes against Dalit women is under 2% compared to a conviction rate of 25% in rape cases against all women in India.

The aforementoined article also quotes an incident and a reply of an Indian court judge:

> "Great, now you have proof you enjoyed yourself" -the reply of an Indian court judge to a gang raped Dalit woman, upon seeing a video filmed and distributed by the dominant caste rapists and presented by the woman in court as an evidence of rape.

Thus, Draupadi Mejhen, is not just one woman who has become a victim of multiple rape but she has become a victim to the jaundiced societal rules which allow people to get away with such heinous crimes. Devi states in the beginning of her story:

> . . .in this India of ours, even a worm is under a certain police station. (Devi, 393)

Unfortunately, the saviours are no more saviours here in the story. The inhuman treatment of Draupadi is just an example of such crimes being committed on women since ages. Draupadi, then, becomes the apotheosis of the tortured and oppressed Dalit women who are exploited mainly because they are black-skinned and untouchables. Draupadi Mejhen was someone who had mustered enough courage to raise her voice against the oppression inflicted by the upper-class members. While the primitive Santhals, the illiterate, uneducated Santhals stood guard over their women's modesty, the literate, educated corrupt officers, like Senanayak, infiltrates violence. Whatever his ideas and thoughts be, he is just another agent of patriarchal and dominance and he uses his superiority well by asking his men to "make her (Draupadi)".

However, Draupadi's rape fails in oppressing her and it rather strengthens her. When she is finally released and asked to wear her cloth and go to Senanayak's tent, she refuses to be clothed:

> Draupadi stands up. She pours the water down on the ground. Tears her piece of cloth with her teeth. (Devi, 402)

The guards become alarmed, seeing such a peculiar behaviour of Draupadi. They are at a loss as they do not know how to control a prisoner who behaves 'incomprehensibly'. Even Senanayak is taken aback when he finds Draupadi approaching towards him, naked with her "thigh and pubic hair matted with dry blood. Two breasts, two wounds." She is no more the oppressed Dalit woman. Her body has been injured and wounded, she has been shamed but there cannot be any further damage that can be done to her. She approaches Senanayak and asks him, laughing:

> The object of your search, Dopdi Mejhen. You asked them to make me up, don't you want to see how they made me? (Devi, 402)

Many crtics have pointed out this transformation of Draupadi is a symbol of her empowerment. For example, E.S. Latha in "Political Suppression in Mahasweta Devi's "Draupadi" writes:

> At first, it is a sense of shame that pervades her. But soon she, her tough spirits make her realise that her body is her weapon and her voice. Deprived of everything in life, she has to hold on to her physical self, which alone is her sole possession. . . she realises that there is nothing for her to be ashamed about because, it is an immoral act practised on herby men who profess to be guardians of women's chastity.

Draupadi Mejhen's body, which had become the easy target of the corrupt men, finally emerges as her weapon that gives her immense strength and courage to laugh at the masculinity of the officers. She knows that no more harm can be caused to her because the extreme form of punishment she could have received for being a Dalit woman and a rebel has already been implemented on her – rape. Having been easily stripped off her clothes, she has nothing else to be afraid of. She derives strength from her torn body and shamed pride and says:

> What's the use of clothes? You can strip me, but how can you cloth me again? Are you a man? (Devi, 402)

Her body is bleeding but her courage remains unaffected, her feminine nakedness standing as a guard against any further shaming of her. Rape of women, especially the Dalit women, was a form of suppression used by the state authorities to crush down their

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revolutionary spirits. Another critic, Lakshmi R.Nair, shares the same view in her article titled "Dismantling Theory of Rejection to Resistance: Dalit Feminist Consciousness in Mahasweta Devi's Draupadi":

> "Draupadi" depicts how a marginalized tribal woman derives strength from her body and inner feminine core to fight against her marginality. Here, the woman's body becomes an instrument of vicious denunciation of patriarchy and hegemony which are ironical, counter-canonical, anti-literary and contradictory.

After Draupadi decides to unveil herself and stand naked in front of Senanayak, she seems to be an empowered woman. Dr. Krishnaveni in an article "Draupadi – The symbol of Retaliation" quotes Miller and says that the change in Draupadi is only possible because of her empowerment:

> The term "empowerment" refers to a range of activities from individual self-assertion to collective resistance, protest and mobilization that challenge basic power relation. For individuals and groups where class, caste, ethnicity and gender determine access to resource and power, their empowerment begins when they recognize the systematic forces that oppress them, but act to change existing power relationships.

Unlike Draupadi of the epic who was saved by Lord Krishna, Draupadi Mejhen's tears remain unheeded to the Gods. No miracles save her. It is only when that she realizes that her oppression has reached its zenith and she cannot be degraded or exploited further, she becomes empowered by the strength of her feminine body, her nakedness:

> There isn't a man here that I should be ashamed. I will not let you put my cloth on me. What more can you do? Come on, counter me- come on, counter me - ? (Devi, 402

But is it only the upper-caste men who oppress the Dalit women? Although books like *Manusmriti* justifies the act of killing a Dalit woman by stating that it is equivalent to killing a minor animal. It explicitly states:

> A Brahman, Kshatriya or Vaishya man can sexually exploit any Shudra woman. (*Manusmriti* IX.25)

If such statements have already been made in texts that are so strictly followed by the Hindus, then no further explanation is needed for the exploitation faced by the Dalit women. All channels of upliftment of Dalit women had been closed. Dalit women faced a kind of double exploitation firstly because of their gender and secondly because of their social status. In Devi's story, Draupadi had gathered courage to rise in rebellion against their relative deprivation and social exclusion but was ultimately faced with the most torturous form of punishment – rape. But as I questioned earlier, is it only the upper-caste men who oppress and exploit Dalit women? I guess no. If we read the recollections of the past events as they flash in Draupadi's mind we would remember that Shomai and Budhna, two of their partners, had fled away by train. Draupadi shirks them off from her mind by calling them "half-breeds" (Devi, 399) because she believed that true Santhals never deceive their fellow men or women. Their treachery could prove dangerous because they knew everything about their forthcoming plans and Draupadi shifted her attention towards making changes in the places of their hideouts. But little did she know that their treachery would cost her a lot! The police succeeded in catching her and the credits went to Shomai and Budhna as they had not fled by train, they had stayed back to help the police in catching hold of the rebellious woman, Draupadi. What followed was just another example of the exploitation of Dalit women but the causes that led to such a shameful incident cannot and rather should not go unheeded. Dulna and Dopdi were the leaders of the Bakuli Operation. After killing Surja Sahu they had been constantly hiding from the police to save themselves and their fellow men but after Dulna's death, Dopdi became the leader of the group. Although she had all the qualities that a true leader should have yet she was deceived by two traitorous men of her own group, of her own caste. This might possibly mean that Shomai and Budhna did not want to be led by a woman even though she belonged to their clan. They did not want to be under the guidance of a woman who is generally epitomized as the tender and the second sex. Women have been denied access to any means that could elevate her status or uplift her in *Manusmriti* and especially the Dalit women face more exploitation than women of other upper-castes. But Devi's story shows another perspective also. Draupadi had faced the sexual oppression and abuse because of two Dalit men. Thus Draupadi had not only been marginalized and exploited by upper-caste officers but she had also faced marginalization by two of the members of her Dalit clan. It points out to another reality – the double marginalization of Dalit women, the first one being exercised by the upper-caste members and the second being implemented by the dalits themselves. When Draupadi stepped into her husband's shoes in order to lead as well as protect the other Dalit men, she was brought down to the ground by those whom she had wanted to protect. She had probably become oblivious of the fact that she was a woman whose duty is to remain submissive towards men instead of trying to save men from impending dangers. She had violated the norms of patriarchy by trying to become the leader of the Dalit men who were involved in Operation Bakuli. The Dalit men, Shomai and Budhna, were perhaps ready to be exploited by the upper-caste officers rather than being led by a woman. Draupadi had broken the patriarchal norms and she was aptly punished for that. This story although ends with Draupadi becoming an empowered woman yet the fact still remains that not only do the upper-caste members marginalize Dalit women but even the Dalit men do not lag behind in bringing about their downfall.

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In the end, Draupadi- a victim of gang rape and abuse ordained by the forces of the State that is supposed to punish such heinous crimes- draws power from her maimed body and strikes terror into the hearts of those very state forces. Deepti Misti argues:

> "The moment at which the raped subject refuses the obedient, shame-ridden femininity that is scripted for her is the moment when administrative masculinity falls apart, if only for a moment (606-7)."

Draupadi's indomitable spirit turns her nakedness and gang-raped body into a force that terrifies the State forces (Misri 608). Women's bodies have acted as sites of punishment, revenge and violence by state forces during wars, the partitions of nation-states witnessed in South Asia, and during protests and uprising by minority and marginalised forces. Mahasweta Devi's Draupaudi is subjected to the age-old punishment and vengeance meted out to dalit women by the State forces dominated by the upper castes, but the undefeated figure of Draupadi reminds the society of the times when the body of a woman have risen as form of feminist protests against the terrors of the State on marginalised communities.

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We typeset manuscripts using advanced typesetting tools like Adobe In Design, CorelDraw, TeXnicCenter, and TeXStudio. We usually recommend authors submit their research using any standard format they are comfortable with, and let Global Journals do the rest.

Alternatively, you can download our basic template from https://globaljournals.org/Template.zip

Authors should submit their complete paper/article, including text illustrations, graphics, conclusions, artwork, and tables. Authors who are not able to submit manuscript using the form above can email the manuscript department at submit@globaljournals.org or get in touch with chiefeditor@globaljournals.org if they wish to send the abstract before submission.

Before and during Submission

Authors must ensure the information provided during the submission of a paper is authentic. Please go through the following checklist before submitting:

1. Authors must go through the complete author guideline and understand and *agree to Global Journals' ethics and code of conduct,* along with author responsibilities.
2. Authors must accept the privacy policy, terms, and conditions of Global Journals.
3. Ensure corresponding author's email address and postal address are accurate and reachable.
4. Manuscript to be submitted must include keywords, an abstract, a paper title, co-author(s') names and details (email address, name, phone number, and institution), figures and illustrations in vector format including appropriate captions, tables, including titles and footnotes, a conclusion, results, acknowledgments and references.
5. Authors should submit paper in a ZIP archive if any supplementary files are required along with the paper.
6. Proper permissions must be acquired for the use of any copyrighted material.
7. Manuscript submitted *must not have been submitted or published elsewhere* and all authors must be aware of the submission.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interest

It is required for authors to declare all financial, institutional, and personal relationships with other individuals and organizations that could influence (bias) their research.

Policy on Plagiarism

Plagiarism is not acceptable in Global Journals submissions at all.

Plagiarized content will not be considered for publication. We reserve the right to inform authors' institutions about plagiarism detected either before or after publication. If plagiarism is identified, we will follow COPE guidelines:

Authors are solely responsible for all the plagiarism that is found. The author must not fabricate, falsify or plagiarize existing research data. The following, if copied, will be considered plagiarism:

- Words (language)
- Ideas
- Findings
- Writings
- Diagrams
- Graphs
- Illustrations
- Lectures

- Printed material
- Graphic representations
- Computer programs
- Electronic material
- Any other original work

Authorship Policies

Global Journals follows the definition of authorship set up by the Open Association of Research Society, USA. According to its guidelines, authorship criteria must be based on:

1. Substantial contributions to the conception and acquisition of data, analysis, and interpretation of findings.
2. Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
3. Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

Changes in Authorship

The corresponding author should mention the name and complete details of all co-authors during submission and in manuscript. We support addition, rearrangement, manipulation, and deletions in authors list till the early view publication of the journal. We expect that corresponding author will notify all co-authors of submission. We follow COPE guidelines for changes in authorship.

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Appealing Decisions

Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

Declaration of funding sources

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Preparing your Manuscript

Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

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

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

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

Structure and Format of Manuscript

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

A research paper must include:

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

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

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

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

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.

Format Structure

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

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.

Keywords

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

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

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

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

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

Numerical Methods

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

Abbreviations

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

Formulas and equations

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

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

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

Figures

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.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

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).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

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

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

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

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

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

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

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

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

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

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:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- 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.

Title page:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (methods and materials):

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

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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



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Results:

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

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

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

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

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

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

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

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

Approach:

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

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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