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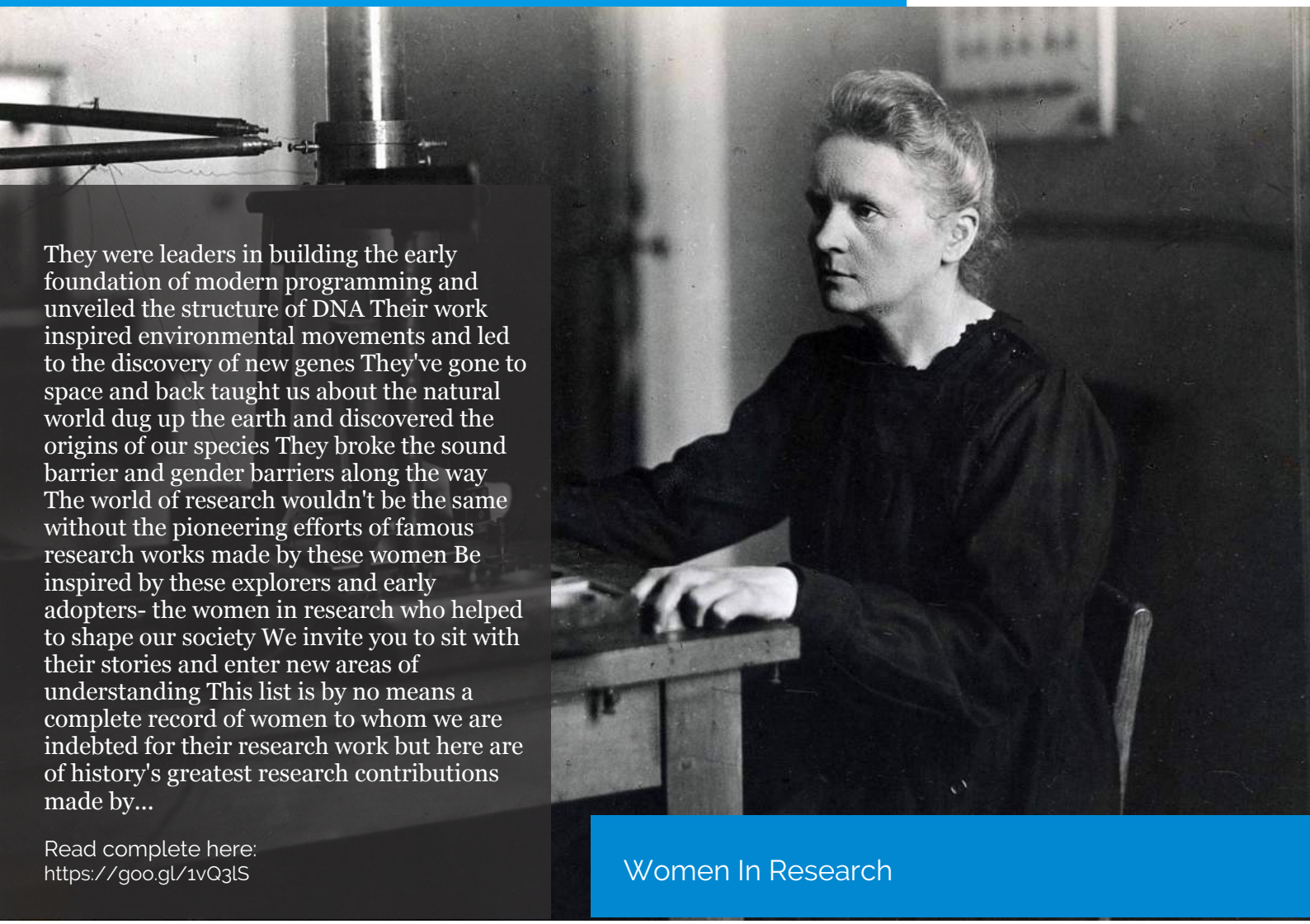

They were leaders in building the early foundation of modern programming and unveiled the structure of DNA Their work inspired environmental movements and led to the discovery of new genes They've gone to space and back taught us about the natural world dug up the earth and discovered the origins of our species They broke the sound barrier and gender barriers along the way The world of research wouldn't be the same without the pioneering efforts of famous research works made by these women Be inspired by these explorers and early adopters- the women in research who helped to shape our society We invite you to sit with their stories and enter new areas of understanding This list is by no means a complete record of women to whom we are indebted for their research work but here are of history's greatest research contributions made by...

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Ecclesiology of Liberation: A Historical and Theological Analysis

Dr. Victor Hugo De Oliveira Marques

Univeridade Católica Dom Bosco

ABSTRACT

This essay examines the historical and theological evolution of Ecclesiology of Liberation in Latin America. The aim is to provide critical reflections on the attacks that Ecclesiology of Liberation has faced over the past century "At first, the Latin American Catholic Church was influenced by medieval essentialist theology, which opposed socialist ideas.".. In the twentieth century, Theology of Libertation emerged in response to the theoretical-theological crisis experienced by "revolutionary Christians" engaged in political struggle. This theology proposed rethinking the conception of salvation as to the historical process of Liberation. The critique of European theology by Latin American theologians introduced a historical dimension to soteriology, leading the Church to recognize the necessity of constructing the Kingdom of God among people through historical processes of Liberation. Ecclesiology of Liberation sought to renew ecclesial practices but faced opposition from traditional European theology. Political factors, such as U.S. influence and the rise of neoconservatism during Reagan's administration, also affected Theology of Libertation. Despite criticisms, Theology of Libertation remains active, adapting to new realities and diversifying into areas such as feminist, Indigenous, and African theology. The election of Pope Francis brought renewed hope to this theology, which continues to strive to remain relevant in a globalized world.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This essay centres on Ecclesiology of Liberation and its historical and theological evolution in Latin America. The objective is to provide critical reflections on the challenges that Ecclesiology of Liberation has endured over the past century. The analysis begins with the influence of medieval essentialist theology on the Latin American Catholic Church and its opposition to socialism. Pope Leo XIII's 1878 encyclical *Quod Apostolici Muneris* defended a governing power based on divine and natural law, while the 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum* explicitly addressed social issues and the plight of the working class.

In the twentieth century, theologians such as Karl Barth, Rudolf Bultmann, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer challenged Thomistic theology. Theology of Libertation emerged in response to f the "theoretical and theological" crisis faced by "revolutionary Christians" engaged in Latin America's political Liberation struggle. Theology of Libertation proposed rethinking the concept of salvation and its relation to the historical process of liberation.

The critique of European theology by Latin American theologians introduced a historical dimension to soteriology. This led the Latin American Church to recognize the need to construct the Kingdom of God among people through historical Liberation. Ecclesiology of Liberation sought to renew ecclesial practices in

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Latin America but faced opposition from traditional European theology.

Next, we examine the political and religious factors that contributed to the decline of Theology of Libertation, including the influence of the United States neoconservatism during Reagan's administration. With these internal and external challenges, Theology of Libertation was criticized and rejected by conservative movements within the Church itself

Despite these critiques and challenges, Theology of Libertation remains a vibrant field of theological reflection and scholarly work, adapting to new realities and expanding into areas such as feminist theology, Indigenous theology, and African theology. The election of Pope Francis has brought renewed hope for this theology, which continues to seek relevance in a globalized and technologically connected world.

II. THEOLOGY AND HISTORICITY: THE ORIGIN AND DECLINE OF THEOLOGY OF LIBERTATION

The analysis of Ecclesiology of Liberation is based on a theoretical-theological foundation rooted in Theology of Libertation, which consists of interpreting and updating the conciliar innovations of Vatican II within the Latin American context. The historical and theological conditions for its development go back to the early 1960s, a time when the Catholic Church in Latin America was influenced by essentialist theology rooted in medieval Thomistic-Aristotelian thought. This theology interpreted the social order as a manifestation of the predetermined essence of things according to the divine mind (Gotay, 1985, p.31) and openly opposed socialism.

This theological line had been upheld by the Church long before. Since the 19th century, with Pope Leo XIII's (1810–1903) encyclical *Quod Apostolici Muneris*, dated December 28, 1878, a governing power founded on divine and natural law was defended:

> They refuse obedience to the higher powers, to whom, according to the admonition of the Apostle, every soul ought to be subject, and who derive the right of governing from God; and they proclaim the absolute equality of all men in rights and duties. They debase the natural union of man and woman, which is held sacred even among barbarous peoples; [...] (Leão XIII, 1878, p. 1).

Likewise, it upheld a divinely desired unequal society:

> Thus, as even in the kingdom of heaven He hath willed that the choirs of angels be distinct and some subject to others, and also in the Church has instituted various orders and a diversity of offices, so that all are not apostles or doctors or pastors,(10) so also has He appointed that there should be various orders in civil society, differing in dignity, rights, and power, whereby the State, like the Church, should be one body, consisting of many members, some nobler than others, but all necessary to each other and solicitous for the common good. [...] (Leão XIII, 1878, p. 4)

> In fine, as the recruits of socialism are especially sought among artisans and workmen, who, tired, perhaps, of labor, are more easily allured by the hope of riches and the promise of wealth, it is well to encourage societies of artisans and workmen which, constituted under the guardianship of religion, may tend to make all associates contented with their lot and move them to a quiet and peaceful life. (Leão XIII, 1878, p. 7).

The encyclical *Rerum Novarum* 1891, was significant for explicitly addressing social issues, especially the working-class problem:

> The elements of the conflict now raging are unmistakable, in the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvellous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of some few individuals,and the utter poverty of the masses; the increased self reliance and closed mutual combination of the working classes; as also, finally, in the prevailing moral degeneracy. The Momentous gravity of the state of things now obtaining fills every mind

> with painful apprehension; wise men are discussing it; practical men are proposing schemes; popular meetings, legislatures, and rulers of nations are all busy with it - actually there is no question which has taken deeper hold on the public mind. (Leão XIII, 1891, p. 1).

On the other hand, the Pope considered the socialist solution inappropriate for Christians, reinforcing the opposition between Christianity and socialism. While the former was described as essentialist, the latter was characterized as subverting the natural order:

> It must be first of all recognized that the condition of things inherent in human affairs must be borne with, for it is impossible to reduce civil society to one dead level. Socialists may in that intent do their utmost, but all striving against nature is in vain. There naturally exist among mankind manifold differences of the most important kind; people differ in capacity, skill, health, strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of unequal conditions. (Leão XIII, 1891, p. 7).

According to Gotay (1985), this conflict was intrinsically tied to the Catholic Church's worldview, particularly the Thomistic theory of natural law as reformulated through Jacques Maritain's perspective. This new interpretation of Thomas Aquinas came to be known as neo-Thomism. As noted by the encyclical, inequality of conditions is a "necessary difference" that "benefits everyone." Socialism, on the other hand , would bring disorder to the pre-established order of nature since man's natural vocation is to accept his condition with patience. Historicity, the socialist worldview, could never be accepted as a foundation for social organization — it is nothing more than an accident, in contrast to what is purely necessary and essential.

Although Pope Pius XI (1857–1939) sought a middle ground between capitalism and Christianity through charity, the 19th century ultimately solidified the dichotomy between neo-Thomist-based theology and historically-based theories such as socialism.

The 20th century brought significant changes in theology, with theologians such as Karl Barth, Rudolph Bultmann, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer challenging Thomistic theology through new philosophical references. Exegetical studies revitalized the historicist and materialist thinking of the Hebrews, while Paul Tillich, Karl Rahner, and Edward Schillebeeckx contributed to existential theologies. Louis-Joseph Lebret explored development theology, Emmanuel Mounier developed personalism, and José Comblin and Paul Tillich contributed to historical theologies. Harvey Cox addressed secularization theology, and political theologies were developed by Blanquart, Richard Shaull, Metz, and Moltmann, as observed by Gotay (1985).

Within this context, Gotay (1985) claimed that Theology of Libertation emerged due to the theoretical-theological crisis faced by "revolutionary Christians,"[1] who, by engaging in the political Liberation struggle in Latin America, questioned the relationship between their faith and political practice, as well as the connection between the historical process of liberation and salvation. This formative process is understood through the radical nature of its changes, and the political implications of Latin American theology. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the concept of salvation.

Revolutionary Christians embraced a theological framework that prioritized historical, political, and social analysis as a hermeneutic tool for theology. This required redefining how theology should address fundamental questions of human existence The resolution of human problems must occur within and through history, and all truths regarding human social constructions must supposedly be derived from it. History, thought dialectically, positions truth as an evolving concept yet to be fully realized. By adopting this post-conciliar theological approach, theologians proposed rethinking the idea of salvation, particularly its "karyological" significance. For

[1] An expression used by Gotay (1985) in his work: "Revolutionary Christian Thought in Latin America and the Caribbean. Implications of Theology of Libertation for the Sociology of Religion," referring to Christians who joined the liberation movement.

Gotay (1985), this is the root of the theoretical-theological crisis that led to the emergence of Theology of Libertation. In other words, as noted by Figueroa-Villarreal (1999), the core of Theology of Libertation lies in answering the question of the relationship between salvation and the historical process of liberation.

It is a fact that this pre-conciliar theological conception, although upheld for many centuries, did not originate within the society that first embraced the Christian revelation. The worldview from which Jesus and the early Church interpreted their reality and understood their faith gradually took on increasingly distant contours.. Influenced by the Greco-Roman worldview, it was translated into a new language and shaped according to the philosophy of the Gentiles. According to Marques (2008), the transposition of Christian content to a philosophical mindset developed dialectically in the first three centuries of the Christian era, when Christianity, initially denied as a theoretical-philosophical tradition, absorbed the conditions that made philosophy possible, asserting itself through the metaphysical aspects of the Greek *Logos* and ethical postulations.

The critique of European theology made by Latin American theologians, as explained by Gotay (1985), thus imprints a historical character on soteriology. The aim is to understand faith from a perspective that considers "real history". Not without reason, the introduction of a historical character into theology has a crucial conciliar inspiration: revelation should be read considering a historical-critical criterion. The historical-critical method of biblical texts emerged with a strong desire for "deconstruction" of narratives with the intent of "distinguishing the various sources," offering little attention both to the general structure of the text and the message preserved in its current state (Dei Verbum, 1993, p. 3). This more "negative" function of the method generated strong discontent.

> Thus, the historical-critical exegesis could appear fragmentary and destructive, especially since certain exegetes, influenced by the comparative history of religions, as it was practiced at the time, or based on philosophical conceptions, issued negative judgments against the Bible (Dei Verbum, 1993, p. 3).

Even so, the Church did not disregard it:

> The historical-critical method is the indispensable approach for the scientific study of the meaning of ancient texts. Since the Holy Scripture, as the "Word of God in human language," was composed by human authors in all its parts and sources, its proper understanding not only permits but requires the use of this method (Dei Verbum, 1993, p. 3).

Concurrently, the Latin American Church recognized the need for the new historical consciousness emerging in the conciliar spirit and understood that it was time to build the kingdom among men through the historical process of Liberation. Soteriology needed to be confronted through a critical analysis grounded in history, in order to secure the new conciliar inspirations that saw the modern world as a sign of hope and the need for closer dialogue. Salvation and Liberation drew closer and gained meanings more aligned with the reality of the people: "As every liberation is already an anticipation of the full redemption of Christ, the Church in Latin America feels particularly in solidarity with every educational effort aimed at liberating our peoples" (Medellín, 1968, p. 22).

Just as Christ did not deny His human condition, salvation, in Liberation, assumed, this Christological integrity. This new salvation conception, for Gotay (1985), was the foundation upon which Liberation Ecclesiology sought to renew its ecclesial practices in Latin America. However, for this purpose, the European theological language, grounded in eternity, limited the concept of a God who reveals and acts in the real history of His people. Once again, as seen in the 19th century, history was opposed.

In this sense, assuming the concrete history of a people as a place of revelation and recognizing that, within this same context, God acts and walks with His people did not seem to liberation

theologians to be very different from what occurred with the people of Israel. Election is a recurring theme in the sacred texts, and the history of salvation is the hermeneutic framework that Christianity has embraced from the beginning. However, when considered through European theological categories, Theology of Libertation was reduced to a "theory of revolution", that is a theory that appropriates theological categories to establish and justify the socialist revolution.

Liberation Theology tends to respect the autonomy of the very theory of revolution that arises from scientific socio-economic analysis, for which theology acknowledges it does not possess scientific tools. Gotay (1985) recalls that Hugo Assmann had already responded to this critique. If the historical coincidence led to the simultaneous emergence of both socialist revolution theories and Liberation Theology, it is not the responsibility of this theology, as Rahner and others wanted to defend. Europe wanted to interpret these two events in a monolithic way, through its own theological lenses.

III. "THE "*ENDLÖSUNG DER JUDENFRAGE*" AS SOLUTION TO THE ECCLESIOLOGY OF LIBERATION IN LATIN AMERICA"

After briefly presenting the central theme behind the emergence of the Ecclesiology of Liberation — the incorporation of historicity into the theological discussion — theoretically and theologically grounded in Theology of Libertation, it becomes possible to analyze the underlying consequences of practicing this truly Latin American ecclesiology and the paths it followed in response to European reactions within its "Theo-logos- centric" process, as noted Lima (1988). To achieve this, political and religious ecclesial factors will be analyzed separately. It is important to emphasize that these dimensions are deeply interconnected. However, for analytical, methodological, and criteriological reasons, this analysis will be conducted separately, highlighting the specific nuances of each factor.

3.1 Political Factors

The analysis of political factors will be conducted based on the studies of Delcio Monteiro de Lima in his work *Os Demônios Descendem do Norte*. This book that has largely been forgotten today but deserves to be revisited due to its historical-theological importance and its contribution to understanding the contemporary Catholic landscape, which faces severe internal crises. Lima (1988) argues that it is a complex task to demonstrate the external political influence on the Latin American religious context in the second half of the 20th century, particularly in Brazil. This challenge has not changed; on the contrary, it has worsened. However, he emphasizes that "it has not escaped the keen observer that clear evidence exists of external mechanisms interfering in support of the new scenario that emerges from the extraordinary momentum gained by modern movements or sects that have arisen in the country" (Lima, 1988, p. 8).

From the second half of the 20th century, dozens, if not hundreds, of new "Christian sects" proliferated in Latin America. According to the author, proselytizing indoctrination alone would not have been sufficient to cause such significant proliferation or meet the needs of those who were no longer satisfied with traditional religiosity. Thus, it can be affirmed that "there is no doubt about the influence of an accelerating factor in the entire process" (Lima, 1988, p. 09). However, it would be highly unlikely that a political plan existed with the specific purpose of directly interfering with the ecclesiological structure of Latin America, particularly in Brazil. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that social and religious movements, even if not fully organized, may have been influenced by foreign ideologies introduced through either unintentional or intentional gaps.

According to Lima (1988, p. 9):

> A perspective that considers this religious transition in Latin America, particularly in Brazil, reveals the phenomenon as one that capitalizes on political dividends for opportunistic action. The proliferation of new

> sects, which recruit believers relatively quickly, especially among the poorer segments of urban and rural populations, expands the avenues for consolidating ideas defended by the dominant establishment. Maintaining the status quo is less complicated than changing it. Religious movements with significant popular appeal fit perfectly into this strategy because, in their eagerness to increase their membership, they focus exclusively on the transcendent, leaving the temporal as it has always been.

Furthermore, beginning in the 1960s, the U.S. Department of State, assuming responsibility for formulating American foreign policies, "became convinced that Latin Americans' Christianity was not a sufficiently inhibiting barrier to the penetration, if not of international consumerism, then at least of advanced forms of modern socialism" (Lima, 1988, p.10). This suspicion was primarily directed at the Catholic Church, which adopted an ecclesiology linking faith to social issues, was seen as a potential obstacle to U.S. interests.

Regarding accusations of Marxism, Lima (1988, p. 22) cites a statement from a Communist Party leader, who clarified that communism viewed Christianity as a rival ideology:

> Communists may have missed the course of history. They are being trampled and overtaken by events in an incredibly striking way particularly in Latin America and Brazil. In the case of basic ecclesial communities, it is also the old habit of suspicion: everything coming from the Church is deemed suspect. And so, stubbornly, they are playing into the hands of the right. Basic ecclesial communities, therefore, face two adversaries: the right and the communists.

The General Conference of the Latin American Episcopate (CELAM), meeting in Medellín, wrote in its document, traditionally known as the "Medellín Document," that socialism was a challenge for both the Church and the Latin American economy:

> The liberal capitalist system and the temptation of the Marxist system seem to exhaust, on our continent, the possibilities for transforming economic structures. Both systems violate human dignity: one because it presupposes the primacy of capital, its power, and its discriminatory use for profit. The other, although ideologically defending humanism, envisions humanity collectively and, in practice, becomes a totalitarian concentration of state power. We must denounce that Latin America is trapped between these two options and remains dependent on power centres that control its economy (Medellín, 1968, p. 5).

The lack of more nuanced and specialized analyses by Europe (in the case of the Church of Rome) and the U.S. perpetuated the common-sense discourse, widely accepted and disseminated by specialized media, that anything related to social issues must have a "red" tone. Even today, this identification of social concerns with socialism hinders serious discussions, especially among the people, about what distinguishes a liberating ecclesial action from a genuine communist action. On the other hand, it is known that capital structures its analyses in two poles: those who favour profit (for some) and those who oppose it. The latter group, which identified and continues to identify with the liberating ecclesial practice, is logically subordinated as communist.

As Silva (2014) suggests, the American action against Ecclesiology of Liberation would include another argument in addition to those mentioned: the rise of neoconservatism during Reagan's administration. This movement primarily focused on American youth, incorporating Calvinist theological principles of progress, which resulted in a significant increase in suicides among American university students. Another factor contributing to its spread was the support of private media corporations, which subsidized large print runs of publications and secured government investments through cultural foundations, as noted by Lima (1988).

The influence of the neoconservative offensive became more evident when the U.S. Department of State adopted more assertive stances, suspecting the Latin American ecclesiological approach, especially regarding Catholic leadership. This suspicion was seen as a possible breach of loyalty in supporting democracy in countries under American hegemony The first offensive came with the release of the *Rockefeller Report* in 1969, commissioned by President Nixon:

> Although it is not yet widely recognized, the military establishments and the Catholic Church are also among today's forces for social and political change in the other American republics [...]. Few people realize the extent to which both these institutions are now breaking with their past. They are, in fact, moving rapidly to the forefront as forces for social, economic, and political change. In the case of the Church, this is a recognition of a need to be more responsive to the popular will. [...] the Church may be somewhat in the same situation as the young – with a profound idealism but, as a result, in some cases, vulnerable to subversive penetration; ready to undertake a revolution if necessary to end injustice, but not clear either as to ultimate nature of the revolution itself or as to the governmental system through which the governmental system by which the justice it seeks can be realized (The Rockefeller Report On The Americas, 1969, p. 31).

The second offensive was the *Santa Fe Report*, published in May 1980, which expressed suspicions about the presence of Marxist theoretical references in Latin American Catholic ecclesiology:

> The role of the Church in Latin America is vital to the concept of political freedom. Unfortunately, Marxist-Leninist forces have used the Church as a political weapon against private property and productive capitalism, infiltrating religious communities with ideas that are less Christian than communist (Lima, 1988, p. 44)[2].

Overall, the presence of these sects, stemming from the expansion of American neoconservatism, demonstrates that Ecclesiology of Liberation disrupted socio-political structures not only in Latin America but also globally, leading to its gradual deconstruction.

3.2 Ecclesial Factors

This discussion will be based on the reflection of José Oscar Beozzo in his article: "História da Igreja Católica no Brasil". Since the papacy of John Paul II (1978), a process of continuity and change has been observed concerning the post-conciliar ideas of Paul VI. This process was later referred to by Pope Benedict XVI as the "hermeneutics of reform" in his "Address to the Roman Curia" on December 22, 2005. In the words by pope Benedict XVI,

> [...] Why has the implementation of the Council, in large parts of the Church, thus far been so difficult? Well, it all depends on the correct interpretation of the Council or - as we would say today - on its proper hermeneutics, the correct key to its interpretation and application. The problems in its implementation arose from the fact that two contrary hermeneutics came face to face and quarrelled with each other. One caused confusion, the other, silently but more and more visibly, bore and is bearing fruit. On the one hand, there is an interpretation that I would call "a hermeneutic of discontinuity and rupture"; it has frequently availed itself of the sympathies of the mass media, and also one trend of modern theology. On the other, there is the "hermeneutic of reform", of renewal in the continuity of the one subject-Church which the Lord has given to us. She is a subject which increases in time and develops, yet always remains the same, the one subject of the journeying People of God. The hermeneutic of discontinuity risks ending in a split between the pre-conciliar Church and the post-conciliar Church. It asserts that the texts of the Council as such do not yet express the true spirit of the Council. (Bento XVI, 2005, p. 6)

[2] Cf. *Santa Fe Report*, Proposition No. 3 – Part 2

The main concern was to close specific open discussions at the Second Vatican Council that generated unorthodox interpretations. Thus, the Code of Canon Law and the Catechism of the Catholic Church were launched, which became known as "the return of great discipline" (Beozzo, 1989, p.167).

In this context, Beozzo (1989) comments that the concern of the official Church and figures like then-Cardinal Ratzinger (future Pope Benedict XVI) was that the aggiornamento proposed by Pope John XXIII and the consolidation of conciliar reforms might have led the Church to certain practices that were significantly distant from the values present in pre-conciliar ecclesial action, as described in the *Instruction Libertatis Nuntius* by the same cardinal. This concern is expressed more radically today. The rise of traditionalist movements— from the followers of Lefebvre —and sedevacantism is alarming, especially in Brazil. John Paul II's stance varied according to the theoretical theological context. In social issues, such as human promotion, social justice, the search for peace, and the defence of life, his discourse showed openness and support for innovations, following the post-conciliar trend of dialogue with the modern world. However, on moral issues, his attitude remained conservative, leading to noticeable "course corrections" in controversies with Theology of Libertation Another rupture was regarding the formation of the clergy:

> Important sectors of the clergy and episcopate, with full support from Rome, propose a return to traditional seminaries, breaking with two trends that matured in the post-conciliar period: the first, of theological studies openly accessible to laity and seminarians, religious and religious women [...]; the second, to organize formation through small communities of life embedded in popular settings (Beozzo, 1989, p.168).

One cannot forget a clear act of rupture with Vatican II, the direct interference of the Holy See in some instances, such the veto on the work of Franciscan theologian Leonardo Boff, *Igreja Carisma e Poder*, followed by the imposition of obedient silence; the suspension of the CLAR (Latin American Conference of Religious) *Palavra-Viva* project; and the prohibition of the Bible reading methodology promoted by CEBI, persecution of Latin American theologians like John Sobrino, among others.

"What is perceived is that what Benedict XVI called 'conciliar continuity' was viewed by the Latin American Church as 'rupture,' and vice versa. During the time of John Paul II, post-conciliar ideas were retracted because, for Benedict XVI, they did not promote Vatican II but rather broke with it." The Ecclesiology of Liberation, whose spirit drew from Vatican II, was gradually blocked by the theoretical-theological practice of the Magisterium, which was much more concerned with uniformity than dialogue. Until it received its "*Endlösung der Judenfrage*" (Final Solution) under Benedict XVI, who definitively prescribed Theology of Libertation as a theology that was not Catholic.

All these religious and political factors contributed to the gradual dismantling of Theology of Libertation in its new form of church practice. In his address to the Bishops of South III and South IV Regions of the Brazilian Bishops's Conference, during the *Ad limina apostolorum* visit, the pope wrote:

> In this regard, beloved Brothers, it is worth remembering that last August the Instruction *Libertatis Nuntius* on Certain Aspects of the "Theology of Liberation" published by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith celebrated its 25th anniversary. It stressed the danger that is entailed in an a-critical acceptance on the part of certain theologians of theses and methodologies that derive from Marxism. Its more or less visible consequences consisting of rebellion, division, dissent, offence, and anarchy make themselves felt, creating in your diocesan communities great suffering and a serious loss of vitality. I implore all those who in some way have felt attracted, involved and deeply touched by certain deceptive principles of Theology of Libertation to consider once again the above-mentioned Instruction, perceiving

> the kind light with which it is proffered. I remind everyone that ""the supreme rule of her [the Church's] faith' derives from the unity which the Spirit has created between Sacred Tradition, Sacred Scripture and the Magisterium of the Church in a reciprocity which means that none of the three can survive without the others" (John Paul II, *Fides et Ratio*, n. 55); and that in the context of Church bodies and communities, forgiveness offered and received in the name of and out of love for the Most Blessed Trinity, whom we worship in our hearts, puts an end to the suffering of our beloved Church, a pilgrim in the Lands of the Holy Cross (Bento XVI, 2009, p. 2)

Pope Benedict XVI insists on interpreting to read the Ecclesiology of Liberation as a "methodological option." Allow me to explain. If the Latin American Church has engaged with the impoverished, it was certainly not due to reading Marx or any similar literature. What the official Church has never understood is that the preferential option for the poor is not merely a choice but a reality lived daily by the Latin Church. Those who live the reality of Latin America do not need Marx to understand that a class struggle is taking place, whether they choose to participate or not. Once again, the Church makes the issue of historicity—both concrete and material—invisible. History does not choose sides; it reveals the sides, and the Church, faced with this class game imposed by a system it has never questioned, must make a choice.

Drawing on Brighenti's (2008) reflections on the Option for the Poor, he states that, even though CELAM in Aparecida in 2007 said that the realization of Vatican II had not yet happened due to a lack of courage and commitment, on the other hand, it is also observed: "certain revisionists and setbacks to pre-conciliar positions today only confirm the watershed that this '*Kairos*' represents in the Church." (Brighenti, 2008, p. 1).

The missionary zeal requested by CELAM in Aparecida must be accompanied, above all, by overcoming what can be called the "ecclesiocentrism", that has reigned for over a millennium. The ecclesiology in this model does not go beyond a "christomonism":

> The ecclesiology of the second millennium is characterized, among other things, by a christomonism that eclipses its Trinitarian matrix. Based on a Docetic Christology, the Church's self-awareness, in identifying itself with the Body of the Glorious and Resurrected Christ, has historically tended to reduce its ecclesial nature to the leaders of this Body, who are the clergy. A layperson is defined as one who is not a cleric, essentially someone who has no proper place in the Church. . They are recipients, if not consumers, of the sacraments dispensed by the hierarchy or, at most, extensions of its arm. (Brighenti, 2008, p.02)

Aparecida was an attempt to rescue the missionary spirit of Medellín, so that the Church would be in a "permanent state of mission," in which everyone, without exception, could have life in abundance.

Even with this landmark for Latin America, which was Aparecida 2007, the stance of the Universal Church remains one of curtailment and combat against the Ecclesiology of Liberation. To illustrate this stance, I will present some recent interventions from the Holy See regarding the practice of Latin American ecclesiology. Firstly, it is essential to say that not all Catholic movements that emerged during the conciliar opening process of Vatican II received this same spirit. One such movement, the Montfort Cultural Association, has strived for the return of the pre-conciliar tradition. In one of its online articles, the website openly criticizes theologian Leonardo Boff." Thus, the article states:

> To the surprise of all our readers, it is with immense pleasure that we publish, at the end of this article and in whole , an article by the former friar, heretic, and apostate Leonardo Boff, now simply Genésio. Annoyed by the various pronouncements of the pope during his visit to Brazil, especially with what the pope said to the Bishops of the CNBB, Theology of Libertation finds itself lost and,

> through its leading Brazilian heretic, declares a war against the pope and the Catholic Church. [...] Nothing like cancer appears to be better removed. Let the heretics openly declare who they are and either leave or be expelled from the Church, which they only remain to more efficiently destroy it. In this Boffian article, the author removes the mask, showing that he is at war with the Church and with Pope Benedict XVI, confessing to profess a doctrine that is contrary to the Church (Fedeli, 2008, p. 4)

Another argument in this attack in Latin America is the comment by Colombian priest João Pedro Baresi, cited by Marcelo Netto Rodrigues in a virtual article, in which he speaks of the purpose of Pope Benedict XVI's visit to Brazil:

> The visit of Ratzinger is part of a plan primarily concerned with the exodus of Catholics, but not only that. According to Baresi, the pope will also take advantage of the trip to attempt to put an end to Theology of Libertation [...] What matters is not Theology of Libertation, but liberation itself, as Gustavo Gutierrez always says. If anyone has something better that contributes to the commitment to liberation in the light of faith, let them indicate it. (Rodrigues, 2007, p. 1-2)

Also, in this same sense, there have been two recent censures in Latin America. The first to Jesuit Jon Sobrino when the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith examined and condemned his two books: "*Jesus Christ Liberator: A Historical-Theological Reading of Jesus of Nazareth*" (1991) and "*Faith in Jesus Christ: An Essay from the Victims' Perspective* (1999) "[3]. The second to theologian José Maria Vigil for his work: *Theology of Religious Pluralism*, which is part of ASETT (Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians)[4].

IV. CURRENT REFLECTIONS

According to Peixoto (2007), the socio-anthropological reality of Latin America still suffers from some marks that have accompanied it since the arrival of colonizers: poverty and exclusion. The Ecclesiology of Liberation, in truth, has lost its vigour from the 1970s and 80s, but some pastoral experiences and popular movements remain active. The election of Pope Francis brought hope to this theology, which struggles to survive and now faces perhaps its greatest challenge: a conservative and fragmented Church. .

Considering new realities (the globalized and technologically mediated world), the perspective of Theology of Libertation has broadened and diversified ecumenically. A specific "activism," characteristic of the 1970s, has been reviewed reflecting contemporary challenges, such as the problem of Ecotheology: "It is neither a rupture nor a denial of Medellín and its methodological proposal, but a new moment in the development of its walk with the history of the liberation of the poor [...]" (Peixoto, 2007, p. 193).

The new context requires proper restructuring, especially in the educational field. It is essential to implement an education that promotes Liberation, combined with political practice and profound theological reflection. From this educational perspective, it is possible to reformulate pastoral work as a theological space that supports a liberating ecclesiological practice, and promotes the production of critical knowledge and a spirituality oriented toward freedom.

> It is time to strengthen and consolidate practices imbued with renewal that maintain the spirit and choices of Medellín 68. Because the people experiencing poverty and the excluded expect more than anathemas,

[3] Cf. CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH. *Notification*. Regarding the works of Fr. Jon SOBRINO S.I.: Jesucristo liberador: A Historical-Theological Reading of Jesus of Nazareth (Madrid, 1991) and Faith in Jesus Christ: An Essay from the Perspective of the Victims (San Salvador, 1999)." Disponível em: https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20061126_notification-sobrino_po.html.

[4] ASETT. Declaração de Solidariedade com José Maria Vigil. Disponível em: http://www.adital.com.br/site/noticia.asp?lang=PT&cod=32048 acessado em 06/08/08.

> censorship, distrust, discrimination, and internal disputes over ecclesial spaces, they expect evangelizing dynamism, a prophetic dimension, and the struggle for justice (Peixoto, 2007, p.193).

It is equally important to know how to interpret criticism. A Ecclesiology of Liberation cannot exist without liberation spirituality. Moreover, it must associate itself with social communication media (exceptionally social networks) to mediate social movements and gain the support of disadvantaged classes.

Despite this process of regression and attacks from conservative movements within the Church itself, Theology of Libertation (LT), the foundational basis for Ecclesiology of Liberation, remains active in theological-theoretical reflection and production. The same spirit that inspired Medellín continues to inspire theologians such as Father Júlio Lancelot and others to preserve this way of being in the Church.

In this sense, LT today is understood not only by this exact name. Its decline has allowed for a different perspective, leading to diversification. Liberation in a socio-economic sense, after the crisis of the 1990s, recognized new emerging subjects: women, Indigenous people, Black people, LGBTQ+ individuals, etc. These groups have emerged in such a way that they contributed to the concretization of the abstract terminology of "the poor." People experiencing poverty now have a distinct face, color, and gender identity. (Latin American Agenda, 2007, p.222).

These new theological-theoretical forms (feminist theology, Indigenous theology, Afro-theology, etc.) have replaced previous reflections that were solely political, expanding into ethnic, cultural, and ecological fields. However, such theologies are not widely covered by the media because they do not align with its market-driven interests, as their content does not correspond to popular trends.

Another way to observe the praxis of this Ecclesiology of Liberation was through the creation of the World Social Forums (WSF) in 2001, with the theme: "Another world is possible." Although it did not originate from a religious movement but rather a popular one, the liberating spirit was present within it. It did not take long for the liberation movement to adopt this new mode of reflection when, in 2005, the first World Forum on Theology of Libertation (WFTL) took place in Porto Alegre, also linked to the World Social Forums (WSF). This experience was repeated in 2007 in Nairobi, Kenya. This experience led to the creation of the work Theology of Another Possible World (Latin American Agenda, 2007, p.222).

Between 2001 and 2006, the ASETT (Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians) was created, which has grown significantly in theological production and reflection, particularly on the theme of religious pluralism:

> In light of this change [Second Vatican Council], a new self-understanding of our religion is necessary, as we no longer conceive it as the only true religion but rather as one among many, all of which are genuinely and uniquely willed by God (Latin American Agenda, 2007, p.223).

Several works have been published, such as "*Pelos muitos caminhos de Deus*", among many other activities. Also worth mentioning is the work developed in the *CONCILIUM* journal:

> The famous international journal *CONCILIUM* accepted the proposal made by the Latin American Theological Commission (CTL) to dedicate a monographic issue of the journal to the challenge of this pluralist reconversion of LT. One of the first issues of the journal in 2007, edited by Carlos Susin, Andrés Torres Queiruga, and José Maria Vigil, will spread this internationally [...](Latin American Agenda, 2007, p.223).

The CLT, linked to ASETT, which recently held its General Assembly in South Africa, adopted the following priorities: a) Liberation paradigm, always present and essential as it concerns the integral Liberation of the human being; b) Pluralist paradigm, rereading Christianity with the conviction that salvation is a plural path; c) Multireligious challenge, recognizing religious diversity as a value and constructing a theological

language based on this point; d) Post-religious challenge, addressing the crisis of religion as the new theological space on which LT must reflect.

V. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

First, this essay is a free-form reflection on the ecclesiology of liberation, encompassing its theological, political, and ecclesial aspects. It is not exhaustive and does not aim to be; it merely describes a critical mass for thinking about general and vital elements to project new actions. In this sense, some points are particularly relevant to highlight.

The most important fact regarding Liberation theology is the relationship between theology and history. Historicity is an issue that has always posed a challenge, both for science and philosophy. Theology is no different. The Ecclesiology of Liberation, as shown, is based on Theology of Libertation, which introduces the historical aspect as an element that cannot be overlooked. It is not new that one of the characteristics of theological sciences is their presupposition of truth within a discourse of authority. Theological beliefs are formed from an epistemological perspective that requires certain theses to be accepted as accurate , and it is on these that arguments must be constructed. We will not delve into the legitimacy of theological truth but will merely address its nature.

Theological truth is ontological and transcendent, meaning it does not undergo re-evaluation. This fact gives this discourse the character of certainty, a factor heavily questioned by contemporary epistemologists. Theology of Libertation, on the other hand, understands that if truth is of an ontological nature, it can only be accessed in and through history. The relationship between this view of truth and the traditional one presents oppositions. While traditional theological truth is seen as a condition for history itself, as explained by papal encyclicals in the 19th century, Theology of Libertation believes that theological truth occurs in history to change it, as evidenced by the event of Jesus: “For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life” (John 3:16).

The Son of God preexists in his divine nature but suffers the hardships of history, and his actions have real impacts. The divine salvific act does not happen outside of history but through it. History itself conditions the way the Resurrection occurred: “Three days” were necessary—a temporal condition. It is within this perspective that the Ecclesiology of Liberation should also be understood: the salvific action of the Church, as the sacrament of Christ, implies being in the real and concrete history, changing and being changed by it. Liberation cannot occur on a purely spiritual plane but must, like the Son of God himself, impact reality.

Secondly, it is essential to touch on the relationship between Ecclesiology of Liberation and Marxism (or socialism or communism). The fact that a liberating stance points out significant nuances of social reality does not make it a symbol, synonym, or substitute for socialism. "It is undeniable that, during the 1970s and 1980s, many ecclesial movements formed alliances with political movements of a socialist tendency. However, this alliance, often misunderstood, does not define the theological or ecclesiological nature of Liberation Liberation is not synonymous with the proletariat's revolution but is “life in abundance,” as promised in the Johannine writings.

However, instead of elaborating on proving that Theology of Libertation is not socialism, as briefly mentioned earlier—that is, the Church in Latin America has always known how to differentiate and distinguish its ecclesial practice from its political options—I want to show how this identification is much more a relationship between traditional theology and capitalism than between Theology of Libertation and communism. The political and theological arguments that have fought against Theology of Libertation have always opposed it by uncritically accepting the polarization between capitalism and communism. Both the papal encyclicals of the 19th and 20th centuries sought to identify Theology of Libertation as a branch of communism but relied

on capitalism for this. In other words, the accusation of communism is much more a defence of capitalism than anything else.

There is an important issue that will not have time to delve into: there is not just one type of socialism. In each place it has manifested, its expressions are diverse. However, the accusations against Theology of Libertation have always relied on traumatic experiences of this system. On the other hand, traditional theology, linked to significant capital, offers little concrete to address the problems raised and condemned by Theology of Libertation. If the Son of God serves as the example, He openly revealed the contradictions within His society without ever having read a single line of Marx. . It is impossible to read the Gospels and not see the figure of the impoverished (economically and culturally). Thus, class struggle, which is by the capitalist system, depending on any historical materialist theory, is a fact. to what capitalists and traditional capitalist theology claim, it was not invented by socialism but by the surplus value production of capitalism.

Lastly, the recent battles against Ecclesiology of Liberation during the papacy of Pope Francis have, in part, been responsible for the crisis in contemporary Catholicism. To combat the current pope, conservatives and traditionalists have diverged to such an extent that various anti-ecclesial movements have found space to emerge. Movements, already known in the past, called sedevacantists, now proliferate within the Catholic Church. This crisis of "great discipline" (initiated by Pope John Paul II) calls into question the true intentions of traditional theology regarding its apologetics. When Benedict XVI was elected, the papal figure among conservatives and traditionalists was reinforced and glorified. However, with the same rigidity and vigour, the election of Francis rendered the figure of the Supreme Pontiff almost "dispensable."

These contradictions among conservatives, traditionalists, and sedevacantists present worldwide, but especially in Brazil, in my view, undermine the true intentions of traditional theology against Theology of Libertation. The great concern of theologians, conservative movements, traditionalists, and sedevacantists is that theology cannot and should not lose its purity with issues that may call into question dubious political options. In this sense, traditional theology, preoccupied with the historical immersion that Theology of Libertation presents, fears being submerged in the depths of political-capitalist history. By accusing Theology of Libertation of being immanentist, communist, and heretical, traditional theology presents its great mirror: utilitarian, capitalist, and atheist.

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Restoration of Archaeological Ceramics: Key Concepts and Terminology

Tatyana Nikolaevna Krasnova

ABSTRACT

This study is devoted to the problem of organizing the main terms in the restoration of archaeological ceramics and bringing them to an unambiguous interpretation. The importance of semantic filling of the basic concepts in archaeology, museology and restoration, such as trait, type, kind, property, quality, function is analyzed. This allowed them to identify their differences and similarities. The difference in understanding is due to the objectives of each of the related disciplines. The significance of the raised topic lies in the fact that in the preservation of archaeological cultural heritage it is extremely important to finally resolve the issues related to the translation of theoretical provisions into criteria and guidelines for concrete restoration work. This is connected with the necessity to 1. define the ultimate goal of restoration - what should be restored in the end - the appearance, properties, quality, functions of the monument or to eliminate signs of its destruction, as well as 2. to evaluate the quality of the work performed. Today, in the absence of a clearly formulated conceptual apparatus, unsuccessful restoration often leads to irreversible consequences and sometimes to the death of monuments. Based on many years of work with museum collections, in archaeological expeditions and pedagogical experience, the author has made an attempt to bring the existing terminology to an unambiguous understanding. He does not claim to solve all the above problems, as they need discourse, but considers it necessary to bring them up for discussion.

Keywords: terminology, archaeological ceramics, museum object, functions, restoration, quality, type, signs, properties, authenticity.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The extraction of ancient objects from the ground, their incorporation into museum collections and restoration serve the same purpose - to study and preserve the memory of past epochs contained in material objects, without which the development of society is unthinkable. The archaeological heritage is of great importance to the knowledge of human history. Archaeological sites and objects are a priori historical and cultural monuments that can provide a scientific or humanistic understanding of past human behavior, cultural adaptation, and data on related topics through the application of scientific methods (Европейская конвенция об охране.., 1992). Archaeology, museology, and restoration are thus deeply interconnected. With a common goal-setting, they fulfil similar, but not always the same, tasks. The first and important stage of studying a monument is its description. But archaeologists, museologists and restorers, using the same terminology, fill it with different meanings.

When describing monuments, archaeologists, museum workers and restorers always use such concepts as the feature, type and kind of monument, its properties, qualities and functions. The absence of a clearly regulated conceptual apparatus leads to the fact that different interpretations of these terms, above all, affect restoration activities.

Restoration is a relatively young branch of science. For a short period of time it has turned from a craft of repairing old things into a scientific and practical activity of saving all kinds of monuments. Today, this fact is not yet fully

understood by many people. Unlike the tasks of restoration of architectural objects, which can continue their "life way", for example, as museums, movable monuments of archaeology are not subject to further exploitation, but exist as museum objects. (Герасимов, 2021).

The main goal of restoration - preservation of monuments "in all the richness of their authenticity" - was defined in 1964 in the Venice Charter - an international document on protection and restoration (Венецианская хартия .., 1964). But, despite this, restorers strive to preserve the appearance of the monument, based on our modern ideas about it. For example, in the textbook on restoration it is stated: "Restoration is a set of measures to restore the appearance of an object, as close as possible to the original" (Степанова, 2018, P. 56). That is why some museums present new archaeological objects, as if they have just come off the conveyor belt, made by miracle masters-restorers.

J. Carbonara believes that the difficulties of the discipline are related to the methodological problem of monument restoration, i.e. the translation of theoretical provisions into criteria and guidelines for specific architectural work, as well as the solution of individual conceptual issues, the discussion of significant interventions, and the interpretation of exemplary restorations (Carbonara, 1997). Y.G. Bobrov adheres to the point of view that "the lack of unambiguity of words and concepts is a genuine disease not only of Russian restoration science" (Бобров, 1997). Therefore, the purpose of this study is to clarify the basic concepts related to the restoration of movable monuments of archaeological heritage, which is defined as a source of "collective memory and an instrument of historical and scientific research" (Европейская конвенция.., 1992).

II. ANALYSIS OF THE EXISTING TERMINOLOGY

Archaeological objects combine the unity of information and material (substance) carriers. In museum collections they are in the status of museum objects. Today the tasks of restoration of archaeological ceramics are directly related to the exhibition activities of museums. Domestic and international documents require the preservation of the authenticity of museum objects after their restoration (Конвенция об охране.., 1972; Конференция..., 1994).

Archaeological ceramics is a relatively independent system due to the presence of its own features and properties, functions that determine its difference and similarity with other material objects.

In the process of long-term existence of an archaeological object may undergo various changes (Краснова, 2020). For example, a metal object can be completely corroded, fabric can fall apart at a touch, and a ceramic object can consist of many fragments. The essence of the changes taking place in the subject is expressed in a language of terms that form a system of basic concepts. Their unambiguous understanding is the key to the success of restoration and conservation of archaeological sites. The most important concepts in conservation are 'kind', 'type', 'property', 'quality', 'function', as it is essential to understand which of these features of the object should be conserved and to what extent.

The ICOM (International Council of Museums) document "Key concepts of museology" does not contain the terminology we are interested in (Key concepts.., 2012). The 'Dictionary of Restoration Terms for Painting' also does not explain this terminology (Булгакова 2021). 'The Dictionary of Current Museum Terms also excluded these concepts. But it is encouraging that, 'museum terminology is an evolving and growing system of terms that denote museum concepts used in the professional environment of museum workers'. Besides its own, it 'includes terms that are used in theoretical studies from other sciences, which have acquired a specific meaning in museology' (Словарь актуальных.., 2009, P. 62). The second edition of the dictionary 2010 gives a general definition the type of museum objects, still, the meaning of the term is not disclosed, and 'kind' is defined as a unit of classification of objects, based on a single attribute (Словарь музейных..., 2010).

For archaeologists of the Academy of Sciences, the Research Institute of Material Culture has prepared a terminological dictionary-guidebook (Колпеков, 2013). It gives the basic terms as interpreted by different authors, but lacks a uniform standard. In archaeology this is acceptable, because it has no effect on the condition of the monument (Краснова, 2022).

Features

Any research begins with identifying the attributes of the subject. There are many definitions of this concept, but all of them appeal to other concepts. For example, a sign of an object can be: “its characteristic property that distinguishes this object from other similar objects” (Определение..), “an indicator, a note, a sign, by which you can recognize or determine what can be recognized or determined”, “an attribute, a sign”, ”a set of unique qualities”. Consideration of the attributes of a concept as an entity is contained in the works of E.K. Voyshvillo (Войшвилло), M.S. Vlasova (Власова).

Any object has a set of features, so a feature is something that we recognize as evident when we look at an item. Features are any possible characteristics of the object, in what objects are similar and different. A feature can be the presence or absence of a particular quality, condition, property, or relationship of an object to other objects. Classification of objects is based on identifying several common features. The set of features in each case can be individual: by color - red, yellow; by shape - round, elongated; size: large, small; by weight - heavy - light; by preservation – good - bad. Attributes of archaeological objects may reflect their external features, based on the totality of which the objects can be attributed to one time, to one master, to one culture. External signs can be the basis of belonging to one or another archaeological culture (Смирнов). For example, the shape of a ceramic vessel determined the name of such archaeological cultures as the culture of "spherical amphorae", "funnel-shaped cups", and according to the method and nature of the decoration of dishes, the "culture of combed ceramics", "dimpled-combed ceramics", the culture of "linear-ribbon" and "ringed-ribbon" and "ringed-pearl" ceramics. In some cases, the function of objects, which became the main feature, acted as a name – "the culture of battle axes" (Клейн, 1970). Many archaeological cultures were named after the area where the archaeological complexes were found. For example, Saltovo and Tripillya cultures. Thus, the definition of archaeological culture can be based on the general purpose of objects, similarity of forms or ornaments, etc. At the same time, one should take into account the fact that the term “archaeological culture” is the main term when describing ancient prehistoric (pre-written) epochs, and the monuments united in this way by one feature may belong to different communities of people. A feature is a peculiar unit of description of an object, which can also be expressed in physical quantities (in kg; in cm; etc.). By the set of these or those features we judge the preservation of the object. For example, fragments of an item indicate that the item is broken, and different layers on its surface indicate that it is contaminated or affected by microorganisms, etc.

On the basis of the features of an object distinguish its type, kind, properties, qualities. The discovery of new features in an object can occur only in the process of its study.

Type and species

The electronic reference book “Encyclopedia Dictionaries on Academia” states that for the interpretation of the word “type” “there is no universally accepted definition (Словари Энциклопедии..., 2000). Despite the fact even though controversy around it does not subside, this term has found a wide use and is fixed in many spheres of science and culture.. For example, in architecture - ‘types of buildings’ are distinguished according to their direct purpose or use (residential, industrial, public and others), in psychology - personality types are distinguished according to temperament and behavior of people in certain circumstances (according to Hippocrates there are 4 types, according to Abulkhanova-Slavskaya - 6, according to Jung - 8 types) (Рыжова 2024), etc.

In archaeology, when distinguishing an archaeological culture, along with territorial-chronological and sociological, a typological approach is used, which is defined by a complex set of such "essential features as technology, morphology, function, decoration" (Фейферт, 2022), "related to each other functionally and in symbolism" (Clarke 1968, Клейн 1991). Therefore, if a group of objects or phenomena possesses identical (similar), fundamentally essential features that distinguish it from the rest, we can say that they are typical.

The problem of typology in science arises when it is necessary to order and describe a variety of heterogeneous objects and give them an explanation, for example, in psychology, sociology, biology, archaeology and others. In other words, the typological system is used for the purpose of comparative study of the most essential features, relations, levels of organization of objects. The generally accepted typology in ceramics is connected with the raw material base (plastic raw materials - essential, and non-plastic - auxiliary), with the method of production (wet method - plastic, and semi-dry - machine), with the number of manufactured products (single, mass, serial), with the material of the product (coarse ceramic, fine ceramic), with the use and purpose of products (household - containers, dishes; decorative and applied - vases, sculptures, etc.; building materials - bricks, tiles, etc.). But, practically no types and types of destruction of ceramic products are emphasized in any way.

For restoration, the key issue is the question related to the causes that cause the destruction of the product. Destructions are a state or consequence of the process of damage to the integrity of a material or its elements (Панасюк, 1988; Волегов; Фёдорова; Грибов, Трусов, 2015). In materials science, such types of destruction are distinguished: brittle (Каныгина; Гурнов, Осауленко, 2008), ductile (Лапицкая, 2021), fatigue (Олейник, 2014), corrosion (Волегов, 2015), which are characteristic of ceramic materials.

It is proposed to divide the whole period of the object's existence into separate time intervals and, accordingly, to distinguish the types of damage associated with them.

Type 1 - "unforeseen" or "dissonant" damage associated with:

a. The original (unsuccessful) creative idea of the author or not fully thought out design solution of the tasks of manufacturing the object. A striking example of unsuccessful ideas is the Leaning Tower of Pisa and the Leonardo da Vinci's idea to create a fresco of the Battle of Alghero, which, due to a misinterpretation of the encaustic technique described by Pliny, led to the destruction of the finished work.
b. Imperfect manufacturing process (technology of creating the object), which results in a manufacturing defect;

Type 3 - 'natural' damage caused by:

a. Processes of natural ageing of materials, unfavourable environmental conditions, including being in the ground (water), abrupt change of conditions during excavation or storage conditions after excavation.This also applies to particularly fragile objects such as fabrics, glass, organic materials and others.
b. - "Everyday" damages related to the process of using or operating an object;

Type 4 - "introduced" damage due to unskilled restoration (Krasnova. 2021).

These types of destruction are historically conditioned, as they summarize a peculiar result of each stage of existence of the subject.

The concept of "species" as a unit of biological systematics or an element of living nature has gone beyond the boundaries of biological science and spread to other branches of knowledge. The dictionary defines the concept of species as that which is available to the eye. However, it has many more meanings, because each branch of knowledge develops and fills this concept with the content it needs and adapts it to specific tasks. This term still does not have a unified definition (there are different interpretations).

Type is a very comprehensive concept. It is based on a certain particular common that characterizec different phenomena or objects. For example, the single type of production says that a particular

product (it does not matter what material, what shape, etc.) is made in a single copy, that is, it is unique, and the serial type - about a group of identical or close objects by specific features, but it says nothing about the nature of production, materials used, technology and the product itself. Other attributes are needed to clarify these details. If several items have a certain number of identical features, then we can talk about separating specific species features from a particular type of item. Item case, each item, will have the same species features as the whole selected group. Consequently, species is the degree of expression in one object (phenomenon) of typical features (selected on the basis of systematization) characteristic of the whole group of objects (phenomena), which corresponds to the formula 'One of...'. Ceramics are produced by firing clay products. Depending on the quality of clay raw materials, the degree of its processing, temperature and firing conditions, porcelain, faience, terracotta, brick, etc. can be obtained. Porcelain is defined in this system as a type of pottery. For the same reason, terracotta, brick, porcelain and other products made of calcined clay will be types of ceramics. At the same time, the products will have different degrees of sintering, appearance, mechanical density and more.

For ceramic products, the following types of destruction can be distinguished: cracks, swelling, fragmentation, corrosion, abrasion, flaking, delamination, staining, and others. This destruction is evidence that the structure of the monument's material has been altered and, as a result, its appearance has changed (Каллистер, 2023). The brittle type of damage is characterized by types of failure such as tearing, chipping or impact, while the ductile type is characterized by micro-cracks and deformation.

An example of historical "unforeseen" or "dissonance" type of damage is characteristic cracks or breaks on the corolla of vessels with a narrow neck. The reason for their formation is that the peculiarity of the material was not taken into account during the manufacture of the vessel. The crown (edges) of a clay product always dries faster than its body. This causes stress in the material and leads to cracks and breaks. Therefore, experienced artisans, knowing this feature of the material, made a thickening on the corolla - a rim. If this manufacturing defect is not dangerous for the further existence of the object, it must be preserved during restoration.

Property and quality

The meaning of these terms, as a philosophical category, has been repeatedly subjected to adjustments (Уемов, 1963). Because of their widespread use in everyday life, some terms are often replaced by others. For example, the term 'property' is usually interpreted as a quality, a characteristic, an attribute, i.e. it is used to characterize an object, to define its nature, its form, its quality, its distinctiveness. (Колесов, Клейн, 2001).

Museums, not archaeologists, are the main customers restoring museum objects. Museum historians are also concerned about problems in terminology which are still under discussion (Дукельский, 1986). When setting restoration tasks, museum workers proceed from the museum profile and value characteristics, which are distinguished on the basis of the properties and essence of a museum object. Such properties, in their opinion :

Informativeness - the ability of a museum object to act as a source of information about historical events, cultural, social and natural phenomena and processes (Музееведение: 2020, Разгон, 1984).

Communicativeness- the process of communication between the visitor and museum exhibits (artefacts), which can convey to the visitor the information embedded in them (Стронг, 1983, Гнедовский, 1986, 1882; Кондратьев, 1985;).

Memoriality is the belonging of a museum object to some event, person or epoch (Сафразьян, 1990; Цуканова, 1990; Каспаринская, 1973).

Authenticity of the museum object is that it is a carrier of social or natural science information, in other words, a museum object is an authentic source of knowledge and emotions (Разгон, 1979; Решетников, 2017).

Representativeness - the ability of a museum object to restore a fact, event, or phenomenon (Решетников, 2014);

Representativeness - it is the ability of a museum object to restore a fact, event, phenomenon among similar objects (Кондратьев, 1982; Музеведение..., 2020. P. 248);

Expressiveness - it is the ability of a museum object to cause associations and a feeling of involvement in certain events, or phenomena and facts of the past, present and future (Кондратьев, 1982. С.41; Музееведение..., 2020. P. 248);

Attractiveness - the ability of a museum object to attract attention by its external features (Музееведение..., 2020. P. 248);

Associativity - the ability of a museum object to cause associations with specific events (Музееведение.., 2020 P. 248) and others.

Among the definitions are indications that the main properties of an object that has become a museum object are:

- The ability to "be a carrier" or "source";
- "To attract the attention of visitors";
- Belonging to something;
- The property of being a "process".

It should be noted that in these definitions, there is a substitution of concepts, since only a living being, not an object, possesses abilities. Abilities are personality properties that are conditions for the successful realization of a certain kind of activity (Платонов, 1972). An object can be a carrier of information capable of causing certain emotions in a person, but it depends solely on the person whether they perceive or feel something. In the same way, the object itself cannot reconstruct events. Only a person with knowledge about the object can do so. "Belonging to something", also cannot be a property, since it is an element of classification. A process, which is a successive change of states in the development of something a priori cannot be a property. With such confusion in concepts, the main goal of restoration will never be achieved.

In S.I. Ozhegov's dictionary the term "quality" is defined as a set of essential signs, properties, and features that distinguish an object or phenomenon from others and give it certainty, while the term "property" is interpreted as "a quality, a feature that constitutes a distinctive feature of someone or something" (Толковый.., 1992). We see a similar situation in the dictionary of S. A. Kuznetsov with the difference that in the term "quality" an object or phenomenon can be distinguished by one feature or property from the same other object (Большой толковый..., 1998). In V.I. Dahl's dictionary, 'quality' is 'a property or belonging, everything that constitutes the essence of a person or thing' (Даль, 1989). A. Hoffman specifies that quality can be not only a property, but also a characteristic of the object under study, which can vary (Энциклопедия.., 2009).

The same uncertainty about "properties" and "qualities" is also present in philosophy. Thus, Hegel believed: "Something is due to its quality what it is, and losing its quality, it ceases to be what it is" (Энциклопедия.., 2009). D.N. Ushakov also departs from the generally accepted notions and brings these terms into the category of philosophical definitions, pointing out that "quality" is "one of the main logical categories, which is the definition of an object by its intrinsic characteristics", and "property", is evaluated as "a quality, attribute, ability, characterizing someone or something, constituting a distinctive feature of someone or something" (Толковый .., 2000). H. F. Ovchinnikov points out that "quality and property are related things, and sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish between them" (Овчинников, 1960).

A. Uemov defines property as the primary category in the description of things (Уемов, 1963). The concept of "quality" is used when it is necessary to compare the properties of an object and human needs. In this case, the property will be "that which characterizes some aspect of the object and that is revealed in the interaction of this object with other objects and phenomena. What properties a given object displays, that is, which of its facets it 'turns' about, other objects, depends on what objects it interacts with" (Большая советская...,1971).

To eliminate the existing confusion in the interpretation of these terms, I suggest using the method proposed by A.N. Braginets when evaluating an enterprise as a subject of economic activity (Брагинец). Let us consider how the process of revealing the properties of the subject we are studying takes place. To do this, we need to divide the properties depending on the following:

- A source of origin (what is the source of properties: an object or, practical human activity);
- A way of their cognition (with the help of human senses, observation with the help of special devices).

The main thing in understanding the properties of an object is that they, like attributes, do not depend on human consciousness and are objective. Therefore, any archaeological object has certain properties, but they can be revealed only in the process of cognition. Thus, while the object is in the ground (under water) neither it nor its properties exist for us. But when the object is taken out of the ground, we can study those properties that were laid down at its creation and acquired by it in the process of its exploitation.

The basic properties of a ceramic product are laid down during the manufacturing process. These are the following properties:

- Physical (density, porosity, water absorption or, swelling, permeability, etc.);
- Mechanical (hardness, impact resistance, tensile strength, etc.);
- Chemical (chemical inertness, corrosion resistance, etc.);
- Aesthetic (expressiveness of idea, rationality of form, integrity of composition, craftsmanship, iconicity, originality, etc.).

Over time, properties can either be acquired by an object or lost. For example, ceramic vessels made by low-temperature firing have many open leaky pores that do not allow water to be retained in them. However, ancient people began to notice that when misused, for example, to store milk, the pores of the pottery would fill with casein contained in the milk, making the vessel watertight. During restoration, impregnation of the destroyed structure of the object with consolidants can also increase the strength characteristics of the object many times over.

Archaeological ceramics can completely lose their mechanical and aesthetic properties when buried, for example, durability (the object can be broken, split, become brittle). The most difficult thing is to determine the aesthetic properties of an object, because they cannot be expressed in numbers or percentages. Standards of beauty are subjective and depend on the values that are accepted in a particular society.

A property reflects the state of the object itself and therefore it can only change when there is an explicit impact on the object. Features act as an indicator of changes in properties. If we consider the properties of an archaeological object from the perspective of position of the process of cognition of ancient history and today, it can be seen that in the process of cognition new properties of both the object itself and the world around it can be discovered (Krasnova, 2024). Therefore, any archaeological object, from the position of its cognition, can have an infinite number of properties. This process can be divided into several stages, which will be as follows:

- Preliminary evaluation of features as a source of properties, which is given by a person when visually examining an object (size, shape, colour, surface condition, etc.);
- Identifying properties, with the help of special research methods and means of cognition. This depends on the goals and objectives of the researchers (study of the molecular structure of the object, its mechanical strength, water absorption, etc.);
- Identification of properties that appear in the object in the process of existence or burial in the ground (change in the properties material a result of accumulation of various salts from the soil in the process of burial in the ground). These properties did not exist in the object before it was used, so they are new to both the object and the person. The discovery of new properties in an object is related to the observation or study of the object.

- Identification of properties that have not yet been discovered by man due to their non-use or impossibility to obtain them because of weak scientific, technical, methodological or methodological base, lack of knowledge that does not allow to open the code, read the texts encrypted in the materials of the monument, its decorations, etc.

New properties may be discovered when new tasks of studying the monument are set or new technical means become available. Properties of an object can be expressed numerically in appropriate units of measurement (grams, %, kg, cm^3, etc.), chemical in formulas, etc.

The necessity of such a division of the properties of archaeological ceramics into types will help to determine how and as a result of what their changes occur, to identify the causes and mechanisms of destruction that caused these changes, to eliminate them, as well as gives an understanding of the existence of unknown properties of the object.

Any object exists in its material form and possesses specific properties. The change of properties leads to various destructions of the object - its form and content, and when an object loses its properties, it ceases to exist. During restoration, the "quality" of an item should be determined by the degree of change in its original properties. This should be the goal of pre-restoration research. So, it is a variable value, so we can compare the same attributes or properties of different objects with each other. This should be the goal of pre-restoration studies. The values of the changes in the quality of the object's properties obtained as a result of the study should also be expressed numerically. These values will serve as a guideline for restoration activities - which properties of the object and to what extent they should be restored.

This approach will help determine the volume of minimum and maximum restoration interventions, their compliance with the tasks of restoration of a specific monument and, on this basis, assess the quality of the work performed.

Functions

From Latin, 'function' translates to execution or performance, but its common usage meaning is much broader and is interpreted ambiguously (Паренчик). This termite was first used in mathematics, but then spread to other areas of knowledge, expanding its original meaning and significance. We can distinguish the following most used meanings of the function:

- In philosophy, "a relation between elements in which a change in one element entails a change in another" (Философский словарь. — СПб. 1911). "The external manifestation of the properties of a k.- l. object in a given system of relations" (Философский.., 1981).
- In mathematics, a correspondence between two sets in which each element of one set corresponds to a single element of the other or a value that can change, at any time, depending on some implicit change in the system (Математическая.., 1985).
- In creativity, function refers to the ability of its bearer to do some work (Альтшуллер, 1979).
- The main function of science is to obtain new knowledge about the surrounding world, to understand events and phenomena. It plays a significant role in social and humanitarian knowledge, which is focused on studying the purposeful activity of people in various spheres of public life (Понятие науки...).
- In some cases, the function can be a characteristic that defines the purpose of a product. It is determined by the specific conditions of consumption, the structure of the product's structure and the specific situation of consumption. To assess the function of a given product, it is necessary to know the conditions of its use (Зепер, 1970).
- Function is also defined as a property, side of quality manifestation; role, meaning of something; purpose of something. The function of a product can be directly related to the morphology of a thing, and also be a carrier of its usefulness, social value (Функции и социокультурная...). In this case, the valuable function of a thing is revealed by the triad of concepts - purpose, utility and value.

In museology, it is customary to distinguish such functions of a museum object as modelling of reality, communicative and scientific-informational, which are "conditioned by its abilities":

- "To act as a document of history";
- "To convey ideas, feelings, judgments and perceptions not only of the people with whom they came into contact but also of the authors of the exposition";
- "To contain, encode, reflect and store information" (Музееведение, 2020. P. 240).

Function cannot be conditioned by the "ability of an object" to "contain", "transmit" or "perform", it can only be conditioned by certain properties of the object that trigger a particular process (e.g. cognition or use of something). The function (purpose) of an object determines its form, the material of manufacture, the method of production and decoration, and even the number of similar objects produced. Therefore, it is proposed to consider the functions of archaeological ceramics from the point of view of its social role, goals and objectives for which this or that object was created in the context of a particular time. Archaeological ceramic objects are objects that perform unrelated social functions. The function of an archaeological object in a museum is also secondary. A museum object is material evidence of past epochs, and by studying it one can obtain information related to the history, technology, lifestyle and culture of the people (Krasnova, 2024). Therefore, its function of preserving memory is secondary to its original purpose. Therefore, a museum item is a monument (from the word memory). The function of scientists is to extract new knowledge about the past of mankind on the basis of a comprehensive study of monuments.

In the museum, monuments are endowed with such functions as informational, communicative, scientific-cognitive or cognitive, memorial cumulative and others. The definition of these functions is based on the same "abilities of the monument", "to reflect", "to model", etc. Without going into their detailed description, it should be noted that due to the wrong approach, the monument is endowed with the functions of human cognition.

Therefore, a change in the functional purpose of an object in a museum (its public significance as a historical and cultural monument) cannot affect the purpose of restoration.

III. DISCUSSION

The terminology allows us to develop methodological principles for preserving monuments, based on which we can create individual methods for restoring archaeological ceramic objects.

The signs indicate a change in the properties of the object and its quality (the degree of change in properties, different from the original - standard). Based on the species' characteristics of destruction, their type must be determined. The typology will help to identify how the source of damage is related to the historical stages of the object's existence (unforeseen or dissonant, every day, natural, introduced) and to the main properties of ceramics as the material basis of the object (brittle, viscous, fatigue, corrosive).

The necessity of such a distinction lies in the historical significance of each type of damage, as each indicates a specific period of the object's existence. This may be of great interest for further monument study (Krasnova, 2024). Based on the results of the previous stage, the causes of the damage and the extent of the object's destruction are determined to assess the need for restoration. If the damage is not critical to the object (e.g., chips, small cracks, voids formed by the loss or washing out of small inclusions, scuffs, polymerized food residues, etc.) and it can continue to exist in this form and serve as a source of information, then restoration in this case will only be a hindrance. Typical destruction on the monument, which indicates the production process's imperfect technology, should also be preserved for further study.

The necessity of such distinction lies in the historical significance of each type of damage, because they contain important information about the object in each of the periods of its existence.

This may be of great interest for further study of the monument.

Only after a detailed and comprehensive study of the subject should a decision be made on the scope of restoration work and the selection of an individual methodology and materials. If the damage is not critical for the item (chips, small cracks, voids formed as a result of the loss of small inclusions, abrasions, pitch - polymerized food residues, etc.) and it can continue to exist in this form and serve as a source of information, then restoration in this case can only be a hindrance. Typical destruction, which is an indicator of the production process or its individual technologies, should also be preserved on the monument for the purpose of its further study.

If the study revealed external causes (dampness, the presence of microorganisms destroying ceramics, etc.) that are a threat to the existence of the monument, it is necessary to take appropriate measures to eliminate them.

If the properties of an object are damaged to such an extent that it can no longer exist in its original form or there is a threat of loss, then restoration is a necessary condition for preserving the monument. This should be based on a quantitative assessment of the object's properties and the degree of their loss. This can only be done using instrumental research methods.

Knowledge about the type of culture and the category to which the restored object belongs will help the restorer to form a clear understanding of its original properties and choose the appropriate restoration method. Since the properties are defined in specific units of measurement, a comparative analysis of the current properties of the object with a reference (an undestroyed similar specimen belonging to the same culture) will allow to determine the degree of its destruction (the quality of the object) and to express it numerically. In this case, based on objective data on the state of preservation of the object, the restorer can choose the restoration methodology and the appropriate materials. For example, based on the data on the water absorption of a tile, it is possible to calculate its porosity, which is directly related to its mechanical strength (Калатур, 2013; Борисов, 2009). Using simple calculations, it is possible to determine the type, type and amount of consolidant needed to strengthen the structure of the tile and restore the original mechanical properties of the object. Such an approach will help to eliminate traditional restoration mistakes. One of these mistakes is that the restorer uncontrollably saturates the fragile clay object with various polymers, resulting in it acquiring the mechanical properties of porcelain.

When assembling (gluing) a product from fragments or performing reconstruction, the type of archaeological culture and the appearance of such objects are a kind of guideline for finding the right approach to the restoration of the monument (Краснова, 2021).

The type of production indicates the possibility of full or partial restoration of the object. For unique items, reconstructions made directly on the monument (restoration of missing lost parts) are inadmissible, unlike serial or mass-produced items, where, provided there is an analogue, they may be permissible. If the product is mass-produced, it can be fully recovered.

IV. CONCLUSION

The main concepts that constitute the essence of terminology in archaeology, museology, and restoration are characteristics, types, kinds, properties, quality, and functions. When appealing to one set of terms, we inevitably encounter the necessity of using others. Among the multitude of terms, those are highlighted that can fully characterize the subject in terms of its significance as a monument and as an object of restoration. By eliminating one of the causes—terminological confusion in the conceptual apparatus—we made it possible to build a logically coherent methodological system for the restoration of archaeological ceramics in accordance with the requirements defined in UNESCO documents on the preservation of cultural heritage.

The classification system of objects depends on the purpose for which it is created, and therefore,

it is inherently subjective. The concept of "type" is based on the grouping of objects by common characteristics. The same object can belong to different types that are not related to each other. They can be grouped by purpose, morphological features, properties, or other criteria. Everything depends on the frame of reference in which the object is considered. The concept of "species" is determined based on which characteristic (property or function) an object is distinguished from the system. The type affiliation helps to establish the target purpose of the object, its properties, and consequently, its functions, while species determine its individual characteristics. Therefore, all ancient objects excavated from the ground belong to the type of archaeological monuments, and ceramics are one of its species. This classification allowed for the identification of four historically determined types of damage associated with the stages of the existence of an archaeological object. These are peculiar marks or markers of each stage of the object's existence. Each type of damage corresponds to certain types of destruction.

When creating an object, a person defines its functions and appearance: shape, size, color, etc. For this, they select materials and technologies so that the resulting properties of the object correspond to its purpose (i.e., the object performs its functions). However, for various reasons, the functions of objects can change. Archaeological objects in museum collections acquire the status of museum items. The primary role in determining the secondary function of an archaeological object belongs to specialists—archaeologists and museum workers. Only their evaluative opinion determines whether the object will remain in the excavation or become a museum item, and how and in what form it will be used: stored in museum reserves, exhibited, or used for its original purpose (e.g., jewelry, cult structures).

The properties of an object do not depend on whether they are recognized by humans. They are objective and individual for each object. The properties of the object can change for different reasons: production defects, human economic activity, natural factors, natural aging of materials (from which the object is made), restoration and others. The quality of an object is determined by the degree of change in its original properties. It can be expressed numerically or as a percentage.

The historical "memory of an object" is encapsulated in the changes to its original functions, properties, and characteristics that occur over time. By qualitatively and quantitatively analyzing these changes, one can infer the circumstances that contributed to them. The study of these changes can become an important source of information for specialists in various fields of knowledge. The conceptual unity of functions, appearance, properties, and quality defines the essence of the concept of "authenticity." It is the authenticity and the amount of information that we manage to obtain by studying the monument that determines its value to society. This is recognized in UNESCO documents on the protection of cultural heritage and enshrined in the legislative acts of different countries.

The poor preservation of archaeological monuments necessitates restoration. However, restoration, in its current form, cannot ensure the preservation of the authentic properties of the monument (Дрост, Бертильсон, 1994).

Restoration is an extreme measure. It should only be applied when the monument is in danger of destruction. The main function of restoration is to eliminate the causes of destruction and to preserve as much as possible all the inherent properties of the object. The restoration of the original appearance and properties of the monument is fundamentally impossible since modern restoration materials introduced into the structure of the monument deprive it of authenticity. Based on this:

- Restoration interventions should be minimal and should not alter the authenticity of the object.
- The restoration should not hinder further study of the monument, since the information contained in it is unique and cannot be restored.

- The museum object should remain a "keeper of memory" and not a repository of restoration materials. For displaying the object in its original form, various methods of reconstruction and 3D visualization exist.

To meet these requirements, the restorer must clearly determine:

- The original functions of the object, its type, kind, and properties (physical, mechanical, aesthetic, etc.);
- The causes of destruction, their types, and kinds;
- The degree of damage to its properties or loss of any properties;
- The limit of restoration of the properties of the object (the degree of restoration intervention).

Only after analyzing the obtained data should the appropriate materials for the restoration of the monument be selected. This approach will allow for the restoration of the damaged object within the limits necessary for its further existence. Thanks to this, the main goal of restoration can be achieved – minimal intervention in the structure of the monument and maximum preservation of its authentic properties. The use of this approach can become one of the indicators by which the quality of restoration work will be determined.

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Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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Giovanna Campani & Lidia Urani

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ABSTRACT

The article intertwines different themes: indigenous cultural resistance, indigenous spirituality, and urban neo-shamanism. Its central nucleus is a reflection on a relational experience - over ten years old - between representatives of an Indigenous people from the Northeast of Brazil, the Fulni-ô, whose territory is located in the municipality of Águas Belas, inland part of the State of Pernambuco, and non-indigenous members of three Rio de Janeiro associations, Casa de la Coruja Branca (House of the White Owl)[1], Parati ONG (Para ti, For You), Casa da Aguia (House of the Eagle)[2], whose aim is to defend indigenous cultures and, at the same time, maintain shamanic traditions. This 10-year-old experience is significant as it provides a long-term perspective on the dynamics of the relationship between these groups. One of the two authors is, at the same time, active in the ParatiGuest House. The methodological part will explain how the distance between being an active member (and a believer in shamanic practices) and keeping the role of observer, has been managed.

I. INTRODUCTION

These associations may be included in the cultural movement of the New Age. However, in Brazil, the global phenomenon of the New Age, originating in the Western world, has assumed specific characteristics. Scholars who have worked on it speak, in fact, of Brazilian Popular New Age (Oliveira, 2011)[3], which has incorporated different elements of the Afro-Brazilian religions, namely theUmbanda, and the indigenous traditions. The article is part of a more extensive research on neo-shamanism and the role of Indigenous populations' preservation of traditional rituals and their adaptation to new audiences.

"*Neo-shamanism is syncretism based on a reinterpretation of traditional shamanic practices and is sometimes practiced in urban areas. The practice attempts to tether some of its expression to ancestral traditions (mainly Pan-Indian movements), all the while remaining centered on the individual who seeks modified states of consciousness. Neo-shamanism uses a set of heterogeneous modalities — often for therapeutic purposes — among which we can mention: fumigations, songs, meditations, collective trances, and drumming.*" (Raz M, 2019). The neo-shamanic practices start from the traditional, then move away from the traditional focusing on the individuals and adapting their expression to the many needs of the modern world. Neo-shamanism has faced and is facing many critics. Among these, the denunciation of stereotypes and false perception associated with indigenous cultures; cultural reappropriation and reinventing the traditions while failing to honor

[1] The owl has many symbolic meanings in different cultures, such as Greek mythology (Athena, the goddess of wisdom, was symbolized by an owl), Aztec culture, and Hinduism. It is considered a messenger for Spiritism: transformative news is about to arrive, and you must be ready to receive it with wisdom. Another meaning of the owl for Spiritism is the revelation of hidden secrets.

[2] The eagle, as a spirit guide, is a common symbolic animal in many cultures worldwide. According to Native American traditions, a spirit animal will come to you in a vision, dream, or other powerful experience that affects your life. If an eagle somehow catches your eye, it may not be a mere coincidence.

[3] De Oliveira AP (2011) Da Nova Era à New Age popular: as transformações do campo religioso brasileiro. Caminhos. https://doi.org/10.18224/cam.v9i1.1522.

the roots; contrast between the scope of the rituals and the individualistic approach of neo-shamanic practices. The readaptation of shamanic rituals for the use of non-indigenous individuals has been especially questioned for what concerns the "mystic tourism" or "spiritual tourism" in Peru or Brazil -travel for the purpose of using *ayahuasca* for spiritual awakening through some forms of altered states of consciousness. Scholars, such as for example the French anthropologist Jean-Loup Amselle[4], argue that neo shamanic practices would represent a new form of depoliticization of individuals, normalization of the subjects, religion of capitalism.

We can share some critical points about these practices. However, the micro-reality that we describe in this paper through an ethnographic approach suggests that this readaptation is perceived by the participants as an intercultural exchange on an equal level, where the Fulni-ô Indigenous people and their "*irmaos*" (brothers) from the Casa da Coruja Branca, Parati Guest House, and Casa da Aguia are helping each other in a shared journey to reach their reciprocal aims: the Fulni-ô are reinforced in their identity, experiencing how their spirituality is valued; the non-Indigenous experience a contact with the sacred/divine in order to respond to life dilemmas. Religious techniques for producing unusual experiences and states of consciousness are found in all cultures, but they have become rarer in contemporary societies. The interest in shamanism in urban contexts responds to this absence. Moreover, the intercultural exchange between Indigenous and non-indigenous has ethic goals: through harmonizing indigenous traditions with Western ones, they all seek to go towards a more spirituality-oriented and environmentally responsible future for human beings.

These intercultural encounters are, in fact, part of a more general trend: the appreciation (valorization) of Indigenous knowledge among large groups of non-indigenous populations in search of spirituality and sensitivity to ecological issues. Indigenous knowledge represents, in fact, a "civilizational" discourse situated in a dimension that is different from Western modernity. While non-indigenous groups get closer to indigenous culture, it is important to note that Indigenous people are neither "naïf" or passive. They are fully aware of the Western political-institutional organization, where they have become active players. Their horizon goes far beyond Brazil, towards the global world. They make a large use of Western technological instruments: both Indigenous tribes, as a group, and individuals use the internet, and they are active on social networks, such as Facebook or Instagram, where they present videos and photos of their art crafts products and cultural expressions (dancing, painting skin, etc...).

The ethnographic method uses multiple data collection techniques, including participant observation (during the shamanic ceremonies and the everyday life of the Indigenous people), interviews, focus groups, and textual analysis (there are several PhD works on the topic), to construct a holistic and contextual view of neo-shamanism in the urban area of Rio, providing a comprehensive understanding of this cultural phenomenon.

Over the years, we have conducted several interviews with Fulni-ô people in Rio de Janeiro and Aguas Bellas. Here, we refer to four interviews with Tafquea (a name that in Portuguese means Mandi Fish), Fkydwa, Fakho, Xumayà: These three men in their forties and fifties and one in his thirties. They were all chosen because each of them has responsibility as guide or leader for the ceremonies. We will quote sentences from their interviews, without precising their specific names, considering that they represent the collective voice of the Fulni-ô. The article focuses on the intercultural relationships developed through the Fulni-ô trips to sell art crafts. The description of the readaptation of shamanic ceremonies doesn't enter the mystical experience. Therefore, the double position of Lidia

[4] Jean-Loup Amselle is anthropologist, research director at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Ehess) and author of *Psychotropiques. La fièvre de l'ayahuasca en forêt amazonienne* (Psicotrópicos. A febre da ayahuasca na floresta amazônica), Albin Michel, Paris, 2013.

Urani as activist (and practitioner) and observer doesn't represent an issue.

Tafquea (a name that in Portuguese means Mandi Fish), Fkydwa, photo of Lidia Urani

At the 2022 census, in the Fulni-ô indigenous territory that includes Aguas Bellas and Itaiba[5], there were 26,300 inhabitants; approximately 5,000 of them were indigenous (not all the Fulni-ô declared themselves indigenous). Other sources speak of about 8000[6]. For centuries, the territory has been at the center of conflicts between Indigenous and non-indigenous. The Fulni-ô still practice hunting and fishing, but these activities are almost extinct due to deforestation and pollution of the region's rivers. The survival of the indigenous families is guaranteed by subsistence farming, small-scale cattle and pig farming, and, mainly, selling artisanal products. However, at the local market the demand for indigenous artisanal products is scarce. Overall, the Indigenous tribe of the Fulni-ô can be defined as a 'society of scarce resources' (Reesnik, Reesnik, 2007).

The Fulni-ô interviewed have all explained that the local resources are not sufficient for their families to live. They have to travel throughout the country, to sell their handicrafts at fairs or in more favorable markets, to perform their songs and dances, and more recently shamanic ceremonies. These periplus of "comitivas"[7]of three[8], four, five people, mainly male, have started about twenty five years ago: "*In order to survive,*

[5] https://terrasindigenas.org.br/pt-br/terras-indigenas/3667
[6] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QzJUsv9iX4s

[7] "Comitiva", the traveling group, is the term used for the Fulni O group.

[8] They spoke of Indian Day, the term used until 2022 to celebrate the cultural diversity of indigenous peoples in Brazil on April 19th. The commemorative date was created during the Estado Novo (the name given to the populist dictatorship of Getulio Vargas) in 1943, with the name of Indian Day. The name change to Indigenous Peoples' Day occurred through a law sanctioned in 2022. The creation of this date was due to an orientation of an event that took place in defense of indigenous peoples in Mexico, in 1940.
Indigenous Peoples' Day is celebrated, and is a very important date because it celebrates the cultural diversity of indigenous peoples in Brazil, in addition to contributing to the preservation of the culture and history of these peoples. This date also serves as a moment to reflect on the fight against prejudice against indigenous peoples and for the maintenance of their rights.
See more about "April 19th - Indigenous Peoples' Day" at: https://brasilescola.uol.com.br/datas-comemorativas/19-abril-dia-Indio.htm.

in April, when there are the celebrations of the Indian Day, April 19, the Chief (cacique) determines which Indians go to the cities," "*In the old time, the land gave enough families to live…to our ancestors. Now we must exchange art crafts, ceremonies and medicine with our brothers.*"

Since the 1990s, the Fulni-ô have traveled all over the country, reaching the states of Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina in the Southern part of Brazil, but the main places of destinations are the big cities, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paolo. During these trips, in addition to selling artisanal products (from headdresses, bows, necklaces and bracelets), they started to organize dance shows and songs shows (maybe dance and singing shows), making their culture known to a large public. These performances have also taken place in Universities[9], with the support of anthropologists and sociologists[10],. Furthermore, after about ten years, during their travels to Rio and Sao Paulo, they started to perform shamanic ceremonies with herbs baths, fumigations, and the use of medicinal herbs (rapé jurema), having got permission from the pajé[11]. This has been possible thanks to the support of non- indigenous people who were interested in the theme of shamanism, "irmaos" (the brothers)" to whom they refer. The intercultural encounters between the Fulni-ô and the "irmaos" (brothers), have reconfigured shamanic rituals in urban environments. This practice is not unique of the Fulni-ô ;it concerns different Brazilian Indigenous tribes.

The article is divided in four parts: the first one deals with the Brazilian New Age cultural trends, to which belong Casa da Coruja Branca, Parati Guest House, and Casa da Aguia; the second one focuses on the Indigenous movement in Brazil; the third one describes the Fulni-ô tribe from Pernambuco. The last part of the article is dedicated to the readaptation and reconfiguration of the shamanic rituals in the urban context.

II. POPULAR NEW AGE AND NEO-SHAMANISM IN BRAZIL

The New Age, with its roots in the countercultures of the 1960s, emerged as a global phenomenon, originating in the USA and England and other Western European countries (Heelas 1996, p. 42)[12]. It challenged the prevailing behavioral, moral, and religious norms, marking a significant shift in societal values.

The term New Age itself signifies a significant historical shift. According to some astrologers, we currently reside in the Age of Pisces, dominated by Christianity, which the New Age of Aquarius will supersede at the dawn of the third millennium. The Age of Aquarius is pivotal in the New Age movement, influenced by theosophy, spiritualism, anthroposophy, and their esoteric predecessors. The New Age is a syncretic structure that incorporates diverse elements, allowing people to connect based on shared interests or bonds to varying degrees and at different levels of

[9]https://jornal.usp.br/diversidade/comitiva-de-indigenas-fulni-o-apresenta-modos-de-vida-culinaria-e-cultivo-na-usp/

[10] "Rapé is a type of indigenous South American medicine that consists of a mixture of tobacco and ash from tree bark and/or sacred plants. The tradition of this native medicine has existed for thousands of years, in different native cultures of South America, since long before colonization. In the past, the use of Rapé was mainly restricted to shamans and healers of the tribes, who used it to realign their energy channels with spirits and forces of nature, intensifying their connection with the world and the universe so that they could see and receive knowledge and instructions to heal patients. Over time, this medicine was authorized for use by people in general in the villages and today, rapé is widely used and studied by both indigenous people of different cultures and non-indigenous people. The science of tobacco for various indigenous tribes from all parts of the Americas is deeply ingrained in their cultures as a fundamental part of their worldview and therapeutic arsenal since time immemorial, where they understand tobacco as a sacred plant that should be used in ceremonies, with therapeutic and spiritual purposes, for oracular purposes such as predicting the weather, predicting success in hunting, fishing, harvesting, where these traditions never allowed the recreational or abusive use of tobacco such as what we see today with the culture of inhaling tobacco. https://emporiomuritiba.com.br/blogs/muritiba/sobre-rape?srsltid=AfmBOopyFODoaZ39c70L9ZuZa06_9wegNF7IjgDHpn_3cmxV8SWQRzMw.

[11] Pajé is a word of Tupi-Guarani origin used to describe the figure of the counselor, healer, sorcerer and spiritual intermediary of an indigenous community. The pajé is considered one of the most important figures within Brazilian indigenous tribes.

[12] Heelas P (1996) The New Age movement. Blackwell, Oxford and Basil

commitment. Many of the trends, practices, and attitudes associated with the New Age are a profound and easily identifiable reaction against the dominant culture, accompanied by the search for "alternatives" to mainstream society. In this sense, the term 'movement' applied to the New Age is not out of place. However, the New Age is not a unified movement, as it includes a diverse range of people who align with its main aims, but vary significantly in their involvement and understanding of specific issues. What they have in common is the fact they express their yearning for a change, not just in the world itself, but in our culture and our relationship with it, and champion the concept of a new vision of life.

While the New Age circuit was initially restricted to Anglo-American and Western European countries, the phenomenon began to gain visibility in the second half of the 20th century, especially in the 60s and 70s, and even more so after the 80s in Latin America and Brazil (Magnani; 2000). In Brazil, some groups were formed with the arrival of religions from India, among them the Hare Krishna movement (Guerriero, 2000) in 1978 and the Rajneesh movement (Guerriero 2003), transcendental meditation (Prandi 1991), and the creation of alternative rural communities of a spiritualist nature, such as the ones in Alto Paraíso, Goiás (Maia 2018)[13]. "*During the eighties there were (...) many changes in the Brazilian social lifestyle. It was a period of re-democratization. Since 1979, a cultural effervescence surged in many different ways, including artistic manifestations. The alternative movements from the previous decade became fashionable. There was a body worship movement, the use of healthy foods, martial arts, etc. All of those "alternative lifestyles" became relevant in the context of Brazilian society.*" (Silva Adami, Silva da Silveira, 2015, p. 240)

The cultural effervescence of the eighties not only encouraged the spreading of the New Age in Brazil but also led to a new configuration of the movement. While the genesis of the New Age in Brazil initially mirrored discourses and practices developed in its original spaces, especially the European and North American contexts, a significant shift occurred from the 1980s and 1990s onwards. A new reading of the New Age emerged, one that incorporated elements of Brazilian religiosity and spirituality. Popular Catholicism, spiritualism, Afro-Brazilian religions, and indigenous shamanism were revived and articulated with the New Age discourse. This cultural fusion is evident in Brazilian medium and large cities, where: " (...) *it is pervasive to come across yoga centers, spaces for meditation and personal growth, bookstores for self-help, and study centers focused on the millenary pearls of wisdom of traditions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Esotericism, and also traditional indigenous peoples.*" (Stern, Guerreiro, 2022, pag.136) This integration of local spiritual practices with the New Age movement creates a unique and diverse cultural landscape in Brazil.

This process is not surprising as Brazil is a country of cultural and religious syncretism par excellence. Catholicism and African religions went through a syncretic process; later it was the case of Kardecism[14], a doctrine coming from France, syncretized with afro-brazilian and indigenous spiritualities. No surprise that the New Age follows the same path. The articulation between the discourses of the New Age, as initially

[13] There are various mystical, philosophical and religious groups in the area of Alto Paraiso. The best known are probably the Vale do Amanhecer (Sunrise Valley), and the Casa de Dom Inácio de Loyola, where a self-styled 'psychic surgeon' calling himself John of God claims to heal different illnesses. Vale do Amanhecer (in English: Valley of the Dawn) is a new religious movement and UFO religion founded in the 1960s, with around 40,000 adherents including in the UK) . It is centered around a mother temple located in an eponymous locality in Planaltina. The founder is a clairvoyant truck driver, Tia Neiva. Many elements of this religion come from Afro-brazilian religions such as the Umbanda.
https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2019/may/03/the-vale-do-amanhecer-religious-community-in-brazil-in-pictures. https://www.valedoamanhecer.org.uk

[14] KARDECISM is the name given the system of spiritist doctrines and practices codified by the French Allan Kardec. Kardec's religio-philosophical principles and therapeutic techniques have been especially influential in the development of spiritism among the urban middle classes in Brazil from the mid-nineteenth century until the present. https://www.encyclopedia.com/environment/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/kardecism

conceived, and such elements, reflects the entry of new social actors into this symbolic universe (Oliveira, 2011): the New Age is no longer exclusive to an educated middle class; other classes have begun to access such symbolic goods. Having observed this process of re-elaboration of the New Age, scholars such as Oliveira propose, as an analytical category, the idea of Popular New Age. This concept, representing a new moment in the movement's evolution, is marked by a conceptual rupture in relation to the practices experienced previously. To this end, it is important to highlight Oliveira's definition of Popular New Age, which would be the following: "*a new reinterpretation, based on a specific social context, of cultural practices and traditions originating in Brazil and abroad – including Umbanda, elements of popular religiosity, Kardecist spiritualism and, mainly, popular Catholicism – in the typical New Age mold, which recreates cultural aspects – such as rituals, mainly those of possession, of popular religions in Brazil, in addition to the aesthetic aspect – which until then had not been emphasized by the movement*. (Oliveira, 2011, p. 39)

Among the new social actors that entered the Popular New Age symbolic universe, the Indigenous people did certainly play an important role, joining their fight for preserving their traditions with New Agers' search for worldvisions that would represent an alternative to Western modernity . Neo-shamanism is at the same time a matrix and a product of the New Age. As a modern adaptation of traditional indigenous practice,eo-shamanism arises in an urban and globalized context, where people of different cultural origins seek to reconnect with nature and spiritual aspects of their lives. Unlike traditional shamanism, which is rooted in a specific culture, neo-shamanism is a synthesis of various traditions, reinterpreted and adapted to the contemporary context. Juan Scuro and Robin Rodd (2015) have given a comprehensive definition: "*Neoshamanism is a set of discourses and practices involving the integration of indigenous (especially American) shamanic and psychotherapeutic techniques by people from urban, Western contexts. It has emerged, like other New Age modes of spirituality, in opposition to the materialism and positivism of European modernity. It presents as central the idea of reconnecting pan-indigenous ancestral knowledge that people of the West had purportedly forgotten. It results in large measures from the circulation of literature on shamanism, altered states of consciousness (often, but not always, involving the use of psychoactive drugs), and the possibility of generating new psychotherapeutic modalities*." (Scuro and Rodd, 2015)[15]

The origins of neo-shamanism are blurred with the beginning of the New Age: they can be traced back to the North American counterculture of the Sixties. It was during this time that writers such as Carlos Castaneda and Michael Harner[16] published books that suggested a new reading on shamanic practice, paving the way for neo-shamanism. The predominance of Native American rituals marked the first phase of neo-shamanism. The Brazilian founders of Casa da Coruja Branca and Casa da Aguia lived their first neo shamanic experiences in the USA among Native Americans. In the early Nineties, the mentor of the Casa da Coruja Branca was adopted by an indigenous elder of the Cheyenne tribe, named Nelson Turtle, who came to Brazil several times and introduced Native American traditions including the "sweat lodge" ritual. The Csa da Coruja Branca offers physical and spiritual healing through the "red path" (native shamanism)[17]. The name Casa da Aguia was given in honor of Dennis Banks, leader of the Chippewa Indians of South Dakota and of the American Indian Movement (IAM). Dennis Banks

[15] https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-3-319-08956-0_49-1. Scuro Juan, Rodd, Robin. (2015) Neo-Shamanism, Encyclopedia of Latin American Religions, 2015, Springer Link.

[16] Harner M., *The Way of the Shaman*. Harper & Row, 1980.

[17] "Concept of life inspired by the worldviews and spiritual teachings of the indigenous nations of Abya Yala (America). Although the cultures are diverse, they share common elements in terms of beliefs, traditions and fundamental customs in terms of understanding Mother Earth as a living being, relationships with other expressions of life, spiritual-energetic connections with the cosmos, and self-knowledge and personal growth." https://www.quira-medios. com/el-camino-rojo/

passed away in 2017 when, during a shamanic work, he saw an eagle flying in space.

Shamanic ceremony of the fire at the Casa da Aguia, photo of Lidia Urani

In the last twenty years, the Brazilian Indigenous people began to organize cultural meetings, conferences and workshops for non-indigenous people – University students, teachers, artists, foreigners, or just curious members of the urban middle class, – both in their villages and in large cities. These activities were part of the movement to valorize their culture. The reproduction of traditional rituals followed, responding to new cultural and political trends where the paths of indigenous and non-indigenous groups crossed. The growing use of the entheogen plants[18] as the

[18] A psychoactive, hallucinogenic substance or preparation (such as psilocybin or ayahuasca) especially when derived from plants or fungi and used in religious, spiritual, or ritualistic contexts *Entheogen* is a neologism to designate psychoactive substances employed in culturally sanctioned visionary experiences in ritual or religious contexts.—Carl A.

ayahuasca by non-indigenous has undoubtedly played a role in this trend. The Indigenous perception of the use of these plants is very different from the Westerners. For example, the Fulni-ô are very proud of their medicine that they call the forest medicine They consider the knowledge of forest medicine as a core element of their culture and they are happy to share it with the "irmaos", if this can help them in moments of difficulties, sorrows, or just to better "see" the reality. "*Medicine, forest medicine means many things. Forest medicine is extremely important for us…all that comes out from the forest…it is part of the indigenous life…and guides the path for us. We are happy to share it with the "brothers" "During July, we organize two days in the village to present all our herbal medicines to non-indigenous people who are interested. ""Every village has its own medicine, and has different rituals with them…medicine cannot always be taken. Only in specific moments. There are times to take the medicine." "Nowadays ayahuasca is known all over the world, but ayahuasca may have very different force… according to the time, to whom gives it…"*. These are the words of the Fulni-ô that have the task to celebrate rituals in the three places (Casa da Coruja Branca, Parati ONG and Casa da Aguia). In these three places they do not do ceremonies with ayahuasca, only with jurema and rape. On the basis of our ethnographic work, neo-shamanism is not only a purely Western construction of a fictional "indigenist" world, but is a practice that Indigenous people accept in order to make their culture known and appreciated.

III. INDIGENOUS CULTURES AND CIVILIZATIONAL DIMENSION

If, as David Junior de Souza Silva[19] writes, indigenous resistance in Latin America is as old as the conquest, it is from the 1970s and 1980s that indigenous peoples mobilized in an original political movement to demand: "*ethnic recognition, recovery of traditional territory and self-determination.*" (Silva, 2016, p. 162). This is a process, also called "re-ethnicization (or re-indigenization or ethnogenesis)" of Latin America (Silva 2016) that has brought indigenous populations out of invisibility and has led to the progressive increase in the number of people who identify as indigenous, as evidenced by the censuses of many countries.

In 2007, four million Peruvians identified themselves as Indigenous. In 2017, there were almost six million who identified themselves as Indigenous peoples and formed about 25.75% of the total population (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indigenous_peoples_of_Peru).

In the 2022 census, a total of 1,693,535 indigenous persons lived in Brazil, which represented 0.83% of the total population. The 2010 Census counted 896, 917 thousand indigenous persons, or 0.47% of the total number of residents in the national territory. That means this figure has increased by 88.8% since the previous Population Census. That significant expansion may also be a consequence of methodological changes, but it is a clear sign that more people identify themselves as indigenous.

The indigenous peoples of Latin America form a great diversity of human societies: for this reason, the indigenous movement, constituted by a system of political mobilization networks that advance indigenous claims, carries out different forms of struggle depending on the local, regional and national contexts of the continent. Analyzing the Brazilian case, we might better understand how the collective and local movements are articulated. Therefore, beyond the differences, it is possible to identify a common struggle platform, whose central claims are self-determination and control of their lands, including natural resources, through the "official recognition and institutionalization of interculturality, indigenous autonomy, territorial autonomy, education, health and indigenous justice" (Bruckmann, 2011, p. 335), in the perspective of overcoming the

P. Ruck Scholars of religion often call them *entheogens*, from the term "god within."—Jeremiah Creedon. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/entheogen.

[19] Silva D. (2016) Movimento Indígena Latino- Americano: uma Primeira Revisão da Literatura; Latin American Indigenous Movement: A First Literature Review; Movimiento Indígena Latinoamericano: una Primera Revisión de la Literatura, Rev. Geogr. Acadêmica v.10, n.2 (xii.2016), pp. 154-163.

centrality of national states. New concepts have emerged, such as that of a plurinational state (Bolivia) or differentiated citizenship (indigenous and national) (Brazil) (Luciano, 2006).

Although the claim to territory is central, the indigenous movement presents a multiplicity of cultural and political demands. The movement is situated in what might be called a "civilizational" level or sphere, claiming to represent the Indigenous civilization, the long-established native culture of the populations living in the American continent before the European colonization. It is the indigenous civilization of Abya Yala, the expression used to define the American continent in the decolonial thought. Abya Yala is increasingly used as symbol of identity for the "*Indigenous communities, peoples and nations (...) which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them.*" (United Nations, 2004)[20]

The ethnic nature of Indigenous movements implies the confrontation/opposition - of a cultural/civilizational type - not only with the model of the national state (in Bolivia the concept of a multinational state was introduced), but more generally with Western modernity, which is represented, in the movement's discourses, as an expression of a capitalist rationality, which promotes the excessive exploitation of human beings and nature. The anthropologist Viveiros de Castro writes: "*The "indigenous" are (...) people who do not join, whether by force or voluntarily, in the unilinear march of "progress", and who are believed to be imprisoned in the past of the species.* "[21] Differently from the Western modernity, the indigenous worldview is a system based on belief and spirituality. Indigenous societies are spiritually oriented, organized around rituals. We can add two other characteristics: the sacredness of the land and the fact that human beings are not the masters, the dominators of the earth. On the contrary, they are not the most important beings.

We have spoken of a "civilizational" dimension of the indigenous movement: The importance of recognizing the cultural and spiritual wealth of indigenous populations, much more sophisticated and refined than what Western arrogance has believed and made us believe - is today supported not only by anthropologists, but also by a series of important intellectuals, Latin American, North American, European. Let us cite, for example, the French linguist Jon Landabaru and the Colombian writer Willian Ospina, the latter of whom argues that "*before the crisis of values of modern societies, before the torpor of industrial culture in its relation to nature, before the growing desacralization of the world through the gaze of positivism, through formal logic and the merely quantitative analysis of reality, these discrete and strongly united communities on earth, (...) could help our societies to recover a little the balance of the gaze and the tenure towards the world:*" (Ospina, 2013, p.256). In recent years, the number of indigenous intellectuals who have access to the media to make known the objectives of the struggle and indigenous philosophical thought is increasingly numerous.

The confrontation/opposition with modernity, manifested in various forms of resistance, is, as already underlined, ancient, since, for centuries, indigenous peoples have found themselves, against their will, immersed in socio-political and cultural systems that are foreign and external to them, created and defined on the European and Western model. As a result of this forced immersion, indigenous peoples have been forced to acquire knowledge on the functioning of non-indigenous societies and political systems, demonstrating, in many cases, a great capacity for adaptation and adopting new forms of social and political organization structures.

[20] DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, Division for Social Policy and Development, Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues WORKSHOP ON DATA COLLECTION AND DISAGGREGATION FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, (New York, 19-21 January 2004) THE CONCEPT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, Background paper prepared by the Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

[21] http://www.abc.org.br/2023/06/22/indigena-por-eduardo-viveiros-de-castro/

Today, the Indigenous movement is characterized by the combination of specific ethnic claims, to preserve their identity, and strategies to influence the totality of social and political processes of their respective countries: the result is a significant impact on culture and political structures.

The transformations - cultural and institutional - that occur through the indigenous movement, see the participation of non-indigenous actors, such as NGOs, politicians, parliamentarians, famous people and intellectuals who are publicly aligned in defense of indigenous peoples and become an integral part of the various struggles. Ascenso (2021, p. 51) states that Indigenous movements can be conceived: "*as a set of networks that also include non-indigenous people, with the expressed horizon of building an indigenous protagonism*". Indigenous protagonism is therefore built through a network of relationships both internal and external to the indigenous world, for a broader social transformation: "*The attention that has generated the indigenous movements in Latin America from the finals of the eighties is based on the profound interests that arouse their reproofs and demands that affect not only the communities indigenous peoples and their respective national states until they also pose a transversal and universal basis: the care of the environment, the effective fulfillment of human rights, the application of sustainable development policies, reflections on concepts as important as citizenship and autonomy, el also to consolidate pluricultural and pluriethnic states, etc.*" [22](MIR, 2008) There is a harmony between indigenous movements and the concerns and demands of large segments of Western populations, which are expressed in social movements in search of the balance of vision and compassion towards the world – from environmentalists to the New Age galaxy in search of new spiritualities. Communication between these groups is now favored by social networks, particularly *Instagram*, a tool for spreading activities promoting indigenous cultures, and *WhatsApp*. Through. Internet and social media Indigenous peoples around the world are taking advantage of the opportunities offered by globalization to avoid, resolve or even attempt to eliminate the conflicts it presents to them.

IV. THE INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT IN BRAZIL

According to the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), the 2022 demographic census revealed that Brazil has almost 1.7 million Indigenous people, a contingent present both inside and outside indigenous localities, equivalent to 0.83% of the country's total population (203.1 million). Brazil has a population of approximately 203 million inhabitants. As already reminded, this number is 88.8% higher than that recorded in the 2010 census, which counted 896.900 people. 180 indigenous languages are spoken in the country and there are 305 different ethnic groups[23]. Only five of the 180 indigenous languages spoken in Brazil have more than 10,000 speakers, according to data from the IBGE. The survey, which included people over 5 years of age who use the language in their own homes, found that the most commonly used indigenous languages in the country are Tikuna (with 34,000 speakers), Guarani Kaiowá (26,500), Kaingang (22,000), Xavante (13,300) and Yanomami (12,700). Many languages are spoken only by a few people.

Despite this great sociocultural diversity, which is as broad as the three hundred and fifty indigenous peoples, the Indigenous Movement, which dates to the 1970s, is capable of combining, without contradiction, dynamism and freedom of action to pursue, the one hand, local and regional aims, unity of action and strategic research for a national agenda, the other hand. The origins of

[22] Javier Rodríguez Mir (2008), Los movimientos indígenas en América Latina. Resistencias y alteridades en un mundo globalizado Indigenous movements in Latin America. Resistances and alterities in a global world Gazeta de Antropología, 2008, 24 (2), artículo 37 · http://hdl.handle.net/10481/6928.

[23] These numbers generated debates and explanations from the technical bodies about differences in data collection methodologies. Data from Iphan - National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage, which, in 2010, carried out the INDL - National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity.

the Brazilian indigenous movement were originally conceived in April 1974, when the first "*Assembly of Indigenous Chiefs*" of the Indigenous Missionary Council – CIMI was created. "*In April 1974, amid the "Brazilian miracle", the leaden years of the military dictatorship, two dozen indigenous people gathered under some mango trees, in Diamantino (MT). It was April. A different celebration. A fact that would profoundly mark the struggle of indigenous peoples in Brazil. The seeds of a new indigenous movement were planted in the country. In the following ten years, there were another 50 Indigenous Assemblies throughout the country*. "(Heck, 2014) [24]. The Indigenous movement was born as a response of the Indigenous peoples to the logic of environmental destruction orchestrated by the military government that responded to the demands of an economic model, based on the scorn of all its costs. During the Military Dictatorship, compelled integration manifested itself through ambitious infrastructure projects in the unpopulated interior. Notable among these major projects were the establishment of the Transamazon Highway in 1972, the planning of the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Plant in 1975, the construction of the Itaipu Hydroelectric Plant in 1975, and the completion of the Northern Perimetral Highway in 1973." [25](Gonçales et al., 2023)[26]

These endeavors engendered a profound transformation in the socio-cultural fabric of indigenous communities, heralding a substantial shift in their way of life, but it also led to the awakening of consciences and the formation of a movement that managed to overcome differences and build a unifying character for different peoples to lead joint struggles. This articulation, because of overcoming rivalries between different peoples, has been understood by Matos (2006) as a "supra-ethnic" identity, in which peoples who were historically rivals or previously unknown to each other have managed to establish articulations and are coming together in common struggles. This articulation – which Matos (2006) calls a pan-indigenous movement, that is, one that aims to involve all peoples – has only been possible through constructing this supra-ethnic identity. In this necessary understanding of the differential nature of the configuration of the indigenous movement, we emphasize the importance of not conceiving it as uniform in its organization. Each Indigenous tribe establishes an internal dynamic and organization, either because its culture already has this form, or because it adapts to current times. Thus, the well-known figure of the *cacique* "chief", for example, is not found in all peoples with the same role or does not even exist, but has "its place" occupied by councils and assemblies which are expressions of an organization that will be reflected in the organization of the Indigenous Movement[27].

If the initial theme of the movement was the issue of territorial protection and demarcation of these territories, the Indigenous Movement soon became broader, more diverse and more active in all spaces of power. As Bicalho (2010)[28] writes, the Brazilian Indigenous Movement includes regional organizations as well as professional associations. "*There are associations of teachers, women, chiefs, tuxás [tuxauas](um povo especialmente ativo nas lutas indigenas), healers, midwives, so*

[24] Heck E. Assembleias Indígenas: 40 anos depois segue a luta e articulação. Cimi, 2014. Disponível em: https://www.cimi.org.br/2014/04/35882/

[25] 13.ASS. Veras, DG Vidal, Z. Wahaj, *et al.* BR-174 highway, geotourism and socio-environmental conflicts in the northern remote regions of the Amazon. *GeoJournal* 88, 1401–1413, (2023). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-022-10699-0

[26] Title: Indigenous in Brazil: School as a Mechanism of Forced Insertion into Society Authors: [1.] André Calixto Gonçalves; [2.] R. Valentim; [3.] Francisco Aparecido Rodrigues; [4.] Ivan Filipe Fernandes; (These authors contributed equally to this work)

[27] Furthermore, observing one of the main characteristics that we encounter in the Indigenous Movement, we note the unifying character of different people in joint groups. This articulation, as a result of the overcoming of existing rivalries , was understood by Matos (2006), as a "supra-ethnic" identity. A pan-indigenous movement -aimed to involve all Indigenous people - was possible starting from constructing this supra-ethnic identity in spite of the differences. Thus, a very well-known figure for "cacique", for example, is not found in all people with the same role.

[28] Bicalho, Poliene. (2019). Resistir era preciso: o decreto de emancipação de 1978, os povos indígenas e a sociedade civil no Brasil. Topoi, 20 (40), 136-156

this is part of the same Movement." (Bicalho, 2010. p.414) The emergence of the indigenous movement and the spread of formal indigenous organizations, have produced a change in the power relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Brazilian State. Bicalho (2019) reminds us that the Civil Code of 1916 included Indigenous people in the group of people with "*relative civil incapacity*" and adds: "*the inhabitants of the forest will be subject to the guardianship regime, established in special laws and regulations, which will cease as they adapt to the civilization of the country."* (Bicalho, 2019, p. 137). Guardianship was questioned, and the assimilationist approach was finally abandoned with the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution that *bestowed historical recognition on Indigenous peoples* giving them the right to organize themselves and directly implement their claims. The Constitution was gradually implemented with the New Civil Code – Law No. 10,406 of January 10, 2002. The relationship of the State with indigenous peoples was organized ".through the creation of different bodies in various ministries that work with Indigenous peoples, "breaking the hegemony of FUNAI (Fundaçao National dos Povos Indigenas)[29]" (LUCIANO, 2006, p. 73). The Brazilian State Legitimizes the political organization of Indigenous peoples, whose demands focus on the official recognition and institutionalization of interculturality, in the form of recognition of indigenous autonomy, self- determination, territorial autonomy, indigenous education, health and justice.

The Fulni-ô people have actively participated in the Indigenous movement and strongly supported the moovement's claims.

V. THE TERRITORY OF THE FULNI-Ô IN AGUAS BELLAS PERNAMBUCO

The tribe's history began when the Portuguese arrived in Brazil and conflicts arose with the "white men", as our interviewees call the non-indigenous people. "*In the past, in the time of our ancestors, the Indians occupied a large area and, as time went by, we became trapped in an increasingly smaller space. Look..."Fulni-ô means "o povo da beira do rio", the people of the river but today our land is 300 km from the closest river, the Ipanema River...they have taken so much of our land...*"

It is difficult for the Indigenous people to give a chronological history of their confrontation with the white people that dates back to the XVIII century and the progressive loss of their land. Events of a long time ago are presented as they occurred yesterday or at a relatively close time: for example, the fact that the land was officially given to the Fulni-ô by Princess Isabel, for their participation in the Paraguayan War (1864-1870). However, this formal recognition did not have any practical effect. Nowadays the Fulni-ô are the legitimate owners of an area of 11,505 hectares (115.5 km2), but the indigenous reserve is almost entirely occupied by non- Indigenous especially in the urbanized part.Aguas Belas was founded in the colonial era in the middle of the Fulni-ô territory and, today, is like an island located within the lands of the indigenous reserve.

Most Fulni-ô live in the main village commonly called Aldeia Grande, the "large village", as a way of differentiating it from other two villages, that of Xyxyaklá (which means many "catingueiras" in Yathê) and Ouricuri (lower village - place of Fulni-ô religious rituals)[30]. The old Indigenous

[29] Since 1967, the National Foundation for Indigenous Peoples (Funai) has been the official indigenous body responsible for promoting and protecting the rights of indigenous peoples throughout the national territory.

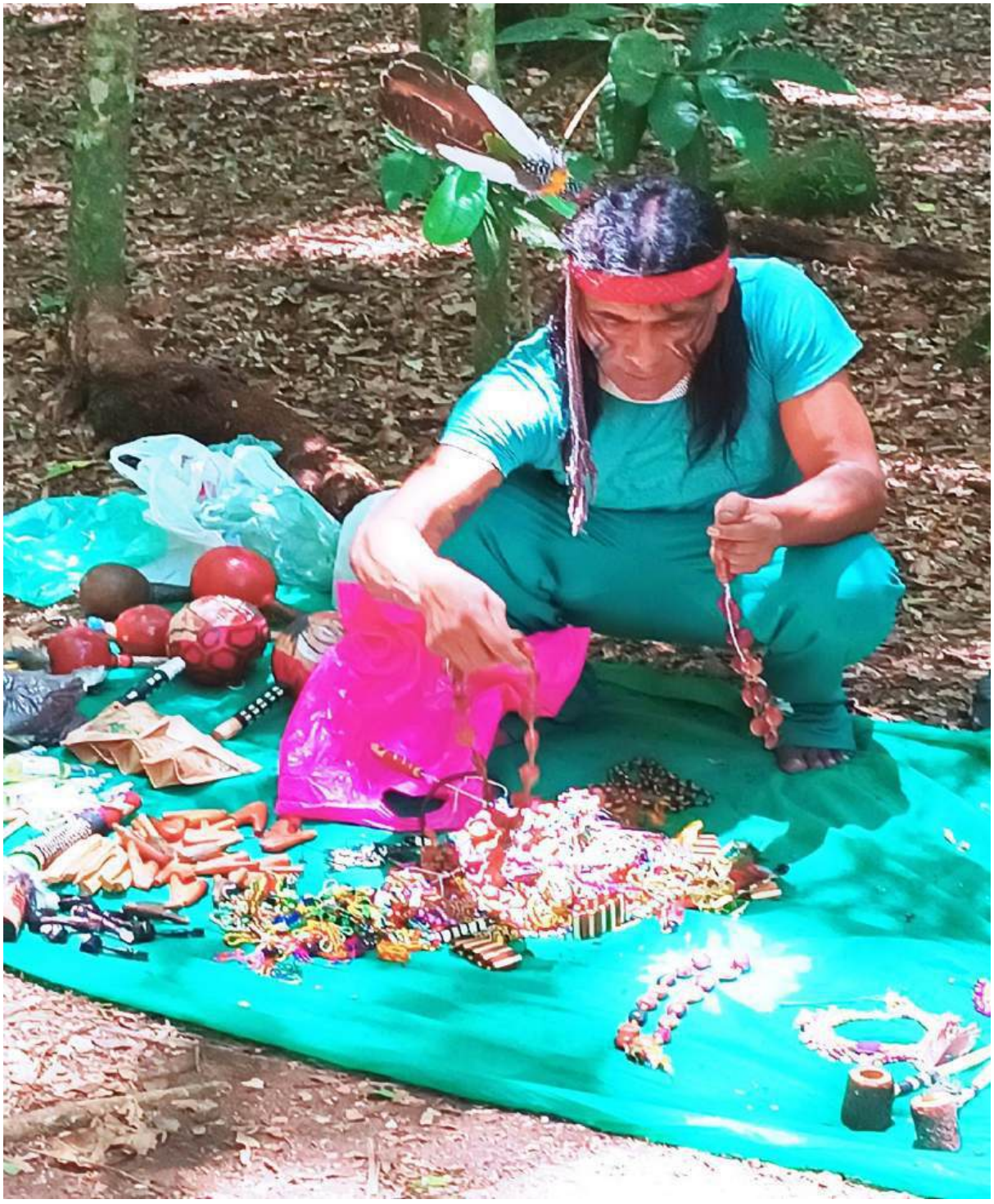
[30]https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catingueira_(planta)Cenostigma pyramidale (Tul.) E. Gagnon & G. P. Lewis[1] previously classified as Caesalpinia pyramidalis and popularly known as catingueira,[2] pau-de-rato or catinga-de-porco is a plant of the legume family (Leguminosae caesalpinioideae) native to the areas of the caatinga biome, from the most humid parts to the semiarid in Seridó.
Its leaves are consumed by animals at the beginning of the rainy season, but later they acquire an unpleasant odor and are rejected. However, during the dry season, as occurs with several caatinga trees, its dry leaves that have fallen to the ground are highly appreciated by the various herds.
Tree of 4 m to 8 m in the caatinga, which can be just a shrub in stony soil, and of 10 m to 16 m in floodplains and riparian forests. It is a species widely dispersed in the states of the Brazilian Northeast, predominating in the semiarid region where it is a small shrub of up to 4 m. In the cerrado and mainly in seasonal forests it becomes larger, reaching over 16

Post of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) and the Antônio José Moreira Bilingual School (Indigenous School) are in the Aldeia grande that is physically integrated with he city of Aguas Bellas. In fact, the Aldeia Grande is located in the middle of the urban area of Aguas Bellas, so close to the city that an unsuspecting visitor could leave the city and enter the village without realizing it. We have already mentioned the survival difficulties of the Fulni-ô, despite being the owners of their land. Over the years, the land was divided into lots that were given to each Fulni-ô family , but they were not used to agricultural work and to own the land individuallyTherefore, today, few Fulni-ô cultivate the land or have livestock. While most of them lease their land to non-Indian farmers and ranchers. Few Fulni-ô have a specialized profession.. There are FUNAI employees, who live relatively well, some traders of essential goods, service providers, such as shoemakers, bricklayers, etc. Most, however, live by making handicrafts out of seeds, wood, and, especially, straw. Straw crafts, however, have declined considerably, and their survival is even threatened, as the typical palm tree of the region, used as raw material, *ouricuri (cocos coronata*), is believed to be in danger of extinction due to the unregulated deforestation. In addition to tools, such as brooms, mats, fans, bags, and baskets, the Fulni-ô also make decorative indigenous artifacts, which compensate for the reduction of the straw objects. The decorative crafts products are colored with lines and designs that seem typical of the Fulni-ô. Industrial aniline is used where previously dyes from various native plants that are now extinct were used, such as genipap, the fruit of the genipap tree (Tocoyena formosa) and urucum, the fruit of the annatto tree (Bixa orellana).

Almost all people in the village make crafts, but not all of them sell them or travel to cities. Some Fulni-ô play the role of "middleman". They collect the products from small artisans and resell them, in the village, to visiting tourists, at the city fair, or in the Brazilian cities where they travel.

Today, another way to sell their crafts is through the Internet, especially Instagram.

m, and can be found in various plant associations, growing well in humid floodplains. It occurs in the states of Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, and is considered endemic to the caatinga.



Fulni-ô man selling art crafts after a ceremony- photo of Giovanna Campani

VI. AN EXTENDED INTERCULTURAL CONTACT AND A SPECIFIC SYSTEM OF RESISTANCE. THE RITUALS

As we mentioned, the contact between the Fulni-ô and the colonial society first, and then the Brazilian state, is ancient. Jorge Hernandez Dias writes: "The Fulni-ô form one of the Brazilian indigenous groups with the longest contact with national society. For this reason, they were situated, together with the rest of the northeastern groups, at one end of a continuum "which has as its opposite pole the tribal populations that only in our days have established the first systematic contacts with representatives of Brazilian society (Amorim 1972:2)."(Hernandez Dias, 1993, pag.

76) The different anthropologists who have studied the Fulni-ô, as Arruti (2004), Hernandez Diaz (1993, 2015)[31]Reesink M and Reesink E. (2007), Reesink E(2016)[32] , Bittencourt (2022) have all pointed out their capacity to reject assimilation and preserve their identity, mainly through language and religious systematic rituals: "The Fulni-ô, despite some racial miscegenation, and dispossessed of their ancient lands by local politicians, preserve the language and customs of their ancestors, as well as their social cohesion" (Arruti, 2004, p. 237). According to Reesink and Reesink, during four centuries of 'cultural contact', the Fulni-ô, have developed ways of adapting and obtaining resources in a 'society of scarce resources' (Reesnik. Reesnik, 2007).

The Ya-tê language is very important: speaking Ya-tê, is an essential attribute for auto.defining as Fulni-ô. The Ya-tê allows them to differentiate from the white population and the other Indigenous tribes. Parents insist that children learn Ya-tê in the Indigenous school that has existed in the village for about twenty years (in the past the public school just taught Portuguese). The teaching of Ya-tê is oral. Only recently, Marilena Araújo, responsible for teaching Yathê at the Antônio José Moreira Bilingual School for almost 20 years, created the Yathê alphabet and wrote a school textbook to help children in the process of reading and writing the language.

The other form of resistance that allowed maintaining their identity are the rituals that, as the Fulni-ô believe, are not just a form of resistance, but also the cornerstone of their social life. They assert: "*Indigenous people live with rituals, rituals are the centre of life, rituals are first…they are the most important thing in our lives. The rest comes after.*" The cycle of life is organized around these rituals, playing a crucial role in ensuring social cohesion within the community. The Fulni-ô rituals, which involve dancing and singing, using various instruments, such as the maraca – tsaka – and the cowrie shells – khitxaka, are a testament to the strong sense of community that these rituals foster.

The traditional music of the Fulni-ô is known as *cafurnas*. The songs speak of daily life, the struggle to maintain identity and, above all, evoke spirituality, considered a fundamental element for mental and physical healing[33]. In the Aldeia Grande the performance of the cafurnas is accompanied by dances inspired by animals from the Pernambuco backlands. Children, as the future representatives s of Fulni-ô culture, learn these dances when they are very young and perform them in the Indigenous school, thereby ensuring the continuity of these traditions.

Singing cafurnas and dancing are rituals that can be opened to foreigners: they are performed in front of tourists visiting the Aldeia or in events organized during the trips all over the Brasil. According to Bittencourt (2022), these performances cannot be seen just as folkloristic, as the Fulni-ô send a powerful message to the tourists: "*In these indigenous tourism activities, the Fulni-ô, through their cafurnas and other cultural expressions, tell, sing and dance their ethnohistory, dramatizing indigenous life and providing pedagogical ways of teaching the "tourists" by highlighting how the indigenous people survived during years of invisibility. It is in this way that the Fulni-ô show that there are indigenous people in the Northeast of Brazil with a living language (yaathe) and plural models of exercising territorial autonomy.*" (Bittencourt, 2022)[34] The anthropologist concludes that canfurnas, crafts and corporal paintings are shamanic ways for the Fulni-ô to present their tradition. The shamanic rituals for the "outside"

[31] DÍAZ, Jorge Hernández. "Los Fulni-ô: lo sagrado del secreto. Construccíon y defesa de la identidad en un pueblo indígena del nordeste brasileño". Quito: Ed. Abya-Yala, 2015.

[32] REESINK, Edwin. O estado da arte na etnologia da economia simbólica das alteridades indígenas no Nordeste brasileiro das Terras Baixas da América do Sul. Projeto de Pesquisa, 2016.

[33] In December 2019, the UNESCO International Year of Indigenous Languages, the Agô Ancestridade label released the album Cafurnas Fulni-ô - Woxtonã Yaathelha Kefkyandodwa Kefte, which means "Come listen to Yaathe, our language that you have never heard", in free translation. The unprecedented recording of 14 songs in Yaathê featured 17 singers from the Fulni-ô people. https://www.encontroteca.com.br/grupo/cafurnas-fulni-o.

[34]https://periodicos.ufpe.br/revistas/index.php/revistaanthropologicasvisual/article/view/256870

world are separated from the internal rituals to which only they are admitted, as the Ouricuri.

It is a cultural norm among the Fulni-ô not to discuss the Ouricuri, the ritual that holds the key to their cultural identity. They believe that those who disrespect this conduct meet an untimely fate. This strict adherence to secrecy is a means of preserving the sanctity and mystery surrounding the traditional customs involved. As a result, only a portion of the ritual is accessible to the public. In the final weeks of August, preparations commence for the transition from the Aldeia Grande to the village Ouricuri, the site of the ritual, approximately 6 kilometers away. The Indigenous people gather in the aldeia Ouricuri, known as "the sacred place" – kexatkalya from [kexa] "place," [tka] "small" [ya] "sacred" – the small sacred village. From a spatial perspective, Aldeia Ouricuri,"the sacred place" – kexatkalya, is a small village in a more or less circular shape, where all the paths converge to the central courtyard, in front of which is the men's courtyard, the place where they retreat at nightfall. There, from September to November of each year, the members of the group "live like Indigenous" and only use the native language, Yaathe. During the ritual, the production of handicrafts is intensified, as the occasion is suitable for harvesting and handling the ouricuri straw. The participants' isolation also provides a place for gathering and exchanging knowledge between the elders and the new generations of Fulni-ô , ensuring the continuity of their cultural practices. During the ritual, the young Fulni-ô men are socialized in the knowledge and practices of Ouricuri, thus ensuring the perpetuation of their cultural heritage.

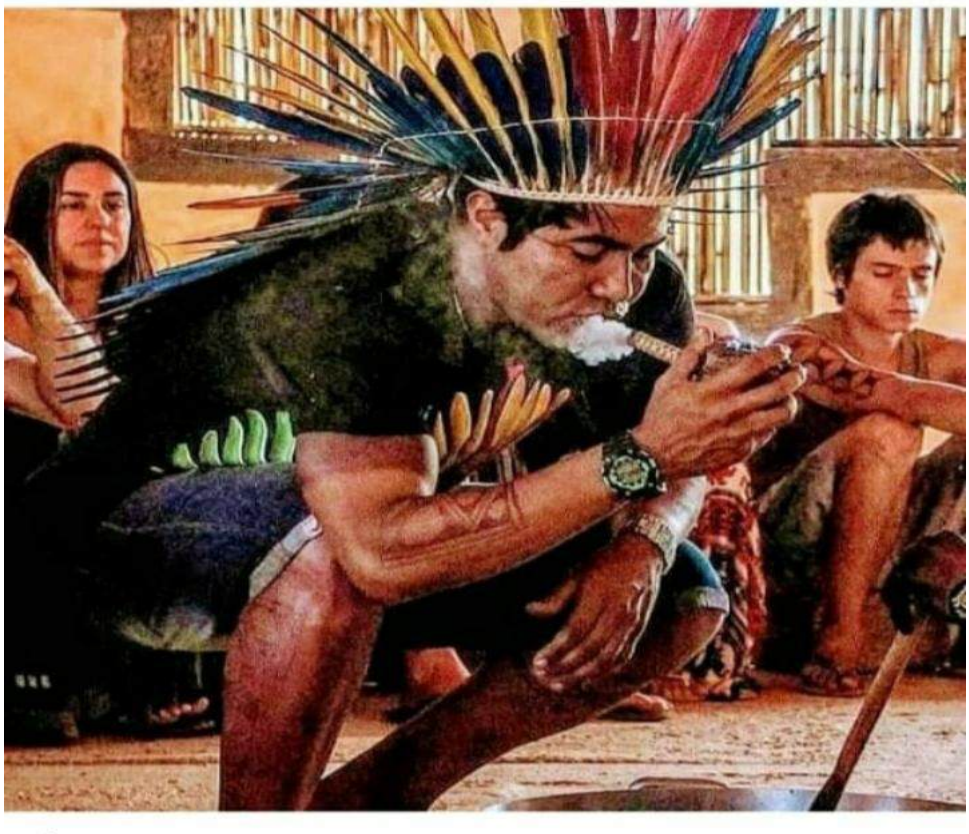
The Ouricuri ritual represents the religion of the Fulni-ô. While some Fulni-ô practice certain Catholic religious conventions, such as marriage and baptism, their primary religion is the Great Spirit. However they don't reject some aspects of Catholicism: for example, they hold respect for the Virgin Mary, whom they refer to as Asklan and have dedicated some songs to her.

Fulni o dances with turists, photo of Lidia Urani

VII. FROM THE ART CRAFTS TO THE CEREMONIES

"*Indigenous live of rituals, of ceremonies…*" There is in fact an overlap between activities such as telling stories about the tribe, teaching how to make handicrafts or to sing, and the shamanic rituals. However, the rituals that use the forest herbs -jurema and rape- to connect with the ancestors, the nature energies, the invisible world, need a special preparation. Tafquea, Fkydwa, Fakho, Xumayà, who organize the forest herbs ceremonies explain how they have been trained for a long time and then authorized by the "masters", namely the pajes of the Aldeia Grande. The training is especially important for the ritual of the jurema, a sacred drink made from plants (mainly Mimosa tenuiflora, previously called Mimosa Hostilis Benth). Considered as an entheogen, the jurema has a transformative power, and may lead to states of mystical transformation. The jurema ritual is ancient: a document written in Recife, and dated 1739, deals with its use by the indigenous people of the Paraíba missions.

Once they have got permission from the pajé, Tafquea, Fkydwa, Fakho, Xumayà didn't immediately perform the ceremonies, as they have to feel ready to do it in an environment that is not the village, and this takes time: "*At the beginning, I was not prepared at all…I had the permission, but I was not prepared …the "irmaos" gave me the energy to do the ceremonies.*" In order to do the ceremony, they need a special relationship with the non- indigenous that collaborate locally and find a ritual space with positive energy. The ritual space is generally found in one of the houses, but it can also be found outside, for example in the forest of Tijuca, more rarely by the sea. "*Here (in Rio) the Jurema ceremony is different than in the village. In the village is one thing, here is another one…but… if you mentalize, if you really concentrate…you feel the energy of the ancestors even here…and if there is a good energy, you can do it. Here in the house of the Parati ONG, I feel much energy, much good energy.*"



Ceremony at the Parati ONG, photo of Lidia Urani

Tafquea, Fkydwa, Fakho, Xumayà, insist that the strong relationship with the "irmaos" is good for having ceremonies in the case of the Casa da Aguia, the Casa da Coruja Branca and the Parati ONG. They speak of "irmaos de verdade" – that means that, in their case, the separation between indigenous and whites doesn't exist. . This special relationship has encouraged the readaptation of the ceremonies in an urban setting. The responsible of the Casa de la Coruja Branca taught the Fulni-ô that he considers his spiritual children () the North American shamanic traditions of the red path and especially the presence of the drum, whose beat represents the heartbeats and, depending on the speed, creates moments of intensity, opening the heart of the participants during the ceremony. He also taught fumigation with the eagle feather. Similar exchanges have taken place at the Parati Ong, whose responsible is trained to perform ceremonies. Still,Tafquea, Fkydwa, Fakho, Xumayà consider that Indigenous are able to establish stronger connections with the sacred world, because they have a different energy, compared to the white, when they perform shamanic ceremonies. They insist that shamanism is an indigenous ritual, not a thing of the whites…*"The medicine has more force when the indigenous gives it…it is just like this…there are such mysteries…*"

The Jurema ceremony performed in Rio de Janeiro is a fusion of the traditions of the Fulni-ô with other traditions, namely from Native Americans, elaborated in the New Age culture. The ceremony starts with the fumigation, then there are different songs. During the ceremony, the Jurema is offered with a time interval and up to 3 doses can be administered (small glass). This readapted ceremony can be defined as a sort of "bricolage". The critical approach to these practices, would suggest that the "bricolage" would correspond to a sort of market of spirituality. We would prefer to talk of a process of syncretism between the Indigenous traditions and the New Age movement in its multiple forms of spirituality The narratives that define the purposes of the ceremonies, shared by Indigenous and non-Indigenous, announce a transformative process where the they are all involved: "*Here in the civilization, the white men is like a son, a child, he has the possibility of having a nice life from the material… good life…but…he is not formed to spirituality, lacks the formation to spirituality…he is not capable of fighting the hazards of life. The difficulties arrive….He loses a job, money…and he gets depression…this is so stupid…he doesn't know any more the important things…connecting with the Great Spirit, connecting with the ancestors, our ancestralidade (ancestors), give value to the things of nature…of the earth…this is important…*".The Indigenous tradition can contribute to change the white men model of life. The comments of the non-indigenous people involved in the ceremonie go in the same direction: "*We have to understand their spirituality. It is important for us. For example, the ceremonies in their village called Ouricuri are a moment of total concentration in the Great Spirit. For them it is important to spend three months concentrating in God…this is unthinkable in the Western world…today…but it was possible in the past. We have lost spirituality. That's why they say that they have to heal the white man, who has completely forgotten spirituality. For them the white man has to enter slowly into the energy of the Indigenous.*"

"Comitiva" of Fulni O doing a ceremony in the forest of Tijuca, photo by Giovanna Campani

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

A critical point of view or approach may consider the readaptation of the Fulni-ô shamanic ceremonies in Rio de Janeiro as an exoticization of indigenous life and a form of bricolage. Our ethnographic work suggests a more complex view:, first of all, we highlight the cultural dynamism of the Fulni-ô who have demonstrated, over the centuries, an incredible spirit of resistance, for preserving their language and spiritual traditions thanks to their powerful rituals. They have resisted assimilation, even if they have gone through experiences -as the military – that normally play n important role of assimilation. They have resisted Christianization (and they still resist. No evangelical groups are in the Aldeia). The specificity of their rituals ensures cohesion and defines the separation from the "white men" and other indigenous groups.

Nevertheless, they have been able to find forms of compromise and exchange with the "white men", Brazilian society, while keeping the essential elements of their identity. Readapting to the reality that is external to the group is part of their history. Given the scarce resources of their land, they have developed several survival strategies based on the interaction with the "white men", the Brazilian society. Selling art crafts, performing dances and singing, is a way to earn the necessary resources for their survival: on one side they use their identity for marketing, but, on the other side, they show proudly their history of resistance to the non-indigenous.

As Reesink (2016) argues, the Fulni-ô have been able to keep their identity over the centuries through practices that demonstrate a 'continuity in transformation'. In the case of the shamanic ceremonies, we can talk of 'continuity in transformation:' moreover, readaptation is the result of an exchange with a group of non-indigenous people, who are questioning the materialistic aspects of modernity. being as well in a process of 'continuity in transformation'. In the case of the readaptation of the shamanic ceremonies, we are not facing an exoticization of the Indigenous, but moments of intercultural exchanges where the Indigenous discuss spiritual healing together with the "irmaos" and how to bring the core message of their spirituality to non-Indigenous groups. At the same time, the Fulni-ô learn how their rituals can be brought outside the village and verify their effectiveness in different settings, discovering the universality of their religion of the Great Spirit. While, selling their identity is suitable for the market, the readaptation of the ceremonies is beyond the market exchange: it is a search shared with non-Indigenous for a medicine that is good for life- everywhere, in the aldeia, in the Brazilian cities, in the whole world, for the relationship with the sacred and the nature. The outcome is the creation of a new form of syncretism, where indigenous shamanism becomes part of a new spirituality that is shared by large groups of people, independently from their origins.

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The Case for a Regulatory Policy Framework in Kenya: Insights from Overlaps and Conflicts in the Regulation of Engineering Professions

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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the regulatory overlaps and conflicts in the regulation of engineering professions in Kenya. It is based on the recognition that the engineering profession is very instrumental to national development. The review finds out that the overlaps have led to regulatory inconsistency and duplicity, and legal wrangles. To cure these anomalies the paper recommends the development of a regulatory policy framework based on the paradigm of whole-of-government approach and the concept of regulatory quality.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Institute of Civil Engineers (ICE) has modified Thomas Tredgold's classical definition of engineering into: "the art of working with the great sources of power in nature for the use and benefit of society"[1]. This definition places civil engineering, or any other engineering for that matter, at the centre of economic development. Nonetheless engineers themselves are a resource that a country must develop and manage to realize national developmental aspirations. Development and management of this critical human resource entail professional regulation.

Engineering's role in transformation of societies is indisputable. For instance, Kumar (1995) saw engineers as the main agents of development in colonial India. According to the Association of Professional Engineers Australia, human progress relies fundamentally on engineering (APEA n.d.). engineering is regarded as fundamental to almost every national goal. Cebr (2016 p 4) in a report to the Royal Academy of Engineering noted that: "With half the world living in poverty and millions of people without sufficient food or sanitation, engineering continues to have a key role to play in helping countries to progress across the world". The Cebr Report has given detailed overview of the role of engineering in economic development including the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This position has been reiterated by UNESCO (2021).

Kenya has a national development blueprint in the form of vision 2030, that seeks to transform the country into "a newly-industrializing, middle income country providing a high quality of life to all its citizens in a clean and secure environment" (Republic of Kenya 2007a). The blueprint identifies strategic elements in terms of foundation for socio-economic development and economic and social pillars of development as summarized in Table 1.

[1] https://www.newcivilengineer.com/archive/defining-civil-engineering-12-02-2018/

Table 1: Strategic features of vision 2030

Feature	Item
Foundation	infrastructure, Science, technology, and innovation Human resource development Security Public service
Economic Pillars	tourism Agriculture Wholesale and manufacturing Business process outsourcing/offshoring Financial services
Social Pillars	education and training Health care delivery Water and sanitation Environmental management Gender youth and vulnerable groups Housing and urbanization Social equity and poverty reduction

From the Table we can see that engineers will be involved directly in some of the items like technology and innovation, agriculture, manufacturing, water and sanitation, housing and practically in all of them through provision of infrastructure. This makes engineering a critical profession for national development in Kenya.

However, engineering like professions such as accounting, architecture and medicine require high degree of integrity and accountability. Since we cannot move forward without the professional input of engineers, their practice must be regulated for better outcomes in society and economy. According to Naiyaga (2011) there are three basic objectives for regulating engineers:

- Legislative Efficiency; to have a comprehensive, consistent statutory registration system for engineers that would alleviate inconsistencies across jurisdictions
- Professional Recognition; so that the set of standards and skills expected of the engineers are maintained
- Industry/Consumer Efficiency; to provide consumers with the level of experience and skills that is required of the engineer.

This study deals with the legislative efficiency of the regulation of engineering professions in Kenya. It examines the actual and potential conflicts entailed in the jurisdictional overlaps of the agencies and statutes involved in the regulation of engineering professions in Kenya. After highlighting this regulatory inefficiency (or inconsistencies) it proceeds to propose a policy remedy in the form of a regulatory policy framework.

II. REGULATORY OVERLAP AND CONFLICT

It is important to note that much of the studies in regulation concern industry regulation. This primarily involve competition and sector regulatory laws. Hence regulatory conflict literature is dominated by studies of conflict between competition agencies and sector regulators or competition and economic regulation. The grounding treatise on the theory regulatory overlap and conflict was written by Haines and Gurney (2003): *The Shadows of the Law: Contemporary Approaches to Regulation and the Problem of Regulatory Conflict*. This work pointed out that conflict between sector regulators is also possible; arising from differing regulatory ideologies attributed to different regulatory regimes or bodies. It is this kind of conflict that this study deals with albeit in the lesser studied field of professional regulation.

Haines and Gurney (2003) made a strong case for bringing regulatory conflict to the centre stage of regulation studies because conflict had remained undertheorized. Their study did this demonstratively, by considering the ideological conflicts between the Trade Practices Act and the Occupational Health and Safety Act in Australia after reckoning that regulatory scholarship mainly focused on:

- Improving compliance at the generic level
- Maximizing compliance with a single regulatory goal e.g. improved environmental standards
- Occupational health and safety
- Competition and economic regulation

In this context, conflict when considered, was understood to be between compliance and self-interest or profit, with the assumed moral rightness of improving compliance. The study further noted that regulation scholars tended to avoid the study of conflict because its nature was politically problematic and instead shifted attention to regulatory competition rather than harmonization whenever regulatory overlaps occurred. Therefore, it underscored the need for scholars of regulation to research on conflicts, their impacts on regulatee and methods of resolution of such conflicts.

It is in the light of this that we consider overlap in the regulation of engineering professions in Kenya and the regulatory conflict it generated, how the conflict affected the engineering schools, graduates and students and a proposal toward resolution of such conflicts. The solution to such conflicts entails regulatory reforms. Regulatory reforms have been pushed through ''better regulation" which is associated with the New Public Management (NPM) paradigm (see Radaelli and Meuwese 2009) and ''quality regulations" associated with Whole-of-Government (WOG) paradigm (see OECD 2011). According to Christensen and Lægreid (2006a, 2007) the global trend of regulatory reform has moved from the NPM to the WOG paradigm. Therefore, this study embraces the WOG paradigm to be up to date in the reform considerations.

In the next two sections we consider two vignettes of regulatory overlaps and conflicts experienced in the regulation of engineering professions in the recent past. Thereafter we shall use the WOG/regulatory quality approach to advance a solution to such conflicts in the form of a regulatory policy framework.

III. VIGNETTE I: LEGAL WRANGLES IN THE REGULATION OF ENGINEERS

A landmark regulatory conflict that took legislative and judicial dimensions was triggered in the realm of regulation of engineering professions when two related petitions were brought before the High Court. This involved High Court Petition No. 149 of 2011 by Jesse Waweru Wahome and 42 others against ERB, Egerton University, Ministry of Higher Education Science and Technology, and Commission for Higher Education (CHE). The second, High Court Petition No. 207 of 2011, pitted Martin Wanderi and 11 others against Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Moi University, ERB, The Permanent Secretary Ministry of Higher Education Science and Technology, and CHE. Both cases were consolidated heard and determined by the High Court. Basically, the two cases involved graduates from Egerton and Masinde Muliro universities who had been denied registration by ERB as graduate engineers on the account that ERB had not accredited the engineering programmes offered by the respective universities.

Two fundamental issues were raised in the litigations. The first one concerns the petitioners' and the universities' argumentation that ERB had no mandate to accredit university programmes. CHE on the other hand absolved itself by arguing that it only regulated private universities. Public universities were autonomously regulated each by its own incorporating statute. These two positions led to interesting statutory developments and litigations regarding the regulation of engineers.

As the matter dragged in court, the Engineers Registration Act (Republic of Kenya 2009) was repealed and replaced by the Engineers Act no. 43 of 2011, that came into force on 14th September 2012 (Republic of Kenya 2012a). In the new legislation, the regulator corrected the lacunae earlier on identified to give itself the sole authority to accredit engineering schools in Kenya see no. 6 of Table 5 under extraprofessional functions. Meanwhile the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology also saw it fit to transform CHE into an overall regulator of

university education. This led to the enactment of new statute, the Universities Act no. 42 of 2012, that transformed CHE into Commission for University Education (CUE) (Republic of Kenya 2012b). This legislation disbanded CHE, repealed the autonomous university statutes and placed all public and private universities under the accreditation and regulation of CUE.

Meanwhile, given to fear of the legal ensconcement of ERB's successor the EBK as the accrediting authority for engineering schools, the second petitioners filed another case in the high court to scuttle the regulators strategy on the basis that the Engineers Act no. 43 of 2011 was unconstitutional. In Petition No. 248 of 2012, Martin Wanderi & 19 others versus Engineers Registration Board and 5 others, the contention was that Section 7(1)(l) that gave EBK power to accredit engineering schools alongside other two Sections rendered the new law unconstitutional. However, the presiding Judge ruled that the said Section had been repealed by the enactment of the Universities Act no. 42 of 2012.

In order to implement Section 7 (1) (l) the regulators had shored up EBK's position. For instance, at section 46 the Act criminalized the "statutory independence" of universities by making it an offence to teach engineering courses without accreditation by the EBK. It stated that: "A person who, being in charge of a training institution which is not recognised by the Board as an institution registered or seeking registration [...] commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a fine of five million shillings or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years, or both" (Republic of Kenya 2012a p E9—21).

Eventually when the initial case came to determination, the presiding Judge ruled that there was no clause in the Engineers Registration Act that empowered ERB to accredit engineering schools. This was appealed up to the Supreme Court but the latter upheld the High Court ruling. Despite this outcome the tussle between EBK and CUE on who should accredit engineering programmes continued unabated and universities were caught at the crossroads. This led to the amendment of the Universities Act to settle the scores once and for all. The Universities (Amendment) Act No. 48 of 2016 addressed itself elaborately to the issue of accreditation.

In this case amendments were made stating that: "If there is a conflict between the provisions of this Act and the provisions of any other Act in matters relating approval or accreditation of academic programmes offered by universities, the provisions of this Act shall prevail". Further on it criminalized the accreditation activities of the EBK by making provisions that: "A person who without the authority of the Commission under this Act purports to license, accredit, recognise, audit, inspect, index students or collect a fee or a charge from a university or a student commits an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding two million shillings or imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or both" (Republic of Kenya 2016 p. 1187).

This legal wrangle exposes Parliament of Kenya as a chaotic and inconsistent house that passes any law brought to its floor without regard to any entailed incoherence. In 2011/2012 it passed two contradictory laws regarding the regulation of engineers: Engineers Act no. 43 of 2011 and the Universities Act no. 42 of 2012. According to the OECD (2009 p 32) Parliament ''can play a key role in helping strengthen regulatory quality". As the institution that approves regulatory legislation it can ''exercise oversight and control over the application of better regulation principles for new and amended regulation" (OECD 2009 p 32). However, the Kenyan Parliament seems to be making uncoordinated legislative decisions.

IV. VIGNETTE II: STATUTORY OVERLAPS IN ENGINEERING REGULATION

The judicial conflict discussed in Vignette I was based on the Engineers Registration Act that created the ERB. Before it was repealed in 2011, it formed the legal basis for the regulation of both engineers and technician engineers. Its repeal led to the commencement of two separate statutes, one regulating engineers, the Engineers Act no. 43 of 2011 and the other regulating technician engineers, Engineering Technology Act No 23 of 2016 (Republic of Kenya 2016b). The former

created EBK while the latter created Kenya Engineering Technology Registration Board (KETRB) as the regulating body. Table 2 presents the regulatory overlaps of both boards.

Table 2: Regulatory overlaps and the engineering professions

Regulatory Powers of EBK	Regulatory Powers of KETRB
1. Enter and inspect sites where construction, installation, erection, alteration, renovation, maintenance, processing or manufacturing works are in progress for the purpose of verifying that a. Professional engineering services and works are undertaken by registered persons under this Act; b. Standards and professional ethics and relevant health and safety aspects are observed; 2. Assess, approve or reject engineering qualifications of foreign persons intending to offer professional engineering services or works; 3. Evaluate other engineering programmes both local and foreign for recognition by the Board; 4. Enter and inspect business premises for verification purposes or for monitoring professional engineering works services and goods rendered by professional engineers; 5. Instruct, direct or order the suspension of any professional engineering services works, projects, installation process or any other engineering works, which are done without meeting the set out standards; 6. Approve and accredit engineering programs in public and private universities and other tertiary level educational institutions offering education in engineering; 7. Plan, arrange, co-ordinate and oversee continuing professional training and development and facilitate internship of graduate engineers;	1. Enter and inspect sites where construction, installation, erection, alteration, renovation, maintenance, processing or manufacturing works are in progress for the purpose of verifying that a. Engineering professional services and works are undertaken by registered persons b. Standards and professional ethics and relevant health and safety aspects are observed, in line with Occupational Safety and Health Act, (No. 15 of 2007) 2. Assess, approve or reject engineering technology qualifications of foreign persons intending to offer engineering technology professional services or works in Kenya; 3. Enter and inspect business premises for verification purposes or for monitoring works, services and goods rendered by professional engineering technologists; 4. Recommend for the suspension of any engineering technology professional services, works, projects, installation process or any other engineering technology works, which are done without meeting the standards; 5. Plan, arrange, co-ordinate and oversee professional training and facilitate internship of engineering technologists;

From the Table we may observe that the regulatory powers read the same in most cases. Take for instance entry number 1 for both boards. They are given regulatory power to do the same thing which already constitute an overlap in their regulatory jurisdictions. At a. they are supposed to inspect construction sites to ensure that the workers involved are registered by respective board. In the near past, it was reported in one of the dailies that KETRB is seeking funding to enable it to achieve what it considers its mandate, regulation of the construction industry[2]. According to the Chairperson of the board the major challenge of the housing sector was the employment of unregistered technicians, technologists, and artisans that made it impossible to prosecute those at fault in the case of a building collapsed. Although from a technical point of view, the collapse of a building cannot be

[2] https://www.the-star.co.ke/business/2019-07-17-new-state-agency-seeks-fund-to-regulate-construction-industry/

attributed solely to poor workmanship but to many factors including quality of materials (regulated by the Kenya Bureau of Standards), the contractor (regulated by National Construction Authority) and the Building Code implemented by a city or town's building regulations inspectorate.

At b. there is an overlap between the two boards too, and an overlap between them and other regulatory institutions. In the instance of the Occupational Safety and Health Act that RBK implicitly and KTRB explicitly seek to enforce, its descriptive title says that it is "an Act of Parliament to provide for the safety, health and welfare of workers and all persons lawfully present at workplaces, to provide for the establishment of the National Council for Occupational Safety and Health and for connected purposes" (Republic of Kenya 2007b). This description implies that the legislation is meant to deal with all work environments even where no engineering practice is taking place which puts it outside the jurisdiction of regulation of professions. Additionally, from the described scope, the legislation created its own regulatory agency, the National Council for Occupational Safety and Health (NCOSH), to oversee its implementation. This means, therefore, that the operations of EBK, KETRB and NCOSH are going to clash. Section 23 of the Act has clearly stated that:

- There shall be a Director of Occupational Safety and Health Services who shall be responsible for the administration of this Act,
- The Director shall be, (a) an ex officio member of the Council but shall have no right to vote; and (b) the secretary of the Council.

So here is a case where the drafters of the engineering regulation law did not consider the provisions of other sector Acts to eliminate overlap and potential regulatory conflicts.

Number 2 for both bodies is to do with assessing and approving foreign qualifications. This will overlap with the mandate of Kenya National Qualifications Authority (KNQA) set up to coordinate and harmonize education, training, assessment, and quality assurance. The overlap in number 3 and number 6 for EBK, has been removed by the settlement of the regulatory conflict that had erupted between ERB and the regulators of university education as has been discussed in the preceding section.

Number 4 for EBK and number 3 for KETRB, also number 5 for EBK and number 4 for KETRB are regulatory ambitions that will lead to straying into the jurisdictions of many agencies as they tend to cut across two major sectors of the economy i.e. the construction and manufacturing sectors. Furthermore, the boards should be concerned with the regulation of engineering practice, not products. They should set standards for practice of engineering not for production of goods. Product standards are the jurisdictions of other relevant agencies. In the instance of the construction sector, some of the agencies that regulate the construction product are shown on Table 3.

Number 5 for KETRB and number 7 for EBK are legitimate regulatory duties but taking control of internship creates a monopolistic management of the qualification process that may then create conflicts with actors in other jurisdictions.

Table 3: Regulatory agencies in the construction sector

Regulator	Mandate
Communication Authority of Kenya information	To approve projects concerning the construction of and communication related infrastructure
County Governments	To issue Development Permission and approvals under physical planning Act To issue Building approvals under the building code

Energy Regulatory Commission	To approve any construction of infrastructure in the energy sector
National Environmental Management construction projects Authority	To issue Environmental Impact Licence for
National Construction Authority	To promote and ensure quality assurance in the construction industry To encourage the standardisation and improvement of construction techniques and materials To accredit and register contractors and regulate their professional undertakings To accredit and certify skilled construction workers and construction site supervisors
construction	To develop and publish a code of conduct for the industry

Whereas the overlaps in Vignette I reveal inconsistency in the development of regulatory law, the overlaps in Vignette II expose duplicity. For instance, in the case of occupational safety and health three agencies (EBK, KETRB and NCOSH) will draw money from the exchequer to implement the requirements of the Occupational Safety and Health Act. In Vignette I, inconsistency led to legal wrangles, here inconsistency has led to duplicity and potential waste of public funds.

V. THE CONCEPT OF REGULATORY QUALITY

From the empirical evidence on the practice of implementation of engineers' regulation, it is possible to evaluate the regulatory framework and establish its quality mark. Arndt et al. (2016) see regulation as an essential instrument for governments to attain policy objectives. In the case of regulation of engineering professions in Kenya, the positive premise is that the government wants to achieve public interest by ruling out market imperfections and presenting the consumer of engineering services with a standardized service. This will ensure a series of public benefits.

According to Arndt et al. (2016), if regulation is designed and implemented well, it can promote economic growth, increase social welfare, and enhance the quality of life. This would engender high quality; conversely low quality is associated with regulation that is not well designed and implemented. Therefore, quality matters in regulation. Quality is associated with the notion of good governance.

What is regulatory quality? This term was introduced in the literature of regulation by the OECD. According to OECD (2015) regulatory quality concerns "enhancing the performance, cost effectiveness, and legal quality of regulation and administrative formalities". From this definition we can see regulatory quality as a policy concept that can be applied as a guiding principle in the reform of regulations. Our scope here is limited to the last aspect of quality. Nevertheless, the notion of regulatory quality covers process, concerned with how regulations are developed and enforced, and the outcomes. Under outcomes regulatory quality seeks to achieve:

- Regulations that are effective at achieving their objectives,
- Regulations that are efficient (do not impose unnecessary costs),
- Regulations that are coherent (when considered within the full regulatory regime)
- Regulations that are simple (regulations themselves and the rules for their implementation are clear and easy to understand for users).

In this context we are focusing on the aspect of coherence in evaluating the quality of regulation of the engineering professions in Kenya.

The principles of regulatory quality were first laid down in the 1995 OECD's Recommendation of the Council on Improving the Quality of Government Regulation that provided a Reference Checklist for Regulatory Decision Making where the principle of consistency was included (see OECD 2021). One of the stated attribute quality regulation should have is to be "consistent with other regulations and policies". Since then, regulatory quality has featured a lot in many OECD documents on regulation and governance where the principle of consistency has been underscored. Follow up documents include:

- The 1997 OECD Report on Regulatory Reform (OECD 1997)
- The 2005 Guiding Principles for Regulatory Quality and Performance (OECD 2005)
- The 2012 Recommendation of the Council on Regulatory Policy and Governance (OECD 2012)

In the 2012 Recommendation of the Council on Regulatory Policy and Governance, for instance, recommendation number 10 calls upon OECD countries to identify cross-cutting regulatory issues at all levels of government and "promote coherence between regulatory approaches and avoid duplication or conflict of regulations". This is a reiteration of the principle of consistency.

The principle of consistency has been replicated elsewhere. For instance, the principle of consistency is included in the Regional Charter for Regulatory Quality for the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. The charter is a non-binding set of policy framework that MENA countries may rely on to integrate principles of regulatory quality into their policy-making process. One of the principles included in the 8 points document is that regulations must be "consistent with other regulations and policies".

The principle of consistency is one of the things lacking in the design of regulatory tools in Kenya as demonstrated by the empirical evidence above. It is one of the items that must be mainstreamed in the regulatory policy making in the country.

VI. WHOLE-OF-GOVERNMENT APPROACH

Whole-of-Government Approach (WGA) is one of the contemporary reform initiatives that seek to improve performance of public management institutions, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries (see Christensen and Lægreid 2007). In its E-Government Survey of 2012, the UN defined whole-of-government as "the movement from isolated silos in public administration to formal and informal networks". On the other hand, Hood (2005) see whole-of-government concept as a new label for the old doctrine of coordination in public administration.

According to Ling (2002) whole-of-government is an umbrella term referring to government's initiatives meant to address the problem of increased fragmentation of the public sector with the main objective to increase coordination among other things. Further WGA can be used for boundary management in the policy sector. Colgan, Kennedy and Doherty (2014 p 5) in their primer on implementing whole of government approaches noted that:

"In complex policy implementation, the boundaries between Government departments, between policy-makers and implementation bodies, and between levels (national and local, policy-makers and front-line personnel, administrative and professional personnel) must be managed if implementation is to be effective".

WGA is one of the administrative procedures that can be used to mainstream consistency in the construction of regulatory statutes in Kenya since it engenders coordination and boundary management that seem to be lacking in government institutions. WGA has been applied to regulatory reforms (see Christensen and Lægreid 2006b). For instance, when Mexico was facing inconsistent and overlapping regulations (Malyshev n.d.), it applied WGA to resolve this problem by developing a regulatory policy framework (OECD 2014).

VII. CONCLUSION: TOWARD REGULATORY POLICY FRAMEWORK

Regulatory policy refers to the rules, processes, and institutions put in place for designing, implementing, and evaluating regulations (OECD, 2015). Regulatory policy has been championed as key element of public sector reform in the OECD countries. Its objective is to ensure that regulations and regulatory frameworks are: justified, of good quality and fit for purpose (OECD 2014). This would ensure regulations achieve public interest and support economic development. In terms of public governance, regulatory policy helps shape the relationship between the state (regulator), the citizen (consumer) and businesses (regulatee) (OECD 2014).

Mexico is one of the OECD countries that has developed a formal policy on "better regulations" by enacting administrative procedure law (OECD 2014). This law established a national agency to oversee regulatory reform. The policy defines the responsibilities of the national oversight body, the line ministries and the regulators. Additionally, it established tools for regulatory improvement including the regulatory impact assessment. Ex ante regulatory impact assessment would be instrumental in bringing up and eliminating potential areas of inconsistency, overlap and fragmentation (Malyshev 2006).

In Kenya the act of deregulation and re-regulation of engineers' practice may be construed as regulatory reform. Therefore the repeal of the existing engineers Act and replacement by two new Acts was an attempt at regulatory improvement that was being conducted without the guidance of any policy framework. Guided by the principles of regulatory quality, the practice of whole-of-government approach and the experience of Mexico, Kenya can now develop its own regulatory policy framework that would help in ruling out inconsistency, overlap and fragmentation and hence achieve coherence, and coordination of its regulatory governance. This would be instrumental for achieving its developmental goal of becoming "a newly-industrializing, middle income country providing a high quality of life to all its citizens in a clean and secure environment".

Conflict of Interest Statement

Author wishes to state that there is no conflict of interest.

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The Cry of a Delta: A Postcolonial Eco-Critical Study of Amitav Ghosh's Gun Island

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ABSTRACT

Extreme urbanization and industrialization have become a direct threat to the environment and the communities associated with it. By establishing historical parallels between the lives of residents of the Sundarbans and other cities across the world, Amitav Ghosh's novel Gun Island (2019) explores modern issues like climate change, migration, cultural and geographical shifts of migrants and employs myths, stories, symbolism, metaphors, and lavish narrative. This study examines Gun Island to show how humans and the environment have traditionally been linked in civilizations such as the Sundarbans, and how, when forced to migrate, this relationship and the people of the land, along with their cultures, dislocate to newer possibilities. The study also looks at how 'the past,' in the form of memories, myths, and traditions may keep a society and its residents intact even when they are in a foreign land. Furthermore, the study emphasizes the global reach of ecological crises to demonstrate how human and non-human lives are adversely impacted when a culture or a civilization collapses.

Keywords: gun island, environmental crisis, culture, migration, sundarbans, legends.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Nature critical in humanity's development has sync with the demands of time and age, fulfilled human desires. The unidirectional acquisition of resources from nature has resulted in the damped economic, social and political conditions of postcolonial societies, thus putting forth an argument for immediate need of its conservation. Upamanyu Mukherjee in his *Postcolonial Environments* (2010) sees Postcolonial as:

> Not the sign of a clean historical break between the era of modern Euro-north American colonial domination and that of Asian, African, Latin American and Oceanic national self- determination; but rather as a historical condition of intensified and sustained exploitation of the majority of humans and non-humans of the former colonies by a cartel composed of their own and 'core' metropolitan European/north American elites. (Mukherjee 2010).

While connecting Postcolonial with the Environment of today time, Graham Haggan and Helen Tiffin's essay "*Green Postcolonialism*" (2007) establishes the fundamentals of the two being interrelated, and their connection with cultures of the land in former colonies compared with their colonial masters. For they write, "Different cultures, with very different notions of time, all found themselves on the lower rungs of the ladder of progress, wrenched out of a time of land and ancestry and subjected to the exigencies of Greenwich Mean Time" (Haggan and Tiffin 2007). Left with scant natural resources and a massive population to feed and provide, the resourcefully depleted nations face crisis way harder to deal, "especially in the so-called third world one cannot talk about saving environment while ignoring the requirements of human lives and communities" (Shiva 1989).

Sundarbans, in the east of India, is a place where natural resources, human civilisation and continuous infrastructural advancements amalgamate. The confluence of the Ganga, the

Brahmaputra and the Meghna rivers, 4.5 million human population and more than 2000 species of flora and fauna, it is the world's largest delta plain spread across Bangladesh and India. Ecological imbalances led by modernisation and industrialization result in dying ecology, sinking island and migration. Shiva acknowledges that "...the growth of capitalism, and now the trans-national corporations, exacerbated the dynamic begun under colonialism which has destroyed sustainable local environment and cultures" (Shiva 1989). Stimulated by such ruthless speed of growth, the effects of climate change and global warming are visible across the globe. The places that Ghosh shapes his stories around in the novels are all under serious threat of biodiversity loss. Lakritz estimates that "by the year 2100, 11 cities including Dhaka and Venice could disappear forcing millions to displace because of rising sea level. Similarly, by the same time, the world's oceans will likely lose about one-sixth of its marine life" (Lakritz 2019). "Sundarbans too would experience severe storms, floods, diseases, food security and mass displacement with rising sea level and temperature gains" (Muller 2020).

Amitav Ghosh through *Gun Island* brings the dynamics and diversity of Sundarbans into the literary circle focusing on the human-animal interferences and confrontations. This novel extends Ghosh's call for environment protection and "the need of looking at this newer direction of discourse" (Ghosh 2016) which he had earlier propagated in *Glass Palace* (2000) and *Hungry Tides* (2004), the novels of his transitional years[1]. He also examines his earlier established belief from *The Great Derangement* (2016), a non-fiction commentary on importance of global environmental studies and its universality with each human, in this novel.

> To imagine other forms of human existence is exactly the challenge that is posed by the climate crisis: for if there is one thing that global warming has made perfectly clear it is that to think about the world only as it is amounts to a formula for collective suicide. We need, rather, to envision what it might be. (Ghosh 2016)

He talks about "the inability of the present generation to grasp the scale and violence of climate change and posits that this is reflected in the literature of our time, in the recording of history and in the political ambience of our day," (Vincent 2018). After *Hungry Tide*, Amitav Ghosh has begun to address the role of the novel for the representation of climate change more systematically. His narrative in *Hungry Tides* provides:

> A perfect imaginative and even mythic expression of the historical and empirical reality of the Sundarbans today, where decades of 'conservation' and 'development' work have produced a drastically impoverished environment where humans and non-humans must engage in deadly competition in order to survive. (Mukherjee 121)

Through *Gun Island*, the emphasis and necessity of the human-nature relationship combining with the histories, traditions and legends of the place are brought to forefront. All living things are connected in a close pact by the subtle yet distinctive comparison and reflection of migration experienced by creatures like snakes, dolphins, spiders, and others as a result of changes in their habitat. This change is one of the downsides of unethical treatment from institutions created by humans, such as dams, refineries, and other industries, and their unchecked and unchallenged supremacy. The change has also been supported by Baruah in Baysal's *Apocalyptic Visions in the Anthropocene and the Rise of Climate Fiction* (2021), where she argues that "humanity has become a decisive geological and climatological force... through the natural becoming, as it were, dangerously out of bounds, in extreme and unprecedented weather events, ecosystems being simplified, die-back, or collapse". (Baruah 113)

According to Rose Deller "Ghosh contends that the contemporary novel, using narrow scales of time and space that rarely exceed more than a

[1] Transitional Years: 2000-2004.

human lifespan, is neglectful of climate change" ("The Great" 2020). Therefore, in *Gun Island* he raises some important questions such as; how humans and environment have been historically connected in postcolonial societies? Why this connection, in the case of Sundarbans, has become an inevitable situation of confrontation while migrating? And, how do environmental issues aligning with native societies and cultures affect the modern discourse on (dis)location of Culture? Ghosh encounters, examines and conclusively tries to provide a solution-driven disposal to all such questions through *Gun Island*.

This paper examines all the major consequences of global ecological crisis as highlighted by Ghosh in the novel and their causing factors across the globe. In following three sections, it analyses the novel to study how humans and environment have an unparalleled bond in societies like Sundarbans and how, when forced to migrate, this connection and the people of the land, dislocate along with their cultures to newer possibilities. It looks at the different ways in which the past, in forms of memories, stories, and legends keeps a society and its inhabitants intact even in a foreign land. Furthermore, it highlights the universal outreach of environmental crisis, and resulting migration, and how when a society or a civilization falls, human as well as non-human lives are severely affected.

1.1 Rise and Fall of Sundarbans

Ghosh's disposition, with some minor changes, has been constant throughout his writing career. With newer writings of *The Great Derangement* and *Gun Island* , "Ghosh puts together human sufferings, displacement, race-relations, and a strong craving for re-identifications" (Kundu 2014) as the primary driving factors in his stories. From the twenty-first century onwards, Ghosh found a wider spectrum for narrating his stories and at the same time drawing people's attention towards the atrocities hurled at Nature and the communities associated with it. In an interview with Amitav Ghosh, "Between the Walls of Archives and Horizons of Imagination," Mahmood Kooria reports that "the novelist's approach to the past through the eyes of characters is substantially different from the approach of historians" ("Between" 2013). This is due to the fact that Amitav Ghosh belongs to Bengal and has travelled through different cities and countries to be well acquainted with the cultures, practices and histories around those places. Kooria also notes that "Ghosh's history is extremely personal but not isolated in itself. It takes other fields like political narrative, colonial imperialism, religion and sociology into account and then the final product comes out" ("Between" 2013).

A dynamic society, like Sundarbans, differs from its larger geographical recognition, India or Bangladesh, in many facets of human identity. Although some smaller communities do manage to get the language, religion and practices of their unified self, or the larger state, the composite Sundarbans on the other hand remained somewhat unattached to the monotonicity (one way flow) of it. Historically, it was a part of Indian subcontinent comprising present day Bangladesh and the Indian state of West Bengal. Mukherjee describes it as:

> One of those areas of the world where the lie of the land mocks the absurdity of international treaties, because it is virtually impossible to enforce border laws on a territory that constantly shifts, submerges and resurfaces with the ebb and flow of the tide. (*Postcolonial Environment* 108)

"Evidences of human ingress, in the form of proto-urban settlements, dating back to the Mauryan period, have been highlighted in discussions of Sundarbans' history" (Pandit 2013). The Mauryan period, which encompassed most of the Indian sub-continent in 321-326 BC, laid emphasis on management of forest classifying them based on their intended use. The Sundarbans was also part of the area managed by the empire. A few centuries afterwards during the time of Indo-Turkish rule (1204-1595), the region is known to be "inhabited by the Bengali Hindu caste of Pod in the west and Chandals in the east, which practiced fishing as livelihood" (Dey 2018). This timeline matches the origin of the legend

from *Gun Island* too, "with a merchant Chand Sadagar, building a city in the Baghmara Forest Block" (Chowdhury 1991). This character interestingly becomes the centre of *Gun Island*, inspired by whose travels Ghosh shapes his narrative and subsequent arguments.

The Sundarbans has traditionally been a hub of the Silk Route where tradition and culture flourished alongside economics. Even after the partition of, firstly, India and then East Pakistan into Bangladesh, Sundarbans maintained an identity of its own. In Ghosh's *The Glass Palace* (2000), the Irrawaddy River serves as a witness to the materialistic exploitation of colonial times when timber, ivory and precious stones were transported through the river ways to the British Empire. In the *Ibis Trilogy–The Sea of Poppies* (2008), *The River of Smoke* (2011) and *Flood of Fire* (2012) – the ocean is the lieu of maritime trade affecting politics on land, agricultural production and environmental policy making. Ghosh lays bare the colonial intent of the British in the nineteenth century monopolizing the waterways like the rivers and seas to transport Opium from the East to the West (Vincent 2021). Gun Island continues to be a contentious border territory where trafficking in people, animals, and goods is frequent while also providing the necessary food, shelter, and raw materials for its enormous population.

While placing the Sundarbans at the centre, Ghosh's propagation and understanding is two-fold. Primarily, it's not just Sundarbans being affected because of climate change and its dramatic yet drastic consequences. Secondly, and the most important one, the idea of environment and society being coinciding and co-existing is not a new one as the "understanding of 'environment' as an integrated network of human and non-human agents acting historically is derived from a dialogue with a variety of critical traditions across the globe" (Mukherjee 2010).

During the course of the novel as we dwell deeper into the story, the route of continuous oppression and exploitation of Sundarbans lays bare open. Once a glorious centre of trade and commerce as Ghosh recounts, "the Sundarbans are the frontiers where commerce and the wilderness look each other directly in the eye; that's exactly where the war between profit and Nature is fought" (*Gun Island* 8), it has become an epicentre of human exodus in the last decade. The delta region, presently, has changed into a barren ruin "where opportunities are minuscule and people are forced with no other option but move (60). The tussle, from the outside, looks insignificant and incomprehensible as to why would anyone want to stay? But to the people who have lived there for generations, have learned through time to know each and every way around the place and are connected with the land in socio-political and emotional manners, it is "an identity they cannot get unattached to" (8). Moyna, Neelima and many others like them have made the Sundarbans and neighbouring areas as their permanent home and just as a parent or a child cannot leave the other one at their worst, The Sundarbans has grown with people to be their family they cannot leave.

Therefore, "the downfall of The Sundarbans from a prosperous trade centre to a damped wasteland is a process which is soon going to be of irreversible nature, if not worked upon, and will lead to greater speed of displacement" (92). Through *Gun Island*, Ghosh has shown how this downfall is also significant with respect to the thousand of species the delta region is home too. A whole community could lose their generational homes, their revered identity, centuries old customs and practices and their place on the maps and memories of the world.

1.2 (Dis) Location of Culture

Ghosh in *Gun Island* propagates the idea of Tiffin where she "[a]rgues the need to bring postcolonial and ecological issues together as a means of challenging continuing imperialistic modes of social and environmental dominance" (Tiffin 8). The local histories and traditions in India vary from places to places but their importance remains ever unmatched. Ghosh uses a legend, particular to Sundarbans, and through it, addresses the modern problems the world face. "Bonduki Saudagar, bangla for gun merchant, is a legendary character whose travels, forced because

of Mansa Devi" (*Gun Island* 5) and motivated by his survival against austerity, shapes the geography and histories of the places he travelled to and from. The story, as the narrator states,

> [I]s not unlike that of Odyssey, with a resourceful human protagonist being pitted against vastly more powerful forces, earthly and divine. But it differs in that it does not end with the hero being restored to his family but continues till the struggle between the Merchant and Manasa Devi comes to a fragile resolution. (6)

"The climate crisis is a crisis of culture and of the imagination" (Concilio 2017). Ghosh states that the connection between societies, their cultures and the surrounding environment is like a close-knit family, particularly in Indian context. Bhabha, while referring the displaced communities, calls it as a "Gathering" (*Location of Culture* 199). With the ecology of Sundarbans under threat, the lives of whole living population are turned upside down. Ghosh presents this terrible state of affairs identified as "fingerprints of climate change" (Ghosh 2016) and puts forward different consequences their little world is headed towards. Cole reiterates that, "Ghosh connects the issues regarding climate justice and climate refugees to longer-running patterns of inequity in human history". (Cole 2022)

While deriving the effects of environmental degradation and resulting migration in case of Sundarbans, there is a need to understand how culture is transmitted along with its followers. The fact that all the characters in the novel are travelling and connecting with each other in different parts of the world and yet are able to maintain, amidst all this, a small community and the identity of the place they came from, argues for the need to look at the underlying connection between people and places, "where it concerns human beings, it is almost always true that the more anxiously we look for purity the more likely we are to come upon admixture and interbreeding." (Ghosh 2016) In theory, culture and its fluidness, sometimes, serve as a problematic idea as their understanding and interpretation change with situations and conditions they are being looked with. The fluidity of Culture remains ever so vivid only till the time the communities carrying it are travelling from one place to another. The moment these groups reach their destination or takes a halt during the course (new location), Culture invariably becomes centred round the people it came with and in the due course of time, a factor of diversification or division. This means that the culture that came along, invariably and barring exceptions of a miniscule percentage of exchange, does not remain fluid once it stops travelling. So more often than not, it is the population that travels and not culture alone. In the long run, this phenomenon makes the gravity of culture preserved and confined, even in a foreign land. As Bhabha puts in *The Location of Culture* (2004):

> The theoretical recognition of the split-space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualising an international culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity. It is the in-between space that carries the burden of the meaning of culture, and by exploring this Third Space; we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves. (56).

The ecological and economical effects causing migration, in present time, has been put against the backdrop of similar causes taking place 400 years ago. This continuity of migration also resembles the fact that displacement of humans, and their cultures along with them is a phenomenon ever so alive and running today as it was centuries ago, and who knows for how many centuries before that. All the characters, however old or young they may be, are connected through the geographical and cultural shifts their stories go through. From an old and dying Nilima Bose, who was once a fierce adventurer and a social worker, to Deen, the narrator, and from an enthusiastic and interesting Piyali to the reckless Tipu and Rafi, their stories are the stories of the World; their suffering; the universal suffering. Rafi tells about his unpleasant agony through his migration journey, "then the whole journey began; long stretches on the road with occasional

halts at safe houses, in places whose names we never learnt" (*Gun Island* 23). Claire Chambers connects all Ghosh's stories and points that, "Not only do Ghosh's works transgress generic boundaries but they also effortlessly cross national frontiers" (Chambers 2005). They carry with them the often-encountered shallowness of humanity but also the resilience people tend to show during the hard time and exemplify the most important aspect of indefinite hope in every situation.

Gun Island legitimises the global conduct of immigration which has been continuously going on for centuries. These movements, effected by politics, economy, livelihood and many other related factors are part of several countries' long and, many a times, un-noted history. The present-day America, Australia, Britain, and in this case even Italy along with other nations of Europe are formed because of these migrations which are being carried out for all of human history. Speaking for United Nations, Moon notes how, "Migration is an expression of the human aspiration for dignity, safety, and a better future. It is part of the social fabric and a part of our very make up as a human family" (Moon 2016). Moitra comments on Ghosh that, "...he has often explored the contours of the modern secular imagination in his writing and in recent times has turned to the 'uncanny' to speak of climate change and the limits of human reason" (Moitra 2022). For most characters in the novel, movement has been a generational as well as a situational event. While explaining the effects of cyclone Aila on the Sundarbans, Ghosh mentions the plight of such displaced people: "Having once uprooted from their villages many evacuees has decided not to return. Communities had been destroyed and families dispersed; the young had drifted to cities, swelling already-swollen slums" (*Gun Island* 49). The already burdened cities thus look for help to cater the needs of incoming habitants.

There is a need to look at these displacements, in relation to humans, from a holistic point of view, and to study the primary causes behind the frequency of their happening. As the narrator mentions in the novel regarding Kolkata, "the city was also a refuge, not only from the bitter cold of a Brooklyn winter, but from the solitude of a personal life that had become increasingly desolate over time" (3) he mildly touches only the positive or the privileged side of the question. The scope, however, when finding out the reasons for the location or the dislocation of a person or a society and its corresponding culture, opens other related civilizational aspects too to look at. For example, what prompted the dislocation in the first place? Is it a temporary dislocation or rather a slow and continuous but a permanent one? And most importantly, what does this dislocation carries with it?

The answers to the first two questions are easy to provide and understand. It is the third part which has several dimensions to it. According to Piesse, "Dislocation on purely physical matters could be economical, social and political" ("Factors Influencing" 2014). Economically, people are forced to move when the financial conditions around them are damped, when they do not get security of life and jobs and when the resources they work with are depleting. This displacement is imminent in *Gun Island* too, "The Sundarbans had always attracted traffickers, because of its poverty, but never in such numbers after Aila; they had descended in swarms, spiriting women off to distant brothels and able-bodied men to work in faraway cities" (*Gun Island* 49). Tipu cries on such conditions; "what would anyone do? If you're young you can't just sit on your butt till you starve to death. Even the animals are moving." (61)

The social dislocation on the other hand is caused when a society in large is effected at the same time, predominantly when there is lack of basic amenities and factors like social inequality and high crime rate. The situation in the delta is no different as Ghosh writes,

> "The exodus of the young was accelerating every year: boys and girls were borrowing and stealing to pay agents to find them work elsewhere. Some would even pay traffickers to smuggle them to Malaysia or Indonesia, on boats" (49).

These factors are not only more important than economical factors but also have farther reach and significance in people's lives. The political issues and causes have clear connection with the local community and identity of a place. The continuous engagement in war activities resulting in immigration, violence, etc are some of the prominent causes for this kind of displacement. While describing the effects of a category 4 cyclone and the refugee problem from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in 1970, Deen accounts in the novel,

> Islands where every tree had been stripped of its leaves; corpses floating in the water, half eaten by animal; villages that had lost most of their inhabitants. The situation was aggravated by a steady flow of refugees from East Pakistan. For several months people had been coming into India in order to escape the political turmoil on the other side, more hungry mouths to the region that was already desperately short of food. (Ghosh 2019)

Political causes combining with Environmental catastrophe serves as a devastating blow in the lives of native communities. Be it the refuge problem or the continuous cyclones, through the life at Sundarbans, of all livings, Ghosh adds the element of surrendered-self against such forces.

The lifespan and duration of dislocation is two-fold, particularly in the Sundarbans, and it depends on the types indicated above. Political and economic dislocations are almost always irreversible, which implies that the impact of these elements on people's lives do not improve over time. For example, the East Pakistani refugee crisis in the 1970s or the ongoing immigration crisis in European countries and ever more recently developed Afghanistan issue. Despite the fact that the loss is irreplaceable, it is the practical reason that persuades people to not return. With stable jobs and greater lifestyle options in the new location, the prospect of returning to the old location becomes less appealing. Social causes, on the other hand, appear to bring communities back to where they came from, as Neelima's Badoban Trust in the Sundarbans and Lubna Khala in Venice are attempting in the novel through their NGO and entrepreneurship respectively.

Now to answer what exactly does a certain dislocation carries with it, there is a need to look at what does that location i.e., the society is composed of. A society is made up of its people, their spirits, the culture and religion of the place, language, art and architecture, practices, legends, stories, habits and many other big and small pieces. All these elements are passed on to the generations through oral and stories thereby making them the connecting bridge. The importance of stories and their continuous journey through generations is stated in the novel: "I don't remember when I first heard the story, or who told it to me, but constant repetition ensured that it sank so deep into my consciousness that I wasn't even aware that it was there." (6) When a society has to relocate, forcefully or by choice, irreversibly or for some time, all these aspects with a certain percentage of degree move along. Features like religion, language, human spirits and stories move out completely. Whereas art and architecture, habits and social constructs within a society have their dependence and acceptance on the corresponding features of the new place and thus move in less degree.

As a result, the components that shifted entirely and even those that did not, form a measure of differentiation and diversification between indigenous and newly arrived migrants. Deen monitors this division in Venice where working class is mostly immigrants, "there and there – and there, they are all Bengalis and many of them are from Madaripur". (*Gun Island* 163) The treatment and look one gets in a foreign land propagates the feeling of not belonging, as is the example of Lubna Khala and the help she provides to fellow Bengali migrants in Venice with job and immigration when she says, "I feel responsible for these boys. They have no one else to turn to." (158) The issue however is not about what's taken and what's left behind, but about the physical and emotional toil an individual, a family, and a whole community goes through during the process, be it Rafi and Tipu's journey or countless others who take that same path daily

knowing very well the price they have to pay. What gains did they gain and what losses they incurred cumulatively decide what the future of every individual is going to be.

1.3 Beyond Humans beyond Sundarbans

Ghosh follows up the issue of ecological imbalances and puts it in with respect to three different geographies around the world. As Ursula Kluwick comments, 'In his engagement with the scale of climate change, Ghosh expands the scope of his novel to embrace an extraordinary, and sometimes preposterous, mass of settings, topics, events, and characters' (Kluwick 2020). While placing the narratives in Sundarbans, Los Angeles and Venice in the novel, he "not only managed to surpass the complexity of location barrier but has also gone beyond the spectrum of seeing life and its sufferings only in Humans." (Majumdar 2019) Ghosh foregrounds the issue of global warming to showcase the hardships of non-human lives too. Whether it's the consequences of "increased salinity in the water around the Sundarbans, which causes mass migration of animals, particularly Irrawaddy dolphins," (*Gun Island* 176) or the temperature-caused forest fires in various parts of the world, which kill millions of animals and plants and destroy indigenous communities on a regular basis, Ghosh argues that Sundarbans and its issues, with varying degrees, are found in other locations too and affects the most developed of the nations just as much as a third world country.

Through the story of a dolphin named Rani, Ghosh shows how animals suffer displacement because of the "changes in the composition of waters of the Sundarbans and increased salinity in the ocean" (92). Insignificant to a human eye, this change in the habitat of aquatic animals, results in the phenomenon of "Fish kill", where large swamps of fishes are swept ashore to death. Piya globalizes this issue when she equates it with similar events, "it's happening all around the world with more and more chemicals flowing into rivers" (96). Sadly in the case of Rani it resulted in 'Beaching', group suicide of her family. Nonetheless, dolphins of Sundarbans are merely an example from one region depicting-one aspect of seriousness of environmental crisis.

Going beyond the Sundarbans, the wildfires around the world, due to Global warming, have also become a regular sighting. Just this summer "fires have raged in Turkey, Greece, Italy and Spain, with at multiple lives lost, thousands evacuated and untold damage to lives and livelihood" (Haddad 2021). Deen mentions this catastrophe on Los Angeles stating: "thousands of acres of land had been incinerated and tens of thousands of people has been moved" (*Gun Island* 115). With increasing temperatures, animals too are forced to move out of their natural habitat to the areas of vulnerability. Even in a city as advanced as Los Angeles, the sighting of rare animals like yellow-bellied sea snakes therefore has become a common practice. Cinta mentions their untimely occurrence as improbable or: "things didn't used to be like this but we've had a bunch of such snaked washing up here in the last few months with no idea where they are coming from" (131). These fires and subsequent sightings add to the argument of globality of environmental exploitation and its after effects.

Across the end of the novel, another repercussion of environmental threat i.e., rising sea level and its consequences are evident in the city of Venice. The city has sunk around nine inches in the last century. With "no long-term solution in sight, 'The Floating City' is gradually becoming known as the Sinking City" (Isabella 2021) The change in scenery is experience by Deen first hand, while comparing his stay in Cinta's apartment from twelve years ago to now, he exclaimed how: "of late the floods had become so frequent that the residents had more or less stopped using the entrance as they now went in and out through a walled gate at the back" (*Gun Island* 165) Not just externally though, the city is also being brought down internally by the shipworms, as Cinta mentions:

> More and more of these are invading Venice, with the warming of lagoon's water. They eat up the wood from the inside and have become a big problem because Venice is built on

wooden pilings and they are literally eating the foundations of the city. (230)

The implications of climate disruptions are depicted in Ghosh's work by fuzzy boundaries between water and land. Ghosh, in the novel, "travels from the wild and tangled Sundarbans (a mangrove area that spans between India and Bangladesh) to Los Angeles parched by wildfires to slowly sinking Venice." (Pancholi 2021) and takes into account the consequences on the human-non human lives of the three places due to such catastrophe. He foregrounds the causes behind their occurrence and leaves an open ended discussion for the solutions where growth can be supportive of nature and not the other way around.

II. CONCLUSION

Gun Island is Ghosh's most contemporarily set novel where he comes out from his usual historic narrative and presents the problems of modern times for he brings the global environmental crisis to the literary forefront. His anger and appeal in *The Great Derangement* with the modern writers about the inability to replicate and represent ecological issues finds voice in *Gun Island*. The novel shows how the crisis of migration resulted due to socio-political and economic causes gets worse with ecological issues of global warming, temperature rise and increasing sea level. The situation becomes even more unfortunate when societies like Sundarbans and Venice, for their historic significance, are hit by such catastrophes. Ghosh has presented the plight and journeys of people going through the changes these events bring. By representing different geographies (Sundarbans, Los Angeles & Venice) at one platform, he has made these crises universal. Not only the humans but the animal world is also affected by these crises as this paper has discussed in the case of Dolphins, snakes, spiders and worms. The section "Rise and Fall of Sundarbans" has shown how even a prosperous society cannot stand against the forces of nature. The fall resulting in displacement depicts the dislocation of culture and communities i.e., what exactly a community is made up of and what are the cultural, historical elements that it carries when forced to dislocate. Finally, the implications of the reaction and reception of global catastrophes around the world shows the universality of events, not just in terms of human lives but with respect to non-human lives too who are as important in maintaining biodiversity as any other species.

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Entangled Bonds: Unraveling Familial Dynamics of Institutional Older Adults

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the complex dynamics of familial relationships experienced by institutionalized older adults, focusing on the interplay between solidarity-conflict and ambivalence. Through qualitative interviews with twenty respondents residing in an old age home in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, the study delves into the emotional and social ties that older adults maintain with their families post-institutionalization. The findings reveal that these relationships are marked by ambivalence, where feelings of care and attachment coexist with conflict and estrangement. Many respondents expressed a sense of solidarity with their families, emphasizing the emotional and financial support they received prior to moving into the institution. However, this solidarity was often coupled with feelings of abandonment, disappointment, or conflict, primarily due to unmet expectations of caregiving or perceived neglect from their children and relatives. The study highlights how institutionalization reshapes familial bonds, leading to emotional ambivalence. For some, the institutional setting provides an escape from family conflicts, while for others, it exacerbates feelings of isolation. By analyzing narratives from the respondents, this paper contributes to the broader discourse on older adult, family relations, and institutional care, offering insights into the emotional complexities faced by older adults in institutional settings.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The world is undergoing a significant demographic transition, characterized by a growing proportion of older adults in both developed and developing countries. According to the United Nations (2019), by 2050, the global population aged 60 and over will more than double, reaching 2.1 billion, and approximate 16% of the world's population will be over the age of 65. This demographic shift has profound implications for societies, especially in terms of healthcare, social services, and the overall well-being of older adults. In many parts of the world, increasing life expectancy, declining fertility rates, and advancements in medical care have contributed to this rise in the older adult population, making older adult one of the most pressing social issues of our time (Bloom, Canning, & Lubet, 2015).

II. OLDER ADULT IN THE INDIAN SCENARIO

India, the world's largest populous country, is witnessing a profound demographic transformation with the rapid older adult of its population. As of 2023, individuals aged 60 years and above constitute nearly 10.1% of the total population, accounting for over 140 million people (Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, 2023). The decadal growth rate of the older adult population (aged 60 and above) is nearly double that of the general population. This transition is largely a result of increased life expectancy, declining fertility rates, and improvements in healthcare. The life expectancy in India has risen from 63 years in the early 2000s to approximately 70 years in 2023 (World Health Organization, 2023). According to the *World Population Prospects 2022* by the United Nations, India's population aged 60 years and

above is expected to reach 19.5% by 2050, an increase from the current estimate of 10.1% in 2022. As per *The Longitudinal Older adult Study in India* (LASI) 2020, India had over 138 million older adult individuals, making it home to one of the largest populations of older adults globally. By 2050, this number is projected to rise to over 320 million, placing immense pressure on healthcare systems, pension schemes, and caregiving structures (International Institute for Population Sciences, 2020). As the number of older adults grows, it presents new socio-economic challenges and opportunities for the country. In the Indian context, older adult is closely intertwined with cultural, social, and economic factors that define the experience of growing older. India's demographic transition is marked by regional variation, with southern states such as Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Karnataka older adults more rapidly than northern states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. This is primarily due to differences in fertility rates, healthcare access, and literacy levels. Kerala, for instance, already has over 16% of its population aged 60 and above, compared to around 7% in Uttar Pradesh (National Statistical Office, 2021).

Older adult, however, is not merely a biological process; it is also shaped by social, economic, and cultural factors. How individuals experience older adults depends on their socio-economic background, health status, social networks, and access to resources (Bengston, Gans, Putney, & Silverstein, 2016). While some older adults experience healthy and active older adults, others may face social isolation, dependency, and health challenges that hinder their quality of life. This dichotomy in the older adult experience underscores the need for a nuanced understanding of the social aspects of older adults, particularly within institutional settings.

2.1 Changing Family Structures and Elder Care

In Indian society, the family has traditionally played a pivotal role in the care of the older adult. The multi-generational household model, which historically provided a robust support system for older adults, is deeply rooted in Indian cultural and religious values. The joint family system allowed for seamless integration of elder care within the family unit, often placing the responsibility on adult children, particularly sons, to care for their older adult parents (Srinivas, 1969). The family has long been regarded as the primary institution responsible for providing emotional, financial, and social support to its older adult members (Arokiasamy, 2016). However, with increasing urbanization, migration, and the rise of nuclear families, this traditional caregiving model is under strain.

A study by *HelpAge India* (2021) indicates that 56% of older adults in India live with their children, but the percentage of older adults living alone or with only their spouse is steadily increasing. This shift is particularly noticeable in urban areas, where economic pressures and migration for employment have weakened the intergenerational support system (Rajan, 2019). The breakdown of the joint family system has also given rise to the phenomenon of elder abandonment, particularly in rural regions, where older adults are left without adequate financial or emotional support.

2.2 Contextualizing Older Adult and Institutional Care

This demographic shift has led to a growing interest in understanding the social, psychological, and economic implications of older adults. One area of significant concern is the experience of older adults living in institutional settings such as OAHs and care facilities. Institutions, including nursing homes and assisted living facilities, play a pivotal role in the lives of many older adults. These settings provide care and support for individuals who can no longer live independently due to health or social reasons. However, institutional care also comes with its own set of challenges, particularly in terms of social relationships and autonomy (Hyde et. al., 2013). The rise of institutional care in India is a direct response to the weakening of the traditional family-based elder care system. OAHs, both private and government-run, have become more common, particularly in urban areas. According to *HelpAge India* (2021), there are over 1,000 OAHs in India, with a significant

concentration in states like Kerala, Maharashtra, and Tamil Nadu. For many older adult individuals, transitioning from independent living to institutional care presents not only physical challenges but also significant emotional and social adjustments (Hyde et al., 2013).

Older adults often grapple with feelings of isolation, loss of autonomy, and disrupted social networks, which further complicate their ability to form meaningful relationships in these environments (Bailey & James, 2011). The institutional setting, designed primarily for care, introduces new social structures and expectations, impacting how older adult residents interact with one another and the staff. This paper explores the complex interplay of solidarity-conflict and ambivalence in the relationships of institutionalized older adults, with a particular focus on the dynamics that emerge within these communities.

The experience of institutionalization, however, is often marked by ambivalence. While OAHs provide necessary care for older adults, they also represent a departure from the traditional caregiving model, which can lead to feelings of abandonment and loneliness among residents (Bharati, 2020). Research on institutionalized older adults in India has highlighted the challenges of social isolation, mental health issues, and the loss of autonomy (Bailey et. al., 2017).

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Solidarity-Conflict and Ambivalence model emerged to account for the intricacies of interpersonal dynamics, where relationships can simultaneously encompass both positive and negative aspects, resulting in ambivalent feelings. Within the context of institutional older adults, it is crucial to explore how solidarity-conflict and ambivalence coexist, shape their social bonds, and impact their well-being.

Solidarity refers to the emotional closeness, support exchanges, and cohesion between family members, emphasizing mutual affection and responsibility. It highlights how strong family ties can persist despite physical separation due to institutionalization, fostering emotional well-being among older adult residents. As a central tenet of family and social networks, solidarity plays a pivotal role in shaping the experiences of older adults. Bengtson and Roberts (1991) proposed the concept of *intergenerational solidarity* to describe the positive emotional and functional exchanges between different generations. Their model identified six dimensions of solidarity:

- Affective Solidarity: Emotional closeness and warmth among individuals.
- Associational Solidarity: Frequency and types of interactions within a network.
- Functional Solidarity: The extent of support, including financial and caregiving.
- Consensual Solidarity: Agreement on beliefs, values, and orientations.
- Normative Solidarity: Expectations of duty and responsibility in relationships.
- Structural Solidarity: Geographic proximity and living arrangements.

Conflict, on the other hand, arises when family members disagree on caregiving responsibilities, decision-making, and autonomy, often exacerbated by the transition to institutional care. Disputes may emerge over perceived abandonment or the division of caregiving duties, straining relationships. Ambivalence captures the co-existence of positive and negative emotions within the same relationship. In the context of institutional care, family members and older adult residents may simultaneously feel gratitude for the support provided and guilt or resentment about the institutionalization process. This ambivalence is often reflected in conflicting emotions about caregiving roles, institutional policies, and shifting family dynamics (Bengtson et al., 2002). The model offers a nuanced understanding of how solidarity and conflict are not mutually exclusive but can co-occur, creating emotionally complex relationships. By examining how these dimensions interact, the model helps explain the varied emotional experiences of older adult residents and their families, offering insight into how caregiving, institutional structures, and family roles shape the emotional landscape.

3.1 Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to explore the dynamics of solidarity-conflict and ambivalence among institutionalized older adults. Specifically, the study seeks to examine how social bonds are formed and maintained within institutional settings, how conflict arises and is managed among residents, and how ambivalence characterizes relationships with fellow residents, family members, and caregivers. The study aims to provide a nuanced understanding of the social relationships of older adults in institutional care, focusing on the coexistence of positive and negative aspects of these relationships and their impact on the well-being of the older adult.

3.2 Knowledge Gaps

While the Solidarity–Conflict and Ambivalence model has been extensively explored in family dynamics, fewer studies have focused specifically on its application in institutional settings. Much of the research has concentrated on understanding the emotional complexities experienced by families, but there is a growing need for studies that focus on institutional interventions aimed at addressing these emotional challenges. Additionally, cross-cultural research is limited, and there is a need to explore how different cultural attitudes toward family care influence the dynamics of solidarity-conflict and ambivalence in institutional homes.

3.3 Contribution to Knowledge

This study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by expanding the application of the Solidarity–Conflict and Ambivalence model to institutional care settings, which have been relatively underexplored in comparison to home-based caregiving environments. It provides a deeper understanding of the emotional complexities faced by older adult residents and their families, particularly in how institutional policies and caregiving practices influence the balance between solidarity, conflict, and ambivalence. By highlighting the challenges of maintaining emotional closeness and the sources of conflict within institutional homes, this research offers new insights into the emotional well-being of older adult residents. Additionally, the study emphasizes the importance of institutional interventions and policy reforms aimed at improving family engagement and reducing emotional strain, thus enhancing the overall quality of care and support for older adult individuals in institutional environments. This research will fill a critical gap by offering practical recommendations for optimizing family dynamics and resident care in long-term care facilities.

3.4 Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to explore the dynamics of solidarity-conflict and ambivalence experienced by older adult residents in institutional care settings. It aims to examine how emotional closeness and support are maintained, identify sources of conflict and investigate the ambivalent emotions that often coexist in their familial relationships.

Specifically, this study aims to:

- Examine the dynamics of solidarity between older adult residents and their family members.
- Identify sources of conflict within intergenerational relationships when older adult individuals enter institutional care, including caregiving responsibilities, decision-making, autonomy, and family involvement in care.
- Investigate the ambivalence in familial relationships within institutional homes, exploring the co-existence of positive and negative emotions experienced.
- To explore the nature of familial relationships among institutionalized older adults through the lens of solidarity, conflict, and ambivalence.
- To examine the frequency and types of interactions between institutionalized older adults and their family members.

IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Design

This study employs a qualitative research design to explore the dynamics of solidarity-conflict and ambivalence among the older adult residing in the

OAHs of Lucknow. The researcher has chosen a qualitative approach to capture the subjective experiences, emotions, and perceptions of the participants, allowing for an in-depth understanding of the complexities in their relationships. A phenomenological approach is applied to understand how individuals make sense of their experiences in relation to institutional care, focusing on lived experiences and emotional responses.

The researcher uses semi-structured interviews as the primary method of data collection. This format allows for a guided yet flexible discussion, older adult participants to share their perspectives on various aspects of familial relationships. The interviews were conducted in a conversational manner, enabling respondents to express their feelings and thoughts freely, while ensuring that key themes such as solidarity-conflict and ambivalence are addressed.

4.2 Selection Criteria for Respondents

A total of 20 respondents participated in the study from the institutional care facilities, in Lucknow. Respondents for the study were selected using purposive sampling to ensure a relevant and diverse representation of older adult residents. The selection criteria for older adult residents required living in the institutional care facility for at least six months to ensure they had sufficient experience with the institutional environment, were aged 60 or above and were cognitively able to participate in semi-structured interviews as assessed by care staff. These criteria aimed to ensure the selection of participants who could provide meaningful insights into the research.

Demographic profile of residents in paid OAHs Lucknow

Sl. No.	Respondent Name (Pseudonym)	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Duration of Stay	Reason for Institutionalization	Family Contact (Yes/No)	Frequency of Contact
1.	Ashesh Upadhyay	75	Male	Widowed	3 years	Health issues, no caregiver	Yes	Occasional
2.	Mahendra Pandey	80	Male	Married	5 years	Voluntary, security reasons	Yes	Frequent
3.	Usha Pandey	78	Female	Married	5 years	Voluntary, security reasons	Yes	Frequent
4.	Bhavna Khatri	69	Female	Widowed	4 years	Neglect by children	No	None
5.	Houshila Prasad Dubey	94	Male	Married	16 years	Lack of support	Yes	Rare
6.	Abha Dubey	82	Female	Married	16 years	Lack of support	Yes	Rare
7.	Abhijit Chatterjee	72	Male	Widowed	1.5 years	Voluntary, health reasons	Yes	Occasional
8.	Brijesh Mishra	81	Male	Widowed	6 years	Neglect, financial reasons	Yes	Rare
9.	Awadhesh Shukla	77	Male	Divorced	5 years	Conflict with children	No	None
10.	Girija Shankar Tiwari	70	Male	Widowed	2.5 years	Voluntary, no children	No	None
11.	Pallavi Das	76	Female	Widowed	4 years	Family conflict, health issues	Yes	Occasional
12.	Aashim Khan	79	Male	Divorced	3 years	Neglect by family	Yes	Rare

13.	Abhay Kumar Choudhary	85	Male	Widowed	7 years	Voluntary	Yes	Occasional
14.	Anita	68	Female	Single	1 year	No caregiver	No	None
15.	Moushimi Chakrabarti	74	Female	Widowed	4.5 years	Conflict with children	Yes	Rare
16.	Rani	80	Female	Widowed	5 years	Financial dependency	No	None
17.	Suresh	71	Male	Married	3 years	Health issues	Yes	Frequent
18.	Kalpna	73	Female	Widowed	3 years	Family neglect	Yes	Occasional
19.	Amit	78	Male	Divorced	2.5 years	Conflict with children	No	None
20.	Sarika	83	Female	Widowed	6 years	Abandonment by children	Yes	Rare

4.3 Research Setting

Lucknow is the capital city of Uttar Pradesh. It is known as the 'City of Nawab' or the 'City of Tehzeeb'. Among the various cities of India, the culture and heritage of Lucknow are unique. Lucknow was founded by Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula and is a multi cultural city. Samarpan Varistha Jan Parisar is a paid OAH in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh. It operates in a building donated by the Municipal Corporation of Lucknow. It is located in Adil Nagar, 20 Km from the centre of Lucknow city. Samarpan Varistha Jan Parisar does not offer nursing facilities, it only admits able-bodied adults. However, if the health of a resident deteriorates after joining the OAH, then the staff offers care to him/her. A physician is also associated with the OAH to regularly monitor the health condition of the residents. Another OAH is Sarvajanik Sikhsonayan Sansthan a free OAH of Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh. It is located in Sarojini Nagar, Lucknow and operates from a three-floor building on a rent basis. There is a small garden where the residents spend time walking or enjoying leisure hours in the evening. The older adults are given yoga classes in the morning and engage in 'aarti' and prayers in the evening. The staff also offers counselling services to the residents. The institution stipulates sixty years of age and good health as the criterion for admission to the OAH.

V. DATA ANALYSIS

The data were analyzed using thematic analysis, starting with verbatim transcription and thorough reading for familiarization. Initial coding was conducted inductively to identify key phrases and concepts, which were then grouped into broader themes such as emotional closeness and solidarity, Conflict and Disappointment in Family Expectations, Ambivalence and Mixed Feelings Towards Family Relationships, and Institutional Influence on Family Dynamics. These themes were refined based on relevance to the research questions and the theoretical framework of solidarity, conflict, and ambivalence. Finally, the themes were interpreted in relation to existing literature, offering insights into intergenerational relationships and improving family dynamics in institutional care settings.

5.1 Emotional Closeness and Solidarity

Many older adult residents expressed a strong sense of emotional closeness with their family members despite living in an institutional setting. Frequent visits, phone calls, and other forms of communication played a crucial role in maintaining solidarity. Several respondents highlighted that regular interaction with family provided emotional support, reduced feelings of loneliness, and enhanced their overall well-being.

Many respondents emphasized the importance of maintaining emotional bonds through regular

visits and communication. As Mr. Mahendra explained:

> *"Even though I live here now, my daughter visits me every Sunday. We talk on the phone every other day. It makes me feel connected like I'm still part of the family."*

While most respondents spoke of efforts to maintain solidarity, this closeness was often dependent on institutional policies that facilitated family involvement. Flexible visiting hours and supportive staff were frequently mentioned as factors that helped sustain emotional connections. Conversely, some residents felt isolated due to institutional constraints. Mr. Ashesh Upadhyay shared:

> *"Sometimes it feels like I'm far away from my family, even though they try to visit. The rules here are strict about visiting times, and that makes it harder."*

Emotional solidarity remains strong between family members and institutionalized older adult residents when communication and visits are regular. However, institutional policies greatly influence the ability to maintain this solidarity. Institutions that encourage family involvement through flexible policies enhance emotional closeness, while restrictive environments may weaken this bond. Mr. Abhijit responded:

> *"I know they love me because they always ensure I'm okay. They check in, and that means a lot to me. They send me pictures and videos of family events, which keeps me in the loop, even if I'm not there physically. They sent me here, but they came here to spend time with me."*

Despite living apart, older adult individuals feel included through daily phone calls, which maintain emotional solidarity and assure them of their value in their child's life. Routine visits provide emotional stability, preserving the bond between family members. Intergenerational connections, such as visits from grandchildren, offer comfort and a sense of belonging. Technological communication helps maintain family ties across distances, keeping older adults updated and emotionally included. Regular check-ins, even minimal, reinforce emotional solidarity, showing care and love, and profoundly impact familial relationships.

5.2 Conflict and Disappointment in Family Expectations

Family members often struggled with feelings of guilt over the decision, while residents expressed frustration over their perceived loss of autonomy. Many older adult participants described feeling powerless or unable to control their daily routines, which led to tension between them and their family members. Family members often expressed guilt and frustration over their perceived failure to provide care at home, while residents felt a loss of autonomy and control over their lives. As Ms. Bhawna opined:

> *"I didn't want to come here, but my family insisted. I feel like I'm not in control of my life anymore. I have to follow their schedule, not mine."*

Conflicts often revolved around decision-making, with residents feeling excluded from important choices regarding their care and family members feeling powerless to provide adequate care. In some cases, family members felt that they were letting their loved ones down, and this emotional burden led to strained relationships. As. Mr. Awadhesh pointed out:

> *"I gave them everything when they were young, but now they don't have time for me. It's like they've repaid me by putting me away. They don't understand how lonely it gets here. I wish they would come and see what it's like, but they're too busy. It's hard to accept that they don't want to take care of me. I raised them, but now they leave me in someone else's hands. They told me they'd visit more often, but they don't. I feel like they've forgotten about me."*

The above quotation reflects the disappointment and emotional conflict that arise when familial expectations are unmet. The older adult feels abandoned, neglected, and betrayed, struggling to comprehend the shift in family dynamics.

Unfulfilled promises, feelings of rejection, and a disconnect between their emotional needs and family awareness lead to resentment, loneliness, and a deep sense of abandonment, as their lifelong caregiving is not reciprocated.

5.3 Ambivalence and Mixed Feelings Towards Family Relationships

Many respondents, experienced ambivalence—the coexistence of both positive and negative emotions about their relationship with family members. Older adult residents often felt grateful for the professional care they received, yet also expressed feelings of abandonment or loneliness due to reduced family contact. As Mr. Suresh shared his view in the following words:

> *"They take care of me here, and I know my children have their own lives. But I miss them... Sometimes I feel like they've forgotten about me. I don't blame them for putting me here, but I still feel hurt that they couldn't keep me at home".*

This emotional ambivalence sometimes made family interactions uncomfortable, as both parties struggled to reconcile their conflicting feelings. Some residents felt ambivalent about the care they received, appreciating the professional support but missing the personal connection of home care. The older adult understands the practical reasons for being institutionalized, the emotional sting of not being kept at home creates internal conflict, showcasing the ambivalence of their emotions. Ms. Moushimi Shared:

> *"I know they're doing their best, but sometimes it feels like I'm just a responsibility they want to get rid of. They tell me it's for my own good, and I know they're right. But it still feels like they're pushing me away. I see how happy they are when they visit, but it makes me wonder—if they're so happy, why don't they visit more?"*

This quotation reflects the ambivalence of older adults who, while recognizing their family's efforts, feel unwanted and emotionally distanced. Though they rationally agree with the family's decisions, they cannot help but feel resentment, creating a tension between intellectual understanding and emotional reality. They are happy to see their family during visits, but the infrequency of those visits leads to mixed emotions of both contentment and frustration.

Ambivalence is a prominent emotional experience in institutional care settings. Family members and residents alike grapple with mixed emotions, creating tension during visits and interactions. This ambivalence reflects the emotional complexity of institutionalization and highlights the need for emotional support programs to help both residents and families process these conflicting feelings. Mr. Abhay narrated:

> *"Being here means my children don't have to worry about me, and that gives me some peace. I'm grateful for everything they've done, but I can't help but feel lonely when they're not around."*

This highlights the duality of relief and guilt, where the older adult experiences peace knowing they are not burdening their children yet feels guilty for not being a more present part of the family unit.

Gratitude and loneliness coexist in this quote, representing the core of ambivalence. The older adult appreciates the family's efforts but continues to feel emotionally unfulfilled when the family is absent, struggling to balance these two opposing emotions. Mr. Brijesh reflected:

> *"I feel safe here, but the guilt never leaves me. I should be with my family, helping out, not just sitting here. I don't want to be a burden, but sometimes I think I've made it too easy for them to forget about me. It's a relief not to need help with everything, but I miss the little things, like being part of family dinners. It's hard not to feel guilty about that."*

The older adult feels secure and cared for, but guilt persists due to traditional family roles, where they believe they should still contribute. This creates a tension where relief and guilt coexist. While relieved by their independence in the care home, they miss the intimacy of family life, feeling they may have caused emotional detachment by

being absent from daily routines. Despite the benefits of institutional living, their relief is overshadowed by guilt for not being involved in the family's day-to-day life.

5.4 Institutional Influence on Family Dynamics

Many respondents emphasized that the institution's environment played a critical role in either enhancing or undermining family relationships. Institutions that encouraged open communication and family involvement were seen as more supportive and conducive to maintaining emotional closeness, while more restrictive environments often led to frustration and conflict. In the words of Ms. Rani:

> *"The staff here really encourages my family to visit. They even helped set up video calls when my son couldn't come. It makes a big difference."*

Conversely, residents in facilities with restrictive policies reported higher levels of conflict and dissatisfaction with family relationships. Limited visiting hours or poor communication between staff and family members often contributed to feelings of disconnection and frustration. Ms. Pallavi pointed out:

> *"It's hard when they only allow visits at certain times. My children have busy lives, and sometimes they can't make it. I feel forgotten on those days."*

Institutional policies significantly shape family dynamics in care homes. Supportive environments that promote family involvement can strengthen solidarity and reduce conflict, while restrictive policies often lead to feelings of frustration, isolation, and weakened family bonds.

VI. CONCLUSION

The findings of this study on the interplay of solidarity-conflict and ambivalence among institutionalized older adults. The study revealed that older adults often navigate complex emotional and social landscapes, where the coexistence of solidarity and conflict is a common theme, and ambivalence plays a critical role in shaping their interactions. This observation is consistent with Iecovich and Biderman's (2021) research, which underscored that while the formation of social bonds within institutional homes is crucial for emotional well-being, conflicts often emerge due to resource competition, differences in personal values, and the diversity of resident backgrounds. Their study found that while residents rely on each other for emotional support and companionship, the close quarters of institutional living can exacerbate tensions, particularly around shared resources such as space, caregiver attention, or social privileges.

The presence of both solidarity and conflict reflects the dual nature of relationships within institutions. This duality has been a recurring theme in studies of intergenerational relationships, where older adults and their families experience ambivalence—a simultaneous experience of positive and negative emotions—when making decisions about institutional care (Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998). Similarly, within the institutional environment, relationships between residents and caregivers can be marked by solidarity in the form of care and emotional closeness, yet also by conflict over the perceived quality of care or the constraints imposed by institutional rules. Braun et al. (2020) highlighted that ambivalence often arises in relationships where older adults must rely on caregivers for their daily needs, yet simultaneously feel a loss of autonomy and control, leading to a complex mix of gratitude and frustration. These emotions are particularly pronounced in institutions, where the power dynamics between caregivers and residents can create an atmosphere of dependency, fostering resentment even in relationships marked by genuine care and concern.

Interestingly, more residents in the paid OAH of Lucknow experienced structural solidarity (most residents were from Lucknow or at least belonged to Uttar Pradesh). It was found that technological communication substituted the requirement for maintaining structural solidarity. For instance, most older adult were technologically oriented and regularly had telephonic communication with their families and maintained ties through social

media platforms like Facebook and WhatsApp. Most of the respondents of free OAHs lived in the geographical proximity in their families but their relocation did not entail structural solidarity. In sum, OAHs offer a holistic and acceptable solution to both generations. Additionally, relocation to the institutional home is seen as a measure to avoid adjustment issues, clashes, and emotional turmoil within the family. By the way of staying at OAH, the older adult believes that they can maintain harmony and reinforce inter-generational ties.

Apart from that most residents experienced intergenerational conflict (e.g., physical and verbal abuse, neglect, abandonment, emotional abuse, etc.). Echoing Takacs (2017), it was thus found that family relations were more likely to be disrupted among those living in poverty and hindering intensive contact with members. Also, in some instances, relocation to OAH was a prudent decision and an act of coinsurance for the sake of the economic stability of the family. However, adjustment differences were observed between the newly joined residents and long-term residents. The long-term residents were well-adjusted in OAHs and acquainted with the living conditions. However, as their memories of familial discordance/ill-will have faded away, they develop nostalgia/attachment towards their families and bygone days. They anguish and long to see their family members. Most long-term residents therefore developed a sense of ambivalence towards their family or affectual solidarity to some extent. On the contrary, the newly joined residents were in their transition phase and are yet to develop their social circle in the OAH. Nonetheless, as their memories of familial discordance are fresh in their minds, the newly joined older adult develop a sense of detachment from their families and devote themselves to spirituality. Most newly joined residents had conflictual relationships with their family.

Another key aspect of the study's findings is the role of social capital in shaping solidarity among institutionalized older adults. Social capital, as described by Bourdieu (1986), refers to the networks of relationships that individuals can draw upon for support, resources, and social integration. In the context of older adults, social capital can be a significant factor in mitigating the negative impacts of institutionalization. The study revealed that older adults who were able to form strong social bonds within the institution—whether with fellow residents, caregivers, or visiting family members—experienced higher levels of emotional well-being and reported feeling more integrated into the institutional community. This finding resonates with recent research by de Donder et al. (2019), which found that social capital within care homes plays a critical role in the quality of life for residents. Their study demonstrated that the ability to cultivate and maintain meaningful social relationships within the institution contributes to a sense of belonging and reduces feelings of isolation, a common issue for older adults in long-term care.

The current study found that residents frequently expressed ambivalence in their relationships with caregivers, oscillating between appreciation for the care they received and frustration over their perceived lack of autonomy or control over their daily lives. This finding aligns with research by Kemp et al. (2018), which noted that institutionalized older adults often struggle to reconcile their need for care with their desire for independence, leading to ambivalent feelings towards the institution and its staff. This ambivalence extends to relationships with family members, as well. Older adults in the study reported mixed emotions towards their families, particularly in cases where family members were involved in the decision to place them in institutional care. While many residents expressed gratitude for their families' concern and support, others felt abandoned or resentful, perceiving their institutionalization as a form of neglect. These findings mirror those of Pillemer and Luscher (2004), who explored how older adults and their families experience ambivalence in the caregiving context, particularly when institutionalization is involved. Their work showed that while families often make decisions about institutional care with the best intentions, older adults can experience these decisions as

both supportive and distancing, contributing to ambivalent feelings towards their family members.

The emotional landscape of institutionalized older adults is further complicated by the broader social and cultural context in which older adult and institutional care takes place. As noted by Daatland and Lowenstein (2022), societal attitudes towards older adults and care play a significant role in shaping how older adults perceive their own experiences of institutionalization. In cultures where older adults are highly valued and older adults are seen as repositories of wisdom, institutionalization may be viewed more positively, as an opportunity for older adults to continue contributing to society while receiving the care they need. In contrast, in cultures where older adults are seen as a burden, institutional care may be perceived as a last resort, leading to feelings of shame or failure among older adults. The current study found that many residents internalized these broader societal attitudes, which shaped their experiences of solidarity-conflict and ambivalence within the institution. Older adults who perceived their institutionalization as a form of social abandonment were more likely to experience conflict and ambivalence in their relationships, while those who viewed it as a necessary step in their care journey were more likely to form strong social bonds and experience higher levels of solidarity.

Moreover, the findings of this study align with the research by Ayalon (2020), who examined the impact of ageism in institutional care settings. Ayalon's work emphasized that ageist attitudes—both from caregivers and from society at large—can exacerbate feelings of conflict and ambivalence among institutionalized older adults. Ageism can manifest in subtle ways, such as through paternalistic behavior or assumptions about older adults' capabilities, which can undermine their sense of agency and contribute to feelings of frustration or resentment. The current study similarly found that residents often expressed ambivalence towards their caregivers, who they felt both supported and constrained their autonomy. These findings suggest that addressing ageism in institutional care settings may be key to reducing conflict and ambivalence and fostering stronger bonds of solidarity among residents and caregivers.

The study's findings also resonate with research on *relational autonomy*, a concept that has gained traction in recent gerontological literature. Relational autonomy recognizes that individuals' autonomy is shaped by their relationships and social context, rather than being purely individualistic. As outlined by Mackenzie and Stoljar (2000), relational autonomy is particularly relevant for older adults in institutional care, as their ability to make decisions about their care and daily lives is often mediated by their relationships with caregivers, family members, and fellow residents. The current study found that older adults' experiences of autonomy were deeply intertwined with their social relationships within the institution. Residents who had strong social bonds and supportive relationships with caregivers were more likely to feel a sense of autonomy, even within the constraints of institutional living. In contrast, those who experienced conflict or ambivalence in their relationships were more likely to report feelings of powerlessness or loss of control. This finding underscores the importance of fostering positive social relationships within institutions to support older adults' sense of autonomy and well-being.

In conclusion, the findings of this study contribute to a growing body of research that emphasizes the complexity of social relationships among institutionalized older adults. By examining the interplay of solidarity, conflict, and ambivalence, this study provides a nuanced understanding of how older adults navigate the emotional and social challenges of institutional living. These findings align with recent research on the importance of social capital, ambivalence, and relational autonomy in shaping older adults' experiences in institutional care. As the population of older adults continues to grow, and institutional care becomes an increasingly common option, it is crucial to continue exploring the factors that influence the quality of life for institutionalized older adults. Addressing the challenges of conflict and ambivalence, while

fostering solidarity and social capital, will be key to improving the well-being of older adults in institutional settings.

Conflict of Interest

The Author declare that there is no conflict of interest'.

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