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Highlights

- Rural Environment of Paulista
- A Transformative Education Experience
- The Paranista Movement in Brazil
- Romanian Shirts from the Republic of Moldova

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Reverse Urbanization How Remote Working and Technology are Changing Cities

By Emiliano Mandrone

INAPP (Istituto Nazionale per lanalisi delle politiche pubbliche)

Abstract- The interaction between the health emergency and the available technology produces an extraordinary metamorphosis of social and economic customs. This energy has released an intense centrifugal force that has displaced activities and people quickly and radically, with strong consequences on the structure of cities. To properly metabolize these changes, adequate cultural processing and specific services are needed.

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Reverse Urbanization How Remote Working and Technology are Changing Cities

Emiliano Mandrone

Abstract- **The interaction between the health emergency and the available technology produces an extraordinary metamorphosis of social and economic customs. This energy has released an intense centrifugal force that has displaced activities and people quickly and radically, with strong consequences on the structure of cities. To properly metabolize these changes, adequate cultural processing and specific services are needed.**

Introduction

Cities make an extraordinary contribution to culture and the economy, growth, and progress. They feed needs that become a demand for services that, in turn, become employment: a *virtuous circle* as Lucas and Jacobs argued, a multiplier of human, social and financial capital, an environment of contamination and synthesis of new and different ideas, where needs are created and satisfied, in short, they are self-nourishing.

In 2018, a UN report estimated that 54% of the world's population lives in urban areas, and the incidence is destined to rise to 70% in 2030. However, the rapid decomposition of urban areas for the changed social customs post-Covid, makes it necessary to reconsider these projections.

When a force (demographic, financial) acts on a space, pressure is created; in our cities, this tension has taken the name of stress, traffic, competition, congestion, cost of living... Some examples:

- Parisians have only 22 square meters per person of housing, perhaps because on average they cost 10 thousand euros per meter, +248% since 2000. This created huge gentrification of the Ville *Lumiere,* which expelled workers, employees, and families away from the city streets. As well as in London, Milan, San Francisco.
- Rome is wonderful in August! This cliché implies that with fewer people the city becomes more pleasant and livable, the infrastructure and services appear adequate, traffic and queues disappear.
- There are fewer and fewer citizens and more and more users in the center of our cities: students, workers, tourists. The imbalance should be corrected to avoid *the Venice effect:* a city without its citizens.
- The fragility of urban ecosystems is surprising: in New York, local services generate 96% of employment and so, when 1/3 closed for Covid, 500 thousand unemployed were instantly created.
- Stockholm and Berlin, to refer to the most recent cases, have a serious problem of rental housing. The supply is insufficient, and this drives up the rents, creating a strong social tension since a large part of their (high) incomes go into rent.

The Economist (2021) reflected on the hundred years of established routines gone in pieces: from the office to the school, from crowded Bus to congested traffic, from weekend queues to rows at the restaurant. That regularity – nice or ugly – is over. It takes a little adaptation to overcome the initial disorientation but now we know that it could work! Covid-19 was the detonator of a series of reorganization processes that only a few countries had already started: smart-work or teleworking has become an available option, an irreversible achievement. Yet another case of serendipity: looking for a solution to the epidemic, we have discovered new forms of provision of work performance.

The health emergency has succeeded in what so many urban planning policies have failed: rationalizing the distribution of activities and population. This decreased the pressure. But the pressure is a bit like inflation: too much overheats the system, too little turns it off. Will the low concentration of human and social capital have the same activation capacity as the city?

Will the virtual system be able to do without its physical nodes? From squares to blogs, from shopping malls to e-commerce, from universities to social networks, people connect, exchange data and things, share economic, technical, and cultural resources, discuss, and offer solutions that become innovations and fuel development. A handover is underway: will the digital environment replace the physical one as the hatching ground for progress?

The perfect storm hit the city. On the one hand, technological progress has allowed the dematerialization of a large part of the work activity, now made at a distance. On the other hand, the health emergency has made social distancing a desirable, sometimes indispensable, condition. These two trends are sustained, leading to an acceleration of the change in habits and customs, social and work.

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The interaction between the health emergency and the technology available is producing an extraordinary metamorphosis of social and economic patterns. Suddenly, citizens are exposed to a centrifugal force that projects them away from each other: the worker from the workplace, the student from the school, the researcher from the university, the customer from the store. Technology and the pandemic conspire together against the city, understood as a "container and content", compromising its economic value, and undermining its cultural role.

The flight from the city has already brought down rents and sales of commercial properties (more elastic at the price of residential ones) and, in a complementary way, increased the demand for larger houses and outdoor spaces. However, a more hidden truth seems to emerge: the value of the centre of our cities is above all a real estate value. Banks and insurance companies own properties of a very high value that is justified by the centripetal pressure that the production of goods and services feeds on very specific areas of our cities. If this pressure falls, the value of these real estate assets decreases accordingly. Remote work shuffles the cards and misalign the hierarchies of real estate values. This change destabilizes the economic systems that base their strength on real estate assets.

Geography without space and time. In the digital season, space and time are increasingly relative and the centre-periphery or north-south antitheses also fade. Even the geography will be redesigned no longer based on history, distances, or orography but concerning the download speed, the delivery time of a package or the cost of energy.

This "digital-health" counter-reform has given rise to a process of decongestion of cities that, indirectly, will have repercussions on the development strategy of internal or remote areas – provided they are connected – which will finally be able to repopulate with activities, projects, and people.

However, the risk of displacement is high. *Reverse urbanization* – redistributing resources concentrated in the city-center – will change the socio-economic structure. Highly anthropized environments are great catalysts for human, financial and technological resources that take time to be converted. The settlement could be traumatic: a strong relocation of the population, a general downsizing of commercial real estate and an eccentric demand for services compared to the more structured areas (south-working). Are offices, subways, restaurants and half-empty shops a step towards a - so longed for - society more on a human scale or the beginning of a downward spiral, of decline?

Technological change (Mandrone, 2018) requires adequate cultural elaboration to address new moral dilemmas (autonomous driving, priority in care, conditionality), transform ethics into legislation, social norm, and algorithms, and make informed choices in the presence of strong uncertainty.

Beyond the solution of the health crisis, Covid has been a detonator that has activated many processes irreversibly. A *vir(tu)al statesman* who, finally, has started remote work and cycle paths; given importance to health, school, and research; relaunched bogged down public works and restored centrality to the general interest. It has triggered many changes that ordinarily would have taken years to see the light.

We have entered a hyperbolic phase: machine learning, pandemics, big-data, climate, quantum computers... will twentieth-century rules and institutions be able to keep up? The very strong hybridization between the disciplines and the transversality of the digital plan requires a profound updating of the relationships between all the components of the system: adequate measuring instruments, new codes, different reward systems must be built… By breaking down the "work-presence" totem, it has even created the conditions to make social security reforms credible; to achieve gender, generational, territorial and environmental equal opportunities, for demographic revival; to update health, school and welfare, to rethink the territory and reduce pollution. Only 24 months ago, many tried to counter change by feeding doubts and fears, proposing conservative solutions to protect position rents, opposing the updating of our social system.

Traditionally, technological progress has always "added mass" to our lives: cars, household appliances, plants, etc. At a certain point we began to "remove mass" with a process in stages: first miniaturization (valves-transistors), then dematerialization (letters-fax-email) and, finally, convergence in a single instrument of multiple functions (smartphones, notebooks). This evolutionary process has had a huge impact on our way of life. It would be stupid not to use it to better live the workplace, as we do for everything else.

The aversion to policies of social inclusion and redistribution of resources is due to an error of perspective: the cause is exchanged for the effect. An error of focus that leads to an intransigence with the variable effect depending on whether you look at the rich or the poor, women, or men, young or old, the north or the south ... immigrants or recommended. Covid has been an extraordinary natural experiment that has shown in a plastic way how the impossibility of working or producing income or doing business may not depend on the individual, making the social stigma that has often accompanied the beneficiaries of subsidies or social treatments or bonuses disappear.

There was a lot of improvisation. The burnout was strong. Extraordinary resilience. You will have to learn to manage your free and worked time, to rethink the places of work and life, to delimit the spaces, to

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review the value sets (Mandrone, 2020) and social canons. It will change the home, the school, the sport, the buses, the shops, the work, the weekend, the guide, the money, the Public Administration...

The liquid society of Bauman is the prequel of the digital world: data flow, images, information, ideas, georeferencing create an environment where conventional references no longer exist. Where traditional categories fail, where it is not easy to orient themselves because of the third dimension. Digital shuffle cards. Individuals with undefined connotations, now workers, then users, first consumers, then producers: economic gender fluid.

The ecological transition also means decongestion (Oke, Mills, Christen, Voogt; 2017), and technology is of great help in this because it promotes the dematerializes documents and digitizes services, offering a digital work plan potentially equivalent to the traditional one.

To prevent history from repeating itself, bureaucracy must be simplified, controls must be improved using data and technology, work together to plan actions in the territories, make investments with a broad perspective, consider the cost of operation and not only that of carrying out the work, improve local administrations, build public goods.

The economic forces, bearers of conservative demands, see in the redistribution on the territory of people, work, knowledge, and value as a dangerous reclamation because it damages consolidated interests, like any radical reform. We must not forget what we have seen, withdraw from our positions (Bojovic, Benavides, Soret; 2020).

Things are changing. In the United States, 10 million people are looking for a job. And companies fail to close 8 million open positions. Paul Krugman (2021) wrote, "Workers don't want their old jobs on the old terms". *The remotely workable job* is the new segmentation of the digital labour market (Mandrone, 2021).

In addition, the *remotely workable job* can be an alternative strategy for those who had opted for a modulation of the supply of non-standard work, like part-timers or seasonal workers.

Resources should be used to upgrade a new social system, not to restore the last backup!

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Commons, Veblen and Inequalities: Looking Up or Down?

By Philippe Broda

Abstract- The aim of this article is to show that, even if both Commons and Veblen denounce the increase in inequalities, they do not approach the issue from the same angle. Linking together those at the top of the social ladder and the lower classes, Commons is primarily concerned with the latter. A real improvement in their lot requires a correction of the excesses of capitalism. Veblen, on the contrary, focuses on the dominant classes whom he opposes to the "common men". He attacks them by accusing them of being responsible for systemic dysfunctions. However, the waste of resources they cause is not directly associated with the emergence of social misery. In the end, the poor find themselves on the periphery of his model.

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Commons, Veblen and Inequalities: Looking Up or Down?

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Abstract- The aim of this article is to show that, even if both Commons and Veblen denounce the increase in inequalities, they do not approach the issue from the same angle. Linking together those at the top of the social ladder and the lower classes, Commons is primarily concerned with the latter. A real improvement in their lot requires a correction of the excesses of capitalism. Veblen, on the contrary, focuses on the dominant classes whom he opposes to the "common men". He attacks them by accusing them of being responsible for systemic dysfunctions. However, the waste of resources they cause is not directly associated with the emergence of social misery. In the end, the poor find themselves on the periphery of his model.

Introduction

The growth of economic inequalities in recent decades has given rise to multiple studies that approach the issue from different angles. Thomas Piketty (2013) focuses on the haves, the first decile and even the first percentile. Angus Deaton (2013), on the other hand, analyses at length the downgraded categories of the population. For his part, Branko Milanovic (2016) reasoned at the global level by distinguishing inequalities between countries and those between the individuals who inhabit countries. At a time when the old institutionalism is emerging, the United States is also in a dynamic of unequal distribution of resources. It is so strong that, in his famous intervention in which he tries to define the contours of this intellectual current, Walton Hamilton (1919) explains that the very notion of an institution, which is one of its major characteristics[1], must be thought of in relation to the distribution of income. Institutional change should only be considered in this perspective. This article explores how two of the central figures of institutionalism, John R. Commons and Thorstein B. Veblen address the issue. Although both are shocked by the rise in inequality, there is indeed a discrepancy between them. Commons has his eyes turned towards the lower classes while Veblen is obsessed with the behavior of the elites[2].

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This result may seem paradoxical. The political positions of the two men are well known. Veblen is a radical (Dugger and Sherman, 1994; Edgell and Townshend, 1993; Tilman, 1996) and Commons a reformer (Chasse, 2017; Harter Jr., 1962), relating himself to a form of social "conservatism" (Commons, [1934] 1964). One would expect a person like Veblen who rejects the system to refer to its injustices, to the suffering they generate like European revolutionary thinkers in the nineteenth century. This is not what Veblen does. Besides, his argument is based on a social division that is more American than European (section 2). As for Commons, he is surprisingly moderate. However sensitive he may be to the socio-economic situation of the poor, he is not led to adhere to a strategy of rupture - this at a time when a class struggle fed by the Marxist theory is present in the backdrop of his work. It is even likely that his intimate knowledge of the most vulnerable categories has contributed to his preference for immediate improvements, without risk, although they are less ambitious. To this end, the help of the elites is partly essential (section 3). Before that, the historical context, *id est* the explosion of economic disparities that Commons and Veblen have witnessed, will be described (section 1).

I. The Growth of Inequalities

The period between the end of the American Civil War and the very beginning of the twentieth century is called the "Gilded Age" (Cashman, 1984; Morgan, 1963; White, 2017). The somewhat ironic wording reveals a mixed picture of the era, to say the least. Economic performance is accompanied by problems that arise in the political and social spheres[3]. The figures for economic growth are indeed striking. The post-war reconstruction combined with a forced-march industrialization led to an annual growth rate of more than 4%, or about 300% over 30 years despite a few episodes of depression. The economic landscape is changing with the naked eye. Large production units are developing at a frenetic pace. The share of agriculture in the national wealth has decreased from more than a

[1] In addition to institutions, Hamilton (1919) invites to integrate the ideas of process, social control and a more realistic theory of human behavior.

[2] Commons and Veblen propose other stratifications, notably according to gender (Jennings, 1998; Leonard, 2016) and race (Leonard, 2016; Zouache, 2017) which are not incompatible with this social division. But these representations are not the core of Commons and Veblen's approach.

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quarter to 15% over these few decades, while the evolution of industry has followed exactly the opposite path. This relative decline is measured in parallel by the drop in the share of peasants in the working population whereas they used to make up more than half of the workforce.

This economic boom first occurred in the extractive and heavy industries before spreading to the other sectors. A phenomenon of concentration accompanies it. The omnipotence of these quasi-monopolies that dominate the country's economy is scaring. The contradiction between their interests and those of the population is so apparent that it forces the legislator to intervene in 1890 with the Sherman Act. As the problem remains unresolved, an Industrial Commission appointed by President William McKinley also meet between 1898 and 1902 to reflect on it more systematically[4]. However, the influence of these mastodons is not limited to setting high prices. Collusion between economic and political circles causes scandal after scandal. They are denounced by journalists or "muckrakers" who describe a society in which corruption reigns. As a result, the image of the great industrial magnates is not uniform (Folsom, 1987). Some people are full of admiration for their remarkable success. For these scholars, men like John Davidson Rockfeller and Andrew Carnegie maintain the myth of the self-made-man (Morris, 2006). Others detect beings bereft of morals, convinced that no-holds-barred - hence the nickname of "robbers barons" with which they were labelled by their detractors (Josephson, 1934).

The social issue is an additional flaw in this economic expansion. The increase in gross national product per capita is only 2 per cent and not only because 14 million immigrants have had to be absorbed in 40 years. The fruits of growth are not fairly distributed. The power relationship between capital and labor is not balanced. The Homestead conflict in 1892 is emblematic of this state of affairs: the clash between the managers of the firm which belonged to Carnegie and a union of skilled iron and steel workers turned against the latter, who even end up crushed by it. As a result of this setback, the number of unionized workers in the steel industry fell drastically from 24 000 to 10 000 in eight years. Two years later, the Pullman strike confirmed the supremacy of companies. The strike movement supported by a boycott of unionized railway workers against the company producing railway cars ended with an intervention of federal forces in Chicago to stop the strike. It is the workers and trade union leaders who will be convicted by the courts.

It must be said that the judicial system is favorable to companies. Although freedom of association has always been a fundamental right in the United States, employers have ensured that trade union action becomes deprived of substance with the complicity of the courts. The "injunction" is its main weapon (Brody, 2003). Boycotts and even strikes are criminalized. Companies that consider themselves victims of damage that would fall within the scope of a "conspiracy" are entitled to demand immediate compensation from labour unions who defy them by defending their interests through collective action. Any attempt to exert pressure is regarded as being tantamount to a desire to destroy the companies. The "yellow dog contracts" that condition the hiring of workers on their non-union membership was crucial in this opposition between employers and trade union organizations. When called upon to rule on the subject, the Supreme Court legalized them in 1917 with the Hitchman case.

Many segments of the population are vulnerable. Despite solid growth, the unemployment rate sometimes exceeds 10%. In the midst of a depression, the lack of available jobs forced battalions of unemployed people to march on Washington in the spring of 1894. Among these dozens of "armies", the one that its leader Jacob Coxey calls "Army of the Commonwealth in Christ" is certainly the best known and enjoys broad popular support (Debouzy, 2003; McMurry, [1929] 1968). Its demands, which are not political but only economic, will not be met. For those lucky enough to work, the modernization of the productive apparatus or slowdowns in activity often lead to wage cuts - the strikes in Homestead and Pullman illustrate this. Since employers categorically refuse to give in to the demands of workers, the working classes live in conditions of economic insecurity and social discomfort. Inequalities are widening and entire sections of the population are living in precariousness and poverty.

Moreover, the problem is not limited to an income gap. Working hours, Sunday rest or safety are similarly variations of capital-labor conflict. The clear awareness that it is necessary to ease social tensions triggers initiatives that move in this direction. Founded in 1900, the National Civic Federation (*NCF*) is an organization that brings together business leaders, workers's representatives and experts, while being guided by a rather progressive approach (Cyphers, 2002). Its members share the conviction that a benevolent application of the law is not enough and that it is necessary to be proactive on these issues. Pioneer states, particularly Wisconsin, where Commons will play a significant role, also address the problem by legislating. In the same vein, they implement industrial commissions (Chasse, 2017; Harter Jr.,1962). Nevertheless, all these actions do not prevent the situation of workers from deteriorating in the United States (Kaufman, 1993). In this context, President Taft considers that the social "unrest" has to be handled at

[4] Enacting the *Clayton Act* in 1914 was also intended to remedy the shortcomings of this law.

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the federal level (Adams Jr., 1966). This is why he set up a National Commission on Industrial Relations in 1912[5].

This historical sequence undeniably helps to shape the thinking of Commons and Veblen. The Industrial Commission is an excellent illustration of this (Hamilton, 1998). In *The Theory of Business Enterprise* ([1904] 1978), Veblen quite often refers to its reports in footnotes. They are supposed to consolidate his thesis that companies are prepared to use any means they can to create power relations that are favorable to them and increase their earnings. According to Commons ([1934] 1990), Veblen draws excessive conclusions in terms of coercion. This example is all the more eloquent because it is one of the rare cases where one comments on the analysis of the other[6]. Usually, the two men do not rely on the same facts. Those that attract their attention are normally correlated with their political conceptions. On the theme of trade unionism, Veblen ([1932] 1934) took advantage of a survey he conducted on behalf of the Food Administration on labor problems in agriculture to show support for the demands of the Industrial Workers of the Word (*IWW*), a radical union. For his part, Commons ([1925] 1996) will react to the death of Samuel Gompers, the historical leader of the *American Federation of Labor* (AFL), by praising his conduct as responsible.

It is also important to keep in mind that the professional relationship of Veblen and Commons to this event flow is not identical either. Despite a brief interlude in the service of the federal administration during the First World War, during which he conducted his survey on agricultural issues (Dorfman, [1934] 1972), Veblen remains a pure academic. Being at an exclusively intellectual level, he does not intervene in economic life and confines himself to a position of observer. This certainly does not prevent him from commenting on current events such as the march of Coxey's army, in an academic journal (Veblen, [1894] 1934), or the Bolshevik Revolution in a newspaper with a strong political impact, *The Dial* (Veblen, [1919] 1934). But he does so each time on the basis of a pre-existing reading grid that will vary little throughout his career. The facts he selects are merely illustrations that he mentions to validate his point.

As for Commons, he is quickly becoming an actor involved in attempting to resolve economic problems. Excluded from academia, he was invited at the turn of the twentieth century to produce a report on immigration for the Industrial Commission (Commons, [1934] 1964). He then joined the *NCF* in 1902 where he eventually specialized in arbitrating or conciliating labor disputes (Cyphers, 2002; Chasse, 2017). His come back to the academic world was combined with a continuation of his reformist action in the service of Robert La Follette's administration in the State of Wisconsin. The abilities he is recognized with even earned him a seat on the National Commission on Industrial Relations (Chasse, 2017; Harter Jr., 1962). His analytical corpus was built up as these experiments progressed. The first sentence of *Institutional Economics*, « my point of view is based on my participation in collective activities from which I here derive a theory » ([1934] 1990, 1), announces it. His institutionalism is the result of his role as an actor - his legal tropism, his interest in jurisprudence should be understood in this light[7].

II. Veblen: Targeting the Dominant Classes

In *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Veblen, [1899] 1994, *TLC*), the solidarity which supposedly united men originally has disappeared. Individualism reigns. Veblen describes a childish confrontation between individuals, a desire to distinguish himself at any price from other men through his "conspicuous consumption" and his "conspicuous leisure"- this competition itself being synonymous with disorder and dissatisfaction since it never has an end. According to some critics (Dorfman [1934] 1972), the book would reveal mostly satire. It is intended as a caustic painting of the morals of his time. It is true that the practices of the "robber barons" appear to be completely shocking and even grotesque. Beyond the mockery, however, a theory is presented. The mechanisms underlying these behaviors are carefully dissected and how they relate to the economic situation. The second point is that all categories of the population are affected by this spiral. Its general character is attested by Veblen's reference to institutions, which are the habits of life and of thought prevalent in the community, and even to the notion of culture, which is defined by its institutions.

Veblen effectively dissociates two types of institutions, industrial institutions and pecuniary institutions. While the groups spirit leads to productive efficiency in the former, inter-individual rivalries result in a waste of collective resources in the latter. To be considered at the top of the social ladder, it is important to adopt a dilapidating attitude that ultimately penalizes society as a whole. Besides, waste is a sign of the

[5] Then, for the first time, the expression "industrial relations" supersedes "labor problems" (Kaufman, 1993). The underlying intention is to go beyond the classic framework of the opposition between capital and labor by taking into account subjects such as productive efficiency with the effects of Taylor's "scientific management".

[6] The other situation in which Commons comments Veblen - the opposite has never happened - is more theoretical: he criticizes his colleague's conception of property (Commons,[1899-1900] 1965).

[7] Commons ([1924] 1959; [1934] 1990) will thus mention several times the Hitchman case to criticize its implicit logic. The vision of a face-to-face meeting between an association of people gathered within a trade union, likely to create a "conspiracy", and a simple unit of ownership, the company, was biased, even partisan.

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"industrial exemption" from which the wealthy benefit. This scheme therefore pinpoints the upper categories and those who seek to stand out from the crowd (Veblen, [1899] 1994). Seeking to maintain its privileged position, the "leisure class" defines honorable conduct and imposes the criteria of good taste. However, the rest of the population is following in its footsteps within its means. Without being aware of what is at stake, people lend themselves to this comedy by admiring the practices of the wealthy and striving to imitate them. Consequently, Veblen's approach is binary "superior" is opposed to "inferior" or "common people" which are equivalent, "noble" faces "base".

This divide leaves little space for the poor. They belong to the inferior class without, most of the time, being dissociated from the middle class. Veblen is so obsessed with the ruling classes that commentators discuss his possible inclination for the "savage" period, *id est* a society where the life of the entire community is frugal, without superfluous consumption (Diggins, 1978 ; Dowd, 1964 ; Riesman, 1953). Whether they are right or not, it is clear anyway that the question of social status, a true indicator of the breakdown of the solidarity, takes precedence over that of the standard of living in his eyes (Veblen, [1899] 1994). The case of the penniless nobles who prefer to live in poverty rather than recognize that they need to work shows it. Similarly, consumption is not addressed through the practical service that goods can provide. As Georges Friedmann (1971) rightly points out, the function of dressing, for example, is erased in front of the symbolic dimension of the habit. These arguments confirm that Veblen's aim is not to improve the material situation of the weakest but to attack the undue advantages of the ruling class.

A passage from TLC ([1899] 1994) represents an exception to Veblen's silence on the situation of the poor. It ends with the following summary:

> "The institution of a leisure class hinders cultural development immediately 1) by the inertia proper to the class itself, 2) through its prescriptive example of conspicuous waste and of conservatism, and 3) *indirectly* through that system of unequal distribution of wealth and sustenance on which the institution itself rests" ([1899] 1994, 127, italics mine).

The Argument is Elementary: If institutions remain ill-adapted to the needs of community members, it is also because people who struggle to earn a livelihood do not have the energy to challenge or revolutionize the ways of thinking ([1899] 1994). They are too busy trying to survive to innovate in terms of social organization[8]. However, this is only an indirect effect and comes after the explanations previously advanced. This model is perpetuated mainly because the elites are the forerunners and the majority of the "common men" imitate them.

The statement that "the accumulation of wealth at the upper end of the pecuniary scale implies privation at the lower end of the scale" (Veblen, ([1899] 1994, 126) should not be misunderstood. Veblen explains that the "barbarian" culture which comes after the solidarity which characterized the beginnings of humanity, arose after the emergence of a surplus. This abundance of material resources has generated many desires. Men fought over their ownership; this led to the end of the peaceful era (Veblen,[1899] 1994 ; [1914] 1990). Yet, "deprivation" does not mean that some individuals have offloaded other members of the group from their own property. The best evidence is that the surplus has often been made up of people captured in conflicts with other groups. It is taken outside. Veblen argues that a differentiation has occurred within communities on the basis of specific criteria such as bravery in combat. The elite that loomed on this occasion simply siphoned off the overages for its own benefit. Inequalities have resulted from this confiscation of wealth. In this configuration, capitalism is only a particular form of barbarian society in which the search of "invidious distinctions" is only pecuniary.

In this respect, Veblen refutes Karl Marx's positions. Regardless of the indisputable political convergences between the two men (Dugger and Sherman, 1994), their conceptions are ultimately quite different (Edgell and Townshend, 1993). By transposing to production his consumption analysis, Veblen ([1904] 1990) retains the concept of waste as a guiding principle. The logic of wealth accumulation implemented by business leaders does not push them to increase production, for the benefit of the community too, but rather to develop restriction strategies. It is the artificial shortage they initiate that Veblen presents as the first factor of their economic success. The influence of the Industrial Commission is obvious. The institutionalist author even speaks of "sabotage" to describe this policy as systematic obstruction (Veblen, [1921] 1983). The main social antagonism that emerges from the pecuniary culture is between "vested interests" and "common men" - it is even the title of one of his books (Veblen,[1919] 1946). There are no poor, no proletarians, just citizens who are overwhelmed by the cartels implemented by the business community.

Therefore, the sabotage in question must not be confused with the notion of "exploitation" that Veblen criticizes in particular from an epistemological point of view. The Marxist idea that the worker is expropriated of the product of his work is related to the theory of natural rights. According to him, this is an archaic preconception in the era of methodological Darwinism

[8] It is interesting to note that recent works have called into question this vision, which seems a priori to be a matter of common sense. In developing countries, people living in poverty do not use their meagre resources to feed themselves with high-calorie foods and to dress. Due to a lack of perspectives, they seek to move away from poverty markers and consume like the privileged classes (Banerjee and Duflo, 2011).

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(Veblen[1906] 1990). Marx establishes a direct link between the enrichment of capitalists and the impoverishment of their employees. The "economic freedom" of the workers, that is their situation of extreme deprivation, forces them to offer their productive services to the holders of capital that rob them on this occasion (Marx,[1867] 2008). The "surplus value" theory stipulates that what is lost by some is won by others. The Marxist solution consists in putting an end to these relationships of domination that have structured the economy since slavery. For Veblen, the objective is to enable the economic system to operate at full capacity. In the "Memorandum on a Practicable Soviet of Technicians" (Veblen,[1921] 1983), he proposes that experts take control of the productive organization for the benefit of the community as a whole[9].

Actually, Veblen is in line with the way social sciences developed in the United States. The analysis in terms of conflicts between social classes has penetrated relatively little in this country. Marx's transplant did not succeed (Dorfman, [1949] 1969, Gurney, 1981; Small, 1916). The image of citizens facing economic giants in a rapidly changing environment has left its mark on people's minds - hence the influence of Darwinism, and more precisely Spencer's ideas (Fine, 1956; Hofstadter,[1944] 1965); Ross, 1991). The theme of poverty is rather neglected in the academic field and, when mentioned, it includes very disparate categories - Blacks, rural populations, the elderly without resources. ... - whose status is not connected to the springs of capitalism (Roach, 1965). In this social stratification, it is the "common man" who is put forward, not only by intellectuals but also in the American collective imaginary[10].

Veblen's ([1894] 1934) view of the march of the "Army of the Commonwealth in Christ" corroborates this observation. He notes that it was composed primarily of the unemployed worker, the poor in search of a decent income. However, these claims are not up to the challenge of transforming the economic system[11]. They are based on three influences whose anachronistic nature is asserted: a protectionist discourse combined with bimetallism, a socialist Christianity and a reformism confident in the corrective role of the state. There is certainly nothing radical in the speeches of these few hundred beggars. Veblen would have liked their distress to have led to a different kind of awareness. He hoped that inequalities, respect for social hierarchy and the institution of property would be fully called into question. This explains Veblen's lack of compassion towards these unfortunate marchers as if the final fiasco was a reflection of the movement's lack of ambition. With the ironic turns that characterize him, he even teases it a little:

> "After all deduction is made for the spectacular and meretricious in this 'movement', after allowing for the attraction which it exerts on idlers as a temporary means of subsistence and entertainment, and on the friends of humanity as a means of martyrdom, after allowing for the elements of blackmail and of business shrewdness in the enthusiasm with which these straggling bands have sometimes, especially in the Middle West, been speeded on their way, and for the promptings of discontent that have mingled in the sympathy expressed by outsiders" (Veblen, [1894] 1934, 98).

It appears that Veblen's fight against wealth gaps requires a change in the economic model - hence his support for the Bolshevik Revolution, which attacks the "vested interests"- the business community, the landowners, the clergy (Veblen,[1919] 1934). He keeps his eyes fixed on them. As they drain economic resources, it is easy to imagine the consequences for the "common men" but Veblen does not dwell on the pressure that is exerted on them, nor on any explanatory mechanisms in Marxist logic. At most, he suggests that their frustration may feed a deleterious nationalism (Veblen, 1919[1946]). Within this vast group, one category of individuals nevertheless emerges: the industrial workers. Subjected to the process of the machine, they tend to become more lucid about the contradictions between productive efficiency and the artifices of social domination. It is not their status as proletarians but their proximity to industrial institutions that opens their eyes (Veblen,[1904] 1978). With diverse intellectual influences (Dubofsky, 2000), the members of the *IWW* are in total rupture with capitalism and Veblen ([1932] 1934) therefore supports them in this respect[12].

III. Commons: The Support of the Weak

Works that give account of the early stages of Commons's thought highlight that the issue of social misery is already very present (Chasse, 2017; Gonce, 1996; Harter Jr. , 1962). In addition to his deep interest in Henry George and "Progress and Poverty", the American economist showed a strong sensitivity towards religion, which came from his family environment. Social Christianity, which was very influential at the time, was characterized by a broad

[9] To what extent this memorandum was considered a real recommendation and how much Veblen felt close to Howard Scott's technocratic movement remain issues discussed (Brette, 2005; Dorfman [1934] 1972; Riesman, 1953; Tilman, 1996). Nevertheless, all these commentators agree that productive efficiency is limited and that it is the cause of the suffering of the population.

[10] He sometimes bear a different name. Apostle of economic liberalism and Spencer's propagator in the United States, William Graham Sumner (1918) calls "forgotten man" the middle-class citizen who is taxed by the state to finance unnecessary expenses. In another register, Frank Capra's films, especially "Meet John Doe" deal precisely with these people (Phelps, 1987) - John Doe designating in Anglo-Saxon law the man in the street or an unknown person.

[11] For Veblen, the dynamics of social change are such that there is a "dichotomy emerging from changing ways of production and the tendency to hold to the ideas of the past" (Mayhew, 1989, 561).

[12] See also Joseph Dorfman ([1934] 1972) and Ron Phillips (1987).

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spectrum of perspectives (Hopkins, 1940; Leonard, 2011). Commons quickly joined the "Social Gospel" movement, which strived to fight social injustices. Between Christians who considered poverty to be a moral test to be accepted and radicals who rejected the capitalist system, this was a moderate path that calls on the state to take measures to help the most disadvantaged[13]. In articles published in the *Oberlin Review*, of which he is editor-in-chief, he called for action by the public authorities (Gonce, 1996). All these elements are invariants of Commons's theorization and, even when he ceased to rely on religion in the 1890s, his desire for reform would not die out (Broda, 2013).

The meeting of Commons with Richard T. Ely, who became his mentor, strengthened his inclination to a form of "Christian socialism" (Chasse, 2017; Gonce, 1996; Harter Jr., 1962). In addition, it opens him up to new intellectual horizons since Ely, after studying economics under Karl Knies, became an ardent propagator of the conceptions of the German historical school (Rader, 1966). The capitalist-proletarian social stratification and the obvious nature of the state's conciliatory action in the conflict between the two classes, both in vogue on the European continent, will serve as a general framework for him. Moreover, Ely's contribution is not limited to these theoretical considerations. Commons is invited to develop a social worker activity. It is important to carry out an investigation of the facts in the field, his master recommends. This inductivist approach called "look-and-see" method[14], which he would later impose on his own students (Commons, [1934] 1964), puts him in direct contact with poverty. In other words, while Commons does not fail to analyse the causes of socio-economic upheavals, he also spends a lot of time observing their consequences.

The investigations that Commons conducts among disadvantaged categories of the population bring him into contact with the difficulties they face. He regrets that women are sometimes forced to abandon their role as housewives, which he considers essential, in order to work outside the home because the husband's income is not enough to provide for family (Commons, 1894a). Commons also mentions the deplorable living conditions, the insalubrity and lack of hygiene. He also underlines the ravages of alcoholism. These precise descriptions suggest a vicious circle of illiterate children who are ill-equipped to overcome precariousness. The measures he advocated at that time had the purpose to protect the family base from the threats he perceived: shortening working hours, protection against Sunday work, lighter Saturday hours, regulation of women's and children's work, higher wages - not to mention measures considered preventive such as alcohol prohibition, an ambitious housing policy and a change in nutritional habits.

The fight against poverty must be founded on social science knowledge rather than emotion (Commons, 1894a). However, the proximity of Commons to the harsh social reality is certainly not without impact on his ideas. Without having to be directly linked to empathy or love of neighbor, it can only reinforce his argument of an urgency for reform. The contrast between his positions and those of Veblen on the "industrial armies" of marchers to Washington is striking. Commons (1894b) describes it with benevolence[15]. He shows a great understanding of the motivations of the marchers. He sees in their movement proof that the poverty in which entire sections of the population are maintained borders on the unbearable. Political stability is threatened – and if not now, in the long term. There is no hint of irony in his text. The sarcastic tonality in Veblen's position must be reminded here. Of course, this writing trait is almost a Veblenian trademark. But it also reports a huge distance with the object studied. Between the Weberian axiological neutrality and indifference, the limit is certainly thin. On the other hand, a lack of perspective could be reproached to Commons, but for the latter, a social movement is not measured by its ability to overthrow the system. It is the fate of the weak that matters.

The exploration of the lower classes that Commons carries out takes into account very diverse situations because the bottom of the social scale includes a range of heterogeneous configurations. Victim of an unfavorable balance of power between supply and demand on the labor market (Commons, [1893] 1965; 1894), the native American worker who does not earn a decent livelihood for his family is his reference. But immigrants are more to be pitied. As part of his report on immigration for the Industrial Commission, Commons became acquainted with the "sweatshop system" thanks to Abraham Bisno, who guided him into this universe (Commons,[1934] 1964). The existence of small workshops, or even dwelling houses, with intermediaries called "contractors", makes it possible to play with regulations such as working hours and safety. A flexibility is thus offered to centralized production units, which rely on economies of scale and whose small structures are complementary (Albrecht, 1982, Auten, 1901). These arduous working conditions are more willingly accepted by immigrants who, as a result, contributes to the "displacement of

[13] These measures do not address all the shortcomings of economic liberalism. Thus, Commons and his mother founded the "Anti Saloon League" in Oberlin (Hunting, 2017; Harter Jr., 1962).

[14] Commons ([1934] 1990) will eventually relate himself to pragmatism. On this point, see William M. Dugger (1979) et Yngve Ramstad (1986).

[15] Whereas Veblen is interested in Coxey's "Army of the Commonwealth in Christ", Commons draws on Lewis C. Fry's army, which he calls Frey, and whose headquarters he visited (Commons, 1894b).

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higher standards by lower standards of living" (Commons, 1901, 304).

This overview can be considered quite complete because Commons is also immersed in the slums. Debates on questions of heredity and environmental influence rage in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. Lamarck's defenders have not yet given in to Darwinists (Haller, 1963; Hofstadter [1944] 1965). It is in this context that atypical populations find themselves in the spotlight. The Jukes are among them. This community is described as a large family composed mainly of marginalized, delinquent, degenerated and epileptic people[16]. Commons ([1934] 1964) takes advantage of the proximity of one of these tribes to send his students to observe them. The study confirms his reformist convictions since, according to him, the environment was chiefly to be incriminated (Commons [1897] 1996). In the end, whether it is workers, immigrants, desocialized people, women or children, Commons will have acquired a particularly detailed knowledge of socio-economic vulnerability over the years. The dissonance with Veblen, which focuses on the nuances at the top of the social ladder, is remarkable: the penniless nobles should not be confused with the captains of industry, some of whom use their resources to finance higher education by corrupting it (Veblen, [1899] 1994; 1918).

Besides this downward orientation, another feature has to be emphasized. Commons addresses inequalities in a logic of social conflicts. The institution of private property is essential in a context of material scarcity to regulate the allocation of resources (Commons, [1899-1900] 1965). Its securing function has as its counterpart a risk of deprivation for those who do not have an access to it. The right to "hold" a good gives also the right to "withold" it vis-à-vis others who are then in a situation of "exposure" to this right. Commons ([1924] 1959) forged a unit of economic analysis that made it possible to visualize this pattern of interdependence. Drawing on Wesley N. Hohfeld's system of jural relations, the "bargaining transaction" covers four pairs of "jural opposites" - "power-disability" for example - and four pairs of "jural correlatives" - among them, "power-liability". If it is true that Commons's formulation - two buyers, two sellers plus the state - goes beyond Hohfeld's bi-lateral relationship (Fiorito, 2010), it nevertheless reveals a conflicting mutual dependence. This means that, when inequalities are observed, the wealth of the dominant has as a corollary the destitution of the weakest. This is not directly the case for Veblen with his cleavage between elite and common men.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Commons ([1924] 1959; [1934] 1964; [1934] 1990) evokes in several places the existence of a class struggle. He endorses his principle but, if he then refers most often to Marx's ideas, he blames him for an overly simplistic social division into capitalists and workers. We must not forget farmers and the self-employed. Similarly, the lower classes should not be aggregated into a single category. Thanks to the knowledge he has acquired about them, he is aware that not only is there a gradation of situations but that interactions occur between them. The presence of immigrants but also of women and children is a windfall for employers and weighs on the working conditions of wage earners (Commons, 1894a; 1901). If measures are proposed to protect all (Chasse, 2017; Harter Jr., 1962), including *Lumpenproletariat*, Commons reformism targets white, male and native workers first and foremost[17]. By establishing an appropriate institutional framework, the unions representing them are able to resist the capitalists (Commons [1934] 1964).

Commons's support for Samuel Gompers's policy as head of the *AFL* is in line with this perspective[18]. Moreover, the union has opted for a realistic approach to defending workers's interests (Yellowitz, 1989) that can only satisfy the American economist. The latter attacks the "intellectuals", the utopians, whose revolutionary projects are adventurous and sterile for the working class. Less ambitious, the strategy to immediately improve the economic situation of workers is widely sustained. Taking up the distinction presented by his student Selig Perlman, Commons ([1934] 1964, 87) prefers the union representatives to be "wage conscious" than "class conscious". His reformist method, the imprint of pragmatism (Dugger, 1979; Ramstad, 1986) certainly explains this in part. It is possible that a very close knowledge of the living conditions of disadvantaged populations also plays a role in this respect. The balance of power exists and Commons often agrees with elements of Marx's diagnosis about it (Commons, [1934] 1964; [1934] 1990). However, the urgency of change is paramount and the responses to the growth of social inequalities must take this reality into account.

It is the same urgency to implement workable reforms, one of the definitions that Commons provides of "reasonable" (Dugger, 1979), that pushes him to open up to the standpoint of capitalists as well. Of

[16] The subject was introduced by Richard Dugdale in a lecture and then a book in 1877. While he did insist on intergenerational degeneration, it seems that the place of heredity in his thought was overestimated since he had also stated that: "unhealthy Jukes were much likely to be paupers than were healthy Jukes" (Trent, 1994, 66). In any case, if Commons has approached the theme, it is from another book, written by Alexander Johnson (Commons,[1934] 1964).

[17] It is symptomatic that, in his article on industrial armies, Commons (1894b) strives to show that marchers are "American workingmen" and that vagrants or beggars, reported by newspapers, are on the periphery of the movement but are not members.

[18] *AFL*'s positions on subjects like immigration (Mink, 1986) and women labor (Degler, 1980) converge coherently with Commons's.

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course, the aim is not to help them reach directly any objective of profit maximization. Some of them already know that concessions have to be made to the workers if they want to be sure that the system will not collapse. Others must become aware of this. Therefore, Commons inquires about good practices in place in specific companies or sectors. By being able to prove that their arrangement is not a pipe dream, it is easier to propose their generalization to the whole economy. Likewise, the atmosphere of conflict is so vivid that capitalists sometimes forget that they share common interests with the workers. Fewer workplace accidents is better for all. During his own personal career, Commons has met with business leaders, notably at the *NCF*. His respect for business leaders such as Andrew Carnegie and Mark A. Hanna, the latter having also been a politician, is sincere (Commons[1934] 1964). For him, the consent, even the collaboration, of the capitalists guarantee the effectiveness of the reforms. His progressivism may therefore seem mundane to radicals, but his concern for the lower classes is not contestable.

IV. Conclusion

Institutionalists agree on their firm rejection of "laissez-faire" in the face of the transformations of the economy at the turn of the twentieth century in the United States. The growth of inequalities is unacceptable to them. However, there are palpable differences between the positions of Commons and Veblen on the subject. While the former is primarily concerned with the plight of the deprived people, the latter is not really interested in them, focusing his attention on the elites he attacks with vigor. The translation into political terms is not self-evident since it is the one who knows best poverty and is most offended by it who is also the most moderate. However, this is not the only singularity to be noted. It appears that Veblen, which has long been considered alien to American society (Dorfman [1934] 1972) is probably more integrated into the American model than Commons. In an environment where Marx's theories have had little impact and Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis" has strongly forged national identity (Cronon, 1987), there were no irreducible social conflicts. The common man lived peacefully there until the emergence of large industrial groups. It is therefore those who run them who are targeted by Veblen. More European, Commons develops an analysis based on the traditional analysis of social conflicts. Its values encourage him to stand up for those who are dominated.

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Project for Brazil - Considerations about the Civilizational Model for the Rural Environment of Paulista

By Carla Juliao Da Silva

Abstract- This article presents reflections on race and the paths of economic modernization in rural São Paulo, based on other research on the subject. Civilizatory models and projects were offered in order to arrive at an archetype of nation as a proposal on the meaning of land use and custom and the place reserved for blacks in the São Paulo imagination throughout the 20th century. We will make a brief contextualization to understand such transformations, walking between the readings of literary works, such as "Urupês" by Monteiro Lobato and scientific works to understand the representations regarding naturalization, the social and economic legacies of the rural condition, modernization, economic globalization and operation of cooperatives in rural neighborhoods today.

Keywords: *rural identity; race; economic globalization.*

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Project for Brazil - Considerations about the Civilizational Model for the Rural Environment of Paulista

Um Projeto Para O Brasil - Considerações Sobre O Modelo Civilizacional Para O Meio Rural Paulista

Carla Juliao Da Silva

Resumo- O presente artigo apresenta reflexões sobre raça e os caminhos da modernização econômica no meio rural paulista com base em outras pesquisas sobre o tema. Modelos e projetos civilizatórios foram oferecidos no sentido de chegar a um arquétipo de nação como proposta sobre o sentido do uso e costume da terra e o lugar reservado ao negro no imaginário paulista ao longo do século XX. Faremos uma breve contextualização para compreender tais transformações, caminhando entre as leituras de obras literárias, como "Urupês" de Monteiro Lobato e trabalhos científicos para compreender as representações no diz respeito à naturalização, as heranças sociais e econômicas da condição rural, modernização, globalização econômica e atuação de cooperativas em bairros rurais atualmente.

Palavras-chave: identidade rural; raça; globalização econômica.

Abstract- This article presents reflections on race and the paths of economic modernization in rural São Paulo, based on other research on the subject. Civilizatory models and projects were offered in order to arrive at an archetype of nation as a proposal on the meaning of land use and custom and the place reserved for blacks in the São Paulo imagination throughout the 20th century. We will make a brief contextualization to understand such transformations, walking between the readings of literary works, such as "Urupês" by Monteiro Lobato and scientific works to understand the representations regarding naturalization, the social and economic legacies of the rural condition, modernization, economic globalization and operation of cooperatives in rural neighborhoods today.

Keywords: rural identity; race; economic globalization.

I. Introdução

José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva (1763-1838), naturalista e um dos intelectuais que atuaram na política brasileira, munidos de um projeto de nação, apresentavam diversas soluções para os obstáculos da modernização brasileira, buscavam nos modelos civilizatórios europeus e estadunidenses maneiras de salvar o país do seu "atraso" civilizacional. A urbanização era decorrência natural e inevitável da modernização da sociedade e serviram como sustentação de argumentos sobre a dicotomia entre campo e cidade O espaço rural ainda hoje é definido no imaginário social como mundo não urbano vinculado à visão de um mundo agrário com características naturalizadas rurais e com mínimas transformações, além da diminuição da população agrícola como consequência da efetivação hegemônica do modelo produtivista.

O "tipo clássico do sitiante já com pé fora da classe", diagnóstico dado aos problemas civilizatórios da sociedade brasileira estava associado na indolência, preguiça e ignorância das populações rurais. Também, nada nos estranha, que o nome dado à obra de Monteiro Lobato seja inspirado num tipo de cogumelo parasitário que destrói a madeira, o urupê. A obra "Urupês" (1914) ganhou notoriedade dentro e fora da literatura dando vida ao personagem Jeca Tatu, um "Piraquara do Paraíba" que nada tinha de assustador para uma época de que o atraso nacional estava vinculado à falta de uma raça pura.

O título deste artigo nos conduz a refletir sobre como somos levados a naturalizar modos de vida, reproduzir representações sociais de um grupo e o seu lugar ocupado na sociedade que, consequentemente, direciona a pré-conceitos sobre um determinado grupo ou sua possível inferioridade na hierarquia social ressaltando que as diferenças sociais e culturais estão vinculadas a sua escolaridade, posição econômica, o desigual, o dessemelhante e o desconhecido e os que detêm de posições sociais privilegiadas Tal indagação leva a sensibilização do nosso olhar crítico sobre questões relacionadas a etnocentrismos e racismos pautados em problemas econômicos, políticos, sociais e raciais.

Estudos como de Giralda Seyferth (1995) auxilia a pensarmos o poder dos estereótipos e da questionável superioridade da raça branca europeia, sendo a cor da pele uma característica classificatória impondo um discurso do racismo em pressupostos da desigualdade biológica entre a espécie humana, envolvendo assim as chamadas "raças inferiores" (não brancos), as "classes inferiores", o "sexo inferior", os "grupos étnicos inferiores", a "ralé pululante" (os mestiços em geral). No Brasil, assistimos o postulado

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de uma política intensa de incentivo a imigração branca pautada no discurso civilizacional que resultou na estratificação social, sustentadas por pesquisas científicas como de Nina Rodrigues e Oliveira Vianna que também estiveram presentes na literatura como em obras de Euclides da Cunha e Monteiro Lobato. Segundo Seyferth as diferenças de raça são utilizadas para separar pessoas e designar seu lugar na sociedade e sua posição de inferioridade social. Os traços determinantes das diferenças impõem também uma identidade negativa, genérica e pejorativa como vemos vinculada as identidades regionais de migrantes provenientes da região Norte e Nordeste, atribuindo traços fenótipos associados à inferioridade ou à incivilidade sobre uma categoria genérica de "nordestino", "baiano", "paraibano" (SEYFERTH, 1995, p.183-187).

É sob esta pertinente reflexão guiará a discussão apresentada neste artigo. A construção de diferenças pode ser relacionada à construção de representações sociais? Quando nos referimos a estudos do universo rural o tema, geralmente, está relacionado a somente questões econômicas, produção de alimentos e avanços no agronegócio? Por que as identidades de raça e classe estão sustentadas na origem biológica e tem papel central na desqualificação social? *Caipira* é aquele que tem hábitos e modos rudes, devido a pouca instrução, escasso convívio social ou é uma construção arraigada no imaginário popular e se manifesta através dos estereótipos?

Ainda que rapidamente, lancemos um olhar retrospectivo sobre esse debate, de modo a elucidar de onde partem as questões que pretendemos discutir no transcorrer do presente artigo expandindo os questionamentos sobre o que sabemos do termo "caipira", quais elementos de discriminação associados a uma posição social ou um comportamento "não civilizado" que carrega traços classificatórios pela origem ou aparência da população que ocupou a área rural. A reflexão perpassa pelo sentido, uso e o costume da terra, as representações sociais construídas que reforçaram um entendimento sobre o morador do campo, tal como os modos de vida, a linguagem e os termos jocosos relacionados às más condições de saúde dos moradores rurais, principalmente no Estado de São Paulo que ganharam visibilidade ao longo do século XX e perpetuam até hoje no imaginário social.

II. Lugar Reservado Ao Negro Paulista

Compreender as transformações ocorridas na área rural paulista é preciso abranger o contexto e a formação o Estado de São Paulo seiscentista, levando em conta o sentido escravista no uso, costume e um possível lugar do indivíduo negro na sociedade. Para John Manuel Monteiro (1994) sentido da escravidão em São Paulo se desenvolveu a partir dos princípios de exploração econômica, num primeiro momento utilizando-se de mão-de-obra indígena, mas nos moldes da exploração da mão-de-obra negra que já acontecia no litoral do estado. Os paulistas tentaram racionalizar e justificar tal prática assumindo, de forma absoluta, o controle do trabalho indígena.

Um novo modo de vida se espalhou em locais onde havia núcleos de mineração, produção artesanal e mantimentos de animais se expandiram neste período. Diversas expedições para penetrar em regiões como Vale do Paraíba, dando origem a novas vilas como a de Itu, Sorocaba e Curitiba por pioneiros paulistas. Em São Paulo, à busca de ouro para uma economia agrícola apressou as derrubadas e queimadas para adquirir novas áreas para plantio, serviços e outros bens. Pelo sistema das fazendas ocorre a intensificação da utilização de mão-de-obra escrava e recorrendo depois para a imigração europeia maciça que colocou milhares de trabalhadores à disposição da lavoura comercial. Segundo Darcy Ribeiro (2006) a escravidão indígena já não estava suprindo as demandas, tampouco possuíam a escravaria negra e o morador do campo, marginalizado, passa para condição de dependência e sem a posse de terras. Esse processo de mudanças, tanto na forma de produzir e quanto nas estratégias para intensificar a produção com a demanda de mão de obra, desencadearam consequências sociais e econômicas que resultaram num crescente número de pessoas negras que embora livres, ainda trabalhavam em condições de escravidão, e a criação do proletariado industrial no final do século XIX e início XX.

Em São Paulo, durante a vinda dos imigrantes europeus, a maioria de artesãos e operários especializados (proprietários de pequenos negócios) eram pardos e pretos livres. Censos realizados entre 1900 e 1920 nada revelam a inserção dos negros na sociedade pós-abolição, entretanto já circulavam jornais e revistas voltados aos negros, como, por exemplo, os periódicos *A Pátria* e *O Progresso* no ano de 1899 em São Paulo, *O Exemplo* em Porto Alegre, em 1892[1]. Embora mantivessem propostas diferentes, a grande maioria buscava expressar a necessidade da educação para a população negra e apontar o estigma racial que classificam negros e mulatos como pessoas sem capacidade intelectual, desse modo, fixava a atenção orientando-os para o mercado de trabalho ao final do século XIX e ao longo do século XX.

Na década de 1920, a formação de uma pequena classe média, "esmagadoramente" branca passa a ganhar espaço em São Paulo e tais periódicos tornaram-se meios de denúncia das dificuldades na inserção na sociedade paulista, da desigualdade social entre negros e brancos e das restrições sofridas em

[1] ARAUJO, Valmir Teixeira de. "O papel da imprensa negra brasileira". In: Revista Alterjor, 2019.

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decorrência do preconceito racial. O agrupamento de todas as publicações passaram a ser conhecido como Imprensa Negra Paulista. Dentro deste mesmo período, em 1931, é fundado movimento a Frente Negra Brasileira que viria a se transformar em partido político, extinto com os demais na criação do Estado Novo.

Segundo George Reid Andrews (1951), os dados levantados a partir de 1940, demonstra que de uma população negra de 862.255 somente 623 possuíam negócios não agrícolas e cerca de 15% dos pardos e pretos compunham a força de trabalho agrícola em São Paulo. O setor público foi à única área que os afro-brasileiros conseguiram uma paridade. Em 1940, a população afro-brasileira em idade produtiva em São Paulo era de 12% e desta porcentagem 8,8% estavam em setores públicos, porém, bem distantes do status de classe média, se encontravam em trabalhos servis como varredores de rua, trabalhadores de construção, porteiros e serviços de escritório mal remunerados como mensageiros e serventes. Quando as ocupações são mencionadas, frequentemente era de professores nas escolas públicas, escriturários e funcionários de nível inferior do serviço postal, coleta de impostos estadual, do governo municipal ou de agências semioficiais como a companhia telefônica.

A discriminação de cor permanecia presente em São Paulo, houve denúncia dos jornais negros como *Getulino* (1923), *O Combate* (1915), *O Clarim da Alvorada* (1924-1932), *A Voz da Raça* (1933-1937), as colunas sociais destes jornais deixavam claro a importância do emprego federal, estadual e municipal da base econômica para uma pretensa elite negra. Para George Reid Andrews, a doutrina da democracia racial isentava a política do Estado de qualquer responsabilidade adicional pela situação da população negra, até mesmo transferiu-a diretamente nos ombros dos próprios afro-brasileiros, aqueles que questionassem a noção de democracia racial corriam o risco de ser confrontados com uma análise detalhada das falhas deficiências do grupo racial ao qual pertenciam.[2]

Segundo Darcy Ribeiro (2006), o domínio e uma nova forma de vida da área rural paulista dispersaram os povoados que se concentravam nesta região, a população caipira que estava integrada em bairros, desgarrou deste convívio, foi condicionada ao um horizonte culturalmente limitado, desambicioso, ocioso e vadio. O fator básico desta reordenação social e econômica foi o restabelecimento do sistema mercantil e com ele a valorização das propriedades. O caipira paulista, portanto, se marginaliza, apegando-se a uma condição e independência inviável sem a posse de terras. Mesmo com a existência de milhões de caipiras subocupados.

> O sistema de fazendas teve que promover primeiro, uma intensificação do tráfico de negros escravos e de apelar, depois, para a imigração europeia maciça que coloca milhões de trabalhadores à disposição da grande lavoura comercial. Confinado nas terras mais sáfaras, enterrado na sua pobreza, o caipira vê, impassível, chegarem e se instalarem, como colonos das fazendas, multidões de italianos, de espanhóis, alemães ou poloneses para substituírem o negro no eito, aceitando uma condição que ele rejeita. Essa nova massa vinha, porém, de velhas sociedades, rigidamente estratificadas, que a disciplinara para o trabalho assalariado, e via na condição de colono um caminho de ascensão que faria dela talvez, um dia pequenos proprietários (RIBEIRO, 2006, p.351 e 352).

A consequência deste sistema de fazendas alargou as desigualdades sociais entre caipiras, brancos, mulatos e negros. Nestas circunstâncias, o contingente de negros, já alforriados, precisou se submeter ainda mais a uma forma de segregação. Em consequência, os motivos econômicos para a realização de investimentos, para atrair ao país colonizador branco, se somaram aos incentivos ideológicos desta prática, a ideia de democracia racial e o branqueamento da população paulista como a imigração europeia, destinados a um melhoramento da raça, colaborou também para a crescente falta de identificação destes caipiras com a sua história que contribuiu para estudos sobre a formação social brasileira. A perspectiva de uma harmoniosa relação entre os três eixos raciais propostos por Gilberto Freyre foi colocada em cheque. Florestan Fernandes (2006) traçou questionamentos sobre esta posição o crítico e investiu esforços na tarefa de investigar os problemas sociais e econômicos da população negra no Brasil. Segundo Gustavo da Silva Kern.

> Os estudos de Fernandes se concentraram fundamentalmente em investigar o problema das condições socioeconômicas da população negra numa sociedade moderna de classes. De toda uma série de levantamentos a respeito da situação racial em São Paulo — compilados a pesquisas que foram empreendidas paralelamente em outras regiões do país—suas análises chegaram à conclusão de que o preconceito racial era amplamente praticado no Brasil. Manifestando-se de modo decisivo justamente na dificuldade da população negra, nas grandes metrópoles, de se inserir como cidadão pleno numa sociedade institucionalmente liberal e de economia industrial (KERN, 2014, p. 88).

[2] Gilberto Freyre é considerado um dos estudiosos fundamentais para a compreensão da formação social brasileira e nos estudos interpretativos do Brasil e do povo brasileiro. O tema da miscigenação foi centro de suas pesquisas e foi a partir do impacto nacional e internacional exposta, principalmente na obra *"Casa Grande & Senzala"* publicada no ano1933, que na qual, se firmou a noção da suposta "democracia racial brasileira" que, segundo o autor, do contato anterior entre portugueses e povos de pele mais escura, como os árabes, e da consequente flexibilidade racial do brasileiro de origem lusitana - herdeiro da plasticidade característica da sociedade portuguesa, que "abrandou" as relações raciais entre nós. É autor de dezenas de livros, entre os quais, *Casa-grande & Senzala* (1933); *Sobrados e mocambos* (1936); *Nordeste* (1937); *O mundo que o português criou* (1940); *Ingleses no Brasil* (1948); *Aventura e rotina* (1953); *Ordem e progresso* (1959); *Vida, forma e cor* (1962) entre outros.

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Ao passo em que Gilberto Freyre apontava a miscigenação uma possibilidade de fomentar a igualdade racial, Florestan Fernandes expõe o erro de se apoiar sobre a ideia de que os padrões estariam vinculados a exemplos de tolerância racial sem se debruçar sobre os problemas socioeconômicos. Na análise de Gustavo da Silva Kern (2014), Gilberto Freyre propõe um paralelo entre o conceito de raça e de democracia, em que, a noção de raça passa a aparecer como adjetivo de uma categoria política, fundamentando a metáfora da democracia racial. No entanto, as hipóteses de Gilberto Freyre foram confrontadas com a realidade brasileira, não se solidifica quando apresentamos os dados do Censo de 1940 e o contexto em que o mito da democracia racial foi sustentado no Brasil, como foi destacado aqui. Dada a concentração racial da renda, do prestígio social e do poder, a "população de cor" não possui nenhuma vitalidade para enfrentar e resolver seus problemas morais. A inclusão do negro, "mulato" e outras "minorias étnicas, raciais ou nacionais" na programação do desenvolvimento socioeconômico e nos projetos que visem aumentar a eficácia da integração nacional que, na qual, a escolarização, nível de emprego e deslocamento de populações precisariam ganhar enorme relevo. Cabendo ao governo suscitar alternativas e um programa de combate à miséria e a seus efeitos no âmbito dessa população (STEPAN 2005, p.52).

III. Um Modelo Social Para o Projeto de Nação

Desde a Independência, a literatura nacional preocupou-se em construir símbolos que trouxessem à tona imagens e tradições e de elementos de uma essência nacional para fugir de formulações e ligações entre metrópole Portugal e a sua colônia, Brasil. Intelectuais como José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva ganharam importância nacional já no século XIX, cabendo-lhe liderar setores da elite nativa, freando projetos de recolonização, apoiando D. Pedro para redigir a Constituição do novo regime. De seus escritos emerge um projeto civilizador que tinha por fim viabilizar um modelo de nação, visto que para ele, o brasileiro era dotado, por natureza, preguiçoso, indolente e ignorante, a educação brasileira precisaria ser transformada em um conjunto homogêneo em todos os sentidos: racial, cultural, legal e cívico (SILVA, 2000, p.7).

A possibilidade de ter uma literatura sem traços portugueses ou com tons eclesiásticos revelou-se no sertanismo romântico, no regionalismo do período realista-naturalista e os modernistas, estes últimos principalmente em São Paulo. Mário de Andrade, vanguardista do movimento modernista em São Paulo, com obras de grande relevância nacional com a publicação de: *"Pauliceia Desvairada"* (1922) e o romance que também influenciou a forma de escrever as tradições brasileiras em "*Macunaíma"* (1928). Monteiro Lobato foi outro escritor paulista que produziu artigos, críticas, crônicas, prefácios, cartas, livros sobre a importância nacional em uma época em que os livros eram editados fora do território brasileiro, assim diante deste cenário, o autor também ganhou notoriedade no Brasil com uma série de renovações nos livros didáticos e infantis e com temáticas relacionadas ao meio rural paulista.

Segundo Serge Gruzinski (2001) a obra de Mario de Andrade "Macunaíma" nos convence que as aparências podem ter um significado de múltiplas transformações. O contexto da mundialização ou a globalização foi o resultado do encontro entre europeus e sociedade indígenas que nos deixaram como herança a resistência, a mestiçagem e o arquétipo do brasileiro e do latino-americano oscilando entre tais culturas, vários traços característicos das sociedades indígenas provem da península Ibérica. A dificuldade pensar a mistura das culturas também pode resultar em interpretações que procedem mais da nossa própria maneira de ver a realidade.

Deste modo, podemos analisar tal questionamento de Gruzinski no contexto brasileiro. Os imigrantes europeus tiveram a doação de terras devolutas do Estado formando colônias, mas mantendo seus sentimentos de um pertencimento étnico europeu. A não adesão ao Brasil, por parte dos imigrantes, como sua nação resultou em fenômenos de rejeição que atualmente observamos. As descrições dos literatos sobre o homem do campo, frisando as diferenças e o destinando sempre o lugar do abjeto, resultaram numa série de preconceitos e imagens essencializadas sobre as pessoas, mesmo assim, com a justificativa de produzir uma literatura nacional e sem traços europeus. Se observarmos a frase tão conhecida do livro de Mario de Andrade "sou um tupi tangendo um alaúde" nos mostra a ambiguidade da busca pela pureza racial brasileira. Assim, desde a colonização.

> Por toda a parte, os escravos serviam de moeda de troca: ao longo de todo o século XVII, os índios do rio Negro podiam tanto praticar o trato de escravos como, por sua vez, tornarem-se escravos dos holandeses ou portugueses. Em certos anos os portugueses conseguiam apresar, depois de verdadeiras razias, um bom milhar de nativos, que eram encaminhados em condições horrorosas para Belém e Grão-Pará, no extremo oriental da grande floresta. Os sobreviventes se misturavam com as populações locais em miscigenações que se acentuaram ao longo dos anos (GRUZINSKI, 2001, p.32).

A construção de uma identidade torna-se uma tarefa minuciosa, o trabalho para identificar no homem rural algo que o representasse passou por explicações de traços do "baixo povo rural" pelo olhar da "nobreza rural" como lembrar Carlos Brandão (1983, p. 7). Com a perspectiva do avanço do capital no Brasil, a passagem

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do século XIX para o XX introduziu um novo olhar dos intelectuais na construção de uma identidade brasileira. Foram produzidas múltiplas representações da população, buscando conferir uma identidade nacional que romperia com o passado de dependência e dicotomia campo/cidade foi um dos temas centrais que estimulou o desenvolvimento da produção cultural e científica. É neste momento que o Brasil e seu povo ocuparam lugar central nos debates intelectuais no momento de busca da constituição das especificidades da nação em formação:

> Encontrar um tipo étnico específico capaz de representar a brasilidade tornou-se grande desafio a ser enfrentado pela intelectualidade, que tomou para si a missão de *encontrar a identidade nacional rompendo com o passado de dependência cultural.* Esta identidade, construída ao longo do século XIX, configurou-se em múltiplas imagens que guardavam ambiguidades (PARRILLA, 2006, p.124).

Quando pensamos que todos esses projetos de construções identitárias, embora com interesses genuínos em uma ideia de nação, identidade nacional ou produção de escritas nacionais, afetou diretamente a população negra, caipira, cabocla. O campo tinha papel fundamental neste cenário, passou a ser representado fartamente na literatura paulista do período impulsionada por escritores como Cornélio Pires (1927) e Monteiro Lobato (1957), que deram ao homem do interior paulista representações diversificadas. O termo "caipira" ao longo dos anos foi tomando várias formas de adjetivar o homem do campo e tomaram força até chegar aos dicionários. O significado encontrado no dicionário carrega sinônimo como: Jeca; Matuto; Saquarema. Pessoa nascida ou (que) vive em regiões rurais no interior do estado de São Paulo; tem modos simples e pouca instrução; indivíduo pouco sociável, sem traquejo no convívio social (AULETE, 2011, p. 260). O habitante do campo ou da roça, em geral, de pouca instrução e de modos canhestros, passa a ser identificado como jeca, matuto, roceiro, sertanejo, caboclo, capiau ou tabaréu. É possível observar que conotações como "de pouca instrução" e "jeca" já estão inseridas no cerne da palavra "caipira", naturalizando então a imagem de "homem fora do seu tempo", inapto para a vida urbana. Para o morador do campo a sua representação, consequentemente, estará relacionada a "uma pessoa simples e de pouca instrução" e, mesmo que tenha outros saberes, sua cultura acaba perdendo sentido diante das obrigações da vida citadina.

Luciana Meire da Silva (2013) apresenta a hipótese que o autor Monteiro Lobato criou a representação caricatural do caipira em São Paulo, a chegada dos imigrantes nas indústrias e nas lavouras traria a esperança para a superação da decadência nacional particularmente pela sua disciplina em relação ao trabalho. Nos livros *"Cidades Mortas"* (1906) e *"Urupês"* (1914) inauguraram a crítica sobre a realidade em oposição às correntes literárias da época (romantismo), a preocupação não está relacionada a uma análise estrutural da sociedade brasileira, mas considera o caboclo como responsável pelo atraso nacional, práticas irracionais deste sujeito de "pouca instrução" o tornariam um indivíduo inútil para a nação, como aponta a autora (SILVA, 2013, p.68-69).

Dentro destas referências, retomamos a discussão sobre o termo "mamelucos" que direciona o assunto sobre a forma de pensar o homem do campo como portador de uma natureza preguiçosa e fora dos padrões civilizatórios. Segundo esta perspectiva, o encontro étnico-cultural entre europeus e índios teria resultado no surgimento dos mamelucos, união entre os colonizadores e índias, o que dava o direito do senhor europeu sobre a índia escrava. Nessa discussão introduzida por Bosi *apud* Enid Yatsuda aponta que:

> Um dos suportes para assegurar o funcionamento do sistema colonialista, isto é, submissão do colonizado – passada a fazer do emprego da força -, é a fabricação e difusão da ideologia do colonialismo. Basicamente, o conteúdo expressa a superioridade do colonizador: é dinâmico, sensato, trabalhador, verdadeiramente cristão, participa de uma civilização superior, e seu meio de expressão, sua linguagem, é instrumento de elaboração de alta literatura. Por oposição, o colonizado é marcado negativamente, através de um mecanismo diabolicamente simples: o que é atribuído cultural, o colonizador transforma em elemento essencial. Assim o nativo torna-se, por *natureza*, um indivíduo preguiçoso, indolente, incapaz, idiotizado, sujo, violento, usando um falar rude que não pode exprimir com precisão conhecimentos mais refinados e sentimentos mais nobres. Uma linguagem inadequada à literatura (BOSI apud YATSUDA, 1992, p. 104).

Nas pesquisas científicas, Antonio Candido organiza investigações feitas a partir dos meios de vida num agrupamento de caipiras no município de Bofete (SP), nos anos de 1948 e 1954, na obra *"Os Parceiros do Rio Bonito"* (2001), neste mesmo estudo, o autor faz referência às descrições feitas por Cornélio Pires (1921) das variadas representações do que vem a ser o caipira[3]. Segundo Antonio Candido, Cornélio Pires elaborou significados e levou em conta os diversos tipos étnicos da cultura rústica paulista da época e, por

[3] Cornélio Pires ofereceu grande importância deste tema pela obra *"Conversas ao pé do Fogo"* (1921) visto que já havia uma preocupação do autor sobre o que vem a ser o "caipira" enquanto identidade paulista, procurou dividir por categorias cada tipo de caipira que surgiu e que trouxe uma nova perspectiva na estrutura da vida do campo da época sem deixar de lado a identidade. Pires também inspirou-se no poema *"O Poema da raça caipira"* (1953) de Alberto Rovai fazendo referência a expressão da cultura caipira. Cornélio Pires também foi jornalista, músico e compositor, um dos percussores a conseguir que a indústria musical brasileira lançasse discos com músicas do gênero caipira, possível até de dizer que ele foi uns dos criadores da música sertaneja. A importância das suas obras passou a ser reconhecida quando faz citações, e é citado, nos estudos de Antonio Candido.

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isso se tornou referência no estudo da identidade caipira. Nas suas análises ele aponta que:

> Para designar os aspectos culturais, usa-se aqui *caipira,* que tem a vantagem de não ser ambíguo (exprimindo desde sempre um modo de ser, um tipo de vida, nunca um tipo racial), e a desvantagem de restringir-se quase apenas, pelo uso inveterado, à área de influência histórica paulista. Como neste estudo não saímos dela, o inconveniente se atenua./ Cornélio Pires descreve, em um dos seus livros, o "caipira branco", o "caipira caboclo", o "caipira preto", o "caipira mulato". É a maneira justa de usar os termos, inclusive porque sugere a acentuada incorporação dos diversos tipos étnicos ao universo da cultura rústica de São Paulo – processo a que se poderia chamar *acaipiramento*, ou *acaipiração*, e que os *investigou* de fato num conjunto bastante homogêneo (CANDIDO, 2001, p. 27).

Dentro destas variadas representações do caipira, modos de vida e suas condições, uma das questões principais diz respeito à disponibilidade de terras. Seja em razão de situações favoráveis, nas quais o homem do campo dispõe de terras razoavelmente produtivas, ou em situações difíceis, quando mesmo possuindo um pequeno pedaço de terra, próprio ou apossado, vive para garantir a subsistência. Neste último caso, a situação da sobrevivência é complexa, pois a não legalização das terras o coloca em situação de vulnerabilidade, seja em relação aos latifundiários circunvizinhos, seja em função da expansão das fronteiras agrícolas, como ocorreu em São Paulo — e ainda ocorre em diversas regiões do Brasil. Na condição de "agregado", ou posseiro, o caipira acabou "empurrado" para áreas cada vez mais despovoadas, acabando por ser representado como um sujeito às margens da história (CANDIDO, 2001, p.102). Com sua herança econômica, social e cultural, ficaram para o caipira as marcas da inadaptação para o esforço intenso e contínuo, ou para o trabalho racionalizado e voltado para o mercado, levando o mundo urbano e moderno a responsabilizá-lo por um suposto baixo nível de vida.

Nota-se que a rusticidade do viver do caipira não escapou da criação de uma representação negativa[4]. O entendimento sobre o caboclo, o homem pobre rural, esteve destinado a estereótipos pejorativos uma representação imagética do personagem Jeca Tatu, evidenciando a construção de uma figura desqualificada de uma identidade inserida no contexto econômico nacional, de uma forma caricaturada de "fungo da terra" passa de vítimas para uma raça de "depauperados e degenerados sem nome".

> Nossa montanha é vítima de um parasita, um piolho da terra, peculiar ao solo brasileiro como o "Argas" o é aos galinheiros ou o "Sarcoptes mutans" á perna das aves domesticas. Poderíamos, analogicamente, classificá-lo entre as variedades do "Porrigo decalvans" o parasita do couro cabeludo produtor da "pelada", pois que ele assiste se vai despojando a terra de sua coma vegetal até cair em morna decrepitude, nua e descalvada (LOBATO, 1978, p. 140).

A diferença e a identidade tendem a serem naturalizados, cristalizados ou essencializados, não obtendo eficácia se, por exemplo, a narrativa criada em torno no personagem Jeca Tatu não levasse em conta o lado sentimental e afetivo do personagem. Assim, a identidade é o ponto que define a diferença e estas duas partilham de características que resultam de atos na criação linguística que não possui valor nenhum no isolamento. A linguagem é um sistema de diferenças que se constitui no contexto de relações culturais e sociais estando sujeita a relações de poder hierarquizadas e em constante disputa, como aponta Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (2003) O autor também aponta que a definição de identidade e diferença se tornou objeto de disputa entre grupos sociais que relativamente estão no poder. A diferenciação é o processo central para a construção da identidade e que, consequentemente, a diferença é produzida que:

> Na disputa pela identidade está envolvida uma disputa mais ampla por outros recursos simbólicos e materiais da sociedade. A afirmação da identidade e a enunciação da diferença traduzem o desejo dos diferentes grupos sociais, assimetricamente situados, de garantir o acesso privilegiado aos bens sociais. A identidade e a diferença estão, pois, em estreita conexão com relações de poder. O poder de definir a identidade e de marcar a diferença não pode ser separado das relações mais amplas de poder. A identidade e a diferença não são, nunca, inocentes (SILVA, 2003, p. 81).

Tal reflexão de Tomas Tadeu da Silva nos possibilita compreender que a identidade e a diferença se traduzem em declarações de quem pertence e quem não pertence, sendo assim, uma separação entre "nós" e "eles" e estão estreitamente ligadas às formas de classificação que a sociedade produz.

IV. Uma Modernização Civilizatória para a Área Rural Paulista

O estado de São Paulo foi palco de mudanças no período de ocupação territorial, desde a empreitada de encontrar terras produtivas para o plantio de café, com a ampliação das linhas férreas, até o avanço que culminou em apropriações e expropriações de terras. Neste último caso, a situação da sobrevivência é complexa, pois a não legalização das terras colocava o camponês em situação de vulnerabilidade, seja em relação aos latifundiários circunvizinhos, seja em função da expansão das fronteiras agrícolas, como ocorreu em

[4] Em linhas gerais, o significado geral da palavra rústico associa-seao que é campestre, rural, ao que está relacionado ou pertence ao campo, ao ambiente rural. Rusticidade é um substantivo feminino que nomeia a qualidade daquilo que é rústico, que possui indelicadeza, grosseria, incivilidade.

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São Paulo – e ainda ocorre em diversas regiões do Brasil.

Num momento em que as tradicionais lavouras nordestinas encontravam em crise, medidas políticas tomadas a partir de 1850, tais como, a "Lei Eusébio de Queiroz" criada para solucionar o problema da falta de mão-de-obra escrava e garantir o comércio interprovincial, e outra, "Lei de Terras" conhecida por reorganizar a política ao acesso à terra que estimulava a vinda de imigrantes europeus para trabalhar nas lavouras de café na busca por interesses lucrativos, se renovavam e ganhava um novo sentido para a posse de terras. Após a extinção do tráfico de escravos, o governo passou a estimular a vinda de imigrantes europeus para trabalhar nas plantações, ao mesmo tempo, em que reorganizou a política de acessa à terra. Aquele pedaço de terra que foi cedido para o camponês pobre agora poderia apresentar lucros para o mercado agrícola, assim o lavrador "dono", "posseiro" ou "agregado" era expulso, empurrado para outro lugar sendo submetido a reconstruir sua vida em outro lugar. Esta prática se tornou interminável nas fronteiras do estado paulista. Muitos tiveram suas terras usurpadas por grandes proprietários que chegavam com títulos nas mãos sendo forçados a vender suas terras, alguns migraram para outros lugares, outros foram absorvidos pelas fazendas como trabalhadores diretos, parceiros, sendo permitido em alguns locais ter uma "roça de comida". Neste último caso, segundo Carlos Brandão (BRANDÃO,1983, p.7-11), a situação da sobrevivência é complexa, pois a não legalização das terras colocava o camponês em situação de vulnerabilidade, seja em relação aos latifundiários circunvizinhos, seja em função da expansão das fronteiras agrícolas, como ocorreu em São Paulo — e ainda ocorre em diversas regiões do Brasil.

É a partir de 1978 que pesquisas relacionadas ao meio rural paulista tornaram-se objeto de análises, questões sobre o desemprego e a segurança, tanto no meio rural quanto no urbano, a entrada da cana-de-açúcar para a produção de álcool combustível influenciou também nas políticas de acesso à terra empurrado pela crise do petróleo. No âmbito jurídico, especificamente a lei n. 8629/93, foi distribuído uma nova classificação aos imóveis rurais em pequena propriedade, média propriedade e propriedade produtiva, no entanto, a lógica de mercado para instrumentalizar a força de trabalho iguala o pequeno produtor ao assentado, que substancialmente no quesito relacionado ao latifúndio, minifúndio da empresa rural e da propriedade familiar:

> Seus interesses estão, sem sombra de dúvida, muito mais próximos dos empregados rurais, do que dos grandes proprietários. Estes trabalham a terra, mas de forma indireta, determinando ordens, na condição de empregador. Os pequenos proprietários, chamados também de camponeses, usam mão-de-obra paga em dinheiro, (em espécie somente em situações excepcionais, exercendo, apenas em raras ocasiões, um controle sobre o trabalho alheio). (MANIGLIA, 2002, p. 82).

Análises como de José Graziano da Silva (1996, p.66) abordaram questões no setor econômico e populacional nas regiões brasileiras apontou que o estado de São Paulo teve o dobro do crescimento populacional no campo (3% a.a. contra 1,5% a.a.) no ano de 1999, e somente na região Sul do país que houve sinais de queda nas áreas rurais. Os setores que tiveram queda na produção e problemas nas receitas e despesas agrícolas, os juros e despesas bancárias que aumentaram de 5% para 15,3% no período de 1985-1993 devido à grande estabilidade financeira. Em outros estudos como "Velhos e novos mitos do rural brasileiro" (SILVA, 2001, p. 6) o autor aponta que o emprego de natureza agrícola vinha decaindo em todo país nos anos de 1992-1999, mas a população residente no campo voltou a crescer— ou, segundo o autor, parou de cair—, este cenário é explicado em parte pelo aumento do emprego não agrícola no campo.

As atividades não agrícolas no Estado de São Paulo que vem ganhando espaço nos bairros rurais e são conhecidos como sítios de recreio, serviços destinados ao lazer (pesque-pague, hotel fazenda, pousadas, restaurantes, spas) ou de atividades produtivas com considerável valor comercial, produção de flores, hortaliças, pomares domésticos próximo das cidades. O *part-time farmer* refere-se ao novo ator social consolidado no paradigma da sociedade "pós-industrial" procurando adequar atividades agrícolas e não agrícolas no campo, constitui nos agricultores em tempo parcial, além das atividades tidas como agrícolas não necessariamente somente um fazendeiro, mas, um trabalhador autônomo.

A partir da questão levantada por José Graziano da Silva (1997) outros autores como Maria Nazareth B. Wanderley (2003) apontam que tal adaptação às novas "provocações" e desafios do desenvolvimento rural numa era tecnológica. A "modernização" da organização do trabalho no campo não reproduz o modelo clássico da empresa capitalista, mesmo integrada ao mercado e respondendo as suas exigências, ela é orientada pelas novas decisões que o agricultor deve tomar nos novos contextos a que está submetido, em muitos casos permanece as estruturas da divisão do trabalho com origem na tradição camponesa não abolida. O insucesso ou minimização econômica, sem grandes investimentos e no amparo governamental, a agricultura passa a associar-se a uma "relação de negócios" que transforma as relações sociais no campo, supervalorizando um em detrimento do outro (WANDERLEY, 2003, p. 43-44).

O meio rural encontra-se em processo acelerado de transformações, tanto nas atividades econômicas quanto nas realidades sociais e culturais,

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tornou-se difícil aplicar uma definição uniforme sobre a noção de rural. Debates sobre uma possível extinção da tradição cultural fundada na prática agrícola pela lógica capitalista atual, e com ações diretas de cooperativas que oferecem amparo financeiro, mediam cada vez mais o acesso do pequeno e grande agricultor ao universo da globalização econômica, de tal modo que as reestruturações dos elementos da cultura rural veem incorporando releituras da cultura urbana. Porém, outros debates também ganham espaço como o estreitamento do vínculo com o campo, trazendo para o mundo rural possibilidades de uma qualidade de vida, de alimentação e saúde mental definida culturalmente por atores sociais que desempenham atividades que não são homogêneas e nem, necessariamente, vinculadas à produção agrícola não cabendo mais na afirmação da tendência ao seu esvaziamento social, econômico e cultural.

Análises como o de Maria José Carneiro (1997) nos alerta sobre a complexidade de analisar o processo de transformação social que acontece no campo pela visão dicotômica de campo/cidade, que acaba resultando numa visão de mundo generalizado, simplificando das relações sociais, reproduzindo a racionalidade produtiva e tecnológica dos valores urbanos. A apropriação pela cultura urbana de bens culturais e naturais do mundo rural produz uma situação que não se traduz necessariamente os valores do campo, os "neo-rurais"[5] não produzem uma ruptura com o modo de produção capitalista, mas acabam reproduzindo a ideologia burguesa, um estilo próprio de vida próximo aos padrões urbanos, contudo, em outro cenário.

O desaparecimento da fronteira entre rural e urbano, a expansão de novas reflexões sobre os instrumentos analíticos elaborados para compreender o universo rural, continuam qualificando espaços e universos sociais nas sociedades contemporâneas sustentados na dualidade das categorias genéricas. Entre esses instrumentos, segundo Maria José Carneiro, em dados colhidos e analisados da Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD) realizada pelo IBGE no ano de 2000 que demonstra que:

> No Brasil, ainda que mais de dois terços da população estejam contabilizados como "urbana" (IBGE, 2000), a maioria dos habitantes dos pequenos municípios está nas áreas rurais. Segundo os dados da PNAD, a população rural brasileira vem aumentando a partir da segunda metade da década de 90, recuperando uma taxa de crescimento anual (1,1% ao ano) muito próxima do crescimento da população total no mesmo período (1,3% ao ano), apesar das diferenças entre regiões do país. Em São Paulo observa-se uma maior revitalização do mundo rural, ao passo que a região Sul o movimento de esvaziamento do campo ainda é predominante. Mas o interessante é que esse movimento de retração do êxodo rural é acompanhado pelo declínio expressivo das ocupações não agrícolas, que, segundo os dados da PNAD, passam a crescer a uma taxa anual de 6,1% no período 1996-1999 (CARNEIRO, 2008, p. 17).

Assim, o tema lida também com a ambiguidade que de dois elementos para reflexão, uma seria a permanência da dicotomia entre rural e urbano, e a outra, das pequenas cidades formalmente definidas como urbanas entre pequenos municípios que estariam na mediação de dois códigos de relações sociais, a integração do mundo rural com o sistema mais geral de cidades e a vinculação com a natureza (CARNEIRO, 2008, p.20). E podendo até incluir uma terceira reflexão que estaria no debate já proposto por Serge Gruzinski (2001) dentro da problemática sobre o contato entre europeus e ameríndios e seus resultados refletidos na complexidade do jogo do neoliberalismo, da modernidade e da globalização econômica, sendo estas que proliferam fenômenos que embaralham nossas referências habituais: misturas das culturas do mundo, multiculturalismo e recuos identitários sob formas que vão desde a defesa das tradições até as expressões de xenofobia e purificação étnica (GRUZINSKI, 2001, p.16).

V. As Cooperativas, Modernização e Globalização Econômica

Há pesquisas de campo que abordam sobre o esvaziamento das áreas rurais devido ações diretas das cooperativas. Um dos trabalhos que podemos citar é a dissertação de Mestrado -*"Permanências em movimento- resistência familiar no bairro rural Taquaruçuzinho em Frutal do Campo (SP)"* (2019) - em que é levantada a questão sobre o impacto das ações das cooperativas aos pequenos agricultores da área rural do município de Cândido Mota (SP) sobre o endividamento e a compra/venda das propriedades de pequenos agricultores que possuíam propriedades na região, que na qual, observa-se a presença, cada vez mais intensa, do agronegócio com demanda para atender usinas de açúcar e álcool.

O cooperativismo tem por princípio a facilidade de inserção e participação mais ativa na economia, com auxílio e o fortalecimento das atividades produtivas bem como o acesso a novas ferramentas, maquinários, tecnologias, crédito, oportunidade de ingresso em

[5] Nas análises feitas de Maria José de Carneiro (1997) o termo "neo-rurais" exemplifica os significados das práticas sociais que permeiam, tanto no campo quanto nos grandes centros urbanos, movimentos de pluriatividade e a *cultura country*. No processo de pluriatividade, a integração da aldeia à economia e à sociedade global, realizando inovações agrárias, turísticas e culturais permitindo adaptarem-se as necessidades econômicas e técnicas a favor da sua existência e o sistema de valores. A *cultura country*, no âmbito da feira agropecuária a cidade se ruraliza, promovendo uma inserção singular do rural no mundo geral, desvencilhando da noção que o associava ao tradicional, sendo uma afirmadora do mundo rural com o mundo urbano, expressão de modernização do rural (CARNEIRO, 1997, p. 59-60).

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mercados mais competitivos, vantagens fiscais que possibilita para o pequeno agricultor a oportunidade de fortalecer sua atividade produtiva, através do ingresso em associações e cooperativas. Porém, não é possível compreender as modificações sem integrá-las aos movimentos políticos, econômicos, culturais e simbólicos, marcados pelas revoluções modernas como a Revolução técnico-cientifica, entre as concepções da relação entre o meio urbano e rural[6]. As representações dominantes de uma sociedade estão relacionadas ao exercício do poder, domínio do Estado e do poder hegemônico que produzem representações do espaço e influenciam na produção de símbolos, códigos, e sistemas de signos dominantes de uma sociedade. Tal poder, centrado na cidade moderna capitalista, produz signos de territorialidades, tanto do rural quanto do urbano, redefinindo seus papeis e identidades que são alterados por atores que detém deste poder. Ao se referir ao espaço socialmente construído, territorializado, que expressa um lugar de relações, apropriações e dominações podemos refletir que

> Este tipo de representação tem a capacidade de dar conta da dinâmica das ações apreendidas no espaço e isso é importante, porque ela está em constante transformação ao longo da história (bem como as relações de poder), influenciando a permanente redefinição desse espaço e, consequentemente, do território. É a essa concepção de espaço, feito território, que nos referimos daqui à adiante. (RUA, 2005, p. 46)

O entendimento sobre as desigualdades em espaços periférico-rurais dominados pelos centros urbanizados reproduz a dicotomia atrasado/avançado. O espaço rural e o espaço urbano, campo e cidade, integram a mesma racionalidade espacial marcada pela organização a partir da cidade, da indústria, da terceirização na sociedade contemporânea, bases reprodutivas do capitalismo e a polarização construída entre estes é exercida pela lógica das relações agrícolas, não levando em conta as interações sociais presentes no espaço como um ambiente de produção fabril onde a terra somente produz algo, sendo vazio de relações sociais.

> O próprio termo cidade (em suas múltiplas origens) é apropriado para criar a representação social do "burguês polido, político, educado, cidadão". O rural – rus, ruris, em latim, que derivou em rude- passa a ser visto como o "outro, nessas representações". Com os estudos a respeito do desenvolvimento, posteriores à Segunda Guerra Mundial, em que enfatizou o tecnológico em detrimento do social e das comunidades (visão predominante até hoje), o rural foi sendo construído como sinônimo de agrícola, o que acelerou, mais ainda, as dicotomias existentes. Também na política oficial o rural tem sido percebido como agrícola (ligado apenas à produção); a agricultura de exportação, tecnicamente avançada, tem sido privilegiada, enquanto a agricultura de mercado interno foi chamado de "agricultura de subsistência" e considerado os pequenos agricultores (proprietários ou não) como incapazes de acompanhar o progresso técnico, econômico e social. (RUA, 2005, p. 48)

A preocupação em modernizar o campo nos anos finais do século XX estava em responder às exigências do mundo globalizado, acompanhar a demanda de "racionalidade" a ser empregada no plantio, nos cuidados, na colheita, na armazenagem, estocagem, empacotamento, transporte e comercialização justificando assim o surgimento de instituições de ensino e de pesquisa aplicada na área da agricultura. O movimento modernizador, a partir de 1970, acelerou as grandes produções no campo que modificaram também as formas de emprego rural e as relações de trabalho no setor, auxílio ao crédito foi um dos investimentos do estado de São Paulo. Segundo Carla Julião da Silva (2019) só o estado de São Paulo recebeu 33% do montante total disponível e tais estímulos, gerados pelo crédito, a monocultura volta a ser privilegiada e o interior rural paulista, especificamente a região do município de Cândido Mota, passa a ter um novo cenário.

> Após a geada da década de 1970 e a desativação das estradas de ferro locais, inicia-se na região centro oeste paulista um forte êxodo rural e, consequentemente, um aquecimento do terceiro setor e o crescimento das áreas urbanas locais. Com a elevada taxa de urbanização das principais cidades da região, o crescimento dos latifúndios tornaria inevitável, fazendo que os grandes proprietários de terra incorporassem as pequenas propriedades que pertenciam aqueles que deixavam a vida no campo para tentar algo novo nas cidades. Os incentivos governamentais no começo da década de 2000 estimularam a produção de álcool e a expansão da produção de cana de açúcar. A instalação de usinas e empresas do ramo trouxeram para a região vagas de emprego para pessoas que quisessem atuar como cortadores de cana. Os interessados vindos de outras cidades paulistas e até de outros estados fixaram-se na região em busca de oportunidades (SILVA, 2019, p. 33 -34).

A agricultura familiar tem sobrevivido em meio à competição de condições e recursos orientados para favorecer a monocultura e as grandes propriedades. Nesse sentido, as cooperativas são concebidas pela sua capacidade de organizar o espaço e a produção rural e se identificam como uma alternativa capaz de organizar a atividade produtiva, potencializando as vantagens da agricultura familiar e revitalizando os territórios. Porém, os pequenos agricultores precisam constantemente lidar com a presença, ou "ajuda", das cooperativas que fazem a mediação do agricultor com setores financeiros e os meios de produção (insumo, tratores, colhedeiras, plantadeiras, sementes, silos de

[6] Podemos citar aqui também um movimento que ficou conhecido como "Revolução Verde", processo de intensa modernização da agricultura vivida na segunda metade do século XX, nos Estados Unidos e na Europa, que impactou drasticamente a produtividade na agricultura, elevando os níveis de produção e implicando um uso intensivo de produtos industriais no campo.

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armazenagem de grãos, entre outros.) ditando regras de plantio que acabam subordinando o pequeno agricultor a seguir tais regras para conseguir manter as estruturas de uma produção agrícola.

Os territórios rurais refletem os modos de produção capitalistas, dinâmicas acumulativas, aparato técnico e tecnológico produzido pelas grandes corporações multinacionais, a competitividade da produção no mercado e a corrida para manter um alto nível da escala de produção. Nesta perspectiva, a terra ao se tornar mercadoria passa consequentemente a ter valor de uso e de troca, sendo uma de suas consequências, a relação de dependência da agricultura (e do agricultor) com acesso a créditos financeiros para se manter ativos no mercado, numa concorrência desleal entre os pequenos e os grandes agricultores.

VI. Considerações Finais

Ainda não há um esgotamento do assunto relacionado ao rural brasileiro tão pouco colocar a terra somente como um objeto de trabalho como expressão de um fator produtivo sem considerar os valores sociais nela contida. O intenso campo de reflexão, que embora ultrapasse os limites de uma estrutura acadêmica, o valor conceitual sobre a categoria agricultura familiar sofre dificuldades do ponto de vista teórico. Para uns, o conceito agricultura familiar se confunde com a definição operacional adotada pelo Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura (Pronaf), para outros, corresponde a uma determinada camada de agricultores, capazes de se adaptar às modernas exigências do mercado em oposição aos demais "pequenos agricultores", os chamados agricultores "consolidados", ou que tem condições em curto prazo de se consolidar, assim, outras configurações de produção e forma social oferece elementos analíticos e ocupam um lugar importante no cenário atual da economia e sociedade brasileira (WANDERLEY, 2003, p. 43-44).

É possível encontrar referências literárias sobre a territorialização do agronegócio no campo brasileiro, cooperativas, inclusive no interior do Estado de São Paulo, questões sobre a trajetória histórica e de tradição religiosa nos bairros rurais[7], porém, desdobramentos no trabalho empírico ainda são mínimos, tanto sobre as cooperativas ativas em pequenas regiões do estado de São Paulo. [8]

A estrutura social, político-econômica nacional se mantém largamente amparada nas atividades agropecuárias, sendo este, um tema de relevância para as ciências sociais brasileiras contemporâneas. A ruralidade permanece como uma das principais bases de sociabilidade no Brasil, transformando-se ao longo do tempo e contribuindo, assim, para a composição da modernidade brasileira. Porém, abordagens destes temas que contemplam somente a ótica da relação econômica do rural versus urbano pautado somente numa posição de atraso versus avançado põe em relevo uma característica importante dessa dinâmica que é a dificuldades de compreender o componente racial associado a construções de diferenças entre o que é do universo rural e urbano. Estudos sobre miscigenação e racialidade nos auxiliam para compreender como são construídos alguns traços determinantes de características relacionadas ao fenótipo, à inferioridade ou a incivilidade, arquitetando características para uma representação identitária genérica e pejorativa, de inferioridade física, moral e intelectual, que serviu de base para representação imagética do caipira paulista.

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Analysis of the Identity Peculiarities of the Traditional Romanian Shirts from the Republic of Moldova

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Introduction- The traditional shirt/blouse, submitted in the traditional costume patrimony, is one of the most important elements that is valued by artistic and symbolic valences attributed to the creators that told, and still tell, with the help of a single needle and thread, their life stories, aspirations, explaining the connection between people and nature, the divine.

Several terms are used concerning this garment, identified as [8] Romanian shirt, old shirt, shirt, Carpathian shirt.

The traditional costume is an expression of popular art, which, as Nicolae Iorga claims [8], is of the political and social substrate and is the most precious source of identity of the psychology of the Romanian people.

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Analysis of the Identity Peculiarities of the Traditional Romanian Shirts from the Republic of Moldova

Viorica Cazac [α], Ursu Elena [σ], Adascalita Lucia [ρ] & Cîrja Jana [ω]

I. Introduction

The traditional shirt/blouse, submitted in the traditional costume patrimony, is one of the most important elements that is valued by artistic and symbolic valences attributed to the creators that told, and still tell, with the help of a single needle and thread, their life stories, aspirations, explaining the connection between people and nature, the divine.

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II. Aspects of the Genesis of Traditional Romanian Blouses

Analysis of sources, that give results of studies about the genesis of the traditional Romanian blouse [1-14] describes it as having come from the oldest of times, proven by images present on more than one object, ceramic figurines from the neolithic and the bronze age [12], classical antiquity monuments: Tropaeum Traiani from Adamclisi and the Column of Trajan (figure 1). The well-known teacher, archaeologist, folklore writer Alexandru Odobescu remarks the similarity of the Romanian folk costume as he knew from his trips across the country „the shirt with sleeves, gathered in the middle, cut on the lap on both sides: the ițarii and the opinci (flats) cover their legs....". The conclusions drawn from the numerous studies undertaken show the assumption of the direct descendants of the Romanian port in the Dacian and Illyrian port [2-4, 9, 12]. Nicolae Iorga [8] well-known scientist, a researcher of the Romanian space, who promoted and was concerned about ensuring the continuity of the popular art, firmly considers that the plenary of the traditional home comes from Thracians not from Romanians as identified in the writings of some foreign travelers.

The fundamental structure of the Dacic costume is found all over the country, the details of the cut, used materials, the decoration [9], referring to the Illyrian Thracian ancestry.



Figure 1: Dacian women on the 49th metope of the monument of Adamclisi (Tropaeum Traiani). The blouse is pleated at the collar, and the opening at the neck is made from the body of the blouse and sleeves, exactly like the Moldovan blouse [6].

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Mentions of the Romanian folk costume are made even more frequently, mentioned in the writings, the images dated with the medieval period, to which are added the performances of the numerous local plastic artists and travelers, representing the people's costume from various areas of the Romanian space (Figure 2-4).



Figure 2: Petru Verussi
Peasant women, 1895



Figure 3: Theodor Amann.
Union of the principals, 1857



Figure 4: Nicolae Grigorescu
Peasant woman, 1847

The fact is that the traditional Romanian costume, in which the most spectacular piece-shirt is found, has its roots in remote times, keeping its esthetic characteristics, form, fit, and decoration.

III. Influences on Defining Traditional Shirts/Blouses

The historical evolution of traditional Romanian blouses, for both women and men, has met various occidental and oriental influences.

Nicolae Iorga mentioned that „these numerous influences were exercised, at various historical dates, on the way to conceive and work these craftsmen, who continue in this field, by simple processes, of a multi-year civilization.

The traditional blouse, in its essence, represents an identity element of the traditional costume specific not only to the Romanian zone but the entire Balcanic space, being owned by people around the Black Sea, up to the Caucasus and Anatolia" [11].

Analysis of the reference bibliographic sources [11] suggests influences of the „geometric" art, the 'Byzantine art, the art of the German peoples, on the traditional Romanian costume.

Thus, the geometrical ornamental art prevail in the popular art of Romanian space makes the penetration of purple, gold, and silver as the Byzantine influence, replacing the existing discrete colors (the Argeș and Muscel costume), the penetration of Persia flowers in cheerful, triumphant and found themselves in camels, catrine, fouls, shoulders, birds, animals, human characters in age costumes determine the complex design of carpets. So, the geometric style of the decorative elements integrated into the predominant ornamental modular registers is complemented by the 'hypomorphic' and 'zoomorphic adornments.

From the art of the Germans, influences are marked in the form of large blue designs on the white base, representing leaf flowers, flowering tulips, later and animals, birds, deers, blackbirds, soldiers, church cakes.

Thus, in the traditional costume in the Republic of Moldova, the influence of Mycenaean geometrical art with a deep long-term impression, following the same trend of styling by geometrical of the assumed Persian and Byzantine ornamental elements. In the late period, there were various forced and latent influences on costume decoration, which can also be seen by ornamental reproduction techniques, etc.

Being one of the distinctive pieces of the traditional costume by the visibility of the ornamental character, shirt, it is distinguished from area to area by its fit, constituent elements, ornamental reasons, prevailing color, sewing techniques, materials involved in ornamentation, dimensional characteristics of constituent elements, terminal processing technologies, assembly techniques for landmarks, etc.

The terms consecrated to this distinguished piece of the traditional Romanian costume, supported

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on the shoulders, are presented below "linguistically, Romanians inherited the term "i.e." derived from the Latin *tunica lineae* (thin coat-worn tunic) for the female shirt, as well as a term borrowed from the Celtic background, The Camsilia, certified in Romanian in the 4th century, from which the Romanian term *camassia* comes. While the term shirt-shirt is generically assigned to the part the term, *i.e.,* applies only to the femoral camels [12].

IV. Types of Traditional Blouses

The traditional Romanian costume, with some distinctive zoned features, has elements of unity: *Raw material, fit, color, decor, structural construction of the costume.* They are intertwined and inter-conditioned in a unitary style that gives the Romanian folk the construction of life and art fact [12].

Traditional shirt (term preserved from Latin) is an important morphological, structural element of the traditional costume by the extent of the concentration of ornamental elements and their assigned meaning.

One of the benchmarks that make it necessary to distinguish traditional homes is the one determined by *sex, age*, and *social status*, with semiotic connotations expressed by ornamentation and color.

Thus, traditional camels according to *sex* are distinctive in:

- traditional male shirts;
- traditional women's blouses.

By *age* and *social state*, traditional] women's blouses are identified as:

- traditional foetal blouses,
- traditional unmarried young women blouses,
- the traditional blouses for married women,
- traditional widows' blouses (women, spouses who have died in certain circumstances).

Traditional male shirts are structured about *age* and *social status in*:

- traditional shirt for the boys;
- traditional shirts for young people;
- traditional shirts for married men.

Another criterion about the identity of traditional blouses is the geographical zone of reference, from where the costume is. In the context of separating traditional Romanian blouses by their origin zone, we have from:

- blouses specific to the Northern part of the Republic of Moldova;
- blouses specific to the central part of the Republic of Moldova;
- blouses specific to the South part of the Republic of Moldova.

Period of year in which the costumes are worn:

- cold period of the year;
- warm period of the year.

By the occasion the blouses are being worn on:

- celebration blouses;
- blouses for daily wear.

V. Constructive Diversity of Traditional Romanian Blouses by their Cut

The morphological structure of the traditional chambermaids, identified in the museum heritage of the country and the reference bibliographic sources, was determined by the dimensional characteristics of the house fabric from which the shirt was made, the reference marks representing regular geometrical forms; rectangles and squares. The dimensional delimitation of the house web was determined by the possibilities of the tissue war in which the house canvas was woven under domestic conditions.

Analysis of *the construction solutions* of traditional shirts has made it possible to establish the existence of the following types:

- *Straight shirts* are also found under the terms „cămăşoi" [2, 3, 7, 12], „cămaşă bătrânească" [2, 3, 7, 12], „ cămaşă tip „tunică" [2], type „Poncio" [7]" They preceded the chambers with an altar/camels stuck to the neck. The right shirt had its face and back made from an undamaged mark, with the mark of the neckline, to which the main lock marks were assembled (Figure 5 a). In the sub-axillary part of the hand, the shirt was filled with the tree that ensured freedom of hand movements in a square shape. If the house cloth was very narrow, the back and face of the camel could be filled to the side with *clowns* (Figure 5 b) and the wreckage. Some bibliographic sources refer to the variation of these straight-line plains according to their length, specifying that the camels worn in plains are lagoons and long and those worn in mountainous areas are short [8]. About the destination of the campuses by the sex of the ground-party, the result of the participatory observation by the museum is, the men's camels being most often of straight fit with, and for, wear such as, for each day, were long up to or just after the hip line, possibly motivated by the need to ensure freedom of movement in the course of everyday fieldwork. Instead, the men's holiday hostels were much longer, reaching or passing the knee. The straight women's camels were often long-length, up to the knee, mid-ankle, or "cranberry" (lateral malleolus);
- *Blouses with altiţă,* also called „Carpatic" types by some authors [7], start from the hypothesis that they were found in the Romanian zone, especially in the Carpatic ones. The oldest term used in relation to this type of blouse is„cămaşa încreţită la gât", în spaţiul din dreapta Prutului, a fost utilizat termenul

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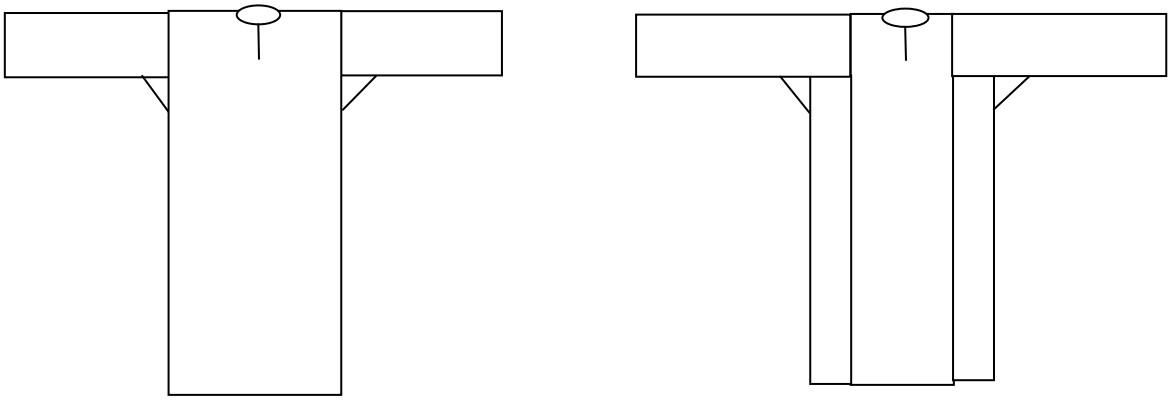
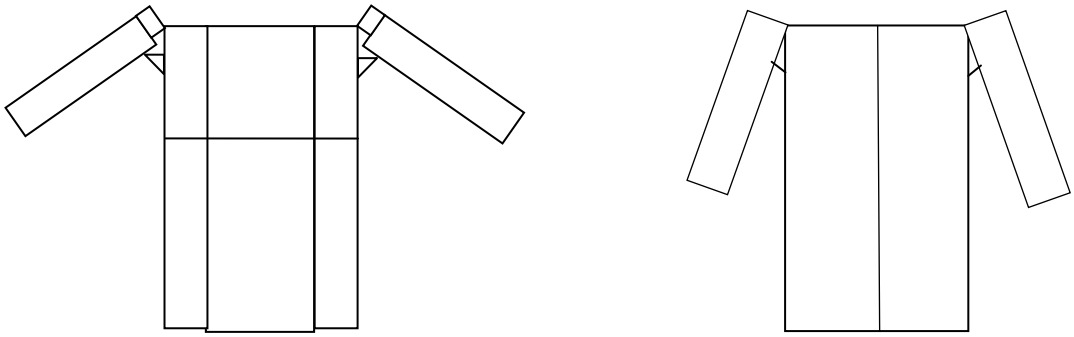
„blouse/cămașă for celebrations" [2]. Blouses with altiță/pleated at the neck could be altița tailored separately (figure 6a) or altița tailored together with the sleeve (figure 6b). This type of cut is met only in blouses for women. In modern terms in the clothing-making field, this cut is called the„raglan" type. Altița, sewn separately, was named, in some Romanian zones, „shoulder", from its distinct positioning, being supported on the shoulder of the wearer [12]. Blouses with altiță also used patches, initially square-shaped, after triangular. Apart from these two variations of the blouse, sewn integrally of separately, in the Romanian space were identified and a third variation, that being *blouse with chiruşcă* [12] (figure 7) that has a trapezoid-shaped altiță, explained by trying to reduce creases on the shoulder (finding this in the north of Vrancea and Cașin). Blouse with altiță and creased sleeve (figure 8) is another structural solution, characterized by the presence of an altiță of rectangular shape that is combined with a triangular-shaped sleeve elongated with its sharp angle up to the termination of the sleeve. Lateral sides being very long are combined, and being worn are curled on the hand to be closed on the right size(found in eastern Făgăraş, Ţara Bîrsei, Covasna, over the Carpaţi, Vrancea);

- *Cămaşe cu platcă,* in the case of Bessarabia, due to foreign influences, is called the popular 'cămașă cu petic- Chamberland with a petal' [2]. It is considered to be derived from the straight shirt with a horizontal cut-out of the upper with shoulder support of the shirt in the so-called 'stani' and the lower part of the shirt called 'poale'.



a) b)

Figure 5: Straight blouse/cămăşoi/tunic type/olds shirt



a) b)

Figure 6: Blouse with *altiţa* fully tailored in the sleeve (a) and separated (b)/pleated at neckline

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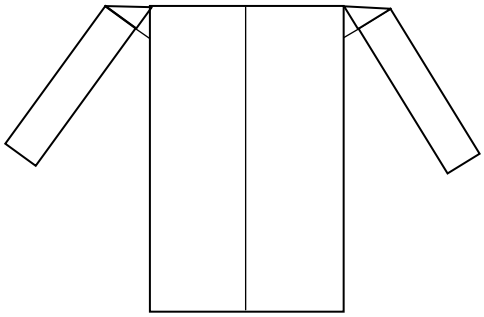

Figure 7: Blouse with chiruşcă altiţă sewed separately with a triangular form

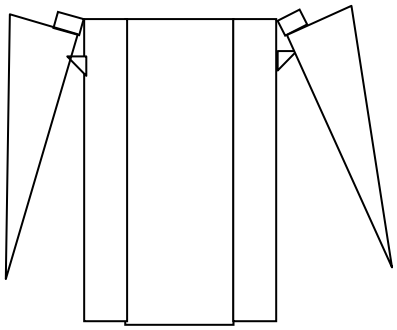

Figure 8: Blouse with separated altiță/pleated at the collar and curled sleeve

a) Diversity of Traditional Romanian Blouses by Material

Traditional shirts were made, initially, from flax and hemp, the terms being inherited from Latin. From XVI to XVIII, cotton entered the entire Romanian territory and is widely used except for Bukovina and the mountain areas of Moldova. Silk was still costly, and a luxury not everyone could afford was rarely used at the end of the 19th century.

Ornamentation through embroidery made with the needle (the word „ac/needle" comes from Latin) was initially frequently made with wool threads obtained by spinning with the fork or spindle, after being completed by cotton and silk yarn. Based on the materials used, the most dedicated and old Romanian embroidery is the Bucovina one, which does not allow cotton and silk yarn, hence the character of the ornamental areas. Metal sequins were also not used (small round discs with a hole in the middle through which they are sewn on the embroidery, called butterflies), with which peasant costumes of Valahi were frequently decorated [8].

b) Diversity of Traditional Romanian Blouses by Color

Chromatic solution of traditional blouses has known a big diversity in all of Romanian space, varying by the materials used for ornamentation, but also by the means used for dying threads.

Some bibliographical sources [12] tell about the initial use of just red and black in ornamentation. After, dyeing with various extracts from nature in home conditions allowed the obtaining of many new colors: white, black, gray, brown, yellow, not a lot of them.

We can see, according to source [8], that the chromatic variation from traditional blouses decoration was determined by a lot of influences. Thus, oriental influences are seen in the bold use of gold and silver in large quantities in the zone of Banat. Golden and bright red represent colors widely used in Argeş and Muscel. With how Făgăraş was at the foot of mountains and they didn't have a lot of gold, sparkling red was used everywhere. In the east, this courageous use of colors is nowhere to be seen, paler palettes being more popular. Plain areas, on the other hand, were not to be characterized by polychromy at all.

In Moldova, unlikely combinations like nuances of blue, pale and dark green, orange, purple, brown, pale yellow were likely. Their mix created a symphony of unbloomed flowers, a melancholic feeling that doesn't allow any color to jump out of the scene, where everything sits still in harmony similar to a traditional melody [12].

c) Diversity of traditional Romanian blouses by decor

Elements that determine used ornaments on traditional blouses are directed towards the making of:

- Geometric motifs being [8]: simple and double diamond-shaped, angles opened inside, the star, zig-zag lines, x shaped, lines of dots, squares, stars, the cross, circles, triangles, meanders, hooks, complex angles, serpentines.
- Phytomorphic, avimorph, anthropomorphic motifs used with geometric lines. As phytomorphic elements, we have leaves, trees, but not the "tree of life", symbolic in Islam art, mentioned by Nicolae Iorga [5], not rarer than wheat ears as a symbol of crowning hard agriculture work. The flower is widely imitated in Moldova, Bucovina, and Banat in such similarity, as we could easily notice the lily, rose, field bells, poppies, and other flowers. The reproduction of these elements with brutality indicates foreign influences, as we could see in Basarabean, Moldovan and Bucovinean works.

Representations of birds, animals, anthropometric figures indicate influences from Turks from the south.

Emilia Pavel mentioned some motifs, once used by the Carpato-Dunăreni and even Scandinavian people, by Europeans and Asiatics: the tree, tree of life, the column of heaven, life-bird, the sun and moon, life beings around the house. There is a mythology of symbols surrounding the social-cosmic universe and the pastoral agronomic one, caught in the eternal spinning rhythm of passing life: birth-death/rebirth [9-11].

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d) Diversity of traditional Romanian blouses by the structural constitution of its elements

Traditional blouses for women, as well as for men, by their structure, are distinguished by their ornaments. In traditional men blouses, those are:

- relies on the lines of the shirt's opens in the area of the line of symmetry of the faction;
- ornaments on the face and back of the sleeve;
- ornaments on the bottom of the sleeve;
- ornaments on the bottom of the blouse;
- ornamenting bracelets;
- ornamenting the collar.

Traditional blouses for women are distinguished by more complex decoration, compared to blouses for men, by the occupied surface, the complexity of used techniques of ornamenting: sewn or woven, or thanks to structural elements that define its macro cosmos. The sleeve was the element of the costume where all aspirations of the wearer were written; it is structured in altiţă, pleats, and rivers (figure 9).

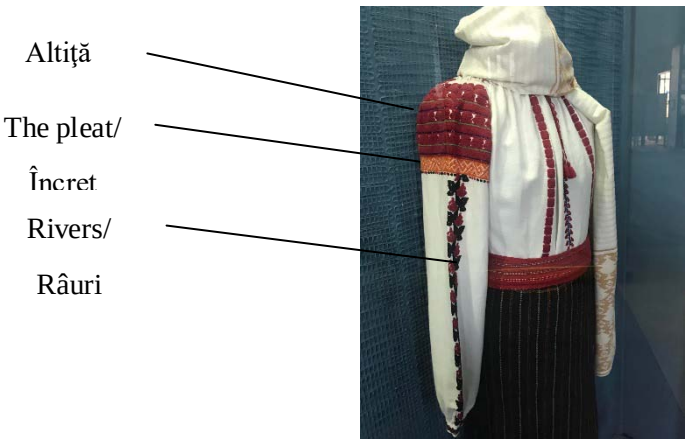

Figure 9: Structural construction of the sleeve with „altiță" (MNEIN collection)

Altiţa is the divine element of the traditional blouse that is not repeated on any other surface of it [12], representing the Sky of the macro cosmos [2, 13]. It is represented by the repetition of horizontal ornamental markings (3-9). Canonical is the positioning of the last ornamental mark of the altiță in the superior part of it (closest to the cut of the neck) through a white space distinctly named "separator" that made the separation between the markings of the altiță. Canonical is also considered framing the ornamental registers of the height in a frame that surrounds them trilaterally, forming an element called "scrânciobel". Ornamental motifs of the altiță are the most elaborate, not just aesthetic considerations but also many meanings, aspirations, and formulas of protection. The separated altiță had an essential role distinct even from the beginnings, unsewn when the blouse was cleaned or exchanged when the wearer found it necessary.

Încreţul/The pleat is the register found under the altiță, representing Earth [2]. Initially, it had the functional role of configuring the sleeve on the hand, thanks to its pleatings. Once with starting to sew the sleeve with integrated altiță, the functional role of the crinkle has transformed into a decorative one, giving up on pleating anymore in that part of the blouse.

Râurile/Rivers are elements with the form of vertical lines, rarely oblique ones [11] (1-2-3-5) that come from the pleat up to the termination of the sleeve, representing the water as the vigor of life [2]. Ornamental motifs from the rivers relate stylistically with the pines from the altiță, but different somehow.

The front of the blouse is decorated with 1-2 rows of decorative elements that vary in width from the thinnest in the zone of Moldova to the thickest, present in blouses of Muscel, Valcea, Argeș, Mehedinți.

The back of the blouse has reduced ornamentation when referring to the Rivers, or a lack of decorative techniques of combining markings with keys.

The neckline, the collar is decorated with small ornamental motifs proportional to the dimensional characteristics of the markings.

Terminations of the blouses can be decorated with thin markings of ornamental elements.

e) Creativity and Canons in the Making of Traditional Blouses

Various aesthetics of traditional blouses are results of creativity noted by:

- used ornamental motif: geometric, vegetate, zoomorphic, avimorph, anthropomorphic, divine, social, skeuomorphic ones;
- dimensional variety of the elements on blouses for women: of the "rivers", altiță, pleats;
- diversity of the technological mix of different marks, specific spots;
- variety of used natural materials: hemp, flax, the skin of lamb, sheep, veal and mixing them in different pieces of the costume;

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- technological variety in processing the terminations of the costumes;
- variety of technologies of decorating/ornamenting used to create the costume;
- diversity of ornamenting the work color-wise: monochrome or polychrome; variety of forming the costume from different pieces.

Canons noticed in the traditional costume:

- the cut of traditional blouses;
- structural solutions of dividing markings;
- geometric contours of the markings that form vestimentary pieces from the costume;
- compositional structure in blouses for men- placement of markings in the closing system, superior and inferior termination of the sleeves, termination of the hem, the contour of the collar and neckline; in women's blouses: structural composition of the decor of the sleeves, prevalent from altiță, pleat, and rivers on horizontal and oblique positioning;
- motifs that form ornamental markings of the costume;
- geometrization of used motifs;
- traditions connected to the preparation activities up to the starting, making, and finishing the traditional costume;
- resonance with the activity of making the costume, ornamentation elements with sacral texts, folkloric texts with motifs used in home textiles, rugs, etc.;
- the use of decoration with divine and anthropic characteristics: beads (1-16), rings, bracelets, earrings that protect different vulnerable parts of the human body in the perspective of completing the image of the traditional costume.

VI. Conclusions

- The traditional costume is truly a "temple of its owner", and enough care towards it will contribute to the divine keeping, its conservation and continuing traditions connected with it, authentic meaning, no changes of its concept, aesthetics, construction, or technology of its making.
- The traditional costume is more than an ensemble of beautifully decorated vestimentary parts; it represents a "cosmologic narration, a mini-recapitulation of the entire cosmos" [13].
- Conceptual-aesthetic diversity of traditional costumes, traditional blouses represent the results of every maker's creativity, presenting the microcosmos of existence essences.
- Creativity freedom in traditional costumes is marked by chromatic solutions in authentic models, structural, proportional, symmetrical, static, dynamic, and compositional aspects, mixing all the aspects to create something. The personalization of these costume pieces, based on the entropy morphologic characteristics of the wearer, is also a result of the creator's creativity.
- The diversity of traditional blouses is determined by: *materials, cut, colors, decor, the structure of the costume* completed by *techniques of reproduction, divine elements*, and *anthropic attributes*.

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Chiri Wayrita: The Voice of the Voiceless. A Transformative Education Experience for the Children of Cerro Rico (Bolivia)

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Abstract- For a decade, the University of Burgos, through the Vice-Rectorate for Internationalization and Cooperation, and the Center for Cooperation and Solidarity Action, is committed to a series of educational and health projects in Bolivia, specifically in the Department of Potosí. Throughout these years, students and teachers of different degrees have participated in an experience that has changed our worldview by approaching cultures that survive individualism, reification and depersonalization, pillars of wild neoliberal capitalism, empowering and strengthening the feeling of community Living with the Andean, Quechua and Aymara peoples, participating in their own education models in schools as complex and beautiful as Robertito, built in the heart of one of the most terrible mines on the planet, the Sumaq Orcko, has made us acquire a new and enriching vision of the world from a worldview revealing to us by the principles of solidarity and reciprocity upon which it has been built (Fernández Malanda, D. in Cifuentes García and Gómez Campelo, 2016, 121).

Keywords: working children and adolescents; child exploitation; mine; robertito school; child protagonism.

GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 160899



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Chiri Wayrita: The Voice of the Voiceless. A Transformative Education Experience for the Children of Cerro Rico (Bolivia)

Chiri Wayrita: La Voz de los sin voz. Una experiencia de educación transformadora para los niños y niñas del Cerro Rico (Bolivia)

Mª Dolores Fernández Malanda [α] & Mara García Rodríguez [σ]

Resumen- Desde hace una década, la Universidad de Burgos a través del Vicerrectorado de Internacionalización y Cooperación, y el Centro de Cooperación y Acción Solidaria, apuesta por una serie de proyectos educativos y de salud en Bolivia, concretamente en el Departamento de Potosí. A lo largo de estos años, estudiantes y profesores de diferentes titulaciones hemos participado de una experiencia que ha cambiado nuestra visión del mundo al acercarnos a culturas que sobreviven al individualismo, la cosificación y la despersonalización, pilares del capitalismo neoliberal salvaje, empoderando y fortaleciendo el sentimiento de comunidad. Convivir con los pueblos andinos, quechuas y aymaras, participar de sus modelos de educación propia en escuelas tan complejas y hermosas como *Robertito*, edificada en el corazón de una de las minas más terribles del planeta, el Sumaq Orcko, nos ha hecho adquirir una nueva y enriquecedora visión del mundo a partir de una cosmovisión para nosotros reveladora por los principios de solidaridad y reciprocidad sobre los que se ha construido (Fernández Malanda, D. en Cifuentes García y Gómez Campelo, 2016, 121).

Palabras clave: niños, niñas y adolescentes trabajadores; explotación infantil; mina; escuela robertito; protagonismo infantil.

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Keywords: working children and adolescents; child exploitation; mine; robertito school; child protagonism.

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I. Introducción

No podemos hablar de Robertito sin hacer un recorrido necesario por el país, la ciudad y la situación de los niños, niñas y adolescentes que acoge en sus aulas.

Bolivia, considerado uno de los estados más pobres de América Latina, es un país marcado tanto por la gran heterogeneidad geográfica y étnica como por los elevados índices de desigualdad económica y social.

Sobre su heterogeneidad cultural, tal como recoge la Constitución Política del Estado Plurinacional, conviven 36 naciones indígenas y originarias, y 34 lenguas oficiales reconocidas en 2012. Según los datos del censo más fiable hasta el momento, el censo del 2011, la población indígena representa el 62% del total (10.671.200 millones de habitante según el censo de 2013), en su mayoría integrada por quechuas, aymaras y guaraníes, conviviendo con sectores mestizos y criollos (García Rodríguez, M. 2015).

En cuanto a la desigualdad económica, el 63% de los bolivianos está por debajo de la línea de pobreza, es decir, no tiene ingresos suficientes para satisfacer sus necesidades básicas; el 37% no puede cubrir ni siquiera sus necesidades alimenticias. Esta asimetría tiene su correspondencia étnica, dado que en el área rural -donde se da la mayor concentración de población indígena-, es donde la pobreza puede llegar hasta el 81´7% como es el caso del Departamento de Potosí. El binomio indígena-pobreza es un complejo histórico, como lo fueron también las violaciones de Derechos Humanos fundamentales (Citarella Menardi, 2010, 14).

Dentro de este contexto de grandes contrastes destaca Potosí, la segunda ciudad más alta del mundo (posee una altura media de 3900 msnm). Conocida por

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su actividad minera, que se remonta a la época precolombina, la urbe se expande a los pies del Cerro Rico. Las famosas minas de plata explotadas durante los siglos de la Colonia han dado paso a la extracción de otros minerales, como el estaño y el zinc. La dureza de la vida en esta ciudad se refleja en la situación de las familias potosinas, la mayoría de las cuales viven bajo el umbral de la pobreza y la extrema pobreza, trabajando en condiciones altamente precarias.

En esta realidad, son los y las NAT´s (niños, niñas y adolescentes trabajadores) los que de manera más directa ven vulnerados sus derechos básicos. Obligados a insertarse en el mundo laboral desde temprana edad, en muchas ocasiones su trabajo se realiza bajo condiciones de explotación. Esta situación impide el acceso a la formación, educación y especialización de los/as NAT´s.

Pese a que la legislación boliviana establece la edad mínima para el trabajo en 10 años, son muchos los niños y niñas menores de 10 años que debido a su situación familiar desempeñan una actividad remunerada para garantizar su acceso a la educación, alimentación y necesidades básicas, incluyendo el apoyo a sus familias. Las dificultades para el acceso a derechos básicos como la salud o la educación, así como los beneficios obtenidos de poseer un trabajo regulado, si bien pueden justificar la excepcionalidad del trabajo infantil en determinadas circunstancias, no han de ser una excusa para no proporcionar tales derechos básicos (Constitución Política del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2009).

II. Contexto

El Departamento de Potosí cuenta con 16 provincias y 38 municipios, su población alcanza a 825.000 habitantes (según el censo de 2012), siendo un 66% población rural y el restante 34% población urbana. En cuanto a la pobreza Potosí ocupa los primeros lugares en la escala de la pobreza con un promedio de 1´5 dólares de ingreso día por familia.

La ciudad de Potosí se sitúa al sur de Bolivia y es la capital del Departamento. Se ubica a unos 3900 metros de altitud, a los pies de la legendaria montaña del Cerro Rico, en la que se localizó la mina de plata más grande del mundo a mediados del siglo XVI, iniciándose un "cataclísmico" proceso de explotación que en 500 años acabó con la vida de más de 8 millones de seres humanos (Bascopé, 2013). Cuenta con una población media de unos 250.000 habitantes y fue declarada Patrimonio de la Humanidad por la Unesco en 1987, dado su gran patrimonio arquitectónico que se compone de numerosas construcciones coloniales (catedral, Casa de la Moneda, la Universidad Tomás Frías o la Torre de la Compañía), y el enorme valor histórico del Cerro.

Potosí nació y prosperó gracias a la minería, pero las reservas de plata que la hicieron internacional están casi agotadas. En la actualidad, la actividad minera se centra en el estaño y el zinc, en proyectos de concentración de minerales de baja ley (sobre todo desechos de plata acumulados desde épocas coloniales) y derivados.

La agricultura de la región es de tipo altiplánico. Sobresalen las producciones de papa en sus diferentes variedades, quinua real, cuya demanda excede grandemente la oferta, algunas especies de maíz, y productos alimenticios varios destinados, en general, a consumo y mercado local. La industria es escasa, solamente existen algunas empresas medianas en el rubro de la cerveza o el proceso de alimentos.

a) La Situación de Los Menores de Potosí

En Bolivia, más de 800 mil niños, niñas y adolescentes de 5 a 17 años trabajan, según los datos del INE de 2011. Un porcentaje difícil de estimar "trabaja" en las minas, en las peores condiciones. De todas las minas del país, el Cerro Rico de Potosí es la más dura. En este contexto, el caso más extremo es el de los NAT´s que viven en el Cerro Rico, al pie de las minas, que son hijos/as de las palliri (mujeres guardas de las minas, en su mayoría viudas de mineros) y que sobreviven en condiciones infrahumanas.

Desde hace meses, muchas de ellas no perciben sus exiguos sueldos ya que la bajada del precio de los minerales que se extraen ha provocado una grave crisis del sector en el Departamento de Potosí.

En el Cerro Rico no hay agua, y en la ciudad el agua no es potable, quien quiere beber agua potable debe comprarla embotellada. Las familias del Cerro beben el agua contaminada que dejan las empresas mineras muchas veces reutilizada por los habitantes del Cerro tras el uso de la misma para el lavado del mineral en los ingenios. Los niveles de plomo en los órganos de los habitantes de la montaña maldita, incluidos los niños y las niñas, son muy elevados, y en el resto de la ciudad los habitantes enferman de DEA (diarreas agudas) en un alto porcentaje. No hay luz, ni saneamientos. Miles de personas viven en chabolas de calamina de 10 metros cuadrados expuestas diariamente al polvo tóxico de cientos de minas que agujerean como un queso de gruyere al cerro Patrimonio de la Humanidad. En similar situación se encuentran las familias de mineros que viven en los barrios al pie del Cerro. El servicio más extendido en los hogares de los NAT´s del resto de la ciudad es la energía eléctrica (31´5%) seguido por el agua (30´8%) y el baño (27´9%). Las actividades metalúrgicas también han tenido un fuerte impacto sobre las áreas verdes y de recreación en las zonas residenciales: en Potosí existen bajos índices de estos espacios, con las consiguientes consecuencias en la salud y el bienestar

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de la población. Esta situación, sumado a la falta de agua, impide también que las familias puedan cultivar sus propios alimentos, lo que incide de forma negativa en los altos niveles de desnutrición (PASOCAP, 2014).

La realidad de pobreza del Departamento (87% según los últimos datos de la CEPAL) hace que los hogares potosinos tengan que buscar diferentes medios para poder subsistir, por esta razón el trabajo infantil es común en las familias, en algunos casos los (as) niños/as trabajan desde los 5 años, ayudando a sus padres en diferentes labores o trabajos. En general, los ingresos de las familias de los NAT´s son muy bajos, pues la mayoría de los padres de familia trabajan en la mina como peón o ayudante, en talleres mecánicos como ayudantes, o en la construcción como albañiles. En el caso de las mujeres, suelen trabajar como lavanderas, empleadas del hogar o en el comercio informal. En consecuencia, el nivel de ingreso familiar no excede los 130 dólares por mes que, para una familia de 8 a 12 integrantes, es insuficiente para satisfacer las necesidades más urgentes del hogar (CEPAL, 2018).

En relación a la educación más del 40% de los NAT´s no asiste a la escuela, y su edad no tiene correspondencia con el nivel o grado escolar en el que están matriculados en un alto porcentaje. Las razones son múltiples. Por un lado, afectan el escaso nivel económico familiar, el elevado número de hijos e hijas, la baja escolaridad de los padres, y también existen causas derivadas del propio sistema educativo como la limitación de profesores y servicios de apoyo en los centros, el elevado número de alumnos/as por aula, la falta de formación de los profesionales de la educación o la oferta educativa incompleta (PASOCAP, 2015).

Los/as NAT´s, abandonan la escuela por la imposibilidad de conciliar el horario escolar con el laboral pese a que el Gobierno ha articulado medidas para que los NAT´s puedan acudir a los colegios creando en todos los centros públicos tres horarios de clase (mañana, tarde y noche). No obstante, en los últimos años, los incentivos económicos han contribuido a mejorar esta situación, sobre todo en la zona rural. Las personas sin recursos económicos raramente pueden asistir al médico, operarse, o concluir tratamientos pese a la solidaridad de las familias y vecinos; no existe en Bolivia un seguro médico universal. Los NAT´s tampoco cuentan con atención en salud siendo las principales víctimas al estar sometidos a duras jornadas de trabajo en condiciones de extrema dureza física. Las necesidades de salud son generales, pero hay un colectivo muy castigados por razones obvias: los niños, niñas y adolescentes que trabajan en las minas. Aunque el Estado oferta un servicio de atención a través del Seguro Universal Materno Infantil (SUMI), éste solo cubre a menores de 5 años y mujeres embarazadas. La mayor parte de los NAT´s sufren de enfermedades infecciosas de tipo respiratorio, gastrointestinales, dermatológicas y problemas odontológicos en general.

Pese a las situaciones adversas que enfrentan, de acuerdo al diagnóstico elaborado por PASOCAP, y recogido en el documento Línea de Base del Programa "Derecho a la Protección contra las peores formas de trabajo de Bolivia: Proyecto "Más allá del sol" los NAT´s se encuentran muy motivados para salir adelante y poder aspirar a cambiar su realidad con esfuerzo y dedicación (PASOCAP, 2014).

En cuanto al sector de trabajo de los NAT´s, dentro de la ciudad de Potosí, se han identificado diversidad de sectores. Los encuestados provienen de 38 sectores: albañilería, artesanía, atención de café Internet, ayudante de oficios varios, ayudante de cocina, labores de casa, perforista, barraquero, estibador, carpintería, chapista, chofer, cocinero, electricista, trabajador industrial de gaseosa, escamador, fotocopiador, gomería, heladería, lavaplatos, limpia lápidas, limpieza, lustra calzados, mecánica, minería, niñera, atención de parqueo vehicular, peinado, repartidor de repostería, sastrería, secretariado, soldador, atención de surtidos de hidrocarburos, taxista, vendedor, trabajos varios. Los sectores más destacados son: comercio, albañilería, mecánica, minería, limpieza, labores de casa y niñera.

Los NAT´s son un colectivo muy vulnerable y en alto riesgo, porque provienen de familias en extrema pobreza, la mayoría migrantes del área rural con bajo nivel de escolaridad, situadas en el área periurbana de la ciudad de Potosí. Esta situación negativa, hace de los NAT´s que no sean sujetos de plenos de derecho; gran parte no asiste a la escuela, muy pocos llegan al bachillerato y sólo unos cuantos a la universidad y/o algún instituto de formación profesional; tampoco tienen el cuidado de su salud por parte de sus padres y mucho menos del Estado. La mala alimentación provoca un bajo rendimiento escolar y laboral, que no es comprendido por sus empleadores, los profesores y la misma población que recibe sus servicios.

La situación de inestabilidad socioeconómica en la que viven las familias de los NAT´s, ocasiona que ellos sean sujetos de maltrato físico y psicológico. El maltrato que reciben de sus progenitores estimula a que vean en la calle y en el trabajo una opción para poder alejarse de este ambiente hostil; sin embargo, la calle no es mejor que la casa: muchos NAT´s enfrentan riesgos como el acoso sexual, la explotación laboral, la delincuencia, diferentes drogodependencias y adicciones, la prostitución y el acoso de las pandillas. (García Rodríguez, M. 2017).

La falta de protección, de afecto, de comunicación intrafamiliar, es la causa de traumas psicoemocionales, que les lleva a buscar espacios de apoyo y afecto, como las pandillas en las que se acaban involucrando en actividades delictivas. Además, las escasas posibilidades de acceso a la educación

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secundaria o a una formación profesional quedan frustradas. Aquellos que logran estudiar tienen que lidiar con la discriminación e intolerancia de las autoridades y docentes, fomentando el abandono escolar. (García Rodríguez, M. 2015).

Frente a esta realidad, existen instancias del Estado como las Defensorías de la Niñez y la Adolescencia, el Servicio de Gestión Social, la Dirección Departamental del Trabajo y los Juzgados de la Niñez y la Adolescencia encargadas de brindar apoyo, protección y defensa de sus derechos y de su seguridad asignadas por la ley 2026 (Código Niño, Niña y Adolescente, 2014), pero lamentablemente no pueden cumplir su rol por la falta de recursos económicos y de profesionales, por lo que existe una seria desprotección de los NAT´s tanto a nivel estatal como familiar.

III. La Escuela Robertito

En este contexto, en un país plurinacional, en el que los niños, niñas y adolescentes lograron cambiar una Constitución para que su trabajo fuera reconocido legalmente, en la mina conocida como la Mina del Diablo, asoma una escuelita, pequeña, valiente, a la que asisten un grupo de niños y niñas trabajadores y palliris de las minas.

Cuatrocientas personas viven en el cerro y casi la mitad son niños y niñas, de los cuales menos de la mitad pueden acudir al centro educativo. Junto a la escuela las bocaminas, los caminos inaccesibles entre barro y derrumbes, las grandes máquinas que siguen horadando las entrañas de la montaña. Hierros, pedregales, el frío o el calor abrasador, las detonaciones a escasos metros del edificio escolar cuyas paredes y suelos se abren... el plomo de los pasivos ambientales que los niños y niñas respiran todo el tiempo...

Constituida conjuntamente por la ONGD *Voces libres* y la comunidad del Cerro, de modo especial por las madres que se organizaron para la construcción de las aulas, acoge alrededor de unos 70 niños y niñas de las minas, desde los 2 hasta los 14 años. Allí, seis profesores/as de las Escuelas de Cristo y una pedagoga contratada por Voces Libres, dan clases, organizan el almuerzo, y por las tardes ofrecen apoyo escolar a los niños y a sus familias (clases de alfabetización de español siguiendo el sistema de Paulo Freire para algunos padres y madres de las naciones quechuas y aymaras que solo conocen su lengua materna).

Esta modesta escuelita, cuyo objetivo inicial era ofrecer a los niños un acceso integral a la educación, dándoles herramientas para desarrollar sus talentos y salir del ámbito inhumano de la mina, asume también la función de espacio de reuniones comunitarias a través de los diferentes programas de apoyo ofrecidos por ONGDs como *Voces Libres, Save the Children o PASOCAP* (Pastoral Social Cáritas de Potosí que apoya con el programa de "Fortalecimiento y empoderamiento del Movimiento de los NAT´s") sobre salud, apoyo social y jurídico, talleres de sensibilización contra la violencia de género (mujeres y niños), derechos humanos, el apoyo a micro-créditos, biblioteca, educación para la higiene, apoyo alimentario y distribución de ropa y zapatos.

La escuela, más allá del abnegado trabajo académico de los profesores, se ha convertido a lo largo de los años en un lugar de expresión y de terapia - pintura, canto, teatro, baile y música- ofrecida por la Universidad Domingo Savio, a través de alguno de los programas del Servicio de Extensión y Responsabilidad Social Universitaria y de las prácticas curriculares de sus estudiantes de psicopedagogía, ya que "el eterno violento" de la mina hace que los niños y niñas se encuentren, a menudo, bajo un estado de mutismo y de traumatismo severo.

Resulta difícil para los pequeños habitantes del Cerro Rico seguir un programa escolar normal sin antes trabajar de modo concienzudo y con enorme sutileza la expresión descarnada de sus temores. Los horrores que sacuden el diario de estos niños tienen nombres como derrumbe (las cifras oficiales no lo mencionan pero en el Cerro hay años que mueren hasta 300 personas), desapariciones (trata y tráfico de menores, etc. desaparecen muchos niños y niñas en Bolivia, y en el caso de los niños del Cerro el número es mayor), sacrificios (los ministros del diablo o señores de las minas que hacen sacrificios humanos para que el Señor de la mina les regale una veta... forma parte de la superstición pero lo más probable es que los niños desaparezcan no para los sacrificios sino por temas vinculados al tráfico de órganos), violaciones (de los mineros a las niñas, adolescentes y mujeres del Cerro por el consumo brutal de alcohol), hambre, palizas y abandono.

También es imposible hablar del Cerro Rico, de las minas, de la escuela Robertito, y del imaginario de los menores y los adultos, sin mencionar a aquel que "rige" sus destinos: el Tío. El Tío es uno de los dioses menores de la cultura y tradición bolivianas, sincretismo entre el catolicismo y las deidades indígenas. Es el Señor Único de los inframundos, de la oscuridad, del Manqha Pacha o mundo de abajo (Bascopé, 2013) ofreciendo bajo su gobierno dictatorial protección a los mineros, pero también ruina y destrucción a quienes no le hacen ofrendas en forma de cigarros, hojas de coca o alcohol, y sacrificio de llamas a la entrada de la mina donde esparcen su sangre (Montoya, 2000).

a) La Voz De Los Sin Voz

De entre todos los proyectos de la escuelita Robertito ha destacado en estos últimos años por la huella dejada *Chiri Wayrita (vientito frio* en quechua), una propuesta creativa elaborada por los propios niños y

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niñas del Cerro, y desarrollado por la *Escuela de narradores* nacida en el seno de la Universidad Privada Domingo Savio (Sede de Potosí) como un colectivo de narración oral que adoptó este nombre para crear un proyecto cultural que transformara las voces de los pequeños en cuentos con los que reivindicar sus derechos a jugar, a opinar y a soñar. El Chiri Wayrita es también el aliento del cerro Rico que desde la psicomagia se llevó un día las voces de los niños y niñas que viven en el contexto minero.

Aunque la idea surge en el 2013 por parte del colectivo de proyectos sociales de la UPDS, la propuesta se inició en el 2014 con algunos círculos creativos y espacios de diálogo de la ciudad de Potosí para trabajar la resiliencia y la recuperación del niño interno con los pequeños del Cerro a partir de la narración oral, entendiendo que la vida del Cerro no solo vulnera sus derechos como niños en los aspectos más básicos (salud, educación...), también mutila su creatividad condenándoles a continuar en un "oficio" que pospone indefinidamente su niñez. La propuesta desde su origen ha sido coordinada por Rocío Álvarez Aranibar, técnico de extensión Universitaria de la UPDS, bajo la dirección de Rosario Puma, Vicerrectora de Investigación de la UPDS, y con el apoyo de la Universidad de Burgos a través del Vicerrectorado de Internacionalización y Cooperación.

Durante todos estos años, y una vez a la semana, ocupando toda una mañana, el colectivo *Chiri Wayrita* de narración oral y escénica ha subido al Cerro, al espacio de la escuela Robertito con estudiantes de la UPDS y de la UBU para desarrollar actividades vinculadas con la palabra y la escenificación de la misma.

En 2015 se publicó el libro Chiri Wayrita, financiado por la cooperación Suiza en Bolivia a través del Fondo para Proyectos Culturales de la Embajada de Suiza en Bolivia y ejecutado por Solidar Suiza, la UPDS y el alumnado de la Universidad de Burgos en prácticas curriculares. Más de 20 historias dibujadas por los pequeños de la escuela. Ocho niños/as de nivel inicial en familia comunitaria de primer grado; veinte de nivel inicial en familia comunitaria de segundo grado; diecisiete de nivel primaria comunitario vocacional de primer grado; nueve de segundo grado de primaria comunitaria vocacional; dieciocho de tercer grado de primaria comunitaria vocacional; once de cuarto grado de PCV; doce de quinto grado de PCV; siete de sexto grado de PCV, han convertido sus cuentos en un pequeño "dispositivo de transformación social".

Títulos como *Los millonarios van al infierno, El lugar donde los abrazos curan, El oro maldecido* o el cuento de *La niña abandonada*, hablan de todos esos sueños y miedos que pueblan el día a día de estos niños cuyos héroes son personajes mágicos que les defienden de la maldad de los hombres y del Tío, como la anaconda y el cóndor que "concede poderes para que día y noche protejan a los niños y niñas", como escribe Alexander Pérez Valverde en su cuento *Los guardianes del Cerro*, o la luna que se casó con el Tío y desde ese día "las personas del Cerro eran más felices porque ya no había muertes por accidentes, así los niños y niñas podían jugar protegidos por la luna", como narra Ever Ticona Mamani en *La luna y el Tío.*

En noviembre del 2015 se presentó el libro de cuentos y se desarrolló el Primer Festival de Narración Oral *Chiri Wayrita* en la simbólica Casa de la Moneda, el edificio más emblemático de la ciudad de Potosí, allí donde llegaba la plata arrancada a la montaña y acuñada en monedas que se llevó durante 400 años la Colonia a España. En el evento cultural se reunieron narradores de diferentes partes de Bolivia y de otros países, incluido España, con el colectivo, los educadores de la escuela, algunos padres y los niños y niñas que integran el proyecto, así como autoridades de Potosí. Muchos de los niños que bajaron del Cerro al festival era la primera vez que estaban en la ciudad; ellos y ellas fueron los protagonistas definitivos de un día que jamás olvidarán.

Con los cuentos se logró generar un espacio de horizontalidad, en el que los narradores y educadores de la escuela han diseñado las actividades con los niños, y que permitió trabajar tres componentes esenciales para ayudar a los niños y niñas de Robertito a empoderarse.

La intervención del proyecto Chiri Wayrita, más allá de la parte lúdica que acabamos de referir brevemente, y que resultó esencial para que los niños se abrieran, se ha centrado a lo largo de estos años en:

1. Promoción del protagonismo de los NAT´s
2. Promoción del derecho a la educación y la salud
3. Recuperación del niño interno

El objetivo general del proyecto ha sido todo el tiempo la promoción del protagonismo y la participación activa de los niños y niñas de Robertito para la promoción, el cumplimiento y la defensa de sus derechos en el ámbito familiar, educativo, laboral, organizacional y comunitario, a través de la incidencia en el sector público y privado para que sus propuestas sean escuchadas y se conviertan en Políticas Públicas que los beneficien y mejoren su situación. Todo ello, a partir del fortalecimiento y consolidación de la organización como niños, niñas y adolescentes trabajadores (NAT´s) y de la promoción de la mejora de las condiciones de educación y salud, intentando reducir la deserción y pérdida del año escolar, y el cuidado y prevención de su estado de salud.

Para ello, la Escuela de Narradores, ha contado con la presencia continua de técnicos de PASOCAP y de Save the Children, organizaciones que llevan años apoyando y asesorando al colectivo de los NAT´s en Potosí.

Son muchas las acciones desarrolladas, pero podemos destacar varias:

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- Elaboración, implementación y evaluación del plan de formación de líderes.
- Ferias, exposiciones sobre los derechos de la niñez trabajadora con la participación de los líderes infantiles.
- Encuentros Departamentales y nacionales de los NAT´s para definir sus líneas base de acción en incidencia política y reivindicación de sus derechos.
- Talleres de capacitación y formación de grupos de base.
- Organización y ejecución de campañas de sensibilización y dignificación del trabajo infantil organizadas por el colectivo para visibilizar su situación.
- Reuniones con autoridades educativas y políticas de la ciudad.
- Apoyos y seguimiento de los NAT´s en el proceso de permanencia en la escuela.
- Talleres de sensibilización a padres de familia.
- Implementación de becas de estudio que no obligan a dejar el trabajo sino a establecer turnos de menos horas.
- Elaboración de diagnósticos de salud.

El proyecto es muy amplio y de gran complejidad, y nuestra presencia como profesores y estudiantes de la Universidad de Burgos se centró específicamente en la formación en liderazgo, la gestión de proyectos, el refuerzo escolar y la intervención familiar, todo ello desde la prosocialidad, es decir, en la búsqueda de vías, métodos e instrumentos que hicieran posible la introducción, formación, promoción, mantenimiento e incremento de la prosocialidad en un contexto de Comunidad como es el caso de los habitantes del Cerro.

Para ello presentamos un programa para la optimización de las actitudes y comportamientos prosociales en el marco de la CONNAT´SOP (Organización que aglutina a todos los NAT´s del Departamento de Potosí), así como propuestas para trabajar el conocimiento y la gestión de las emociones y la autoconciencia, y para ello hicimos uso de taxonomías de comportamientos prosociales basadas en la ayuda y servicio físico, dar y compartir, ayuda y consuelo verbal, valorización y confirmación positiva del otro, escucha profunda y empatía, solidaridad, presencia positiva y unidad, ya que algunos de los profesores participantes en el proyecto han recibido formación con el Dr. Robert Roche en educación prosocial de las emociones.

Quizás uno de los talleres más reveladores y que más cambio ha provocado en los niños ha sido la adaptación de los trabajos de John Bradshaw para la reivindicación y recuperación del niño/a interno. A través de dramatizaciones, role-playing, presentación de dilemas morales, dibujos, cuentos, el niño/a se ha enfrentado a su realidad con otros ojos y con el apoyo fundamental del grupo, desde la recuperación y defensa de niño herido.

IV. Conclusiones

No hay resultados cuantificados. El grupo ha expresado y sigue expresando libremente sentires y emociones. Niños y niñas con vidas difíciles de concebir, con una infancia mutilada en casi todos sus elementos y que no pueden cambiar su presente, han descubierto la fuerza del grupo de iguales, se han organizado, y aunque no han salido de su espiral de pobreza van recuperando poco a poco su voz... no todos. Algunos y algunas permanecen en el mutismo. No podemos impedir que les exploten, les maltraten y les abusen. El sueño de los profesores de Robertito es que un día no haya ningún niño trabajando en el Cerro y que la escuela se cierre porque ya no queden niños en la montaña del diablo. Mientras, ellos y ellas, con el apoyo de personas que sueñan otro mundo para la infancia, seguirán dando sus clases, sin sufrir como los maestros de otras escuelas de parálisis metodológica, porque más allá de los contenidos necesarios entienden la necesidad de fortalecer en un medio tan hostil el sentimiento de concordia y la correspondencia con el otro, la prosocialidad y la resiliencia.

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The Paranista Movement in Brazil and the *Illustração Paranaense* Magazine

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Abstract- The Illustração Paranaense: mensario paranista de arte e actualidades was a magazine that circulated in Paraná, Brazil between 1927 and 1930, during which the Paranista Movement lived its heyday. Counting practices of different fields, this cultural movement developed to mobilize awareness and actions of artists and intellectuals in favor of a local identity. The intention is to take as object of study the role of that magazine in the construction of both a speech, as images, they intended to set a paranaense identity. The aim of this article is to understand how the periodic exercised its role as a vehicle for the dissemination of ideas and works of representatives of Paranista Movement, the specificity of the visual arts. Is taken as hypothesis that political interest is not excelled on the artistic and cultural interest, because both followed the same direction. Drawing on statistical data, the intention is investigate the relationship network formed by the editorial staff of the magazine and its contributors.

Keywords: illustração paranaense; paranista movement; brazilian art: social aspects.

GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 370199

THEPARANISTAMOVEMENTINBRAZILANDTHEILLUSTRAOPARANAENSEMAGAZINE

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I. Introduction

In my doctoral thesis entitled *Generations of plastic artists and their practices: Sociology of art from Paraná in the first decades of the 20th century* (SALTURI, 2011) I researched the social trajectories, practices and artistic productions of the main plastic artists working in the State of Paraná, located in southern Brazil, in the first decades of the 20th century. When dealing with this subject, the current conceptions of art and artist in that period were also considered, as well as the institutions involved. The research covers from the artistic manifestations that preceded the emergence of the local artistic field until its consolidation in the 1940s. This process was linked to the development of art education and the professionalization of the artistic craft through the initiative of some precursory professionals and their disciples, which through various practices continued the initial investments. I analyze too the Paranista Movement, which was a cultural movement with strong political ties, which took place in the State of Paraná which had its peak between 1927 and 1930, when its ideals were organized and institutionalized in the form of cultural practices.

Literature, poetry, theater, history, painting, sculpture, drawing, architecture, music, fashion, all who produced in these areas highlighted in their works themes related to elements of flora and fauna considered representative of the identity of State of Paraná or identity "paranista". Until that moment, this word did not exist in Portuguese. The *General Program of the Paranista Center* presents the definition of the term "paranista" as "a friend of Paraná, contributor to its progress" (MARTINS, 1927). In another publication by Romário Martins, intellectual considered the leader of the movement, the following definition appears: "Paranista is symbolically the one who cultivated a field in Paraná, waded a forest, built a bridge, built a machine, ran a factory, composed a stanza, painted a picture, carved a statue, drafted a liberal law, practiced kindness, enlightened a brain, avoided an injustice, educated a feeling, reformed a pervert, wrote a book, planted a tree" (MARTINS, 1948, p. 38). The Paraná pine, the azure jay and the region's Indians are the most striking elements that persisted over the years. They also had little impact or were not accepted as representative of the region, such as palm tree, guabiroba, pitanga, mango, passion fruit, coffee and yerba mate. For example, the sculptor and designer João Turin (1878-1949) carried out several studies with these elements of the local flora. However, these works are less known, as they remained only as projects.

There is a tendency to think of the Week of Modern Art, which took place in São Paulo in 1922 and marked the start of Brazilian Modernism, as synonymous with Brazilian art, which would be a mistake. The Paranista Movement did not have a direct relationship with the Modern Art Week, as its proposals had little effect on the city of Curitiba, capital of the State of Paraná. It is necessary to consider the specificities of the cultural field of Paraná at the beginning of the 20th century, mainly because the interests of the artists and intellectuals of Paraná were different from those of São Paulo. The beginnings of the Paranista Movement are due to the Symbolist Movement that took place in Paraná, and its end presidential dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas, which started in 1937 and ended in 1946, which suppressed the regionalist manifestations, when it became obsolete, both politically and artistically.

The main publication that refers to the Paranista Movement is the *Illustração Paranaense* magazine, created in 1927 by filmmaker, photographer and journalist João Baptista Groff (1897-1970). This periodical reflected the themes and ideas in force at that time, had excellent graphic and editorial quality and had the collaboration of artists and intellectuals. This

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publication, which has become rare today, can be found in the House of Memory of Curitiba (complete collection), in the Public Library of State of Paraná (partial collection), in the Paraná Museum (partial collection) or in private collections.

This article intends to analyze how *Illustração Paranaense* played the role of dissemination vehicle for the Paranista Movement, based on a textual discourse and a visual language that made reference to an idealized Paraná. In this way, it is intended to identify the position of power in the various *fields* in which there was some kind of manifestation of the referred movement, based on the production of its main representatives. To understand how these professionals were linked together, we chose to use the authors Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu as theoretical support. From the sociological concepts of *habitus* and *field* (BOURDIEU, 1992) and *configuration* (ELIAS, 1978), it is possible to understand many aspects of the actions of the individuals in question, using the webs of interdependence that formed between them as a way of access.

About the analytical perspective, the analysis is directed to what the french sociologist Nathalie Heinich calls "the most innovative directions in recent Sociology of Art" (HEINICH, 2001). In this, art is no longer the starting point of the questioning, but the point of arrival, since what interests the research is not inside art – an "internal" approach, centered on the works – nor outside it – a socializing approach "external", centered on contexts. What matters is what produces it and what it produces, like any other element of a society, since art is one among other possibilities of social activity, having its own characteristics.

II. Art and Society in *Illustração Paranaense* Magazine

The graphic arts had a great impulse in Curitiba from 1880, when the typography service started to use the mechanical press. This equipment enabled the launch of magazines, the edition of books and a greater frequency of newspapers. The following survey (table 1), carried out from the catalog archive of the Public Library of Paraná, and provides an idea ofthe number of periodicals that circulated in the late 1920s:

Table 1: Periodicals Publications in Paraná - 1927 to 1930

Magazines	1927	1928	1929	1930
A Cidade			X	
A Cruzada	X	X	X	X
A Semana Ilustrada	X			
Almanach do Paraná			X	
Almanach dos Municípios	X	X	X	X
Almanaque da Polícia Militar	X			
Alvorada			X	
Boas Estradas		X		
Boletim do Archivo Municipal de Curitiba	X	X	X	X
Boletim Mensal do Departamento de Comércio				X
Illustração Paranaense	X	X	X	X
Indicador Commercial Paranaense				X
Kalendarz "Ludu"	X			
Luz de Krotona	X			
Neue Heimat			X	
O Cruzeiro	X			
O Itiberê	X	X	X	X
O Mate			X	X
Paraná Judiciário	X	X	X	X
Paraná Progresso				X
Prata da Casa	X	X	X	X
Pryjaciel Rodziny				X
Revista A Rua				X
Revista Agrícola	X			
Revista da Academia de Letras do Paraná	X			
Revista de Agronomia do Centro Acadêmico de Agronomia				X
Semeia Semeador		X		
Sanctuarium do Rocio			X	
Scientia et Labor	X			
Volante				X

Source: Survey prepared by the author based on the catalog file of the Public Library of State of Paraná.
Note: The spellings of the names of newspapers and magazines follow as in the researched document. Magazines are available in print format and some copies on microfilm. In this survey, guides and yearbooks were excluded.

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Appeared at the height of this phase of technical advancement, the *Illustração Paranaense* was one of the most interesting magazines that the State of Paraná has ever had, having also served to express and promote the ideals of the representatives of the Paranista Movement. Founded on November 23, 1927, this periodical had circulation until November 1930. Below, the table 2 shows in detail the issues released during the years in which it circulated:

Table 2: Editions of *Illustração Paranaense* Magazine

Year	Month	Numbers
1927 (I)	November	1
1927 (I)	December	2
1928 (II)	January	1
1928 (II)	February	2
1928 (II)	March	3
1928 (II)	April	4
1928 (II)	May	5
1928 (II)	June	6
1928 (II)	July	7
1928 (II)	August	8
1928 (II)	September	9
1928 (II)	October / November	10 e 11
1928 (II)	December	12
1929 (III)	January / February	1 e 2
1929 (III)	March	3
1929 (III)	April	4
1929 (III)	May / June	5 e 6
1929 (III)	June / July	7 e 8
1929 (III)	November	8 a 11
1929 (III)	December	12
1930 (IV)	January	1
1930 (IV)	February	2
1930 (IV)	March	3
1930 (IV)	April	4
1930 (IV)	May	5
1930 (IV)	June	6
1930 (IV)	July	7
1930 (IV)	August	8
1930 (IV)	October	9
1930 (IV)	November	10
1933 (V)	February	-

Source: Survey made by the author based on the collections of the Public Library of State of Paraná, the Paraná Museum and the House of Memory of Curitiba.

The subtitle of the magazine already indicates what its proposal was. Focusing on themes and on the ideology in force at that time, it sought to portray the artistic and sociocultural environment of the capital and of the State of Paraná, covering parties, celebrations and social events, such as, for example, the beauty contests Miss Curitiba and Spring Muse, organized by its editorial team. Besides the social life, the periodical offered a great cultural variety to its readers, interspersing poetry, short stories, art criticism and chronicles with reports on the most diverse subjects. Among the themes of these reports, the natural beauties of the Paraná coast and the Foz do Iguaçu region, the urbanization process that the capital and the state of Paraná were going through, are worth mentioning.

With regard to the graphic presentation, each issue of the magazine had a cover with colors that varied for each publication. Authored by sculptor and designer João Turin, the cover featured a drawing with a man with open arms making an analogy to a pine tree (figure 1 (2)), an allusion to indigenous legends in the writings of historian Romário Martins, many of them reproduced on the page opening of the journal. Over the period of the magazine's existence, this cover design

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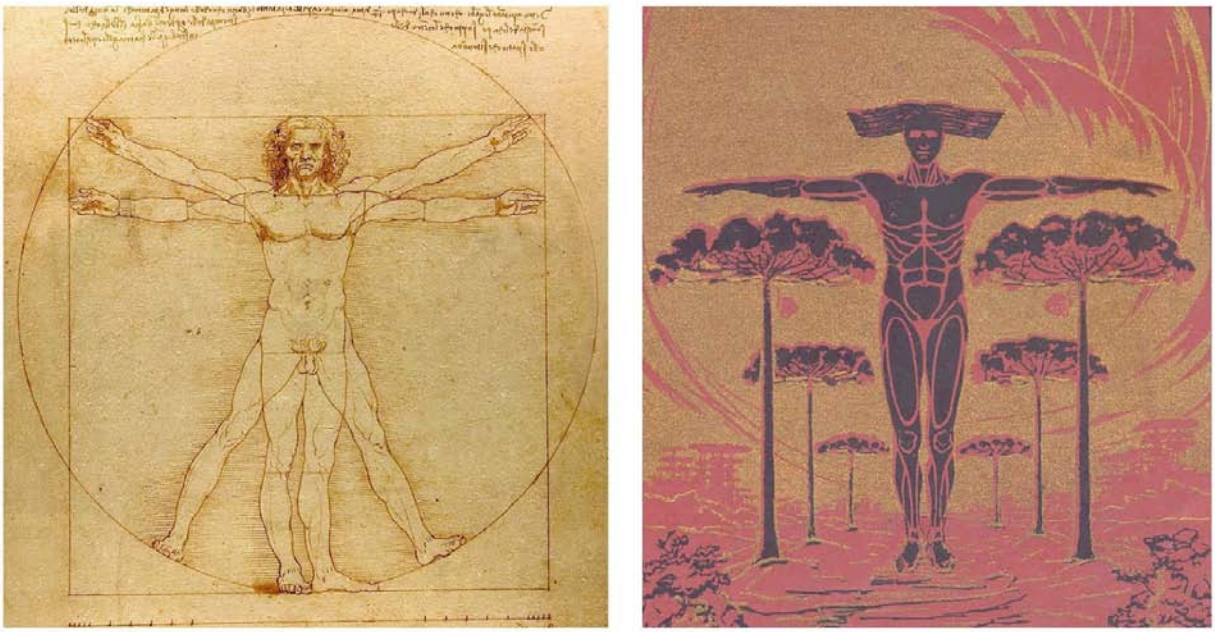
was presented in two different versions, but without any change as to the theme represented. With regard to artistic language, drawing carries strong references to Renaissance Art. João Turin's Pine Man resembles the Vitruvian Man, a drawing Leonardo da Vinci made in one of his notebooks, in which he describes the proportions of the human body (figure 1(1)).



(1) (2)

Note: (1) DA VINCI, L. Vitruvian Man - Detail. 1490. Pencil and ink drawing; 34 x 24 cm. Gallerie dell' Accademia. Venice. Italy. (2) TURIN, J. Cover of the Illustração Paranaense magazine - Detail. 1930. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1930, n. 1, Jan.).

Fig. 1: Vitruvian Man and Pine Man

The Vitruvian Man has as its subject a bare male figure elaborated in two superimposed positions with his arms inscribed in a circle and a square. As in the Renaissance drawing, the Pine Man's arms are outstretched, his legs almost come together, and his right foot is turned to the side. The background is formed by a circle of paint, which is very reminiscent of Da Vinci's drawing, in which the man is inside a circle. In João Turin's drawing, the man resembles the anatomy of the pine tree, for his hair is wavy, long, and extends to the sides, resembling the shape of the tree's crown. Behind the man, three pine trees on each side form a sequence and facilitate the perception of this similarity.

Together, the cover and other visual elements contribute to the definition of the magazine's peculiar style, not only in relation to its graphic presentation, but also regarding the articulation between image and text. At this point, considering the possibilities of image and textual communication, because, as defined by philosopher Vilém Flusser, "images are surfaces that intend to represent something", they are not symbols with precise meanings, they are not denotative, because they offer their receivers an interpretative space, they are "connotative" symbols that differ from texts because these are signs written in lines. The viewer's "wandering of the eye" to images is circular and non-linear, since it tends to return to contemplate those elements that have already been seen (FLUSSER, 2002).

The quality of the paper, the use of color covers and color pages and special inks, such as gold, are some of the main physical attributes of graphic printing related to the presentation of the magazine that contribute to this articulation between image and text. In relation to the graphic formatting, the use of illustrative vignettes in the composition of the pages also stands out. These vignettes, with strong symbolic references, served as frames, separating and decorating illustrations, poetry, short stories, art criticism, chronicles, and reports. Designed by the artists João Turin, Frederico Lange de Morretes and Arthur Nísio, among others, these vignettes had the theme of pine trees, pine cones, pine nuts, toads, and the azure jay. Some of them were selected and are presented below (figure 2):

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Fig. 2: Illustrative Vignettes

Not only the images, but the texts published in the periodical also exercised the reader's visuality and not only the simple reading of the characters, since many of them presented themselves in special formats, similar to those of concrete poetry, such as Bom dia Paraná! a text in shape of pinion written by Romário Martins, reproduced below (figure 3):

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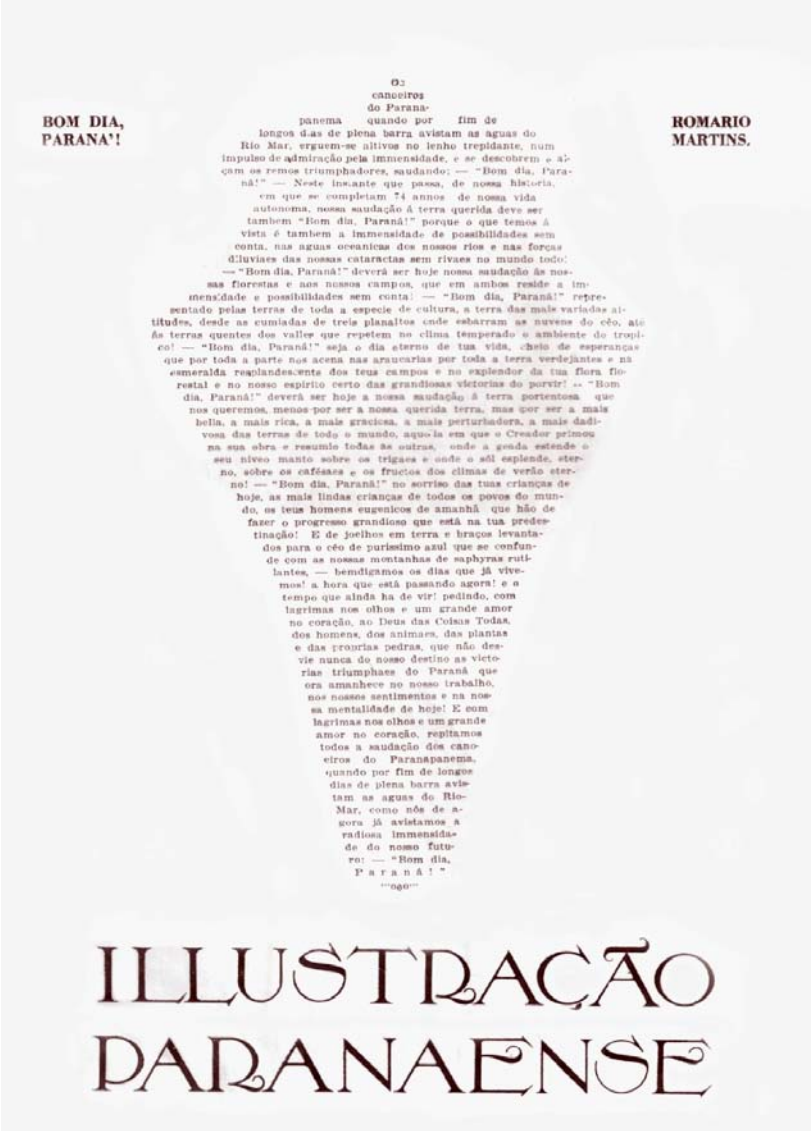

Note: Martins, R. Good Morning Paraná!. 1927. In: Illustração Paranaense (1927, N. 2, Dec.).

Fig. 3: Text in Shape of Pinion

Regarding the editorial issue, the magazine relied on the collaboration of artists and intellectuals from Paraná. The artists were in charge of illustrating the texts or simply promoting their works, when these were reproduced as the main theme. This condition provided by the magazine was only possible because this period was marked by technical reproducibility, which even causing the loss of the "aura" of the work of art, that is, of its status as an original work, at the same time it increased the number of occasions in which it could be exhibited (BENJAMIN, 2013). Below are some examples of works reproduced in the periodical (figure 4):

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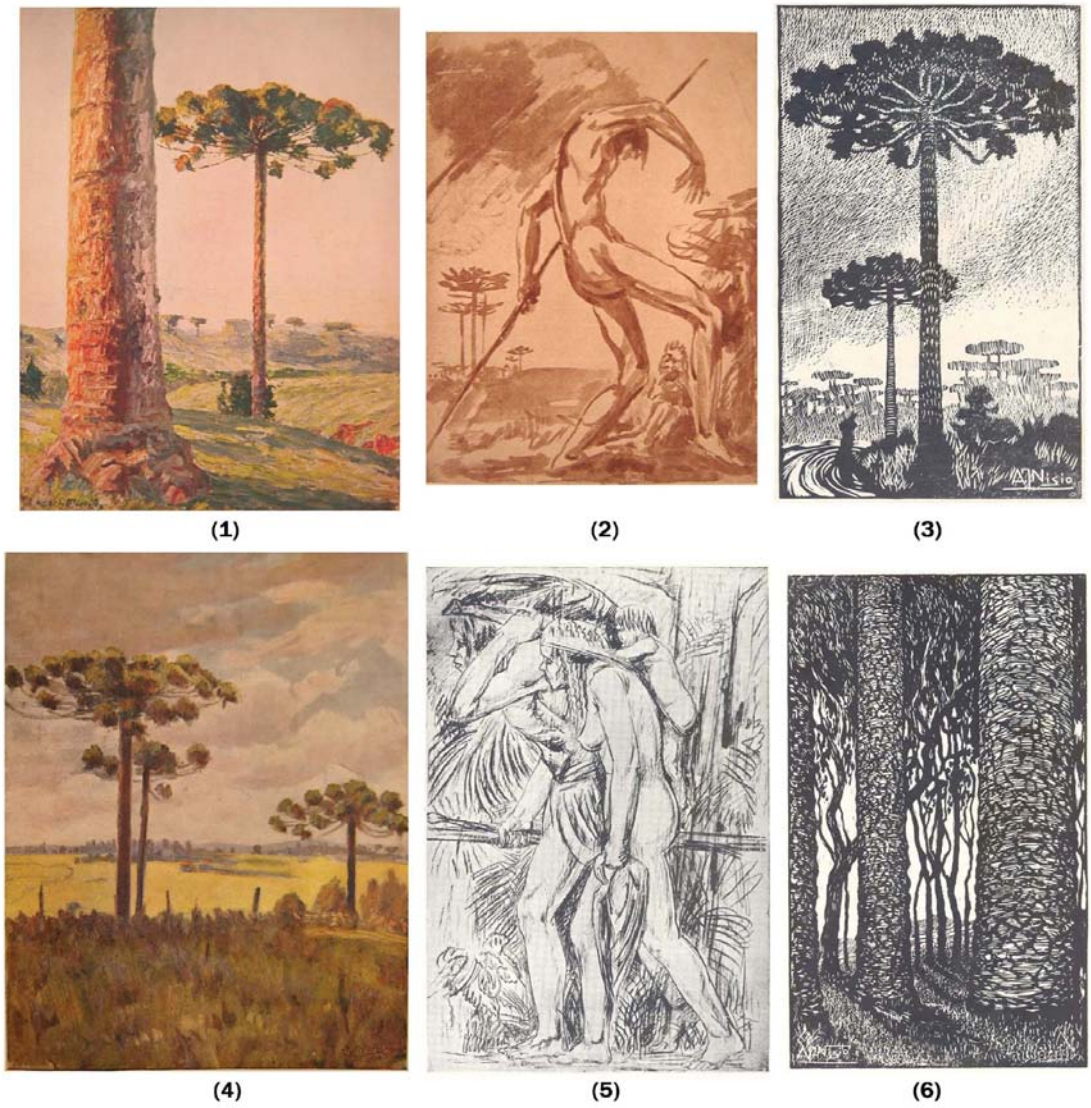

Note: (1) MORRETES, F. L. de. Lonely Dominators. Painting. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1930, n. 6, June; (2) TURIN, J. The dance of the cacique and the Saci-Pererê. Watercolor Drawing. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1930, n. 8, Aug.; (3) NÍSIO, A. Pine. Woodcut. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1928, n. 3, Mar.; (4) ANDERSEN, A. Cajuru. Painting. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1930, n. 5, May; (5) TURIN, J. The return of the hunt. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1928, n. 3, Mar.; (6) NÍSIO, A. Pine trunks. Woodcut. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1928, n. 6, June.

Fig. 4: Drawings, Paintings and Woodcuts

The table 3, below, presents the results of a survey about the collaborating plastic artists and photographers and the number of their works published in the magazine between 1927 and 1930:

Table 3: Main Cooperating Plastic Artists and Photographers and their Works

Plastic Artists and Photographers	Year				Total
	1927 (n. 1 a 2)	1928 (n. 1 a 12)	1929 (n. 1 a 12)	1930 (n. 1 a 8)	
Alfredo Andersen	1	6	6	13	26
Antonio Carneiro	-	-	-	2	2
Arthur Nísio	3	7	2	3	15
Arthur Wischral	-	-	2	-	2
A. Weiss	-	-	3	-	3
Braun	3	-	-	-	3
Bruno Lechowski	-	2	-	-	2

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E. Luhm	-	-	-	3	3
Eloy	-	-	6	-	6
Frederico Guilherme Virmond	-	-	-	3	3
Frederico Lange de Morretes	2	14	-	5	21
Gustavo Kopp	-	3	3	2	8
Hanseni	-	1	1	1	3
Heisler	2	13	9	18	42
Hermann Schiefelbein	1	1	-	-	2
J. Bernardelli	-	1	-	1	2
J. Dunin	1	1	1	-	3
John Henri Elliot	-	-	2	-	2
João Baptista Groff	6	22	26	26	80
João Ghelfi	-	1	1	-	2
João Turin	4	22	15	16	57
José Daros	-	-	1	2	3
José Peon	-	1	2	-	3
Léo Cobbe	1	1	-	-	2
Levino Fanzeres	-	1	2	1	4
Linzmeyer (Estúdio)	4	11	10	7	32
Maria Amélia d'Assumpção	1	2	2	2	7
Pamphilo d'Assumpção	4	-	-	1	5
Photo Brasil (Estúdio)	-	-	-	4	4
Photo Studio (Estúdio)	-	-	-	4	4
Povos indígenas (artesanato)	2	3	-	-	5
Theodoro De Bona	-	1	4	8	13
Zaco Paraná	-	13	3	2	18

Source: Survey made by the author from the ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1927-1930).
Note: (1) Artists with only one participation in the entire period were excluded; (2) Conventional sign used: - Numerical data equal to zero.

It is interesting to note what these data reveal: the names of the collaborating artists and the number of works published. In descending order, among the plastic artists, João Turin (57), Alfredo Andersen (26), Frederico Lange de Morretes (21), Zaco Paraná (18), Arthur Nísio (15) and Theodoro De Bona (13) stand out, with drawings, engravings, paintings and sculptures. Among the photographers, João Baptista Groff (80) stands out, with the largest number of photographs reproduced. This information provides an overview of the visual resources used by the magazine's editorial team and points to the mutual dependence between this team and the artists and photographers.

It is necessary to remember that the magazine served as a place for artists to exhibit their work, mainly due to the lack, at that time, of official salons and institutionalized spaces for exhibitions. Only in 1931 the Salão Paranaense, organized by the Society of Artists of Paraná, appeared, but it was short-lived. In 1944 the Salão Paranaense de Belas Artes was created, which is still in force today. At that time the exhibitions were held in improvised public and commercial spaces, open air fairs, or in private studios. Table 4 shows the type of art reproduced in the magazine during its period of existence:

Table 4: Type of Art Reproduced

Type of Art	Year				Total
	1927 (n. 1 a 2)	1928 (n. 1 a 12)	1929 (n. 1 a 12)	1930 (n. 1 a 8)	
Drawings and Prints	15	44	26	17	102
Paintings	2	12	14	30	58
Sculptures	4	26	12	15	57
Photographs	17	48	56	64	185

Source: Survey made by the author from the ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1927-1930).

As expected, due to technological innovations and the prevalence of photographic practice in the late 1920s, among the works reproduced, photography took first place (185), followed by drawing and engraving (102), and then the plastic arts, with sculpture (57) and painting (58) almost tying for third position among the data collected. Although photography stood out in relation to the other artistic modalities, there was an associative coexistence between the different types of visual arts, not a dispute.

By analyzing the issues of the magazine from this four-year period, one can see that the visual arts

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served different purposes. In the specific case of photography, the themes were as varied as possible, as were the purposes. Both the Curitiba's political elite was shown in photo essays with rehearsed poses, which were far from expressing reality, and artistic photographs were reproduced and even occupied the center of a page. This can be explained by the fact that João Baptista Groff himself, owner of the magazine, was the author of most of these photos, which show the importance given to artistic issues (figure 5).



Note: (1) GROFF, J. B. Village Road. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1930, n. 6, June.); (2) GROFF, J. B. Capanema. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1930, n. 1, Jan.); (3) GROFF, J. B. Nature of Paraná. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1930, n. 7, July); (4) GROFF, J. B. Surroundings of Curitiba. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1929, n. 12, Dec.); (5) GROFF, J. B. The pines of Capanema. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1929, n. 5-6, May-June); (6) GROFF, J. B. Morning in the surroundings of Curitiba. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1930, n. 8, Aug.).

Fig. 5: Photographs of Pine Trees

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In relation to drawing, engraving, and fine arts, as already mentioned, the works were sometimes used as a theme for art criticism, and sometimes to illustrate texts by several collaborators, whose names are presented in table 5:

Table 5: Main Contributing Writers

Authors by Alphabetical Order		
Adherbal Stresser	Emiliano Pernetta	Nestor de Castro
Alberto de Oliveira	Emilio de Menezes	Noemia Carneiro
Alcindo Lima	Ermelino de Leão	Octávio de Sá Barreto
Aluízio França	Ernesto Luiz de Oliveira	Odilon Negrão
Álvaro Moreira	Euclides Bandeira	Pamphilo D'Assumpção
Amadeo Mammalella	Francisco Leite	Paulo D'Assumpção
Ângelo Guido	Frederico de Marco	Paulo Tacla
Anita Philipovsky	Generoso Borges	Plínio Salgado
Antonio Corrêa d' Oliveira	Heitor Stockler	Raul Gomes
Arnaldo Damasceno Vieira	Hermes Fontes	Rodrigo Junior
Augusto Frederico Schimidt	I. Serro Azul	Romário Martins
Bento Munhoz da Rocha Neto	Jayme Ballão Junior	Samuel Cesar
Carlos Stevenson	José Muricy	Seraphim França
Ciro Silva	Jurandyr Manfredini	Silveira Netto
Correia Junior	Lacerda Pinto	Sotero Ângelo
Dario Vellozo	Léo Cobbe	Sylvio Amaral
David A. Silva Carneiro	Leoncio Correia	Tasso da Silveira
Didi Caillet	Mario Poppe	Viriato Ballão

Source: Survey prepared by the author from the ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1927-1930).
Note: This list considered authors who produced short stories, chronicles, reportages, art criticism and poetry, whose participation occurred more than once.

Although some of the contributors mentioned in the table above had no academic background in the areas in which they worked, or already had other professions that allowed their subsistence, many contributed with short stories, poetry, art criticism, chronicles and reports. On the other hand, in this same list appear the names of renowned writers, some of whom were even Symbolist poets. Among the names of the most important intellectual collaborators, the following should be mentioned: Euclides Bandeira, Emiliano Pernetta, Emílio de Menezes, Dario Vellozo, Leoncio Correia, Nestor de Castro, Silveira Netto, Tasso da Silveira, and Romário Martins.

Special attention was given to the writings of Romário Martins, whose tales about Indian myths and legends were published on the opening page of the magazine. Considered the idealizer of the Paranista Movement, Romário Martins was one of the most influential figures for Paraná intellectuals and artists. Throughout his career, he was committed to the promotion of the history and folklore of the state of Paraná, being one of the founders of the Instituto Historical and Geographical Institute of Paraná, created in 1900, and the main founder of the Paranista Center, created in 1927. He dedicated himself to documental research and elaborated laws, among them, the creation of the Flag and Coat of Arms of the State of Paraná and the proposition of March 29th as the anniversary date of the city of Curitiba.

Regarding the main art critics published in the magazine, they reflect, in a way, the interdependence between artists and writers. This dependence contributed significantly to the social recognition of the artists, putting their careers and works on display from elements elected as significant. At this point, according to ZOLBERG (1990), a work of art cannot be fully understood only by its aesthetic qualities, but also by its external conditions, being a moment in a process that involves the collaboration of more than one actor, working through certain social institutions and following historically observable trends. Moreover, according to HEINICH (2001), a work of art only finds space as such through the cooperation of a "complex network of actors", with dealers, collectors, critics, experts, appraisers, conservators, restorers, curators, and art historians. And yet, it would hardly find a consuming public without interpreters, publishers, and printers. It is precisely in this sense that art criticism can be situated here, as "mediation" between artist and public.

Besides literary texts and art criticism, local reports on the transformations caused by modern life were also constant. A supplement that accompanied one of the magazine's issues shows very well the ideal of modernity in force at the time. Entitled *10 minutos de*

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leitura sobre o Paraná, this booklet had as its opening text an article by Romário Martins that made a retrospective of the social, economic, and cultural importance of pine trees for Paraná and its population, since the indigenous tribes that originated in the region until that moment, also pointing to the future. The second text, whose author cites the initials E. S., is divided into two blocks, the first of which presents news from Paraná in that period and the second, a tourist project with the expenses accounted for an excursion in Paraná (ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1929).

It is possible to see that both tourist spots of geographical character and those of cultural importance of that period served as images and symbols that represented Paraná. Among the drawings that illustrated the booklet were stylizations of pine and pine nuts by Lange de Morretes and João Turin, the shield of the State of Paraná, the portrait of Affonso Camargo, President of the State, and maps of Paraná and Brazil. The photos, by João Baptista Groff, had local elements as themes: pine trees; the Railroad of Paraná (the Carvalho Viaduct and the Ipiranga Valley); the Guaíra and Iguaçu Falls; Vila Velha; the Normal School of Paranaguá; the University of Paraná, the Cathedral and the XV de Novembro Street in Curitiba; the Normal School and the XV de Novembro Street in Ponta Grossa; the beaches of Guaratuba and the caves in the surroundings of Curitiba. The photos in which people appear depicted local customs, soccer games, and Curitiba's restaurants and teas.

The same visual and textual elements of this publication would appear three years later in *Curityba: capital do Estado do Paraná* (MARTINS, 1931), another issue of the same magazine, but this time with historical texts by Romário Martins, photos by João Baptista Groff and cover by Lange de Morretes. Besides the images that appeared in the previously mentioned publication, in this one there was an emphasis on Curitiba's squares and monuments, government buildings, streetcars and avenues. Among the themes dealt with by Romário Martins were the foundation of Curitiba, the city in 1931, art and artists and the same tourist project for an excursion.

It is also interesting to note the large number of advertisements from local advertisers, not only in these two commented publications, but in the period of existence of *Illustração Paranaense*, in which several companies from various fields of activity advertised products and services, such as beverages and food, cosmetics and medicines, fashion and clothing articles, automobiles and automobile parts, electronic equipment and household appliances, services and commerce.

Some products stand out, such as yerba mate, which symbolizes one of the state's economic cycles. Other ads illustrate the beginning of the urbanization of the city of Curitiba and the changes that occurred with modern life, such as the sale of automobiles and the offer of automotive services, the household appliances available in the market, the differentiation and social leveling through cosmetics, fashion and clothing, the development of the mass media through the music industry, the printing industry and telephone services, the photographic practice and the services offered by banks and insurance companies.

Most of these advertisements occupied the front pages of the magazine, although sometimes they were inserted in the middle or at the end. Besides these ads, although no official documents have been found, the magazine also received state financial incentive, from the then State President Affonso Camargo. In exchange for this incentive, apology was made to the politics of the time through the publication of drawings and photographs that portrayed politicians, among them Affonso Camargo himself. To this end, two images were selected that show how this relationship was made. The first of these (Figure 6) is a posed photo of the State President with his family: his wife, to his right, and his two daughters, standing just behind the couple. The photo, produced by João Baptista Groff, reproduces the ideal of a perfect family "of an illustrious statesman," as stated in the sentence below the frame, which also includes one of the official symbols of the State of Paraná in the upper left corner.

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Fig. 6: GROFF, J. B. The family of a distinguished statesman. 1928. In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1928, n. 2, Mar.).

The second image (figure 7) reproduces a drawing by painter Alfredo Andersen, which makes an analogy between the politician in question and The Sower, a theme with a strong reference in Art History and that even resulted in Zaco Paraná's most famous sculpture. This theme is used here in a syncretic way to inform about one of Affonso Camargo's political campaigns. In the drawing, besides the position of the politician walking and sowing the earth, the analogy can also be perceived in the comparison between the image intertwined in the letter s of the phrase "Semeia Semeador!" above the figure.

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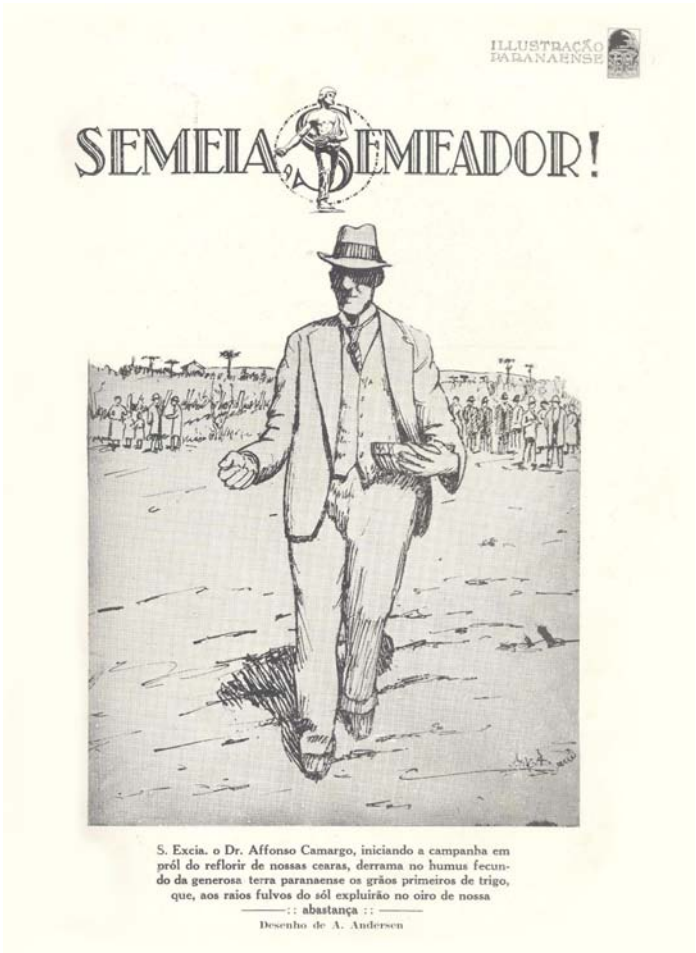

Fig. 7: ANDERSEN, A. Semeia Semeador!. 1928.
In: ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE (1928, n. 6, June).

In part, these elements help to understand how the magazine remained in circulation. Another relevant factor is the search, on the part of *Illustração Paranaense*, for improvement in the graphic production and in the reduction of production costs. Some information allows us to know the organizational structure and the economic resources that maintained the publication of the magazine. Throughout the published issues, João Baptista Groff appears as "director-owner". Initially, the provisional editorial office was located at XV de Novembro Street, n. 51-A, and the workshop at Marechal Deodoro Street, n. 63-A (ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1927, n. 1, Nov.). Two years later, the magazine started to be printed in its own workshop, next to the editorial and administration offices, located at Dr. Muricy Street, n. 850. The editorial staff reported the improvement of the printing quality, as new machinery imported from Germany had been acquired (ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1929, n. 8-11, Nov.). Another interesting fact that occurred in 1929 is the small change in the style of the cover design by João Turin.

The sale prices of the magazine and the ads published in it are also relevant to know its economic resources. When launched in November 1927, the magazine cost 1$500 (one thousand five hundred réis, currency of the time). In the following issues, it would cost 2$000, as stated in issues 2 and 6 of 1928. The periodical also offered annual subscriptions. The initial prices for advertisements were as follows: 200$000 for full-page ads, 120$000 for half-page ads, 60$000 for quarter-page ads, and 50$000 for eighth-page ads. Special publications had the following prices: 300$000 for full-page illustrated, 200$000 for half-page, 20% more for two colors and discounts as provided in the contracts (ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1927, n. 1, nov.). In November 1929, the magazine would return to the initial price of 1$500, but the values for publishing ads would increase: 250$000 for one page, 150$000 for half a page, 80$000 for a quarter page and 50$000 for an eighth page. Special publications cost: 500$000 for illustrated page, 300$000 for half illustrated page and 30% more for two colors (ILLUSTRAÇÃO PARANAENSE, 1929, n. 8-11, nov.).

Having circulated frequently until 1930, the magazine interrupted its publication possibly as a result of the crisis generated by the Revolution of 1930 and its consequences. The last two issues of 1930 already

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pointed to its decadence, especially in relation to artistic quality. Issue #9, in October, instead of João Turin's drawing, presented a picture of General Plínio Tourinho, then Commander and Chief of the Revolutionary Forces of Paraná and Santa Catarina, on the cover. The cover of the following month, however, carried strong political propaganda, with a photo of the then revolutionary leader Getúlio Vargas waving to the crowd. These two issues also featured several photos of the 1930 Revolution in Paraná, produced by João Baptista Groff, who photographed and filmed this episode in Brazilian history.

The magazine was published again in February 1933, but without the same pretensions. Even with the return of the original cover designed by João Turin, this issue focused on the Industrial Exposition of 1932, presenting a history of the industrial expositions held in Paraná, Rio de Janeiro and abroad. The magazine also featured a report on Curitiba, with statistical data of the city and comments on the main tourist attractions in Paraná. Among the tourist points highlighted in photo form were: Tiradentes Square, the University of Paraná, the monument to the Baron of Rio Branco do Rio Branco and Curitiba's City Hall (based in Paço da Liberdade), General Osório Square and Domingos Nascimento Hermitage, the outskirts of the city (photos with pine trees) and the Iguaçu Falls. Therefore, there is a change in relation to the representation of Paraná, with emphasis mainly on places that revere historical memory and modern life, such as new public buildings, squares and monuments, and no longer on Paraná's nature. Thus, the last three issues of the magazine did not present the same graphic and editorial quality as the first four years, much less express any artistic intention.

III. Conclusions

Even without the characteristics of a manifesto, in which the artistic proposals are presented in a more explicit way, the *Illustração Paranaense* magazine functioned as a showcase, allowing and contributing so that the plastic artists could exhibit their works. The statistical surveys carried out from the magazine show, in a quantitative and qualitative way, how this participation happened. The magazine served as a vehicle to promote an arsenal of images (photographs, works of art, and symbols), which intended to define a local identity, but were linked more to the concerns of a specific group of artists and intellectuals, than only to the interests of the politicians of the time. This was because there was a need for differentiation among artists and intellectuals, a need that led to their efforts to build and promote their own identity through their works.

Although other studies state that art was at the disposal of political interests, when it came to creation, this was not the case, because artists had freedom over their own work. In this game of interests, art benefited from politics and politics benefited from art. In the mentioned study, it was found that the artistic proposal remained with a certain independence from political ideals, especially in relation to creation. The concern with local identity, in the context of politics and cultural production in the period studied, stems from different interests for identity, and not from the subordination of art to politics. If the plastic arts are understood as reflections of a time and of a very particular context, in which their creators provide them with their distinctive characteristics, it can be said that in the case studied that task was accomplished. This is because the plastic artists of Paraná managed to express the uniqueness of local art, distancing themselves from the artistic productions of other regions of Brazil.

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Public Library of State of Paraná
House of Memory of Curitiba
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Preaching as a Language of Reconciliation in a Context of Divisions, Conflict and Violence in the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria

By Nicodemus Pele Daniel

Abstract- In the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, people used religion, ethnicity and tribe to segregate, exclude, marginalize and demean one another whereby conflict and violence have become a language. Therefore, this article argues that preaching as a language of reconciliation is a great technique for helping people move from thinking and talking division, conflict and violence to thinking, talking and the practice of social cohesion, harmonious life and sustaining life in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria. Therefore, the article proposes that, preaching as a language of reconciliation should focus on change from proposed evil to thoughts of sustaining life, preaching as a language of reconciliation should focus on change from egocentrism to promoting human well-being, preaching as a language of reconciliation should focus on change from fixation on the past to ultimate forgiveness and Preaching as a language of reconciliation should focus on building a common future.

Keywords: preaching, language, reconciliation, divisions, conflict, violence and middle belt region.

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PREACHINGASALANGUAGEOFRECONCILIATIONINACONTEXTOFDIVISIONSCONFLICTANDVIOLENCEINTHEMIDDLEBELTREGIONOFNIGERIA

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Abstract- **In the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, people used religion, ethnicity and tribe to segregate, exclude, marginalize and demean one another whereby conflict and violence have become a language. Therefore, this article argues that preaching as a language of reconciliation is a great technique for helping people move from thinking and talking division, conflict and violence to thinking, talking and the practice of social cohesion, harmonious life and sustaining life in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria. Therefore, the article proposes that, preaching as a language of reconciliation should focus on change from proposed evil to thoughts of sustaining life, preaching as a language of reconciliation should focus on change from egocentrism to promoting human well-being, preaching as a language of reconciliation should focus on change from fixation on the past to ultimate forgiveness and Preaching as a language of reconciliation should focus on building a common future.**

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I. Introduction

Language is a codification of words for the purpose of communication (Tobalase 2017:2). Language is a system of signs and symbols through which a speech community communicates. It is the tool used for sharing information within particular group of persons; 'It is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntary-produced symbols (Tobalase 2017:2). According Allen "language shapes the ways we think, feel, and act in the world. From the basic master story of a culture or community to the tiniest metaphor, our language results in social attitudes, behavior, roles, and structures. Indeed, to use language is to create, or recreate, a world." I concur with Allen assertion that language shapes everything about human life. This is because human beings dream in language, remember in language, anticipate in language, hope in language, despair in language, believe in language, doubt in language, plan in language, revise in language, criticize in language, construct in language, gossip in language, learn in language, hate in language, fight in language, reconcile and love language (Lowry 1985:39).

The point of departure for this study concerning language however, is Tobalase assertion that the use of "language can be the reason of peace or war in a community" (Tobalase 2017:4). Also, Achieng (2016:25) maintains that "language is the route taken to propagate the root causes of conflict, create hate and division." Achieng (2016:8-9) further argues that "The lessons of the genocide in Rwanda and the infamous post-election violence (PEV) in Kenya have pointers to the power that language can use to resort to destruction." This means the use of language was one of the reasons for the divisions, conflict and the genocide that happened in Rwanda. The Hutu people used a language to create a negative impressions about the Tutsi ethnic group. In other words, language became a tool for a propaganda campaign that resulted to alienating the Hutu from the Tutsi before the genocide. Adeyanju (2018:79) points out that "The media, especially the radio (controlled by the Hutu government) poisoned contents of information in order to create mass movement and transform ordinary people into militias. Neighbors turned against each other, friends against each other, even relatives against relatives." The Rwandan newspaper and Radio were used to propagate the 'Hutu Ten Commandments', which instigated Hutu hatred against their Tutsi neighbour. A careful reading of the Hutu's ten commandment will reveal how words were carefully chosen to criminalised the Tutsi, thereby picturing them as something to be exterminated. So in the Hutu ten commandment we read that:

> 1. Every Hutu should know that a Tutsi woman, wherever she is, works for the interest of her ethnic Tutsi group. Consequently, we should consider a traitor every Hutu who: marries a Tutsi woman; befriends a Tutsi woman; employs a Tutsi woman as a secretary or concubine. 2. Every Hutu should know that our Hutu daughters are more suitable and dutiful in their roles as women, wives and mothers of the family. Are they not more wonderful, good secretaries and more honest? 3. Hutu women, be vigilant and try to bring your husbands, brothers and sons back to reason. 4. Every Hutu should know that every Tutsi is dishonest in business. Their only aim is supremacy for their ethnic group. As a consequence, every Hutu is a traitor who does the following: makes a business partnership with a Tutsi; invests his money or that of the government in a Tutsi enterprise; lends money to or from a Tutsi; gives business favors to a Tutsi (obtaining import licenses, bank loans, construction sites, public markets etc.). 5. All strategic posts, political, administrative, economic, military and these in the area of

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> security, should be entrusted to Hutus. 6. The majority of the education sector, i.e. school pupils, students, teachers, must be Hutu. 7. The Rwandan armed forces should be exclusively Hutu. The experience of the October War has taught us a lesson. No member of the military shall marry a Tutsi. 8. Hutus should stop having mercy on the Tutsi. 9. The Hutus must, whoever they are, maintain unity and solidarity and be concerned with the fate of their Hutu brothers; The Hutus in and outside Rwanda must constantly look for friends and allies for the Hutu cause, starting with their own Bantu brothers; They must constantly counteract Tutsi propaganda; The Hutus must be firm and vigilant against their common Tutsi enemy. 10. The Social Revolution of 1959, the Referendum of 1961 and Hutu ideology must be taught at every level to every Hutu. Every Hutu must spread this ideology widely. Every Hutu who persecutes his Hutu brother because he has read, spread and taught this ideology is a traitor (Van Hapere 1994: 105-106).

The used of the above language resulted to convincing the Hutu population that the Tutsi were their archetypal enemies. The language evoked images of war, slavery, oppression, injustice, death and cruelty that claimed the lives of some 800 000 Rwandans, and during which approximately 75 percent of the Tutsi ethnic minority population was killed. In addition, 250 000 women became victims of sexual violence, and many of whom were killed afterward. An estimated 70 percent of the women who survived were infected with HIV. At the end of the 100 days of slaughter, 85 percent of Tutsis – equal to 10 percent of Rwanda's population – were killed and half of the population was either internally displaced or had fled the country (Verwimp 2004:233; Lower & Hauschildt 2014:1).

In the same manner words are carefully chosen by tribes, ethnic groups and religious groups to criminalized some tribes, ethnic groups, and religious groups in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria.[1] Turaki studied the situation of Middle Belt region and explains thus:

> The use of derogatory and demeaning terms such as, *arne, kabila, gambari, nyamiri* reflects ethnic stereotyping. The subordination of one ethnic group to the rule of another generates ill-feelings, resentment and bitterness. Politics of inequality and domination have aroused discrimination, bias and resentment (2012).

[1] Elsewhere I argued that the Middle Belt region of Nigeria is a collection of diverse ethnic groups, diverse tribes with diverse cultures, diverse languages and diverse religions. These ethnic groups occupy the southern part of Northern Nigeria, an area that includes the Nigerian federal states of Benue, Nassarawa, Taraba, Adamawa, Plateau, Southern Kebbi, Kogi, Niger, Southern Kaduna, Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Southern Gombe and Southern Bauchi (Turaki 2012; Adamu & Ben 2015:10). The high concentration of diverse minorities and the accompanying inequalities between them makes the region a breeding ground for ethnic, tribal and religious violence. It also underscores the need for preaching social cohesion and harmonious life in the region.

The use of derogatory and demeaning terms, especially *_arne'*(an infidel or pagan in Arabic), reveal how the used of language in the Middle Belt region generates an attitude of superiority and inferiority in terms of religion. Furthermore, Gwamna observes that "The superior – inferior complexes are inbuilt in some indigenous ethnic groups in the Middle Belt area who see others as inferior to them. This explains part of problem of Igbirra–Bassa conflict. The Igbirra and Gade believe that the Bassa and Gbagyi are both culturally inferior to them (2010:30). Another derogatory and demeaning terms that are commonly used in the Middle Belt region are foreigners, strangers, non-indigene and settlers. This terms portrays a language of division, conflict and violence because the motive is to exclude and deny some people access to certain opportunities.

The used of the language of divisions, conflict and violence in the Middle Belt region has resulted to character assassination, complexes, fear, suspicion, mistrust, bitterness, anger, and mutual antagonism. As a result of the use of language of divisions, conflict and violence, Alubo (2011:11-12) in his study of Middle Belt region discovered that there is no state in the Middle Belt region that has not experienced a number of violent conflicts. Alubo gathered that the Middle Belt region of Nigeria harbours more battlefront and invariably undeclared civil war more than any region in Nigeria. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that, at all levels of society, language is used in order to marginalise, exclude, segregate and demean others (Alubo 2011: 11-12).

As a result of incessant conflicts and violence in the Middle Belt region and northern Nigeria the northern economy has crashed, business is fizzling, income generated has dwindled. People find it difficult to make ends meet. Most of the times people come to market without selling anything. In the core service sector, schools, hospitals, hotels, parks and recreational outfits are going down. Foreign students are relocating to the south; many doctors have transferred to peaceful states, and hotels and parks now record a low turnout of visitors. All these portend losses for the northern economy. Previously there were more than enough human resources for business and production, including professionals, in the different service sectors. Now some of them have lost their lives, resulting in a mass exodus from the north to the south for safety. As of now there is no direct evidence that those who migrated because of insecurity have returned to the northern states they fled. The health, banking and insurance, and education sector have crumbled. Even vacancy announcements with attractive salaries and benefits are not responded to. Agricultural output is dwindling greatly because farmers in many parts of Middle Belt region no longer go to farm for fear of what will happen to them (Chukwurah

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et al. 2015:376). As I write this article the school where I teach has been close because of insecurity. There are reports of people being killed daily in some of the communities close to my community. Violence has become the talk of every day and the meditation of every night. Violence is the language that people speak every day and every night.

II. Preaching as a Language of Reconciliation

Significance to the study however is the fact people go to church every week and every day and everywhere in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria. If people go to church in an environment where violence has become a language what kind of preaching do they need? Therefore, this study proposes the use of preaching as a language of reconciliation in an environment where violence has become a language. This is because Language performs various functions in societies and its relevance cannot be ignored. Language is a necessary means of communicating the word of God. This means preaching as a language of reconciliation have the potentials of bringing people together and empower people for social action. Preaching as a language of reconciliation have the capacity to establish and maintain relationships among people of diverse ethnic and religious groups (Achieng 2016:8).

The point of departure for the study regarding preaching as a language of reconciliation is Achieng (2016:20) assertion that "Language is important in creating worlds that communities identify themselves with. It is used as an instrument for creating, normalizing and reinforcing particular worldviews, affixing certain knowledge and institutions in society." And also Kuruvilla argument that:

> The biblical canon as a whole projects a world in front of the text – God's ideal world, individual segments of which are portrayed by individual pericopes. Thus each sermon on a particular pericope is God's gracious invitation to mankind to live in his ideal world by abiding by the thrust of that pericope the requirements of God's ideal world as called for in that pericope's world-segment. And as mankind accepts that divine invitation, week by week and pericope by pericope God's people are progressively and increasingly inhabiting this ideal world and abiding by divine will (Kuruvilla 2016:131).

Therefore, the main emphasis of this study is the use of biblical stories to project an ideal world of reconciliation. In other words, the main emphasis of this article is how the word of God can be used to shape people's imagination of hate, revenge, stocking of arms whereby they will think and talk about peace, social cohesion, harmonious life and ways of sustaining life in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria. In this regard the study consider the followings as principles of using preaching as a language of reconciliation.

a) Preaching as a Language of Reconciliation Demands the use of Narratives to Shape Imagination

According to Troeger (2007:60), "imagination is the ability to create and hold before the mind's eye an image of something that is not actually present". Taylor (1993:213) argues further that "Imagination is the ability to form images in the minds of listeners that are not physically present to their senses so that they find themselves in a wider world with new choices about who and how they will be". In addition, Chifungo (2013:139) maintains that "imagination is to work through images, metaphors, and narratives in such a way that it evokes, generates and constructs alternative worlds that lie beyond the fixed tradition". This means imagination is bringing into being in the mind of the listener images that have clarity and force sufficient to effect changes in attitudes, values, beliefs and life directions (Craddock 1971:92). Storytelling, retelling, parables, allegories, similes, metaphors, and proverbs could be used in preaching to create pictures of how listeners could be different.

Therefore, preaching as a language of reconciliation demands the use of narratives to shape imagination because reconciliation is a matter of imaginative discernment of the truth through stories, in addition to logical discernment (Wilson 1993:145). In other words, preaching as a language of reconciliation demands the use of stories to shape imagination because to conquer the minds of people in an environment of division, conflict and violence is very difficult. It is easier to target the heart and the sensibility of people, which can be done through the use of imagery created by narratives. This is because thoughts of the heart provide images, which means the heart is the seat of imagination (Wallace 1995:30). Craddock (1971:78) aptly argues that, "long after a man's head has consented to the preacher's idea, the old images may still hang in the heart. But until that image is replaced is he really a changed man." The human mind operates in images or metaphors, not abstract concepts or arguments, which is why preaching as a language of reconciliation requires the preacher to be like a poet and creative writer, who is interested not in saying things as accurately as possible, but by touching the human heart and letting the human imagination work in creative, analogical ways. In the words of Craddock (1971:59) "images are replaced not by concepts but by other images" in which the listener becomes a changed man, although it requires a lot of time, for "the longest trip a person takes is that from the head to heart".

Also, preaching as language of reconciliation demands the use of narratives to shape imagination because instruction alone can never lead people through the process of reconciliation. As a result, preaching as a language of reconciliation requires the use of imageries to reframe, re-imagine and re-describe

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the world so as to offer a counter-narrative to that rendered by division, conflict and violence (Day, Astley & Francis 2005:152). In other words, preaching as a language of reconciliation requires the use of stories, metaphors and images that are the product of creative imagination to shape the imagination of listeners. Buttrick (1987:32) says that preaching without depiction is apt to be abstract, and oddly enough unconvincing. The preacher has to find a way of picturing what he or she is talking about. This means preaching as a language of reconciliation involves the use of evocative images rather than conceptual structures (Craddock 1971:77). For example, making people change their attitudes toward a perceived enemy requires depiction. In addition, asking people to forgive in a situation of deep wounds created by divisions, conflicts and violence calls for the use of evocative images. What is more, telling the warring parties, be they of different family, tribe, ethnic group or religion, to come together, stay together and grow together in a situation of division, conflict and violence requires the use of pictures.

Furthermore, preaching as a language of reconciliation demands the use of narratives to shape imagination because conflict and violence create images that may block information from penetrating the mind of the listeners. This is why Cilliers (2013:6) advises that preaching, and preaching reconciliation in particular**,** should go beyond communication of mere information about God to others; rather, it should convey the picture of the performance of God's action in the midst of incomprehension and deafness of ears. Preaching as a language of reconciliation should be much more than the transfer of religious information, and also much more than mere words on a written manuscript. Rather, it should include images drawn from the biblical text or from contemporary life – images that appeal to the senses and engage the hearer through sight, sound, touch, taste or smell (Tisdale 2010:71).

b) *Preaching as a Language of Reconciliation Demands Drawing Images from the World of Experience known to the Hearers*

Preaching as a language of reconciliation demands that the selection of images should be from the world of experience known to the hearers. Stated differently, preaching as a language of reconciliation requires that the images should be cast in forms recognisable and real to the listeners. This means the immediate and concrete experiences of the listeners are significant ingredients in the formation and movement of the imagination in preaching as a language of reconciliation (Craddock 1971:59). For example, biblical stories of reconciliation may help to shape people's imagination about reconciliation, because Christian imagination is fundamentally illuminated by the Scriptures. In preaching as a language of reconciliation, the preacher do not turn to the Bible to seek information but look for images that arouse the imagination of the listeners about reconciliation.

In addition, images from African indigenous stories or folk art and cultural practices that portray reconciliation are effective tools for preaching as language of reconciliation in Africa. Indigenous stories and cultural practices may touch the heart and stir many souls to action because they are drawn from African people's experience (Courlander 1975:5, Wilson 1988:18). For example, the *Bassa* ethnic group of Liberia in West Africa has a ceremony for reconciliation that demonstrates how some African cultural practices of reconciliation could be a good resource for preaching as a language of reconciliation in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria. The cultural practice of the *Bassa* ethnic group displays an image of confession of the evil done in the past and forgiveness as a necessary ingredient for reconciliation.

During a ceremony of reconciliation, the perpetrator ties a string of palm leaves on the neck, kneels before the victim and hands the end of the string to the victim. Then the perpetrator will say to the victim, "I have wronged you and this community in a shameful way. You deserve to do whatever you wish with me. I am giving you one end of the rope tied around my neck. You can choose to drag me to death or release me of the burden of guilt and shame." After this statement, the place will be silent, waiting for the answer of the victim. When the victim accepts the apology he will accept the string, remove it from the neck of the perpetrator, and help him to stand up on his feet. The entire community shouts with joy when the ceremony ends this way. Immediately, celebrations begin and an animal is killed, cooked, and eaten by all in the community. If the answer is to seek revenge, the victim will refuse to accept the string or remove it from the neck of the victim. When the ceremony fails in this way, both the victim and the perpetrator become a disgrace to the community. However, the elders do not give up. They continue with the dialogue and the ceremony is postponed for another date (Ayindo et al. 2001:69).

c) *Preaching as a Language of Reconciliation Demands the use of Images that are Specific and have Concrete Relationships and Responses*

Preaching as a language of reconciliation demands the use of images that are specific and have concrete relationships and responses. In other words, preaching as a language of reconciliation demands that the image conveyed should be one that can be heard, seen, smelled, touched or tasted by the listeners. To enable the listeners see, hear, taste, touch, smell, understand and interact with the sermon in preaching as a language of reconciliation, the preacher should use images and action that are specific and concrete to the hearers (Schlafer 1992:64). Models of the processes of reconciliation offer listeners help in imagining how they

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might live harmoniously with one another, despite tribal, ethnic and religious difference. For example, in places like South Africa and Rwanda, Truth and Reconciliation Commissions offer a good model of reconciliation. By using this model for preaching, listeners will gain concrete pictures of what reconciliation looks like (Wink 1998:13; Osmer 2008:152).

Also, images from African indigenous stories or folk art and cultural practices that portray reconciliation may touch the heart and stir many souls to action because they will enable the listeners to see and understand what it means to reconcile and life a harmonious life. The African folk story below is a good example of a story that may help shape people's imagination about forgiveness devoid of confession of evil done in the past and forgiveness based on building a common future.

A long time ago at the village of Serki a woman gave birth to twins – both boys. They were very nice children. One of the twins, Eiba by name, had a white spot on his right hand. The other one – they called him Saiba – had two white spots on his left hand. Father and mother were very happy and very sad at the same time. You will ask – why? There was a very bad custom in Serki to kill twins. And the chief of Serki said, "Those twins must die, too." But their father and mother did not want to kill the twins. "What?" said the chief angrily? "You don't want to kill them? Go away from the village and never come back or I shall kill you together with your children." So the poor family went away from the village and for many years they lived in a forest. Life was not easy there. But the children grew up strong. When they grew up, they helped their father and mother with their work. They were good and handsome young men.

But as the story continues, the twins are depicted as focusing not on how the king and the people of Serki treated them and their parent. They did not consider the suffering they and their parent went through as a result of the treatment meted out to them by the people of Serki. Rather, they focused on the immediate need, which was saving the life of the people of Serki from an attacking enemy. That is, the focus of their forgiveness was on the survival of the people of Serki in the midst of a war that was at the point of consuming them.

One day the twins found a man in the forest. He was dying. They tried to help him. But he said, "Don't help me. I shall die soon. I came from Serki. There is a war going on there now. We fought bravely. But the enemy is stronger than we are. Go and help my people if you can." With these words, he died. Eiba and Saiba wanted to go to Serki and help to fight. But their father and mother were against it and said, "The Chief does not want you there. He wanted to kill you when you were small children. That's why we went away from Serki and came to live in the forest." But the twins wanted to go and help Serki. They said, "This is our country. We must help the people of our country." So the boys came to Serki and fought against the enemies. They fought bravely. The people of that country won the fight and made the enemy run. So the war was over.

Their action displays forgiveness without confession of the evil done in the past. Furthermore, the forgiveness displayed by the twins is devoid of recounting the suffering they went through in the past. Therefore their action saved the people of Serki from enemies, provoked the confession of the evil done in the past and put an end to the killing of twins in the land of Serki.

Then a feast at the chief's house began. Saiba and Eiba were at the feast, too. Then one of the men stood up and said, "There are two young men here, two brothers. I think they are very brave soldiers. But we don't know who they are." The twins' uncle was at the feast, too. He said to the chief, "Do you remember two little twins – one with a spot on his right hand and the other with two spots on his left hand? Eighteen years ago you told their father and mother to go away from our village as they did not want to kill the twins. These are the same twins." The chief stood up and asked the twins to forgive him. Then he sent the two young men back to their father and mother with many presents and a letter in which he asked them to come back. From that day on they stopped killing twins in Serki. (English for Students: African Folk Tales).

III. The Implications of Preaching as a Language of Reconciliation in Middle Belt Region of Nigeria

When a language is faithfully engaged, preaching embodies the potential of human beings to use their creativity for holy purposes of justice, compassion, peace and reconciliation (Troeger 2007: 66). The reason for this is that the biblical text beckon hearers into the world of the Bible and stimulate participation, evoke emotion and invite people to live in the world presented by the biblical text.

The main focus of this study is the use of the biblical world in the text in a way that may help in shaping people's imagination, to help people steer away from conflict and be committed to social cohesion in all walks of life (Nussbaum 1995:3). That is, the aim is the use of Christian preaching to help people, and ethnic and religious groups, to acquire the ability to imagine what it is like to be reconciled and stay together (Nussbaum 1995:5). This is because preaching as a language of reconciliation will imaginatively construct in the mind of the people of the Middle Belt region thoughts and actions of a new life, a new community, and a new worldview. In the light of this, the following are some of the implications of preaching as a language of reconciliation in the Middle Belt region.

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a) *Preaching as a Language of Reconciliation should Focus on Change from Proposed Evil to thoughts of Sustaining Life*

Conflict and violence fill people with the imagination of revenge, which almost always can be associated with proposed evil. As such, reconciliation demands a process of transforming the hearers' imagination, helping to substitute feelings of hatred, anger and contemplated evil with compassion, love and thoughts of sustaining life. One tool in such a process of transformation is preaching. So a biblical narrative that portrays reconciliation can fruitfully be employed as a mechanism for preaching as a language of reconciliation in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria a community torn apart by divisions and conflict. It means using the transformation that occurs in the process of reconciliation projected in the biblical text to help foster, in the imagination of the hearers, the importance of sustaining life.

Glenn Paige, in his depiction of the term "non-killing", captures the essence of the notion of "thoughts of sustaining life" that is held up as a central theme in this study. He argues for "a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threat to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change (cited in Irobi 2013:8). The thoughts of sustaining life proposed by Glenn Paige are the types of mental picture that should occupy the mind of people in the Middle Belt region. That is, through preaching as a language of reconciliation, people may undergo a process of acquiring a vision of commitment to sustaining human life and not killing. This is significant, because the rate at which the value of human life has fallen in the imagination of people is seriously alarming. Human consciousness has become shaped to depersonalise enemies, so that people feel justified in hatred for and destruction of their fellow human beings. Troeger (1988:2080) argues that, "in the beginning people create the enemy. Before the weapon comes the image. People think others to death and then invent the battle-axe or the ballistic missiles with which to actually kill them". This can be seen in the manner in which human lives are wasted on little provocation and within a short period of violence.

The commitment to sustaining human life offers a sharp contrast with how much money is being spent on arms and ammunition in the world, while in the same world millions of people are living in absolute poverty. A case in point is the huge amount of money spent by both the Nigerian government and the Boko Haram Islamic Militants for the purchase of ammunition. Yet the Northern part of Nigeria is the region with the highest rate of poverty in the country. What is more, the activities of Boko Haram and the many ethnic militias in the Middle Belt region characterise human commitment, determination, and high intellectual capacity. One cannot help but imagine that, if Boko Haram's commitment, determination and intellectual capacity was focused on thoughts of life, the Northern part of Nigeria and Nigeria as a whole would be ten times better than what the experience is today. Moreover, actions geared toward sustaining human life have the power to subdue human aggression, hostility, conflict and violence. This denotes that actions geared toward sustaining life facilitate reconciliation. As Gobodo-Madikizela (2014:20) says: "Our humanity is strongest when we are focused on that which sustained human beings: compassion, and an ethos of care for one another, rather than giving to fear and suspicion."

In addition, preaching as a language of reconciliation may help shape the imagination of the congregation by replacing images of revenge that occupy the thoughts of people of different ethnic groups in the Middle Belt. This is because biblical stories have the power to heal hurts, to soften hearts, and to increase our ability to see ourselves, our neighbours, our world, through God's eyes (Sauder 2009:48). Conflict and violence created by divisive ethnicity and religion bring about wounds and pains that nurture thoughts of revenge. This is why revenge attacks are more or less considered as reprisal missions, that is attacks based on vengeance. These have and are creating a non-ending cycle of violence between some ethnic groups. As biblical stories of reconciliation are being preached, it may construct a mental picture of sustaining human life in the mind of the people. That is, people from different ethnic groups may be inspired by thoughts of sustaining the life of their fellow human beings created in the image of God, irrespective of ethnic group or religion. Through preaching as a language of reconciliation, people's attitudes may change from destroying human life in the name of ethnic and religious differences to sustaining life. That is, people will be committed to sustaining the life of fellow humankind at every opportunity.

b) *Preaching as a Language of Reconciliation should Focus on Change from Egocentrism to Human Responsibility*

In addition to introducing images committed to sustaining life in people's minds as a central aspect of a process of reconciliation, preaching as a language of reconciliation in the Middle Belt region demands the use of images of commitment to the well-being of humankind, irrespective of ethnic group or religion. So it is important to help people move from self-centeredness that characterises conflict to self-sacrifice for the well-being of their fellow human beings created in the image of God. That is preaching as a language of reconciliation should foster a process of reconciliation that is rooted in the importance of taking responsibility for one's fellow human beings so that people

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understand that they ought to be their brother's keeper and not their brother's killer.

Divisive ethnicity and religion are to a large extent a depiction of egocentrism. This is because the focus is on the self, even if it means hurting and eliminating human life. The egocentrism or self-centeredness that characterises the engagement of individuals from different ethnic and religious groups with one another in the Middle Belt region is described well in the following quote from Nussbaum (cited in Claassens 2015:1): "Serpents, lions, and bears, inhabit our souls – in the form of our jealous anger, our competitiveness, our retributive harshness. These animals are as they are because they are incapable of receiving another creature's life story into their imagination and responding to that history with gentleness." The animals cited by Nussbaum never pause to ponder the feelings, hurt or even the plight of their prey because of their selfish inclination. All that matters to them is their self-survival, which is heavily at the expense of the survival of another animal. This means divisive ethnicity and religion as depicted in the above-mentioned animals is an imagination that focuses on the self, with little or no space for imagination of the other. As a matter of fact, imagination focused on self-centeredness results in marginalisation, exclusion, segregation, nepotism, discrimination and all forms of polarisation. These attitudes are very common in human interactions among the people of the Middle Belt region of Nigeria.

As such preaching as a language of reconciliation should create an imagination of willingness to sacrifice for fellow humankind in the mind of the people of Middle Belt region. Preaching as a language of reconciliation should empower people to have feeling of concern toward their fellow humans – a feeling that will make them do anything humanly possible to avoid that which will cause pain and anguish to their fellow human beings. Preaching as a language of reconciliation should empower people to acquire the vision to stand for fellow human beings for better or for worse. This is because the imagination of sacrificing for the well-being of humankind will enable people to disengage from activities like the manipulation of religion and ethnicity for selfish gain, and religious fanaticism that brings disunity and division, and focus on activities that enhance social cohesion. Preaching as a language of reconciliation should empower people to have a mental picture of a community where self-centeredness, ethnicity and religion do not count, but what counts is social cohesion.

c) *Preaching as a Language of Reconciliation should Focus on Change from Fixation on the Past to ultimate Forgiveness*

In addition to the imagination of sustaining human life and commitment to the well-being of their fellow humans, another aspect of reconciliation that preaching as a language of reconciliation need to foster is forgiveness. In other words, preaching as a language of reconciliation denotes filling people's mind with the imagination of forgiveness. This is because biblical stories are a great tools for filling people's minds with powerful metaphors and images of healing and reconciling (DuPriest 1986:307). Conflict and violence fill the imagination with thoughts of hatred, anger and resentment that make forgiveness difficult and sometimes impossible. But as biblical stories are preached, they may help dismantle thought processes that focus on hurt, wounds, pain and anguish inflicted in the past to the imagination of acceptance, accommodation, unity and social cohesion.

Therefore, preaching as a language of reconciliation will enable the people of the Middle Belt region of Nigeria hear biblical stories regarding the importance of accepting those who are perceived to be enemies. Elizabeth Achtemeier (cited in Wallace 1995:17) writes that, "if we want to change someone's life from non-Christian to Christian, from dying to living, from despairing to hoping, from anxious to certain, from corruption to whole, from vengeance to forgiveness, we must change the images, the imagination of the heart". Changing the imagination of the heart is important, because it enables forgiveness for the sake of reconciliation. Focusing forgiveness on self may lead to a fixation on wounds, pain and anguish caused by the evil done in the past. The end result is a rigid demand for repentance and even restitution before reconciliation. Fixation on the evil done in the past had and is making people make conditions that are humanly impossible to meet before reconciliation. Therefore, preaching as a language of reconciliation should help people of the Middle Belt region to understand Tutu (Tutu & Tutu 2014:16) assertion that:

> Without forgiveness, we remain tethered to the person who harmed us. We are bound with chains of bitterness, tied together, trapped. Until we can forgive the person who harmed us, that person will hold the keys to our happiness; that person will be our Jailor. When we forgive, we take back control of our own fate and our feelings. We become our own liberators. We don't forgive for others. We forgive for ourselves.

d) *Preaching as a Language of Reconciliation should Focus on Building a Common Future*

A change of attitude, change of action and even forgiveness are central aspects of the process toward reconciliation. However, building a common future should be the key to the coming together of the warring parties. This means reconciliation sometimes does not necessarily lie in loving those around us (it definitely does not lie in hating them either). The spirit of reconciliation lies in the search – not for the things that separate humankind – but for something common among fellow human beings (Gobodo-Madikizela

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2014:1). That is, reconciliation that is help up in this study is the coming together, staying together and growing together of the people of the Middle Belt region of Nigeria for the sake of building a common future. Therefore, preaching as a language of reconciliation in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria entails using biblical stories of reconciliation to introduce into people's imagination the possibility of people, families, communities, ethnic groups and religions in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria coming together, staying together and growing together. Mbachaga (2012:5) beautifully captures this notion: "Building a common sense of purpose, a sense of shared destiny, a collective imagination of belonging. It is about building the tangible and intangible threads that hold a political entity together and gives it a sense of purpose."

Preaching as a language of reconciliation thus means helping people to acquire the vision of embracing one another without religious or ethnic distinction. It also includes embracing the importance of staying together without using religion or ethnic affiliation to exclude, marginalise or segregate. It involves focusing on what unites rather than what divides people. In terms of my Nigerian context, it means developing a strong will by all people in the Middle Belt region to live together in the region and to tolerate one another. This may serve as a vehicle for establishing a united community, which may provide a unique, powerful basis for allegiance instead of disintegration (Lumun 2012:58). Rasak Musbau (2014) aptly argues that:

> The Nigerian people must know that the poverty, ignorance, and disease which oppress the working masses today, do not recognize ethnic, language, religious or regional differences. Hunger does not know whether you are a Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Urhobo, Itsekiri, Longuda, Birom, Ogoja, Tiv, Gbagyi, Efik, Kanuri, Chip, Annang, Izon, Nupe, etc. A disease does not find out whether you are a Muslim, a Christian or An African religionist just as hunger, poverty, and ignorance do not care whether you come from North, South, East or West. Poverty, disease, and ignorance attack primarily the masses.

Even though conflict and violence caused by divisive ethnicity and religion might have created wounds and pain in the life of many people, the focus should rather be on how to survive the challenge of unemployment that is rampant among the people of the Middle Belt region (see 2.4.5). Moreover, poverty is causing the youth in the region to become tools in the hands of politicians and some religious leaders during conflict and violence (see 2.4.4). Mbachaga (2012:8) laments that the "political elite recruit young people to do their dirty jobs instead of molding them into responsible leaders of tomorrow".

Another reason for preaching reconciliation as building a common future in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria is because there is need to shape people's imagination in contemplating ways in which they might improve life in the region. For example, hospitals are inefficient and ineffective; electricity is seriously lacking and in some places is totally absent. Education is very inadequate, especially in the rural areas. Lumun (2012:55) aptly captures the decaying situation in the following words:

> Roads still remain as bad as they were. The country is still facing the problem of the electric power supply which is supposed to generate employment for millions of Nigerians. On different occasions, the country had a huge budget to address the issue but trillions of Naira ends into the pockets of few politicians. Employment in the country is strictly who knows who (i.e. connection) not on merit, even in our institutions of higher learning. This may partly account for the falling standard of education in Nigeria.

To add to the list of the decaying situation of Nigeria observed by Lumun, because of insecurity, many people are afraid to get involved in business, something that could create job opportunities for thousands of people. Even farming, which provides employment and the only means of survival for many in the Middle Belt region, is seriously being affected by insecurity. There are no industries to process the farm products, especially ginger, mangoes, oranges and more, thereby discouraging people, especially the youth, from farming. These are some of the issues that preaching as a language of reconciliation should help people, ethnic groups and religions in the Middle Belt region to tackle together.

IV. Conclusion

The occurrences of ethnic violence in the Middle Belt region made me believe that there is no winner in a situation of conflict and violence – all are losers and the damage, whether short or long term, affects all. Conflict and violence do not know who started it, who supports it and who is against it. Conflict and violence do not know ethnic, tribal and religious differences; they consume all. In the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, human beings created in the image of God have been going through perpetual suffering. Some have lost their lives as a result of conflict and violence. Therefore, preaching as a language of reconciliation calls for crossing the tribal, ethnic and cultural frontiers, distinctions and boundaries that dichotomise and polarise people in the Middle Belt region into one body of human beings created in the image of God. The people of the Middle Belt region need to understand that there is a need to move on as people from conflict to reconciliation because we have lost many things and gain nothing in fighting one another. This means there is a need to embark on steps and actions that will promote reconciliation and guarantee a better future for the next generation. That is there is a need to think for the future generation and do that which will save them from going

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through the bitter and harsh experience we are going through.

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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.

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

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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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