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250 USD (B/W) & 350 USD (Color)

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Hindrances to Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria

By I. I. Danja, S.G. Dalibi & Anvar Safarov

South East University

Abstract- Nigeria is a country located in the Western part of Africa. The country is a multinational state with diverse ethnicity of which the three most notable are the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, and Yoruba; these ethnic groups speak over 500 different languages and share a wide variety of cultures. The Hausa-Fulani are one of the largest ethnic groups in Africa and also a diverse and culturally homogeneous people living mainly in the Sahelian and Sudan savannah region of Northern Nigeria. They mostly live in small villages or towns in Africa, where they grow crops, raise livestock, and engage in trade. The trade influenced political development as ideas (and people) from the Middle East and North Africa made their way south to these cities. Such movements especially due to trades led to an exchange of ideas, cultural practices, and socialization, etc. have a significant impact on the Hausa-Fulani's way of life as confirmed in their traditional building designs and construction processes.

Keywords: buildings, factors, hausa-fulani, hindering, northern nigeria, vernacular architecture.

GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 120199

HINDRANCESTOVERNACULARARCHITECTUREOFNORTHERNNIGERIA

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Hindrances to Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria

I. I. Danja [α], S.G. Dalibi [σ] & Anvar Safarov [ρ]

Abstract- Nigeria is a country located in the Western part of Africa. The country is a multinational state with diverse ethnicity of which the three most notable are the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, and Yoruba; these ethnic groups speak over 500 different languages and share a wide variety of cultures. The Hausa-Fulani are one of the largest ethnic groups in Africa and also a diverse and culturally homogeneous people living mainly in the Sahelian and Sudan savannah region of Northern Nigeria. They mostly live in small villages or towns in Africa, where they grow crops, raise livestock, and engage in trade. The trade influenced political development as ideas (and people) from the Middle East and North Africa made their way south to these cities. Such movements especially due to trades led to an exchange of ideas, cultural practices, and socialization, etc. have a significant impact on the Hausa-Fulani's way of life as confirmed in their traditional building designs and construction processes. Such architectural design is referred to as "Tubali" in the Hausa-Fulani language; globally known as Vernacular Architecture. A couple of studies conducted in Nigeria revealed that Nigerians persistently discriminate against indigenous building materials because of doubtful durability and life span, poor social acceptability, as well as lack of well-established standards for these materials. The combination of these challenges further compounds the problems in terms of continuity, development, sustainability of the concept and practice of Vernacular Architecture. This research paper aims to assess and discuss some selected factors hindering the Vernacular Architecture in the northern part of Nigeria (dominated by the Hausa-Fulani tribe) with the view of identifying, evaluating and ranking such factors on how they hinder VANN. The reviewed literature in the VA field helpedp in identifying some factors hindering VANN. The identified factors formed the main body of the questionnaires structured based on a 5-point Likert scale and randomly administered to various construction project professionals practicing in Northern Nigeria's built environment. The resonses are analyzed with the use of Percentage tables; Mean item score/weighted average scores and T-test. The result shows that all the identified factors were agreed by the respondents to Hinder Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria, as is further attested by the hypotheses tested.

Keywords: buildings, factors, hausa-fulani, hindering, northern nigeria, vernacular architecture.

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I. Introduction

a) Background to the Study

Nigeria is recurrently referred to as the "Giant of Africa, "due to its large population and economy, with approximately 200 million inhabitants and also the seventh most populous country in the world with one of the most significant numbers of youths [1][2] [3]. The country is a multinational state with diverse ethnicity of which the three most notable are the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, and Yoruba; these ethnic groups speak over 500 different languages and share a wide variety of cultures [4][5].

The Hausa-Fulani are one of the largest ethnic groups in Africa. They are diverse but culturally homogeneous people based primarily in the Sahelian and Sudan savannah area of Northern Nigeria and southeastern Niger republic. The largest population of Hausa-Fulanire sides in Nigeria and Niger [6].They mostly live in small villages or towns in Africa, where they grow crops, raise livestock including cattle, and engage in trade. These city-states became centers of long-distance trade. The trade influenced political development as ideas (and people) from the Middle East and North Africa made their way south to these cities. Such movements especially due to trades led to the exchange of ideas, cultural practices, and socialization, etc. which have a significant impact on the Hausa-Fulani's way of life as confirmed in their traditional building designs and construction processes. Such architecture is referred to as "Tubali" in the Hausa-Fulani language; globally known as Vernacular Architecture.

Many researchers define the term "Vernacular Architecture" (VA) in many different ways as; the 'idea and technology' of a particular group's method of constructing shelter under the conditions of scarcity of materials and efficient constructional techniques [7]. An accurate reflection of how generality of people want to build and is depictive of their lifestyle [8]. A building made by people in tribal and peasant societies where an architect or a designer is not employed [9]. An architecture that is the outcome of an anonymous design period, and objective environmental surrounding that society forms for itself [10].VA evolved from the experiences of a group of people living under different climatic conditions. It involves the technique of using locally available resources based on the environmental,

cultural and historical background of people [11], [12], [13]. VA is a style of architectures designed base on needs and availability of building materials reflecting the local traditions of a group of people [14]; VA is the local or regional architecture of a group of people [15], [16]. It is also referred to as a constructed shelter of a group of people according to their culture, traditions, beliefs, and environment which is constrained by their climate and locally available materials

In Nigeria, lack of research and government funding coupled together with other factors such as human neglect, socio-economic condition of Nigerians, modernization, discontinuity, and weather and climatic conditions are the major problems hindering or impeding the vernacular architectural practices. A couple of studies conducted in Nigeria also revealed that Nigerians persistently discriminate against indigenous building materials because of doubtful durability and life span, poor social acceptability, as well as lack of well-established standards for these materials [19]. Fatty (2006), also states that in the tropics, only scientific evaluation of new ideas will save its traditional architecture [20]. Earth buildings always suffer from common defects such as surface erosion, partial crumbling, humidity, and hallowed bases [21]. It is apparent that the state of quality control for earth construction hangs in the critical balance with limited tolerance for satisfactory performance; that is why most people use sand-cement wall system because they have been beneficial in term of durability and more tolerant in a tropical environment with competent performances [22]. Hence the need to assess the impacts of the factors hindering and impeding the vernacular architectural practices in Nigeria especially that of Northern Nigeria.

b) Research Aim

This research paper aims to evaluate and discuss some selected factors hindering the Vernacular Architectural practices in the Northern part of Nigeria with the view of identifying, assessing and ranking such factors on how they affect VANN.

c) Hypotheses

To adequately address the research problem and achieve the aim, the following hypotheses were formulated and statistically tested:

- *Null Hypothesis (Ho):* No significant factors are Hindering Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria.
- *Alternative Hypothesis (HA):* Significant factors are Hindering the Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria.

d) Research Methodology

The primary sources of data for this research work are from journals, conference/seminar/ workshop papers, textbooks, newspapers, magazines, and the internet sources, etc., which were used to review literature in the VA field and helped in identifying and discussing some selected factors Hindering VA practices in the Northern part of Nigeria. These formed the main body of the administered questionnaires which was structured based on a 5-point Likert scale of (Strongly Agree – 5; Agree – 4; Neutral / Undecided – 3; Dis-Agree – 2; Strongly Dis-Agree – 1). These structured questionnaires were administered randomly to the various construction project professionals practicing within Northern Nigeria's built environment. The responses were analyzed statistically using simple Percentage tables; Mean item score/weighted average scores and T-square statistics.

II. Literature Review

a) Factors Hindering VANN

Vernacular architecture of northern Nigeria has many unique features which differentiate it from any other form of architecture. Some of these notable features are the engravings carved on the façade of the buildings, use of available building materials such as mud, reeds, stones, and timber within the structures like doors, windows, plastering, and the process of renovations. This feature forms a colorful form of architecture which can only be found in Northern Nigeria [17].

Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria has suffered a great deal from many different factors which include but not limited to:

1. Lack of Funding for Research Works
2. Human Neglect
3. Socio-economic condition
4. Modernization
5. Discontinuity
6. Weather and climatic condition

i. Lack of Funding for Research works

Lack of funding for research and development hinders the practices and development of vernacular architecture in northern Nigeria. Researchers are not provided with the necessary financing to integrate innovative design ideas that will provide a better living environment for building occupants. In a world driven by competition in advancement in technology, research has development implications on every nation, so also is the funding. The funding of research in Nigeria has a direct relationship with government allocations to various institutions as well as the priority of the subject area in the government policy. In a world driven by competition particularly in science and technology, Nigeria has remained a consuming society and seller's market. If adequate research is carried out in Nigeria, the nation would be able to develop products and methods of production which would reduce dependence on importation of manufactured goods [23]. A host of factors militate against research in

Nigeria, besides the failure to recognize it as a matter of policy, inadequate facilities – poor equipment, poor libraries, etc., as a result of underfunding [24].

Researches in education and other sectors of the economy rarely attract appropriate government funding which indicates a lack of commitment by government at all levels to the effect that researchers cannot acquire sufficient financial backing. Researches conducted by professionals and associations are usually frustrated due to lack of funds. The annual government budget on education is not enough, let alone provision of research grants to researchers and research institutes [23]. These by extension affects research works in the VA field which covers Traditional, Historical and Heritage buildings, etc.

ii. *Human Neglect*

Human neglect coupled with lack of will by the government, lack of appreciation of cultural heritage and poor acceptability of traditional building materials and method is some of the significant factors hindering the vernacular architectural practices in Nigeria. According to Osasona et al., (2009), due to the lack of apparent political will, Nigeria is yet to come to terms with the cultural implications and economic losses of the neglect of its heritage and vernacular architecture [25].Mostly traditional architectural element had been forgotten and even ignored [26].The discrimination against earth building has reduced the impact of Government efforts in empowering private housing sector [27].

There is the issue of conservation and preservation policy at the root of much of the decay of Nigeria's heritage structures. All over the geographic sprawl of the nation, samples of buildings-ranging from local traditional, through legacies of colonial occupation and facilitation, to locally hybrids each physically interesting, historically and culturally significant and thus worthy of preservation[25].

This entrenched negligence (resulting in trivializing evidence of the nation's material culture) has been the result on the one hand, and misplaced value on the other. Apart from Government's inactivity and the Ancient Monuments Society (AMS), generally the populace occupies itself with a more pressing issue of employment and the provision of food and basic shelters for families and individuals. Various Faculties of Architecture have frequently observed the neglect of heritage buildings. In 1999; an attempt was made to intervene, however minimally, on some buildings, to stem the tide of inevitable degeneration [25].

iii. *Socio-economic condition*

Egentiet al.,(2014) states that the durability of traditional building materials explains the reason for a cold shoulder from the financially strained Nigerians thereby forcing them to employ the use of the e expensive building materials like sand-cement blocks, which are widely known for durability, reliability and pleasant aesthetic effect. It also shows that Nigerians consider the owners of modern building as superior and economically stable than those with traditional structures. The proud owners of these new cement buildings were respected and placed high in the society [27].

A study survey conducted by Alagbe (2011) aimed at examining the relationship between people's knowledge of compressed stabilized laterite earth block and the acceptability of housing construction, the survey revealed that the acceptability of compressed earth block is dependent on durability and adequate promotion and enlightenment campaign by the public and private sectors in Nigeria[28].The use of traditional materials like earth, straw, bale, and stone, to be accepted overall mainly to scrap its offensive/derogative image as material for the poor[29].

With increasing problems of poverty, dwindling resources, and unfavorable economic atmosphere, architects should be encouraged to return to local traditional materials and technologies and through creativity and innovation came up with better ways of building. The major impediments in the campaign for earth, straw, bale and stone buildings are in their property value as economic commodities. Even though the client may be persuaded to build with such technologies, there is the likelihood that these houses may be priced lower by estate managers given their relative newness and complexity in real estate market in Nigeria [29].

iv. *Modernization*

In Nigeria, modernization is one of the significant factors that affect vernacular architecture; one of these factors are acceptance of earth as a modern building material. Egentiet al., (2014) identified that the durability of earth walls as one area that attracted the most concern from the public and emphasized the importance of addressing this problem for the earth to gain acceptance as a modern building material [30]. Modernization and societal advancement somehow had downgraded these practices of using traditional building materials in favoring the machine intensive, unsustainable building practices which are now being slowly re-evaluated [31].

With the coming of cement industries, expanded construction opportunities gradually relegated the traditional construction methods. The use of cement became an excitement with an impressive finish, durability and waterproof/ washable surfaces for floors and walls. It was a progressive and positive development in the human shelter and living conditions-product of science and technological development [27]. In term of construction, it is significant to state that the use of earth when compared with burnt bricks or the cement blocks; consumes less energy to make and consumes far less cement in instances where applied

for both the brick and mortar. On the other hand, this method of constructions should not eliminate concrete or any other material where necessary [29]. The experimental housing project using straw, stone, and earth among many others substantially shows that stone, straw, bale and particularly earth can easily be used as modern material to build at least two-story residential buildings [32].

v. *Discontinuity*

Discontinuity has been one of the significant factors that affect vernacular architecture in Northern Nigeria; some of the notable effects are the disappearance of the artisans and master builders which acquired the skills that are mostly passed down through generations. Egentiet al., (2014), stated that the old earth buildings associated with natives are gradually disappearing as illustrious sons and daughters of these families are replacing them with modern structures. Where there is no means of restoring the buildings, natives have traded them to commercial banks for good fortune and companies who desire them because of their strategic locations [27]. This disappearance of buildings forced the artisans to evolve and start using modern building materials.

Many of the traditionally significant buildings of the earth have weathered badly and are partially derelict. Instead of being progressively maintained, most have been abandoned entirely or had their cultural significance transferred to modern structures [25].It is apparent that the state of quality control of earth as building material hangs in a critical balance [27].

vi. *Weather and climatic condition*

Various geographical regions of this world have different climates which form the basis for the use of available materials for building construction, and Northern Nigeria is no exception. Northern Nigeria, covered by the Savanna region (Sahel, Guinea, and Sudan Savanna) has alternating Wet and dry seasons. The rainfall in this region is less than 1000mm per annum in only about five months in a year, especially between May and October. The rainfall intensity is very high between July and August [34].

UNCHS Habitat (1986), observed from the field of experiences that majority of world's earth houses in rural areas suffer from common defects identified as surface erosion, partial crumbling, unhealthy conditions due to constant humidity and hollowed bases [35]. The microclimate of heavy driving rain in most parts of Africa and the low level of infrastructural development like the irregular supply of electricity makes building planning difficult [27].

Climate forms part of determinant factors that led to the development of traditional architecture in northern Nigeria. These climatic factors include temperature, wind, and humidity. The climate of Northern Nigeria calls for design solutions that can improve the effects of excess day lighting, heat, rainfall, midnight cold and other factors[36]. The Hausa-Fulani builders have all along considered the impact of climate in determining their architecture. The climatic condition of Hausa-Fulani land has reasonably been constant, whereas available technology, durability of building materials, and economy is dynamic and thus, have changed. People have found more natural ways of doing things, with the availability of the building materials that perform against weather and climatic conditions. However, globalization had its toll on Hausa-Fulani traditional architecture as it has done on other traditional architecture worldwide. To combat the onslaught of weather and climate, the conventional features of architecture are fast disappearing [27].

Thus, the weather and climatic conditions hinder VANN through surface erosions, wear and tear of the buildings, constant humidity, and moisture from underground, partial crumbling, hollowed bases, and heavy and erratic rainfall.

III. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

a) *Results from the Administered Questionnaires*

The primary data for this research work is obtained through manually distributed questionnaires to the various construction project professionals practicing within Northern Nigeria's built environment. These include but not limited to: Architects, Quantity Surveyors, Civil Engineers, Project Managers, and Construction Managers, etc. The responses obtained are shown in table 1 below.

Table 1: Questionnaires distributed with responses

Questionnaires	Frequency	Percentage
Returned and Usable	350	58.33%
Returned but Incomplete	29	4.83%
Non-Returned	221	36.83%
Total	600	100%

Source: Authors' 2017; Fieldwork

The table above shows that:

i. Six hundred questionnaires (600) were manually distributed, and 379 (representing 63.17%) were retrieved, while 221 (representing 36.83%) are not recovered.

ii. Three hundred fifty (350) questionnaires (representing 58.33%) were complete and usable whereas 29 (representing 4.83%) were incomplete.

iii. As such, the response rate was reasonable.

The respondents are various construction project professionals practicing in Northern Nigeria's built environment. These include but not limited to: Architects, Civil Engineers, Construction Managers, Project Managers, Quantity Surveyors, and others, etc. The responses acquired by discipline is shown in table 2 below.

Table 2: Respondents' Professional Disciplines

S/N	Professional Disciplines	No. of Questionn aires Distributed	No. of Questionnaires Returned and Usable	Percentage (%) of Questionnaires per discipline
1	Architects	100	72	20.6%
2	Quantity Surveyors	100	53	15.1%
3	Civil Engineers	100	51	14.6%
4	Project Managers	100	61	17.4%
5	Construction Managers	100	64	18.3%
6	Others	100	49	14.0%
	Total	600	350	100%

Source: Authors' 2017; Fieldwork

The table above shows that Architects have the highest response rate with 20.6%, followed by Construction managers with 18.3%, Project managers 17.4%, Quantity surveyors with 15.1%, and Civil engineers with 14.6% while other professionals' (Mechanical and Electrical Engineers, Surveyors, Estate Managers, etc.) have 14%.

The assessment of the factors Hindering VANN based on a 5-point Likert scale of (Strongly Agree – 5; Agree – 4; Neutral / Undecided – 3; Dis-Agree – 2; Strongly Dis-Agree – 1) is shown in table 3.

Table 3: An Assessment of the Factors Hindering VANN

S/N	Factors Hindering VANN	Strongly Agree 5	Agree 4	Neutral / Undecided 3	Dis-Agree 2	Strongly Dis-Agree 1	TOTAL	Mean Item Score
1	Lack of Funding for Research works	116	130	60	31	13	350	3.87
2	Human neglect	135	116	53	29	17	350	3.92
3	Socio-economic condition	140	145	41	12	12	350	4.11
4	Modernization	176	111	31	27	5	350	4.22
5	Discontinuity	109	106	80	43	12	350	3.73
6	Weather and climatic conditions	104	99	72	36	39	350	3.55

Source: Authors' 2017

The mean item score (weighted average) values were analyzed based on the range (from 4.5 – 5.0 is Strongly Agree; 3.5 – 4.4 is Agree; 2.5 – 3.4 is Neutral / Undecided; 1.5- 2.4 is Dis-Agree; 0.5 – 1.4 is Strongly Dis-Agree) to allow for a remark for each of the identified Factors Hindering Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria as shown below:

Table 4: Remark and Ranking Factors Hindering Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria

S/N	Factors Hindering VANN	Mean Item Score	REMARK	Ranking
1	Lack of Funding for Research works	3.87	Agree	4th
2	Human neglect	3.92	Agree	3rd
3	socio-economic condition	4.11	Agree	2nd
4	Modernization	4.22	Agree	1st
5	Discontinuity	3.73	Agree	5th
6	weather and climatic conditions	3.55	Agree	6th

Source: Authors' Fieldwork.

From the above table, all the six identified factors were agreed by the respondents to Hinder Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria.

Modernization which causes the replacement of the Vernacular buildings with new ones constructed with modern building materials was ranked first which is due to the discrimination against indigenous building materials, social class factor, and fear of durability of traditional earth buildings. The socio-economic condition was ranked second; this is due to the lack of strength of conventional building materials which explains the reason for a cold shoulder from Nigerians that are financially strained, with limited resources, and the high cost of maintenance of Traditional buildings.

Human neglect was ranked Third; this is mostly due to lack of will from the Government, cultural implications, Government inactivity, lack of appreciation of such buildings by the general public, and non-education of the owners of these buildings about the effect of losing these vernacular architectural buildings to the cultural history of Northern Nigeria. Lack of research and funding was ranked fourth by the respondents; this factor is due to lack of adequate policy in the allocation of funds by the government, inadequate facilities and scarcity of research-minded fellows.

Discontinuity was the factor ranked fifth; this is due to the availability of qualified artisans and master builders, lack of will to use traditional building materials, biological degradation and loss of cultural significance and value of earth buildings. Weather and climatic conditions were ranked sixth and last by the respondents; this is due to surface erosions which caused by heavy and erratic rainfall, the partial crumbling of the traditional building caused by moisture from underground. These indicate that this factor is the least hindering VANN as attested by the various construction project professionals practicing within Northern Nigeria's built environment.

b) Hypotheses Testing

The formulated hypotheses work was tested using T-test statistics. The mean item scores obtained from tables three and four above is used for the statistical computations with the result shown in table five below.

Table 5: Testing of Hypotheses

Factors Hindering VANN	MEAN	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	N	DF	Alpha (level of Significance)	P-value	Tcal	Ttab0.05, 5
Six Identified Factors	3.901	0.2431	0.0993	6	5	5%	0.0000	14.1189	-2.0150

Source: Authors' 2017; Statistical computations

From the computation in the table above it can be gathered that; With 5- degrees of freedom (DF) and 5% level of significance, the value of the T-test calculated (Tcal=14.1189) is greater than the value of T-test tabulated (Ttab0.05, 5= -2.0150). As such, the Alternative hypothesis which states that; Significant factors are Hindering the Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria was accepted.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This research work identified six factors hindering VANN based on the reviewed literature, which forms the main body of the questionnaire distributed to various construction project professionals practicing within Northern Nigeria's built environment. These include Architects, Civil Engineers, Construction Managers, Project Managers, Quantity Surveyors, and others. Six hundred questionnaires were manually distributed, and 350 questionnaires (representing 58.33%) were complete and usable whereas 29 questionnaires (representing 4.83%) were incomplete, while 221 (representing 36.83%) were not recovered. As such, the response rate was good. Architects score the highest response rate with 20.6%, Construction managers18.3%, Project managers 17.4%, Quantity surveyors 15.1%, Civil engineers 14.6% while other professionals' (Mechanical and Electrical Engineers, Surveyors, Estate Managers, etc.) have 14%Among the respondents.

The respondents agreed with all of the identified factors of modernization, socio-economic condition, Human neglect, Lack of Funding for Research works, discontinuity, weather and climatic conditions as factors hindering VANN;

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations were proffered:
1. There is a need for extensive research work on the Vernacular Architecture of Northern Nigeria by the indigenous scholars especially on the Historical aspects of the ancient and traditional buildings. These may open up some interesting indigenous elements of the VANN
2. There is also a need for further extensive studies to examine the impact of each of the identified factors on how it hinders Vernacular Architecture.
3. Further research is required to maximize the durability of the traditional building materials in Northern Nigeria.

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Implementation of Primary Healthcare in Ilesa West Local Government in Nigeria

By Anthony Kayode Oroleye (Ph.D) & Bisiriyu Abiodun Taleat

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GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 111717

IMPLEMENTATIONOFPRIMARYHEALTHCAREINILESAWESTLOCALGOVERNMENTINNIGERIA

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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Anthony Kayode Oroleye (Ph.D)[α] & Bisiriyu Abiodun Taleat[σ]

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The study concluded that the implementation of PHC delivery through committee system at various levels in a weak institution like the Local Government whose power is constantly been subjugated by the State Government established that there is positive relationship between primary healthcare delivery system and the health status of the Local Government communities as people have benefitted positively from health care services.

Keywords: community, committee, system, implementation, wards, local government.

I. Introduction

Health is the greatest and valuable asset humanity can possess. Health, which is defined as a state of complete physical, social and mental wellbeing and not merely the absence of diseases or infirmity, is considered synonymous to wealth. Hence the common adage, "Health is Wealth". The sound health value is hardly realized and appreciated until it is failing and completely lost. A huge sum of money is allocated to the health sector annually to meet the health challenges of the people at the grass root. Primary Healthcare (PHC) is at the core of the Nigerian health system and the key to providing basic health services to people with their full participation. However, the health indicators in Nigeria have remained below the country target and internationally set benchmarks including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which have recorded very low progress over the years.

As contained in the Federal Republic of Nigeria Constitution (1999), health is on the concurrent legislative list, by implication the three levels of government are vested with the responsibilities to promote health. The local governments are assigned the responsibility of primary health care services within their geographical areas. Its roles and responsibilities as regards health were spelt out in the fourth schedule of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Before 1987, Nigeria was implementing basic health policy. Until this time, the focus on health delivery was on curative service (Ayo, 1994) and the attention of the government was skewed towards tertiary health care delivery through Teaching and Specialist Hospitals to almost a total neglect of preventive healthcare which was at this time gaining international recognition because of its cost-effectiveness.

The deteriorating delivery system, especially in the developing countries, attracted the attention of the International Community in which the ensuing summit resulted to Alma-Ata Declaration in Russia in 1978, which according to WHO, primary healthcare means essentially healthcare based on practical, scientifically, sound and socially acceptable methods and technology, made universally accessible to individuals and families in the community through their full participation. This declaration also emphasized the main social target of government on the attainment of health that will permit to live a socially and economically productive life.

PHC form an integral part of the Nigerian social and economic development. Thus becoming the first level of contact of the individual and community in the national health system, thus bringing healthcare as close as possible to where people live and work and contribute the first element of a continuing healthcare process. In sum, PHC is essentially aimed at promoting health, preventing diseases; curing diseases and rehabilitate people to live full normal lives after an illness or disability. Therefore, PHC shall provide general health services of preventive, promotive, curative and rehabilitative nature to the population as the entry point of the healthcare at this level is largely the responsibility of the Local Government with the support of State Ministries of Health and within the pivotal of national

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health policy. The Federal Government launched its Primary Health Care (PHC) plan which was described by Babangida administration as the cornerstone of health policy. The plan which intended to affect the entire national population had its main stated objectives thus: accelerated healthcare personnel development; ensure availability of essential drugs in all areas of the country; improved collection and monitoring of health data; and promotion of health awareness. Others included the widespread promotion of oral rehydration therapy for the treatment of diarrheal disease in infants and children; and implementation of an Expanded Program on Immunization (EPI) and development of a national family health program. The immunization focused on four major childhood diseases: measles and polio, pertussis, diphtheria, tetanus and tuberculosis. This was aimed at increasing dramatically the proportion of immunized children younger than two from about 20% to 50% initially and 90% at the end of 1990. Local Government in collaboration with the Ministry of Health is charged with the responsibility of implementing health care programs. Today, the power to provide preventive, restorative and rehabilitative healthcare services is vested in the local government through its primary health care system. Expanded Program on Immunization (EPI) was launched in May 1988 with the aim of increasing the number of children immunized against vaccine- preventable diseases.

PHC implementation was intended, according to Babangida administration to take place mainly through collaboration between the Ministry of Health and participating Local Government Councils which received direct grants from the Federal Government. The transfer of primary healthcare necessitated the establishment of Primary Health Care departments in all Local Government areas in Nigeria and also resulted in the establishment of National Primary Health Care Development Agency (NPHCDA), all in the quest to achieve the objectives of primary healthcare.

a) *Statement of the Problem*

Despite the introduction of PHC, WHO ranked Nigeria's health system the 187th position member-states in the year 2000. The health indicators are indicative of poor health status. It is unfortunate that most of these strategies have not yielded the expected result. UNICEF (2002) reported that child mortality is caused by malaria, diarrhea and malnutrition. For the adult population, cases of malaria are on the increase. Also, there is a lack of access to safe water and water-borne diseases are widely spread. Similarly, the spread of HIV/AIDS could be associated with the large number of population that failed to submit for self-examination. Many of the Comprehensive Health Centre cannot admit patient overnight due to lack of facilities and personnel. The need to provide health for all since the year 2000 has remained a myriad that has generated a lot of controversy in the health sector in Nigeria. The health indicators are indicative of poor health status which made Obasanjo's administration to initiate a comprehensive health reform program aimed at expanding and strengthening primary healthcare system that is promotive, preventive, restorative and rehabilitative to every citizen of the country (FMH, 2004). For primary healthcare to achieve its main stated objectives it has to be adequately funded, effectively implemented and must have capable hands managing it on the field. Despite the fact that PHC was established principally to make healthcare delivery available, accessible, affordable, acceptable and adequate to the wellbeing of the people, the extant literature indicates that health status has continued to deteriorate as common preventable diseases have continued to take its toll on the people (WHO, 2007; AAFP, 2016). The effectiveness of the strategy and efficiency of the services of PHC in Nigerian has thus been under criticism largely because it has not shown significantly on the health status of inhabitants. Hence, the study.

b) *Research Questions*

In view of the above-stated problems, the study provided answers to the following questions.

1. What are the strategies or approaches put in place for effective and efficient coverage of PHC components in Ilesa West Local Government?
2. What are the indicators to show that the local communities in Ilesa west local government have benefited from PHC delivery?

c) *Objectives of the Study*

The objectives of this study are to:

1. Examine the strategies employed for effective implementation of primary healthcare components in Ilesa West Local Government.
2. Assess the benefit of the primary healthcare delivery on the welfare of the local communities in the local government area.

d) *Scope of the Study*

This study will assess the performance of primary health delivery in the Ilesa West Local Government area. The work will be limited to the wards that make up the local government council.

II. Literature Review

Over the years, international attention has been drawn to the global issue of poor access to primary healthcare (ICPHC, 1978). The outcome of this attention has been the initiation of numerous efforts to change this condition and develop modern and effective healthcare systems focussed on preventing diseases, reducing disparity in healthcare, improving access to healthcare, promoting active community participation in

healthcare planning, and promoting overall health and wellbeing.

Beginning in the 1940s, individual health professionals and health organizations in Africa and around the world began engaging in projects and programmes that defined primary healthcare and worked to improve access for those without it. For instance, in the 1940s in rural South Africa, Sidney and Emily Kark began to promote the concept of primary healthcare, or community-based primary care, a comprehensive approach to care that took into account the 'socioeconomic and cultural determinants of health, identifying health needs and providing healthcare to the community' (Gofin & Gofin, 2005). The focus of this type of care was community participation, preventive care, and provision of services that are affordable and accessible to the people in need (Gofin & Gofin, 2005). Less than a decade later, in 1946, the Indian government set up the Bhore Committee to study and recommend ways of improving public access to health care. Among their recommendation was (a) integration of preventive and curative services at administrative levels. (b) three months of training in preventive and social medicine to prepare social physicians (WHO COL, 2008, p1). This innovative approach to public health access led the way for the formation of WHO in 1946.

World Health Organization was established by the United Nations to deal with global issues of health among member nations. WHO promoted the idea that good health is a fundamental human right and that population and states alike would benefit from state involvement in the promotion of good health (WHO, 1946). In its constitution, WHO defined health, not as the absence of diseases but more holistically "as a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing". Since its inception, the organization has provided guidelines, formulated health policies, encouraged intra-agency collaborations, and presented declarations as a means of urging member nations and healthcare policies and programmes that are relevant to established needs, and to improve global access to health care as a means of improving healthcare and healthcare outcomes (WHO, 2008b). The appointment of a new Director-General for WHO in 1973 resulted in a new understanding of the roles of WHO and UNICEF in the provision of basic health care (Cueto, 2004). This understanding led to the production of a collaborative report, alternative approaches to meeting basic health needs in developing countries, identifying key factors in healthcare for a variety of countries including Bangladesh, China, Cuba, India, Niger, Nigeria, Tanzania, Venezuela and Yugoslavia (Cueto, 2004). The report suggested that, for such developing countries, "the principal causes of morbidity…are malnutrition, vector-borne diseases, gastrointestinal diseases, and respiratory diseases which are the result of poverty,

squalor and ignorance" (Djukanovic & Mach, 1975). One of the notable efforts to advance improved public access to healthcare was the Declaration of Alma Ata, an outcome of the 1978 International Conference on Primary Health Care joint conference sponsored by WHO and UNICEF (Cueto, 2004). The purpose of the conference was to focus attention on Primary Health Care as a way of promoting global health and removing injustice in the distribution of health outcomes (Cueto, 2004).

The concept of PHC was formulated by the 134 countries that met at the Alma Ata Conference in Russia on 12th September 1978 organized under the auspices of the World Health Organization (WHO) and United Nations Children Educational Fund (UNICEF). In the Declaration of Alma Ata, members of the conference defined Primary Health Care as essential healthcare based on practical, scientifically, sound and socially acceptable methods and technology, made universally accessible to individuals and families in the community through their full participation and at a cost which the country can afford to maintain at every stage of their development in the spirit of self-reliance and self-determination (ICPHC, 1978). Primary Health Care has since then forms an integral part of the Nigerian social and economic development by becoming the first level of contact of the individual and community in the national health system, thus bringing health care as close as possible to where people live and work and contributes the first element of a continuing health care process (Akinsola, 1993). Similarly, the aims and objectives of primary healthcare as stated by WHO (1978) are: to make health services accessible and available to everyone wherever they live or work; to tackle health problems causing the highest mortality and morbidity at a reasonable cost affordable to the community; and to ensure that whatever the technology adopted for use, must be within the ability of community to use effectively and maintained.

In sum, PHC is essentially aimed at promoting health, preventing diseases, curing disease and rehabilitating individual to live full normal lives after illness or disability. In the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, health is on the concurrent legislative list, by implication the three tiers of government are vested with the responsibilities to promote health. According to the constitution, Federal, State and Local Governments shall support in a coordinated manner, a three-tier system of health care in which Primary healthcare, secondary healthcare and tertiary healthcare become the responsibility of the Local, State and Federal Government respectively. Primary healthcare does not intend to function in isolation but in collaboration with referral and specialist services. These various services should be mutually supportive, and it should be noted that without good primary healthcare, the referral services would be

overwhelmed by problems, which would have been dealt with efficiently at the primary level, on the other hand, primary health care requires the support of the referral services to cope with problems which are beyond the peripheral units. Therefore, PHC shall provide general health services of preventive, promotive, curative and rehabilitative nature to the population as the entry point of the health care system. It implies therefore that the provision of health care at this level is largely the responsibility of Local Governments with the support of State Ministries of Health and within the pivot of National Health Policy.

a) *Components of Primary Health Care*

There are ten components of Primary Health Care. They include:

i.   Education concerning prevailing health problems and the methods of preventing and controlling them.
ii.   Promotion of food supply and proper nutrition;
iii. An adequate supply of safe water and basic sanitation;
iv.   Maternal and child health care including family planning;
v.   Immunization against the major infections and diseases;
vi.   Prevention and control of locally endemic diseases;
vii. Appropriate treatment of common diseases and inquiries;
viii. Provision of essential drugs;
ix.   Community mental healthcare; and
x.   Dental healthcare.

It is worthwhile to note that mental and dental healthcare is not presently available in primary healthcare in Nigeria due to the shortage of personnel and facilities. It is also pertinent to mention here that primary healthcare is founded on the principle of fundamental human to be enjoyed by the people, in all walks of life and in all communities. The fact is that health is more than just the delivery of medical services. Primary Health Care system attempts to address people "health needs" through an integrated approach utilizing other sectors such as agriculture, education, housing, social and medical services. The integrated approach is expected to encourage active horizontal relationships between people and their local services as opposed to the traditional vertical relationships. In addition, fundamental to the Primary Health Care System is the realization that the major killer diseases in rural communities in the third world are preventable, and that the majority of victims of these diseases are children under the age of five. Therefore, the PHC system encourages countries to shift their national health care strategy from urban to rural areas where childhood killer diseases are very rampant. To this effect community, health workers are being made use of as key factors in the delivery of Preventive Health Care.

The Primary Health Care system also gives recognition to local people with little or no formal education who could be trained to perform some basic health services. Hence, the traditional healers, traditional birth attendants or midwives are made use of in the villages. They perform basic functions such as:

i.   Delivery of high quality basic first aid
ii.   Recognition of signs and symptoms of more serious conditions
iii. Delivery of babies under very hygienic conditions
iv.   Educating their fellow villagers in understanding the disease process in their community.

Complementarily, the PHC system employs the concept of village health committees usually composed of local residents chosen without regard to political affiliation, sex, age, or religion. These committees are expected to actively participate in planning, organizing and managing the Primary Health Care system in the villages.

b) *Local Government*

Local government as a tier of government or sub-governmental structure particularly in a federal arrangement is the lowest level of government in a federal structure coming after the State and Federal Government respectively. At this level, Local Government as a substantive tier of government wields the power to control its own affairs to enact laws and impose taxes within its jurisdiction. The 1976 constitution defines local government as the government of local level exercised through councils established by law to exercise specific powers within the defined areas. These powers should give the council substantial control over local affairs as well as the staff and institutional and financial powers to initiate and direct the provision of services and to determine and implement projects so as to complement the activities of the State and Federal Governments in their areas and to ensure through devolution of functions to these councils and through the active participation of the people and their traditional institutions, that local initiatives and respond to local needs and conditions are maximized (Federal Republic of Nigeria,1976). According to the 1976 reforms,

Local government have over the years suffered from the continuous whittling down of their powers. The State Governments have continued to encroach upon what would normally have been the exclusive preserve of local governments. (LG Reforms,1976).

Local governments in Nigeria are established to achieve three different broad objectives of political participation, efficient service delivery and resource mobilization.

c) *Empirical Review*

Several studies have been conducted to examine the performance of Primary Health Care services in Nigeria. A study carried out by Akande

(2004) "Referral System in Nigeria". The study investigated the referral system among the three levels of health care delivery. The results showed that only 7.1 per cent were referred to the tertiary hospital in Ilorin, the rest 92.9 per cent reported directly without referral which indicates that both the educated and non-educated by-pass the primary healthcare centres to be the first contact of patients. The result of this is overcrowding of the tertiary health facilities with problems that can be managed at the lower levels. The study suggested that necessary steps should be taken to encourage the patients to utilize primary facilities need to be put in place and create disincentives for patients for by-passing this level.

It was stressed that adoption of the WHO's Essential Drug Programme (EDP) by Nigeria and developing countries will facilitate proper allocation of available funds on drugs that are required by many people available at affordable prices. This made Uzochukwu, Onwujekwe & Akpala (2002) analyze the effects of Bamako Initiatives (BI) on the availability of essential drugs in Primary Health Care (PHC) facilities in South East Nigeria during the period of structural adjustment as a result of persistence poor funding. The study concluded that BI had a positive impact on the availability of essential drugs and efforts to address the persistent problem of lack of essential drugs at non-BI healthcare facilities should be addressed. In the same vein, the study conducted by Sambo, Lewis & Sabitu (2008) which assessed essential drugs' availability and patient's perception on the situation of drug availability at some PHC facilities in Tafa Local Government Area of North Central Nigeria found that Bamako Initiative was not implemented by any of the PHC and Drug Revolving Fund systems was not in operation. To achieve health for all through primary health care, traditional medicine has been one of the ways through which health for all is discussed. Because of this Ajibade, Fatoba, Raheem and Odunga (2005) examined the uses of selected indigenous plants and their implication for primary healthcare. The study concluded that if healthcare must be available and avoidable, the use of indigenous plants must be explored and integrated into the healthcare delivery system.

In the study carried out by Adeyemo (2005), recent activities of Ife East Local Government healthcare delivery were highlighted. The study identified shortages of qualified personnel and finance, inadequate transportation, inaccessibility to communities, lack of maintenance culture and political instability as the major problems facing local government primary healthcare delivery in the Ife East Local Government.

Salako (1991) noted that as a result of underfunding of the health sector and procurement of unimportant expensive drugs which make securing healthcare facilities and the needed drugs in tropical African countries unattainable. Bassey Rman also in his study examined the relationship between healthcare expenditure and health status of the population. The result found a negative relationship between the two variables. The study concluded that in order to improve the health status of the population, the government needs to increase funding for health and fast track the implementation of the primary healthcare bill. The study made use of secondary data. Atting and Ekwu (1991) in their study investigated indicators of accessibility in Odukpani Local Government Area which focussed on mothers or heads of households in the study area. The indicators considered included distance from home to regular immunization site and acceptability of primary healthcare services

III. METHODOLOGY

a) Research Design

The research design is a survey which involves the collection of data relating to the study of primary healthcare and its effects on Nigerians' health status in Ilesa West Local Government in Osun State

b) Study Area

The study was carried out among the health centres in the Ilesa West Local Government in Osun State. The centres were located in Oja Oba, Adeti Basic Health Center, Ikoti Maternity Centre, Iregun Basic Health Centre, Idominasi Basic Health Centre, Ilaje-Imadin Basic Health Centre, Ereja Basic Health Centre, Idasa Maternity Centre and Oromu Primary Health Centre.

c) Study Population

The Ilesa West Local Government of Osun State's population was estimated at 106,586 (NPC, 2006). The inhabitants are farmers, artisans, traders, students and the PHC officials of this local government area are expected to be the beneficiaries of Primary Health Centres located in their localities for the administration of primary health care. The study population consists of both youths and elderly; males and females who are above 18 years and have been living in the community for more than six months are considered eligible for sampling.

d) Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

For the purpose of this study, the local government area was designated into zone A, B and C. The streets in each zone were listed and randomly chosen for even spread. Within each zone, a systemic sampling procedure was used to select even numbered residential buildings. Using a purposive sampling technique, nursing mothers and elderly who must have had contacts with PHC and ready to cooperate with the study were given preference and selected to participate in the survey. Equal numbers of the questionnaire were distributed in each zone with the administration of a maximum of two questionnaire in a building as the case

may be. A total of 150 respondents were sampled in the three residential zones. The researcher and the research assistant conducted interviews with willing nursing mothers and the elderly.

IV. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

a) Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents
The data solicited were subjected to analysis using descriptive statistical tools such as tables and

percentages. This was done by rating in percentages the valued responses gathered from the respondents, which include strongly agrees, agree, undecided, disagree and strongly disagree. The higher the percentage for a statement, the higher agreement towards the statement used as the inference rule.

Table 4.1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

S/No.	Items	Frequency	Percentage
1	Gender		
	Male	59	39.6
	Female	91	60.4
	Total	150	100.0
2	Age		
	20-29	87	58.3
	30-39	33	21.9
	40-49	17	11.5
	50 and above	13	8.3
	Total	150	100.0
3	Marital Status		
	Single	67	44.8
	Married	83	55.2
	Divorced	-	-
	Total	150	100.0
4	Religion		
	Christianity	95	63.5
	Islamic	38	25.0
	African Tradition	16	10.4
	Others	1	1.0
	Total	150	100.0
5	Educational Background		
	No formal Education	38	25.3
	Primary Education	30	20.0
	Secondary Education	32	21.3
	Tertiary Education	50	33.4
	Total	150	100.0
6	Occupation		
	Farming	39	26.0
	Teaching	19	12.7
	Trading	39	26.0
	Health Worker	17	11.3
	Artisan	36	24.0
	Total	150	100.0

Source: fieldwork, March 2019.

Table 4.1 above presents personal data profile of the respondents of the local government and the Health Centre in the Ilesa West Local Government. As shown in Table 4.1, the analysis of samples collected shows that the data consisted of 60.4% female and 39.6% male. Also out of the total respondents, only 58.3% were between 20 and 29 years. Respondents in the age group of 30-39 years were 21.9% and another 11.5% fell within the age range of 41- 49 years. This indicates that 8.3% of the respondents constituted the

age range of 50 years and above which implies that the majority of the respondents are considerably matured, citizens. The marital status reveals that only 44.8% of the respondents claimed that they were presently single with 55.2% happily married. This by implication means that majority of the respondents who participated in this study were socially identified.

Educational background reveals that 25.3% of the respondents had no formal education, 20.0% had primary school certificate holders, 21.3% possess a

secondary school leaving certificate, while 33.4% of the respondents were with tertiary institution certificate. This is advantageous to the study as the majority of respondents are educated enough to understand the questions raised and should able to supply reliable answers to them.

In terms of occupation, 26.0% of the respondents were farmers, exactly 11.3% were health workers, while 26.0% were traders, 12.7% were involved in teaching and 24.0% were artisans. These workgroups constituted the social class that is the beneficiary of primary health care in Ilesa West Local Government Council Area.

b) *The Strategies Employed for Effective Implementation of Primary Healthcare Components*

The interview guide was the instrument used to collect the information relating to the strategies adopted by the Local Government on the policy implementation of Primary Health Care in Ilesa West Local Government. The broad strategy adopted in the Ilesa West Local Government involved the grassroots participation of the community leaders (chairmen of communities, religious leaders and traditional leaders) through the committee systems in decision making and programme implementation which include and not limited to health education and grassroots' mobilization at the village, ward and local government level. The committees include:

The Village Health Committees: the composition includes community chairman, secretary, village head representative, religious leaders, and health workers. The functions include but not limited to the selection of individuals and traditional birth attendants for training as village health workers to provide integrated preventive, curative and midwifery services at the village or community level. The health services provided are under the supervision of the community health workers.

Ward Health Committees: the committee consists of the chairmen of all the village health committees. The functions are not quite different from the one above except that problems that could not be solved at the village level are brought to the ward under the umbrella of the Health Centre. The health services activities are under the supervision of the committee health workers.

Local Government Health Committee comprises one of the ward health committee chairmen to represent it on the management of the General Hospital. The policy plan is for the State Government to provide a General Hospital in every Local Government to serve as the apex of the local government health care system. Likewise, the problem that seems to defy solution is hereby referred to the tertiary hospital under the Federal Government.

The committee at each level midwife the need of the PHC on one hand and that of the community on the other and arrive on mutual decisions. The committee members, in particular, the chairmen, secretaries and other representatives of each committee become the source of advocacy for each PHC programme implementation in their localities. The immediate health challenges and infrastructural needs of the PHC and that of the communities are articulated through the committees at ward level through to the Local, State and Federal Government. This bottom-up policy implementation approach has not only been a source of benefit to the communities at large but has ensured PHC programme sustainability in an unfriendly environment in which local governments in Nigeria operate.

c) *Benefit of Primary Healthcare on Health Status*

Table 4.2: Benefit of Primary Healthcare on Health Status

S/No.	Assertions	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
1.	There are components of healthcare available in the community			
	Strongly agree	47	31.6	31.6
	Agree	55	36.8	68.4
	Undecided	8	5.3	73.7
	Disagree	21	13.7	87.4
	Strongly disagree	19	12.6	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	
2.	There are antenatal and postnatal clinical services in your community			
	Strongly agree	44	29.5	29.5
	Agree	57	37.9	67.4
	Undecided	16	10.5	77.9
	Disagree	22	14.7	92.6
	Strongly disagree	11	7.4	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	

3.	There are awareness programs of primary healthcare service in the community			
	Strongly agree	47	31.6	31.6
	Agree	55	36.8	68.4
	Undecided	14	9.5	77.9
	Disagree	11	7.4	85.3
	Strongly disagree	22	14.7	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	
4.	The primary healthcare centre is easily accessible in the community			
	Strongly agree	44	29.5	29.5
	Agree	51	33.7	63.2
	Undecided	24	15.8	79.0
	Disagree	13	8.4	87.4
	Strongly disagree	19	12.6	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	
5.	There is the provision of potable water by the government in your community			
	Strongly agree	55	36.8	36.8
	Agree	38	25.3	62.1
	Undecided	10	6.3	68.4
	Disagree	28	18.9	87.3
	Strongly disagree	19	12.6	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	

Source: fieldwork, March 2019.

Table 4.2: Benefit of Primary Healthcare on Health Status (Contd)

6.	There is provision for a waste disposal facility in your local government area			
	Strongly agree	44	29.5	29.5
	Agree	51	33.7	63.2
	Undecided	9	6.3	69.5
	Disagree	22	14.7	84.2
	Strongly disagree	24	15.8	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	
7.	There is provision for HIV/AIDS treatment in your local government			
	Strongly agree	50	33.7	33.7
	Agree	60	40.0	73.7
	Undecided	8	5.3	79.0
	Disagree	13	8.4	87.4
	Strongly disagree	19	12.6	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	
8.	There is a prescription of drugs in your primary healthcare			
	Strongly agree	47	31.6	31.6
	Disagree	55	36.8	68.4
	Undecided	10	6.3	74.7
	Disagree	16	10.5	85.2
	Strongly disagree	22	14.7	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	
9.	Primary health care is attentive to basic needs			
	Strongly agree	43	28.4	28.4
	Agree	47	31.6	60.0
	Undecided	19	12.6	72.6
	Disagree	14	9.5	82.1
	Strongly disagree	27	17.9	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	

Source: fieldwork, March 2019.

The above Table 4.2 examined the various benefits of primary healthcare using different variables. The majority (68.4%) of the respondents attested to the availability of different components of primary health care in the Local Government area, while a few 40(26.3%) either disagree or strongly disagreed on its availability with 5.3% respondents remained indifferent. 101(67.4%) of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that PHC rendered ante-natal and post-natal services to the expectant mothers while 22.1% expressed a contrary opinion that the services are not on the ground.

On creation of awareness through multimedia (television, radio, billboard etc.) 102(68.4%) either agreed or strongly agreed that there are enough publicities through different media with 22.1% respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed that publicity in the respect of primary healthcare and its programme was inadequate; while 9.5% of the respondents were indifferent. On central location and accessibility of the primary health centres, 63.2% of the respondents were in affirmative while 21.0% expressed a contrary opinion with 15.8% that remained indifferent. Apart from sustaining the clean environment, portable water also promotes healthy living. 93(62.1%) of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that there is the availability of potable water in the community. However, a contrary view was expressed by 31.5% respondents while 6.3% remained indifferent. Notwithstanding, the entire Local Governments in Ijesaland do not enjoy portable water. The available water is those provided by "well and boreholes" by individuals.

Effective waste disposal sustains clean environment and panacea to the spread of diseases. Hence, 63.2% either agreed or strongly agreed that there is the availability of waste disposal facilities in the local government area. However, 30.5% of the respondents held a contrary opinion with 9(6.3%) that remained indifferent. The majority (73.7%) of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that there are provisions for the treatment of HIV/AIDS in the community, 19(21.0%) expressed contrary view and 5.3% remained undecided.

Similarly, on drugs prescription, 68.4% of the respondents attested to the fact that there are prescription and provision of drugs when available in the primary health centre while 25.2% responded negatively with 6.4% that remained indifferent. On the basic needs, 60.0% of respondents were of the opinion that primary healthcare is attentive to their basic needs with 27.4% expressing a contrary view while 12.6% remained indifferent.

d) Discussion of findings

The immediate health challenges and infrastructural needs of the PHC and that of the communities are articulated through various committees at ward level through to the Local, State and Federal Government. This bottom-up policy implementation approach has not only been a source of benefit to the communities at large but has ensured PHC programme sustainability in an unfriendly environment in which local governments in Nigeria operate

On the benefit of Primary Healthcare on Health Status, majority of the respondents attested to the availability of different components which include among others antenatal and postnatal clinical services (67.4%), There is provision for HIV/AIDS clinic (73.7%), awareness programs through mass media (68.4%), which enable the inhabitants to take proper sanitary measure against communicable and non communicable diseases as there are provisions of waste disposal facility 63.2%, and potable water (61.2%), in contrary, the community has not enjoy pipe borne water for decades. Also, primary health care is attentive to basic needs (60%) of the people through consultations and drug prescriptions (68.4%) even when the drugs are unavailable. This result confirmed with the discovery of Sambo et al. on drug revolving fund has been hampered by financial constraint in which Osun State Government was unable to pay full salary to the workers in the state. However, dental clinic and mental health clinics are not on the ground. Lastly, Primary healthcare centre is easily accessible to all and sundry (63.2%),

V. Conclusion

The aim of establishing Primary Health Care is to meet the health care needs of diverse populations. The effective provision of primary health service delivery is very important in achieving this objective. The study concluded that the implementation of PHC delivery through committee system at various levels established that there is a positive relationship between primary healthcare delivery system and the health status of Ilesa West Local Government communities as people have benefitted positively from health care services.

VI. Recommendations

It is evident that health care delivery services have benefitted the people in the Ilesa West Local Government area positively. However, they are still faced with a lot of constraints, which tend to hinder their effectiveness, and efficiency. Based on the outcome of the assessment of the Ilesa west local government health care delivery services, the following recommendations will be important in improving healthcare services at the centres:

❖ It is very critical and important to increase funds allocation to this local government so as to update material and human resources for more efficient and effective delivery of this programme and ensure that these funds are properly managed.

- ❖ Recruitment of new medical personnel into Health centres in order to have adequate personnel to handle the growing population of the rural dwellers.
- ❖ All the obsolete equipment should be replaced with modern and viable ones should be maintained properly. Also, their mode of record keeping should employ modern technologies and techniques.
- ❖ The committee system and bottom-up policy implementation approach should be strengthened for optimal performance.

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Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
EPI	Expanded Program on Immunization
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
NPC	National Population Commission
NPHCDA	National Primary Health Care Development Agency
PHC	Primary Health Care
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergence Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

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To What Extent can the Positive Masculinity Approach Contribute to the Population Control Program in Bangladesh?

By Muhammad Abdur Raqib

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Abstract- This significant success in Population Control Program (PCP) in Bangladesh has surprised many researchers both inside and outside of the country. But still, there is a major gap related to the involvement of men in the program. As the Bangladeshi community is patriarchal and most members are conventional, it is therefore assumed that the participation of men in PCP is incompatible with manhood. This paper is an attempt to argue that men's involvement as a tool of Positive Masculinity approach can contribute to the PCP in Bangladesh. It also aims to show the significance of Positive Masculinity in PCP to lessen the burden on female lives and to dispel the ignorance surrounding male roles in PCP.

Keywords: population control program (PCP), positive masculinity, bangladesh.

GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 370199

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Introduction

Since the adoption of the Population Control Program (PCP) in 1976, the total birth rate of Bangladesh declined from 6.5 to 2.1 in 2016, while the contraceptive prevalence rate increased from 7 to 62.3 (BBS, 2016: 83). This significant success in PCP has surprised many researchers both inside and outside of Bangladesh. But still, there is a major gap related to the involvement of men in the program. As the Bangladeshi community is patriarchal and most members are conventional, it is therefore assumed that the participation of men in PCP is incompatible with manhood. Although a few men in Bangladesh have already adopted the birth control procedures, the majority of Bangladeshi men are totally reluctant to use these methods, as Hossain (2013) indicates "against nine women in the country, only one male adopts a birth control method. Though the family planning system increased the user rate, the participation of the male did not increase in that way".

Although some hegemonic masculinists argue that women oriented PCP will lead to a great success to women lives and to wider society, others take a different view and claim that adopting birth control methods by men is much easier than by women and has no side effects at all. This paper is an attempt to argue that the Positive Masculinity approach can contribute to the PCP in Bangladesh. It also aims to show the significance of Positive Masculinity in PCP to lessen the burden on female lives and to dispel the ignorance surrounding male roles in PCP.

In order to demonstrate this, this essay will first focus how the hegemonic masculinist attitude to the PCP in Bangladesh leads to formulate women oriented PCP. Many masculinists are against the participation of men in the PCP because, as a man, his primary duty is to be involved in the productive role, not to be involved in family planning issues. This essay will argue that there is no contradiction between performing both roles. Second, it will focus on the perspective of Islamic religion towards gender role in order to show that Islamic teachings encourage the male to participate in the reproductive role. Third, the discussion will develop to show that although Bangladesh is a patriarchal country where it is assumed that only PCP should be women-centered, there is social change and this change is often supported and encouraged by the government and non-government organizations (NGO). Thus, it will be shown that, on a practical level, the idea of Positive Masculinity is essential to confront the success of PCP and to minimize the burden of women.

A key reason for targeting women in PCP as primary subject is the hegemonic masculinist understanding of reproductive roles. The idea of masculinity is the social construction of manhood. Though it changes across time, place and culture, its hegemonic aspect justifies men's dominant position in society and legitimizes the subordination of women (Connell, 2005). Therefore, In Bangladesh, it assumed that only women will perform the reproductive activities i.e. adopting the birth control methods, and rearing the children, while men will only be responsible for income related activities. In addition, Bangladeshi men are not traditionally aware of their reproductive health (Hussain et al., 1996). They assume that they will dominate in all aspects of the decision-making process in the family and society. So, the social construction of manhood in Bangladesh is based on the position of hegemonic masculinity, which tries to control over the women's decision in PCP.

Although the Hegemonic Masculinity perspective focuses on the responsibility of women to the PCP in Bangladesh, the Positive Masculinity

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approach is different. The Positive Masculinity approach purports that men can also take part equally with women in PCP by proposing there is no basis that men will lose their manhood if they would adopt a permanent birth control method. They argue that the success of PCP is not possible without the active involvement and support of men. Failing to reach men in PCP will lead to derailing women's position in the family. Therefore, Male inclusion in the PCP is not about granting privileges to women while disempowering men, it is about creating a more socially just program.

A key argument for men's participation to the PCP in Bangladesh that, Islamic teaching encourages the male to participate equally with women in all reproductive activities as well as it permits men to practice contraception. For example, one of the followers of the Prophet (Peace be upon Him), Jabir said, "We used to practice '*azl* (coitus interruptus) in the Prophet's lifetime while the Qur'an was being revealed. News of this reached him and he did not forbid us" (Wensinck, 1960:112). In this citation from the *hadith* (stories), Prophet Muhammad allowed Muslim men to adopt birth control method. Although there is no single opinion on birth control methods within Islam, eight of the nine classical schools of Islamic law including *Hanafi* school permits it (Atighetchi, 1994). As the majority of Bangladeshi people follows Hanafi School, it is clear that adopting birth control method by men is practicable in Bangladesh.

Despite this perspective on the issue of PCP, the patriarchal Bangladeshi Society considered that Islam focuses only on the women in reproductive issues and encourages women to have more children. Hegemonic masculinists think it is not acceptable in Islam for men to adopt birth control procedures and they build their argument on Islamic teaching that Islam advocates for high birth rates. They argue that the woman is responsible for child rearing and therefore man should not participate to the PCP.

Their argument on Islamic teaching towards population control issues is parochial. As Mamdani (1972) points out, that the condition of family planning in any society depends on the social structure and the pattern of production relations in that specific society. That is why, while many nations are encouraging high birth rate e.g. Russia and Scandinavian Countries, others like China and India are trying to control it. As Bangladesh has a high density of population, where 160 million peoples live within only 50,260 sq. miles' area, influences its state apparatuses to take necessary steps for PCP. Therefore, in the Islamic perspective, over and above *Hadith*, Wensinck (1960) points out a sufficient number of *hadith* where Prophet directly allowed the methods of birth control. Furthermore, birth control methods for men in Islamic medicine has been known for centuries - for instance, the Muslim writers Avicenna (980-1037) and Al-Razi (923 or 924) refer to different methods of contraception for both women and men (Nathan, 1991 and Yarmohammadi, 2103).

Therefore, it is clear that focusing only women in reproductive activities is built from a cultural perspective, not on religious instruction. On many occasions, people entwined the religion with the culture, especially regarding women's issues. Hence Turabi (1991) makes the point that women's issues in Muslim society are often mistakenly connected to the Islamic teachings. Thus, these arguments clearly show that there is much support for men to participate in PCP.

A further reason why men should participate to the PCP in Bangladesh is that there has already been a significant cultural change in gender relations within the Bangladeshi community. Indeed, because of the development in production relations and influence of globalization, it is difficult for any society to preserve its tradition and customs. Especially the emergence of the global women's movement since last centuries has resulted to rethink the role of men and women in all societies. Therefore, state apparatuses, as well as various international and national organizations, have taken several policies and programs on gender issues which have led to reshaping the role of men all over the world. In addition, the internet and satellite communications have also reshaped gender relations in various programs on different communities and customs. The influence of these programs is observed clearly in the changing role of men in all societies. Furthermore, increasing women's participation in the labor force and education sector in Bangladesh has compelled the men to rethink their attitude towards women.

A clear example of this change can be seen in the contraception campaign promoting no-scalpel vasectomy (NSV) by a renown NGO Engendering Health through two forty-second television advertisements targeted to married men. Other renowned NGOs e.g. BRAC, Eminence, also reformed their PCP targeting the female as well the male. Therefore, the Bangladesh Government also reformulated its population policy in 2012, where for the first time it highlighted the role of men in reproductive activities. Changes in the outlook of government and NGOs to the PCP resulted positively on men's participation. As Mohsin (2009) points out while only three men adopted birth control methods against 1500 women in 2009, the ratio between women and men in 2013 reached 1:9 (BBS, 2016). So, it is clearly demonstrated that even in a patriarchal community such as Bangladesh it is possible for changes in gender relation to make successful PCP.

Indeed, men's participation in the PCP is important for lessening women's burden. In Bangladesh, the government, as well as the donor agencies, have developed the women focusing PCP through a hegemonic masculinist approach which in worst cases leads to fatal consequences on women's

lives. Akhter (1995:120) argues that the PCP was implemented to increase the power of the Population controllers and multi-national companies, and therefore, it did not allow the women to control their fertility. Akhter's argument can be accepted through examining the nature of the development of contraceptive methods in Bangladesh; out of seven methods, five (Ligation, IUD, Norplant, Injection, and Pill) were developed to target women without considering women's health and their social condition. Furthermore, Akhter's study (1995:181-194) also revealed that many women in Bangladesh were sterilized and experimented on using Norplant without their knowledge and consent, even IUDs and injectable technologies were in mass use before the trial of the method was completed, which resulted in serious health problems to many women. Therefore, expert reports indicate that all of the methods used by women have some side effects such as – cancer, breast tenderness, headaches, changes in mood, increases in weight, acne, nausea, lowering the amount of menstrual cycle, loss of sex drive etc. ('Contraception Guide', 2014). Thus, it can be clearly seen that the PCP in Bangladesh was gender-biased and to some extent exploitative against women.

However, on the other hand, common contraceptive methods for men are comparatively easy. Out of two methods for men, one is knife-free vasectomy (NSV) taking only a few minutes of short surgery which has minor side effects. Another temporary method, using condoms has no side effects ('Contraception Guide', 2014). But men are totally unwilling to use the contraceptive, so this socially constructed concept can be changed. As Hossain (2013: 24) points out, "If any couple wants to take permanent method then it is best to take the husband. While women have to cut the stomach during the adoption of a permanent method, in terms men it is much easier". So, the participation of men in birth control methods will definitely reduce the side effects of women.

Conclusion

It can clearly be seen that Bangladeshi men can largely contribute to the PCP. Despite the fact that some people argue that PCP should be formulated through targeting the women because of the cultural construction of gender and religious instructions, this essay has shown there are no theological impediments to the involvement of men. Considering the cultural context, it also shows that the attitude of hegemonic masculinity can be changed. Furthermore, it is clear that positive masculinity approach towards PCP is, in fact, necessary and beneficial for both women and men in the society. Indeed, this essay has demonstrated that many ideas and perceptions of Bangladeshi men have

changed from the past to today, which suggests development in this area may be possible.

Currently, many national and international organizations are trying to convince the society about the importance of Positive Masculinity in PCP but nonetheless, as this essay has shown, there are serious obstacles. Although it is difficult to imagine the shared role of men in PCP immediately, the situation is certainly hopeful and suggests that masculinist attributes may be changed positively in the future.

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Burnout of Parent Who Have Children with Cerebral Palsy Disability in Bandung City

By Enkeu Agiati & Enung Huripah

Abstract- Burnout refers to feelings of physical, emotional and mental exhaustion of parents who have children with cerebral palsy disabilities. The purpose of the research was to examine: 1) Characteristics of the subject, 2) Feelings of physical fatigue, 3) Feelings of emotional fatigue, and 4) Feelings of mental fatigue. The method used was descriptive qualitative method. The data sources used are primary and secondary data sources. The technique of determining the informants used was purposive. Data collection techniques used were in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentation study. The criteria for checking data validity used credibility test, transferability test, dependability test, conformbility test with the technique of extending participation, observation persistence, and triangulation. Data analysis techniques used qualitative data analysis techniques. The results showed that parents who have cerebral palsy children experience burnout characterized by feelings of physical, emotional and mental fatigue. However, feelings of physical and emotional exhaustion can still be overcome properly, only the feeling of mental fatigue cannot be overcome.

Keywords: burnout, parent, children with disability, cerebral palsy.

GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 160899

BURNOUTOFPARENTWHOHAVECHILDRENWITHCEREBRALPALSYDISABILITYINBANDUNGCITY

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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I. Introduction

Children with disabilities (CWD) are children who experience limitations both physically, intellectually, mentally and sensory. These limitations make CWD having difficulty in carrying out daily activities, such as: learning, playing, interacting with peers, and establishing relationships with people around them. These difficulties result in CWD requiring special care and parenting to deal with the problems they have experienced, including intellectual disability.

Children with Cerebral Palsy (CWCP) are a collection of conditions that affect muscles and nerves, common in infants and children. Cerebral palsy is not inherited but appears early in life. The CP child has the right to grow and develop as other children. Law Number: 08 of 2016 concerning Disabled Persons, explains; the right of every person with disabilities including the right of CWCP to obtain equal opportunities in every aspect such as the right to life, growth, protection and participation. Even though the CWD has been guaranteed by the Act, in reality CW CP still faces obstacles and limitations. The limitation experienced by CWCP is limited mobility and access to all basic social services needed by CWCP. These limitations require special attention to problem solving,

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because with these limitations will interfere with CWCP activities in activities. Therefore the government is specifically in providing services for CWCP and parents in CWCP care so that children can obtain their rights and basic needs in developing the special potential that exists in them. CWCP has special needs and special care. However, the primary responsibility for meeting the needs and special care for CWCP lies with parents, especially CWD mothers, so parents are required to have high patience, good physical and mental health, and special skills in carrying out tasks in the care of cerebral palsy. Parental skills here especially parenting skills for CWCP are based on full attention and social support, so that children can grow and develop according to their potential.

Parenting, care and social support for CWCP is certainly not the same as children in general, because CWCP requires special attention and skills. ways to get closer, communicate, interact, to ways to convey compassion differently. Therefore parents, especially mothers, are required to have special parenting skills in terms of caring for children who experience the disability of children with cerebral palsy, so that the process of child development goes according to the task of developing CWCP.

Many parents experience difficulties in caring for and caring for children with CP disabilities, so that many parents experience burnout and cause stress. Stress problems can cause changes in attitudes and behavior to be negative, so that it affects both the child and the parents of the child and there are likely to be a variety of serious problems. Parents will cause physical, emotional and psychological fatigue that in a certain period of time results in burnout.

Burnout is a long-term work stress reaction that occurs mainly in parents, professionals who work in the humanitarian service sector such as social workers, teachers, nurses, police and prison guards. Burnout is caused by several conditions, including the weight of workload (work overload), role conflict and role ambiguity, the complexity of the problems faced (Cherniss in Sujipto 2001). Burnout is a very important subject because the impact is very extraordinary hit every person or worker in all institutions, including the service provider institutions. Burnout is the result of a series of processes that occur in humans, where the process will later have an impact on physical, emotional and mental fatigue.

The negative impact that can be caused by work burnout can be in the form of chaos both in management and execution of work, disrupting normal work activities and lowering the level of productivity. If the burnout experienced by parents reaches a peak then at this point if the workload is added, it tends not to result in improved work, then if burnout is experienced then the performance of a person (parent) will decrease, so that it will affect the care and child and this condition will cause parents to lose the ability to control their behavior.

Based on the description, it is very interesting to conduct research on the problem of burnout that occurs in parents, especially mothers who have cerebral palsy PPE. It is hoped that this research will be beneficial for all parties and stakeholders related to family resilience in CWD care and can be used as a basis for policy and program preparation for CWD or CWD parents who experience burnout.

The research problems are "How Burnout Parents of Children with Disabilities CP?" Then the problem formulation is focused on: 1) How do the characteristics of the subject? 2) What is the feeling physically exhausted the subject in child care ?, 3) How the emotional exhaustion subject in parenting ?, and 4) What is the feeling of the subject's mental fatigue? The purpose of this research is to explore about: 1) the characteristics of the subject, 2) the feeling of physical fatigue of the subject in parenting? 3) the feeling of emotional exhaustion of the subject in parenting?.

Burnout according to Pines and Aronson (in Suharto, 2007: 50) is a state of mind accompanied by a variety of symptoms such as emotional exhaustion, physical, mental, and feelings of despair and loss of morale and even the spirit of life. Freuden berger (in Suharto, 2007: 51) explains that:

The symptoms of burnout usually include cynical and negative attitudes, behaviors in thinking that often lead to dead ends that are closed to change or innovation. People who experience burnout are usually cynical looking at people as people who deserve problems because of their own mistakes which will ultimately reduce the quality of services provided.

Burnout arises from a person's internal condition which is supported by environmental factors such as protracted pressure. Employees feel burnout because of the conditions of the work environment which implies that what the employee has done is useless, useless, and not valued and there are rigid, inflexible procedures or rules so that employees feel trapped in an unfair system. This situation can be known through employee perceptions of the psychological work environment.

Someone who experiences Burnout because of his daily routine, individuals who experience burnout will have an impact on the psychological, physical and mental state of the individual, consequently the quality of the individual's work will decrease as well as its performance. Therefore burnout greatly affects the life patterns of workers who in their daily lives do the same work routine.

Pines and Aronson in Firdaus, (2005) say that people affected by burnout will experience physical, mental, and emotional fatigue: 1) physical exhaustion, which is physical exhaustion and physical energy fatigue, 2) emotional exhaustion, which is an individual's fatigue associated with personal feelings characterized by feelings of helplessness and depression, 3) mental exhaustion, which is a condition of fatigue in the individual associated with low self-esteem and depersonalization.

Factors that affect burnout, according to Suharto (2009: 55) are: 1) Stress, burnout is closely related to stress. Burnout is one reaction to a stressful situation. Furthermore, the factors that cause stress according to Hani Handoko (2014: 201) are divided into 2 parts, namely stress caused by work environment factors and factors outside the work environment and 2) Structural factors, burnout is also caused by events or factors structural factors. Furthermore, Edelwich in Zastrow (2014) identified several structural factors related to work that resulted in burnout, namely too many hours of work, dead-end career or not developing, too much work to be done, not fulfilling job training, not valued by clients, not valued by supervisors, not properly paid, no support in making important decisions, no authority, systems not responsive to client needs, poor work conditions and situations, discrimination based on gender.

According to Pines & Aronson in Rahman (2007: 220) classifying general characteristics of burnout, namely: 1) Physical pain characterized as headache, fever, back pain, tension in the neck and shoulder muscles, frequent colds, insomnia, fatigue chronic, 2) Emotional fatigue is characterized as boredom, irritability, cynicism, anger, anxiety, hopelessness, sadness, stress, helplessness, and 3) Mental fatigue is characterized as indifferent to the environment, negative attitudes toward others, low self-concept, despair with life, feeling worthless.

Law No. 35 of 2014 concerning Child Protection explains that children are anyone who is not 18 years old and is still in the womb. Disabled Children (CWD) is someone who is 18 years and under who has a physical or mental disorder that can interfere or is an obstacle and obstacle for him to perform his physical, spiritual and social functions properly, consisting of children with physical disabilities , children with mental disabilities and children with physical and mental disabilities. Variety of disabilities in children include: 1) physical disability; including one of them is Cerebral Palsy (CP).

The factor that causes children to experience CP disability is because of an injury to the part of the brain that controls the ability to use muscles. Cerebral

means to connect with the brain. Palsy means weakness or difficulty using muscles. There are several other causes that can cause a child to experience cerebral palsy: 1) the mother has an injury during pregnancy, or the baby is injured during labor or early childhood, 2) Does not get enough oxygen during or after birth, 3) Infection (for example German measles) which transmits from mother to baby, and 4) serious infection in newborns.

Social Work Practice Interventions in the Problem of Burnout, Zastrow (in Suharto: 2014; 24) that social work is a professional activity to help individuals, groups and communities improve or improve their capacity to function socially and create conducive conditions for society to achieve that goal. Social work in the intervention of social problems is directed at efforts to help and help individuals, families, groups and communities to be able to function socially according to their status and role in people's lives.

Allen Pincus and Anne Minahan expressed their opinions on the objectives of social work that were translated by Soetarso (2014: 5) as follows: 1) Increasing the ability of people to deal with life's tasks and the ability to solve the problems they faced, 2) Linking people with system that can provide resources, services, opportunities needed, 3) Improve the ability to implement the system effectively and in a humanitarian manner, and 4) Provide contributions to change, improvement and development of policies and social legislation.

II. Method

The method used in this research is a qualitative research method. Qualitative research methods according to Lexy J. Moleong (2007: 6):

Qualitative research is research that intends to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the subject of research such as behavior, perceptions, motivations, actions, etc., holistically and by means of descriptions in the form of words and language, in a special natural context and by utilizing various natural methods.

Qualitative research methods aim to provide meaning to the complete phenomenon of the individual and the behavior observed by the researcher to the research target. The research objectives observed were CWCP parents who experienced burnout to look for facts related to burnout experienced by these parents. In this study to avoid misinterpretation of the concepts or terms used in lecture research an explanation of terms was made: 1) burnout is a feeling of physical fatigue, emotional fatigue and psychological fatigue experienced by parents (mothers) of CWCP 2) Parents are biological mothers of CWCP who experience burnout in the care of their children.

Sources of data used in this study are: 1) The source of primary data is the source of data obtained directly from the research subject, namely the mother of CWCP through in-depth interviews and participant observation. Determination of subjects in this study was conducted purposively. The purposive technique is taking subjects based on criteria including: 1) Mothers who have CWCP, 2) CWCP aged 7-14 years, 3) have taken care of children at least 5 (five) years, and 4) CWD mothers who are subjects still have partners (husband). The secondary data sources used were obtained by researchers through the study of documentation, books, research journals and observations of parenting activities against CWCP.

Data collection techniques used are: 1) In-depth Interview, 2). Observation of participation (participant observation); and 3) Documentation Study; Documentation study data collection techniques are techniques by studying the literature of the theories underlying the research, other data such as photos, recordings / case records. The data validity checking technique used is the credibility test, transferability test, dependability test, conformbility test with the technique of extending participation, perseverance observation, and triangulation. Data analysis techniques using analytical techniques used are qualitative data. The data analysis according to Lexy J. Moleong (2007: 6) used in this study are: 1) Data reduction is a sensitive thinking process that requires high intelligence, breadth and depth of insight. 2) Categorization is an attempt to sort out each unit into parts that have similarities. Each category is given the name 'label', and 3) Synthesis; means finding links between one category and another. Linkages of one category to another category are given names / labels again.

III. Result and Discussion

a) Result Description

The subjects of this research were mothers of cerebral palsy PPE who experienced burnout, totaling 2 (two) people, namely Subject N and the subject "J". Subject N, 35 years old, has an undergraduate education, a variety of Islam, and comes from Cianjur, West Java, but since I was born I lived in Bandung. The subjects and two boys from their marriages and the youngest child (second) had a disability CP was able to take care and the subject "N" had cared for her child for 14 years. The second subject is "J", aged 37 has D3 education, is Muslim, and has cared for children for 7 years. The "J" subject originated from Garut, West Java and was domiciled in Bandung since high school, and had one child who had CP disability since birth.

b) Subject Physical Fatigue Feelings

The subject "N" shows the feeling of physical fatigue caused by the behavior of their child which is very difficult to regulate, causing "N" to suffer from pain in the back. Especially because "N" has to take care of two children, and doing their own housework makes "N"

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very vulnerable to suffering from pain, including back pain, aches, and left headache.

The "J" subject who said he experienced physical fatigue caused the subject "J" to experience pain, so he had to get hospital treatment for several days. The "J" subject says that:

I often feel headaches when my child is fussy, so I feel exhausted).

The "J" activity in nurturing "E" children makes the immune system of the "J" subject weak, so that it is susceptible to disease, "J" has experienced "migraine" pain and "typhoid" symptoms which require hospital stays. Daily activities that are draining and not balanced by a break which is enough to cause "J" to fall ill. If the "J" activity continues like this then "J" has the potential to experience hypertension.

The "N" subject also feels physical fatigue due to the activity of caring for and caring for his child. This is "N" as follows :

"I felt a headache and waist, because my child was still like a child, especially if the defecation child was still unable to help himself, so I had to pace.

The subject "N" has a headache and waist. This is caused by the behavior of their children who often make busy "N" have to run to keep children safe and avoid accidents. A great sense of affection for her child makes "N" always look after and help her child sometimes even excessive. The statements of the two subjects indicated that both felt pain in some parts of the body, pain that was physically tiring and made both subjects burnout due to the limitations and behavior of children who are sometimes unruly, making it difficult for both subjects to treat children.

The reaction of the two subjects when they felt physical fatigue had an effect on their desire to carry out their activities. This has an impact on the less optimal subject in carrying out other work caused by the majority of the energy of the two subjects used to care for and care for their children who experience intellectual disbility, as expressed by the following subject "J":

I take care of children with intellectual disabilities who have to nibble and give attention, it must be very tired, but because this has become a necessity it doesn't feel tired, but it's tiring).

Based on the description of the subject "J", the subject "J" felt tired and tired of this condition caused by activities in caring for and caring for PPE CP especially "J" must continue to feel this condition so it would make "j" feel bored and could ignore the task as a mother and wife, so that the subject never keeps his own body condition. If "J" also continues to ignore physical fatigue, it is very potential "J" to get sick. The same is true for the subject "N" who reacts to his physical fatigue by realizing that if a job as a mother of CWCP certainly risks one of them is the risk of experiencing physical fatigue. As the subject "N" follows:

It can't be helped, this has become a risk, I must be tired of taking care of my children, especially when I do my own housework because I don't have a maid.

Explanation of the two subjects shows that the subject is accustomed to facing physical fatigue that is experienced everyday, so that both subjects still have to pay attention to their health conditions, especially the subject must try to overcome physical fatigue by resting with and using the smallest time to be able to be other, as stated the following subject "N":

Even though I got sick, I rested at home and took medicine, if I rarely drank, but only if my condition was very weak, I took medicine.

Based on this explanation, the effort "N" to overcome physical fatigue is to rest at home. "N" very rarely goes to the doctor or to the health center to check his health, even "N", if the pain has been too much new "N" take medication. The same thing was stated by "J" who tried to overcome his physical fatigue by resting at home, as follows:

I just rested at home, resting hours sitting on the terrace.

The statement explains the effort "J" to overcome physical fatigue is to rest at home, because by resting, the body will come back refreshed and ready to move again or sekear sitting on the terrace at recess. This aims to re-prime his physical condition so that he can take care of his children.

c) *Feelings of Emotional Fatigue*

The emotional feeling of the subject felt by the two subjects was different. The subject "N" feels emotional fatigue by showing irritation to his child as he follows:

I sometimes get tired so much ... I used to have my veil pulled by a child until I screamed, finally I was helped by a neighbor maybe because at that time I seemed to be unbearable because my son's request was not followed.

The "N" subject often receives rude and disrespectful treatment from his son's response, which makes him annoyed. Actually "N" is very understandable with the condition of his child who has intellectual disability, so the subject does not fully understand what is being done. It's just that when the behavior of his son who hurt him, "N" can no longer understand and eventually becomes "annoyed". Likewise, everything with the subject "J" also states if the child applies fussing, rude, and disrespectful, as he says the following:

When I said: 'Do not make me feel bad and do not be spoiled, if spoiled and made sad I will tell your father, my child even more fussy, beat me, angry. This makes me angry and emotional to the child.

The "J" subject really understands the condition of his child who is very unruly, so that the subject "J" sometimes feels annoyed. This is caused by advice that

his child never listens to and even opposes. Meanwhile the subject "J" also feels the same thing, as follows:

There is a feeling of annoyance, but it all comes back to me, only sometimes as a human being when he has a heavy burden that he is innate and wants to be angry. However, I like to remember quickly that my child needs special attention).

Both subjects have felt annoyed with their own children and this situation is caused by the behavior of their children often asking for this, realizing the limitations of their children sometimes only at a glance do not fully understand the actions that their child requests. Parents who are the subject of this study face emotional fatigue showing the same reaction, namely realizing about the risk as a result of their child and having children with CP instability. Stable will make his child less comfortable with him.

The results of interviews with both subjects in overcoming feelings of emotional exhaustion, both subjects tried to overcome them by making coping strategies, so that emotional fatigue felt diminished even for a moment. However, as parents, they understand very well about the condition of their children who have limitations, forcing both subjects to care for and educate their children with extras.

d) Feelings of Mental Fatigue

The subject's feelings while caring for and caring for children with CP disabilities vary, as well as the feeling of mental fatigue experienced by the subject of the research. As explained by the subject "N" about the feeling of mental fatigue she felt during parenting, as he revealed:

If my child is fussy and asks to be carried here and there, I only stroked my chest while saying wait.

The subject "N" even though he often feels helpless as a mother is caused by his child's behavior that he cannot control anymore, making him unable to do anything other than reprimand him verbally. In line with "N", the subject "J" also feels helplessness, as follows:

When I'm tired until I'm helpless, sometimes I take the child out of the house for a while so that I don't feel bored, even though I feel very tired.

The statement shows that the subject "J" sometimes feels helpless when facing a child who is acting out of bounds. This is because fatigue and fatigue which are the causes of "J" helplessness face the behavior of their children. But as "J" parents always have a way to deal with a situation like this, namely by inviting their children to play. Meanwhile the feeling of mental fatigue such as feeling not valued is felt by "N" and overcome by "N" as revealed in the following:

I am used to dealing with children and feeling tired, dizzy, especially if the child moves to and fro I feel how ..., but I am patient and my child is taken to play in a comfortable place).

The "N" reaction is very human when he feels tired when a fussy child "N" feels saturated and dizzy, but this is overcome by "N" with patience and spaciousness. "N" always strives to be able to manage itself, so that it is not carried away by situations that make it burdened. The efforts made by "N" are always accepting and always grateful, by the way that "N" is done can overcome mental fatigue experienced and "N" overcome mental fatigue that is by managing oneself, so that not doing something that is not appropriate to do.

IV. Discussion

Burnout (Saturation) is a physical, emotional, and mental condition that is very dropping caused by a very demanding work situation in the long run (Muslihudin, 2009). Based on the results of the study obtained subjects who experienced burnout. The Burnout theory is a process of emotional physical fatigue, a feeling of mental fatigue that is thought to occur due to stress factors related to work. Burnout can also be due to monotonous or non-varied work, unclear work tasks, poor work control, dysfunctional work environment, and extreme activity (overload). More and more additional tasks must be done by mothers who have children with cerebral palsy. Therefore, the greater the burden that must be borne by the parents, the more severe the burden of the impact on parents and this will cause burnout.

Burnout which is indicated by feelings of physical fatigue, emotional fatigue, and mental fatigue. The physical fatigue of both subjects was shown to be unable to carry out activities, feeling sore and aching muscle joints. This condition results in not being able to sleep well, the heartbeat beating fast. Feelings of emotional exhaustion appear in several symptoms, such as lack of energy for activities, loss of caring, feeling, trust, interest, and enthusiasm. Efforts to overcome the imbalance between the demands and capabilities of the subject to overcome emotional fatigue. Whereas mental fatigue decreases interest and is not effective when doing work.

The results of the research showed that the parents of research subjects experienced emotional fatigue. This can be seen from the statement of the subject who said he was angry, easily offended, and unable to compensate for the difficulty in caring for and caring for his child, because the subject was lazy to do other work, making it easier to take non-constructive actions.

Emotional exhaustion is the core of burnout syndrome. Parents are very emotionally involved and feel "overwhelmed" and the consequences in caring for PPE are felt to drain energy sources, giving rise to feelings of frustration, despair, sadness, helplessness, and pressure and lack of interest in working. When

someone experiences exhaustion, they feel the energy is drained and empty squeeze cannot be overcome.

The results of this research also showed parents experience emotional fatigue. This can be seen from the statement of the two subjects, that the subject complained of pain, fatigue, fatigue is a symptom that can lead to illness, in the form of physical, psychological or a combination of both. Similarly, the two subjects experience mental fatigue, mental fatigue (fatigue), is a condition where the body and soul feel tired not just tired, but lethargic and lackluster, describing physical and / or mental states becoming tired and weak. Both subjects despite experiencing mental fatigue but realized that this condition is a risk of having children with cerebral palsy disability and if the subject is mentally exhausted, they overcome it in a strategic way.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the results of the research it can be concluded that the burnout aspects, namely physical fatigue, emotional fatigue, and mental fatigue. The burnout aspect affects the subject in caring for and caring for his child who has intellectual disability. Physical fatigue experienced by both subjects includes pain, drained energy and pain in certain parts of the body. This is due to the behavior of their children who often run around and behave in a way that is harmful to their children, such as carrying sharp objects to be put on their classmates, so that parents are always focused on paying attention to their children's behavior. However, both subjects managed to manage feelings of physical fatigue, so as not to interfere with the activities and concentration of the subject of watching and caring for children.

Emotional fatigue was also felt by the two subjects, the subject felt fatigue with feelings of irritability, and despair, and often irritated. This is caused by the behavior of CWD that is very difficult to manage, so repeated advice must be given so that the child wants to obey. Advice is given so that the CWD understands which actions can be carried out and what actions should not be taken. Emotional fatigue experienced by the subject is not disturbing, because the subject is able to overcome his emotional problems, so he can take care of his child properly. Efforts made by parents to overcome emotional fatigue are by inviting their children to play, sing, and dance together, so that the atmosphere becomes cheerful.

Meanwhile, mental fatigue experienced by parents still cannot be dealt with properly, so it has the potential to disrupt children's learning activities because parents have feelings of helplessness, pessimism, and feelings not denied by their children. This problem requires an effort to be addressed immediately so that the child behaves according to the rules that should be right. Efforts made by parents to overcome the problem of mental fatigue have actually been done, except that these efforts are only limited to surrender to God alone without real behavior, so that it is not fully optimal. Therefore the problem of mental fatigue requires a way out so that parents can carry out tasks and functions as well as the duties and functions of parents

Both subjects still have great hopes for their children even though the child has limitations. This expectation includes the desire for their children to be able to live independently, to grow up, so as not to bother both parents or their families, but also hope that their children can be accepted in the community and not get discriminatory treatment, and be able to carry out activity of daily living.

VI. Recommendations

Based on the description, it can be concluded that the problem of saturation (burnout) is the most important thing to be addressed immediately. Therefore the program was offered "Outbound Activities for parents who have cerebral palsy PPE in the Open Nature" Hopefully the program felt a feeling of physical, emotional fatigue and feelings of mental fatigue experienced by parents could decrease, so parents could carry out their duties and roles in caring for and care for CWD. Besides that, to implement this program it is recommended that there should be cooperation with: 1) People who care about CWD cerebral palsy, so that parents get social support, 2) Foundations, Foundations as owners of SLB-C are expected to contribute actively in learning activities. Contributions that can be made include: a) allocating school funds for outdoor outbound needs, b) making the outbound program an annual school agenda that must be implemented.

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Literary Form and Social Process: A Journey to the Chronicle

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Summary- In this article the chronic genre is studied, seeking to analyze its formation and constitution as it was in Brazil. Taking as an analytical model undertaken for the understanding of the Brazilian romance formation, the method undertaken is dialectical and materialistic. The objective is to understand the formal constitution of the chronicle in its intimate relation with the formation of the Brazilian society of the century. XIX, that surrounds it. The series Bullets of pop is understood as a privileged exemplary of chronic production to undertake this analysis, given its characteristics and specific production conditions.

Keywords: chronic. sociology of literature. literary form. brazilian literature. xix century.

GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 160808

LITERARYFORMANDSOCIALPROCESSAJOURNEYTOTHECHRONICLE

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Literary Form and Social Process: A Journey to the Chronicle

Forma Literária E Processo Social: Um Percurso Até A Crônica

William Moreno Boenavides

Resumo- Nesse atigo estuda-se o gênero crônica buscando analisar sua formação e constituição como se deu no Brasil. Tomando como modelo analises empreendidas para o entendimento da formação romance brasileiro, o método empreendido é dialético e materialista. O objetivo é compreender a constituição formal da crônica em sua relação íntima com a formação daprópria sociedade brasileira do séc. XIX, que a circunda.A série *Balas de estalo* são entendidas como um exemplar privilegiado de produção cronística para empreender a referida análise, dadas suas características e condições de produção específicas.

Palavras-chave: crônica. sociologia da literatura. forma literária. literatura brasileira. século xix.

Summary- In this article the chronic genre is studied, seeking to analyze its formation and constitution as it was in Brazil. Taking as an analytical model undertaken for the understanding of the Brazilian romance formation, the method undertaken is dialectical and materialistic. The objective is to understand the formal constitution of the chronicle in its intimate relation with the formation of the Brazilian society of the century. XIX, that surrounds it. The series Bullets of pop is understood as a privileged exemplary of chronic production to undertake this analysis, given its characteristics and specific production conditions.

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I. Introdução

As possibilidades e o modo da literatura representar a sociedade são assuntos delongo alcance. Na crítica literária brasileira, alguns dos pontos altos nessa seara foram marcados pelas análises de Antonio Candido e Roberto Schwarz.Levantarei dois momentos em que tal problemática foi tratada explicitamente: os estudos de Candido ("De cortiço a cortiço" e "Dialética da malandragem") e as respectivas análises de Schwarz ("Adequação nacional e originalidade crítica" e "Pressupostos, salvo engano, de 'Dialética da malandragem'"[1]). Pensando nos desdobramentos que ambos debates tiveram, darei mais ênfase para o segundo caso, recorrendo à sequência da discussão empreendida por Edu Teruki Otsuka (2007 e 2016)[2]. Para tanto, inverterei a ordem cronológica em que os referidos debates entre Candido e Schwarz ocorreram, pois comentarei primeiro o que se deu em torno da análise de *O Cortiço* (1890) e depois o que se deu em torno das *Memórias de um sargento de milícias* (1854). Feito isso, procurarei demonstrar a produtividade crítica dos argumentos levantados para o estudo da crônica.

Candido (2010, p. 107) comenta, no seu estudo sobre *O Cortiço* (1890), que "para o Naturalismo a obra era essencialmente uma transposição direta da realidade", refletindo "a utopia do sujeito puro diante do

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[1] O ensaio "Dialética da malandragem" foi publicado pela primeira vez na *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* (Universidade de São Paulo), n. 8, 1970, com o subtítulo: "Caracterização das *Memórias de um sargento de milícias*" (Cf. SCHWARZ, 2006; CANDIDO, 2010, p. 284). Já o ensaio "De cortiço a cortiço" teve sua primeira publicação em *Novos Estudos-Cebrap*, n. 30, em São Paulo no ano de 1991, e corresponde à continuação e síntese de dois estudos precedentes de Candido: "A passagem do dois ao três (contribuição para o estudo das mediações na análise literária)", *Revista de História*, n. 100, São Paulo, 1974 e "Literatura-sociologia: a análise de *O Cortiço* de Aluísio Azevedo". In.: *Prática de Interpretação textual*, série Letras e Artes, caderno 28, PUC, Rio de Janeiro, 1976. Ambos ensaios de Candido foram recolhidos em livro pela primeira vez em *O discurso e a cidade*, São Paulo, Duas Cidades, em 1993 (Cf. SCHWARZ, 1999 e CANDIDO, 2010, p. 284). Já os estudos de Schwarz tiveram o seguinte percurso: "Pressupostos, salvo engano, de 'Dialética da malandragem', foi a público pela primeira vez como contribuição ao livro em homenagem a Antonio Candido, organizado por Celso Lafer, *Esboço de Figura*. São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1979. Posteriormente (em 1987) recolhido no livro *Que horas são?*: Ensaios (Cf. SCHWARZ, 2006). "Adequação nacional e originalidade crítica" corresponde a um trabalho apresentado no colóquio sobre "La crítica literária en Latinoamérica", em 1991, e no ano seguinte foi publicado em *Novos Estudos-Cebrap*, n. 32, São Paulo. Saiu em livro pela primeira vez em 1999, no livro *Sequências Brasileiras* (Cf. SCHWARZ, 1999, p. 247).

[2] Em 2005, o autor publicou sua tese de doutoramento sobre as *Memórias de um sargento de milícias* (1854), sob orientação do prof. José Antonio Pasta Jr., mas a qual não tive acesso e que ganhou versão em livro mais de dez anos depois (Cf. OTSUKA, Edu Teruki. *Era no tempo do rei*: Atualidade das Memórias de um Sargento de Milícias. Cotia, SP: Ateliê Editorial, 2016). Nesse meio-tempo, a síntese da referida tese foi publicada em forma de artigo com enorme repercussão na crítica literária materialista brasileira: "Espírito rixoso": para uma reinterpretação das Memórias de um sargento de milícias. *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, v. 44, p. 105-124, 2007.

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objeto puro" e da "originalidade absoluta pela experiência imediata". Ele contesta em seguida tal perspectiva afirmando que "embora filha do mundo, a obra é um mundo". Entre o entendimento de qua a obra é "duplicação da realidade" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 108) e seu extremo oposto, de que ela "nada tem a ver com a realidade" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 108), o crítico define como uma "melhor visão" o caminho intermediário, que consiste em "rastrear na obra o mundo como material, para surpreender no processo vivo da montagem a singularidade da fórmula segundo a qual é transformado no mundo novo, que dá ilusão de bastar a si mesmo" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 108). Em seguida, faz a conhecida afirmação de que seu interesse no estudo sobre *O Cortiço* (1890) "se volta para um problema de filiação de textos e de fidelidade aos contextos" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 108). Isso porque a obra de Aluísio Azevedo se "inspirou livremente" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 108) na obra *L'Assommoir* (1877), de Émile Zola, em que o autor francês também trata de "trabalhadores pobres, alguns miseráveis, amontoados em uma habitação coletiva (...) [tendo como um elemento central da narrativa] a degradação motivada pela promiscuidade" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 109). Daí a filiação de textos. Em contrapartida, Zola escreveu um conjunto de romances para tratar de diversos problemas da sociedade francesa, dispersando-os ao longo das obras, enquanto Aluísio concentrou em um único livro. Essa diferença corresponde para Antonio Candido (2010, p. 108) à referida "fidelidade aos contextos" e o crítico a explica da seguinte forma:

> *O Cortiço* é tematicamente mais variado, porque Aluísio concentrou no mesmo livro uma série de problemas e ousadias que Zola dispersou entre os vários romances da sua obra cíclica. Na sociedade francesa, a diferenciação sendo mais acentuada requeria maior especialização no tratamento literário e quase sugeria ao escritor a divisão de assuntos como núcleos de cada romance: vida política, alto comércio, comércio miúdo, bolsa, burocracia, clero, especulação imobiliária, prostituição, vida militar, lavoura, mineração, ferrovias, alcoolismo etc. Nos países pouco desenvolvidos, como o Brasil, esta especialização equivaleria talvez a uma diluição (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 109).

As diferenças centrais dos contextos referem-se ao modo de desenvolvimento do capitalismo em cada um dos seus países, tendo a França diversificação mais nítida dos setores da economia, colocando "o capitalista longe do trabalhador"; já no Brasil, imperaria o "primitivismo econômico" no qual "a vida do trabalhador" estava associada à "presença direta do explorador econômico" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 110). Como consequência, "a consciência das condições próprias do meio brasileiro interferiu na

influência literária" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 111). Na linha das comparações com Zola, Candido (2010, p. 116-117) destaca que enquanto o edifício de *L'Assommoir* é "segregado da natureza e sobe verticalmente com seus seis andares na paisagem espremida pela falta de espaço", o "cortiço brasileiro ["ligado à natureza"] é horizontal ao modo de uma senzala", e em que se "cria frangos e porcos", numa área com hortas invadida por árvores e capins.

Antonio Candido toma um "dito humorístico" comum no Rio de Janeiro do séc. XIX, que dizia que havia "três pês" para "português, negro e burro": "pão para comer, pano para vestir e pau para trabalhar". Arriscando uma recriação ao estilo poema Pau-Brasil, Candido (2010, p. 111) o nomeia "Mais-valia crioula". Tal dito servirá como um elemento comparativo entre a obra e o Brasil da época para Candido aprofundar a análise das relações sociais expostas em *O Cortiço* (1890). O ditado, o livro e o contexto encerram "uma feroz equiparação do homem ao animal", mas a equiparação se dá não em relação a qualquer homem, mas tão somente ao homem "trabalhador" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 112). Daí a serventia do dito como "introdução ao universo das relações humanas d'*O Cortiço*" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 112). O "brasileiro livre daquele tempo", que não faz parte do trio apresentado no dito (português, negro e burro) seria seu potencial enunciador, o "emissor latente"[3], conforme expressão do crítico (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 112). Na tríade (dito, contexto e obra) há, entre português e escravo, semelhança, que é o trabalho, e diferença: o português ascende socialmente. E é justamente "o mecanismo de formação da riqueza individual" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 113) de um português (João Romão) que Aluísio descreve minuciosamente e cujo ritmo é ajustado ao ritmo da própria narrativa. Visto por esse ângulo, Candido (2010, p. 116) ressignifica os personagens do pequeno dito humorístico: o português é "o explorador capitalista", o negro é "o trabalhador reduzido a escravo" e o burro "não é burro", mas "o homem socialmente alienado, rebaixado ao nível do animal". A combinação entre os três elementos garante a acumulação do capital: "Aquilo que é condição de esmagamento para o brasileiro seria condição de realização para o explorador de fora, pois sempre a pobreza e a privação foram as melhores e mais seguras fontes de riqueza" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 121). De tal modo que o crítico considera o cortiço, espaço destacado da narrativa, como "alegoria" do próprio Brasil, "visto como "matéria-prima de lucro para o capitalista" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 130-131).

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[3] O "emissor latente" é aproximado do brasileiro livre, que não se identifica com o negro escravizado e se ressente com o português, que trabalha e enriquece. Por esse modo, Candido particulariza o narrador externo, dando-lhe uma caracterização material a partir das marcas discursivas.

Deste estudo de Candido, Roberto Schwarz (1999, p. 25) destacou o modo como o crítico articulou na sua leitura de *O Cortiço* (1890) a relação entre contexto local e intertextualidade com o livro francês de Zola, referindo a "filtragem reordenada a que a experiência local submete os esquemas europeus". Junto a isso, foi enfatizado no estudo de Schwarz (1999, p. 25-26) o procedimento adotado por Candido que possibilita compreender as diferenças entre a formas do romance de Zola, em especial *L'Assommoir* (1877), e a de *O Cortiço* (1890). Como vimos, as diferentes constituições formais se dão em função de se articularem a modos de organização social diversas:

> Antonio Candido observa que a diferenciação alcançada pela sociedade francesa apartava os mundos do trabalho e da riqueza, de sorte que um romancista como Zola, com ambição de obra cíclica, os trataria em livros separados; ao passo que o estágio primitivo da acumulação brasileira [uma "sociedade menos diferenciada"] sugeria a um naturalista local, mesmo inspirado em *L'Assommoir*, um enredo em que explorador e explorados convivem estreitamente (SCHWARZ, 1999, p. 25).

Nessa perspectiva, não poderia passar sem ser comentado por Schwarz que o estudo de Candido (2010) sobre *O Cortiço* (1890) está no campo da "sondagem de correspondências estruturais entre literatura e vida social", sem que isso indique qualquer tipo de "redução de uma estrutura à outra, mas a reflexão histórica sobre a constelação [em sentido benjaminiano] que elas formam" (SCHWARZ, 1999, p. 28). Também não passaria despercebido pelo crítico o "dito dos três pês" analisado por Candido (2010), por meio do qual se entrevê a "noção pejorativa de trabalho que a sociedade escravista desenvolvia" (SCHWARZ, 1999, p. 27) e "um nacionalismo feito de desprezo pelo trabalho, pelo negro, pela animalidade e pelo português" (SCHWARZ, 1999, p. 28).

A partir de então, Schwarz (1999) passa a enfatizar que o ensaio de Candido (2010) demonstra que a referida "vida social" se materializa na obra por meio de sua "forma", que atua como "mediadora" das relações sociais e estéticas (SCHWARZ, 1999, p. 30). Assim, presentificada na forma, a sociedade não se mostra como algo externo à obra, "mas como elemento interno ativo, sob a forma de um dinamismo especificamente seu, resultado consistente dela e potência interior ao romance, onde atritará com outras forças e revelará algo de si" (SCHWARZ, 1999, p. 35). Desse modo, "o dinamismo literário" produz "conhecimento sobre a realidade externa" (SCHWARZ, 1999, p. 38). No caso de *O Cortiço* (1890), a obra apreende "o ritmo de acumulação do capital, nas condições peculiares do país" nas ações de um dos seus protagonistas, e a mimetização de tal ritmo constitui a "unidade do livro" (SCHWARZ, 1999, p. 37).

Antes de avançarmos para os comentários de Candido (2010), Schwarz (2006b) e Edu Otsuka (2007) sobre as *Memórias de um sargento de milícias* (1854) e o modo como ela apreende a sociedade ao seu redor e a mimetiza em seu andamento formal, cabe um comentário justamente sobre a perspectiva, que apareceu nos estudos sobre *O Cortiço* (1890) e que reaparecerá na sequência sobre as *Memórias* [4]. Trata-se de destacar que o principal reside no fato de que a obra internaliza na sua forma os aspectos gerais da sociedade a que representa, não constituindo mera documentação do real. Em todas as análises aqui levantadas, ressoa a perspectiva de abordagem adorniana das obras. Como demonstra Antônio Sanseverino (2008a), ao estudar como a categoria de mediação é entendida na obra teórica de Theodor Adorno, para o crítico alemão, "a forma traz em si os condicionantes sociais" (SANSEVERINO, 2008a, p. 100), sendo ela a mediadora entre estes e a obra. Tal mediação deve ser compreendida "no sentido hegeliano", isto é, ela "está na própria coisa" (ADORNO, 1994, p.112). Isso só é possível pelo entendimento de que por intermédio da sociologia da literatura que se detém no estudo social das formas, forma e conteúdo são considerados interdependentes.

Nessa linha, Roberto Schwarz (2006b), em estudo bastante conhecido, analisa o também bastante conhecido ensaio "Dialética da malandragem", de Antonio Candido, em que o crítico literário e sociólogo demonstra como o livro *Memórias de um sargento de milícias* (1854), de Manuel Antônio de Almeida, formaliza esteticamente o que há de "sociologicamente essencial" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 39) na sociedade brasileira a qual o livro representa. Schwarz faz questão de situar historicamente o trabalho de Antonio Candido, saído pela primeira vez em 1970, pois se colocava na contramão de duas fortes contingências (para dizer o mínimo), o estruturalismo e a ditadura civil-militar brasileira.

A "Dialética da malandragem" foi, na avaliação de Schwarz (2006b, p. 129), o "primeiro estudo literário propriamente dialético" publicado no Brasil, conseguindo realizar "o básico da crítica marxista", que consiste na análise "dialética de forma literária e processo social". A reflexão de Candido (2010) sobre as *Memórias de um sargento de milícias* (1854) estabeleceu, "atrás dos altos e baixos do acabamento [do romance analisado por ele], uma organização de entrecho complexa e de muito

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[4] Lembrando, como dito anteriormente, inverti a ordem cronológica dos debates para uma exposição mais organizada, de tal modo que, em verdade, essa discussão sobre forma literária e processo social apareceu primeiro nos estudos de Candido e Schwarz sobre as *Memórias*.

alcance", pois "evocava um aspecto geral da sociedade brasileira, de que seria a transposição artística" (SCHWARZ, 2006b, p. 129-130). Esse procedimento de Candido (2010), demonstrando que a organização formal das *Memórias* corresponde a uma "transposição artística" de um "aspecto geral da sociedade brasileira", processou-se a partir da "conjunção de análise formal e localização sociológica enquanto complementares" e abriu "uma perspectiva que permitia identificar, denominar e colocar em análise uma linha de força inédita até então para a teoria, a linha da 'malandragem'" (SCHWARZ, 2006b, p. 130). A consistência das *Memórias* (1854) é indício da relevância do "aspecto geral da sociedade brasileira" (SCHWARZ, 2006b, p. 130) evocada pela obra, isto é, da "malandragem".

Para chegar à hipótese da "Dialética da malandragem", Antonio Candido (2010) realizou o levantamento das análises feitas sobre o romance *Memórias de um sargento de milícias* (1854) e sistematicamente as refutou. A força representativa das *Memórias*, no entanto, não permite a Candido (2010) refutá-lo como realista em sentido amplo, mas autoriza a refutação de tal classificação se ela se referir "especificamente ao conceito usual das classificações literárias", pois o "intuito" de Antonio Candido nesse seu estudo é o de "caracterizar uma modalidade bastante peculiar, que se manifesta no livro de Manuel Antônio de Almeida" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 18). Essa peculiaridade consiste em representar a sociedade brasileira da época não apenas como um "romance documentário" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 27), mas a partir da "formalização ou redução estrutural dos dados externos" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 28).

Estamos novamente no campo de estudo que busca na forma da obra literária a representação da sociedade, e não apenas em seu conteúdo. Candido (2010) demonstra que as *Memórias* são um "romance representativo", pois seu autor conseguiu "intuir, além dos fragmentos descritos, certos princípios constitutivos da sociedade –, elemento oculto que age como totalizador dos aspectos parciais [os "dados" que referimos anteriormente] (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 31). Junto a isso, o romance é formado por um "estrato universalizador" de cunho arquetípico (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 31) que remonta, por exemplo, aos contos de fada com a oposição entre o bem e o mal. No caso do romance, o bem representado por aqueles que protegem o protagonista e o mal por aqueles que se opõem à sua felicidade. Em síntese, o "malandro" delimitado por Antonio Candido (2010) constitui "uma figura historicamente original que sintetiza" três elementos: "uma dimensão folclórica e pré-moderna", que seria um trapaceiro (um *trickster,* conforme sua denominação corrente); "um clima cômico datado – a produção satírica do período regencial" e "*uma intuição*

profunda do movimento da sociedade brasileira" (SCHWARZ, 2006b, p. 131, grifos do autor).

O que interessa mais aqui e que foi enfatizado por Schwarz (2006b) em sua análise é a compreensão desse terceiro elemento que diz respeito à representação da sociedade brasileira na composição formal das *Memórias*. Esse estrato é "constituído pela dialética da ordem e da desordem, que manifesta concretamente as relações humanas no plano do livro, do qual forma o sistema de referência" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 31). A oscilação entre os polos da ordem e da desordem é terreno fértil para o "malandro" Leonardinho, mas, como princípio, marca a trajetória de todos os personagens relevantes do livro. Isso se dá de tal modo que a própria noção de "polo" é dissolvida pela oscilação entre eles, de forma que, num processo dialético, ambas, ordem e desordem, suprimem-se e absorvem-se mutuamente. A expressão formal dessa representação se dá em função de "a dialética da ordem e da desordem" ser "um princípio válido de generalização, que organiza tanto os fatos particulares do livro quanto os fatos particulares da sociedade joanina"(CANDIDO, 2010, p. 39). Mesmo "suprimindo o escravo" (e com ele "quase totalmente o trabalho") e as "classes dirigentes" (e com elas "os controles de mando"), Manuel Antônio de Almeida compôs um "romance profundamente social", não por ser "documentário, mas por ser construído segundo o ritmo geral da sociedade, vista através de um dos seus setores", no caso, predominantemente os chamados "homens livres", nem escravizados nem classe dirigente. A obra atinge esse patamar de representação, "sobretudo porque dissolve o que há de sociologicamente essencial nos meandros da construção literária" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 39). Completando aí a referida "dialética" entre "forma literária" e "processo social", anunciada por Schwarz (2006b, p. 129). O ato crítico de Antonio Candido (2010), conforme comentário de Roberto Schwarz (2006b, p. 130), reúne:

> Uma análise de composição, que renova a leitura do romance e o valoriza extraordinariamente; uma síntese original de conhecimentos dispersos a respeito do Brasil, obtida à luz heurística da unidade do livro; a descoberta, isto é, a identificação de uma grande linha que não figurava na historiografia literária do país, cujo mapa este ensaio modifica; e a sondagem da cena contemporânea, a partir do modo de ser social delineado nas *Memórias*.

Isso tudo em função da capacidade de apreender a "intuição e figuração de uma dinâmica histórica profunda" que o romance apresenta e, junto a isso, demonstrar como tal intuição é evocada na "forma literária, sobretudo no balanço do entrecho", isto é, na "circulação dos personagens (...) entre esferas sociais

da ordem e da desordem" (SCHWARZ,2006b, p. 131), conforme comentado acima. A relação dialética entre ordem e desordem é "tanto o esqueleto de sustentação do romance quanto *redução estrutural* de um dado social externo à literatura e pertencente à história". O procedimento configura, "noutras palavras", a *formalização estética* de um ritmo geral da sociedade brasileira da primeira metade do século XIX" (SCHWARZ,2006b, p. 132, grifos do autor marcando expressões utilizadas por Candido (2010)).

São modos de existência da camada social intermediária, nem escravizada nem classe dirigente, do Brasil da primeira metade do século XIX que tal procedimento estético formaliza. Nesse setor, a ordem raramente conseguia se impor e se manter. "É esta a realidade histórica de que a dialética de ordem e desordem é correlativo formal" (SCHWARZ,2006b, p. 133). O método de Candido (2010), flagrado por Schwarz (2006b), consiste em perceber na obra um modo de organização da realidade histórica na sua própria forma, que aí passa à mediadora da dinâmica da vida social. Percebe-se, então, que não há oposição entre o estético e o social, pelo contrário:

(...) não se trata de opor *estético* a *social*. Pelo contrário, pois a forma é considerada como síntese profunda do movimento histórico, em oposição à relativa superficialidade da reprodução documentária. Neste sentido, note-se que a ênfase no valor mimético da *composição*, em detrimento do valor de retrato das partes, chama uma consideração mais complexa *também do real*, que não pode estar visado em seus eventos brutos. Uma composição só é imitação se for de algo organizado... o que aliás indica, seja dito de passagem, que a leitura estética tem mais afinidade com a interpretação social abrangente do que as leituras presas à autenticidade do pormenor. Leitura estética e globalização histórica são parentes. As duas suspendem o dado num todo complexo, sem suprimi-lo (SCHWARZ, 2006b, p. 135, grifos do autor).

Para Schwarz (2006b, p. 140), "trata-se de ler o romance sobre fundo real e de estudar a realidade sobre fundo de romance, no plano das formas mais do que dos conteúdos, e isto criativamente".Ou seja, a realidade, para que lhe possamos atribuir significação, também é compreendida por sua forma. Então, na "Dialética da malandragem", Candido (2010) apreendeu "o momento em que uma forma real, isto é, posta pela vida prática, é transformada em forma literária". Trata-se de capturar "o modo e o ponto em que a dinâmica estética se aprende à dinâmica social, à exclusão de outros modos e pontos" (SCHWARZ, 2006b, p. 142). Logo, não se trata de defender a existência de uma representação total da realidade, mas de fragmentos seus que permitam o estabelecimento de nexos que a

expliquem em profundidade, já que reorganizada, e em relação dialética com a explicação da própria obra.

Feito todo esse apanhado que recupera os méritos de Antonio Candido, Roberto Schwarz (2006b) passa a apontar os limites do estudo "Dialética da malandragem":

Ora, enquanto denominador comum das indicações sociais a dialética de ordem e desordem se torna uma constante cultural, e por este lado estamos próximos dos clássicos de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda e Gilberto Freyre nos anos 30. Somando, digamos que os argumentos ora puxam em direção do histórico, ora em direção do ethos cultural, termos que não são inimigos, mas que se referem a dimensões diferentes da realidade. Assim, a dialética de ordem e desordem é construída inicialmente enquanto experiência e perspectiva de um setor social, num quadro de antagonismo de classes historicamente determinado. Ao passo que noutro momento ela é o modo de ser brasileiro, isto é, um traço cultural através do qual nos comparamos a outros países e que em circunstâncias históricas favoráveis pode nos ajudar.

A transformação de um modo de ser de classe em modo de ser nacional é a operação de base da ideologia. Com a particularidade, no caso, de que não se trata de generalizar a ideologia da classe dominante, como é hábito, mas a de uma classe oprimida. Com efeito, Antonio Candido identifica a dialética de ordem e desordem como um modo de ser popular. Mais adiante ele a generaliza para o país, sublinha os inconvenientes de racismo e fanatismo religioso que ela nos poupou, e especula sobre as suas afinidades com uma ordem mundial mais favorável, que pelo contexto seria pós-burguesa. Assim, a matriz de alguns dos melhores aspectos da sociabilidade desenvolvida pelos homens pobres, à qual o futuro talvez reserve uma oportunidade (SCHWARZ, 2006b, p. 150-151, grifos do autor).

Schwarz (2006b, p. 151) vê na análise de Candido a ausência de uma pergunta sobre as *Memórias*. Conforme análise do crítico paulista (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 31),o romance é formado pela dimensão folclórica (que remete aos contos de fadas e sua oposição entre o bem e o mal) e pela dimensão histórica (que remete a todos os traços da sociedade brasileira da época amplamente expostos anteriormente). Por que, então, essa relação, essa dualidade diríamos nós hoje, à luz de outros estudos de Schwarz (2000a; 2000b), não é questionada por Candido? "Não é feita", continua Schwarz (2006b, p. 151), "a pergunta pelo sentido, no caso, da cunhagem folclórica do mundo moderno". Nesse passo, Antonio Candido teria abdicado da abordagem marxista e

sucumbido à culturalista (SCHWARZ, 2006b, p. 154), isto é, passado a analisar como traço cultural o que é fruto da historicidade, e, portanto, da luta de classes. Tal perspectiva culturalista se manifesta sobremaneira na última parte do ensaio de Antonio Candido (2010, p. 40-47), "O mundo sem culpa", em que o modo de sociabilidade analisado nas *Memórias* é visto como algo positivo e bem "brasileiro", em oposição a modos de existência dos Estados Unidos, na comparação de Candido. Esse "nosso" modo de ser se opõe aos modos de ser dos "puritanos de que se nutrem as sociedades capitalistas" e é muito mais "aberto" do que o deles (SCHWARZ, 2006b, p. 152). Tais paralelos passam a ser feitos sem a devida consideração dos espaços históricos que os circundam, contrariando a tônica do próprio estudo de Candido.

"O mundo sem culpa" recebe análise detalhada de Edu Otsuka que levou adiante as ressalvas de Schwarz (2006b) ao estudo de Antonio Candido (2010) e aprofundou as consequências que a abordagem culturalista tiveram, nos momentos que despontaram, para o ensaio de Antonio Candido.

> Entendida exclusivamente como traço cultural brasileiro, a malandragem tende a ser desvinculada do quadro determinado da organização econômico-social. Desse modo, contudo, a relação entre as Memórias e a sociedade brasileira, tal como apresentada por Candido, fica atenuada (ou talvez mesmo neutralizada). Isso porque a relação entre a obra e a sociedade passa a restringir-se à simples correspondência entre a malandragem literariamente figurada no romance e o comportamento malandro existente na realidade, sem que, no entanto, a própria malandragem real seja entendida em seus fundamentos histórico-sociais (apenas se constata a sua existência no plano da realidade, como um fato auto-evidente que parece não exigir outra explicação para além do impalpável ethos nacional). Nesse movimento, perde-se uma parte importante da interpretação de Antonio Candido, pois as clivagens internas à sociedade brasileira, com suas desigualdades brutais, que explicam historicamente o predomínio da "dialética de ordem e desordem" tanto na ficção quanto na realidade, bem como os modos de reprodução das fraturas sociais, que explicam a persistência da malandragem, acabam sendo deixados na sombra (OTSUKA, 2007, p. 107-108).

O "modo de ser brasileiro", que aparece com toda força no trecho final do ensaio de Candido (2010), é o exemplo máximo do problema que a abordagem culturalista relegou à interpretação da obra e, por consequência, à interpretação da realidade histórica que ela representa. Otsuka (2007, p. 105) especifica que a própria oscilação entre um polo e outro, definida por Candido como a dialética da ordem e da

desordem, está atrelada ao problema da desavença pessoal. Esta consiste numa faceta "não explorada" da obra e encobre "o núcleo de violência que, no plano das relações entre as personagens, se manifesta sob a feição de rixas e vinganças". Com isso em vista, Otsuka demonstra que "a estrutura de rixas determina a organização formal do romance, sendo, ao mesmo tempo, resultante de práticas sociais mais amplas, próprias ao país periférico de economia escravista". A demonstração se dá pela exposição do rol de personagens dominados pelo "espírito rixoso", com o crítico define. A rixa percorre os extremos dos estrados sociais representados na obra, de Vidinha, moça pobre com quem Leonardo tem um relacionamento, à D. Maria, com sua paixão pelas demandas judiciais. Nas disputas vigentes encetadas nas *Memórias*, "o objeto disputado parece menos importante do que o dano moral infligido ao oponente, de tal modo que a satisfação não decorre tanto da eficácia em alcançar o objetivo, mas sim da capacidade de humilhar o adversário" (OTSUKA, 2007, p. 118). Ou seja, a rixa tem valor por si só na obra, sendo que acaba dirigindo ela mesma a conduta dos personagens, não importando se eles vão ou não angariar algum fruto palpável disso, mas apenas a desforra em si. "À diferença do antagonismo absoluto do romance burguês" (OTSUKA, 2007, p. 115), não se trata de uma vingança colocada como passo para uma ascensão, é picuinha mesmo, uma forma de conseguir vantagem sobre o outro. Levando adiante o método de Candido (2010), detalhado por Schwarz (2006b), Otsuka (2007, p. 115) pontua:

> Essa divergência na magnitude dos conflitos, evidenciada nas figurações da vingança, deve-se aos diferentes pressupostos histórico-sociais de cada forma. A estruturação dominante no romance burguês – com seu desenvolvimento dramático amplo, governado pela busca consciente de uma finalidade última – está enraizada no processo específico da consolidação da ordem burguesa, em que a troca mercantil se erige como o nexo fundamental que molda a sociedade no conjunto. Como veremos mais detalhadamente a seguir, o domínio das rixas vingativas no romance de Manuel Antônio funda-se em um processo que, embora articulado ao outro, destoa dele, pois no Brasil oitocentista a prevalência do escravismo produzia particularidades na organização social, que definem a feição específica da matéria social brasileira.

O detalhamento anunciado por Edu Otsuka consiste em compreender a especificidade histórica da camada social a qual pertence a maior parte dos personagens das *Memórias*, isto é, os homens livres, nem proprietários nem escravizados vivendo na "ordem

escravocrata"[5]. Tal posição impunha um mercado de trabalho muito restrito e, ao mesmo tempo, a necessidade de buscar subsistência nos bens de mercado, já que precisavam pagar por eles:

> Nessas condições, os homens livres pobres só encontravam maiores chances de obter os meios de sobrevivência através de mecanismos específicos, diferentes do trabalho assalariado, já que não encontravam lugar na esfera da produção, ocupada pelo trabalho escravo; daí a vigência do favor e da malandragem (OTSUKA, 2007, p. 118).

Além disso, a sociedade escravocrata na qual estavam inseridos, "estabelecia distinções hierárquicas rígidas, emque a afirmação da desigualdade se tornava um imperativo paraa definição das posições sociais" (OTSUKA, 2007, p. 118). As relações, sobretudo com os poderosos, e qualquer forma de superioridade aos demais tornavam-se uma forma de *compensação imaginária* [6] (OTSUKA, 2007, p. 118, grifo do autor). Justamente esses "poderosos", a classe dirigente, não figuram, nem de modo recorrente e muito menos como protagonistas das *Memórias*, daí a situação propícia à rixa a que estavam sujeitos os homens livres, tanto na sociedade brasileira da época quanto no livro:

> De certo modo, na falta de proteção de um poderoso, a rixa apresenta-se para os pobres como o único lugar em que é possível afirmar uma supremacia (um pouco na realidade e muito na imaginação), em vista da obtenção do sentimento de superioridade e de certo prestígio em relação aos demais (OTSUKA, 2007, p. 121).

Completando o quadro, Otsuka (2007, p. 122) observa que na *Memórias* "proliferam as rixas entre pares, que acabam se sobrepondo ao antagonismo de classes".

Os estudos referidos acima colocam o romance produzido no século XIX num patamar privilegiado no que diz respeito ao estudo social das formas e da análise dialática. Neste artigo, procuro direcionar esse esforço crítico para o esudo da crônica, um gênero que não recebeu ainda o mesmo empenho de entendiemnto de comparado ao romance. Em outras duas oportunidades, já abordei o problema de estudar a crônica por esse viés[7]. Contudo, creio que não atingi

o osbjetivos pretendidos e deixei transparecer o enfoque culturalista em detrimento do materialista. Acredito que muito disso se deve ao fato de que, nos dois momentos, associei às características da crônica o conceito de "cordialidade", conforme definido por Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (2002, p. 1044-1055) sem questionar o próprio conceito. Foi decisivo para a percepção de que havia algo de capenga nisso tudo a leitura do artigo "Jeitinho e Jeitão: uma tentativa de interpretação do caráter brasileiro", de Francisco de Oliveira[8], pois ele explora o papel ideológico presente na concepção culturalista que consiste, em verdade, em expandir um traço de classe para toda a sociedade. Um estudo ainda não publicado de Edu Otsuka (mimeo) sobre a crônica também muito contribuiu para o ajuste de direcionamento nesse sentido. Com esses elementos, pretendo agora tentar superar um pouco esse modo de estudar a crônica, chamando mais atenção para a materialidade de sua constituição, o que levará a rever também o modo de entender o conceito de "cordialidade".

A crônica: algumas tentativas de definição, trajetória e materialidade

Interessa nesse momento propor a discussão sobre a crônica como gênero literário entendido em perspectiva materialista. Tal debate se faz importante na medida em que a perspectiva culturalista, referida no debate em torno das *Memórias de um sargento de milícias* (1854), tem imperado nas tentativas de estabelecimento dos traços constitutivos da crônica, inclusive nos comentários de Antonio Candido, que pode ser considerado um pioneiro no tratamento desse assunto. Num texto de 1980, que serviu de introdução a uma coletânea de crônicas destinadas ao público escolar, e que foi republicado em outros momentos pelo autor[9], Candido (1992, p. 13) situa a condição da

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[5] Conforme expressão de Maria Sylvia de C. Franco: *Homens livres na ordem escravocrata.* São Paulo: Ática, 1976.

[6] Como lembra Otsuka (2007, p. 118), tal forma de compensação ganhou representação também com o criado de Brás Cubas, nas *Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas* (1881), que se exibe na janela do palacete de seu patrão para "mostrar que não é criado de *qualquer*", episódio que mereceu análise de Roberto Schwarz (2000a).

[7] Respectivamente: BOENAVIDES, William Moreno. *As formas da intervenção*: política nas *Balas de Estalo* de Machado de Assis. 176 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Literatura Brasileira) – Instituto de Letras, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, 2012 e BOENAVIDES, William Moreno. *A cordialidade de Lélio*: Machado de

Assis nas Balas de estalo. Porto Alegre: Organon, n. 28, v. 55, p. 55-71, jul./dez. 2013.

[8] Publicado em: *Revista Piauí*, nº 73, out. 2012. Disponível em: http://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/materia/jeitinho-e-jeitao/. Acesso: 05 de dezembro de 2012.

[9] A primeira publicação desse texto de Candido serviu de introdução ao livro *Para gostar de* ler: crônicas. São Paulo: Ática, 1980 (Vol. 5). O livro reuniu crônicas de Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Rubem Braga, Fernando Sabino e Paulo Mendes Campos. Posteriormente, ele foi recolhido em um volume com textos de vários autores, todos voltados ao estudo da crônica.: *A crônica*: o gênero, sua fixação e suas transformações no Brasil. Campinas, SP: Editora da UNICAMP; Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1992. O texto de Candido nesse livro também cumpriu o papel de introdução ("À guisa de introdução" dizia a inscrição que acompanhava o título do seu artigo). No ano seguinte a essa publicação, integrou o livro de ensaios de Antonio Candido: *Recortes*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993. Em todos os casos, o texto permaneceu rigorosamente o mesmo, incluindo apenas indicações em nota de rodapé sobre a coletânea da série "Para gostar de ler" que originou a primeira publicação (Cf. CANDIDO, 1980; 1992; 1993 e DANTAS, 2002, p. 28). Assim, se por um lado devemos considerar o fato de o texto ter sido produzido como introdução a uma coletânea escolar, não tendo, portanto, o caráter de estudo mais aprofundado que outros trabalhos do autor

crônica como "gênero menor", no sentido de que a literatura de uma dada nacionalidade não teria, só com cronistas, o "brilho universal dos grandes romancistas, dramaturgos e poetas", da mesma forma, não "se pensaria em atribuir o Prêmio Nobel a um cronista, por melhor que fosse". Note-se que o que é referido por Candido, nesse primeiro momento, para definir ou não a grandeza de um gênero são categorias abstratas, como "brilho universal" e os mecanismos institucionalizados de consagração, como o Prêmio Nobel. Contudo, o que impera no texto do autor não é uma visão pejorativa do gênero; ao contrário, ele comemora essa não grandiosidade da crônica, que possibilita que ela fique "perto de nós". Mesmo assim, num primeiro momento, o autor (CANDIDO, 1992, p. 13-14) parece não a considerar propriamente literatura, já que vê na crônica um "caminho não apenas para vida, que ela serve de perto, mas para a literatura", mas essa visão vai se alterando no andamento do texto:

> Por meio dos assuntos, da composição aparentemente solta, do ar de coisa sem necessidade que costuma assumir, ela se ajusta à sensibilidade de todo o dia. Principalmente porque elabora uma linguagem que fala de perto ao nosso modo de ser mais natural. Na sua despretensão, humaniza; e esta humanização lhe permite, como compensação sorrateira, recuperar com a outra mão uma certa profundidade de significado e um certo acabamento de forma, que de repente podem fazer dela uma inesperada embora discreta candidata à perfeição.

Essas aparentes despretensão e proximidade vão marcar o entendimento de Candido sobre a crônica em sentido mais geral. Diz ele: "vamos pensar um pouco na própria crônica como gênero. Lembrar, por exemplo, que o fato de ficar tão perto do dia a dia age como quebra do monumental e da ênfase" (CANDIDO, 1992, p. 14). O que seria bom, já que há "um problema" na "magnitude do assunto" e na "pompa da linguagem", pois "eles podem atuar como disfarce da realidade e até mesmo da verdade". Para o autor(CANDIDO, 1992, p. 14), "a literatura corre com frequência este risco, cujo resultado é quebrar no leitor a possibilidade de ver as coisas com retidão e pensar em consequência disto". Já a "crônica está sempre ajudando a estabelecer ou restabelecer a dimensão das coisas e das pessoas". Ela não oferece "um cenário excelso, numa revoada de adjetivos e períodos candentes, pega o miúdo e mostra nele uma grandeza, uma beleza ou uma singularidade insuspeitadas".

Para Candido, esses traços positivos da crônica se devem a suas condições de produção, já que não foram feitas para o livro, mas para o jornal,

sendo sua filha "e da era da máquina, onde tudo acaba tão depressa" (CANDIDO, 1992, p. 14), acabam incorporando o caráter transitório do veículo e não são produzidas com o intuito de permanecerem "na lembrança e na admiração da posteridade; e a sua perspectiva não é a dos que escrevem do alto da montanha, mas do simples rés-do-chão" (CANDIDO, 1992, p. 14). Existe uma oposição no pensamento de Candido entre tratar de assuntos cotidianos e ter vigência para além desse cotidiano. Mesmo que sua visão se refine na continuação do texto em relação ao contexto de surgimento da crônica: "retificando o que ficou dito atrás, ela não nasceu propriamente com o jornal, mas só quando este se tornou quotidiano, de tiragem relativamente grande e teor acessível, isto é, há uns cento e cinquenta anos mais ou menos [o que seriaem torno de 1830]" (CANDIDO, 1992, p. 15); o mesmo não vai acontecer em relação à constituição do gênero que se forma nesse contexto complexo, tendo sua constituição sempre marcada por um olhar benévolo e pouco problematizador. Isso se revela numa dimensão que irá marcar o tratamento culturalista que a constituição desse gênero receberá por parte do autor. Ainda se referindo à crônica como gênero, vai dizer ele:

> No Brasil ela tem uma boa história, e até se poderia dizer que sob vários aspectos é um gênero brasileiro, pela naturalidade com que se aclimatou aqui e a originalidade com que aqui se desenvolveu. Antes de ser crônica propriamente dita foi "folhetim", ou seja, um artigo de rodapé sobre as questões do dia, - políticas, sociais. artísticas, literárias. Assim eram os da secção "Ao correr da pena"[10], título significativo a cuja sombra José de Alencar escrevia semanalmente para o Correio Mercantil, de 1854 a 1855. Aos poucos o "folhetim" foi encurtando e ganhando certa gratuidade, certo ar de quem está escrevendo à toa, sem dar muita importância. Depois, entrou francamente pelo tom ligeiro e encolheu de tamanho, até chegar ao que é hoje.

> Ao longo deste percurso, foi largando cada vez mais a intenção de informar e comentar (deixada a outros tipos de jornalismo), para ficar sobretudo com a de divertir. A linguagem se tornou mais leve, mais descompromissada e (fato decisivo) se afastou da lógica argumentativa ou da crítica política, para penetrar poesia adentro. Creio que a fórmula moderna, onde entra um fato miúdo e um toque humorístico, com seu *quantum satis* de poesia, representa o amadurecimento e o encontro mais puro da crônica consigo mesma (CANDIDO, 1992, p. 15).

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possuem, por outro lado podemos considerá-lo uma visão pronta de Candido sobre o gênero, haja vista suas republicações e a ausência de comentários seus em contrário.

[10] A série "Ao correr da pena" constituiu-se de folhetins de José de Alencar publicados no *Correio Mercantil* nos anos 1854-1855 e reunidos em livro em 1874.

Fato miúdo, humor e poesia, elementos da modernidade incorporados pela crônica marcam sua identidade como gênero. Nesse processo de constituição da crônica, no século XIX, mesmo com variações entre os autores, nela "ainda se notava mais o corte de artigo leve", que foi sendo acompanhado de umacrescente "dose poética"[11]. Para Candido (1992, p. 16), o fato é que a crônica, como gênero, é,pela contribuição de muitos autores, um "produto *sui generis* do jornalismo literário brasileiro" (CANDIDO, 1992, p. 16).

De forma genérica, ele diz que as crônicas têm um "tom menor de coisa familiar" (CANDIDO, 1992, p. 17). Contudo, ao se referir especificamente às crônicas selecionadas na coletânea cuja introdução está escrevendo, o autor considera que, mesmo mantendo um "ar despreocupado, de quem está falando coisas sem maior consequência" elas "não apenas entram fundo no significado dos atos e sentimentos do homem, mas podem levar longe a crítica social"(CANDIDO, 1992, p. 17-18). Em passagens assim, fica exposto nesse texto que a eleição das características que serão consideradas inerentes ao do gênero e as que serão destinadas a um conjunto específico, considerado superior, obedece a critérios de seletividade não muito explicitados.

Na sequência, Candido (1992, p. 19) vai dizer diretamente que "simplicidade, brevidade e graça" são "próprias da crônica", são "traços constitutivos da crônica" e "são um veículo privilegiado para mostrar de modo persuasivo muita coisa que divertindo, atrai, inspira e faz amadurecer a nossa visão das coisas". Diz isso e refuta a "ideia falsa" de que a "leveza é superficial".

Se lembrarmos que em seu conhecido estudo, "O direito à literatura", ele concebe literatura da "maneira mais ampla possível", compreendendo desde o folclore e a lenda até as formas mais "complexas e difíceis da produção escrita das grandes civilizações" (CANDIDO, 2004, p. 174), percebemos que, embora oscile em alguns momentos, mesmo no limite com o jornalismo, a crônica ocupa para Candido um lugar dentro da literatura, possuindo as três faces que ele atribui a ela: construção de objetos autônomos como estrutura e significado; forma de expressão, ou seja, ressignifica a experiência humana no plano simbólico e, por fim, forma de conhecimento, mesmo que de modo difuso e inconsciente. Enfatizando o papel da forma nesse processo, o autor afirma que ao ordenar um mundo, a literatura, mesmo que não percebamos conscientemente, torna-se um fator que nos deixa mais capazes de ordenar nossa experiência e a visão que temos do mundo. Na relação com o conteúdo, de modo lapidar, ele destaca: "o conteúdo só atua por causa da forma, e a forma traz em si, virtualmente, uma capacidade de humanizar devido à coerência mental que pressupõe e que sugere" (CANDIDO, 2004, p. 178). A maior parte do pontuado por Candido (1992) sobre o gênero tornou-se uma espécie de lugar-comum sobre a crônica: leveza, assunto miúdo, humor, diversidade formal e vínculo com o dia a dia pelo jornal. Essa é a visão recorrente que reaparecerá, por exemplo, em Sá (1987), Arrigucci Jr. (2001). Como lembra Chalhoub *et alli* (2005, p. 9-10), tais características haviam sido esboçadas em duas crônicas de Machado de Assis: uma em 1º de agosto de 1876 e outra em 1º de novembro do ano seguinte, ambas publicadas na *Ilustração Brasileira*[12]. Mesmo que:

> apenas esboçadas na pena de Machado, acabaram, com os anos, por servir de base às tentativas de definição de uma essência para o gênero. Embora tenha por tempos garantido simpatia e condescendência à crônica, essa definição acabou por transformá-la em uma espécie de filha bastarda da arte literária (CHALHOUB *et alli*, 2005, p. 9).

De fato, esse modo de entender a crônica perpassa o texto de Candido (1992) que acrescentou a ela essa dimensão de gênero nacional. Como temos visto, a análise que Candido faz da formação da crônica não é levado a cabo pelo método dialético que consolidou outros de seus estudos, como o "Dialética da Malandragem" (CANDIDO, 2010, p. 17-47), mesmo que até ele tenha merecido ressalvas no tocante a isso, como o faz Schwarz (2006, p. 153-154) e Edu Otsuka (2007). A perspectiva adotada por Candido (1992) para estudar a crônica é antes culturalista, ou seja, toma um dado que é histórico e material e o transforma em característica, genericamente posta, da cultura

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[11] Essa visão de Candido será retomada por Arrigucci Júnior (2001) e revela a proximidade de ambos que enxergam uma suposta evolução do gênero que teria como ponto de chegada Rubem Braga, cujas crônicas são carregadas de lirismo. Para ambos os críticos, mais ainda no caso de Arrigucci, Rubem Braga é um modelo de cronista, que serve de baliza para a avaliação dos demais. Nesse sentido, Antonio Candido (1992, p. 17) vai dizer o seguinte: "Acho que foi no decênio de 1930 que a crônica moderna se definiu e consolidou no Brasil, como gênero bem nosso, cultivado por um número crescente de escritores e jornalistas, com os seus rotineiros e os seus mestres." Entre estes, aquele estará "voltado de maneira praticamente exclusiva para este gênero: Rubem Braga". Já Arrigucci (2001, p. 55) afirmará: "Braga, embora poeta bissexto e contista eventual, escreve crônicas desde a década de 30 e foi decerto quem deu o maior grau de autonomia estética a esse gênero entre nós [brasileiros], tornando-se, por isso, um modelo de cronista".

[12] Hoje contamos com duas boas edições que reúnem as crônicas de Machado de Assis nessa série: ASSIS, Machado de. *História de quinze dias / Machado de Assis*; organização, introdução e notas: Leonardo Affonso de Miranda Pereira. – Campinas, SP: Editora da Unicamp, 2009. E ASSIS, Machado de. *História de quinze dias; história de trinta dias*: crônicas de Machado de Assis, Manassés; Sílvia Maria Azevedo (org.). – São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2010. Como indica essa última referência, Machado escrevia a referida série com o pseudônimo de Manassés. A série mudou de nome quando a publicação da revista deixou de ser quinzenal e passou a ser mensal.

brasileira. Veja-se que a materialidade da produção e da circulação da crônica (profissionais pagos, produto a ser vendido, presença de anúncios, periodicidade...) impõe limites a uma abordagem desse tipo e indica a necessidade de que o estudo disponha de maior rigor histórico e social.

Outro estudo sobre a crônica que, apesar dos méritos, sucumbiu a tal perspectiva, foi o de Arrigucci Jr. (2001, p. 51). Para ele: "Esse gênero de literatura ligado ao jornal está entre nós há mais de um século e se aclimatou com tal naturalidade, que parece nosso". Mesmo que "na origem" tenha dependido "da influência europeia", logo alcançou "porém, um desenvolvimento próprio extremamente significativo" (ARRIGUCCI JR., p. 53). Assim como Candido (1992), Arrigucci Jr. (2001) faz agudas observações sobre a complexidade do surgimento da crônica e seu contexto de produção e leitura, que exigiam um considerável desenvolvimento social. Nenhum dos dois críticos, contudo, busca averiguar os traços inscritos no gênero que tenham advindo desse contexto. Fica-se numa situação de consideração da crônica como um "gênero menor" e a tentativa de valorizá-la, apesar disso, como que pedindo desculpas [13]. Nesse processo, muitos elementos importantes acabam sendo levantados, mas o problema de uma análise mais materialista para o estudo de constituição do gênero continua em aberto. Antes de assumir o sentido modernamente atribuído a ela, "crônica" era sinônimo de "crônica histórica". O sentido atual, designando "um gênero específico, estritamente ligado ao jornalismo", possivelmente foi sendo construído no século XIX, "não havendo certeza se em Portugal ou no Brasil" (COUTINHO, 2008, p. 121). Espacialmente no jornal, a crônica situava-se inicialmente ao pé da primeira página – daí, por exemplo, a designação de "vida ao rés-do-chão" que, como vimos, ganhou com Antonio Candido (1992). Esse espaço, antes dela, costumava ser ocupado pelo chamado "folhetim", lugar de publicação de muitos romances seriados e também de contos, mas que, antes de virar crônica, abrigava artigos variados do dia a dia, muito comum na França, e que era "um espaço vazio destinado ao entretenimento" (MEYER, 1998, p. 113). Ou seja, era mais uma função e um espaço do que propriamente uma seção:

> Aquele espaço vale-tudo suscita todas as formas e modalidades de diversão escrita: nele se contam piadas, se fala de crimes e de monstros, se

propõem charadas, se oferecem receitas de cozinha ou de beleza; aberto às novidades, nele se criticam as últimas peças, os livros recém-saídos (...) (MEYER, 1998, p. 114).

Ao especificar-se, o folhetim acrescentava ao seu título a área que, naquele dia, seria comentada naquele espaço. No folhetim dramático, fazia-se a crítica teatral; no folhetim literário, as resenhas de livros; quando os assuntos eram diversos demais para serem acolhidos em uma categoria, eram os folhetins sobre variedades e coisas da vida. Por seu tremendo apelo comercial (a variedade de assuntos chamava atenção de um público bastante diversificado), os folhetins tiveram lugar de destaque no jornalismo francês e se expandiram parao brasileiro (MEYER, 1998, p. 114).

A transição desse folhetim originário do jornalismo francês para a crônica jornalística costuma causar polêmica, e a tendência de demarcar a crônica como "brasileira" em oposição ao folhetim vem daí. O fato é que há uma zona de indeterminação entre os dois tipos de escrito, o que não quer dizer que não possam ser discerníveis. Em meados do século XIX no Brasil, contudo, esse discernimento não era possível. Os escritos de José de Alencar, "Ao correr da pena", por exemplo, publicados de 1854 a 1855, tratados hoje sem discussão como crônicas, ainda eram chamados de folhetim, conforme título da seção que ocupou no *Correio Mercantil* e no *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (cf. ALENCAR, [s.d.], p. 1 e 137). Do mesmo modo, Machado de Assis (2009, p. 55-58), em 1859, ao delimitar o perfil do "Folhetinista" – título do seu texto de 30 de outubro no jornal *O Espelho* – descreveu as mesmas características com as quais ele mesmo mais tarde[14] definiria o cronista. O folhetinista, diz ele, como o "colibri" (ASSIS, 2009, p. 56), vai para um lado e para o outro em busca de assunto. Também com outros gêneros o folhetim se confundiu: "Folhetim era a crônica, mas também a novela ou romance, quando publicado em jornal" (COUTINHO, 2008, p. 124). Passado o período em que, em língua portuguesa, os termos crônica e folhetim designavam o mesmo produto jornalístico, "venceu e generalizou-se afinal o termo "crônica", ficando "folhetim" para designar mais a seção, na qual se publicavam não só crônicas senão também ficção e todas as formas literárias" (COUTINHO, 2008, p. 122). "Crônica", então, passou a "indicar relato e comentário dos fatos em pequena seção de jornais" para, por fim:

> estender-se à definição da própria seção e do tipo de literatura que nela se produzia. Assim, "crônica" passou a significar outra coisa: um gênero literário de prosa, ao qual menos importa o assunto, em geral efêmero, do que as qualidades de estilo, a

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[13] Arrigucci Jr. (2001, p. 57-58) chega a dizer que ao escrever crônicas no jornal, os autores estavam "experimentando a mão" para e escrita do romance: "E de fato os escritores como que se preparavam, por esse meio, para um gênero maior e na aparência mais seguro por seu próprio inacabamento – o romance". Assim, ele retoma uma velha e unilateral fórmula que define a escrita da crônica como um "laboratório ficcional" (BRAYNER, 1982). Esse ponto será comentado no item 3.4 do presente trabalho.

[14] Num texto de 1º de agosto de 1876 e em outro de 1º de novembro de 1877, ambos publicados na *Ilustração Brasileira,* na seção *Histórias de quinze dias*.

variedade, a finura e argúcia na apreciação, a graça na análise de fatos miúdos e sem importância, ou na crítica de pessoas. "Crônicas" são pequenas produções em prosa, com essas características, aparecidas em jornais e revistas (COUTINHO, 2008, p. 121).

Francisco Otaviano de Almeida Rosa (1825-1889), que escrevia no *Jornal do Comércio* desde 02 de dezembro de 1852, e também no *Correio Mercantil*, pouco depois, é visto por Afrânio Coutinho (2008, p. 124) como o iniciador da "crônica brasileira propriamente dita". Segundo o crítico, logo em seguida, em 1854, José de Alencar o substituiu no *Correio Mercantil*. As crônicas de Alencar, intituladas "Ao correr da pena", alternavam-se no mesmo jornal com as de Manuel Antônio de Almeida, cujas crônicas intitulavam-se "Páginas Menores". Nota-se com facilidade que a ideia de gênero ligeiro e menor está marcada desde o início da prática cronística no Brasil. Como vimos, essa designação acompanha as definições do gênero até hoje. Como questiona Coutinho (2008, p. 124) "Por que "menores" (...)? Por serem circunstanciais? Por estarem destinadas a produzir efeito transitório? Por serem escritas apressadamente?". O crítico lembra que muitas vezes era o cronista que abria "caminho ao romancista", não no sentido de ser um exercício de escrita, como assinalam Arrigucci Jr. (2001) e Sônia Brayner (1982), mas por iniciarem o diálogo com o público.

Como observa Chalhoub *et alli* (2005, p. 10), a perspectiva que considera a crônica dotada do "caráter despretensioso e datado de uma notícia de jornal" e "produzida por força das circunstâncias, sem obedecer a nenhum impulso criativo mais elevado" é a mesma que afirma "o caráter passageiro dessa literatura com data de validade, cujo brilho se esgotava com a edição seguinte da folha". Contudo, essa perspectiva só existe se não atentarmos "para o fato de que muitos romances e contos escritos na segunda metade do século XIX foram publicados originalmente em jornais, muitas vezes com pressão de prazos idêntica àquela que inibiria a qualidade das crônicas" (CHALHOUB *et alli* 2005, p. 10). A título de ilustração, lembremos o que disse Ferreira de Araújo (ARAÚJO, 1899, posição Kindle 11005) sobre a produção nas páginas da *Gazeta de Notícias*: quando havia um debate em aberto em relação a alguma causa em que o jornal estava envolvido, ela era discutida imediatamente, seja em verso, em conto, em anedota ou qualquer seção do jornal, sem distinção de gênero para acolher a demanda. Não custa lembrar também que um livro como *O Ateneu* (crônicas de saudades), de 1888, foi "escrito dia a dia, no correr de três meses, para a *Gazeta de Notícias*" (COUTINHO, 2008, p. 127). Está posto, por tudo que foi dito, que aos poucos a crônica foi ganhando contornos próprios e se tornando

independente do folhetim, mas que também guarda afinidades com ele, assim como com outros gêneros que se desenvolveram no transcurso de sua consolidação.

Balas de estalo: pressupostos e características da crônica como representação da vida social brasileira

Não parece exagero apontar que na década de 1880 a crônica como gênero apresenta alguns de seus traços já cristalizados, pois eram recorrentes na produção daqueles que ocupavam a posição de cronista de jornal no Brasil desde a metade do século XIX. Consideradas as experiências de autores como Francisco Otaviano, José de Alencar, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, Manuel Antônio de Almeida, além do próprio Machado de Assis, entre outros (cf. COUTINHO, 2013, p. 124; CANO, 2004, p. 7-11), podemos inferir que os traços constitutivos do gênero já haviam se tornado convencionais. Quanto a isso, Franco Moretti (2007, p. 25 grifo do autor) destaca que o conceito de "*convenção*" é "essencial para a análise da cultura", isso "por que indica quando uma forma assumiu uma raiz social definitiva, penetrando na vida cotidiana, animando e organizando-a de maneira cada vez mais imperceptível e regular e, portanto, eficaz". A prática do gênero crônica no Brasil ao longo das décadas, ao mesmo tempo que reduziu a possível indeterminação em que cairia, regulamentou os seus modos de escrita. Nesse sentido, destaco aqui a série *Balas de estalo*, publicada entre os anos de 1883 e 1886 no jornal *Gazeta de Notícias*. Essa série foi escrita por autores que se revezavam nas produções, usando pseudônimos [15]. Essa série traz a possibilidade de estudo da crônica como gênero em formação e permite o entendimento da constituição desse gênero, já que na prática compartilhada da escrita das crônicas da série *Balas de estalo* é possível observar a sedimentação e os limites da prática convencional do gênero. A diversidade de seus autores permite a observação do contraste entre os diferentes usos do mesmo espaço num mesmo jornal, jornal esse bastante reconhecido e com linha editorial definida (por um dos cronistas – Ferreira de Araújo – inclusive). Com Benjamin (2011, p. 33), vemos que "uma obra importante, ou funda um gênero ou se destaca dele, e nas mais perfeitas encontra-se as duas coisas". As *Balas de estalo* corresponderam à cristalização e exploração dos limites da crônica enquanto gênero, práticas, aliás, que tendem a andar juntas. Por isso, os usos comuns de

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[15] De acordo com Flávia Cernic Ramos (2005, p. 117), os autores e os respectivos pseudônimos eram os seguintes: Lulu Sênior (Ferreira de Araújo), Zig-Zag e João Tesourinha (assinados, o primeiro com certeza e o segundo provavelmente, por Henrique Chaves), Décio e Publicola (assinados por Demerval da Fonseca), Lélio (Machado de Assis), Mercutio e Blick (assinados por Capistrano de Abreu) e José do Egito (Valentim Magalhães). Mais tarde, ingressaram Confúcio, Ly e Carolus, que, assim como alguns pseudônimos de aparecimento raro, ainda não foram identificados.

seus autores sob essa rubrica nos servem para analisar a constituição do gênero crônica.

A brevidade, o humor, a informalidade, a busca por assuntos variados que recebem tratamento aparentemente simples, a coloquialidade da linguagem, seu vínculo com o cotidiano e com o jornalismo estão postos nessas primeiras décadas de prática do gênero no Brasil e são facilmente perceptíveis nas *Balas de estalo*. Ela é um "gênero de fronteira" (AGUIAR, 1997), por isso, em condição limítrofe absorve características diversas, da literatura, mas também de outras áreas. Talvez justamente por ocupar essa posição, ela

tem a capacidade de penetrar agudamente na matéria íntima de seu tempo e esquivar-se da corrosão dos anos, como se nela se pudesse sempre renovar, aos olhos de um leitor atual, um teor de verdade íntima, humana e histórica, impresso na massa passageira dos fatos esfarelando-se na direção do passado (ARRIGUCCI JR. (2001, p. 53).

De semelhança com sua ancestral, a crônica histórica, podemos dizer que a crônica moderna guarda a relação com o tempo. Entre os "vários significados da palavra *crônica*", Arrigucci Jr. (2001, p. 51) observa que todos "implicam a noção de tempo, presente no próprio termo que procede do grego *chronos*". Por fixar a continuidade do gesto humano na tela do tempo", pode-se dizer que sua "matéria principal" é "o que fica do vivido". Ela, então, luta contra o tempo, buscando eternizar o efêmero.

Como temos visto, a crônica proporciona por suas características o tratamento mais íntimo dos temas que aborda. Seja pelo assunto geralmente ao alcance de todos, pois colhido no cotidiano, seja pela linguagem coloquial (o que não quer dizer que seja uma linguagem simples de analisar), pela aparente leveza, mesmo que possa esconder um humor cortante, ela é facilmente vista como algo próximo. Além de tudo, está presente nos jornais e revistas, que tendem a circular de forma mais ampla do que o livro. A crônica é, em suma, propensa à informalidade. Contudo, ao ser publicada em periódicos, penetra na esfera pública. Entre os vários limites nos quais esse gênero se encontra, o limite entre a formalidade e a informalidade é um deles, afinal, trata-se, em verdade, de encenação dessa informalidade, já que o narrador-cronista não é amigo do leitor nem vice-versa. Também ele não está conversando com o outro, mas escreveu um texto pelo qual foi pago e para cuja construção teve que cumprir alguns protocolos de escrita.

Esse limite entre a formalidade e a informalidade encena a imbricação entre o público e o privado. Edu Otsuka (mimeo, p. 4) oferece elementos para o estudo da crônica em perspectiva de sua "simbiose com elementos centrais da vida social e cultural do país" (OTSUKA, mimeo, p. 1). O mesmo

autor questiona a caraterização do gênero como algo "brasileiro" e se pergunta de onde viria um certo "orgulho" ao se pensar assim. Aqui não desacreditei e não pretendo desacreditar os traços e as análises que dão tal caracterização à crônica. Contudo, procuro compreender esse "ser brasileira" não como um traço de cultura, mas como um dado material. Otsuka (mimeo) entende que existe uma seletividade na escolha dos assuntos e do tom com que eram trazidos à tona nas crônicas e que essa seletividade está relacionada "com os efeitos particulares da organização econômico-social brasileira – historicamente fundada no sistema escravista" (OTSUKA, mimeo, p. 4). De modo que esse jeito ameno e familiar da crônica assinala um contexto em que se abdica da "sua potencial função pública, conformando-se antes aos padrões mais estreitos da esfera doméstica". Entre todos os gêneros, diz ainda Otsuka (mimeo, p. 4), a crônica é, "justamente, o lugar em que se elabora de modo mais acentuado o estilo que se molda pela atmosfera familiar". Assim, ela mantinha "características provenientes do modelo europeu", como "a leveza da expressão e o ziguezaguear na associação de ideias (...)", mas essas se mostraram "também convenções adequadas para a estilização da informalidade e da arbitrariedade próprias às relações familistas".

Nessa seara, Otsuka (mimeo, p. 2) vale-se do estudo de Jürgen Habermas (2003) para debater a constituição da "esfera pública burguesa", conforme desenvolvida pelo teórico, e seus limites na sociedade brasileira. Ela corresponderia a uma espécie de intermediação entre os indivíduos privados organizados na sociedade civil e o poder público, sobre cujos assuntos esses mesmos indivíduos debatem ao mesmo tempo que questionam esse poder. Habermas (2003, p. 13-17) faz um histórico do que seria essa esfera pública ao longo do tempo, partindo da Grécia antiga e chegando à sociedade burguesa, dita moderna. Também traz elementos etimológicos da palavra "público" e destaca seu vínculo, talvez não tão óbvio para nós hoje, com a publicidade. Da mesma forma, nem tudo que é considerado "público" está ao alcance de qualquer um. Focando no que nos interessa mais, Habermas (2003) faz o recorte histórico classicamente materialista [16], delimitando as transformações do seu objeto de estudo e o que seria sua versão "burguesa" com a desintegração da sociedade feudal, a partir da qual delineou-se a esfera da sociedade burguesa que, dizendo-se representante da autonomia privada, contrapõe-se aoEstado. Sem podermos nos dedicar aqui às contradições próprias dessa esfera pública burguesa, "que nunca existiu de fato com a universalidade que seus membros pretendiam" (OTSUKA, mimeo, p. 2), ou diziam pretender, destacamos que a tradição familista comentada por

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[16] Veja-se Marx e Engels (2012) e Engels (2008).

Otsuka (mimeo) para entender as características da crônica estava alicerçada no clientelismo e na economia rural explorada pela elite brasileira. Essa tradição se afasta da forma como o processo se desenvolveu em países europeus que ocupavam o centro do capitalismo ocidental no século XIX.

Somos levados a considerar essa especificidade ao tratar da esfera pública brasileira em relação ao modo como pretensamente essa esfera assumiu em contexto burguês. Mesmo com diferença de base material, no Brasil vimos a apropriação de ideias estrangeiras pelas elites letradas locais. Para Schwarz (2000a), essa importação de ideias era predominantemente ornamental. Já Ângela Alonso (2002) entende que essa apropriação se destinava a disputas concretas entre os grupos que se formavam (como vimos no primeiro capítulo desse trabalho). A autora comenta que o Império não contou com um texto de fundação, os "valores compartilhados estavam cristalizados como *tradição*. Tradição essa construída "a partir de duas balizas: a experiência nacional e o repertório europeu" (ALONSO, 2002, p. 52, 53, grifo da autora). A ideia de esfera pública burguesa, falsamente universalizante, "tinha apoio na expansão da imprensa periódica, sobretudo o jornal, que incitava o público a participar e podia então ser plausivelmente concebido como o principal veículo para a formação da opinião pública" (OTSUKA, mimeo, p. 2). No cotidiano e no jornal, esses valores compartilhados eram, respectivamente, vividos e representados. A crônica, por sua vez, traz em si as marcas de seu contexto, incorporando a matéria cotidiana como tema, mas ao mesmo tempo apresenta esse nexo com o jornal e com a notícia, fundindo as vozes locais ao processo específico de internacionalização pelo qual o país passava. Se o modo como o processo se desenvolveu na Europa já era marcadamente seletivo, aqui essa desigualdade se acentuou em função da maior desigualdade social e do contexto contraditório em que o vocabulário científico e a pretensão de cópia de modelos estrangeiros convivia com práticas que lembram mais sociedades ditas primitivas, com permanência de alguns valores comunitários, mas também baseados na "rixa" (para falarmos com Edu Otsuka, 2007), que incluía a violência física. Em um universo em que a defesa da honra era feita com a retaliação pessoal, em função da falta de regulamentação da vida social, os valores compartilhados pela cultura letrada diziam mais respeito ao repertório europeu, desligado da experiência brasileira, mas ao mesmo tempo utilizado para suas disputas internas.

Assim, o desenvolvimento da crônica vai despontar no contexto do século XIX, momento de grande evidência das contradições próprias da situação periférica brasileira, em que a perspectiva pretensamente modernizante entrava em contraste com a matéria local. Elas, portanto,"afloram em meio ao material do passado, herança persistente da sociedade tradicional, as novidades burguesas trazidas pelo processo de modernização do país, de que o jornal era um dos instrumentos" (ARRIGUCCI JR., 2001, p. 57).

Se enfatizarmos o contexto mais imediato de publicação da *Balas de estalo*, isto é, a década de 1880, período final do império, o tratamento íntimo e familiar dado aos temas e sua relação com a precariedade da esfera pública por aqui ganha nova dimensão. Segundo Starling (2008, p. 31), "durante a década de 1880, na cidade do Rio de Janeiro, a rua transformou-se no locus capaz de fazer convergir acontecimentos e temas da vida política do país e o homem comum", tratava-se do "fenômeno de reconfiguração política do espaço urbano". Nesse sentido, a condição específica de produção das *Balas de estalo* no tocante a isso, indica que há um esforço para construção dessa esfera pública, restrita à elite letrada, do qual a alternância entre os narradores-cronistas é indicativo formal. Contudo, esse suposto momento em que a política parecia mais próxima de cada um é ilusório.Como demonstra Heloísa Starling (2008, p. 33), naquele momento projetava-se um sistema político cujo "centro de equilíbrio sustentava-se num sistema constitucional rigidamente oligárquico, que estava longe de conter uma preocupação com a ampliação da participação política dos grupos sociais existentes na condução dos negócios públicos". Juntemos a isso a reforma eleitoral da lei Saraiva, de 1881, com a qual o número de eleitores caiu drasticamente: 0,8% da população total tinha efetivamente votado (HOLANDA, 2008, p. 284-5). Sendo que cerca dez anos antes, em 1872, esse percentual era de 13% da população total (CARVALHO, 2001, p. 39). Para Edu Otsuka (2007, p. 1-2; 5), "a crônica foi se tornando o que veio a ser à medida que se desprendia do comentário sobre os fatos políticos, sociais, teatrais, literários etc. e se libertava do andamento argumentativo" e neste "registro não argumentativo, o leitor não é incitado ao debate racional, não é convocado como sujeito esclarecido e independente, mas é antes engolido pela subjetividade do cronista ou, pelo menos, levado a mergulhar nela voluntariamente". Conforme Otsuka (mimeo, p. 4) e Boenavides (2012, p. 111 e 2013, p. 64), essa dimensão da crônica pode ser aproximada do que Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (2002, p. 1044-1055) definiu como comportamento cordial presente na sociedade brasileira. Ele seria uma espécie de herança maldita proveniente da síntese da colonização e do domínio do patriarcado rural. Tal comportamento adviria da falta de limites entre o público e o privado e estaria relacionado ao modo como o Estado se constituiu por aqui em contraste com sua suposta formação clássica nos principais países do capitalismo ocidental:

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O Estado não é uma ampliação do círculo familiar e, ainda menos, uma integração de certos agrupamentos, de certas vontades particularistas, de que a família é o melhor exemplo. Não existe entre o círculo familiar e o Estado, uma gradação, mas antes uma descontinuidade e até uma oposição. [Estado e família] pertencem a ordens diferentes em essência. Só pela transgressão da ordem doméstica e familiar é que nasce o Estado e que o simples indivíduo se faz cidadão, contribuinte, eleitor, elegível, recrutável e responsável, ante as leis da Cidade. Há nesse fato um triunfo do geral sobre o particular, do intelectual sobre o material, do abstrato sobre o corpóreo (...). A ordem familiar, em sua forma pura, é abolida por uma transcendência (HOLANDA, 2002, p. 1044).

Pelo modo como se desenvolveram as relações entre o rural e o urbano, entre o público e o familiar no Brasil, esse suposto modelo de superação do interesse individual pelo coletivo não vigorou.

No Brasil, onde imperou, desde tempos remotos, o tipo primitivo da família patriarcal, o desenvolvimento da urbanização – que não resulta unicamente do crescimento das cidades, mas também do crescimento dos meios de comunicação, atraindo vastas áreas rurais para a esfera das cidades – ia acarretar um desequilíbrio social, cujos efeitos permanecem vivos ainda hoje.

Não era fácil aos detentores das posições públicas de responsabilidade, formados por tal ambiente, compreenderem a distinção fundamental entre os domínios do privado e do público. Assim, eles se caracterizam justamente pelo que separa o funcionário "patrimonial" do puro burocrata conforme a definição de Max Weber. Para funcionário "patrimonial", a própria gestão política apresenta-se como assunto de seu interesse particular; as funções, os empregos e os benefícios que deles aufere, relacionam-se a direitos pessoais do funcionário e não a interesses objetivos, como sucede no verdadeiro estado burocrático, em que prevalecem a especialidade das funções e o esforço para se especialização das funções e o esforço para se assegurarem garantias jurídicas aos cidadãos. A escolha dos homens que irão exercer funções públicas faz-se de acordo com a confiança pessoal que mereçam os candidatos, e muito menos de acordo com suas capacidades próprias. Falta a tudo a ordenação impessoal que caracteriza a vida do Estado burocrático (HOLANDA, 2002, p. 1048-1049).

Essa é a dimensão pública da "cordialidade" à brasileira, que, de acordo com o historiador, deve ser tomada em seu sentido etimológico, aquilo que é tão íntimo que provém do coração e, por isso, leva a uma "aversão ao ritualismo social", de onde pode emergir tanto a amizade quanto a inimizade. Linguisticamente, tal característica manifesta-se em um "pendor acentuado para o emprego dos diminutivos" que "serve para nos familiarizar mais com as pessoas ou os objetos e, ao mesmo tempo, para lhes dar relevo" (HOLANDA, 2002, p. 1051). No discurso do cronista, ao dar tratamento íntimo aos temas públicos, como quem conversa com seu leitor, está inscrito essa expansão da vida familiar sobre a pública. A informalidade no tratamento dos assuntos, a aparente despretensão e a linguagem coloquial aparecem como formalização da cordialidade, conforme definido.

Cabe evitar que tal caracterização seja abordada por um viés culturalista, o que traria prejuízos tanto para o entendimento da crônica quanto para o da sociedade na qual ela está inserida. Para tentar não cometer esse equívoco, retomo aqui o que Francisco de Oliveira (2012) escreveu sobre o "jeitinho brasileiro". Este seria um "peculiar modo nacional de livrar-se de problemas, ou de falsificá-los" (OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 3) e teria no "homem cordial" de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda sua "própria encarnação" (OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 4). O autor, para fazer suas considerações, refere-se ao estudo que comentamos anteriormente aqui, de Antonio Candido (2010), sobre as *Memórias de um sargento de milícias* (1854). Para Oliveira (2012, p. 4), o olhar benevolente de Candido sobre a malandragem por ele estudada – e, dizemos nós, de certo modo criticada, embora também enaltecida, tanto por Schwarz (2006b) quanto por Otsuka (2007) – se deve ao fato de o crítico respeitar"tanto o brasileiro pobre que aborda as figuras populares comuma reverência quase mística", isso porque "nossa sociedade é tão obscenamente desigual que qualquercrítica às classes dominadas não passa de preconceito – mais um – dos ricos".

Contudo, Francisco de Oliveira é direto: "busco desenvolver uma investida mais nitidamente materialista"(OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 4). E depois expõe sem rodeios a sua tese: "o jeitinho é um atributo das classes dominantes brasileiras que se transmitiu às classesdominadas"(OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 4). Ele indica um caminho precioso para debater o problema: a concepção de ideologia provinda do marxismo, especificamente de*A ideologia alemã*, de Marx e Engels (2007). Para sustentar a tese de que o jeitinho (e, portanto, a cordialidade) correspondem a "atributos das classes dominantes brasileiras" transmitidos "às classes dominadas" (OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 4). Vejamos a concepção de Marx e Engels sobre o assunto:

As ideias da classe dominante são, em cada época, as ideias dominantes, isto é, a classe que é a força *material* dominante da sociedade é, ao mesmo tempo, sua força *espiritual* dominante. A classe que tem à sua disposição os meios da produção material dispõe também dos meios da

produção espiritual, de modo que a ela estão submetidos aproximadamente ao mesmo tempo os pensamentos daqueles aos quais faltam os meios da produção espiritual. As ideias dominantes não são nada mais do que a expressão ideal das relações materiais dominantes, são as relações materiais apreendidas como ideias (MARX e ENGELS, 2007, p. 47, grifos dos autores).

A análise de Francisco de Oliveira (2012) mostra como um "jeitão" da elite, portanto, de classe, foi universalizado como caráter nacional brasileiro. Trata-se de um atributo transmitido pela elite. O modo de apropriação pode trazer os índices de resistência, de desvio ou de transgressão desse atributo, mesmo que aparentemente o afirme. Em síntese, o fato de o Brasil ter uma elite cordial não quer dizer que "o brasileiro" o seja. Contudo, como a elite dispõe de meios de difusão e reprodução de sua ideologia, tal característica, definida em base material e com corte de classe, expande-se e falsamente se transforma em traço cultural, englobando todas as classes, aparentemente sem distingui-las. Na prática, contudo, as manifestações da cordialidade variam conforme o pertencimento de classe. É o "jeitão" da elite e o "jeitinho" dos pobres[17]. Os materialmente dominados – isto é, os não detentores dos meios de produção – passam, então, a ser também ideologicamente dominados e sua consciência se volta contra eles mesmos. Ou seja, a falsa produção da consciência é trabalho da burguesia. A consciência se desliga da própria existência concreta, que passa a ser enxergada com os olhos da classe dominante. "No Brasil", diz Oliveira (2012, p. 4), a classe dominante burlou de maneira permanente e recorrente as leis vigentes" e o "drible constante nas soluções formais propicia a arrancada rumo à informalidade generalizada. E se transforma, ao longo da perpétua formação e deformação nacionais, em predicado dos dominados".

De modo nenhum tenho a pretensão de invalidar a obra, sequer o conceito de cordialidade elaborado por Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. Essa generalização, que hegemoniza um dado de classe e o torna nacional, precisa, contudo, ser eliminada. Não vejo forma mais lapidar de entender a cordialidade em base materialista do que essa indicada por Francisco de Oliveira (2012).Para o maior aproveitamento desse debate para o estudo da crônica, é necessário ainda tocar em dois pontos: a questão do Estado e da família. Isso porque os principais elementos levantados aqui

para definir esse perfil cordial que teria migrado como traço esteticamente formalizado para a crônica dizem respeito diretamente a isso. A primeira questão refere-se à maneira como o Estado aparece no estudo de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. Grosso modo, fica dito que o Estado é uma instituição objetiva, oposta em tudo aos interesses privados. Lênin (2010, p. 27), contudo, ao estudar a concepção marxista de Estado, é taxativo: "O Estado aparece onde e na medida em que os antagonismos de classe não podem objetivamente ser conciliados. E, reciprocamente, a existência do Estado prova que as contradições de classes são inconciliáveis". O Estado é o produto e a manifestação do antagonismo inconciliável das classes. Mais adiante ele complementa: "O Estado é a organização especial de uma força, da força destinada a subjugar determinada classe" (LÊNIN, 2010, p. 45). A concepção de Estado que transparece em "O homem cordial" está mais próxima das concepções que Lênin (2010, p. 27) atribui aos "ideólogos burgueses", que estabelecem que "Estado é o órgão de conciliação das classes". A descrição do Estado burguês clássico como objetivo e imparcial é fruto da própria dominação da classe cujos interesses esse Estado defende.

Por fim, a questão da família que aparece nas referências à cordialidade e sua tradição familista de tratar como próprios o que é público. Assim como Lênin fez em relação ao Estado, podemos fazer em relação a essa família e perguntar: família de quem? Ou melhor, família de que classe pode, na formação histórica do Brasil, apropriar-se e fazer uso privado do que é público? Conforme Marx e Engels (2007, p. 33-34), cada família "no início constitui a única relação social", mas "torna-se mais tarde (...) uma relação secundária", que é a relação com as instituições sociais. O desenvolvimento desse caminho deve-se dar "segundo os dados empíricos existentes e não segundo o "'conceito de família'". Conforme Chalhoub (2001, p. 174, grifo do autor):

Concretamente, isto significa reconhecer a impossibilidade de discorrer sobre *a* família brasileira, enquanto modelo ideal pairando sobre nossas cabeças e determinando as ações dos agentes históricos independentemente das situações de classe vivenciadas por esses agentes na prática cotidiana da vida.

Da mesma forma que há um conceito de Estado não pensado em termos de classe no capítulo "O homem cordial", há também um conceito de família, que é a família burguesa, que faz uso privado do Estado. A própria designação de "Homem cordial", embora não aprofundemos aqui a discussão de gênero, indica uma visão patriarcal e de elite sobre o assunto. Com igual efeito ao tratamento dado ao Estado, a concepção de família acaba reproduzindo e estendendo a todos o caráter da elite brasileira, em cuja

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[17] Para uma mediação bem construída de um conceito cuja aplicação deve variar conforme a classe em questão, mas que também passou e passa por um processo de generalização que pretende desconsiderar justamente as especificidades de classe, veja-se Araújo e Reis (2015), em que a prática do "favor" é analisada em *Os Ratos* (1935), de Dyonélio Machado. O artigo mostra que o favor na relação entre Naziazeno e o diretor é de um tipo diferente do favor entre aquele e Duque.

sociedadenão houve passagem da família patriarcal para a burguesa, mas a conservação de valores patriarcais na aparente afirmação da família nuclear. Trata-se de um modelo burguês, que existe mais como ideologia do que na realidade. Tendo como efeito real causado pela ideologia a propagação de seu suposto modelo como modelo geral para a sociedade.

Agora, como as *Balas de estalo* incorporam isso tudo? Primeiro, é preciso defender que os traços formais da crônica, amplamente caracterizada como gênero moderno, pelo seu surgimento atrelado ao desenvolvimento de uma imprensa já avançada, podem ser entendidas como parte do processo de modernização conforme se deu no Brasil. Depois, é necessário atentar para o fato de que ela, em função das suas condições materiais de produção, circulação e leitura, absorve características várias, tanto da literatura quanto de fora dela, e esse "fora dela" corresponde à vida social, no caso, a brasileira, da qual não escapa, já que seu conteúdo é a matéria local e envolve também seu contexto de recepção. No que diz respeito à leitura e ao ensino em geral no país àquela época, o analfabetismo e a ausência de educação universal laica em tudo contrasta com a França, no qual o quadro oposto (alfabetização ampla e laicização do ensino) implicou o aumento do público leitor e no fortalecimento dos folhetins. No Brasil, conforme Hélio de Seixas Guimarães (2004, p. 65-66):

> Ao longo de todo o século XIX, os alfabetizados não ultrapassaram os 30% da população brasileira, e não se verificaram alterações de perfil e dimensão do leitorado (...). Em 1872, apenas 18,6% da população livre e 15,7% da população total, incluindo escravos, sabiam ler e escrever, segundo dados do recenseamento; entre a população em idade escolar (6 a 15 anos), que somava 1.902.454 meninos e meninas, apenas 320.749 frequentavam escolas, ou seja, 16,9%. Já em 1890, a porcentagem diminuiu: apenas 14,8% sabiam ler e escrever. Ainda segundo o censo de 1872, que apurou uma população de quase 10 milhões de habitantes, apenas 12 mil frequentavam a educação secundária e havia 8 mil bacharéis no país[18].

A restrição de público talvez enfatizasse o privilégio da posição do cronista, aproximando-o, por esse aspecto, da elite local, cuja "homogeneidade ideológica" e distinção advinha muito do fato de formarem uma "ilha de letrados num mar de analfabetos" (CARVALHO, 2010, p. 21; 65).

Para não cairmos no reducionismo e não objetificarmos os escravizados, à maneira dos

escravocratas, lembremos, nessa questão do universo letrado do período, um caso trazido por Marialva Barbosa (2010). Ela relembra a história, transcorrida em 1886, de uma criança escravizada, de nome Eduarda, que, após ser espancada por sua proprietária, saiu pelas ruas com hematomas e várias marcas visíveis da tortura sofrida. A menina tencionava ir à Chefia de polícia, mas foi convencida por uma senhora na rua de, em vez disso, ir e à redação do jornal *Gazeta da tarde*, que pertencia ao abolicionista José do Patrocínio. Da redação desse jornal, ela foi encaminhada a uma vara de justiça, de onde, junto com outra escravizada do mesmo cativeiro, foi levada ao médico para ser tratada. Simultaneamente, Patrocínio divulgou o caso para diversos outros órgãos de imprensa. A partir disso, "Forma-se um cortejo com líderes abolicionistas e alguns jornalistas condunzindo as tortuadas e que se dirige às redações dos principais jornais da cidade: *Vanguarda*, *Diário de Notícias*, *O Paiz*, *O Apóstolo*, *Gazeta de notícias* e *Jornal do Comércio*" (BARBOSA, 2010, p. 86-87). Mesmo os periódicos que não eram antiescravagistas, no dia seguinte estamparam a notícia em suas páginas, criticando a violência cometida. Note-se que a Eduarda, embora alijada da possibilidade de leitura, fez uso do prestígio e da repercussão potencial dos órgãos de imprensa.

Quando à incorporação da matéria local como tema das crônicas, Otsuka (mimeo, p. 2) salienta: a "crônica também obrigava a certa desmonumentalização dos assuntos, mostrando ser um tipo de escrita adequado ao tamanho aparentemente diminuído da matéria local, o que talvez não seja dos motivos menos importantes para entender sua aclimatação no Brasil". A perspectiva do gênero menor que se volta para os assuntos menores, mostra a dimensão reduzida com que tanto o gênero quanto a matéria local são avaliadas na comparação desigual com os países de capitalismo avançado e suas mentiras para colonizados verem e tentarem se espelhar.Por fim, é preciso compreender que, na altura da produção das *Balas*, a cônica já tinha suas características regulares sedimentadas pelo uso e pela convenção. Mais que isso, percebemos na leitura dos diferentes pseudônimos das *Balas de estalo* que eles compartilhavam mais do que o mesmo espaço no jornal, mas também traços recorrentes que ajudam a caracterizar essa convenção, já sedimentada como padrão regular. Esses traços compartilhados precisavam dialogar com a diversidade de autores e de pseudônimos e nesse embate formava-se a identidade de cada narrador-cronista. Eles faziam uso de uma grande especificidade da crônica em relação a outros textos que povoavam as páginas do jornal, como as notícias: a eles é dado um espaço maior de subjetividade. De fato, o "viés" do cronista é tão "ostensivamente subjetivo do discurso, que ilumina e transfigura o cotidiano cinzento" (OTSUKA, mimeo, p.

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[18] O autor contrasta esses dados com o de países como Inglaterra, França e Estados Unidos, nos quais, em meados da década de 1870, o percentual de alfabetização variava de 70 a 90% (GUIMARÃES, 2004, p. 64).

5). É, então, por essa espécie peculiar e precária (se tivermos como modelo contos, novelas e sobretudo romances) voz narrativa que tentaremos compreender a realização formal dessa complexa vida social nas *Balas de estalo*.

De fato, a função de cronista esteve no centro do processo o tempo todo nessa discussão. Ela surge, junto com a crônica, claro, num período de "sucessão cada vez mais acelerada dos fatos" e de um mundo cada vez mais complexo que traz imposições mais exigentes ao entendimento humano" e dele "espera-se (...) uma espécie de "intervenção" no cotidiano, orientando o leitor na compreensão desse mundo (CHALHOUB, *et alli*, 2005, p.11-15). A mesma imersão do cronista no seu tempo é assinalada por (ARRIGUCCI JR., 2001, p. 57):

> O próprio cronista estava assim metido num processo histórico cuja dimensão geral era extremamente complexa e difícil de apreender, tendendo a escapar-lhe, mas cujos resultados muitas vezes discordantes se impunham à sua observação, pedindo tratamento artístico novo. Chamado a se situar diante de fatos tão discrepantes, dá de início a impressão de tateio sobre a matéria moderna no jornal, feita de novidades fugitivas, como se estivesse experimentando a mão (ARRIGUCCI JR., 2001, p. 57).

Importantes esses comentários sobre a posição histórica do cronista, pois não nos deixam esquecer que a falta de especialização de mão de obra intelectual no início de nossa formação cultural obrigava que uma mesma pessoa atuasse na imprensa, na política, na literatura, no funcionalismo público e, às vezes, no ensino. Trata-se de uma posição flexível por si, que ia na contramão da especialização intelectual. O cronista é comentador e transformador do cotidiano, "matéria-prima do vivido" (ARRIGUCCI JR., 2001, p. 52) a partir da crônica, um "fato moderno", o que significa estar submetida "aos choques da novidade, ao consumo imediato, às inquietações de um desejo sempre insatisfeito, à rápida transformação e à fugacidade da vida moderna" (ARRIGUCCI JR., 2001, p. 53). Como nota Edu Otsuka (mimeo, p. 5):

> Acresce que não é irrelevante, para a caracterização da crônica moderna, o fato de o cronista frequentemente narrar experiências pessoais ou que pelo menos criam a ilusão de trazer o leitor para dentro do âmbito de sua intimidade, partilhando com ele suas impressões e opiniões pessoais. Despida da intenção de persuadir racionalmente por meio do encadeamento lógico de argumentos, a crônica convence antes pela afabilidade do cronista, pelo inusitado dos juízos e pelo modo espirituoso com que os expressa.

A falta da existência de uma tradição teórica para o estudo da crônica faz falta, mas aqui vamos arriscar uma adaptação[19]. Moretti (2000, p. 178-179), ao estudar a expansão do romance, propõe a construção do objeto por um triângulo: "forma estrangeira, material local e forma social.Simplificando um pouco: enredo estrangeiro, personagens locais e ainda voz local", então ele assinala que "éprecisamente nessa terceira dimensão que esses romances parecem ser mais instáveis – maisincômodos", para o crítico. Isso é coerente, já que"o narrador é opolo de comentário, de explicação, de avaliação quando os "modelos formais" estrangeiros(ou a efetiva presença estrangeira, nesse particular) fazem os personagens agir de maneiraestranha". Portanto, sua hipótese é a de que a voz narrativa local é uma intermediária entre a forma europeia (no caso dele o romance, no do presente estudo seria o folhetim) e a matéria local. Buscamos adaptar aqui esse procedimento para o estudo da posição do narrador-cronista.

Segundo Schwarz (2006b, p. 148):

> O trabalho do escritor não é, em primeiro lugar, a transformação de formas literárias prévias (embora esta dimensão exista). Pelo contrário, trata-se da formalização do não-literário, o que naturalmente leva a transformações da série literária também, criando a aparência de uma evolução autônoma.

Se assim for, no triângulo de Moretti a matéria exerce mais pressão do que o indicado por ele, e na crônica isso se torna mais evidente, já que sua matéria-prima básica é o cotidiano. Talvez, outra necessária adaptação sobre o exposto por Moretti (2000) no tocante ao estudo do romance seja o maior peso do suporte. Muito forte também no caso dos romances-folhetins, para a crônica o periódico era no século XIX suporte inicial obrigatório. O jornal na imprensa comercial, como o livro em geral, é uma mercadoria. Seus trabalhadores estão sujeitos a um ritmo de produção já dito moderno, com prazos que precisam ser cumpridos para que as vendas aconteçam e o dinheiro entre. Nesse aspectoa *Gazeta de Notícias* era um sucesso, tendo chegado ao início da década de 1890 a gerar lucro anual que passava dos duzentos contos de réis (CRESTANI, 2014, p. 80), resultado da venda de mais de 35 mil exemplares diários, além dos anúncios e a pedidos que também eram comercializados. Essa distribuição e esses anúncios valiam-se do trabalho infantil e aproveitavam-se da escravidão. Agora, para analisarmos essa posição do narrador-cronista que, pela hipótese levantada, nos dará indícios da construção dessa voz local (MORETTI, 2000) que constitui os pseudônimos da série *Balas de*

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[19] A ideia de tal adaptação consta no projeto de pesquisa sobre as *Balas de estalo* do qual fiz parte e foi construída por Antônio Sanseverino (2008b, p. 16).

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estalo, levantaremos crônicas em que as relações de trabalho e de produção dessas crônicas são comentadas.

Relações de trabalho nas Balas de estalo e a crônica como mercadoria

A consolidação das *Balas de estalo* junto ao público passou pela explicitação aos leitores das funções e dos assuntos predominantemente abordados pelos narradores-cronistas, ou seja, pela demarcação de suas identidades. Além disso, a identificação dos autores empíricos responsáveis pelos mais recorrentes pseudônimos era facultada por indícios deixados ao longo das crônicas e consolidou-se no balanço do primeiro ano de funcionamento da série feito por Décio (*GN*, 01/01/1884). Assim, Mercútio e Blick eram o "historiador míope" (Capistrano de Abreu); Zig-Zag e João Tesourinha eram aquele que "taquígrafa na câmara dos deputados, instituiu o Dizia-se Ontem e traduz dramas para o teatro" (Henrique Chaves); Lulu Sênior era "Médico retirado" e"patrão" (Ferreira de Araújo); Lélio era o "literato chefe, poeta, dramaturgo e romancista" e também funcionário da "burocracia da agricultura" (Machado de Assis); José do Egito "faz hoje as suas notas à margem. Escreveu balas sobre [refere vários assuntos] (...) "é advogado" (Valentim Magalhães); Confúcio "respondeu ao poeta Rozendo republicano o triolet do Raimundo" (sem autoria reconhecida). Décio, por sua vez, que assina a referida crônica e possivelmente valia-se tambémdo pseudônimo Publicola, é referido ao final do texto como aquele que "pôs em pratos limpos os preços dos barões, a saber o da terra 750$ e do estrangeiro 2:000$; ambos são um e o mesmo indivíduo. Depende da ocasião" (Demerval da Fonseca).

Ao referir-se a Lulu Sênior nessa crônica, Décio toca em assunto central: as relações de trabalho que envolviam os pseudônimos. Lulu é o patrão, com quem Décio brinca, insinuando um pedido de aumento e de adiantamento. Quando "não tem assunto", Lulu fala da "junta de higiene". Ter ou não assunto é assunto (com o perdão da redundância) nas crônicas em geral e nas da série de modo específico. Essa crônica mesmo começa com um comentário de Décio sobre o fato de Zig-Zag ter reclamado de ter que escrever a última crônica do ano. Rodrigo Dias (2015), buscando como referência uma conhecida crônica de José de Alencar (sd, p. 8[20]), publicada em 24 de setembro de 1854 no *Correio Mercantil*, analisa as condições de produção do cronista. Nessa crônica, Alencar compara o folhetinista ao colibri pela necessidade de ter que ir de um lado para o outro (no caso dos escritores, em busca de assunto).

A crônica, tal como o romance, desenvolve um comportamento onívoro, apropriando-se das mais variadas formas para atingir o seu leitor. Desse modo, ela já se afigura como um gênero voltado para o consumo, publicado em um suporte também consumível, efêmero; podemos observar a implicação desse estatuto na crônica de Alencar supracitada. O comportamento-colibri do folhetinista não é traço estilístico desenvolvido por sua vontade, por seu "gênio": descontando alguma retórica vitimista empregada no texto, o autor se vê obrigado a "percorrer todos os acontecimentos" e fazem dele uma "espécie de colibri a esvoaçar em ziguezague, e a sugar, como o mel das flores, a graça, o sal e o espírito que deve necessariamente descobrir no fato o mais comezinho". Em outras palavras, esse "ofício ingrato" está subordinado às relações de produção, a um mercado e a um público leitor em constante formação e transformação, prenunciando uma profissionalização do escritor na imprensa que, no Brasil, virá a se consolidar no início do século XX (DIAS, 2015, p. 30).

No caso dos narradores-cronistas das *Balas*, o fato de não ter assunto também aparece, como vimos no próprio comentário de Décio sobre Lulu. Além de falar da junta de higiene nessas situações, ficamos sabendo com Décio (*GN*, 01/01/1884) que o chefe Lulu Sênior "descompõe os colegas e os companheiros quando não tem assunto". Levantar falsas polêmicas, portanto, é artifício para inventar assunto nas *Balas de estalo*. Uma dessa polêmicas surgiu quando o chefe Lulu Sênior deixou um bilhete para Zig-Zag pedindo que ele assumisse a escrita da *bala* do dia seguinte em seu lugar. O objetivo do pedido, segundo Zig-Zag (*GN*, 24/07/1883),era traiçoeiro, pois revelaria "ao público um escritor sem assunto" (DIAS, 2015, p. 34). A contenda se desdobra nas crônicas seguintes dos dois pseudônimos e chega a uma crônica de Lélio da semana seguinte (*GN*, 01/08/1883). Nela, o narrador-cronista construído por Machado de Assis diz que os dois outros pseudônimos marcaram um duelo que quase aconteceu, mas terminou em reconciliação.

Busco evidenciar que para a escrita da crônica, embora o cotidiano seja a fonte básica em busca de assunto, essa busca obedecia a critérios de seletividade impostos pelas condições de produção que poderiam até mesmo fazer o cronista abandonar o tema do cotidiano para criar situações mais inventivas (como as polêmicas). O processo, pautado pela necessidade de produção, muitas vezes revelava simulacros dos bastidores dos pseudônimos. Numa outra crônica (*GN*, 18/07/1883), Lulu Sênior comenta a recepção que seria dada pelo imperador em função do aniversário do conde d'Aquila (membro da família

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[20] Os trechos assinalados por aspas na citação que segue foram retiradas por Rodrigo Dias (2015) da referida crônica.

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imperial brasileira por ter se casado como a filha de D. Pedro I):

> Tenho uma boa notícia a dar aos meus leitores. Amanhã, S. M. o Imperador *restera chez lui* para receber as pessoas que o forem cumprimentar por ser o aniversário natalício do Sr. conde d'Aquila.
>
> Isto parece-me modesto demais. Cumprimentar assim em família pelo fausto motivo do aniversário natalício do nosso mais caro príncipe, é preciso confessar que é ridiculamente pouco. Salvo se todo o Rio de Janeiro, ou mesmo todo o Brasil for amanhã a S. Cristóvão regozijar-se. Nós cá de casa vamos todos de súcia. Publicola já mandou deitar uma gola nova na casaca velha; Lélio resolveu deitar abaixo a barba para ficar mais elegante; eu vou deitar colete para disfarçar a proeminência abdominal; Zig-Zag há já três dias que não arranca o bigode; José do Egito toma gemadas, porque quer falar grosso ao rei; Blinck comprou uns óculos, para ver melhor os esplendores da realeza; e Décio mandou fazer uns sapatos de tacão alto, para fazer crer que já foi declarado maior.
>
> E vamos abrir subscrição para luminárias e um *Te-Deum* na Capela Imperial, com sermão do Sr. bispo Lacerda.
>
> Em se tratando do Sr. conde d'Aquila, nada nos parece demasiado.
>
> Por conseguinte Sua Majestade o Imperador há de fazer o favor de contar conosco, e mandar deitar mais água na canja.

Note-se aqui um duplo movimento: por um lado há a imitação do gesto elitizado, perceptível no aprumo da vestimenta e da aparência como um todo para a recepção imperial (a qual o narrador-cronista, em corte irônico, considera "modesto demais") e no uso do francês para referir-se à ocasião. Por outro lado, contudo, ao final do texto, Lulu Sênior, como se falasse diretamente com o "Sua Majestade o Imperador", diz para deiterem "mais água na canja", pois os narradores-cronistas das *Balas* iriam à recepção. A marcação coloquial da fala contrasta com a pompa da cerimônia e revela uma dualidade.

Os narradores-cronistas parecem ocupar sempre posições ambíguas, divididas, precárias, duais e incompletas. Eles oscilam entre autor empírico e pseudônimo (o que nos tem levado a referi-los até aqui como "narradores-cronistas"), entre o colega ou amigo e o funcionário ou patrão, entre a elite letrada e a busca do público leitor num universo com analfabetismo gritante, entre o membro da elite e o trabalhador assalariado. Essas oscilações assinalam o fato de que o narrador-cronista não constitui um narrador ficcional propriamente dito, já que de um jeito ou de outro estava vinculado ao seu autor empírico, que trabalha por dinheiro e obedece ao ritmo de produção que o

mercado impõe. As várias oscilações encenadas pelos pseudônimos são marcas dessa ambivalência entre ser empírico e ser ficcional e juntas constituem a materialização formal da incompletude da modernização brasileira. Além disso, assinalam a impossibilidade de constituição de um sujeito pretensamentemoderno e pretensamente autônomo (conforme parâmetros burgueses falsamente cumpridos e concretamente divulgados) no contexto do mandonismo local. Note-se que a base dos estudos que nos permitiram chegar até aqui vem do romance, nas leituras de Candido (2010), comentadas por Schwarz (1999; 2006b) e, depois, Otsuka (2007), além de Moretti (2000; 2007). Portanto, vindo do romance, estávamos um universo ficcional, e nos dois casos enfocados – *Memórias de um sargento de milícias* (1854) e *O Cortiço* (1890) – o narrador em terceira pessoa tem sua objetividade (e confiabilidade) posta em questão. No caso da crônica, há uma oscilação entre estatuto ficcional e não ficcional, entre estético e jornalísitico-cronistico, entre permanência da obra de arte ou dissolução cotidiana do prosaico.

Das diversas posições assumidas pelos pseudônimos, ficarei, para finalizar, com a condição de trabalhador assalariado. Note-se que as marcas de tal caracterização dos pseudônimos são disfarçadas, mesmo que não por muito tempo, quando incorporam o gesto da elite. Ocultar as marcas do trabalho é traço de classe em país escravocrata, já que, na ânsia de pertencer a uma classe mais alta, os membros dessa sociedade afastam-se dos escravizados, sobre o quais recaía o fardo dos trabalhos mais pesados. Contudo, os autores que produziram as *Balas* de estalo são assalariados e produzem, como tais, mercadorias.

Um dos pseudônimos que circularam no primeiro ano de publicação das *Balas de estalo*, mas que não apareceu mais na série foi o de Aluísio Azevedo (*GN*, 10/12/1883), que na crônica de 10/12/1883 dirigiu-se a Lulu Sênior e falou de Filomena Borges, que seriao nome do romance de Aluísio que passaria a ser publicado na *Gazeta* pouco tempo depois. Trago o caso aqui como exemplo de uso da série e dos pseudônimos como mecanismo de publicidade. Essa crônica foi parte de alguns falsos casos que foram criados na *Gazeta* envolvendo uma suposta figura "real" chamada Filomena Borges. Desde de 07/10/1883 comentava-se nas *Balas de estalo* sobre uma senhora que teria deixado cartões de visita para vários homens da cidade, incluindo alguns pseudônimos das *Balas*, como Lulu Sênior, que encabeça a divulgação dessa história. Provavelmente foi Ferreira de Araújo quem encomendou os folhetins de Aluísio que dariam origem ao livro, este foi, inclusive, dedicado a Araújo por Aluísio[21]. O episódio expõe um

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[21] Sobre as aparições de Filomena na *Gazeta* e a constituição da obra, cf. Lamonica (2015).

traço do jornal incorporado pela série e potencialmente incorporado pelas crônicas em geral, que é seu caráter de mercadoria. No fim, o sucesso e a continuação da série dependiam do desempenho da *Gazeta* como empreendimento comercial, expondo o caráter de mercadoria das próprias crônicas. Assim, sua escrita segue o ritmo de produção, levando os narradores-cronistas a pularem de assunto em assunto e a inventá-los quando não o tinham, não para atender qualquer impulso criativo, mas para obedecer ao prazo de entrega estabelecido por relação de trabalho. Talvez isso permita que leiamos em nova chave a dimensão da matéria da crônica. Do mesmo modo, essa condição de produção e a busca por assuntos variados impunha a busca por formas variadas de trazer esse assunto a público. Assim, vemos simulações de diálogo (26/04/1883, Lulu Sênior), transcrições, parciais ou integrais, e paródias de discursos do *Instituto Histórico*(31/12/1883, Zig-Zag), de receitas médicas e de quadras populares (08/05/1883, José do Egito) de cartas (23/10/1883, Lélio), de "a pedidos" e de bilhetes (23 e 27/07/1883, respectivamente, Zig-Zag)...A *Gazeta* e as *Balas* caracterizaram-se por um estilo jovial, bem-humorado, embora crítico e corrosivo, o que dava o tom irônico a este estilo. Machado de Assis (2008, v.3, p. 1328) afirmou que o critério de contratação utilizado por Ferreira de Araújo, além de que se escrevesse "bem", era o uso do humor. Assim,ao ritmo das publicações, à diversidade de formas e ao uso de determinado pseudônimo, junta-se o estilo de escrita e o próprio projeto das *Gazeta*e das *Balas* como mecanismos que buscavam atender a um público, o mais amplo possível para facultar mais vendas. Desse modo, experimentação formal e características estéticas se confundem com estratégias comerciais.

O caráter brasileiro da crônica pode reaparecer aqui em nova perspectiva. Talvez ela seja índice da forma como a elite brasileira (por intermédio da imprensa) se apropriou dos modos de produção moderno. No caso, o jornal (produção em série, comercial, segundo meios modernos etc.) é uma forma internacionalatravessada não apenas pela matéria local, mas também pelo modo de ser local. Assim, o artigo de opinião e o debate da esfera pública burguesa ganham feição ou da crônica ou da polêmica. Em outros termos, o debate público vira rixa (polêmica) ou vira bate-papo-de-bar (crônica). Moderno e periférico, o debate se realiza, sem realizar, bloqueado.

Do mesmo modo, a crônica não se autonomiza como forma literária, já que marcada como mercadoria, associada à venda de jornais, sendo mais um produto deles. Temos visto que é importante que não a tratemos como um "ser estranho" enquanto produção cultural na sua relação com outros gêneros. Ela guarda fortes semelhanças com a criação de outros tipos de obras em circulação no séc. XIX. No seu caráter de mercadoria, do mesmo modo, a crônica revela mais

diretamente uma contradição de toda construção cultural da sociedade burguesa, que é a centralidade das condições materiais de produção e revela também a falsidade da suposta autonomia absoluta da obra de arte nesse contexto. Contudo, não podemos entendê-la sem seu traço local, como se fosse uma mercadoria genérica. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (2002, p. 1052), no "Homem cordial", refere-se ao negociante da Filadélfia que se espantou "ao verificar que, no Brasil como na Argentina, para conquistar um freguês tinha necessidade de fazer dele um amigo" (HOLANDA, 2002, p. 1052). Lembremos o tom íntimo, de coisa menor e próxima e do nosso dia a dia, de conversa despretensiosa e caseira da crônica. Afinal, por aqui, até para vender tem que ser "amigo".

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Sama Chakeva: A Worthy Celebration Amid Some Unanswered Questions

By Neha Kumari

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Abstract- India is a country feasting on festivities. All of its 29 states have their distinct culture and traditional occasion of celebration. Sama Chakeva is one such festival in folk tradition of India. It is celebrated in Bihar which is an eastern state situated in Gangetic plane. The mythological and religious story of this festival traces back to lord Krishna and his family. The festival of Sama Chakeva cherishes the love between brother and sister.

In this festival, people show regards towards environment by welcoming winter migratory birds; Brother is presented as a redeemer of sister but, there are many questions shielded under festivity of Sama Chakeva. Who decides the purity of a girl's character; she herself or the society? Has patriarchy given her any power to defend herself? This story also points towards the basic structure of Indian society in which women sexuality has no expression. In a civilized society bourgeois women represent domesticated side of nature. Negation of sexual needs of a woman is the basic foundation of patriarchal mindset in the whole world. In addition to explaining story and rituals of Sama chakeva, I have tried to analyze the story of Sama from feminist perspective.

Keywords: mithila, folk tradition, patriarchy, culture.

GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 160899

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Sama Chakeva: A Worthy Celebration Amid Some Unanswered Questions

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Abstract- India is a country feasting on festivities. All of its 29 states have their distinct culture and traditional occasion of celebration. Sama Chakeva is one such festival in folk tradition of India. It is celebrated in Bihar which is an eastern state situated in Gangetic plane. The mythological and religious story of this festival traces back to lord Krishna and his family. The festival of Sama Chakeva cherishes the love between brother and sister.

In this festival, people show regards towards environment by welcoming winter migratory birds; Brother is presented as a redeemer of sister but, there are many questions shielded under festivity of Sama Chakeva. Who decides the purity of a girl's character; she herself or the society? Has patriarchy given her any power to defend herself? This story also points towards the basic structure of Indian society in which women sexuality has no expression. In a civilized society bourgeois women represent domesticated side of nature. Negation of sexual needs of a woman is the basic foundation of patriarchal mindset in the whole world. In addition to explaining story and rituals of Sama chakeva, I have tried to analyze the story of Sama from feminist perspective. Despite having gender issues in its essence, the proper understanding of this festival asserts that our folk traditions have ecological concerns. Nature and culture have been placed side by side in our society.

Keywords: mithila, folk tradition, patriarchy, culture.

I. Introduction

India is a land of diverse culture and traditions and every of its region is painted with some shades of peculiarity. This distinctness comes to light in festivity, dressing and food habits. All of its 29 states have their distinct culture and traditional occasion of celebration. Sama Chakeva is one such festival celebrated in Bihar which is an eastern state situated in Gangetic plane. It is a regional festival of Bihar celebrated in Mithila region. In the Bihar, which is seen today ancient Mithila comes under Darbhanga, Saharsa, Madhubani and few other districts. The root of Indian festival generally resides in some mythological, religious or Puranic tales. In Skand Puran and Padma Puran we get the reference about the story of Sama Chakeva. The story behind this festivity has different versions in popular folk tales. In local eyes this story of Sama Chakeva is interpreted as celebration of brother and sister love; and to welcome the migratory birds coming towards plain in winter season from Himalayan terrain.

Lord Krishna who was king of Dwarka had a daughter named Sama and a son with name 'Samb' who later recieved fame as Chakeva. A person from lower caste puts allegation on character of Sama that she has illicit love affair with an unnamed person and she often visits him in forest. An angry father Krishn cursed Sama to transform into bird. Sama flies off in the forest. Her brother Samb performs penance of Lord Vishnu, who in turn gives him the boon to take the shape of bird too. Samb changes into bird named as 'Chakeva'. He also flies in wilderness of forest and recognizes Sama after listening to her songs. Together brother and sister come out of forest in their regained human form. Sapt rishi and citizens of Vrindavan give testimony about purity of Sama and her character. Krishna regrets his hasty decision and punishes the person who had allegedly accused Sama.

In the memory of this event people of Mithila celebrate the festival of Sama Chakeva. In its essence, this festival is women-centered as they make all the arrangements for this festival and are main participators. In the month of November they prepare numerous clay idols in representation with this story. Most of idols are in form of birds. There are idols of Sama, Chakeva, Saptarshi, Vrindavan and Chugla (the person who defamed Sama) and in connotative sense who do 'chugal khori (bad mouth others). After the idols get dried in sunlight, they are white washed in pithar (rice flour liquid) and then are colored with natural colors. On the auspicious Purnima (full-moon) night young girls and women feed chura dahi (curd and dried rice) to their brother and play with idols in full moon light. Folk songs are sung in honour of Chakeva. In these songs Chakeva is potrayed in heroic light as being the redeemer of sister. Two rituals are crucial in this idol play of Sama Chakeva. Women burns the moustache of Chugla which is made of jute, this ritual signifies the destruction of evil. They also sing in chorus which is sometimes accompanied by dance.

'chugla ke mochh me aag lgle'

"The moustache of ill willed person is in flames"

The other important ritual performed in this festival is that the performers also burn a replica of Vrindavan for a second or two, and then put off the

fire. Vrindavan is a symbol of the collective Vrindavan community and it is adorned with dried grass. While playing with Vrindavan women sings that

'vrindavan me aag lagle, koi na bujhaile

Hmre bhaiya bujaile ….

(When Vrindawan was in danger, nobody saved it, my brother saved it.)

Besides these rituals women folk songs of Maithili language have pivotal importance in this festival which are basically composed in praise of brothers and purity of Sama. They distribute homemade sweetmeats among themselves; Ultimately they discard the idols in water. This last ritual of idol submerging in water indicates towards Vidaai (farewell) of Sama to her husband's home.

II. Nature, Culture and Ecology

Mankind thinks about nature in association with themselves .In our folk tales, myths and stories nature is not featured as an individual entity but as part of culture. Man and nature belongs together in their created glory in tragedy and in salvation. Indian ethos is sensible with respect to this angle for they have the tradition of nature worship from the dawn of Harappan civilization.

Serpil Oppermann comments:

"Nature and culture can no longer be thought of as dichotomous categories Rather we need to theorize them together and analyze this complex relationship and mutual effect on one another."

Sama Chakeva is celebrated in winter season when the Himalayan birds migrate from Nepal terrain towards plain areas of Northern India. This festival is also a welcome ceremony for these migratory birds. Following last ritual of discarding idols in water and singing songs women request the birds to come again next year. Most of the clay idols are formed in the shape of vivid colorful birds. There exists a parallel between story of Sama and arrival of these birds. The story of Sama has also tropes of bird morph, animals and forests and thus, this festival is an interesting fusion of nature and culture. This story of Sama Chakeva makes a symbolic nexus where animal kingdom meets with human beings. The cursed miracle of Sama being changed into bird is suggestive of the idea that animals too have emotions. The story and songs sung in this festival comes in tradition of folklores. It is women of society who maintains the tradition of folk literature with continuity from one generation to next generation. In these songs sung by women, sisters are depicted as waiting for their brother.

Human beings have the central position in great chain of being but, the hierarchy needs to be balanced with space for all life forms Most of our local Indian festivals are inculcated with traits of nature preservation.

The society of Bihar is still agrarian in nature; Fertility of earth, greenery of landscape and well being of animals is important to native residents of Bihar. Sama chakeva has hidden concern towards the species of endangered birds. By using clay and natural colors it pays homage to earth and greenery. Our folk culture had a great inherent wisdom. This festival brings man, nature and animal kingdom in a shared sense of harmony.

III. Women and Culture

In addition of presenting a smooth story with happy ending about love of a brother for his sister, This festival has many subtle nuances which put patriarchy in rather questionable position. The story is about women ; the celebration is carried out by women but, the central character Sama is muted; she doesn't speak for herself; Sama is not only voiceless but she is devoid of any power to defend herself; accusation as well as defense came from masculine side. Who decides the purity of a girl's character; she herself or the patriarchal society? Why has society not given her any power to defend herself?

In a civilized society bourgeois women represent domesticated side of nature. Negation of sexual needs of a woman is the basic foundation of patriarchal mindset in the whole world. Sama was falsely accused for rejecting this repressive mores of society. This thought coincides with Adrienne Rich's view in 'Of woman Born':" there is nothing revolutionary whatsoever about it, the control of women's body is the terrain on which patriarchy is erected."

In a patriarchal system, women are expected to be happy with their traditional roles .The foundation of patriarchy is laid on polite subjugation of women with their position. They are respected or they are mistreated; they won't speak anything. Eco feminist critics comment about feminization of nature. In this myth of Sama Chakeva, man is shown superior to both women and nature. Father commands daughter to be bird and son brings her back from natural world. Sama as a woman is torn between anger of father and love of brother. In short span of life lived as bird she was away from shackles of patriarchy. This instance does also indicate that in realm of nature, there is no discrimination.

In woman and Nature: The roaring Inside her, Susan griffin says:

"He says that women speaks with nature. That she hears voice from under the earth……………..But for him the dialogue is over. He says he is not part of this world, that he was set on this world as a stranger. He sets himself apart from woman and nature."

Patriarchy controls women by assuming her to be similar to Prakriti (nature). Nature and women belong together while Purush (male) is an aloof existence; separate and dominating over them. This story further comments about faulty behavior of Lord Krishna.

Despite famed as Man in figure of Samb is associated with Veer Rasa and Woman in name of sama is related with Shringar rasa and Karuna rasa. Lord Krishna who is known as a liberator of abducted women, failed to do justice to his own daughter. It points that social commentary affects the decision making of state.

IV. Conclusion

Despite the veiled suppression of woman in this festival, it has many positive aspects; it aim to preserve local culture. It is a festival of dance, song, folk tale and pottery. Along with a social message that gossip mongering shouldn't be encouraged in society as defamation can damage the reputation of innocent, it also depicts sibling love. Harboring on the beauty and bounty of nature and welcoming migratory birds with all its criticism the festival adds to the liveliness of Indian socio-cultural milieu. A tradition slowly being lost Sama Chakeva is a festival worth reviving.

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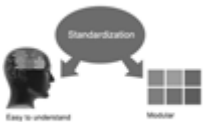
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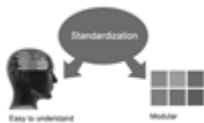
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- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
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f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

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

Final points:

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

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

The discussion section:

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

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

General style:

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

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

Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (methods and materials):

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

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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

Results:

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

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

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

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

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

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

Figures and tables:

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

Discussion:

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

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

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ISSN 975587