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Aims of the Journal: Journal of Regional Socio-Economic Issues (JRSEI) is an international multidisciplinary refereed journal the purpose of which is to present papers manuscripts linked to all aspects of regional socio-economic and business and related issues. The views expressed in this journal are the personal views of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of JRSEI journal. The journal invites contributions from both academic and industry scholars. Electronic submissions are highly encouraged (mail to: **gkorres@geo.aegean.gr**).

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Introduction

This Special Issue of the Journal is in association with the International Sociology Association, Research Committee 26 Sociotechnics, Sociological Practice (ISA RC26).

The papers in this selection were presented in the World Forum of Sociology which was held at the University of Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina in July, 2012.
The program organizer for ISA-RC26 is the Editor of this Volume. The selected papers represent a unity which is of interest to current readership. Globalization issues such as cross-border migration, ethnicities, new city cultural governance issues and local resilience and sustainability issues in a historical perspective are being presented.
We are grateful to all of our authors for their meticulus work. I wish to express my sincere thanks to our then Secretary Marie Conhile de Beysac, PhD (Uof Rio de Janeiro) for her
fantastic work in co-editing these papers.
I hope this reading will be refreshing to our readers as these international perspectives give us new ways to understand global social change.

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The Plague of Athens and the Cult of Asklepios as Collective Behavior and a Social Movement

Abstract:
Thucydides account of the Athenian plague (430-426 bce) and the subsequent rise of the cult of Asklepios can be examined as perhaps the earliest case study of collective behavior and a social movement. In his account of the plague, Thucydides reveals a sociological imagination and concepts including escalating stages of collective behavior and anomie. Social movements often arise in times of sudden changes and social unrest, becoming a source of spiritual and political empowerment. The cult of Asklepios rose to prominence after the plague as a redemptive and reformative social movement. It helped reestablish norms and supportive institutions in the wake of the plague and enabled the growth of rational Hippocratic medicine.

Keywords: Athenian plague, Asklepios, Hippocratic medicine, Social movement

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1. Introduction

Thucydides account of the Athenian plague can be examined as perhaps the earliest case study of what Miller (2000) identifies as aspects and phases of collective behavior and reactions to an unusual event. Thucydides reported escalating stages of collective behavior: rumors, panic, crowd control, not observing rituals and finally general lawlessness (*anomia*).

Following the plague and the peace of Nikias in 421 bce, the Athenians responded by rebuilding their city and their culture. The temple of Athena Nike (Wingless Victory) on the Akropolis was completed in 420 bce, Sophocles' tragedy *Oedipus Rex* was first produced at the Greater Dionysia in 425 bce, and the cult of Asklepios arrived in Athens in 420 or 419 bce. In his honor, Athens inaugurated a festival, providing prizes for the games, and built two major sanctuaries for healing and worship (Asklepieia), one in Piraeus and one on the south slope of the Akropolis. This marks the beginning of a new belief system that dealt with the failure to combat the plague and defeat the Spartans.

Asklepios whose name means "to cut open," was the son of Apollo and a human woman who died in childbirth. He was raised by the centaur Chiron who taught him the healing arts. His sons included Machaon and Podalirius, who served as surgeons and physicians during the Trojan Wars, and among his daughters were Hygeia (health and sanitation) and Panacea (cure all). The cult of Asklepios was established towards end of the 6th century at Epidaurus, located in the Peloponnesus across the Saronic Gulf from Athens.

Over a short period of time Asklepios evolved from a local healing demigod to a Pan-Hellenic deity can be traced through coins minted in the last half of the fifth century bce. He first appears on coins minted in Larissa in Thessaly south of Mount Olympus (450-400 bce), Tricca in Thessaly, the home of the sons mentioned in the *Illiad* (400-344 bce) and Epidaurus (400-350 bce). He later appears on coins throughout the Greco-Roman world (Hart, 1966).

2. Theoretical Perspectives

Theories of collective behavior and social movements can shed light on the relationship between the plague of Athens and the rise of the cult of Asklepios. Thucydides' account of the Athenian plague can be examined as perhaps the earliest case study in what Miller (2000) identifies as aspects and phases of collective behavior and reactions to an unusual event. Thucydides mentioned atrocity rumors attributing inhuman acts committed by an enemy; widespread anxiety and depression, hostile crowds, intense personal terror, mobilized evacuation and panicked fleeing to a safer location, overcrowding, acts of altruism in the face of disaster, and the strains on a society's culture values and beliefs.

Collective behavior consists of actions not governed by everyday rules and expectations. While some theories focus on large crowds and riots (Le Bon, 1960; Turner and Killian, 1957), Smelser (1962) presents a set of stages beginning with structural conduciveness and strain that spread generalized beliefs (rumors) that may become a panic and lead to various forms of anti-social behavior. In some cases institutional means are used to redress the situation and modify social statuses, norms and values. Durkheim (1951: 248, 252-253,258) found that rapid and sudden changes in social economic and personal relations can lead to normlessness and anomic suicide. But anomie can also exist on a population level. Thucydides (Book II.53; Rhodes, 1998:100-101) was the first to use the term *anomia* (ἀνομία), translated as lawlessness, in his description of the breakdown of moral and civil behaviors of the Athenians during the plague (Nielsen, 1996). In the midst of the plague and after the second Peloponnesian invasion, (Thucydides, Book II, 59; Rhodes, 1998:107), Perikles, the glorious statesman and orator fell from favor and in a bizarre twist was deposed, tried, fined and reinstated as *strategos*. At one point he facing a hostile and dejected crowd, he analyzes the situation, reinforces a normative structure, and boosts morale:

> "Happenings which are sudden, unforeseen and contrary to all reasonable expectations enslave the spirit. This has happened to you for various reasons and particularly because of the plague. Nevertheless, as people living in a great city, brought up in a correspondingly great way of life, you must be prepared to stand up against the greatest disasters, and not obliterate your reputation… You must put away your private sorrows and work for the safety of the community."
>
> (Thucydides, Book II.61; Rhodes, 1998:111)

In contrast to collective behavior, social movements are semi-rational responses to abnormal conditions. Social movements seek to change social organizations and/or institutions. They bring innovative and unconventional elements to civil society and therefore are innovate and unconventional. Social movements will form when people sense that something is not quite right in the way their society operates. Social movements often begin after an event which upsets the everyday lives of many individuals and requires a collective response. This response attempts to deal with the structural weaknesses in society that usually has a psychological affect on individuals. Social movements gain strength when the regular administrative/ political processes are unable to address the perceived social problem or crises. They may seek to restore things to the way they were before the crisis or call for radical change and a new order.

Aberle (1966) identified four types of social movements: alternative; redemptive; reformative; and revolutionary based on whether they seek limited or radical changes and whether they focus on modifying individual behavior or transforming society as a whole. Alterative social movements seek limited social change and tend to be focused on a specific group of people. For example, Planned Parenthood is directed toward people of childbearing age to encourage birth control. Redemptive social movements also focus on a specific group of people but advocate for a radical change in the individual and, by extension, society. This is characteristic of some evangelical religious sects, especially those that recruit members to abandon old lifestyles and be 'reborn.'

Reformative social movements advocate for limited social change but seek to affect that change across an entire society. The change may be progressive towards new social relationships or institutions, or retrogressive attempting to restore the *status quo ante*. For example, the conservationist side of the environmental movement encourages communities to develop programs for recycling wastes and electrical equipment. The preservationist side advocates for saving or restoring wilderness and natural areas by ending or limiting access and use by tourists and business interests. Finally revolutionary social movements promote radical change across an entire society that will impact all of society. The Communist party and Taliban movement want to radically change political and social institutions.

Although some religious movements are redemptive and aimed at individuals, they may also become reformative when, in Smelser's (1962:313) terms, they attempt to restore, protect, modify or create values in the name of a generalized belief. Religious movements and secular political movements can become intertwined; witness the role of African American churches and reverends in the U.S. civil rights movement that improved social/economic conditions. This can lead to both spiritual and political empowerment. The combination of religious and political movements may engender civil religion, a collection of sacred and patriotic beliefs, symbols and rituals that strengthens and solidifies a community's political identity and sense of nationhood (Bellah, 1967; Nielsen, 1996).

3. The Plague as Collective Behavior

The Athenian plague and the rise of the cult of Asklepios can be examined as a case study in collective behavior and social movements. The plague first appeared in the second year of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 bce) fought between the Delian League of city-states dominated by Athens against the Peloponnesian League led by Sparta. Several battles were fought in 431 bce and at the end of the year Perikles delivered his famous Funeral Oration (Thucydides, Book II 34-46 Rhodes, 1998:79-93). This was part of a burial rite to honor fallen warriors. The oration is an example of Rousseau's (1762, 2008:IV,8) civil religion that captures the moral and spiritual underpinnings of Athenian democracy by seeking a common set of values and symbols while allowing citizens in a polytheistic culture to hold other beliefs and practices. In his speech, Perikles rallies the people, praising the Athenian democratic political system, the openness of the city to the world, and the ability of citizens to adapt to the most varied forms of action with versatility and grace. In his account, Thucydides will quickly juxtapose this view of civil society with the breakdown of normative behavior during the plague.

The next year (430) Sparta invaded Attica and Perikles ordered an evacuation to the secure area behind the Long Walls which Perikles had built (458-456 bce), linking Athens to the port of Piraeus. The city consequently became overcrowded. The plague raged ferociously during that year and the next causing many deaths and great dejection (Longrigg, 1992). Perikles was deposed from his office, tried, and fined, but soon reinstated. Perikles died of a lingering sickness at age 66 in 429 bce.

The nature of the plague has been the topic of much speculation. However, in 2001 salmonella typhi bacteria (Typhoid fever) was found in the dental pulp of teeth recovered in remains from a mass grave in the ancient Cemetery of Kerameikos in central Athens (Papagrigorakis *et al* 2006). Typhoid fever is spread though ingestion of the bacteria in contaminated food or water. This occurs when excrements and rotten food are not properly disposed of. Symptoms include headaches, high fevers (>39°C), diarrhea, chest congestion. Complications include infection, pneumonia, intestinal bleeding, or intestinal perforation. Thucydides (Book II.49; Rhodes, 1998:95-97) reported a plethora of symptoms including ones that are symptoms of typhoid fever—violent heats in the head; pain in the chest accompanied by a hard cough; violent ulceration of bowels; diarrhea and discharges of bile of every kind; and internally the body burned (high fever).

Regardless of the pathology of the epidemic, Thucydides' social description of the plague easily fits into standard categories of collective behavior: rumor, panic, and the breakdown of normative behavior including neglect of burial rites and rise of lawlessness. Atrocity rumors were spread about the origin of the plague. Thucydides (Book II.48; Rhodes, 1998:95) reported that "the plague is said to have originated in Ethiopia beyond Egypt and then into Egypt and Libya and on much of the King (of Persia's) land. It fell suddenly upon Athens starting in Piraeus and giving rise to the allegation that the Peloponnesians had put poison into the wells."

An early social symptom was general desperation. Thucydides (Book II.51, Rhodes, 1998:101) wrote that "no remedy was found, for what did good in one case, did harm in another. The most terrible feature was the dejection which ensued when anyone felt himself sickening, for the despair into which they instantly fell took away their power of resistance. They witnessed the awful spectacle of men dying like sheep. If they were afraid to visit each other, they perished from neglect… If they ventured to help, death was the consequence. In addition, people living outside the city panicked and migrated to the city resulting in overcrowding and more deaths."

Norms were soon ignored. According to Thucydides (Book II.52, Rhodes, 1998:101), "the disaster was overpowering that people did not know what would become of them so they tended to neglect the sacred and secular alike. All previously observed funeral customs were disregarded and the dead were buried in any way possible. Some would put their own dead on someone else's pyre while others threw the body they were carrying on the top of an already burning pyre and slip away."

Finally, Thucydides (Book II.53 p 101-103) reported wide spread lawlessness—*anomia*. "When they saw the sudden changes of fortune, people were more willing to dare to do things which they would not previously have admitted to enjoying. No one was willing to persevere in struggling for what was considered an honorable result, since he could not be sure that he would not perish before he achieved it. No fear of the gods or law of men had a restraining power, since it was judged to make no difference whether one was pious or not. No one expected to live long enough to have to pay the penalty for his misdeeds. People felt they had a death sentence hanging over them and therefore they might reasonably get some enjoyment out of what was left of their lives."

4. The Cult of Asklepios as a Social Movement

The plague subsided but reappeared in the winter of 427 bce and lasted for about a year. Papagrigorakis *et al*. (2006) estimated that overall one third of the civilian population and one-fourth of the army perished. Following the devastation of the plague, the Athenians began reestablishing norms and supportive institutions. It will be argued that the rise of the cult of Asklepios can be considered to be a social movement that featured redemptive religious healing and a reformative political strategy. In addition, the rise of the cult paralleled the emergence of the Asclepiad physicians and Hippocratic writings that date between 427 and 400 bce (Jones, 1868). This aspect of the movement influenced the development of western scientific medicine.

Once the plague was over, the Athenians regained control of Delos which had been the financial center of the Delian League, until Perikles moved the treasury to Athens in 454 bce. In 426 bce the Athenians purified Apollo's temple on the island, had all the tombs removed to a neighboring island and established the Delia festival (Mikalson, 1998:214-215).

Mitchell-Boyask (2009) argues that between 430 and 404 Greek theater portrayed the war and the general political health of Athens. *Oedipus Rex* by Sophocles was first produced at Greater Dionysia in 425 bce. Sophocles inserted a plague that was not part of the traditional story. The play opens with a priest and chorus asking Oedipus to rid them of the plague. The priest uses the word *loimos* meaning plague or pestilence in contrast to *nosos* meaning disease. The chorus prays that "ravenous Ares, whose hot breath I feel as he charges on without bronze shield, but howling battle cries, let him turn back and quickly leave this land." Thebes, the setting of *Oedipus Rex*, was not at war; but Athens was in the midst of one. The first round of plague (430 bce) came with battle, but the second round (427 bce) did not. *Loimos* appears only once in the play and then not in other plays of the time period. Mitchell-Boyask suggested that in the post plague years, Sophocles made *loimos* an unspeakable taboo word. In this way drama would become a part of a healing process of the body politic.

The religious system of ancient Greece consisted of a pantheon of twelve Olympian deities and a set of demigods/ heroes. Many had epithets indicating a particular role or power. For example Athena was known as *Promachos* (leader in battle), *Polias* (guardian of the city), *Nike* (victory) and *Hygieia* (healer). Statues and shrines were dedicated to each epithet, several of which were located on the Akropolis (Hurwit 1998:15; D'Ooge, 2011:284-85). Athena was also worshiped in other cities and islands. Cults recognized a wide variety

of gods and demigods/ heroes, and a polis or community might have a special local deity and temple. These were established cults recognized by the governing assembly or rulers and authorized to hold public festivals in honor of the deity. Many private and family cults existed but were not officially recognized (Allan, 2004).

According to Greek mythology, Asklepios, the god of medicine and healing, was born near Epidaurus which became the site of his earliest sanctuary. In 420/419 a private citizen, Telemachus, brought the Epidaurian god Asklepios in the guise of his sacred snake from Epidaurus to Athens at his own expense but with the approval of the polis authorities (Allan, 2004; Longrigg, 1992). The sanctuary was located by spring water on the south slope of the Akropolis near the Theatre of Dionysus where dramas by Sophocles (*Oedipus Rex, Ajax*) and Aeschylus (*Agamemnon*) addressed the illnesses of both individuals and the body politic (Wickkiser, 2008:83, 129).

The public festivals in honor of Asklepios were placed on the religious calendar. The festival of Epidauria marked the arrival of Asklepios. He was met at Piraeus and taken to Athens by members of the cult of Eleusinian Demeter (Wickkiser 2008:53). This occurred during the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries and meant that each year the cult of Asklepios would be linked with that celebration. Since the cult of Asklepios, was an elective cult to which all Greeks, not just Athenian citizens could choose to join, this helped grow from a local to a Pan-Hellenic cult, somewhat above the military and political concerns of individual city-states (Mikalson, 2010:85,195). A second festival the Asclepieia was held in conjunction with the cult of Dionysus Eleutheros during which tragedies and comedies were performed within sight of the newly established sanctuary of Asklepios. These festivals attracted people from across Greece and displayed Athenian accomplishments and aspirations (Wickkiser, 2008:89)

As a redemptive social movement, the cult of Asklepios renewed religious healing practices that had been disrupted by the war and plague. Athenian women sought the god's assistance in conception and childbirth. Asklepios replaced Artemis Locheia (helper in childbirth); and Athena Hygieia (Nutton, 2004:106), although the latter was thought of as protecting the health of the city more than individuals. Asklepios also received dedications from parents on behalf of their children or other family members for healing or preventing disease (Mikalson, 2010: 142-143).

Two aspects, one political and the other medical, mark the cult as a reformative social movement. The importation of the cult of Asklepios into Athens is seen as part of a political strategy by the Athenians to gain support of Epidaurus and access to a harbor on the Peloponnese (Clinton, 1994:18; Wickkiser, 2008:93-99). The importation was negotiated and occurred during the Peace of Nikias (421 bce).

The cult of Asklepios as a reformative social movement influenced the development of medicine. The earliest mention of Asklepiads is in the sixth century writings of Theognis of Megara where it seems to refer to a general practitioner. Asklepiadae literally means the family of Asklepios and refers to a hereditary line of physicians who claimed to be descendents of the Homeric physicians. Over time it may have become more guild like as students were adopted into the family (Jones, 1868:39).

By the end of the fifth century bce, medical teaching and practice was a mixture of religious and rational elements. Temple and sanctuary based treatments involved fasting and dreaming (incubation) to reveal the cure or prescription (Jones, 1868:9; Sheikh,*et al*, 2003:13). Marketos (1997) suggested that the traditional healing was provided by priests at Asclepieia, therapeutic centers located in temples and sanctuaries. In contrast to this "inpatient" care, the Hippocratic physician provided "outpatient" care by visiting patients in their homes. Hippocrates, among others, favored rationalism based on accurate observation of the course of the disease and the patient's living conditions (airs, waters, and places).

Hippocrates, a contemporary of Thucydides, was thirty years old when the plague began. Historical evidence does not document his presence in Athens at the time, but that did not prevent others centuries later from fictionalizing an attempt to cure the plague with fire (Pinault, 1986:64). Both Plato and Aristotle identify him as an Asklepiad, while healers in the sanctuaries of Asklepios were referred to as priests or sacristans (Bailey, 1996). Nutton (2004:111-115; 68) argued that the followers of Hippocrates and the priests healers were united against charismatic magicians and wandering shamans who practiced outside religious or secular institutions.

The adherence of the followers of Hippocrates to religious beliefs is clearly stated in the opening of the Hippocratic Oath: "I swear by Apollo, the healer, Asclepius, Hygeia, and Panacea, and I take to witness all the gods, all the goddesses." The oath then lists some professional and ethical obligations including to live a life in purity and holiness, to give no deadly medicine to any one if asked, and not take sexual advantage of their patients or reveal confidential information. Physicians began making sacrifices on behalf of themselves and their patients as well as holding processions and games in honor of Asklepios (Prioreschi, 1996).

The concurrent rise of the cult of Asklepios and the earliest Hippocratic writings are part of the creation of a new orthodoxy within medicine. Asklepios possessed the skills, talents and attributes of the good human physician and it would be difficult for a physician to reject Asklepios as a symbol and standard for secular healers. It appears that the reformative aspects of the cult of Asklepios as a social movement helped spread Hippocratic medicine and medical ethics throughout the Mediterranean world.

5. Conclusion

Sociologists and others who examine cases of collective behavior and social movements primarily rely on contemporary or recent historical examples. They have developed a set of theories which tend to encompass a broad range of factors from societal strain to individual anxiety and terror featuring a set of dimensions and boxes in which to place a particular case. But they have not used the plague of Athens or the rise of Asklepios as examples of collective behavior and social movements.

Thucydides lived during the Peloponnesian War and plague of Athens. He was a reflective investigative journalist who today might be writing "Annals of National Security" for *The New Yorker* magazine. He did not have theories of collective behavior and social movements to guide him, yet his account reveals a sociological imagination and concepts. This is evident in his account of the plague of Athens that included escalating stages of collective behavior: atrocity rumors attributing inhuman acts committed by an enemy; social strains and depression, intense personal terror, mobilized evacuation and panicked fleeing to what appears to be a safer location, overcrowding, acts of altruism in the face of disaster, and disintegration of culture values and beliefs culminating in not observing burial rituals and general lawlessness (*anomia*).

As a redemptive social movement, the cult of Asklepios offered new religious norms of healing. Although Thucydides reported the arrival of Asklepios in Athens, the subsequent rise of the cult was of little political interest. The farther away one gets from the rise of the social movement, the more difficult it becomes to separate who did what when from the later accounts that attribute events to individuals or groups that may have had no part in them.

One could claim that Sophocles served as a champion of the new cult, laying the intellectual and belief groundwork. The personal role of Hippocrates during the plague is a fiction invented by physicians holding the humoral theory of health and disease. But his school separated the theory and practice of medicine and surgery from religious incantations

and treatment through trial and error. By being identified as Asklepiads, they were able to replace the charismatic magicians and wandering shamans who had been unable to treat the plague but complement the care provided by priests in temples and sanctuaries. As Asklepios ascended from a local healer to a national and international demigod of medicine, the Hippocratic School thrived and spread across the Mediterranean world over the following centuries.

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Crossing boundaries and overcoming exclusion: An overview of female migration in Brazil

Abstract:
Through a brief overview of female migration in Brazil, this paper aims to show how women have been negotiating with other traditions and cultures, redefining traditional gender identities, and, crossing the boundaries of social exclusion.

The "journey" begins in Africa, between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, when they migrated to Brazil as slaves, about 4 million Africans from various ethnic groups / nations, with a large contingent, however, uncertain of women. Although, in the nineteenth century, the abolition of slavery was announced, it came unaccompanied by policies of social inclusion for African descent, who had no place in the everyday work of Brazil, taken by European immigrants. On the other hand, patriarchy, with all his force, kept women oppressed. Racial disparities coupled with the strength of patriarchy imposed hard boundaries to women, who used to overcome them, creating some very interesting strategies of survival and overcoming.

The journey of black women, and their descendants, who, in the diaspora context, (re) created an "imagined" Africa in Brazil, is a good example. Through the maintenance and transmission of sacred African oral traditions, they gave power to a religious-mythical world in which, as "mother of saint" assumed the highest office in the hierarchy - against both African tradition and Western, where men traditionally hold authority.

Outside the religious sphere, but sharing the refusal by passivity, young women, coming from the disadvantaged sections of the population, have also been working great "miracles." Through the joint (and informal) solidarity in networks of mutual support, they migrated from the country's poorest regions, mainly in the Northeast, to Rio de Janeiro, and can overcome everyday adversities. In search of better living conditions and social recognition, the young migrants and their networks also come across borders (geographical and subjective), without losing the marks of their cultural identity.

Keywords: Female migration, exclusion, Africa, Brazil

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1. Introduction

Through a brief overview of the female migration in Brazil, this paper intends to demonstrate how women have been negotiating with other traditions and cultures, redefining gender identities, and crossing boundaries of social exclusion. As main theoretical discussion we present post-colonial, feminist and cultural studies and authors.

2. Post-colonial (feminist) studies in women migration

The post-colonial studies are part of any critical reflection on the current scenario, especially when it comes to migration. The close relationship between post-colonialism and migration is, not only, due to the fact that, currently, colonial countries such as England and France, have been chosen as a destination for immigrants originated from countries that were, once, colonized by them. But the need, arising with the migrations, of an address of issues relating to cultural diversity and, also, to identity itself - both, of individuals and-or national ones (NAZARETH, 2010).

The displacement, proposed by the post-colonial paradigm, on all subjects, seems quite appropriate to think geographic and subjective displacements that come with migration. Above all, as it points to a rereading of modern global history, decentering and destabilizing Eurocentric narrative, the post-colonial perspective displaces the modern history itself, giving us the opportunity to do the same with migrations.

The post-colonial paradigm points, for example, for a theoretical and political supremacy present in unequal relations between North and South (SANTOS, 2004, p.8), between colonized and colonizers. This brings a background to the complaint about the end of colonialism as political relationship, but at the same time, its permanence, as social relation. This has consequences that even today, are translated into social inequalities and discrimination in social relations (ibid.).

Thus, the critique of 'Eurocentrism' is also a critique of Brazilian society itself, which elects the spokesmen of his official history, without taking into account the excluded, the subaltern, and the migrants. What's more, foisting stigmas, making them feel inferior, like the "other", the colonized; in this case, two time the “other”: as migrant and as women. Issues arising from a complex system of power configurations, originating in Brazil colony time, but that still remain.

The colonization of Brazil, made by Portugal, is an important part of this story, leaving marks on Brazilian subjectivities, even today, as claimed by Boaventura Santos (2004). The marginalized position of Portugal against the rest of Europe went always contradictory in relation to their status as a center of its own colonial empire, making a tension, an ambiguous position between being inferior in one hand, and having an undeniable supremacy over its colonies, such as Brazil itself, in the other. This ambivalent position would have been reflected also in Brazilian identities, which still retain, according to the author, the double inscription inherited from our colonizers.

When added to a feminist perspective, the postcolonial' complaint' goes even further, extending the colonialism and modern history criticism to include a criticism of the patriarchal-capitalist-colonial-modern world-system, driving the advance of feminism itself, which should advance to meet "the diversity of women," and also to account for the "multiplicity within each woman" (Braidotti, 2000, p.223). This implies an abandonment of a supposedly monolithic essence of women – and migrant women, for the recognition of the diverse representations of (migrant) women, emphasizing the importance of going beyond these representations and cultural constructions, but looking for real experiences as women, women of 'meat and bone ' (Ibid).

That is exactly what this paper intends to do, by showing two times and two different groups of migrant women in Brazil: Starting with black diaspora and the power of candomblé, till the experience of young migrant women, that are finding the power of solidarity while exploring new boundaries of the country, in contemporary Brazil.

3. Brazilian Black Diaspora

Black Diaspora in Brazil was originated during its colonization, when Europe expanded its boundaries and imported African slaves coming from several regions in Africa. This forced migration brought to Brazil about 4 million Africans of different ethnic groups and nations, which lost their names, their pairs, their families and were forbidden to cultivate their deities. It was in this painful context that the candomblé, the "religion of the orixás"[4] emerged, constituted as from exchanges between several African ethnic groups, Indian traditions and Catholicism. Black women played a very important role in regrouping such diasporic groups. Recreating imagined Africa by maintaining and transmitting African sacred oral traditions, they reinvented a Mythic-religious world, and in the figure of "mães de santo"[5] assumed the highest hierarchic post in such religious communities – opposing both African and West tradition, where power is traditionally held by men.

The "Black Atlantic", a work of British sociologist Paul Gilroy (2001), offers us not only and alternative to think the black Diaspora but also a valuable theoretical and political tool to analyze how "Africa" was appropriated and transformed in Brazil, focusing on the effective contribution of black women in the reconfiguration of the cult of the orixás. The deterritorialization of the blacks is not reduced to a mere tragic geographic displacement, nor an unidirectional movement.

Ortiz (1991) conceives transculturation as a dialogic relation of the cultural transformations flows in contact zones between cultures, in opposition to the ethnocentric concept of acculturation, when only minority groups, considered as inferiors, are affected in the sense of assimilating the culture of the dominant group to the detriment of their own.

The "Black Atlantic" has the sea as a metaphor of mobility, mixture, transitority and fluidity, which involved translocal exchanges, understood as a historical and political production associated to the concepts of hibrydism and multiculturalism, rejecting the Eurocentric and Afro centric narratives that consider identity and culture under an essentialist form.

According to Hall (1998), there are two forms of conceiving a cultural identity. The essentialist form has the sense of a culture that is shared between those having a History and an ancestrality in common, the identities are fixed and immutable. The second vision would be to consider the discontinuities and ruptures occurred in History, or rather, it is not something that is fixed forever, it belongs to the past or to the future. The blacks brought from Africa by the History of colonization and slavery had their histories interrupted from the moment they were captured and embarked in the holds of the slave ships.

To Bhabha (2005), hybrid culture and identity should be understood as a formation within the contact process between European and non-European cultures in the colonial situation that always bring a difference mark, or rather, the transgression of boundaries. It is not about the synthesis of the contact between different cultural matrixes. The author calls this place of Hibrydism as the "third space" or the "in-between space" and because it is a process it is always incomplete and unfinished.

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[4] Candomblé: Afro-Brazilian cult that worships gods of African origin, called the Orixás, which represent the forces of Nature.

[5] Mães de santo: the communitary female leaders of the candomblé cult.

Smith (2006), explains that the term Hibrydism was pejorative in its very origin, utilized to assert European supremacy in relation to other races and cultures, thus perpetuating the exclusion of minority groups. Within the post-colonial theoretical frame, Hibrydism is seen as a form of undermining the speech of the so called superior cultures. This position is ratified by Hall (2006), when the author points out that hybridization has marked both the hegemonic and the subordinated groups, which is positive, since: "It testifies an actuation of the culture considered as minority and brings evidences to a fragility in the hegemonic culture" (Souza, 2005, p.22).

The evaluation of cultural expressions of the blacks would be then considered as a counter narrative to the Western hegemonic culture, as understood by Bhabha:

> [...] evoke and suppress totalizing boundaries – both real and conceptual – disturb those ideological maneuvers through which the 'imagined communities' receive essentialist identities. (Bhabha, 2005, p.210)

Gilroy, in his preface to the Brazilian edition (2001), recognizes that Brazilian History has been put aside even in the best works on black policy in North America and the Caribbean. It is relevant to bring the paradigm of the "Black Atlantic" up to the Brazilian coast in order to reread our historiography and to reflect upon the diversity of cultural and religious expressions of African matrix in our society, in particular the candomblé, here reinvented by black women.

The people of the Diaspora, unwillingly and definitively warded off their territories of origin, did not totally lose their identity. The recreation by women, of the religious beliefs and practices of the candomblé represent the bonds these displaced people maintained with África. Appealing to the concept of Translation proposed by Bhabha, Hall (2006), following the thought of the author, classifies the displaced people as translated persons in the sense of transferred. African myths and rites transformed here do not mean a loss of authenticity of the blacks and half-breeds, but new identity formations, hybrid and "impure". They are forgotten connections that belong to the past and to the future; through the narrative, myth, memory and imagination, women created the new Africa in the new world, which is at the same time presence and absence, proximity and distance.

The candomblé communities became spaces of preservation and reinvention of the traditions of African origin, a fruit of the mediation with other cultures. To Appadurai:

> "In migratory situations, people are compelled to invent a new world and also stands out the importance of imagination in building new identity productions. This way what is local becomes a permanent invention" (Appadurai, 2005, p. 18).

The past existed, but was reconfigured due to socio-historic circumstances. The Diaspora does not mean neither a loss of authenticity nor a relinquishment of cultural specificities. What is local does not exist, it is a permanent invention. The "mães de santo" created "their locals" in a given Historic context thus producing new identities in the group in which memory had a great importance. Our individual memory is constituted by several other collectives (Halbwachs, 2006).

The abolition of slavery took place in the 19th century, without any policies of insertion to Afro-descendants. Black people, positioned as irrational, were thought, spoken and represented by European imaginary. Colonial relations of power considered that former slaves did not occupy "position of subjects" of social action and thus they became free, but not equal.

The "whitening" project of the Brazilian society had policies to encourage European migration with a civilizatory mission, and it became also cheaper to hire the work of European immigrants than to keep slaves that had no conditions to compete with the new immigrants (Costa, 1966).

This was the period when African women created the first candomblé communities, thus contributing for this cult to perpetuate the cultural traces of African origin, a challenge to the patriarchal, slavecist and androcentric society of colonial Brazil, asserting the difference, allowing rites and myths, and the profane unfoldings thereof to compose the national identity.

In such sacred/profane spaces, which provide union, solidarity and recognition, the mães de santo formed a group of "differents". The communities they lead destabilize the hegemonic speech when they transform and pluralize their practices creating new hybrid identities.

4. The power of cohesion between migrant women in contemporary Brazil

Outside the religious sphere, but sharing the refusal by passivity, young migrant women, coming from the disadvantaged sections of the population, have also been working great "miracles".

In Brazil, as in other parts of the world, there is a growing percentage of women who migrate from poorer regions, like the Northeast, to the more developed regions, like the Southeast, especially to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. They come to urban centers in search of better living conditions and recognition (Fraser, 1997; Honneth, 2002). Although, once in a big town, it is common to see them included in significant vulnerabilities contexts, involved in low prestige and pay activities, living in places with little urban infrastructure, faced with exclusion, prejudice and inequality.

An environment that allows an approximation with other migrants, outlining a sort of creative and informal network, that helps to overcome many adversities and also brings for them the experience of belonging and recognition.

Facing significant new challenges, they are able to find support and solidarity in these informal networks that, quickly, becomes an important survival strategy. Not only to circumvent the more concrete daily adversities, but also the more subjective ones, like the longing for family and the distance of the habits and the codes of their origin culture.

Inside the networks they have an important role of supporting their "pairs", they feels identified; which seems to reduce the sensation of being "other" in a foreign land and also the longing they feel for their families and their culture. By the frequently share of the Northeaster codes, they also maintain the marks of their original culture, and usually gives it some emphasis, being proud of their origin.

Despite the differences between them, all seem to "live in a border" (Nazareth, 2010): the border of double absence and of double bond. They don't belong to the host society, nor even to their original ones. At the same time, they belong to both. Living in a place "between" - culture of origin and destination – migrant would, always, be (e)migrant and (im)migrant - someone who comes in, and someone who comes out. There are also losses and positive gains in their experiences. Their hybrid identity is a result of subjective displacement they make, when performing their migratory trajectories – that also promotes significant changes in both society's environment and spaces (D'Ávila Neto et al., 2011). Something close from the notion of "borders identities" (Anzaldua, 1987), what means to be cruising the frontiers, being in different cultures at the same time, having different "voices that speak to me simultaneously" (Anzaldua, 1987, p.68).

Finally, is possible to say that through the joint (and informal) solidarity in networks of mutual support, young women that are migrating from the country's poorest regions, mainly in the Northeast, to Rio de Janeiro, in the Southeast – the richest region of the country

-, can overcome everyday adversities. In search of better living conditions and social recognition, the young migrants and their networks also come across borders (geographical and subjective), without losing the marks of their cultural identity.

Those are "miracles" of the mutual support they develop in their 'networks', an interesting community of Northeaster migrant women in Rio de Janeiro. We should learn with them.

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Migrant women's acculturation and gender attitudes: An exploratory study in a home and a host country

Abstract:
In this paper – based on a communication at the symposium "Borders, Cultural Citizenship and Sustainability: Human Networks in Action" held in Buenos Aires during the 2nd ISA Forum of Sociology in August 2012 – is discussed the issue of the link between women migration and gender relations. After highlighting the growing feminization of migratory phenomena, the first part of this chapter provides a brief literature review on the relationships between these two variables. The second section reports on two empirical studies recently conducted in France and Romania showing that the influence of women migration on gender relations depends on the acculturation modes of migrant women. Lastly, the implications of these results regarding the conditions that must be met both for the integration of migrant women in host countries and the reduction of gender stereotypes are discussed in the third part.

Keywords: Women migration, gender relations, France and Romania

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1. Women migration and gender relations

While the growth of international migration has been quite stable these last few years, the feminization of contemporary migrations is such that since the early 2000's there is slightly more female migrants than male migrants in all parts of the world (UNFPA, 2006). In some countries, such as the Philippines, female migrants form the vast majority of migrants (UNFPA, *op. cit.)*. This current characteristic of human displacement has been accompanied by a significant diversification of the strategies of migrant women. While for a long time female migration had taken place for the purpose of family reunification, it is currently, and very clearly, a work migration, often initiated independently (Chaïb, 2008; D'Avila, Durand-Delvigne & Nazareth, 2012; Kofman, 2004). More women are now initiating migration and become the head of a family in contexts where men are traditionally the suppliers of the resources of a family. Furthermore, they send each year large sums of money to their family and home community through remittances (440 billions of dollars in 2010, according to the World Bank); this fund transfer, more important, is also more regular than men's fund transfer. Thus, to borrow the title of an article from the journal *Amnesty* in 2012, female migrants appear to have moved "from the shadow to the light". This gain in visibility is also observed through contemporary studies on migration in a globalized world.

Within this framework, a research area under investigation concerns the influence of women migration on gender relations. Women who cross borders deal with situations, much of it unprecedented, characterized by autonomy and / or subordination (Miranda, Morokvasic & Ouali, 2009), especially concerning the hierarchical ordering of gender. As underlined by Morokvasic (2010), this issue remains a challenge for research. Indeed, the influence of women mobility on gender order appears to be subtle and ambiguous: "while some studies note a higher level of freedom and autonomy for migrant women, others underline that the consequences of migration are not necessarily emancipating" (Morokvasic, *op. cit.*, p.105).

Altogether, it looks as if migrant women maintain gender order while subtly distorting it. As reported by Morokvasic (*op. cit.)*, they don't have the means and power to enter in a strategy of confrontation that would be devastating. The issue is not to question directly the established order but to benefit from it. By creating and / or building on women's networks of reciprocity and solidarity, female migrants ensure access to new resources and powers, whilst preference is given to compromise. These new resources may be economic but also non-economic, such as a better access to health care and contraceptive methods. Moreover, financial remittances go with, implicitly or explicitly, social remittances likely to convey new possible models for women that stayed in the country. The migration of women can therefore have a subtle influence on gender norms in the countries of origin in terms of facilitating social progress and equality. Female migration can put into question gender relations and lead to a, small and gradual, redistribution of gender roles (Hugo, 1999; Ramirez, 1999). It can therefore be assumed that women in migration take part to the reconsideration of gender order.

However, these potential emancipating effects of female migration cannot hide the price they have to pay. According to Morokvasic, "the key phenomenon that is the more and more feminized international migration is driven by gender ideology" (*op. cit.*, p.106). Thus, when they arrive in the host country, migrant women are mostly restricted to domestic activities, low-skilled and traditionally feminine jobs, like housekeeper or house-cleaner, regardless of the qualification level they have in the country of origin. The case of the Philippines mentioned previously is obviously emblematic of this phenomenon but this is a situation that can be found anywhere: as an example, in the early 2000's, over 600,000 people regularized in Italy, half of them were employed in the domestic area, the large majority of whom are women (Finotelli, 2006, cited by Morokvasic, *op. cit.*). It is clear that this fact

contributes to maintain and strengthen gender order rather than to challenge it (both for the migrant woman and for her employing family: hiring domestic staff is often a way to avoid the redistribution of domestic and family roles which would otherwise have resulted from the fact that both partners are working). Furthermore, migrant women "are usually without legal status and therefore without rights, and they frequently have to leave their own children and family group behind" (Bloch & Miranda, 2010, p.101). A study carried out by Kachoukh, Maguer & Marnas (2011) in France shows that female migrants remain invisible from a legal point and are usually unable to file complaints of discrimination, regardless of whether this discrimination is on the grounds of sex or as a migrant. Lastly, when women migrate with their husband or partner, the division of men and women's role in the domestic and family spheres is not necessarily modified simply because of the migration (Kuzma, 2003).

Throughout the migration process, migrant women have to demonstrate that they are not subversive. Transnational mothers, they thus have to prove that despite migration they are "good mothers". Indeed, although they provide economic resources, it is also and primarily on these traditional gender-linked criteria that they will be judged. It is therefore not a matter of calling into question gender order but to ensure that it will not cause disadvantage for migrant women by incorporating the "migrant mother" in the stereotype of "the good mother" (Keough, 2006). A recent documentary carried out in Romania on the situation of migrant women and their children back home put into light through a number of testimonies both the migrant mothers' feeling of guilt and the difficulties experienced by their children who stayed behind. In this documentary, presented during the Astra Film Festival 2012, some of the migrants' families that stay in the country seem to understand the choices of migrant mothers, describing the difficult economic conditions that pushed them into making this choice (*Mama Illegal*, Astra Film Festival, 2012). However, a correlation research conducted with Romanian migrants (men and women) in France shows that migrants frequently experience rejection from Romanian who remained in the country (Badea, Jetten, Lyer & Er-Rafiy, 2011). The latter may be jealous of migrants' standards of living perceived to be higher; Romanian back home may also think that migrants have actually forgotten Romanian values and cultural traditions. And the rejection experienced by migrants may affect their acculturation process in the host country. Thus, the higher visibility of women in the migration process is coupled with an increased social judgment and control, both in home and host countries.

2. **An exploratory study**

Considering what has been stated above, it seems unreasonable to expect that women's migration will lead necessarily and automatically to gender equality and a better recognition for women. Some specific factors may play a role and it is necessary to analyze them. One of these factors is the process of integration of migrants in the host country. Until now, very few studies have addressed the way migrant women are perceived in their country of origin and in the host country. Although some studies (e. g. Berry, 2001; Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007) investigated the attitude towards migrant women in the host country –showing the positive effect of adopting the host country's culture and an effect of maintaining the culture of their country of origin dependent on the characteristics of the host country– these studies do not analyse the attitude towards migrants in their country of origin. Yet, this attitude in the country of origin is potentially equally important as the attitude in the host country, because the migrants' identity is built in relation to both countries and not only in relation with host country. Moreover, gender as variable is rarely taken into account, and, when it is taken into consideration, it is used merely as a demographic variable, without analyzing the literature on gender. Therefore, we started by conducting an exploratory study aiming to investigate which way of life adopted by a migrant woman is more susceptible to lead to a more positive

perception of this person in the country of origin and in the host country and which way of life could reinforce or weaken justifications for social hierarchies and sexist attitudes.

The operationalization of this research question was done using the acculturation model proposed by Berry (2001). This model is presently the most widely used in social psychology to describe the acculturation modes of migrants in the host country. According to this model, different acculturation modes can be distinguished along two dimensions: the level of contacts with the culture of the host country and the degree of preservation of the culture of the country of origin. The crossing between these two dimensions create four acculturation modes as follows: *integration* is defined as high interaction with the host culture and high maintenance of the culture of origin; *assimilation* occurs when there is a high degree of adoption of the host culture and a low degree of maintenance of the culture of origin; separation appears when the culture of origin is preserved and there is low interaction with the host culture; finally, *marginalization* corresponds to the loss of the culture of origin associated with low interactions with the host culture.

This typology corresponds to a categorization of the different existing acculturation modes and they are in themselves a schematic presentation of reality. Consequently, this model is not sufficient in the aim of describing the complexity and flexibility of the pathway of each migrant woman. However, the model helps to emphasize that the pathway of each migrant has to be analyzed on two continuums (the adoption of the host culture and the maintenance of the culture of origin) and that the intersection of these continuums, on their extreme values, creates four fairly distinctive acculturation modes, thus allowing us to hypothesize that they have different effects on gender relations.

It should be noted that the impact of these acculturation modes on the perception of migrant women, and on the attitudes towards gender related social relationships, depends on the dominant migration ideology in the country of origin as well as in the host country. The same acculturation mode will not have the same effect in all cultures. Some ideologies, such as assimilation, promoting the primacy of the host culture over the migrant's culture, or communautarianism, promoting on the contrary the preservation of the culture of origin without appropriation of the host culture, will thus encourage a hierarchical approach of intergroup relations. Other more equality - oriented ideologies, such as multiculturalism or civism, defending the equality of ethnic cultures, and, respectively, the individual equality, will encourage the diminution of intergroup hierarchy (Levin & al., 2012). Our study takes place in France (see below), where the dominant ideology is assimilation. In this context, it is possible that migrant women maintaining their culture of origin will be perceived less favorably. It is also possible to observe a more sexist attitude towards migrant women presented as being assimilated, because the assimilation model promotes intergroup hierarchy, and, implicitly, gender roles hierarchy. Therefore, in the *assimilation* scenario, women may be better appreciated, as it corresponds to the main ideology in the host culture, while in the same time being more confronted with sexism. For similar reasons, the separation strategy may produce the same effects in the country of origin as assimilation produces in the host country.

Our study aims to analyze the impact of these acculturation modes on the perception of migrant women in the host country and in the country of origin. For this first study, we selected France as host country, and Romania as source country. This is consistent with a plausible and realistic scenario, since France is the 6th immigration country in the world and the second immigration country in Europe, and since between 2001 and 2006 Romania faced an emigration ration of 28‰, France being among the preferred immigration destinations. We created four portraits of a Romanian woman immigrated to France, corresponding to the four immigration modes described above (the portraits do not differ on other variables such

as age or occupation). Accordingly, the portrait of *integration* described a migrant woman speaking French, being married to a Frenchman and who maintained close relationships with her country of origin and spoke her native language; the portrait of *assimilation* described a migrant woman speaking French, having new relationships in France, but who maintained no link with her country of origin and who did not pass her native language to her children; the portrait of *separation* described a migrant woman living in France, but who did not develop relationships with French culture, while in the same time maintaining a strong attachment with her culture of origin; the portrait of *marginalization* described a migrant woman who had no French friends and did not develop new relationships with French culture, but, in the same time, who distanced herself from her culture of origin, feeling that it was not representing her anymore. Table 1 presents excerpts of each of these portraits.

Table 1: Excerpts of the portraits presented to the participants

Acculturation mode	Excerpt of the portrait
Integration	Ioana is a 35 years old woman and she is born in Oradea, Romania. She lives in France for 10 years. (…) All these years she made an effort to integrate in her new country, without forgetting the traditions and the Romanian culture. Marrying Henri, a french man from a traditional catholic family, she had to find a balance between her orthodox religion and the catholic one. She speaks French fluently but she still has an accent and she is not trying to hide her origin. She has a lot of French friends who appreciate her, but also many Romanian friends whom she meets often. She kept her Romanian citizenship, although she obtained the French citizenship (etc).
Assimilation	Ioana is a 35 years old woman and she is born in Oradea, Romania. She lives in France for 10 years (…) All these years she put aside the life, the traditions, and the Romanian culture. Marrying Henri, a French man from a traditional catholic family, Ioana has become catholic as well. She speaks French fluently, with a very slight accent and has exclusively French friends. She gave up her Romanian citizenship the moment she obtained the French citizenship (etc.)
Separation	Ioana is a 35 years old woman and she is born in Oradea, Romania. She lives in France for 10 years. (…) All these years she didn't give up the traditions and the Romanian culture. Marrying Stefan, a Romanian from a traditional orthodox family, she maintained the traditions and the religion practices from Romania. She speaks French but with a strong accent. She has only Romanian friends and continues to work as an accountant for some Romanian companies in France. She has a residence card to live in France, but she doesn't want to get the French citizenship (etc.)

Marginalization	Ioana is a 35 years old woman and she is born in Oradea, Romania. She lives in France for 10 years (…) All these years she put aside the life, the traditions, and the Romanian culture but she did not manage to adapt to living in France. She goes from time to time to the orthodox church (the traditional religion in Romania) but she did not make any Romanian friends. She speaks a little French with a very strong accent. She did not manage to find a stable job in France. (etc.)

These portraits were presented to the participants (between subjects variable, each participant only received one portrait),– first year students in psychology at University of Lille in France or at Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi in Romania – followed by measures of the attitudes generated by the portrait, using different scales (a control condition was introduced to asses the general attitudes of the participants, without presenting any portrait.). We used the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) to measure the level of hostile and benevolent sexism and thus to assess the effect of the acculturation mode of the migrant woman described in each portrait on the participants' gender attitudes in the host country and in the country of origin. We can thus hypothesize that failing to adopt the host country's culture, for participants from the host country, and failing to maintain one's culture of origin, for participants from the country of origin, may lead to negative perceptions of women in general. Secondly, Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Sidanius & Pratto, 1996) allowed us to asses whether this orientation is influenced by a certain acculturation attitude. Assimilation and separation are characterized by the domination of one culture over the other and social dominance orientation is likely to increase when the participants are in contact with an acculturation mode in which their culture is dominant (assimilation for the participants of the host country and separation for the participants in the country of origin). Finally, we used one scale for measuring the impact of acculturation modes on the acceptance / rejection of the migrant woman. In line with the literature cited at the beginning of this second part of the chapter, the acculturation modes should have the strongest impact on this last variable.

The results obtained in France show that the migrant is perceived more positively in the integration scenario than in the other three acculturation scenarios. Moreover, assimilation increases the social dominance orientation of the participants in the host country. Finally, the hostile sexism tends to be higher when the culture of origin is not maintained. The results obtained in Romania show that maintenance of the culture of origin leads to a more favorable perception of the migrant; the migrant is more positively perceived in the integration and in the separation scenario compared to the other two scenarios where the culture of origin is not preserved. Maintaining the culture of origin also decreases the benevolent sexism in the country of origin. It is therefore clear that, in the country of origin, the influence of the maintenance of the culture of origin on the attitudes towards the migrant women is more important than the adoption of the host country's culture.

3. Conclusions and Discussions

The exploratory study which we briefly present here shows the major impact that acculturation modes of migrant women have on the way they are perceived in their country of origin and in the host country but also on gender attitudes. In turn, these attitudes will

influence relationships that migrant women can hope to build with people originated from their own country or from the host country. Our results highlight the positive effect that integration policies for migrants (neither assimilation, nor rejection or communitarianism) could have in both countries. Indeed, the preservation of the culture of origin is very important for the migrant in order to avoid being rejected by people in their home country. In the same time, a complete integration, with respect for the culture of origin, is also generating positive attitudes from the members of the host country, even when the policies implemented in the host country are traditionally more oriented towards assimilation, like in the case of France. Promoting integration in spite of assimilation is even more important because our results show that assimilation tends to increase the social domination orientation in the host country.

In order to maintain positive relations with citizens from both countries (country of origin and host country) and avoid being rejected, the migrants are compelled to maintain a strong attachment with the culture of origin and in the same time to adopt the host country's culture, thus developing a multicultural, hybrid identity. This highlights the psychological pressure that all migrants experience when faced with assimilation policies in the host country, that compel them to " melt in the pot", thus suppressing their culture of origin. Such policies do not ensure a better integration in the host country; on the contrary they increase the probability that migrants experience a strong dissonant state and increase also the probability of being rejected by members of their country of origin. Consequently, these results support the migrants in their strives for a full and complete recognition of their multicultural identity and encourage societies and governments to facilitate the development of these hybrid, multicultural identities and to help reducing the different obstacles and barriers.

One of these barriers, in France and in a number of other countries, is the unproductive opposition between assimilation and communitarianism, with the first presented as the only alternative to the second. This unproductive opposition is based on the confusion, sometimes deliberately sustained by those who promote a total assimilation and a "pure" national identity, between communitarianism and multiculturalism. If the first one advocates a strict separation between cultures, supposed to live side by side without sharing, and therefore without understanding each-other, inevitable source of intergroup conflict, this is not the case of the second one which advocates, on the contrary, respect between cultures and positive effect of contacts, mutual influence and sharing. With the wording of Berry's model, if communitarianism leads to separation, and therefore to the rejection of migrants in host countries as shown by the results of this study, multiculturalism on the contrary creates conditions for a real integration, that is to say, the construction of a multicultural identity (for each citizen and for the society as a whole). Multiculturalism is not the juxtaposition of impervious cultures but the framework that allow different cultures to live together, and not just side by side, in a mutual enrichment. Governments and policy-makers would be wise to remember this point in the aim of promoting mutual acceptation, gender and ethnic equality, rather than xenophobia and intergroup conflicts.

Finally and concerning the results of this study, as we stated earlier in this chapter the effect of the acculturation modes of migrant women on gender relations and gender attitudes may depend on the characteristics of the culture of origin and the host country's culture; what we have observed here for Romania and France is not necessarily true for other regions of the world. Hence it would be useful to replicate this study in other countries of origin and other host countries. Moreover, the impact of acculturation modes on gender related attitudes may also depend on other factors such as the participants' age, educational level or socio-economic status; the point of view of our student respondents is not necessarily representative for the attitudes of other categories of the population. Therefore, replicating this study on

other samples, within the same population, differing in age and social status from the present one, would allow addressing this issue.

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Note: We use here the term “acculturation *mode*” in place of Berry's term “acculturation *strategy*” in order to stress that acculturation processes cannot be solely the result of a conscious and deliberate strategic choice from migrants but that they arise also from the opportunities available under the culture of a host country to present a particular acculturation mode.

Acculturation refers to the multiple processes of migrants’ cultural identity (re)formation due to prolonged contact with a new culture, that is the host country’s culture. Acculturation should not be confounded with deculturation which refers to the loss of the culture of origin.

This scale is based on a theoretical model proposed by the authors distinguishing between the hostile sexism, a negative attitude towards women (e.g. “women don’t have common sense”) and the benevolent sexism, corresponding to a seemingly positive attitude towards women, but which is actually related to gender stereotypes (e.g. “women are more sensitive than men”).

Reconstruction of Communities Following the Great East Japan Disaster[1]

Abstract:
The earthquake and tsunami that struck northeastern Japan on March 11, 2011 not only caused extensive direct damage to people, but triggered a nuclear power plant accident bringing the terror and reality of radiation. Reconstruction of communities in Iwate, Miyagi and Fukushima Prefectures presents enormous problems. While communities affected only by the earthquake and tsunami can be rebuilt physically and socially, it will be very difficult for people in the radiation-contaminated areas in Fukushima to reconstruct. Many residents fleeing the radioactivity have already dispersed far and wide throughout Japan. The social bonds among both groups of sufferers have changed. Though some people have already redeveloped ties in the quake-tsunami disaster areas, others, especially those whose houses were not destroyed by the tsunami, have hesitated to communicate with less fortunate friends and neighbors because of 'survivors guilt.' In Fukushima, the additional nuclear disaster inflicted quite another kind of damage on people. It was not only physical, but mental. Many farmers have had to transfer to other areas because their crops became unmarketable due to radioactivity, real or feared. The government forces many other people to evacuate to areas far from the nuclear plant and so far from home. While older people wish to return to their hometowns, younger people have determined to find new jobs in other areas. This too strains ties. The purpose of the paper is to inventory and clarify the particular problems of conflict in communities such as the loss of confidence in neighbors caused by the disaster and to explore the possibilities of rebuilding communities, especially indicating how to cope with 'social demise of communities' where local people had formed and occupied all their lives.

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1. Introduction

A great disaster struck eastern Japan on March 11, 2011. An earthquake and historically devastating tsunami hit many houses and brought many deaths to Iwate, Miyagi and Fukushima Prefecture. Then nuclear radiation,the 'invisible terror,' spread in Fukushima Prefecture and beyond after the tsunami destroyed much of the Fukushima nuclear power station located on the seacoast directly in its path.

Through written survey and personal interviews of victims,this paper investigates what happened to the regional societies and how community consciousness changed as a result of the combined natural and man-made catastrophes. The author conducted interviews of the victims who escaped the natural disaster in 2 cities each of Ibaraki Prefecture, Iwate Prefecture and Miyagi Prefecture. The victims dislocated by radiation emission were from 2 cities and 4 towns including the people fleeing as a whole unit of a town.[3]

The paper discusses the results of 35 focusing on mutual help through the analysis of its practice in regional societies before and after the disaster and the community consciousness of the victims expressed in their own voices. It divides the victims into 2 broad categories; those who suffered only natural disasters and those who suffered also from forced evacuation due to the danger of radiation from the ruined nuclear reactors. The paper aims to elucidate suitable strategies for reconstructing communities through mutual help networks in regional societies following the enormous combined disasters (Figure 1).

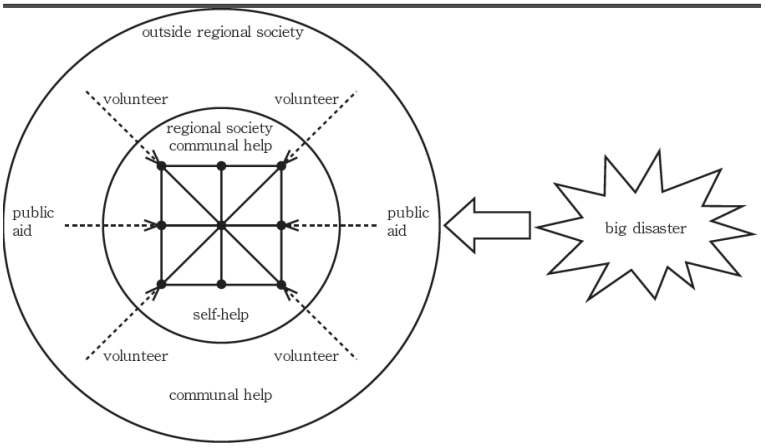

Figure 1: Mutual help networks in regional societies

2. The Condition of Regional Societies Following the Great East Japan Disaster

(1)Regional Societies of the Victims of the Earthquake and Tsunami

①The Victims of Ibaraki Prefecture

There were both strong and weak bonds in this regional society before the disaster. Residents who lived in apartments or housing complexes had weaker ties to long-time. So they tended to be more conscious of the bonds among evacuees acknowledging the kindness of volunteers.

[3] These interviews were conducted one month after the disaster surveying: the condition of the life (just after the disaster and the present), mutual help in a regional society (relationship among local people, traditional mutual help, organizations of mutual help and relation between traditional mutual help and the disaster), circumstances of a regional society (regional planning before and after the disaster) and mutual help in the future. In the interviews conducted 6 months after the disaster, the survey focused on: the conditions of life (the circumstances after 6 months of the disaster and the changes and similarities from the beginning of displacement, mutual help in a regional society (bonds among the victims, bonds among local people and bonds between local people and others), regional planning (public help, communal help and self-help), possibilities of reconstructing communities and life in the future.

A man in his 50s living in an apartment in Kitaibaraki City of Ibaraki Prefecture said that he became acquainted with local victims after the disaster and felt a relationship with them for the first time. A man in his 60s who lived in a house but had transferred from distant Kawasaki City before the quake had felt only a weak tie with local people as a newcomer. However, he began to bonding with volunteers after the disaster. A woman in her 70s said that there had been traditional mutual help networks, but have disappeared. However, she and others shared food and supplies in the shelter. Those who fled into the public shelters like gymnasiums tended to be especially conscious about the ties among fellow refugees and with the volunteers. A woman in her 50s who lived with her child in an apartment in Kamisu City said that she felt weak tie with local people. A 60 year old man who lives in an apartment said that he felt a palpable barrier when communicating with local people, but he had a feeling of gratitude toward the outside volunteers of the society.

②The Victims of Iwate and Miyagi Prefecture

Some people say that their communities have been broken. Mass media introduced the victims who were living in a public shelter in Rikuzentakata City of Iwate Prefecture, but ignored other victims who fled into private houses. As conditions in the public shelter improved, those in private shelters demanded better care as well.

A man in his 70s in Ogatsu, Ishinomaki City said that they had no vision for the future and it was more terrible than after the end of the World War Ⅱ when they still had hopes and dreams for the future . Those villages that were being depopulated and aging were struck especially hard by the event.

(2) Regional Societies of the Victims Displaced by Radiation

①Fukushima Prefecture

The following voices show the accident inflicted great damage on their regional societies. People who were displaced by the atomic accident express deeper distress and anger than those who had ‘only’ the natural disasters to cope with. A farmer in his 50s in Minamisouma City said that residents were left completely uninformed about the power plants. “We had very poor information. As soon as I got the information about the terrible accident, I fled another city with my wife.” There was a rumor that some doctors fled at the very beginning, as soon as they heard about the radiation danger. Local people quickly came to mistrust area physicians.

After the farmer came back to his town, bulldozers cleaned debrisof his land, but sand from the Tsunami remained as well as glass and metal fragments hindered his rice crop. Furthermore the farmer was intensely angry because he could not bring up a meter in last year because of the rice restrictions imposed by the government. The livelihoods of local producers including both farmers and fishermen were severely damaged by the triple catastrophe. Tolstoy says that happy families are all alike; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way.

②Victims outside Fukushima Prefecture

<Individual Evacuees>

Some local governments did not get accurate information about the victims. But a woman in her 30s in Okuma Town said, “We were gathered up and evacuated from our hometown.” Furthermore she spoke of having been prepared for a nuclear plant accident including having been taught by her mother that an emergency Iodine supply was available in the local government office. Many local people lived there for the sake of employment at the plant.

A man in his 60s lived in Minamisouma City said that local people were helpful, but after the disaster they were isolated. He said that most people who wanted to go back home are elderly. However, younger people, those under 40 year old would not be going back. Another woman of 50 said that though her town had been connected with neighboring town for funeral ceremonies,their relationships were unconnected after the disaster.

A man in his 50s lived in Futaba Town said that he and his fellow evacuees living in a community center felt a bond of victimhood. A man in his 20s in Tomioka Town said that we used to feel closer to our neighbors, and quoted the saying, 'A good neighbor is better than a brother far off.' However, now he feels differently, amending the idea to 'A stranger from afar is better than a relative nearby,' as a way to express his gratitude to volunteers, while complaining about the actions of his local government.

A woman in her 50s lived in Namie Town where her house was washed away by the tsunami said that her local society used to demonstrate solidary through cooperative ditch cleaning. However, local people were scattered by the disaster so that solidarity is now lost. A Futaba Town man in his 80s said that he didn't want to live in an open shelter, but wished for the privacy of his own room.

<Group Evacuees>

About 1,400 people from Futaba Town evacuated from the area of the Fukushima nuclear power plant first went to the Saitama Super Arena and then, at the end pf March, ended up in the old high school of Kazo City in Saitama Prefecture. They continue to be obliged to live as evacuees. Their comments in April exposed at least frustration and some were highly critical.

A man in his 60s said that his local activities had been vigorous, being engaged in 'the new life movement' and local people had previously lived together obeying the communal rules. He emphasized the poor human relationships resulting from evacuee life because people were assigned to accomodations without regard to previous affinities like 'a combined military unit'.[4]

A man in his 60s said that his neighborhood had been cooperative in a variety collective activities and funeral ceremonies. His town had been developing with benefit of the jobs generated by the Fukushima nuclear power plant. He views people who work on cleaning up the accident in a favorable light especially because he has worked in an affiliated company. He expressed his deep gratitude to volunteers for their help. The accident has triggered a new appreciation of flowers in which he previously had no interest. He added that he was becoming tired of events like bus tours and watching baseball games tours provided by various organizations even as he recognized their generosity.

A man in his 60s said that he used to engage in the collective activities of cutting grass and recycling empty cans. He participated in the Futaba Town 'union of the dead (Shibito)' consisting of 17 households helped funeral ceremonies. Before the construction of the power plant, local farmers had worked outside of town in the off-season. The new plant meant that people could then work in local affiliated companies, leading to the image of Futaba as 'town of nuclear power.' When he started to live in the gymnasium, victims were separated into some groups who form a kind of residential unit, but he does not always feel he has much of a relationship with any of them.[5]

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[4] A man in his 50s said that his local society cultivated solidary through communal work, saved money for a 'neighborhood association' different from residents' association (jichikai) for use in a funeral, and his town itself was engaged in welfare and cared in citizen-based town planning.

[5] A man in his 40s said that he was engaged in a 'clean-up campaign' which he was persuaded to take part in each year. Local people through neighborhood associations helped each other. He has been engaged in car repair. He had customers who worked in the Fukushima Nuclear Power plant and affiliates. He said that he did not criticize TEPCO for the accident because the company has contributed in the development of the town and his

A woman in her 70s said that her regional society had neighborhood associations consisting 12 households. Members saved money for paying 10,000 yen each. "By using the money we traveled, or paid for a year-end party and our annual convention." However, after months as evacuees, they discussed the dissolution of the organization and distributed the money. She maintained that there had been a strong regional bond in the town. Furthermore, she said that her father had refused to sell his land to Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) to build the nuclear plant, but many farmers, lacking education, decided sell out for what seemed like a lot of money without considering the consequences of living with a nuclear plant in the neighborhood. She added that her father had beem almost completely ostracised. She has been living in the shelter with other members of her organization trying to maintain some semblance of collective solidarity.

The following interviews were done six months after the disasters struck. A woman in her 40s was nervous about the separation of her family of 6. Her husband has been working in Kyusyu on cleaning and restoration of the town. A woman in her 30s said that she was learning what kind of residents lived in Futaba Town. She was referring not only to names and occupations, but how these people were now "losing their common sense." She became sick because of group life and anxiety after she evacuated to the refuge. A man in his 60s said that he was anxious about money that he needs for an uncertain future. Another man in his 60s also expressed anxiety about the future, adding that people could no longer help each other through neighborhood associations because of separation for evacuation.

3. Regional Society Consciousness of Earthquake and Tsunami Victims

(1) Community Consciousness of the Victims

①The victims Who Are Conscious of the Bond of Regional Societies

A man in his 50s in Kitaibaraki City is content with the life of the refuge because officials and volunteers help him and communicate with him. He is conscious of his 'refugee community.' A man in his 70s who had not been familiar with new neighbors is conscious of the community because he can communicate with others though they are outside of his regional society. A daughter caring for her mother in her 80s said that, although the she and her parent did not lose everything, people who they lost everything experienced the need for mutual help acutely.[6] Generally speaking, those who had been living in apartments or housing complexes seemed content with their 'refugee community.'

A man in his 70s lived in Ishinomaki City said that he belonged to a regional organization of 150 households that had a savings fund that was distributed among members. Residents who did not leave the society hope that their organization can be restarted to remake the community. There is certainly evidence that mutual help in regional activity has not disappeared after the disaster.

②Victims Who Are Skeptical of the Bond of Regional Societies

A man in his 60s whose house was swept away by the tsunami complained about the official actions and aid of Kitaibaraki City. A woman in her 50s said that the relationship among local people in Rikuzentakata City has been altered by the disaster. There was a contradiction among the attitude of the more seriously afflicted toward 2 groups of helpers.

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business. Though he knows few people in the shelter, he was developing close feelings for some people with whom he had not been familiar who are now living in the same room.

[6] A woman in her 60sin Kamisu City of Ibaraki Prefecture complains about the action of the officials, but she has been becoming calm by communicating with the victims in the shelter. A man in his 60s is seeking another apartment because the officials do not treat him any differently from those seeking single-family houses. But he is satisfied with the life of the shelter because he is cared for by health professionals and can communicate with others. He had communicated almost not all with people who had lived in the same apartment building.

On the one hand, little feeling of gratitude was expressed toward other, less afflicted victims who offered assistance. Alternately, those seriously afflicted who depended only on official and volunteer aid did express gratitude to them.. This difference clearly demonstrates the dissolution of community cohesion.

(2) Community Consciousness in the Face of Nuclear Radiation

①Victims Who Expect the Reconstruction of Communities

A woman in her 70s who had lived in Iwaki City said that the life of the shelter was "a paradise because staff and volunteers were helpful to me". She was satisfied with her 'refugee community.' Another woman in her 30s in Okuma Town said that the escape from the disaster united residents and she felt solidarity when she knew the mail should go to the town office. She added that residents who worked at TEPCO subsidiaries did not complain about the company and encouraged it to manage the accident. This suggests that there is a certain community consciousness among the residents of Okuma Town as the 'town of nuclear power.'

A man in his 60's who fled from the disaster with a group from Futaba Town expressed conflicting feelings. On one hand, he definitely hold TEPCO responsible for the accident. On the other hand, he still hopes that TEPCO will, in fact, reconstruct the town. Some people feel positive about the ' refugee community,' other are anxious about the future.

②Victims Who Feel It Will Be Difficult to Reconstruct Communities

A farmer who has been living in Minamisouma City says that the city was divided in the three parts of Haramachi, Kashima, and Odaka and noted that these three nearby groups received different levels of compensation from TEPCO. They dispute that the city had originally been divided into a caution area, a premeditated refuge area, an emergency refuge preparations area, and a safe area to determine the possible compensation. Human nature is greedy for money. Furthermore he added that he abandoned his land not only because of contamination by salt breeze but also radioactivity from the damaged plant. "We are at loss because we do not know how to cope with the accident and make a claim against a big company supported by the government." He decided to leave his land and find new land for to farm.[7]

A woman in her 50s who had lived in Namie Town said that the residential bond had dissolved and her town would become 'a ghost town.'.[8] A man in his 50s in the same town who had participated in volunteer activity in Kesennuma City said that it was natural to assist the troubled and he was nervous about the educational cost for his children in his shelter.

In contrast to the individual victims, people who fled in the Futaba Town groups feel the difficulty of maintaining solidarity in spite of the group character of the shelter population. A man in his 60s said that so far as he felt uneasiness, he could not proceed. A man in his 40s said that he was not satisfied with support for those who are self-employed. A woman in his 70s said that she felt sorrow for her home which she had built at great expense and had lived for a long time.

A woman in her 30s who has living in the shelter said that she could not go even one step forward because for her uncertainty about the future. A man in his 60s said that the roadmap for going back home should be planned by the local government. He added that it was very difficult for them to support themselves emotionally, resulting in the failure to hold meetings to begin to do something by themselves. It is very difficult for the victims who fled

[7] The farmer in his 50s said that they endure the 'invisible fear' of the radioactive accident, but the anger would blow up in the future. He who had practiced agriculture for 30 years abandoned his farmland and determined to move to another area.

[8] A man in his 60s who had lived in Minamisouma City said that though "We could contact neighbors by telephone, it was very difficult for us to have solidarity as regional residents because we were separated to flee from the terror of the atomic accident. Many victims are in a full state of anxiety for the future."

in group unit to unite as community though they did have a vague feeling as a ‘refugee community’ simply from obeying the rule in group living.

4. Possibility of Reconstruction of Communities

(1)Transformation of Mutual Help Networks inside and outside of Regional Societies

①Composition of the Transformation of Mutual Help Networks

Generally speaking, if mutual help networks are weak, it needs outside help. If it is strong, it does not need it. In the contrast, the mutual help networks are weak sometimes if it gets outside help. Of course, if the inside mutual help networks do not get outside help, they would become weaker and weaker. The networks become stronger and stronger sometimes, if they receive such help. The relation between inside networks and outside networks is not substitutional but complemental.

<Proposition 1>

Those victims who felt that bonds in a regional society were thin and whose connections with others is not strong congratulated the help of volunteers and committed to the ‘refugee community.’ The first proposition about the transformation of mutual help networks is that the less intimate human relation in a regional society is , the more intimately the victims feel the help of volunteers (Figure 2).

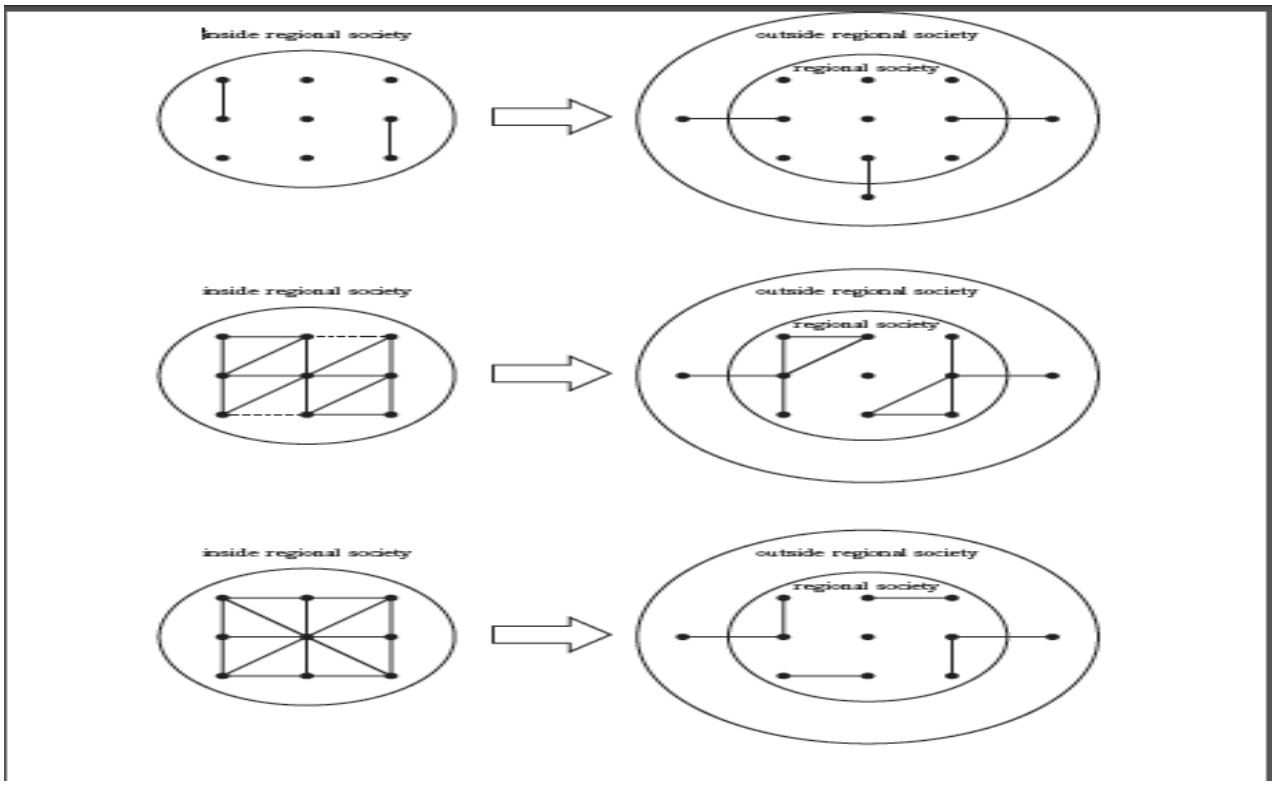

Figure 2: Transformation of Mutual Help Networks (dotted lines show thin social relations)

<Proposition 2>

A woman in her 50s who had lived in Rikuzentakata City said “The disaster broke human relations completely. New relations developed between people whose houses were swept away by the tsunami and those who experienced significantly less damage. Those whose homes had disappeared felt that the difference between the life of the public refuge, where the victims were fully helped by the local government and volunteers, and life in private refuge, like habitable houses of other victims must be evident and that public shelter life was much better. The more those whose houses were swept away by the tsunami felt discriminated

against, the bigger the gap among local people grew. There was an inner voice: "What help on the earth do you give us?" 'You' means people whose houses had not been swept away. Some people thought that it was better not to help them at all. However, people whose houses were swept away by the tsunami were thankful for the volunteers and said so. The woman was heard that there were the same voices in the city.

The social bonds among both groups of victims have changed. Those whose houses were not destroyed by the tsunami, have hesitated to communicate with less fortunate friends and neighbors because of 'survivors guilt.' We can draw the second proposition about the transformation of mutual help networks from this evidence. It is that the stronger the outside help, the more the victims rely on it and tend to ignore local help, weakening local bonds (Figure 2). As a result ~~a~~ local society is fractured. Of course there is also unchangeable relationship among local people whom the disaster attacked. We might say that the bond became strong through the disaster. There might be no friction of feelings among victims who share the fear of radioactive contamination.

<Proposition 3>

A woman in her 50s who had lived in Futaba Town said "We discussed an organization of parents for school, but it was not realized. We are separated." The 'refugee community' does not really function now. The bonds have been cut not only among residents, but also in the community. They are afraid that the town will never reappear. The longer they live as refugees, the worse human relations among them become.

A woman in her 30s said "The more closely we live, the more clearly we can see each others' previously unnoticed bad habits. We cannot say what we want to say in front of roommates. I have come to read their faces. Some people say that the bonds are strengthening, but I do not believe in it. I think that there are no bonds here at all." Many other victims echo these observations. A man in his 60s said that he expected to find the persuasive power of mutual help in the shelter. The 'refugee community' would rediscover previous bonds, but it hasn't happened. After feeling this disappointment, members began to feel themselves to be part of a 'refugee quasi-community.'

The third proposition is that if the lack of mutual help networks in a separated society divides previous bonds, then local people will look to recreate them elsewhere (Figure 2). The more closely they had previously acted through traditional mutual help networks, the more they were disappointed with the loss of these relationships.

②Outside Support and Self-reliance

They say that we should see not the mud but the human-beings when we volunteer. We should recognize the limits of victim support in light of the three stated postulates . At the same time, we have to listen to the victims' heartfelt cries. We should be mindful of the mentality of local people as well as listen for the unvoiced sorrows of the socially vulnerable. The ability to recognize and respond to the victims' unspoken needs as well as their sometimes unspoken gratitude is essential for healing to occur. Mutual help as social action is supported by self-reliance and cooperation. The self-reliance of individuals produces mutual help and the latter enforces the former.

(2)Mutual Help in Regional Societies and Reconstruction of Communities

①Possibility of Reconstruction of Communities Following the Disaster Seen from Life cycle of Community

Considering the consciousness of community, we can construct a life cycle divided into 4 phases (Figure 3). The first is a 'period of introduction' in which the consciousness of community starts to grow when new residents begin to live as neighbors. This is followed by a 'period of growth.' The third phase is a 'period of maturity' during which a community

heads toward stasis and starts to scatter. The final phase is a 'period of decline' when growth is completely curtailed and population dwindles. If a community is in the fourth stage, we should consider how to revitalize it. By what means could it be possible revive the consciousness of community.

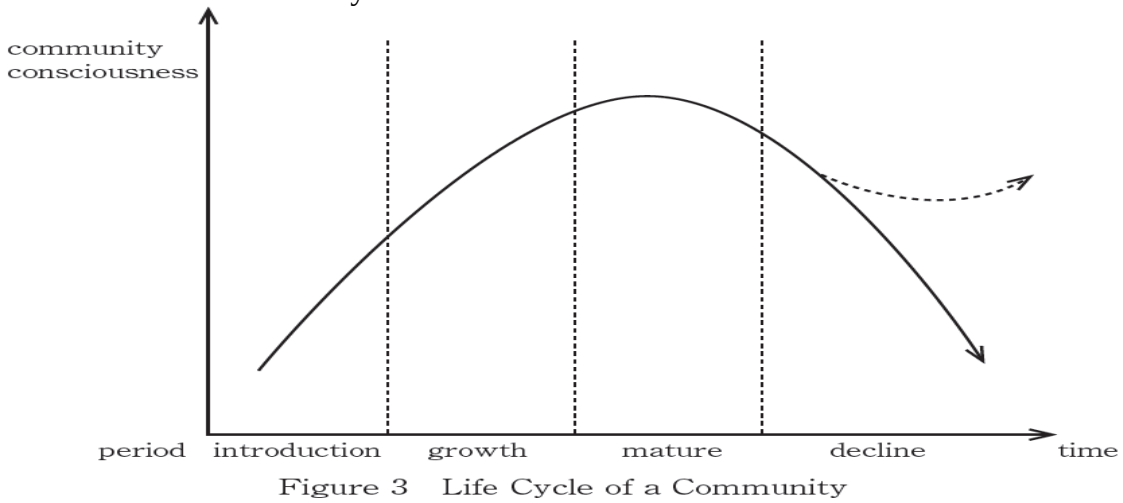

Figure 3 Life Cycle of a Community

Figure 3: Lyfe Cycle of a Community

According to the first 'law' learned by experience of the victims, reconstruction of a local disaster prevention or security organization should be done through the participation by neighbors whose normal ties were weak.

Taking the roots of the word community literally,'com' meaning to be communal and 'munis' to have responsibility, we can infer that local people have to rebuild the community through recreating communal responsibility. As the second proposition shows, outside volunteers can gain the confidence among local people, acting as the 'catalyst' that could lead to repairing the cracks in devastated community networks. This can be effective even though, in the end, the previous relationships are unlikely to be perfectly reconstituted. Outside help, then, should first play the role of supplementing mutual help networks in local societies. The best abilities of networkers and of coordinators of volunteers are called into play to facilitate a codependence of healing leading to eventual independence of the local mutual help systems. Mutual help among local people is important because they know better the pain of their heart.

It is more difficult for the victims of the additional atomic disaster to rebuild their communities. Many people were compelled to leave their home town and to flee into outside Fukushima Prefecture entirely. However, The third proposition shows it important for them to rebuild their communities. In light of what we know about community life cycles, we should consider local peoples' community consciousness in their new settled locations. The reality is they have to resettle outside of the contaminated area. We should make new nodule organizations where new and old inhabitants can interact through small group activities that can decrease the former's uncertainty and loneliness. It is preferable that the residential units of people who lived in the same town previously be assembled to make new communities. Volunteers might play a role in connecting the victims who have become scattered as 'week ties' or connecting scattered communities as 'structural holes' (Granovetter, 1975; Burt, 1992). If local people in the same town can play the role, the bonds of victims and the cohesiveness of the communities would be strong. After all, it might be recommended that victims rebuild mutual trust and community empowerment again by themselves.

②Lessons of Reconstructing Communities through the Big Disaster

Actually reconstruction of communities has started through the selection of officers. 'Forced depopulation of the stricken area' has been masking the severe problem of lessened vitality due to depoulation that is naturally occurring in much of rural Japan. Especially, more intensive investment by local governments is necessary for the recovery of merged communities. The less populated an area becomes leaving fewer and fewer local successors the less vital the area will be. We should note that some local societies were disbanded after redistributing the funds (self-government fee) which local people had assembled. However, people who did not leave such societies would want to rebuild their communities by themselves, if possible. We should not embrace the idea that the reconstruction of some areas is not necessary simply because the victims do not come back. Though each community may be reduced in population, suitable steps should be taken to reconstruct them all.

In one case, an election for town mayor was contested over the main issue of the transfer to a new town. The candidate who had insisted returning to the original town and rebuilding won. However, the road to recover for local societies is difficult for local governments that were forced into evacuation.The situation of the radiation-contaminated areas in Fukushima Prefecture is very difficult to solve because it is not easy for the victims to come back to their home towns, as illustrated by the following interviewees.

A man in his 50s in Namie Town said that the town was not united and that the community was broken up because inhabitants fled separately. A man in his 50s in Futaba Town said that it was difficult for him to make the neighborhood association where he now lived. A woman in her 70s in the same town said that she was not reconciled to the atomic accident in the plant that her father had opposed and was anxious about grave of ancestors. A woman in her 40s said that it was not easy for them to unite as residents and she had thought to avoid transferring her children to a new school where they would have to find friends. At the same time, she wanted to move from the shelter as soon as she could find a house where her family could live together. A woman in her 30s said that although the town mayor would make a new town outside their former town, it would not be the same town. She has living in the shelter because she had relatively convenient access to information from the government office. A man in his 60s said that their town would simply disappear in the future. Another man in his 60s said that elderly people wanted to go back to their home towns, but it was only nostalgia, impossible to do due to radioactive contamination .

If a town were physically rebuilt, would the community mind rebuild as well ? The above opinions show it clear that the complete reconstruction of communities is very difficult. However, we should not lose the consciousness of community. We expect that the victims who have been living in the shelter can continue to nurture it. It is important for them to make not 'an imitation-like community' in the shelter, but 'a genuine community.'

5. Conclusions

Evidence provided by the voices of the victims together with the three propositions of the transformation of mutual help networks, lead to the following conclusions. The proposition that a disaster brings neighbors closer to each other does not necessarily hold in the face of truly devastating loss. The stronger the previous ties of the victims, the more they felt fragile when the bonds were literally fractured creating a wall of separation. The one is the group whose houses were not swept away and the other group whose house were. Inside assistance as communal help became weaker and weaker and the outside help, of volunteers whom the victims relied on, stronger and stronger. Mutual trust makes collective understandings easier. It is important for the victims to help each other because they know the stakes and the degree of the sympathy is not different from that of the outsiders.

The damage to the victims who suffered both the natural and atomic disasters is greater than that of the those who suffered from 'only' the earthquake and tsunami because of

confronting the greater loss of regional society. Anxiety about the future seems to serve to reduce individual connectedness and crack communal bonds. Many people abandoned the idea of return to their previous homes and decided to relocate. Therefore it is very difficult to unite as community. New communities should be constructed with former neighbors and residents as possible.

The point is that the timely and rapid public help is necessary to restore and revive regional societies physically and legally. Mutual communal help among local people is indispensable to regain relationships and bonds in communities, and strong intention to open up each to other's situations through self-help is necessary. In some cases, outsiders' intervention as network facilitators might be necessary to the restoration of communal bonds, acting as 'catalysts' to connect widely scattered evacuees. They would connect the victims who moved at somewhere far from the home town as 'catalyst.' We Japanese have been helping using motto of 'each nation each help' which means to assist stricken areas according to our individual and collective capabilities. We have been confronting reality to restore and revive not only the stricken areas, but also regional societies provided by the opportunity of the Great East Japan Disaster. We should part from this hard past, but advance toward the future not forgetting the historical lessons.

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The Role of Local Cultures in Reform Processes: Rules to overcome Anomie and foster Social Capital

Abstrract:
Social reforms mean social change, especially specific social transition. All reform projects share a common goal irrespective of cultural and historical differences, namely to better live conditions of people. There is a second most important aspect: most reforms show a common source, namely dissatisfaction with social conditions and a feeling of shortcomings of societal institutions. When social change produces inequalities, dissatisfaction of people turns into distrust. If such deprivations reach important parts or even a majority of a population, then a strong urge for reform is inevitable. Existing laws are seen to loose legitimacy, forms of upheaval and revolts pretend a new legitimacy. This process has many different faces and has been observed throughout the history of mankind.

In the light of the high complexity of all reform processes, I will deal with three specific aspects:

- First :I introduce the concept of anomie and its meaning for reforms.
- Second : I try to stress the importance of local cultures under the pressure of globalisation.
- Third : several rules are presented to gain more practical benefits from studies on social change and evaluation of reform projects.

We definitely need better data and make them fit for comparisons between different cultures. We should rather work on an applicable concept of interpretation of these data. This only will enable us to accompany reform processes and offer advice for those who bear responsibility for them. The special role of women both in enduring anomic situations and being gifted with special talents for initiating and practicing manifold 'grass-route reforms' has to be especially stressed.

Keywords: Local cultures, social capital, reforms

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1. Reforms in a World of increasing Anomie

Anomie is one of the few social scientific terms with a wide claim to explain central aspects of social change in different cultures at different stages of modernisation, say globalization. In the early 1990s the Scientific Board of the Swiss Academy of Development commenced a research project which is partly still continuing with most of the same researchers but under the name of The International Network for the Assessment of Social Transformation, (INAST) based at the Institute of Sociology, University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland. The work was influenced by the late Robert K. Merton, honorary member of the group. The necessity of expanding Durkheim's and Merton's concepts of anomie finally led to the following definition:

> Anomie indicates an anarchic state of crisis-prone uncertainty affecting a broad segment of the population. Cultural interpretative models lose their function. Social integration within a community ceases. Previously valid behavioral norms as well as personal competence disintegrate. Goal-oriented action becomes more and more impossible for both the individual and the collective. Results include a general lack of direction and uncertainty in behavior. The intensity of social or cultural conflict increases (Atteslander, Gransow and Western, 1999).

The subsequent anomie research aimed to discover hidden social structures, in order to address the question as to under what conditions anomie tends to disrupt social networks, to hinder social capital, finally to destroy social institutions and even total societies. In looking at the often unintended consequences of modernization globally we also examined the degree and the nature of anomie that is necessary to allow social change, and further modernization without destroying local cultures. This task brought social scientists from different parts of the world together to assess and seek to explain the emergence of anomie in different cultures, in different economies and in different parts of the world. Further we hoped to provide policy-makers with the means of assessing the efficacy of their acts. Different developments can trigger a loss of reference points and a situation in which values and norms become fluid and finally dissolve.

Five different syndromes of anomie can be described:

1. *Transitional anomie* can be found in developments from primitive to traditional society, from traditional to modern society and from modern to postmodern society. Since the first transition from primitive to traditional society progressed very slowly, the loss of orientation apart from the fight for survival was hardly of key importance.
2. *Transformational anomie* is dominant in countries undergoing a transformation process from communist to liberal, autocratic to democratic, centrally-planned to market-oriented and vice versa. Sometimes these processes overlap. The former socialist countries of Eastern Europe are witnessing a high degree of anomie during transition periods. Abrupt impoverishment, the fear of losing one's job, an increased crime rate and an inefficient legal system are both sources and indicators of anomie. Different survival practices of the household, such as the use of non-market mechanisms and support networks, prevent individuals from falling into the anomie trap. Increased inter-family aid, bartering of food for other substances, development of black markets and the use of neighbors' solidarity protects against anomie is a sign of a government's wisdom in identifying and safeguarding strategies.
3. *Depression anomie* is most likely to be found at times of deep economic depression which is accompanied by a drastic increase in unemployment. The consequences are especially negative at the individual level. They include a high suicide rate, involvement in criminal activity, the emergences of violent gangs, corruption, prostitution and illegal trade.

Often a 'loss-of-leadership anomie' is associated with the loss of a strong political leader and can just as easily lead to a state in which norms and values dissolve for a broad class of people. This type of anomie can be observed especially in traditional societies that are strongly dependent on a charismatic "father of the nation".

For the purpose of this paper the following two types are of a special relevance:

4. *Modernization anomie* shows its special form in societies that did not yet pass a long process of enlightenment, the source of Europe's modernization. However is not modernization as such that leads to anomie in the third and fourth world but its speed as well as the fact of lack of preparation for confrontation with new ideas, products and images of mainly western post-modern ways of life. Migration forced or not as a consequence of globalization and speedy information systems, combined with unemployment and poverty especially in societies with a very young population create conditions for the worldwide growth of terrorism.
5. Last but not least, we have *conflict anomie*, involving increasingly overt military interventions. Conflict anomie becomes likely when the numbers engaged in criminal activity is growing, and when serious alienation from traditional values and norms is observed. We may refer among many others to the current situations in Iraq, Palestine, Kashmir and Indonesia. Typically we are left with insufficient information on the anomic status in such sensitive areas.

2. Globalization and Local Cultures

Globalization, national identity and social capital are three concepts which reflect three major features of the post modern area. These three concepts so important for any reform process can most sensibly be examined in relation to each other rather than as independent features of a globalizing world. Globalization identifies the breaking down of national boundaries. It is importantly the result of the emergence of large scale multinational economic organisations which have an international reach of activities, and which could only originate from the international core rather than the periphery.

A major consequence of Globalization is that national boundaries are breaking down and national loyalties are no longer as strong as they once were. The major participants in economic activity frequently having stronger connections to their global partners than they do to the nation states to which, they are these days perhaps, no more than nominal members. Still the benefits of the positive consequences of globalization in terms of improving economic conditions for many of those affected by the impact of globalizing forces cannot be ignored. The process also, of course, has been shown to have a number of unanticipated and unintended consequences.The impact on local cultures, in the form of destroying social capital has been recognised for some time. The consequences of globalization on multiple national identities may also result in a increasing prevalence of Anomie in societies in which negative effects on local cultures have been severe.

To summarize: By Anomie under the impact of globalization we understand a situation in which people find it increasingly difficult to socially orient themselves, and live up to the prevailing normative structures of the society in which they live. Indeed the values experienced in local cultures its normative structures may come under threat and tend to break down.

The obverse of what in a sense holds Anomie at bay is social capital. By social capital we understand a two dimensional concept. One of the dimensions refers to social structural features of society as represented in the strength of social networks while the other dimension concerns normative structures which are caught up in the notions of trust and reciprocity.

The concept of social capital also helps in the clarification of the importance of social factors. Economic wealth in a society and the types of networks that sustain it and represent

social capital have to be studied at different levels depending on the nature of the society. So called welfare states with a high level of social capital characterized by homogeneous and relatively tight social networks, generally also to be found in societies in which norms of trust and reciprocity are prevalent, this is in contrast to societies in the so-called Third and Forth World, where low economic wealth is the result of unprofitable production and where social capital is not promoted.. Networks are often weak or non existent. The poorest in these countries and increasingly also the deprivated social groups in wealthy economies can only survive, when their social ties show a high degree of solidarity in spite of their sparse economic resources.

Social capital takes different forms in different countries thus making it difficult to study it comparatively. Anomie on the other hand has shown the capacity to be sensitive to cultural differences. Although depending on the perceptions of people questioned and observed, anomie must be understood as representing a societal phenomenon.

3. Some Rules for Monitoring Reform Projects

Since those responsible for development policies and social reforms cannot wait until superior theories are developed and more efficient research methods are constructed. They depend on adequate data. To produce them in a appropriate quality is a complex and difficult task. A conceptual and methodological framework therefore can at this place only be roughly sketched.

There have been many attempts to measure social change and social development. Predominantly the data used are gathered by quantitative methods and largely represent socio-economic structures. Generally there is a lack of research dealing with qualitative aspects of social development. Rare are the attempts to combine both approaches. (Atteslander, Peter, 2001 p. 24 ff). It has to be remembered that virtually all socio-economic data used to measure social development is derived from statistics, representing predominantly economic factors, even if the number of surveys collecting individual opinions on social development is lately increasing.

Social scientific approaches could be used to accompany and monitoring social change. Exploring structural and institutional developments that occur in social change must include a study of their dynamics as well as examining the depth of technological impacts. Which sector is primarily influenced by change, how long is it lasting? Social sciences have to deal with the study of cultural lags, meaning the retarded reactions of people to dynamic developments. At least in the Western World it is agreed that the diffusion of material goods is quicker than the diffusion of nonmaterial goods, like ideas and culture. This leads to slowed social reactions. The resulting attitudes are obstacles to societal development.

Isolated social data have little social and practical significance. It is important therefore to identify available data according to the aims and goals for which they were collected. What is their scope? What is their meaning for societal development or for planning purposes? Are they authentic, identifying key features of local cultures? In a word are they central to the goals of the study? Are the data comparable? Are they useful for specific purposes, or do they actually imply that new data- gathering is indispensable? Do data represent time-series? This does not only sound like a check-list, it is one.

It is as essential to prepare empirical research well, to formulate accurate hypotheses and to carefully operationalize the important terms as to provide a sophisticated and clearly defined concept for the interpretation of collected data. The definition of social development dictates the way empirical social methods should be used. As already mentioned, a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches is indispensable.

The best use of the social sciences is achieved, when data and concepts, methods and theory are applied concurrently providing options for a common learning process; unfortunately this is rarely achieved. Research methods and social scientific concepts should

furthermore be used for regular evaluation of any development program. There are many theoretical aspects of the social sciences that are useful for the systematic interpretation of societal development and the definition of future goals. In many so-called cross-cultural surveys we find more artefacts than comparable data. The plea therefore is to accompany any development and reform program with an enduring process of theoretical evaluation as well as continuous goal definitions. This should also be accompanied by a longitudinal program of qualitative research.

As the number of supranational organizations grows, so does the scale of international comparative social- surveys. The question remains as to whether the claim to compare corresponds to a scientifically tenable logic of comparison – there is room for doubt here. The need for comparative analyses continues to grow. If the nation-state is becoming too small for the big problems of life, and too big for the small problems, the primary task will be to identify the basic structural frameworks before comparisons will be possible.

The life world must also be recorded as a "matrix of people's lives". This does, however, produce considerable theoretical and practical difficulties. According to Bell: "World society is like a set of giant Calder mobiles, shifting in uneasy balance in accordance with winds of change, but the exact configurations are difficult to capture (Bell 1987, p. 3).

In future, excessively crude matrices such as economic structures, purchasing power or educational status will lose their importance as social categories. Bell is correct in drawing attention to fundamental change, namely "the change in the nature of markets from 'places' to networks". In many areas of life "control of reality (does) become more and more difficult if not impossible, and the experience of the individual as a controlling variable is at loss" (op.cit. p. 5).

The general overestimation of the importance of quantitative methods and the underestimation of the importance of qualitative methods, lead to the widespread misunderstanding that qualitative studies are less scientific and therefore less reliable. In short, qualitative studies to a large extent still do not enjoy the necessary acceptance by politicians and administrators alike who have to deal with everyday development problems. In the attempt to reduce worldwide societal complexity to figures, social sciences play a relatively minor role, not only in terms of their relatively short scientific history but also in terms of the relevance attributed to them.

Those faced with the task of solving societal problems, scientists as well as practitioners, frequently find that easily accessible data are not adequate for solving specific problems. For the interpretation and practical application of existing data the following questions need to be addressed:

- What was the reason for collecting the data?
- Who collected the data?
- When were the data collected?
- Which areas do the data refer to?
- How were the data validated?
- Are the data valid for the social, administrative and economic area where the problems arise?

Only answers to these questions allow adequate interpretations of the study and these answers are the only appropriate base for useful interventions. Very often statistical data are too highly aggregated to allow for the study of anomie or social change. Data collected at the macro-level can only in rare cases be downsized, and even if possible there are rather large technical difficulties to overcome.

INAST researchers were able to show that quantification in measuring social transition does not automatically lead to undue standardization when the question of what do we gain

by quantification is weighted against what is lost. The research design must safeguard qualitative aspects whenever possible when using predominantly quantitative methods.

What Wolfson wrote referring to the WHO holds true for many other fields:" By comparison, data and information on health and health care are more often unreliable, fragmentary, imbalanced and incoherent. And information of poor quality has costs. The public is bombarded with allegedly health-related information, but much of it is confusing, disturbing, and often flatly false" (Wolfson 1996, p.288). In most international surveys on social change we mainly find references to the degree of representativity of the data.. The more important quality-tag "Fit for comparison" is unfortunately missing.

The so called representativity of quantitative surveys depends mainly on three factors: 1. Selection of people to be interviewed (representative samples), 2. Culturally validated instruments to produce data, and 3. Systematic analysis and interpretation of gained data. Comprehensive representativity in surveys dealing with social change is very rarely secured. We should remember that research in different parts of the world, in different cultures, depends heavily on respecting diverse and often conflicting social and cultural norms. Cross-validating questionnaires is a prerequisite for later comparisons and also permits the use of the concept of centrality thus securing reliability.

For empirical research on anomie with the purpose of intercultural comparisons the following lists of questions have to be addressed:

1. In what way does the use of social scientific concepts and instruments follow the rules of applied social sciences, that is applying theory to social phenomena?
2. What are the theoretical assumptions and methodological tools that allow social phenomena to be quantified?
3. What are the theoretical assumptions for not allowing quantification?
4. Are the criteria for comparisons with other quantitative studies clear?
5. What are the theoretical assumptions guiding the interpretation of social data produced by quantitative survey methods?
6. What is the meaning of the data, what do they represent?
7. And most important what may not be derived from the data?

One of the results of our research was the finding that one important field of human behavior has not been sufficiently studied to this date: how people experience and use time. If anomie is the object of scientific investigation, the concept of social time has not yet found sufficient interest. Empirical research needs both theoretical inspiration and fantasy to formulate hypotheses that offer possibilities for systematic testing.

4. Concluding Remarks

One striking experience of the last decades has been that of a temporal confluence or temporal discrepancy. Highly developed societies, via their products, encounter people living in traditional social structures. It is no wonder that another expression, namely that of the "global village", has been superseded by the "globalization/tribalization" pair of opposites. At this interface of globalization and local cultures, the social consequences of modernization are evident. Social scientists have known for at least a century that cultural contact triggers cultural conflict.

The concept of anomie in its original Durkheimian sense is especially useful, in fact crucial, for the discussion of globalization, because it is not only universally applicable but also specifically defined and operationalized for empirical testing in each individual case. The inherent cultural time of the people living in a given culture is a decisive factor in understanding the significance of anomie. The prevailing specific moral orientation or the absence thereof determines the specific conditions of anomie.

As a consequence we may conclude that since globalization is not paralleled by globally functioning moral norms, anomie increases because of the disparity and the

decreasing meaning of local cultures. Many local cultures tend to disappear especially under economic pressures of worldwide trade as well as rapidly spreading information technologies. The use and function of time in global communication networks differs, often contradicts the use and perception of time by individuals in local cultures.

Does the expression "local culture" have any meaning at all? Is it a geographical or a developmental/historical category? As such, does it refer to limited local phenomena and therefore also to limitations in the interpretive power of explanatory attempts? An individual's social orientation occurs in an entity that is limited yet comprehensive. The group is of specific significance as are the norms governing group behaviour. All the phenomena that have long since been described and examined using concepts such as social control, power, and leadership, are active and formative for this primary world in its encounters with other worlds. As such, local culture should first be described before it is conceptually defined; viewed perhaps as something like a rock in the surf of social change on which groups can, indeed must, save themselves if they want to survive. For me, the concept of local culture is pivotal when it comes to questions of existential orientations in social groups. The significance of local cultures should therefore be determined especially in times and places of social anomie.

In considering the course of social change, especially its economic and technological dynamics, we see forces operating around the world that are sending not only the "unprepared" societies into anomie. How can local cultures be viewed as shock absorbers for anomic development? To promote local cultures may in many cases just be to allow the empowerment of local groups to strengthen their social networks. The study of their time perspectives as well as their time-using structures seems crucial for further research.

It remains to study the significance of local cultures and in particular to consider their ability to minimize anomie. In this sense, local cultures in their infinite variety in the most varied places of the world among people of the most disparate backgrounds are nevertheless of universal significance: local culture is the topos of authenticity when it comes to survival and adaptive strategies. The number of people affected is growing continuously and could come to comprise two thirds of humanity.

If it is true that anomie is generally increasing, albeit at different rates, due to the acceleration of social change, so too is the significance of local cultures. Specific norms of how to use time, and perceptions of temporal processes are pertinent in order to understand the function of local cultures in the light of global social change.

There is hardly any reason not to accept the proposition that present globalization processes tend to increase anomie. Again one has to be reminded that one positive aspect of anomie should not be forgotten, namely that without a certain degree of anomie social change is impossible. The better we understand the structures and functioning of anomie, the brighter is the outlook to better govern social change while also evading unnecessary social conflicts. Overcoming anomie probably contributes to building the so needed social capital in societies in transition.

I see two areas of prime importance to be dealt with. This has to be done analytically as well as in a practical way. First it is of high priority that the role of women to be studied in different local cultures. There is too little research done so far.

We would badly need systematic reports on the crucial role of women in dealing with and overcoming the hardest burden of anomie. I am tempted to conclude that successful reforms cannot be attained without searching for and using social capital of women in local cultures. Social development is so to say is female or does not happen.

There are striking examples where women overcame seemingly nonsurmountable obstacles, to mention e.g. 'Trümmerfrauen' in many war torne societies in europe, building up their houses with their bare hands. In Africa today local markets are widely under the

control of women. Exemplary are the female systems of small credits, starting to spread after the pioneers in Bangladesh received the Nobel Prize. One of the outstandingly comprehensive project is going on in Mexico, where women are in charge of a program, relying on the responsibility of women to manage household grants, securing better chances for children in schools and later jobs, as well as controlled participation of the whole family in medical prevention programs. Sustainable cooperation between several local and state administrations under the guidance of Unesco guarantees an optimal fostering of local social capital.

Tragically urgent is to realize and handle consequences due to increasing anomie amongst young people. The situation aggravates in many societies and deserves not only our attention but also more concluding analysis. They experience a special type of anomie. This not only in societies where up to thirty and forty percent of the population are younger than twenty-five years, but also in so called postmodern industrial societies. Young people often live in specific local cultures so well described by William Foote Whyte in his classical "The Street Corner Society".

They live in so-called "In Between Worlds" comparable with many other groups which live under anomic pressure, namely the hundreds of millions of migrants on this earth. A safe estimation counts more than 200 millions of actual and potential migrants, sitting so to say on bags and bundles having to leave their original villages and places where they don't find enough subsistence to lead a decent life and are flooding the favelas of megacities with ten to twenty million inhabitants showing an uncontrolled growth. Both, juveniles and migrants have lost safe grounds and did not arrive in the land of their hopes.

If we do not find solutions to offer both to the masses of young people and the masses of migrants economic and cultural substenance opportunities, we predict dramatic uncontrolable social conflicts. In order to prevent them we have to develop social capital which could enable them to decently survive. The alternative will be more hopelessness, more anomie, more violence.

Under these dramatic circumstances the social scientists have to be rather modest, nevertheless they should not give up their hopes for adequate social reforms. The prime role of social scientists at present and in the coming years is to concentrate on activating hidden social capital. Thereby at least three aspects have to be considered:

1. Studying and collecting social data have to be in accordance with concepts of development and development goals, in short of reforms. The evident lack of adequate theoretical concepts must be publicized together with results of the data collection. Special attention has to be payed to developing useful hypotheses for fostering social capital. Most important: An adequate equilibrium between quantitative and qualitative findings has to be achieved. Where necessary the lack of qualitative findings and in depth descriptions has to be acknowledged.
2. Comparative approaches should be encouraged. The rules of comparative analyses need to be clearly formulated. Specific studies have to be designed to enable "local" data to be combined with generally available data from national statistics, and from the World Bank, IMF, UNDP and similar sources. The goal is to seek a methodological combination of so called objective data with subjective data.
3. Systematic interpretations of concepts, data and conclusions have to be developed. This is for the benefit of decision-makers as well as the populations concerned.

Those responsible for solving development problems, scientists as well as practitioners, generally experience the fact that available data are not adequate for this purpose. Studies and data therefore have to answer the question: Are the data valid for the social, administrative and economic areas; where and when do problems arise?

It therefore does not come as a surprise and it is not to exaggerate to conclude, that most of the available intercultural data are isolated, disconnected, and outdated, and thus

rarely allow conclusions of great validity to be drawn for future social development. It is an illusion shared by too many social scientists that for every major development policy decision, specific and special surveys should be undertaken. In fact there is not enough time, not enough money and probably not enough experienced personnel available to meet the desired requirements to measure social transformation. This all has to happen under the ever growing pressure of globalization. We therefore have to promote the skills to work with data that are available: this is the reason why rules for their systematic interpretation are urgently needed.

The concluding remark is both a question and an invitation: What practical tools can we put together to enable policy makers to decide on the quality of the data laying before them, and to reach conclusions on the usefulness of surveys as well as on their relevance in addressing the practical goals and tasks which face us.

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The paradoxes of food insecurity in Greece, the Food Bank and the "Ark of the World"

Abstract:
The great social crisis taking place, over the last decade, in Europe and of course in Greece, has brought great social changes at its treatment. In January 2014, the ***Fund for European Aid*** to the Most Deprived (FEAD) began its operation, fact which constituted a symbol of European solidarity. This paper explores the issue of tackling the humanitarian crisis in our country by focusing on two institutions that existed before its outbreak (the private non-profit Food Bank and the Ark of the World, which are active within the scope of FEAD). Half of the food distributed in Europe comes from this institution through the operation of food banks. In our country the only member of the Federation of Food Banks is this private food bank, which has its own distribution network, providing food outside the resources of the European Solidarity Network. At the same time, an important non-profit Foundation (Ark of the World) is reinforced by the food bank but does not receive public assistance (FEAD). The Network which supports the weaker and most vulnerable populations in Europe has many forms but the dominant ones are those of the Red Cross, the Ministry of the Church and the State, which operate with the institution of food banks and agricultural cooperatives. In our country there are notable absences of partnerships that have tragic consequences for our long-term unemployed fellow citizens and not only. Social solidarity helps to manage the social risks of poverty. The inability of operation of such a system is refracted in the daily routine of each city and is reflected in the daily press as delinquency. Poverty management is a key element of primary social control (prevention) and an obligation of the state. Police is an institution which acts as secondary social control (repression) but cannot be used in the place of the former otherwise social cohesion is at stake. We observe the effects of lawlessness every day.

Keywords: Food Bank, poverty, social policy, social crisis, European aid

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1. Social Policy and protection during the crisis

A social fact must be explained by the analysis of the social causes that have shaped it in order to bring responsible people and public opinion into knowledge about social reform and prevention policies. In the recent publication of the 'Social Portrait of Greece 2016-2017[1], the failure of modernization of the Greek society is highlighted in the context of Social Europe The detailed analysis of relevant indicators of the European Union substantiates that Greece is in an unprecedented social rather than economic crisis, as is customarily referred to and dealt officially by the financial-banking main circles that monopolize the relevant debates. Social problems such as youth unemployment and poverty, for example, have α great cost for treatment.

The social and political fragmentation found in institutions and practices has led to opposite effects, as it does not "modernized" social policies (education, training, health and labor services sector). For example, the much important service of "Help at Home" has not been able to get included in the basic services of Local Administration Organizations for 15 years[2, 3, 4]. In addition, the predominant medical model of the health system is based on private relationships of exploitation of health needs rather than the social model of community health, which is based on prevention by promoting cohesion and prosperity. The establishment of the public interest is also based on the prevention of disease, which requires the counting in of social measures of occupational safety. Unemployment and mainly long-term unemployment has dramatic effects on health[5]. Extreme poverty and social exclusion, if not regulated effectively, may bring about negative reductions in the functioning of the so-called *primary social control*, which is based on the institutions of the family, education, the protection of children and of vulnerable social classes.

The downgrading of these mechanisms and their feeble functioning assign the main role to *secondary social control* institutions, *that is to those who express themselves with repression*. The constant social precariousness and downgrade of primary forms of social control effectuate a weakness to *the environment of social cohesion* and, of course, to social trust, the fields of operation of the civil society[6]. When unemployment reaches prohibitive rates, i.e. more than 30%, then it's difficult to regulate the social danger brought about by poverty, resulting in the activation of the mechanisms of repression and the flight of the most skilled workers abroad[7]. Continuous operation of secondary social forms of control (repression) in the position and of primary social forms brings a lasting fluidity and lawlessness in society and the economy, fact which may prove troublesome for democratic governance. In such circumstances, a synergy of all social actors is required, with primary form that of public and non-profit (voluntary) bodies, in order to address those social cuts.

Lifelong learning is an important response to this crisis. In order to operate, it requires infrastructures that link education with professional rights and local skills needs. The platform of the National List of Professions, whereby occupations with their employment rights will be compatible (correspondence) with the world of work in a region constitute an answer to this problem. This kind of organization of professions and the matching of skills with job positions is feasible within a general organization of professions with technical criteria defined by the division of labor and the comparative advantages of a region, rather than clientist policies that affect the employment process and the funding of training[3]. The emergence of the importance and of the connection of human capital with the positions of specialized work is a key factor in the fight against social exclusion and social mobility in the current conditions of internationalization of knowledge and digitalization of work.

In the eurozone, work, social protection and health are part of the so called general interest and were part of the Lisbon Process (2000). The general interest is institutionally expressed through a single social platform for the operation of social cohesion, which is based on working skills. The importance of a single and undivided, in terms of organization, social

policy, *which has the dual role of primary social control within the concept of transferring resources from this sphere,* projects its importance compared to our country, where there is a medley of regulations and bodies which do not cooperate with each other on the common social problem of poverty and social exclusion. The social problem of poverty and unemployment seems to be tackled by conflicting competences among the different actors who do not operate within the framework of a common organizational platform established on the basis of national policy for employment. *At the same time, resources which have been cut off from social benefits are channeled into costly surveillance and repression*. In this way, neither development nor of course a plan for regional skills and the reproduction of needs of working conditions is promoted[2]. Some social phenomena such as youth unemployment and child poverty, which are at extreme levels in our country, consist only but symptoms of this fragmentation of the social space, which has justified the partly excessive cuts in resources for social services, health and education, bringing about these dramatic Results[4]. The operation of a system that will ensure *a minimum guaranteed income* for the protection of socially weak (mothers and children), while operating in the eurozone (except Italy, which only recently started to implement this measure), remains requested, as it is also the operation of an anti-poverty organization within the framework of the relevant European network.

2. The *Fund for European Aid* to the Most Deprived (FEAD)

In January 2014, the European Aid Fund for the most dispossessed (FEAD) was organized and constitutes a symbol of European solidarity (3.8 billion for 2014-2020). The European Federation of Food Banks represents about 260 food banks in 21 EU countries. Half of the food distributed in Europe comes from this institution, the remainder from the food industry (22%), the commercial stores (17%) and individuals (14%)[9]. In our country, the only member of the Federation is the food bank founded by the company AB Vasilopoulos, on 1979, which organized a distribution network for food catering Common-benefit Foundations and those in need, based mainly on private offers. The food bank remains cut off from the resources of the European Solidarity Network. At the same time an important non-profit foundation (Ark of the World) is reinforced by the food bank and has not as well been assisted by the European Foundation (FEAD), which operates through the Ministry of Labour and Municipalities. The network for the reinforcement of weak in Europe has many forms but the dominant one is that of the Red Cross, the Ministry of the Church and the State. These institutions cooperate with the institution of food banks which in turn cooperate directly with agricultural cooperatives.

The problem of poverty and youth unemployment in Greece. This is a comprehensive sociological phenomenon, which involves the entirety of the social governance departments, namely health, the economy, education. In our case, we leave a respectable part of the vulnerable population (young, old, long-term unemployed, etc.), due to the weak organization of our social policies, without social care. The non-correlation of poverty with food safety also shows a paradox that is perhaps an additional result of this weakness.

Our country presents a great waste on food compared to the average of EU28 (5.1% versus 2.3%)[11]. At the same time, food insecurity accompanied by hunger is measurable only in households with children[9]. The interesting factor is that food insecurity in Greece is not an outcome of a deficiency in the total food supply in our country, as shown by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, where Greece ranks 23rd among 206 countries, based on the total food supply per person[10]. This is obviously the case, because there's no existed necessary synergy, between the various services (environment, labor, tourism economy, finance, development), in the context of an organization of a circular economy (food is not composted, neither there is complete recycling with the corresponding cost of charges or the remaining are available), which would have incurred fines because of food waste. This environmental cost could be averted with food relocation towards those in need.

Food banks are a key measure of social support for the unemployed and poor, as they are the recipients of food surpluses from hotels, restaurants, rural businesses, etc. The fight against food waste could work alongside other Social Fund actions, such as th*e poverty line and the guaranteed income*, giving the stigma of a genuine environmental policy.

The Food Aid Fund (FEAD) projects for Greece to receive about 281 million Euros for the period 2014-2020 (second ranked among 21 countries)[10]. The transfer of these resources would undoubtedly bring great relief to those affected by great poverty and unemployment. It is noteworthy, however, that between, 2014-2015, Greece was in the 19th place among the 21 countries with approved expenditure in FEAD's classification for resource absorption. The form of operation of food aid in the EU has globally taken almost the form of Food Banks. The establishment of these Public Banks in our country has not yet moved forward in the form that operates in the rest of the EU. The operation of these banks in the EU provides a double economic and social benefit, allowing for agricultural cooperatives to dispose their products to those having a need in food. It is therefore legitimate in the context of the European social response to the humanitarian crisis to establish a corresponding institutional arrangement (Food Banks) in Greece. Such a regulation would bring financial relief to farmers and livestock farmers in our country, with the provision of their products towards the food need population. Moreover, while the operation of the third sector (non-profit) for the social economy was established with Law 4430/2016, in practice the requested establishment of the socio-economic function of Volunteerism and Self-help does find in agreement all institutions on the issue of the importance of the third sector in the functioning of the general interest. For-profit enterprises exert pressure, through the relevant ministry, which on the other hand does not realize the non-profit or moral economy of voluntary and general interest social cooperatives and of social entrepreneurship, resulting in a different than anticipated organization and financial response towards them.

The main pillars of the operation of Community solidarity are aimed at the governance of poverty and social exclusion in the Member States. The aforementioned demonstrate in practice the social policy of the EU and its peculiar interpretation into the Greek reality.

Social protection in our country puts too much emphasis, through the social budget, on *pensions*. The lack of adequate social assistance infrastructures renders in practice pensions as an ineffective 'informal tool ' for combating poverty and exclusion[3].

Child poverty is seen as a key indicator of social living conditions. Graph 1 shows the rates of child poverty in the EU on 2012, where Greece ranks 4th in child poverty (26.9% versus 20.8% of the EU average)[11]. Graph 2 depicts over time, from 2005 to 2012, the percentage of children under 18 years of age in condition of poverty (35.4% in Greece)[11]. The poverty rate in young people between 16-24 years, on 2012, was 32.3%, almost 9 units higher than the EU average (see Graph 3)[11].

The social situation of the unemployed and of children, as well as, young people is a first priority target of European social policy, because it poses risks of disruption of social cohesion. In this context, food action has been a policy urgent importance for the EU. Then, we focus on two non-profit organizations which act in the area of combating poverty of the most deprived in our country.

Data from the study of the Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research (IOBE)[8] on the nutritional crisis, show that the food bank (private non-profit initiative of AB-Vasilopoulos) constitute a visible intervention in a sector of high Importance in the fight against poverty.

3. The Food Bank in Greece

The Food Bank was founded in 1995 as an independent and self-governed charitable foundation on the initiative of Gerasimos Basilopoulos (Presidential Decree of Government

Gazette 540/21.6.95). The Food Bank is a social innovation for Greece with sole purpose the combat against hunger and the limitation of food waste. Since its founding, it has been included as an equal member in the European Food Banking Federation (EFBF), bringing in that way in Greece the model of other European food banks. The system is based on food donations from consumers to cooperating supermarket chains. At the same time, while the exemption of VAT from food donations was established with Law 4238/2014, in practice it does not apply.

The deep and prolonged economic crisis in Greece has serious social ramifications. As a result of long-term unemployment and the fall in per capita income, a significant proportion of the population is facing difficulties in securing necessary goods[2]. In this context is included the operation of the food banks, which contribute decisively in the combat against food poverty, as well as, to the reduction of food waste. The existing private Food Bank collects food in the stores of Sklavenitis, My Market and AB Vasilopoulos at certain dates and times, with the assistance of volunteers working on the movement of food and with the support of volunteer drivers, who use their own cars. The products are donations by the consumers.

In Europe, Food Banks are public and are financed by FEAD, they buy themselves food from cooperatives and they distribute it to those in need, who are of course identified through the unemployment management system (Job Center). The Food Bank in Greece, according to the research of IOBE, does not have a relevant cooperation with the Department of FEAD (Ministry of Labour), nor with the Job Center (OAED). It collaborates with the "Ark of The World" by providing the food donations it manages on a voluntary basis. Volunteering is part of general care towards the unemployed and those in need (Foundations), where in Europe it is relatively small as a percentage, since the social system operates inclusively for all on the basis of the public interest so as to address social risks. In our case, a partnership with public (FEAD) and private (non-profit food bank) bodies should have been established, aiming at the creation of a synergy against hunger. It is, of course, ironic that at the same time *public and private (for-profit) partnerships* operate in our country on a rather broader basis.

4. The Ark of the World

The Ark of the World[12] is a voluntary non-governmental Organisation for the care and protection of the Mother and Child, founded in 1998 by a member of the Church of Greece and constitute an example of a response to the needs of protection and care of children and mothers in poverty. The Ark operates *without any public subsidy* and with the support of citizens and sponsors, such as the Food bank. Volunteering is multi-level, as the work of the Ark is framed by human resources of hundreds of volunteers, as well as, salaried professionals. In collaboration with the juveniles' Prosecutors, the protection bodies and the children's rights services, the Ark takes responsibility for the raising of minors in six Centers (Athens, Dionysos, Piraeus, Volos, Pogoniani, Chios). Children who have suffered abuse, neglect and need protection find shelter in the Ark. The children live in large houses with educators – caregivers, which take care for their daily routine and their service consist a non-institutional type of care. Even in cases of one-parent families with serious economic and social problems, which apply for assistance, they caregivers support their very basic needs, such as food, clothing, and all else is needed[12].

The children can find a family environment in the Ark of the World thanks to the efforts of Father Antonios Papanikolaou. With the voluntary contributions of civil society and *without the assistance of a public body*, the Ark provides its services through a fairly well organized operation system, which is evident from the information on their website and the impact of their actions to the wider society.

An example follows, on how the social non-profit services of the Ark can be developed with the description of the case of a sponsorship by a citizen belonging to a

particular Municipality, which has been published at the local newspaper of the Municipality of Dionysos in the Attica Region.

"But what is not yet widely known is the fact, that the Ark of the World for about a month has found another safe haven in 'Anoiksi' (Municipal Community) of the Municipality of Dionysos. As the Father Anthony informs us, a resident of the region donated to the Ark of the World its furnished property on Lycabettus Street, so as to reclaim it for its purposes as a Hospitality Home. The donation, continues the priest, could not have been done at a better time, since in that way the Ark could defuse the population of children -constantly rising- in its other homes. In the House at Anoiksi today, there are 17 children, all boys, since the structures of the Ark are not mixed, aged between 5-15 years, who attend the elementary school and the gymnasium of Anoiksi. Because, in fact, the pupils of the elementary school are many, 4 of them go temporarily to Agios Stefanos Elementary, while during the school year they will be transferred to Anoiksi, where another department will be created. The first local institution, indeed, which immediately came into contact and responded to the needs of the new House, was the Anoiksi Sports Club, which enables all children to participate in its departments completely free of charge. The children, says Father Antonios, are all Greek, among them and Greek Roma, while two of them are from Uganda, but born in Greece, "because the Ark embraces all children. And I must tell you that with education and principles that the children are taking by us, one cannot distinguish whether they are Greek or not.... In Chios there is a large group of volunteers' which are ladies who have undertaken not only the little Greeks children but also the refugee little children, who were left at the ark with only their wet clothes. But in Piraeus, we have developed a large network of volunteers[13]

On June 2017, the Ark of the World was incorporated into three National Registries operating in three different ministries in Athens. The first concerns the National Registry of Non-profit Private sector bodies providing social care services and the Special Registry of Voluntary Non-profit Organizations of the *Ministry of Health and Social Solidarity*. The second concerns its certification as a non-profit Social Care provider by *the Ministry of Labor, Social Security and Social Solidarity* and the third concerns its inclusion, with registry number 468, in the Special Registry of Non-governmental Organizations of the Directorate General of International Development Cooperation (Hellenic Aid-4th Directorate) of the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. This obviously entitles the Agency to receive funding from corresponding EU services for humanitarian aid and also involves foreign populations in Greece and of course missions abroad, as part of the European Development policy. What is important, however, is to see whether this recognition also means, as well, a substantial financial assistance for the essential needs of the operation of its infrastructures, which obviously had to be covered by the respective State bodies of social solidarity, i.e. the two Ministries that have included (Health) and certified (Work) the Ark. At the same time, large organizations should have undertake, in the context of corporate responsibility, to cover basic operational needs, as presented with transparency on the Foundation's website.

The crisis of poverty and exclusion, which imprint we have presented, does not seem to have changed the public policy towards this Institution. Perhaps, there is too a matter of public social management capacity, as indicates the announced withdrawal from Greece of the International Red Cross in a few months. The above example, in combination with the national data relating to the humanitarian crisis management policy, allows us to interpret the fact that the social crisis in Greece, while lasting, does not appear to have brought about the necessary systemic changes for social modernization, resulting in charity/volunteering being important forces in tackling child poverty, without the assistance of local "economic" institutions, who seem to not apply European social practices. That is why the current management regime of the ' economic crisis ' is ineffective, as it is characterized by piecemeal actions (often without transparency) and inability to absorb community funds for addressing a

problem such as that of the food crisis. The two important private initiatives, which we mentioned above, do not seem to be linked with the actions of the essentially responsible organization for the financing of food actions for the unemployed and others in solidarity institutions. Nutrition is a basic necessity for everyday life, whereas the inability to provide it to those in need, the moment where experienced organizations are in place so as to manage this distribution should be subject to further investigation of violation of human rights, especially when there are so many large amounts of community resources unspent, which in addition would also strengthen the country's rural economy.

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5. Conclusion

The crisis in Greece is social but not treated as such. The major social problems of child poverty and unemployment are addressed dramatically without general rules, but with voluntary forms such as the Ark of the World, among others, which do not though receive substantial assistance in the fight against Poverty (despite their official recognition). The situation we have presented shows a piecemeal and difficult to be sociologically comprehended management of an extreme and dangerous social phenomenon of poverty, long-term unemployment and youth unemployment. At the same time, the nutritional crisis exists in conditions of nutritional sufficiency and a great waste of food. The Food Bank is an example that works in the frameworks of the fight of hunger in EU countries. Additionally, agricultural cooperatives are the partners of these banks. Tackling poverty is a fundamental obligation of every State as an element of basic social assistance. In the case of the Greek Food Bank, we observed a lack of cooperation with the public body responsible for exercising this solidarity action, at the same time, where an excessively limited use of the allocated funds is noted. Public Food Banks are not created as in other European countries. Such cooperation would strengthen agricultural cooperatives in the country and would increase their share in the market. Unfortunately, there exist no consumer cooperatives (and their stores), necessary for the operation of the market, in the major cities of mainland Greece. The policy on Food Banks in Greece would provide great assistance to the farmers and livestock farmers, who do not have markets in the big cities, which include as well unemployed in need for unemployment.

In our country, notable absences of partnerships are observed with unpleasant effects for the weak and the socially excluded. The system of solidarity-based distribution of emergency items based *on cooperatives and a social (general) management character* of poverty and long-term unemployment would have a significant impact on the reduction of crime. Poverty management (sociologists, social workers), together with education/training, family, and employment policy, constitutes a key element of *primary social control*, which generates social cohesion. Police constitutes the main secondary social protection control but cannot be used continuously in place of the primary control mechanism. The problem (stakes) is social cohesion and the capacity for social governance with social measures of prevention and solidarity instead of repression[4, 6, 14].

The voluntary dynamics of the community (Church - Ark of the World) and the Charity of an entrepreneur (Vasilopoulos - Food Bank) were initiatives that the State could

not find a way to strengthen. Extreme social poverty and long-term unemployment along with limited enhancement to income with benefits has created, perhaps for the first time, conditions for the perfect social storm. The inability of social inclusion in labor for a large proportion of young people and lasting poverty[15,16] without food aid, marks a break-in of the system of primary social control and institutes obviously expected risks for populations which seek relief and support. The inability to understand the phenomenon of this major inequality endangers the security of society. Preventive mechanisms for managing the humanitarian crisis must be reinforced through cooperation in tackling poverty and unemployment. Partnerships should be established in order to solve this nutritional, and not only, social crisis, which is now of *central importance even though it concerns the social margin*.

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Global governance, civil society awareness, mobilization and the information communication technology: The convention on biological diversity through Brazilian community voices?

Abstract:
Tools for social mobilization and participation through the use of information and communications technology (ICT) in order to promote public awareness and education are advocated in the Chapter 36 of Agenda 21 and in the Article 13 of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), which deal with Education and Public Awareness by promoting the use of vehicles and methods of formal and informal networking to increase public awareness about environmental discussion.

Empirical research about the use of social networks and online communication can reveal interesting aspects related to the interactional dynamics of global, national and local stakeholders and actors related to environmental governance. We intend to point out some empirical opportunities and challenges in this yet asymmetric online participatory framework.

Keywords: Global governance, civil society, Brazilian community

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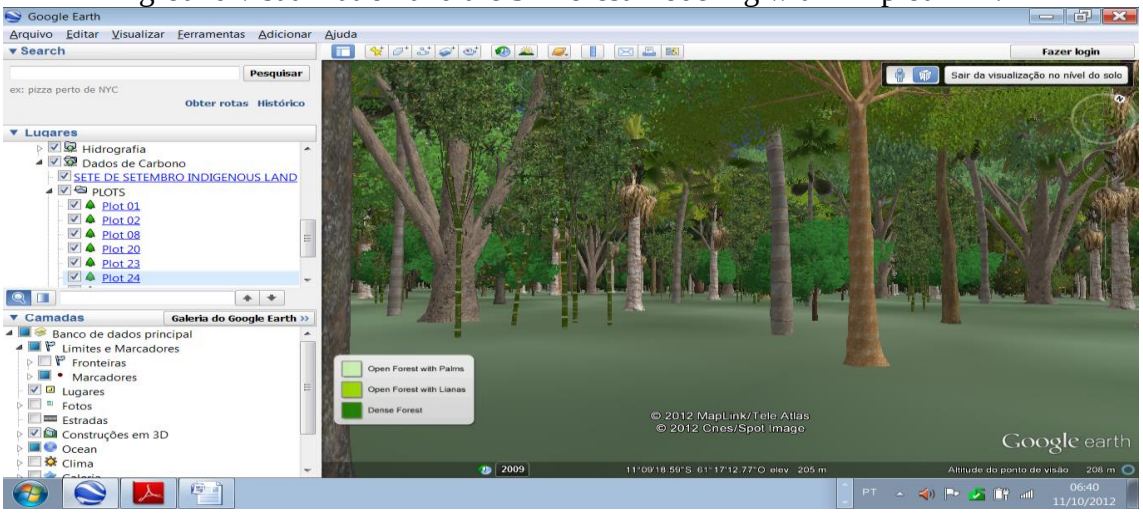
1. Introduction

Falling within the scope of a research project which aimed to investigate online mobilization regarding the *Convention on Biological Diversity* (CBD) in Brazil, our attention was called to a video-message circulated by the Paiter-Surui of the Brazilian Amazon and shown during the *United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development*, Rio + 20, held June of 2012. The message aimed to divulge the multimedia content of these people on the Google Earth platform, by using an interactive 3D modeling geo-referenced cultural map, which represents the Surui territory. The Paiter's objective in creating this map was to encourage reflection and dialogue with the rest of the world regarding forest conservation.

Figure 1: Navigation screen of the Surui Cultural Map in the Google Earth, showing tribal leaders narrating their myths.

On the one hand, the Surui map presents us with a digital representation of nature as a new social experience. The *territory* representation is expressed through abstractions, promoting a symbolic and leisurely interactive experience. These abstractions are built through informatics applied to cartographic tools, so as to "turn tangible" the articulation and the expression of reciprocal relations between nature and culture both at local and global levels. This experience has the potential to "inform" and update the user on the relations between the natural world and the social in a process that engenders, here and now, this territory as a form composed of nature, culture, politic and economic transformations.

Figure 2: Navigation screen of the Surui Cultural Map in the Google Earth, showing enrooted ground visualization and the 3D forest modeling within « plot 24 ».



On the other hand, the map transcends such analysis revealing an "enchanted forest," shared on the Internet, which envisages the entertainment – the ludic – that incentivize feedback and collaborative construction by both the Surui and GoogleEarth users from all over the Internet. These constructions include myths, oral narratives, and images of the Paiter-Surui ways of relating to with the forest. This includes expressing the concept that their culture depends directly on their existence and vice-versa, and with this message there is an invitation for reflection and dialogue. Could this be an attempt to "educate the foreign eye" favoring different symbolic perspectives toward nature?

It is important to point out that the Surui territorial or regional limits, target of several conflicts identified and narrated in their cultural map, represents a material frontier. According to local culture, this forest has "sacred" attributes to what is in its interior as we shall see in the following. Thus, the Surui forest, as the materiality of Surui live style, is represented in the points of interest of the map, where it is modeled in 3D. Via this expression, the Surui forest becomes symbolically singular at a ground level perspective, as it becomes possible for internet users around the world to "land" in their land, to "walk" in the Surui rainforest representation, to "see" the fruit of their 3D modeled "trees", and to "hear" the myths told by the Surui elders in a communication-mediated experience on the Google Earth platform. Presented here is the forest representation outside the Surui cultural map, mostly restricted to satellite photos, because they have not yet been represented as a cultural territory.

The Paiter-Surui cultural map starts from different information dimensions (layers), which are associated with the points of interest identified on the map related to the geo-referenced content. Such points are identified via icons drawn by Paiter youths (Figure 1). The user clicks twice on them to open hypermedia content – e.g. "windows" containing texts, drawings, photos and videos on each highlighted point.

Within the Surui Map, the local culture is enriched by technology, thus acquiring a symbolic hybridization in which the universal images and symbols together with local images and symbols, give universal meanings subjacent to the language, besides bearing the meanings of the local culture itself. The culture is understood as a system that also expresses contradictory and antagonistic instances that compensate among each other, in a kaleidoscope of symbolic forms, which are construed and re-translated in such a way that the symbolic sense of each element is never diminished.

In a tension caused by a collaborative computer-mediated communication experience devoted to leisure and cartographic information that crosses different cultures, it is possible to identify the local *versus* global impact of several conceptions of the man-nature relation. The man-nature representations that arise from the leisure and cartographic information make evident distinct production modes, materialities, and cosmogonies, and also find resonance through the universal aspects of the human imagination/imagery. Through these universal aspects, it is possible to establish connections and identifications between local and global cultures and their similarities and differences that favor dialogue between cultures and give rise to new sensibilities, sociabilities, and epistemologies. This is the case of the Earth metaphors seen from the space and of the forest recreation build in digital format (Figure 2).

Presently, in the contexts of local conflicts associated with the issues of biodiversity l

conservation, the use of information and communications technology (ICT) is regarded as an important tool to search and build alliances for the mobilization of local and global public spheres, thus becoming forums for social symbolic interactions. The collaborative content in such communication platforms are empirical evidence of the potentialities ICT tools have to transform and mobilize social engagement. The search of sustainable social-environmental alternatives and practices has implication for developing a dialogue between different imaginaries on the nature, which include leisure and spare time activities (as with the use of GoogleEarth platform).

2. The Place of Man in Nature

From a social ecology perspective, the Brazilian thought of the man-nature relationship has been mostly influenced by Serge Moscovici and Edgar Morin. Moscovici´s reflections about nature is present in many of his works, e.g., *L´Essai sur l´Histoire Humaine de la Nature* (1968), *Societé Contre Nature*, (1972),[3] *Hommes Domestiques et Hommes Sauvages* (1974).[4] His book *De la Nature: Pour Penser l´Écologie*, (2002) is considered a reaffirmation of the idea that the *environmental issue* expresses an awareness that man's place in nature is in crisis, making it legitimate to refuse to continue to consider man as a preferred species as well as separating the history of human societies from their respective natures´ histories. This environmental awareness is the configuration of one of the main dilemmas of the modern era (IRVING, D´ÁVILA NETO, MACIEL, & CONILH DE BEYSSAC, in press).

In a complementary approach , the same idea is shared by Edgar Morin (2011). For him, "the politics of humanity is a global policy symbioses ..." (Ibid., p.51), meaning to rethink the place of man with relation to nature is to be faced with a crisis of civilization. Mentioning the ecological crisis, a major contemporary issue, he affirms that, "The ways to the environmental threat are not only technical, they require, first and foremost, a reform of our thinking to embrace complexity in the relationship between humanity and nature" (Morin, 2011, p. 84).

For contemporary societies, Serge Moscovici (2002) recognizes that relations between nature and culture are being deeply modified under the impact of techno sciences, in particular by informatics as well as biotechnology. Since the beginning of modern age, transformations in the relation between nature and culture have originated in (and also originates) what Max Weber (2003) describes as the world's disenchantment concerning religion and science. Such modifications are respectively associated with the process of elimination of magic from religion (which causes nature to be regarded as inanimate). Rationality and the aversion to the sensual culture, created by the science calculation and technology science, have also relegated religious imaginary to the irrational scope.

Contrary to modern constructions and strict separations between the biophysical, the human and supernatural worlds, it is frequently observed in autochthonous contexts that continuous bonds among these three ambits are commonly established. Examples include rituals and practices embedded in social relations, different from those observed in capitalist and modern relations. In the autochthonous contexts, both living and supernatural beings - thus biophysical, culture and nature spheres - are not interpreted separately. In these societies, animals and plants are subject to the same rules as humans (Escobar, 1999 p. 293)

From an international conventions´ perspective, it should also be observed that in the Rio Conference in 1992, as well as in Rio +20, these so called traditional populations are being identified as possible beneficiaries of the new arrangements and market mechanisms established to remunerate their practices and traditional knowledge, while recognizing their position as part of such production and value generation chains – as expressed within the *Convention on Biological Diversity* (CBD) and *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. Would this recognition of traditional knowledge be seen as a "commoditization" of nature, which is to say becoming an economic variable? The search for a new paradigm is being carried on by heterodox economists such as Nobel prize Amartya Sen (2000), who advocates for the integration of cultural perspective into economic thinking.

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[3] Gendron C. &Vaillancourt J.G., Environnement et sciences sociales. Les défis de l'interdisciplinarité, Collection Sociologie contemporaine, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2007.

[4] Moscovici S., Hommes domestiques et hommes sauvages, Paris: Union Generale, 1974.

Therefore, in the scope of international agendas, is it possible to recognize these groups' voices during the search for a new paradigm in the man-nature relations?

When considering the mentioned continuity bond perspective, it might be observed that cultural diversity – and nature – seems to figure only as a rhetorical or peripheral form, both in the scope of the agendas and debates on nature conservation and sustainable development in the United Nations and also within alter-globalization movements, such as World Social Forum. At such an international level there does not seem to exist space for a dialogue among the several cultures, nor a space allowing for the arising of other epistemologies to approach the social-environmental problems. In these United Nations and alter-globalization agendas, the *world disenchantment* seems to be consensual. There is no room for autochthones minorities to voice their own opinions which are, at most, "translated" by social movements and Non-Governmental Organizations´ (NGO) representatives, journalists and scientists.

It is important to observe that the definition of autochthones populations as "traditional populations" in CDB is imprecise and has been subject to several debates, and that this definition is imposed to them "externally" as discussed by Diegues (2000). Moreover, although the CDB was signed two decades ago, there has been little real advancement to effectively engage these populations in remunerative processes, and several of the groups have refused to be subject of CDB types of propositions. For example, CDB is based upon international intellectual property legislation structures which are based on the recognition of individual and corporate rights, and of requirements such as the land property. However these are juridical fittings (concepts) that are not suitable to the forms of organization, access and utilization of land by indigenous populations in many countries around the world (GOMES, 2010) - nor to the intrinsic values of the cultures of traditional populations.

Thus, Morin (1973) affirms that despite several theoretical trials attempted to anchor man's science on a naturalist basis, both biology and anthropology in one way or another developed an insular conception of man. On the other hand, the "modern myth of untouched nature," as described by Diegues (2008), also affirms that the contemporaneous strategies for biodiversity protection have a tendency to reinforce the nature and man segregation–dichotomy.

Contemporary thought of the management of nature critique has implications in a deconstruction exercise of historical myths. This deconstruction came from a distorted view of the relation of the man-nature, which transformed natural man into a resource (IRVING, 2008). Looking for broader myth deconstruction possibilities, Moscovici (2002) indicates environmental movements as a possible way for world *re-enchantment*. He further identifies the cybernetic communication sphere as a potential cultural exchange sphere where the "contrast between automatism and communication" is given the possibility of allowing new alternatives to the mass media communication "monologue", i.e., communication as an instance of mere information transmission, as illustrated in the following:

> " [...] insofar as thoughts are communicated, intentional mental states should be as well, which implies the possibility of being understood by others [...] ceasing to conceive communication as an instance of transmission of information [...] one must now consider it as function of a new system of thought [...]This brings our existence and our conceived life as two sides of the same lived reality and preserves their content as our background knowledge and thinking skills, which includes the logico-mathematical set as one of its forms [...]As well as, presumably, for different times, our ideals of rationality are different – yesterday instrumental rationality, rationality performative tomorrow, none of them is a priori any more than it is ultimate. "
>
> (Moscovici, 2002 pp. 136-138)

In a context where the science dichotomy prevails, how can this man-nature segregation mistake be reverted in cases of already assumed compromises found in the

Convention on the Biological Diversity? The communication challenge is recognized within the "Aichi Biodiversity Targets Plan for 2011-2020" as a central question of CDB, but communicates what, to whom, and how. Would an internalization of the biodiversity-intrinsic value be possible when starting from an instrumental and utilitarian imaginary of nature? Would it be the same as a "value" eligible for "measures" and "use"? In a context in which the scientists from different areas have difficulties communicating among themselves, what should be expected from the communication of the theme directed to the public at large? In this context, would it be possible to conceive a notion of nature other than as a resource? Moscovici believes that local movements´ diverse voices can be raised and heard through ICT, bringing change in unexpected forms.

As the emergence of new paradigms from potential dialogue take place in the GoogleEarth cultural exchange platform, would initiatives such as the Surui´s also mean a "re-enchantment" of the world, as suggested by Serge Moscovici (2002),? Cultural studies and a social symbolic approach can be useful to investigate such communication phenomena, as well as useful to contextualize it in a subaltern and post-colonial thinking perspective. In the following section we will exam the local rainforest inhabitants from this perspective, trying to demonstrate that they hold an important role toward the development of new hegemonic approaches towards man-nature relations though the use of ICT.

3. The Forest and its Inhabitant: The "Savage"

Representation of the New World, and by extension of Brazil, within the Eurocentric travelers' imaginary in the colonial period « will oscillate between the idyllic promised land utopia and wild cannibalism » (D´ÁVILA NETO & BEYSSAC, 2012, p. 359). Boaventura Santos (2006) says the representation of the European colonizer, in relation to the autochthone, oscillates between the cannibal and the "aspiration of unity with nature and the cosmos," which Europeans have lost and believe that autochthone have retained. We offer the following interpretation:

> "These three discoveries Santos announced as matrices of "great discoveries" of the second millennium respectively indicate: the Orient as a place of alterity, the Savage as a place of inferiority and Nature as a place of exteriority. Like « imperial discoveries », these three should be objects of power, having the civilization the function to « tame », to dominate, to exploit them" (D´ÁVILA & CONILH DE BEYSSAC, 2012, p. 308).

Arturo Escobar (2006), the Colombian anthropologist, suggests *in El Final del Salvage* (*The End of the Savage)*[5] (1999) an apparent contraposition to Santos' ideas. Present in Escobar's propositions is the reflection on the political ecology and the cultural policies for Nature, starting with an awareness of the social movement's importance in the creation of a new conscience concerning the ICT users that is likened to Moscovici´s (2002) approach of the potential use of ICT by minority groups:

> "(...) Thus we might formulate in a more solid manner the question raised initially: might the world be redefined and reconstructed from the perspective of multiple cultural and ecological practices that continue to exist in several communities? This is a mainly political question, but with serious epistemological considerations" (Escobar, 1999, p. 272).

By amplifying the scope of social movements, Escobar also asks what type of public cyberspheres might be created through the networks imagined by women and ecologists,

[5] Escobar, Arturo in "El Final del Salvage, Naturaleza, Cultura y Política em La Antropologia Contemporanea" (1999).

among others … that search for new relational forms, a conception of what life is, gender, justice and diversity (Escobar, 1999, p. 362).

When publishing his text in 1999, Escobar also praises that "the new digital and informatics technologies offer possibilities never seen before for actors, identities and alternative political and social practices[6] (...)" (Escobar, 1999, p. 381). With such perspective we might conceive that the perception of the "*inferiority*" of the explored and dominated savage has a way of extinguishing itself:

> "However, the social movements and the progressive NGOs frequently create networks, which reach supra-local effects that are not negligible. Several networks of Americas' indigenous people are already well known, however there exist transnational networks that emerge around a multiplicity of themes throughout the world" (Escobar, 2005, p. 188).

Returning to the Brazilian Forest, we might say that the indigenous people might not be conceived without it. How can we imagine the indigenous culture deprived of their habitat? For our imagination and for themselves, the forest is part of the everyday: a place for hunting to feed venerated spirits within their topographies. This fact opens reflection about territory as a dynamic place-based construction of relations between nature and culture, an important theme for the discussions of the Brazilian forest. For Gallois (2004, p. 39):

> "(…) Territory does not come before land, and land is not merely a part of the territory. These are two absolutely distinct notions (...) the difference between "land" and "territory" refers to different perspectives of the actors involved in the recognition and demarcation of an Indigenous Land. The notion of indigenous land refers to the legal-political process conducted under the State *aegis*, while territory refers to the construction and experience, culturally variable, of the relationship between a society and its specific territory-base.… For the anthropological production, many papers evidence the indigenous unawareness of what territory means … in these cases mobility functions as a kind of proof that there is no territory…. These studies also show that the idea of a closed territory arises along with the restrictions imposed by contact, the process of land title regularization, which also favors the awareness of an ethnic identity…."

As illustrated in their cultural map, the Paiter-Suruis' former forest habitat was larger than their present Indigenous land, and now, when they justify their rights or communicate in Google Earth, they represent their current territory in a way that has much in common with other types of place-based social movements:

> "The territory is seen as a space of ecosystem's effective appropriation, i.e., such spaces used to satisfy the community necessities for social and cultural development. It is a multidimensional space for the creation and recreation of the communities' ecological, economic and cultural practices" (Escobar, 2005, p. 188).

Deepening this concept, Escobar indicates a distinction between the territory as cultural autonomy and political construction:

> "On the contrary, the territory-region is conceived as a political construction for territorial defense and its sustainability. Looked at this way, the territory-region is a sustainability strategy; and vice-versa, sustainability is a strategy for the construction and defense of the territory-region. Thus it might be said that the region-territory articulates the life of the communities with the social movement political project" (Escobar, 2005, p. 183).

And he further calls the researches' attention to social production of space:

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[6] In America, the example of the Zapatistas in Mexico is one of the best known. On this, see Steele, C.-Zapata and the close of the century: Hybrid Cultures, Neoliberalism and the recent Mayan uprising in Chiapas-in D´Avila Neto,M.I. (org) Social Development-Challenges and Strategies- UNESCO Chair on Sustainable Development/UFRJ/FINEP, Rio de Janeiro, 1995.

> "It is also vital that the researchers get to know definitely the social production and the space- cultural construction, as the network expansion has cultural effects that are frequently desired (…)*"* (Escobar, 2005, p. 188).

Up to this point we have looked at the ICT networks and their potential to empower local base social movements to inform their world conceptions and group position through ICT. Indigenous people, previously have not had the means to directly express themselves in the public sphere, but had to be represented from an outsider perspective. However, the use of digital ICT, which makes the hypermedia circulation possible, supplies us with a process to flip the story of the conquest by the conquered parties through maps, 3D modeling, drawing, photograph and video.

As illustrated in the work of Tzvetan Todorov (1999) and pointed out by Serge Gruzinsky (2001), culture, maps and images play an important role in the colonization process. We would like to highlight what the historian Gruzinski called the "education of the native eye" when describing the Spanish colonization in Mexico in "Images at War: Mexico From Columbus to Blade Runner (1492–2019)". It was via imagery, often substituting oral learning, that the European culture has been processed and this new visual and imagery internalization "could only deeply upset the autochthonous imaginaire*"* (Gruzinski, 2001, p. 78).

Whenever a Surui chief of the Amazon decides to use geo-referenced spatial images and coordinates in the 21st century, he also is demarcating cultural identity and territory. At the same time, his objective could also be to "educate the eye of the *foreigner"* regarding his representations of the man-nature relationship in an "enchanted" way, e.g., of mythic, animistic and sacred expressions. By sharing their imaginary, constructing and experiencing their territory in a new sociability collaborative leisure platform, are the Paiter-Surui going for a more integrative local-global place-based relation?

As during the time of colonization, there are similar traces found between the "territorialization" and "sacralization." Gruzinki (2001) demonstrates that sacred images were associated with the territories from which they were taken or where they were handcrafted, thus turning the territories also into the sacred (Gruzinki 2001, pp. 141: 197). A similar process, although in the opposite direction, also took place with the native "territory-region." The soil, the earth, and the forest that surrounds the native settlements are full of sacred elements, indispensible for their rituals, without which the "identity" of the people is threatened. If, at the time of the conquest, the sacred-image property expanded to the territory, we now recognize another vision: It is the territory that delimits the sacralization. The territory is not sacred for what it possesses, but makes sacred what *pertains* to it, because of its "intrinsic" sacred character. This is an apparent, but subtle distinction, which we propose to be a deep distinctive demarcation line between the "native" and the "white man" imaginary.

When we try to go through contemporary ideas of citizenship, expanding them to cover natives – as original forest inhabitants, we cannot work with the *common citizen* logic. For the native the sacred territory has an immemorial connotation and goes back to the origin of their supreme spirits. Their everyday is marked by a circular time, not linear or continuous, which obeys nature's cyclic rhythms. This does not refer to an abstract nature, but to the territory of each people, in an indissoluble connection to its own vital cycle. In such representations, the development conception that demands a temporal continuous progression is itself antagonistic and conflicting.

It cannot be ignored that the great majority of the indigenous populations are facing an accelerated and complex social transformation. This fact requires new answers for their physical and natural survival. These groups are subject to several problems, among which are

the invasions and environmental degradation of their land, as well as poverty, which frequently results in begging and the exodus to city peripheries.

However, from the Indigenous citizenship point of view, the Federal Constitution (Brazil 1988) recognizes their right to live according to their traditions and determines that the Indigenous lands are federal government assets, while granting these populations the right to use its territory. The National Congress, however, is responsible for determining how water and mineral resources of these lands should be explored. The constitution also determines that Federal Court judges settle disputes of other rights and gives the Federal Prosecution Service the power to defend Indigenous interests. The legal framework directed to the Indigenous populations is relatively recent, complex and the target of multiples interests and institutional conflicts. In this context, even if optional for the Indigenous population, voting is an assured right to those who are at least 21 years of age, know the Portuguese-Brazilian language, and the habits and the costumes of the national society. Prior to 1988, these groups lived under the state tutorship.

Thus, as pointed out by Santos (2006), both the "Nature" and the "Savage" remain defined, narrated and articulated by those outside their local cultures, from a certain "exogenous" vantage of their local culture. Is it possible for this process to produce international and national agreements, laws and practices other than from a hegemonic vantage point? Is the ICT collaborative public sphere a means for the indigenous peoples to express themselves as contemporary citizens? Regarding the "development fallacy:"

> "Some additional implications (of the this fallacy) should include a re-evaluation of the substantive experience of decolonization, from the rebellion of Tupac Amaru and the Haitian Revolution of 1804 to the anti-colonial movements of the sixties as sources of visions of a future that oppose conventional sources (the French and American revolutions, for example); and, in general, there is a need to take seriously the epistemological force of local stories and re-think the theory of the political praxis of subaltern groups" (Escobar, 2005, p. 35).

Could the Surui cultural map offer the experience observing the epistemological force of a local story worldwide? Is it possible to observe man-nature relations and political praxis of subaltern groups in action while changing or sustaining positions in the everyday public sphere?

4. The Surui Cultural Map: An Attempt to "educate the foreign eye"?

The Paiter-Surui live in the State of Rondônia, and had their first contact with the "white man" in 1968, when highway BR-364 was opened to populate this region with Brazil settlers. According to the Paiter leader, Chief Almir Surui, such contact had led a decline in the Surui people population "from more than five thousand to just 290 persons". The area inhabited by the Surui was then fixed by the federal government at 248 thousand hectares after several conflicts with settlers and lumberjacks. According to a video testimonial, such demarcations of the Surui territory are represented in the cultural map and are identified by the Surui as a positive aspect of the conflict with settlers and lumberjacks, since boundaries were now recognized by law and respected by all those in contact with the Surui.

Seventeen years after the first contact, Mindlin (1985) identifies the Paiter-Surui has having been co-opted by a desire for consumer goods, a process resulting in economic necessities. She also affirms that this group shows a "desire for autonomy," a "curiosity for the technology" of science, a motivation to "investigate and know the national society," and to "vindicate their rights."

In the present case study, a qualitative analysis of the Surui Culture Map on the Google Earth site has been elaborated.[7] Atlas Ti software was used for categorization of

[7] Content had been prospected from June 2012 to February 2013.

selected elements in the audiovisual production associated to this map. Additional sources such as information published on the tribe video channels[8] and in GoogleOutreach, a YouTube site, the Surui Tribe blog and the Google contents were analyzed as well.

The Surui Cultural Map is defined by Chief Almir Surui as «a map of our territory as well as of our traditional history». According to him the objective of the map is to illustrate the local perspective and to promote a dialogue between the local and the global. This is expressed in a statement included in the Internet video:

> "(...) in 2006 we created a map of our territory and of our traditional history, but some people have never had the opportunity to see this map (...). To reach the world, we trained the Paiter Surui adolescents; in May of the current year they worked together with Google to create the Surui cultural map in Google and to present the Paiter Surui's vision of their forests (...) using Google we are now able to share our vision with the rest of the world. We hope that we might unite virtually and in person and also to find and implement solutions together."[9]

The Chief Almir Surui had the desire to share this map when he first accessed the Internet in 2007 and visited the Google Earth platform. In his words:

> «As time passes I believe more and more in technology potential as a defense of the quality of life, as well as [a tool] to try to elaborate and to discuss forest conservation (...) I believe that having alliances, having solidarity... (this) is very important to protect the forest. We do not want to use Google technology only to denounce, but also to discuss solutions for human life quality (...) [The] Plan to use and respect the space of all is very important. My people want to discuss a 50-year plan for a portion of the 248.196 hectares that you are seeing on these satellite images. Through this technological knowledge we want to transmit the importance of the forest for human life»[10]

During Rio+20, this tri-dimensional and interactive cultural map of the Paiter-Surui was divulged in a video, The «Surui Cultural Map,»[11] with the objective of amplifying the Surui culture dialogue possibilities with other cultures. The forest representation through this digital cultural map is woven from the imaginary expressed in the oral tradition, but it is an oral tradition enlarged by hypermedia resources. They were combined with different memory aspects, both on the local traditional culture and contemporary tribal culture. Using these traditions and technologies, it is possible to setup a "self-portrait," which uses new representational technologies. In this case, most of the informational material was produced in the Surui territory itself, although external resources have been used at times, such as images produced by professionals, or obtain in image databases.[12] Such combinations reinforce nature's hybrid character with regard to culture, while reflecting a desire to create new local-based citizenship- principles based upon diversity within global-local relations.

The information texts available on the Surui cultural map are available in Portuguese and English; however, the Surui language nomenclature of persons, animals, plants and rituals are displayed for cultural contents. In a major part of the testimonies video graphed, the Surui elders spoke in their ancestors' language, however their speeches are subtitled in Portuguese or English. The videos show a Paiter Surui invitation to non-Paiter-Surui actors using the

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[8] Surui Tribe channel in the YouTube http://www.youtube.com/channel/UCuyLyEmq_jokBqtp9kyQLnQ

[9] The development of the interactive tridimensional map has been provided by the Paite-Surui in collaboration with the Google Inc. staff since 2007 and was followed by the launching of the EarthOutreach project, which includes the United Nations initiative «UNEP's Atlas of our Changing Environment», see http://www.google.com/earth/outreach/stories/unep.html

[10] See "Chief Almir Surui speaks at the Google Earth Outreach launch" em http://youtu.be/sxvM386ojpg

[11] See the version with English subtitles under the address http://youtu.be/jqiCWcBsHP4

[12] The jaguar photo was taken by Buttler Rhett of Mongabay.com.

internet public sphere to become acquainted and share their values (CONILH DE BEYSSAC, D´ÁVILA NETO, & IRVING, in press).

Thus, the Surui Cultural Map, with its text and images, accomplishes a triple function: 1) an invitation to the Paiter Surui to reflect about their own culture and values; 2) the creation of records of Surui oral narratives, myths, habits and costumes regarding their way of live; and 3) a Surui interactive and collaborative culture diffusion worldwide. Such an innovative way to communicate, as it subverts the mass communication process logic, opens up an interactive experience starting from local to global, from the "Savage" to the world, envisaging "educating the foreign eye" via a forest representation which is animistic and mythic, and thus "enchanted." The Suri Cultural Map also includes a layer of information related to a possible carbon sequestration project in their land, as they have learned to represent their trees in global positioning system (GPS) coordinates (Figure 3).

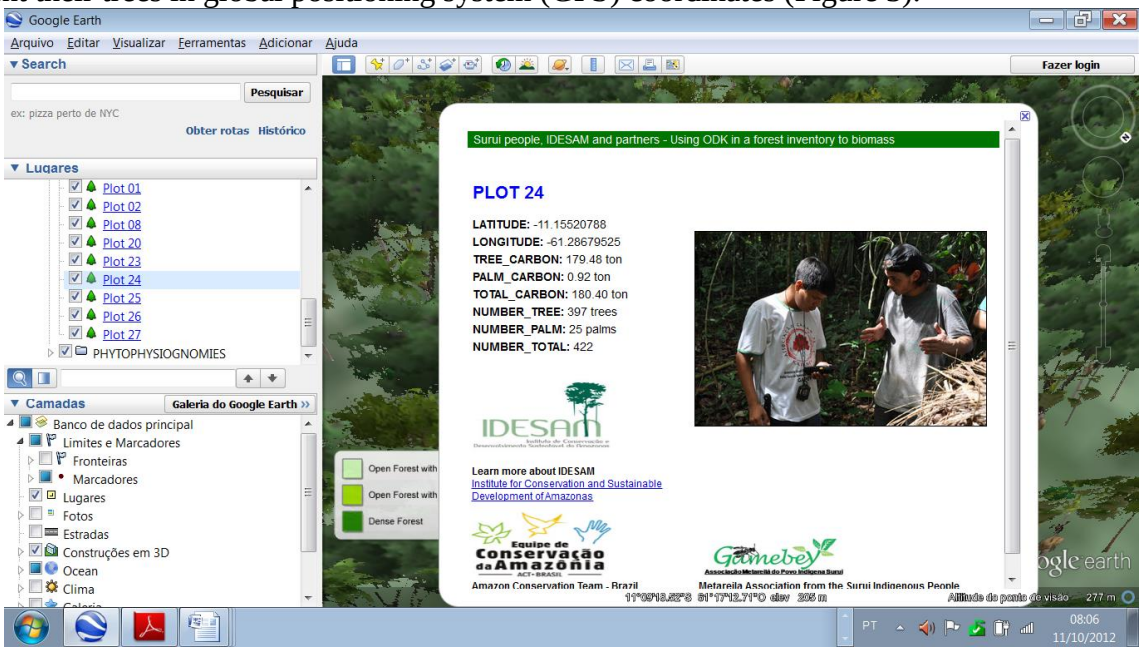

Figure 3 Navigation screen of the Surui Cultural Map in the Google Earth, showing a screen about the carbon credit data on the « plot 24 ».

The map, images and videos, even if "translated" to cultures other than their own (i.e. Brazilian, non Paiter-Surui and of English speakers), evoke resonances of archaic elements common to human imaginary, as theorized by Gilbert Durand (1999), and previously discussed by us.[13] Thus, the act of representing the forest on Google Earth allows the Surui to establish affinities and ties with the external world. Using these connections to the external world allows the Surui to perform symbolic struggles for the continuance of the Paiter Surui life style and culture conservation, as well as for the forest within its territory.

5. Final Considerations:

The Surui initiative illustrates several aspects of communication and information technology used for citizenship exercise, for the contemporary native local expression, as well as for environmental and cultural sensitizing at the local and global levels. As identified by Escobar, the network-communication focus refers to new possibilities for the expression of several actors in terms of identities being voiced from within local cultures movements and by individuals. (Escobar, 1999, p. 381). This way, the "savage" "modernizes" himself, acting as

[13] For a detailed analysis on Paiter-Surui forest imaginary, see Conilh de Beyssac, M.L.T., D´Ávila Neto M.I., and Irving M.A.. "L'Imaginaire de la Forêt Amazonienne au Brésil: Carte Culturelle Suruí Chez GoogleEarth." In Collection: Ethique, Droit et Développement Durable, Harpet, C., Pierron, J.P., e Billet, P. (Orgs). Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014.

protagonist of his own expression. With such a perspective, can we consider that the "inferiority" of the "savage" will become extinct?

In the studied contemporary native expression of its territory, it is possible to observe a mixture of hybridized elements, wherein the local and global Imaginaries are the condensed symbols represented in the Surui Cultural Map: from the orally transmitted immemorial myths, to the territory explored and reconstructed, based upon satellite images and 3D modeling. These images are sometimes identified with the imaginary figures that underlie the Google Earth software metaphors, and sometimes are mutually translated; thus establishing dialogues in digital spaces in which aspects as leisure, art, ludicity and reflection are intertwined.

However, such codification and decodification of nature and forest symbology, such hybridizations, also demonstrates the potential of awakening new sensibilities regarding nature though the invitation to observe new world visions. The access possibilities to the Surui Cultural Map are several, whereas the content interpretation shall become each user's responsibility. Through the establishment of worldwide affinities and links, or critical perceptions of the group reality under study, such dynamics also favor the elaboration of new expressions, which lead to generating transformations of local and global realities. The collaborative construction of a Surui cultural map by the Paiter, together with the global reach of a technological company, exemplifies alternatives for the expression of a new form of representation. This new way of constructing a new imaginary of a culture and the forest in which it is located in a tangible and sharing perspective makes possible a "re-enchantment" as opposed to world disenchantment….

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Multicultural societies:
The formation of sociability territories in the city of Rio de Janeiro

Abstract:
This paper is an extension of a former work in Cultural Identity that has been done at the Mangueira Favela territory in Rio de Janeiro- Brazil, since 2004, now expanded to the Cinelândia Square territory. The objective is to depict how the multicultural character of a contemporary society may enrich the sociability of the city territories. The focus of this work in Cinelândia Square is due because it is the scenario of most significant cultural and social moments of the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, since the First Republic. The contemporary society is inevitably multicultural and demands the recognition of cultural differences that may allow the dialog and the understanding of one another. This work shows multicultural character as an influence that enriches the construction of the sociability in the city territories. The conclusion is that plural and heterogenic territories, where the differences are permanent, are fundamental to build the sociability. For this article, we focus on Cinelândia Square, a melting pot at Rio's city center, where almost everything fits and where difference is a vector of integration.

Key words: Territory. Sociability. Society. Multicultural. Cinelândia Square, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

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1. Introduction

This paper is an extension of a former research about Cultural Identity, which has been developed since 2004 in Mangueira Territory, in the City of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil – the former research outcomes are available in the book titled: Green and Pink Territory: Psychosocial constructions in Cartola Cultural Center (*Território Verde e Rosa: construções psicossociais no Centro Cultural Cartola)* – that at this point expands to other territory, Cinelândia Square.

Figure 1: Cinelândia Square

Cinelândia Square is known for being the stage of important events in cultural and political history of Rio de Janeiro since colonial period, and mainly in the First Republic.

The multicultural issue implies the need to apprehend a society with plural identities from several races, genders, cultural patterns and social classes, for instance. What makes it not only heterogeneous but also a society in which "diversity, discontinuity and difference are seen as central categories" and the identity is seen as "unfocused, multiple and in permanent process of construction and reconstruction" (Canen & Oliveira, 2002, p.61).

The object of this work is beyond what is related to multicultural societies in general, such as the difference seen by the bias of prejudice or the odds. On the contrary, it is intended to think about how multicultural character induces and enriches the building of sociability in the city territories.

2. Contemporary multicultural societies

The cultural pluralism of contemporary societies has become more visible in academic, political and social discussions, and frequently has taken the central place. That emerges as a result of a strategic reconfiguration of forces and social relations around the globe.

The existence of multicultural societies is not recent. Since the fifteenth century, before the European expansion and intensified by it, migrations and displacements of people have always occurred and contributed to the production of multiple ethnically and culturally societies. So, Hall (1992) highlights that not only the empires which are resulting from of conquest, but also the settlements can be easily described as multicultural.

The author believes that there is still a straight connection between the rise of the "multicultural issue" and the "pos-colonial" phenomenon. For Hall, the "pos-colonial" sets a transition of a configuration or historical power context to another. In the past, they were articulated as unequal relations of power and exploitation between the settlers and the settled. Currently, these relations are displaced and put back like a fight between native forces, as inner contradictions and sources of instability inside the decolonized society, or between it and the global system as a whole.

The discussion about the multicultural issue has been presented in arts, social and political movements and even in educational field and points to "recognizing the difference,

the right to be different" (Goncalves & Silva, 2003, p 109). The highlights given to the differential treatment of the multicultural issue suggest the essence of the difference in defining democracy as a heterogeneous space by nature, which might be able to find ways of cultural diversity public manifestation (Hall, 2003).

The multicultural issue in democratic societies, points to a discussion between pluralism and universalism. The modern dilemma is precisely in recognizing the difference. In this sense, Gonçalves and Silva (2003) highlight that the way that identities were treated and still are show how societies deal with the multicultural issue. In the societies in which there is acceptance "through the principle of freedom, men are free to build their identities, to choose their social, political and cultural pertinences (idem, p.117).

In such societies, citizens do not declare a primordial identity, but a choice of a place in the group they want to belong to (Hall, 1992). At the same time, they provoke a cultural destabilization for disturbing the language of "race" or "ethnicity" since identities are constituted through hybridization. (Hall, idem) says: man is what Taylor (1994) called "dialogic" in the terms of his relationship with the other fundamentally constitutive of the subject, and may stand with an "identity" related only to what he lacks – his other, his "constructive exterior". A meaningful personal life is always embedded in cultural contexts and is only within it that his "free choices" make sense.

In this sense Hall (idem) goes on with his argument of how subjects and communities build the social space: The fact is that neither man as free as entities nor communities while supportive entities fill the entire social space. Each one is composed in relation to what is the other or what is different from its own; for him, we must ask ourselves if the highest recognition of the difference and the highest equality and justice for all can build a common "horizon"; a multicultural political logic requires at least two other living condition: an expanding and increasingly deep radicalization of the democratic social life practices, as well as the relentless dispute of each form of social closing or ethnically excluding.

Therefore, the multicultural societies, in order to build themselves from the respect they have to the plurality of voices and cultural identity stories need to "incorporate perspectives that valorize the cultural diversity and react against prejudice" (p. 710) according to Assis and Canen (2004). It is just the multiculturalism focus. What is precisely the multiculturalism focus, an attempt to break up the cultural homogenization and find ways to incorporate the cultural plurality in social spaces, just like our authors have concluded?

In an attempt to clarify the complexity of the terms Hall (1992) proposes a distinction between "multicultural" and "multiculturalism". Multicultural is a qualitative term. It describes social characteristics and governance problems presented by any society in which different cultural communities live together and try to build a communal life and the same time preserves something of its original identity. The term" multiculturalism" is a noun. It refers to strategies and policies adopted in order to govern or to administrate diversity and multiplicity problems created by multicultural societies. It is regularly used in the singular meaning the specific philosophy or the doctrine that sustains the multicultural strategies.

On the differentiation proposed by Hall we should highlight that there are several multicultural societies with specific features. They have in common, however, the fact that they are heterogeneous, and it points to the plural aspect of the multicultural definition. Society diversity has been more and more named hybrid. It is the word that Hall (Idem) refers to as cultural logic in translation, as he explains: hybridity does not refer to the hybrid man who can be contrasted with the "traditional" and "modern" as subjects fully educated. It is a process of cultural translation since it never fulfills but remains doubtful.

Hybridity indicates the immeasurable. In Bhabha's understanding (1994) it exists as an ambiguous time of transition that remains in social process and has no guarantee on how it

will end. It follows the dissonance despite the close relations, the powerful disjunctions to be challenged or the ethnical values to be translated. They all deal at some point with the spectre of "*différance*", in which disjunctions of time, generation, spatialization and dissemination refuse to be distinctly aligned (Hall, 1992).

Ribeiro (2005) refers to a hybrid or critical multiculturalism as able to recognize beyond the specificity and the particularities on relations. So, multiculturalism may be opposed to dualism as black and white, helping to avoid prejudice against the other seized in a stagnant and fixed way. As Hall (2003) says: It is not the binary shape of the difference between what is absolutely the same or absolutely the "Other". It is a "wave" of similarities and differences that refuses the division into fixed binary.

To Assis and Canen (2004) the critical multiculturalism focuses the question on identity and understands it as the outcome of a fixed frame, temporary and random at cultural meetings and disagreements. And they conclude: the multiculturalism advises to the need of not freezing the identities around unique markers under the penalty of homogenization of the identities and the perpetuation of prejudices.

Santos (2002) also warns to the importance to focus on the differences given by the multiculturalism do not contribute to the isolation of groups, creation of ghettos and to increase the fragmentation that are intended primarily to eliminate. It would be necessary "to promote discursive practices that contemplates a hybrid language as well, taking advantage of discursive strategies that can be reframed in cultural creative synthesis, which are also singular, local, flexible and temporary" (Canen & Oliveira (2002, p. 64). Thus, according to the authors, it would be possible to understand, to accept and to integrate the mobility and the multiplicity of the identities.

Arantes (2006) emphasizes the visible revaluation of the cultural diversity. As he says:

Appropriate initiatives, reinterpretation, rehabilitation and even the reinvention of traditions are put into practice by a growing number of actors and social groups and at the same time they become the target of advertising and marketing specialist projects and cultural inflexion business or added cultural value (idem. p. 431).

Passing to the Brazilian context, the thought about the multicultural society allows us to observe that it "has become hybrid in its ethnic composition" (PACÍFICO, 2010, p. 96). The migration phenomenon happened with the arriving of the Europeans. Brazilian society was originally formed by the native Indian, the white settlers and the black slaves.

First there were the Portuguese, after them came the Spanish, English, French, Italian, Flemish, Irish and German who had a permission from the Portuguese Crown to travel along the Brazilian coast as merchants since they had to pay ten percent over the traded goods. Later on came the Arabs, mostly the Syrians and Lebanese and the Japanese until the arriving of Angolans, Colombians and more recently, the Paraguayans as Pacífico (idem) had explained.

The migrations happened for different reasons, not only to escape from persecution in their home land, but also to search for an improvement of their living and working conditions. And these were some of the facts "that had characterized Brazil as a multicultural country" (idem, p.94). It is easier to understand the construction of meaning of a territory considering the deep trace left by social migration experiences, as Arantes (2006) points out:

It is appropriate to include in this general frame the sense of place built in the cities for the experience to live in, since no one lives in the abstract but in a settled time-space. At this territorial, cultural and historic landmark – the artifact city – that the senses of location and belonging as well as the self- consciousness are constantly redone and accumulating over time […] The feeling of belonging to regional or local national communities as to occupy a recognizable status on the social map gain a new significance and the importance expressed in the construction of the sense of place including demands of patrimonial nature (p. 430-431).

Therefore, the city is a real territory that needs to be an experience in relation to the other. "Our own self finds its place in the world when it is part of a community identity. All identity is realized through shared culture" (Rocha & Eckert, 2006, p. 466).

Thereby, the individual and social identity preservation are evident in territories of sociability in multicultural cities as shown below.

3. City: multicultural territory of sociability

The sedentary process made man establishes a new relationship with nature, when it became necessary to control permanently the cultivated territory. It started a birth process of the first forms of cities. At that moment there was a preoccupation with the social organization, production and power management, territorial achievement and the production of myths and symbols (Rolnik, 2004).

As Carvalho (2007) presents:

When man takes possession of a territory, he takes not only the space of the land but he builds his society, constructs his city and monuments, delimits spaces, builds his way of life and culture, expresses his knowledge, constructs his identity and let his history and memories through times (p. 8).

The creation of the cities aimed to please the needs of the people who lived in them, together it allowed not only the formation of an organized society, but also the trade and administrational, industrial, cultural, civil, religious and educational activities. According to Andrade (2003), such factors still attract people to the cities.

The multiplicity, diversity and coexistence always set the tone of a city. Since antiquity, the image of the city reflects the difference, a place where one meets the multiple, as Vainer (1998) says. Being a city characterized by several cultural activities and its monuments, its concern is the realization of the shapes of movement of men between spaces, codes and worlds of unique guidance. De Certeau (2008) describes the plurality of the cities. He says that it is almost impossible to achieve a concept to it, he says that "planning the city is both to think the very plurality of the real and to carry out this thought of the plural: it is to know and to be able to articulate" (p.172).

The city social-spatial formation happens in accordance with the economical and political aspects, that is, in line with the characteristic of each moment of social arrangement (ABREU, 2008). The geographic, natural, social and human configuration and each historical moment interfere in the formation of the city. Hence, Rezende (1982) highlights that the city is the unfinished result and the changing mediation of social, economic and political structures. To think the city and its daily life it is necessary to think about its inherent cultural aspects (Andrade, 2003).

To Santos (1997) "Space is a relational reality: things and relation together" (p.26), that is, the space is linked to social system developed by the society that inhabit it. In the same way, Rezende (1982) reminds that the appropriation of the urban space happens in concordance with the mode of the dominant production. Abreu (2008) says:

The space reflects, each time, the characteristics of a new time in the society organization, the spatial order of a city, in other words, its urban structure, reflecting also the result of the confrontation, adjustment or rearrangement of the systems that constitute society […] if the social process gives space to a form, a function, a social significance, this influences the development of these processes during the time, institutionalizing or modifying them (p.31).

The space changes radically with the transition from medieval village to city. It starts being negotiated by social classes. The city establishes aiming the market and the redefinition

of the space happens to valorize resulting attributes of infrastructure investment (ROLNIK, 2004). Nevertheless there is a chance to go around the city regardless the social and economical classification.

De Certeau (2008) assures that the city organizes itself by speculative and qualifying actions. It does so by building spaces with stable, isolable and articulated properties through management and elimination. The city promotes a differentiation and a redistribution of space and denies all that is considered intractable in the concept of a functionalist administration.

A modern city to Velho (1995) reinvents itself and produces realities and processes of differentiation. Consequently, a multiplicity of lifestyles that never existed before appears. Thereby, Vainer (1998) believes that the city admits and more than that produces heterogeneity since it is a helpful characteristic to its operation and for being the result of social processes historically established. Since the Middle age, the city plays a strong cultural role for the education, arts, theatre, politeness, manners and elegance. We observe that cultural spaces, helping the social, varied in the course of history. From public to private spaces, from streets and plazas to coffee shops, theatre and movies.

Maia and Krapp (2005) highlight that traditional analysis related to cities emphasize the relation of the pecuniary axis over the daily experience in which multiple ups and downs are held. As the outline:

One can build a new map for its symbolic force. This symbolic force is not drawn by urban designers in their clipboards or in the processes of the rationalization of spaces that define places for rich, poor, black or white.

Seen from this angle, daily stories are set up in a city with its mysteries, tradition and partnership and ordinary men become social actors which help to understand several constituted sociality in the city. Thereby, Maia and Krapp (idem) assure that daily facts build up the conscience of a territory. As a result, cultural practices have an effect on the building of the identity of the city inhabitants, making it possible to establish ways of recognition and distinction (Santos, 2002).

There is a link between space and sociality in which relations build up original territories that are always formed by dynamics interrelationships. So, the cities are composed by "interactional games starting at trivial encounters between men, ultimately, the citizens that create daily stories" (Maia, 2005, p.77). In this context it is evident the building of a cultural identity.

In the city territory, daily stories act as a resistance to a contemporary speed in such a way that, they enter the world to anchor the present in the social space (idem, p. 35), and its character – the ordinary man- acquires an expressive strength and elects places to share plural lifestyles as Maia and Krapp (idem) highlight:

The experience of living in a metropolis like Rio de Janeiro reminds us that we acquire, assume and transfer certain daily lifestyle, through the experience shared in material spaces down the city. The symbolic exchanges are everywhere - on the characters that live downtown, on delimited beach, under the confetti rain on New Year's Eve. And in the contemporary acceleration nevertheless, do not cease to permeate these changing spaces- many times helping to reinforce them (p.34).

Maia (2005) adds that the shared city idealizes, conceives and creates stories that identify it and "this charming place or this energy coming from certain spaces can circulate through specific neighborhoods producing the desire to preserve all the local events for more trivial they might be considered (p. 77).

The act of sharing city space generates sociability in accordance with Maffesoli (2006), understood as living relativism and for all that makes up the daily life, big or small

events. To the author, the "hauts lieux" (high places), places where meetings are celebrated becoming the union place for people who passes by.

The city social life organization marked by groups that register their stories in certain places of the city is overlapped with the city nature and therefore calls the attention from those who wants to understand the complexity and the changes made in it, mostly in multicultural societies like Rio de Janeiro.

4. The sociability of *carioca* multicultural society

Founded on March 1st 1505, the city of Rio de Janeiro was the capital of Brazil between the years 1763 to 1960. Until 1950 it was the most populated city in the country, concentrating the industries which attracted Brazilian immigrants and foreigners (ABREU, 2008).However, as Rolnik (2004) describes, in the middle of the nineteenth century the city kept the characteristics of a colonial city.

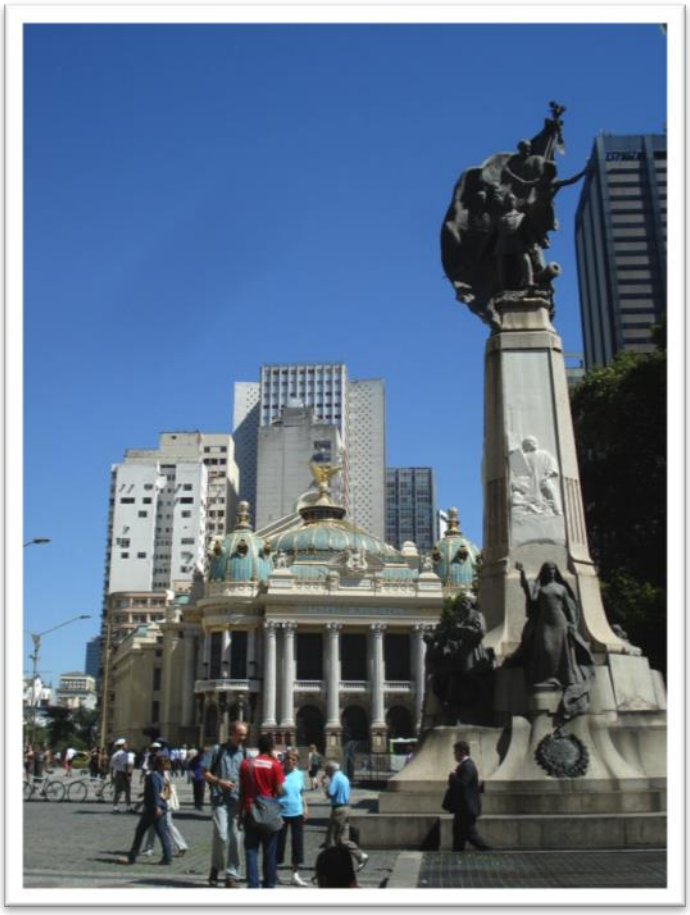

Figure 2: Cinelândia Square

In 1808, the arrival of the royal family started a long process of social and political transformation. Lima (2000) relates that the arrival of the Court found Rio de Janeiro in the middle of social life reforms and it led to other changes in public spaces increasing uses and promoting social differentiation like the ones that was shown in that time.

In 1821, a year after the independence of the country and thirteen years after the arrival of the real family, Rio de Janeiro is described by Abreu (2008) as a modest city, still with colonial feature whose urban area was restricted to what currently corresponds to the Administrative Center and Port.

Trapped between the sea and the mountains, hot-damp climate and little ventilation Rio de Janeiro was considered an inhospitable and unhealthy city. Paiva and Sodré (2004)

reports that the city "grew stealing spaces from the water and climbing hills" (p. 76). It highlights that the spatial conditions precede the economic and social operation of the city and cause a complex plot between the territory and its identity.

In mid-19th century, Rio de Janeiro went through an expansion process that affected its geography, its history and social networks. As Abreu points out the city favored by the public authorities is paved downtown and gas lighting and sanitary sewer services are installed. The city becomes the fifth city in the world to have such services held.

By the end of the nineteen century Rio de Janeiro economy watched the spread of the factories, the end of slavery, the decay of the coffee plantation, culture and the population growth driven by the arrival of foreigners mostly Italians, Spanish and Portuguese (Rolnik, 2004). At that moment the *carioca* bourgeoisie (*Carioca* is how we name the person who is born in Rio de Janeiro) and the government engaged in an urbanization project inspired by the modernization processes trigged in many big cities all over the world. Costa (2005) points out that the ruler class followed the tendency of the French bourgeoisie and demanded for a clean city, beautiful and free from filth and bad habits of its inhabitants. Urban and behavior reforms were undertaken.[3]

The desire to make the city modern and grand like Paris, the main inspiration, made the bourgeoisie and government to mobilize them in order to execute sanitation works, demolition, streets pavement, to disassemble the hills, opening avenues and building monuments. Lima (2000) explains that the intervention of the government in the public space caused amendments in the social space.

At that moment, an enlargement in the use of public space took place. Using the streets, mainly the squares acquired an identity concerning the environment and architecture that were "in the minds of their inhabitants like the aristocrats, dealers or slaves thinking about the interaction between squares and streets […]" (Lima, 2000, p.19). Squares and streets had a huge role in the formation and building of the cultural history of Rio de Janeiro. It had symbolic practices to beyond what was perceived with superficial glance, as the author explains.

Squares and streets were meant for leisure. In their theater, movies[44]and gardens the citizen would fit in public life as Lima (idem) completes. All society would walk through the boxes and foyers of the theatre as well as in squares and show the last fashion trend and behavior. The squares watched from the balls and association parties to political manifestation and academic debates. "[…] the squares represented the very stage to show political and cultural events, the place where people would meet" (id. p. 25).

These places helped the *carioca* bourgeoisie to leave the colonial halls to increase its sociability through public spaces and at the same time allowed the working class, former slaves and immigrants, to go around increasing its sociability and giving the first steps in building not only a multicultural society but territories in which the multicultural was more visible.

5. Cinelândia: cultural territory and dream scenery

Since the early years, Rio de Janeiro was a polyphonic city as Paiva and Sodré (2004) show: "genius from places and neighborhoods can get together either in festive dates or in calendar rites but usually they speak with different voices in their special demands" (17). This is clear in Maia's report (2005):

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[3] The contradictions related to this development process, such as, issues on social classes, the expropriation of dwellings and the consequent slum-growth in areas of the city, despite the important role they occupy in the history of the sociospatial development and formation of the city, they will not be approached in this work. For further information check: Abreu (2008), Costa (2005) and Maiolano (2005).

[4] Cinema has become a sociability space immediately after it had been created. Its creation date ranges from the end of the nineteen century to the beginning of the twentieth century.

It is evident that we could call or name some places that have a "kind of soul" […] justification and explanation are not enough to explain the desire to live intensively the encounters between men, with no reason or objectives. Sometimes, some of these places become excited, more illuminated or full of people […] places of great cultural expression […]. The imaginary of everlasting party in Lapa, downtown; the plurality and charm of Copacabana, sang as Little Princess of the Sea, in the southern, notably during the Reveillon. Remarkable are the daily encounters of several groups at Ipanema beach where the famous girl became the muse for a song translated to several languages all over the world. These are referencial points not only to cariocas but to the world. What particularly calls men attention to these places? We can assert that the answer is on the ability of gathering things that these places hold. They have a certain 'thing" that attracts everybody (p. 79).

Sociability has been a landmark in the city. Paiva and Sodré (2004) believe that this cultural vocation is related to the fact that Rio de Janeiro has never been an industrial city indeed " […] with big factories and plants able to fill the landscape with smoky chimneys" (p.86). The authors add that the city knew how to take advantage of its cultural singularity turning it into business.

The building process of Cinelândia, officially named *Praça Floriano (Square Floriano),* as a social territory was started with the construction of *Avenida Central* - which transformed the old *Largo da Mãe do Bispo* (Square Mother of Bishop) - into a cultural and political territory and the major feature of the Republic in the beginning of the twentieth century (LIMA, 2000).

However, the occupation of this area refers to the colonial period. Some years after the arrival of Cabral, a chapel to honor the patroness of the sailors, *Nossa Senhora da Ajuda* – Our Lady of Good Aid - was built on a swampy ground. Later on, next to the chapel, it was built the *Convento da Ajuda,* a big house with small windows where the nuns of the *Ordem de Santa Clara* used to live,[5] it was regarded as the first female religious community in this country. After that, *Colégio São José* was built, and years later the São José Seminary (Maximo, 1997). There were small trade and craftsmen in the houses nearby.

The location was known as *Campo da Ajuda* or Largo in front of the Ajuda Convent. The construction of a house, in which the mother of the Bishop used to live, he was D. José Joaquim Justiniano de Mascarenhas Castelo Branco, and his mother was Mrs. Ana Teodora Ramos de Mascarenhas, named the place as *Largo da Mãe do Bispo*, which means The Bishop's mother Square (LIMA, 2000). This was due, according to Máximo (1997), to the fact that Dona Ana Teodora had been: " […] a woman as generous as severe […]. Thanks to her austerity, strong personality, her energy as a widow used to make decisions she became a kind of local unofficial authority […]" (p. 47). She played the role of a judge solving disagreements which gave rise to the expression "go and complain to the bishop" (Maranhao, 2003, p.15).

Later, in 1871, the *Largo da Mãe do Bispo* was named Praça São José. In 1888, it was renamed again as *Praça Ferreira Viana*. Only in 1910, it received its current name, *Praça Floriano*. The place still houses a monument to Floriano Peixoto carved by Eduardo Sá (Lima, 2000).

The important cultural role of *Largo da Mãe do Bispo* started in 1865, when the Teatro Eldorado was opened. At first it was named *Recreio do Comércio* but this name did not appeal. Later it was reopened under the name of *Jardin de Flore*, when it was called *Fênix Dramática* it became one of the most attended theatre in the city. At last, it was named

[5] There are contradictions related to the date of the building of *Convento da Ajuda*. LIMA(2000) says it as in 1748. While Máximo (1997) and Maranhão (2003) report that it might have been buit in 1750.

Variedades Dramáticas until it was demolished to the opening of *Avenida Central* (Lima, 2000).

Since that period the Floriano Square or as we say in Brazil *Praça Floriano* already represented a political-governing and cultural center. Carvalho (2007) declares: " Rio de Janeiro City was the great capital of the country for a long time being the stage for historical, political, social and economic events" (p.1). For this information one can assure that a big part of such historical events happened in Cinelândia, which helps us to link its territory to the formation of the *carioca* identity.

Lima (2000) considers that Pereira Passos believed that a square could represent a new order for the Republic located at the end of a large avenue, linking downtown and the other neighborhoods. It had just started to emerge by the sea, a Square that was a territory of politics and culture that attracted the bourgeoisie of that time, a milestone in the urban history of the city. This is evident in the author's description:

The square meant not only leisure and shows cast by The Municipal Theater, but it was also a space for political decisions. To the urban and architectural changes promoted in the two first decades of the century, it would join deep changes into the *carioca* society and from 1925, it would see the birth of the future Cinelândia. In 1930s, this space would be identified as the area of the highest concentration of cinemas in the whole city (Lima, 2000, p. 185).

The Cinelândia then became a very attractive area for culture, politics and economics. In its territory, some historical key events have taken place, they have helped the formation of the *Carioca* cultural identity. Carvalho (2007) points that " the transformation undergone by the society caused morphological changes in the urban space and on their practices" (p. 49). A territory seen as the scenario of experience that interlaces and creates sociability based in the possibility of movement change and building the subjectivities.

In Brief, *Praça Floriano* began to receive a big movement of people; it was the bourgeoisie improving its sociability from home and halls to the public space. "The Avenue had brought electricity, pavement, the electric trolley, cinemas and the cars to th city downtown. Life had changed. The family that used to stay at home or in the farms started to go out for leisure" (Lima, 2000, p. 196). Cinema had a fundamental role in this moment due to its influence in increasing the *Carioca* sociability.

One of the greatest technological creation in the Twentieth Century, the cinema was created in Paris on December 28 1895, the cinematography was invented by the Lumiére brothers (Andrade, 2003). Soon the invention arrived in Brazil. The first picture was shown on 8 July 1896 and after that, small cinematographers were fast spread all over *Avenida Central*. In 1912, there were 37 cinemas with 12.893 seats (Lima, 2000, p. 252). People from several classes were drawn to these movie theaters; they used to go to the cinema to watch movies and to learn about the latest city news and fashion as well. Going to the cinema meant to see and to be seen.

Francisco Serrador Carbonell knew exactly how to take advantage from the passion people had for the movies and the cinema and he was able to use it in order to make his dream come true. He was born in Valência, Spain, he used to sell fish there. It was not until he heard that many of his countrymen were boarding to Brazil in search of better opportunities, had he realized he could do the same. In 1887, he landed in Santos but the opportunities were no better than the ones in Spain. He decided then to go to Curitiba where he kept on selling fish. Later on he started promoting theater, circus and sports events. (Maximo, 1997; Maranhao, 2003).

Serrador was fascinated by plays and entertainment. In 1902, he opened a place named *Parque Coliseu*, an area with " a variety theater, a skating rink, a luminous cave, tallow-tree, shooting range, merry-go-round […] (MÁXIMO, 1997, p. 66). This Amusement House was

a huge success in Curitiba. In 1904, he bought a projector and started showing movies. I was not until he got into contact with this incredible device, the cinematograph, had he realized that cinema would become a great attraction and a big business.

Serrador's ability to convince people to invest in his projects has helped him to take the cinema from Curitiba to all Paraná State and in 1906, to São Paulo State where he opened the first cinema in the capital, *Bijou Théatre*. He owned several cinemas throughout São Paulo state. In 1910, he arrived in Rio de Janeiro and in the same year he opened the first movie theater in the Republic Capital, the Chantecler. Inside that big area between The Municipal Theater and The Monroe Palace, without any other construction after the *Convento da Ajuda* demolition, Serrador caught a glimpse of building his entertainment center. A daring project as Máximo (1997) describes:

[…] his first project was too ambitious to that time: a city block with three theatres, four cinemas with eight hundred seats each, a hotel, seventeen wide stores, a skating rink, a modern amusement park, nine streets with an entrance to the park, a luminous fountain, office rooms and as incredible as it may seen, a huge terrace taking all the building extension for bars and restaurants (p.75).

Serrador has modestly fulfilled his dreams. Four cinemas, few stores and office rooms. However, it was quite enough and after a while the place was named after him as *Bairro Senador*, the Brazilian Broadway. The palce was also responsible for moving all the entertainment and business center from *Rua do Ouvidor* (Ouvidor Street), to *Terra do Cinema* (cinema land) or *Cinelândia* (cineland) as it is known until today (MÁXIMO, 1997). It was to *Cinelândia* that people used to go as Lima (2000) describes:

[…] an area in which the relation space-time was more favorable to the passersby that come to understand the *Praça dos Cinemas* as a delimited space, where the citizen would feel as integrated as if it were part of one's own daily life, like being in one's real neighborhood […] (p. 262).

Lima (2000) considers that Serrador's dream to modernize the city throughout amusement attractions was responsible for building the image of *Cinelândia* as a " place to exchange sociability" (p. 313). The cinemas brought new habits to the city. Its cultural projection resulted in a new meaning to the public areas mixing people in diversified activities. A meeting place where men and women from the bourgeoisie and the less privileged part of the society could be seen in the squares as Lima 92000) relates: "each different kind of people would fit into the image of that newly transformed space in a different way […] the multiple uses that there coexisted could not have the same meaning to each one" (p. 262).

Cinelândia sidewalks were walkways to the *flâneur* (stroller), the coffee-shop tables, bars and restaurants were the stage for talking about literature, music, cinema, politics ,fashion or (Maximo, 1997). The sociability of Rio de Janeiro was developed in a new area.

Cinelândia apogee took place between 1925 and 1945 (Lima, 2000), Afterwards many events took the magic of this place away. Among them, the death of Serrador on March 22nd 1941, the war time, the changes in the relationship of the citizens and the territories, the growth of South Zone, full of attractions and new modern cinemas.

Despite having lost its feature as cultural polo, *Cinelândia* never ceased to be the scenario of large popular manifestations. It is possible to mention events such as, the parade of the soldiers before leaving to the war in 1944. The parade of the World Cup champions in 1958. The March of the One Hundred and Thousand, in June 1968. The parade of Samba Schools between 1957 and 1962. The political meetings of *Diretas já* (Direct Elections Now) in 1984. The *caras-pintadas* (The Painted-Faces) in 1992. The parade of *Bola Preta* (Black

Ball, carnival parede group) that has been shown since 1950. And still, the daily movement of formal and informal workers, beggars, protestant, prostitutes and tourists that keep *Cinelândia* alive.

Cinelândia is still the stage for events and manifestations. During The Municipal Theater Centennial Party, that took place in July 14th, 2009, a large stage was set up in the square because the theatre was closed in order to be remodeled. Another theater house, named as *Rival* welcomes well-known musicians of the Brazilian music. The traditional Bar named *Amarelinho* still gathers several people during the happy-hour. The movie house called *Odeon* has been the stage for the Movie Festival every year from September 24th to October 8th. It was in *Cinelândia* that students protested against the ENEM test on November 12th, 2010. In 2011, they gathered once more for President Obama's speech in Municipal Theater. *Cinelândia* has been transformed but it remains as a territory of sociability and still has stories to tell.

6. Final Considerations

"Therefore, Hall (1992) question how is it possible to recognize the particular and the universal or the claims made by difference and equality? That is the dilemma, the enigma – a multicultural matt. The question proposed by Hall (idem) requires consideration that goes beyond the ordinary discourse, it suggests the creation of new arguments that specifically know how to deal with the differences and the multiple layers that complete the building of the identity.

It is important to think of multicultural issue, considering the differences not as inequalities but as factors that enrich the formation of sociability territories, and it means to propose a new multicultural logic. Hence, heterogeneous and plural territories will be considered fundamental territories. Differences will remain in them and will also contribute to the building of territories of sociability.

Public areas are the sociability territories that are closer to this proposal, as for example, *Cinelândia*, a cauldron in which almost everything, not to say everything, fits and where the difference is an integrating factor and the enrichment of senses and meanings.

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