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Animality and Forgetfulness in Nietzsche's Second Untimely Meditation

Newton Pereira Amusquivar Júnior

ABSTRACT

This article investigates the roles of animality and forgetfulness in Nietzsche's *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, commonly known as the Second Untimely Meditation. In this work, Nietzsche employs the unhistorical aspects (state of forgetfulness and absence history) and suprahistorical aspects (state related to the contemplation of eternity and the flow of forgetfulness of the unhistorical) to contrast with the historical aspects (formation of social memory). In this way, Nietzsche poetically contrasts human historical consciousness with the unhistorical state of animals, which he associates with forgetfulness, immediacy, and happiness. The study explores how these unhistorical elements—especially forgetfulness—are not failures but active forces essential for life and action. It further examines how Nietzsche's notions of the historical, unhistorical, and suprahistorical evolve in his later works, linking them to his critique of morality and the development of key concepts like the will to power and the overhuman.

Keywords: nietzsche; animality; forgetfulness; unhistorical; suprahistorical; memory; history; morality.

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Newton Pereira Amusquivar Júnior¹

ABSTRACT

*This article investigates the roles of animality and forgetfulness in Nietzsche's *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, commonly known as the Second Untimely Meditation. In this work, Nietzsche employs the unhistorical aspects (state of forgetfulness and absence history) and suprahistorical aspects (state related to the contemplation of eternity and the flow of forgetfulness of the unhistorical) to contrast with the historical aspects (formation of social memory). In this way, Nietzsche poetically contrasts human historical consciousness with the unhistorical state of animals, which he associates with forgetfulness, immediacy, and happiness. The study explores how these unhistorical elements—especially forgetfulness—are not failures but active forces essential for life and action. It further examines how Nietzsche's notions of the historical, unhistorical, and suprahistorical evolve in his later works, linking them to his critique of morality and the development of key concepts like the will to power and the overhuman.*

Keywords: nietzsche; animality; forgetfulness; unhistorical; suprahistorical; memory; history; morality.

I. INTRODUCTION

Animality and forgetfulness are recurring themes in Nietzsche's works and give rise to major reflections: in his early works, animals and forgetfulness play a significant role in his critique of scientific culture, while in his later intellectual

phases, these themes become central to his critique of morality. The forgetfulness associated with animals refers to a primordial state that Nietzsche emphasises in contrast to civilisation and modern culture.

In a passage from *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, also known as the *Second Untimely Meditation*, forgetfulness and animality are portrayed together in a poetic way to characterise an unhistorical state. Here I present an investigation into this image of animals and forgetfulness and its consequences for Nietzsche's philosophy. The main objective is to show how animality and forgetfulness are present in Nietzsche's critiques of scientific culture and, later, morality. Firstly, I intend to highlight the potentialities of animality and forgetfulness, indicated as unhistorical aspects, in the work *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, as well as the relationship between these elements and historical and suprahistorical aspects. Secondly, the study demonstrates how the unhistorical aspects of animality and forgetfulness, as well as the historical and suprahistorical aspects, are developed in Nietzsche's later works, particularly in relation to his criticisms of morality as found in *Human, All Too Human, Thus Spoke Zarathustra, Beyond Good and Evil* and *On the Genealogy of Morals*.

II. THE UNHISTORICAL ASPECTS IN ANIMALITY AND FORGETFULNESS AND THEIR RELATION WITH HISTORICAL AND SUPRAHISTORICAL ASPECTS IN THE SECOND UNTIMELY MEDITATION

After publishing *The Birth of Tragedy*, despite the polemics surrounding this book, Nietzsche

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planned to write other works. Initially, he intended to continue with the theme of the Greeks, more specifically, the pre-Socratic philosophers, which was the content of his unpublished book entitled *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks*, which was sent to Cosima and Richard Wagner. However, Wagner himself persistently intervened so that this book would not be published and, instead, advised Nietzsche to devote himself to themes of his own time, as he had already begun to do in the text, also unpublished, called *Prefaces To Unwritten Works*; Nietzsche readily accepted this suggestion and began his plans to write his *Untimely Meditations* (Janz, 1978, I, p. 532). Nietzsche had initially planned to write thirteen *Untimely Meditations* (PF 29[163], 1873), but only four of them were actually published.

In the first two *Untimely Meditations* there is criticism of culture, mainly in *David Strauss, Confessor and Writer*, but also in *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*. The subject of the *Second Untimely Meditation* changed during his planning, as Nietzsche had initially intended to write a text about truth, but in September 1873 he changed its subject to history (Salaquarda, 1984, p. 5). These reflections on truth can be found in the unpublished book entitled *On Truth and Lies in an Extra-Moral Sense*, which, despite the change in its central theme, is very much connected with *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, as Anthony Jensen (2016, p. 20) well observes.

Nietzsche was experiencing health problems when he wrote the *Second Untimely Meditation*, to the extent that a large part of this book was dictated to his friend Gersdoff, who helped him a lot during this difficult period. After the publication of this book, Nietzsche had further difficulties. Salaquarda (1984, p. 7-12) deduces that he went through a crisis in April 1874 and suspects that this crisis was triggered by the moderate criticism he received of this work, mainly from Cosima Wagner and Erwin Rohde. In fact, Nietzsche comments very little on the *Second Untimely Meditation* and later even takes a certain distance from this work (Brobje, 2004, p. 309-310), but this does not mean that he repudiated this book or

that there is a break with the thought contained in it.

If Nietzsche's contemporaries received the *Second Untimely Meditation* with criticism, in the 20th century this work generated a great impact and influenced studies on various themes, placing it among Nietzsche's other great works. I would like to emphasize here the importance of *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life* for the reflection on time that took place mainly in phenomenology. Martin Heidegger always maintained an ambiguous relationship with Nietzsche, and this was no different with the *Second Untimely Meditation*. On the one hand, in *Being and Time* the division between monumental, antiquarian and critical history is used in section 76 to understand the temporality of *Dasein* (Heidegger, 1996, p. 358-362/392-397); on the other hand, he criticizes the concept of suprahistorical of the *Second Untimely Meditation* in the conference *The Concept of Time* (1992) and other small conceptual issues in his course on this work by Nietzsche in 1938-39. I intend to approach this problem of time in a certain way, but through a reflection on the animality and forgetfulness contained in this work.

The title of the book itself reveals the problems that will be addressed and how the notions of life and time, which also include animality and forgetfulness, are central. In German, the title is: *Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben*. Hollingdale's translation is *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*. Some introductory aspects of this title should be highlighted. Firstly, history in the title does not refer to the sequence of events of a people (*Geschichte*), but to history as a science and discipline (*Historie*); of course, Nietzsche also addresses the problem of *Geschichte* in this work, but it is *Historie* that is taken as the object of analysis in order to know its use and disadvantage for life. It is, therefore, a question of clarifying the dangers that life may encounter as a result of the way history is constructed as a science, as Nietzsche himself recognises in *Ecce Homo* (EH, *Untimely*, 1). In this sense, the *Second Untimely Meditation* deepens his critical view already put

forth in *The Birth of Tragedy* about the theoretical man, which is the fruit of Socratism (BT, 15).

Secondly, and of greater interest to the research proposed here, it is important to emphasise the word “life” present in the title of this work, as life will be the criterion for knowing to what extent history may be of use, and to what extent it may cause disadvantages. The concept of life in Nietzsche's thought has always been very profound, important and central; precisely for this reason, his understanding of life has changed and deepened over the years. However, despite not yet being defined as will to power, as one may see in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (Z II, *On Self-Overcoming*) and *Beyond Good and Evil* (BGE, 13), the concept of life encompasses a notion of strength and power that needs to be affirmed and even further strengthened.

In *The Birth of Tragedy*, the concept of life is addressed when Nietzsche seeks to understand the emergence of tragedy through the chorus. With both Dionysian and Apollonian drives, the chorus generates a psychological state in which the state, society and the difference between men give way to an overpowerful feeling of “unity which leads back to the heart of nature” (BT, 7). This makes the emergence of metaphysical consolation possible, a conception that is directly related to the notion of life: “the metaphysical consolation (...) that life at the bottom of things, in spite of the passing of phenomena, remains indestructibly powerful and pleasurable (...)” (BT, 7). In *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, the conception of life is very close to the one in *The Birth of Tragedy*, which can be noted when Nietzsche asks who will be at the tribunal of critical history: “it is not justice which here sits in judgment; it is even less mercy which pronounces the verdict: it is life alone, that dark, driving power that insatiably thirsts for itself” (UM II, 3). In both passages, Nietzsche considers life as a power.

This conception of life is central to *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*. This is evident in the foreword, where Nietzsche states his objective for the book: “We need it [history],

that is to say, for sake of life and action, not so as to turn comfortably away from life and action (...)” (UM II, Foreword). One may see here Nietzsche's affirmative character in the face of life, which clashes, already in his youth with Schopenhauer's thinking, given that the latter bases his ethics on the denial of the will to live. In addition, life is the criterion for knowing how to serve history: “We want to serve history only to the extent that history draw on life: for it is possible to value the study of history to such a degree that life becomes stunted and degenerate” (UM II, Foreword). It is against a degenerate life that Nietzsche aims to determine how history, as a science, should be exercised so that in the future there will be a life connected to culture, what he calls, in *The Birth of Tragedy*, tragic culture, related to the metaphysical consolation that affirms life (BT, 18).

Although history is a human phenomenon, the criterion for analysing the advantages and disadvantages of history is not humanity nor humanism, but life. One can also see that this reflection on history in this work does not only address human life, but also includes animals. The beginning of the first section of *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life* describes herd animals in a poetic way. In this passage, the differences between animal and human are emphasised, but not as a way of valuing the human way of life. On the contrary, it shows how human beings suffer much more in the flow of time through their memory than animals, which live in forgetfulness in that same temporal flow:

Consider the cattle, grazing as they pass you by: they do not know what is meant by yesterday or today, they leap about, eat, rest, digest, leap about again, and so from morn till night and from day to day, fettered to the moment and its pleasure or displeasure, and thus neither melancholy nor bored. This is a hard sight for man to see; for, though he thinks himself better than the animals because he is human, he cannot help envying them their happiness - what they have, a life neither bored nor painful, is precisely what he wants, yet he cannot have it because he refuses to be like an animal. A human being may well ask

an animal: "Why do you not speak to me of your happiness but only stand and gaze at me?" The animal would like to answer, and say: "The reason is I always forget what I was going to say" - but then he forgot this answer too, and stayed silent: so that the human being was left wondering. (UM II, 1).

This passage describes the difference between animal and human in the face of time: the animal is in the moment, trapped inside its pleasure and displeasure, without getting bored; on the other hand, man, as much as he may boast of his humanity, looks with envy at this animal happiness that lives in the flow of the moment, because, unlike that, man has a memory that does not allow him to forget: "(...) he [man] also wonders at himself, that he cannot learn to forget but chings relentlessly to the past" (UM II, 1). Because man has memory, he envies animals: "A leaf flutters from the scroll of time, floats away - and suddenly floats back again and falls into the man's lap. Then the man says 'I remember' and envies the animal, who at once forgets and for whom every moment really dies (...)" (UM II, 1).

It is important to emphasise that this passage is a paraphrase of the poem *Night Song of a Wandering Shepherd in Asia* by Giacomo Leopardi, a pessimistic Italian poet whom Nietzsche knew, admired and read through Hamerling's translation (Bollnow, 1997, p.66-68 and Brusotti, 1997, p. 325). For Leopardi, human beings seek happiness, but nature does not seek to satisfy human beings; it simply preserves itself with a certain indifference towards anyone. Amidst of suffering and inevitable death, in Leopardi's poems, man complains to nature and, in the case of this particular poem, he envies the animals not only for being free from pain, but also for forgetting, for being in the moment and, above all, for the fact that boredom does not affect them. Human pleasure is in the past or the future and not in the present, so true pleasure cannot be attained because man has lost happiness in the present, only boredom and suffering remaining. Could there be a return to the happiness of the moment? This is something almost impossible, but which, to a certain extent, for both Nietzsche and Leopardi, is possible through philosophy; the

latter by means of ultra-philosophy (Bini, 1997), while the former by means of a philosophy which will be deeply reflected on here.

The notion that animals are in the moment also appears in the great philosophical reference for Nietzsche at the time he wrote *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, namely Schopenhauer. Some scholars (Brusotti, 1997, p. 325, Müller-Lauter, 1999, p. 192, Salaquarda, 1984, p. 27) note that Nietzsche recovers a series of Schopenhauerian images of animals in this passage: in section 38 of the second volume of *The World as Will and Representation*, Schopenhauer considers that the animal is restricted to the present because it does not have knowledge by reflection and is limited to intuition (Schopenhauer, 1966, p. 439-446); and in section 153 of *Parerga and Paralipomena*, he also states that due to the lack of reflection, the animal does not feel pleasure and pain through memory, but it only feels these feelings in the present moment (Schopenhauer, 2000, p. 294), in such a way that the animal suffers less, although it also has less pleasure than the human being (Idem, p. 296). One notes a very strong relationship between Schopenhauer and Leopardi, especially in this last quote, which contributes to a better understanding of the image of the animals at the beginning of the *Second Untimely Meditation*.

This state of the animal that lives in the fluidity of the moment with its immediate pleasures and pains is characterized as forgetfulness by Nietzsche. The animal forgets and lives within this naive fluidity, whereas the human being has memory, so that it is no longer possible to live this happiness of the animal. However, it must be emphasised, as Jensen (2016, p. 50) rightly points out, that for Nietzsche forgetfulness is not a failure of memory, nor is it a lack thereof nor a weakness in an organism's ability to remember. Forgetfulness is an active force in the living organism, just like memory. Although Nietzsche explores this active aspect of forgetfulness in *On the Genealogy of Morals* (GM II, 1), in *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life* it may be noted through the relationship between life and action: "Forgetting is essential to action of any kind, just as not only light but darkness too

is essential for the life of everything organic" (UM II, 1). Only with forgetfulness is it possible to act and live, just as it is possible to be happy like the animals. However, it would be incorrect to consider that the animal has no memory and is only forgetfulness, just as it is problematic to consider that the human being is only memory and does not forget, because, as it says in this last quote, opposites (light and darkness) are necessary in life, so both forgetfulness and memory are necessary.

Thus, Nietzsche deepens the characterisation of this state of forgetfulness of the animal as unhistorical: "Thus the animal lives *unhistorically*: for it is contained in the present (...); it does not know how to dissimulate, it conceals nothing and at every instant appears wholly as what it is; it can therefore never be anything but honest" (UM II, 1). On the other hand, when man thinks, compares and discriminates, he makes it possible for historical meaning to emerge: "Thus only through the power of employing the past for the purposes of life and of again introducing into history that which has been done and is gone - did man become man" (UM II, 1). Because of this, the child who plays with the past and the future, "all too soon it will be called out of its state of forgetfulness. Then it will learn to understand the phrase 'it was': that password which gives conflict, suffering" (UM II, 1). This is a cultural construction of memory in man that separates him from the animal happiness present in forgetfulness. Therefore, the state of man is completely different from that of the animal, because he "braces himself against the great and ever greater pressure of what is past: it pushes him down or bends him sideways, it encumbers his steps as a dark, invisible burden (...). That is why it affects him like a vision of a lost paradise to see the herds grazing (...)" (UM II, 1). Man is a historical being, and the disadvantage thereof is the loss of happiness present in the forgetfulness of animals.

Nietzsche relates this happiness of the animal to cynicism: "If happiness, if reaching out for new happiness, is in any sense what fetters living creatures to life and make them go on living, then perhaps no philosopher is more justified than the

Cynic" (UM II, 1). In ancient Greece, the Cynics, whose main representative is Diogenes of Sinope, considered that happiness lies in living in accordance with nature and without the desires created by society such as wealth, power and fame; cynicism preaches a simple life and against social conventions. Because of this, one of the hypotheses for these philosophers being called Cynics (κυνικός) is related to the fact that the members of this school behaved like dogs (κύων). Diogenes himself agreed with this description of his school to the point of sometimes behaving as if he were a dog. Nietzsche knows about this relationship between cynicism and animality, which is why he then states: "For the happiness of the animal, as the perfect Cynic, is the living proof of the rightness of Cynicism" (UM II, 1).

In analysing animal happiness, Nietzsche distances himself from Schopenhauer's reflection in section 153 of *Parerga and Paralipomena*, as I briefly pointed out above, namely that the animal suffers less, but has less pleasure than man. This is because, according to Nietzsche, the animal not only has less pain, but is also happier than man, given that "the smallest happiness, if only it is present uninterruptedly and make happy, is incomparably more happiness than the greatest happiness that comes only as an episode, as it were a piece of waywardness or folly, in a continuum of joylessness, desire and privation" (UM II, 1). With regard to forgetfulness, happiness is not only greater among ones who forget, but forgetfulness itself is a condition for happiness:

In the case of the smallest or of the greatest happiness, however, it is always the same thing that makes happiness happiness: the ability to forget or, expressed in more scholarly fashion, the capacity to feel *unhistorically* during its duration. He who cannot sink down on the threshold of the moment and forget all the past who cannot stand balanced like a goddess of victory without growing dizzy and afraid, will never know what happiness is - worse, he will never do anything to make others happy (UM II, 1).

As I have already explained, forgetfulness is not an incapacity or failure in a faculty, but is an active force of life and action, so that, without forgetfulness it is not possible to act nor to live. Between memory and forgetfulness, Nietzsche prioritises the necessity of forgetting for life and happiness: “Thus: it is possible to live almost without memory, and to live happily moreover, as the animal demonstrates; but it is altogether impossible to *live* at all without forgetting” (UM II, 1).

It is from this perspective of forgetfulness, present in the animal's happiness, that Nietzsche poses the problem of his work: “Or, to express my theme even more simply: *there is a degree of sleeplessness, of rumination, of the historical sense, which is harmful and ultimately fatal to the living thing, whether this living thing be a man or a people or a culture*” (UM II, 1). This does not mean that Nietzsche advocates the end of memory in human beings or in any living being. In order for an individual or a people to be happy, it is as necessary “to forget at the right time as to remember at the right time” and “the possession of a powerful instinct for sensing when it is necessary to feel historically and when unhistorically” (UM II, 1). The balance between memory and forgetfulness, history and unhistory, is necessary for life and culture: “This, precisely, is the proposition the reader is invited to meditate upon: *the unhistorical and historical are necessary in equal measure for the health of an individual, of a people and of a culture*” (UM II, 1). This balance between forgetting and remembering contains a relationship of justice because, according to Vanessa Lemm (2010, p. 170), what characterises the order of justice by life is that it establishes a ‘natural relationship’ between knowledge (memory and history) and action (forgetfulness and the unhistorical).

Therefore, it is through forgetfulness, present in the happiness of the animal, that Nietzsche questions the excessive value given to history, in such a way that the unhistorical is also necessary for life and culture. In order to know how to forget and to remember to the right extent, Nietzsche considers it necessary to recognise “how great the *plastic power* of a man, a people, a culture is: I

mean by plastic power the capacity to develop out of oneself in one's own way, to transform and incorporate into oneself what is past and foreign, to heal wounds, to replace what has been lost, to recreate broken moulds” (UM II, 1). This plastic force has an interrelationship with life because it is present in the ability to digest the past, allowing us to forget and remember at the same time. As Vanessa Lemm (2010, p. 170) observes, history in the service of life means history as a form of life. And, as I briefly noted, since *The Birth of Tragedy*, life and art have been linked, so that Nietzsche positions himself here against ‘historical objectivity’ and in favour of an artistic expression of history (see also Lemm, 2010, p. 173-174).

In addition to the concepts of history and unhistory, Nietzsche introduces a third concept: the supraphistory. However, with regard to this latter concept, two points need to be emphasised. Firstly, in the first drafts of the *Second Untimely Meditation*, Nietzsche does not use this term, introducing it only in the final version (Jensen, 2016, p. 54). Secondly, as Jensen also noted (2016, p. 53), there is ambivalence in the definition of the concept of supraphistory, and even inconsistencies (Idem, p. 57), given that the book contains two different definitions of this concept. In the first section, inspired by Niebuhr, Nietzsche associates the suprahistorical with the unhistorical: “If, in sufficient number of case, one could scent out and retrospectively breathe this unhistorical atmosphere within which every great historical event has taken place, he might, as a percipient being, raise himself to a suprahistorical vantage point (...)" (UM II, 1). In this way, the suprahistorical man considers the past and the present to be one and the same, eternally identical (UM II, 1). In the last section, Nietzsche separates the unhistorical from the suprahistorical, defining the former as “the art and power of *forgetting* and of enclosing oneself within a bounded *horizon*” (UM II, 10). On the other hand, the suprahistorical is defined as “the powers which lead the eye away from becoming towards that which bestows upon existence the character of the eternal and stable, towards *art and religion*” (UM II, 10). Thus, in the first section, the

suprahistorical is associated with the unhistorical, while in the last section, the suprahistorical is characterised as a leading away of the eye from becoming with the aim of noticing eternity through art and religion.

Thus, both the suprahistorical and the unhistorical are considered antidotes to cure the historical disease: “the unhistorical and the suprahistorical are the natural antidotes to the stifling of life by the historical, by the malady of history” (UM II, 10). Nietzsche considers that the notion of the suprahistorical is a way of overcoming the excessive historical consideration of his time. What is not clear is how the suprahistorical is related to the unhistorical. However, regardless of this ambiguous and unclear relationship between the suprahistorical and the unhistorical, it is clear that Nietzsche uses the forgetfulness present in animal happiness, in other words, the unhistorical, as a form of ‘remedy’ against the ‘historical disease’. The ability to forget, present in animals, is a unhistorical means of limiting the domains of historical meaning.

Later in the book, Nietzsche discusses the three species of history: the monumental history, in which the man of action sees in history the great men and deeds as examples to be reproduced; the antiquarian history, in which man cultivates through history facts of ancestors that need to be preserved; and the critical history, in which man, who wants liberation, uses history to dissolve and judge the past. I do not intend to delve into the studies and debates on these three species of history, but only to emphasise that I agree with Jensen's point of view (2016, p. 73-74) that there is no evidence that Nietzsche prefers one among these three species of history, given that all three forms of history contain uses and disadvantages. This becomes clear at the beginning of sections 4 and 5, in which he points out the uses (UM II, 4) and disadvantages (UM II, 5) of history, which may include these three species of history.

I want to emphasise here Nietzsche's thesis about the need for unhistorical elements in order to affirm life in the face of history, in other words, the state of forgetfulness and animal happiness.

This is not an anti-historical position, because Nietzsche points out the importance of history for life. He does not advocate doing away with historical memory and returning entirely to animal happiness, because human beings are historical beings. On the other hand, I do not think that the unhistorical elements is simply a regulatory ideal, and even less that Nietzsche leaves aside the temptation to return to nature, as Nasser thinks (2017, p. 82), since this possibility is also present in the experience of the tragic in *The Birth of Tragedy* (BT, 7).

However, how can the unhistorical aspects present in forgetfulness and animality of the beginning of the *Second Untimely Meditation* be used to affirm life? In this book, the problem posed by Nietzsche consists of the extent to which memory and historical science might harm life, since the fact that “science is beginning to dominate life” (UM II, 7) calls into question the extent to which this kind of life has value. Nietzsche posits the possibility of an unhistorical culture being rich and alive (UM II, 8), as it occurred in Ancient Greece, given that “(...) Greeks - during the period of their greatest strength kept a tenacious hold on their unhistorical sense” (UM II, 4). This period of great strength refers to the tragic age of the Greeks, when metaphysical consolation made it possible to affirm life in its strongest and most mysterious form (BT, 7). The possibility of using unhistorical and historical forces (forgetfulness and memory, respectively) at the same time to affirm life will become a horizon that Nietzsche will reflect on later, even if he does not use these exact concepts. So how does the problem of forgetfulness and animality present in the *Second Untimely Meditation* develop in Nietzschean philosophy?

III. ANIMALITY AND FORGETFULNESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NIETZSCHE'S PHILOSOPHY

With regard to this question from the last topic, Müller-Lauter (1999, p. 30) points out that with the development of Nietzsche's philosophy, the suprahistorical aspect is abandoned due to his critique of metaphysics, and the unhistorical

aspects, the force of forgetting of animal happiness, will be emphasised as useful to life. In fact, from a position opposed to metaphysics, it would not be possible to valorise the suprahistorical aspects, whose aim is a contemplation of eternity, whereas the unhistorical aspects are reinterpreted and positioned as a means of affirming life and instincts. However, as I pointed out above, there is an ambiguity in the concept of the suprahistorical, since it has both a metaphysical sense of contemplating the eternal, and another sense that is associated with a breath of unhistorical aspects that manages to equalise past and present. I will show here how the non-metaphysical sense of suprahistorical and unhistorical aspects may be noted in the development of Nietzsche's philosophy through his reflection on forgetfulness and animality.

In order to do this, it is important to first emphasise the changes in Nietzsche's philosophy over the course of his works. *The Birth of Tragedy* and *Untimely Meditations* are categorised as belonging to the first phase of his thought, marked by a strong influence from the metaphysical notions of Schopenhauer and Wagner. For this reason, in the *Second Untimely Meditation*, there is a metaphysical sense of the suprahistorical aspect. The second phase of his philosophy, which includes *Human, All Too Human* up to *The Gay Science*, is characterised by a break with Schopenhauer and Wagner, and begins to criticise metaphysics and morality. Therefore, a metaphysical conception of the suprahistorical is abandoned, and animality and forgetfulness (unhistorical aspects) are analysed within the context of the critique of morality. Finally, in the third phase of his thought, Nietzsche introduces new concepts for understanding life, morality and the possibilities of overcoming human beings, such as the will to power, the eternal recurrence, and the overhuman, and consequently animality and forgetfulness are understood through these new conceptions. The suprahistorical and unhistorical conceptions originally belong to the first phase of his thinking. However, my aim is to demonstrate how these conceptions can be noted in these two

subsequent periods of Nietzsche's intellectual trajectory, by analysing the notions of animality and forgetfulness.

In *Human, All Too Human*, a work that marks a break with Wagner and Schopenhauer, Nietzsche criticises metaphysics in several passages. In one of these passages, he emphasises the lack of historical sense in philosophers because they take current man as an eternal truth (HH, 2). Therefore, it can be seen that, in this work, history is valorised in order to unmask the eternal truths of metaphysics, which discards that metaphysical sense of the suprahistorical aspect. Furthermore, the unhistorical aspects present in *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life* may be seen in the critique of morality that Nietzsche begins to elaborate in *Human, All Too Human*. In analysing the origin of moral sentiments by means of the self-preservation of life, Nietzsche questions the distinction between freedom and necessity, as well as the moral judgement of human actions, which leads to the conclusion that human actions are unaccountable and innocent (HH, 107). This innocence is characterised as a state in which man is in nature without praise or censure (HH, 34), like a child (HH, 124), that is, similar to the unhistorical state of the *Second Untimely Meditation*. In an aphorism, Nietzsche asks himself about the animality of man: "Error has transformed animals into men; is truth perhaps capable of changing man back into an animal?" (HH, 519). There is, therefore, in the critique of morality, a reflection on the possibility of returning to an animal state, just as it is characterized in the unhistorical aspects present in the *Second Untimely Meditation*.

Later, in *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche goes more deeply into these aspects of animality and forgetfulness and relates them to the problem of morality. In the second dissertation of this work, Nietzsche states: "To breed an animal with the prerogative to *promise* – is that not precisely the paradoxical task which nature has set herself with regard to humankind?" (GM II, 1). Therefore, in considering the human as an animal capable of making promises, he returns to the question of forgetfulness and of memory. The former is an active force that performs a "psychic digestion"

that is necessary for having new experiences, and the latter is also an active force that transforms a passive inability to be rid of an impression into an active desire not let go, a desire to keep on desiring what has been. Humans, as animals that make promises, develop memory of will in order to become reliable and constant, which is necessary for being able to answer for themselves and for the future. With memory, meaning is given to the morality of customs (ordering action in a habitual way according to certain established norms) and conscience (*Gewissen*) is born. Along with this moralization of the human, a perspective of time is also formed through the quantification of the moment and the formation of the memory of the will.

However, “How do you give a memory to the animal, man?” (GM II, 3). The answer lies in *mnemotechnics* whose principle consists of “only something that continues to *hurt* stays in the memory” (GM II, 3). This memory formation occurs by means of an act of cruelty by humans towards their animality. In *Beyond Good and Evil*, he states: “Almost everything we call ‘higher culture’ is based on the spiritualization of *cruelty*, on its becoming more profound: this is my proposition. That ‘savage animal’ has not really been ‘mortified’; it lives and flourishes, it has merely become - divine” (BGE, 229). Thus, humans are wild animals that have transformed themselves: they have been domesticated by means of repressing the most vital instincts of animality, thus generating a new reality. However, humans lose their connection with the moment and start to self-regulate through fixed and isolated aspects of the fluidity of time, so they distinguish past, present and future, but they lose the experience of the moment. Using concepts from *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, it may be said that humans have become historical beings to the extent that a memory of the will has been formed in them, leading to a decline the unhistorical aspects, such as forgetfulness and animality, but these aspects are necessary for life.

The formation of the human being as a historical being is related to the memory of the will and, as a consequence, to the formation of morality in the

human being. On the other hand, Nietzsche's critique of morality emphasises the importance of forgetfulness and animality, that is, of the unhistorical aspects, for the creation of a new form of life. In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, when approaching the transformations of values in *On the Three Transformations*, Nietzsche illustrates the last transformation through the child who, unlike the lion and the camel, is capable of creating and overcoming morality in a state of innocence and forgetting: “(...) what can the child yet do that even the lion could not do? Innocence the child is and forgetting, a beginning anew, a play, a self-propelling wheel, a first movement, a sacred Yea-saying” (AFZ I, *On the Three Transformations*). In *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche notes that resentment does not poison the noble man because of his strong and full nature “that is the sign of strong, rounded natures with a superabundance of a power which is flexible, formative, healing and can make one forget” (GM I, 10). He also gives the example of Mirabeau “who had no recall for the insults and slights directed at him and who could not forgive, simply because he - forgot” (GM I, 10). In *Beyond Good and Evil*, there is the famous passage about forgetfulness quoted in the film *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind*: “Blessed are the forgetful: for they get over their stupidities, too” (BGE, 217).

Therefore, forgetfulness, a unhistorical aspect, is a force capable of avoiding resentment and even overcoming morality. In the same way, animal instincts are forces capable of expanding power: “Every animal, including the *bête philosophique*, instinctively strives for an optimum of favourable conditions in which to fully release his power and achieve his maximum of power-sensation” (GM III, 7). How does Nietzschean philosophy recover aspects of forgetfulness and animality? How does one recover unhistorical aspects in a historical human condition?

In the *Second Untimely Meditation*, the reinstatement of unhistorical aspects in the history means an overcoming of historical culture, maintaining a balance between historical and unhistorical aspects, which leads to one of the conceptualisations of what is suprahistorical: the

breath of unhistorical aspects to bring past and present together. Through these concepts of the *Second Untimely Meditation*, it is also possible to interpret the place occupied by forgetfulness and animality in Nietzsche's critique of morality. Since it is not a case of returning completely to the state of forgetfulness and animality, but of being able to overcome the human and achieve the overhuman (*Übermensch*) through these potentialities present in this state.

It is through Zarathustra that Nietzsche teaches the overhuman: "*I teach to you the Overhuman*. The human is something that shall be overcome. What have you done to overcome it?" (Z I, prologue, 3). The overhuman is not an ideal, nor can it be a new evolved species of man, but is "the type that has turned out best, by contrast with 'modern' men, 'good' men, Christians and other nihilists" (EH, *Why I Write Such Good Books*, 1). In short, nihilism is the perception of meaninglessness, and morality was seen as an antidote through its assertion of absolute value (PF 5[71], 1886-1887). However, in Modernity, the perceived need for this antidote has diminished, reflecting a broader devaluation of all values (PF 9[35], 1887). The overcoming of nihilism by the overhuman means a new sense of the earth (Z I, prologue, 3). The overhuman is a projection of the possibility of the elevation of the human through the overcoming of morality. It is a new way of life that would emerge in a similar way to how the animal-human developed their culture, but in the opposite direction, because Nietzsche's philosophy questions cultural aspects in its critique of morality. The overcoming of the human being through the overhuman does not exclude animality, much less life, just as it is possible to interpret that a suprahistorical conception does not exclude the unhistorical aspects, that is, forgetfulness and animality.

For Nietzsche, culture and morality are within the very dynamics of life, and this includes animal life. From *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* onwards, life is conceptualised through the will to power (AFZ II, *On Self-Overcoming*). The will to power is not a subject or a substance, but a relation of force and domination that seeks to grow in the face of existence, to expand and dominate. In book V of

The Gay Science, Nietzsche questions self-conservation as the fundamental instinct and proposes that life, as will to power, is constituted by relations of struggle: "The struggle for survival is only an *exception*, a temporary restriction of the will to life; the great and small struggle revolves everywhere around preponderance, around growth and expansion, around power and in accordance with the will to power, which is simply the will to life" (GS, 349). Is there a strong relation between memory and forgetfulness in life? How are forgetfulness, memory, and the will to power connected?

Forgetfulness and memory are part of life, therefore, there is a relation between them that alludes to the connection between unhistorical and historical elements discussed in the *Second Untimely Meditation*. In her book *Nietzsche's Animal Philosophy: culture, politics, and the animality of the human being*, Vanessa Lemm investigates culture through life, but also moves away from an identification of will to power with memory. Instead, she argues that "the notion of the will to power reflects an antagonism between memory and forgetfulness and can be reformulated through this antagonism" (Lemm, 2009, p.2). With this, she investigates the antagonism between culture and animality by schematizing a relationship between the animal, the human and the overhuman: "speaking schematically, one can say that forgetfulness in Nietzsche's discourse belongs to the animal, memory to the human, and promise to the overhuman" (*Idem, ibidem*). Thus, it is possible to draw a parallel between the above scheme and the problem of history present in the *Second Untimely Meditation* as follows: unhistorical, forgetfulness and animal; historical, memory and human; suprahistorical, promise, overhuman. The suprahistorical aspect in this parallel should not be understood in the metaphysical sense of contemplating eternity¹, but rather in relation to unhistorical aspects. Just as the overhuman is not an ideal, but a re-signification of the vital forces of

¹ A reflection on this suprahistorical aspect in art can be found in aphorism 370 of *The Gay Science*, but as the focus here is on animality and forgetfulness, this will not be thematised.

the human animal, the suprahistorical is also an overcoming of the historical culture that recovers to unhistorical aspects.

I distance myself from those who consider the animal in Nietzsche as something that has been overcome (Conant, 2001, p. 224-225; Conway, 1997, p. 13-17), but, on the other hand, I do not consider that there is a complete return to animality. As Vanessa Lemm thinks, this return to animality is more a cultivation of our animality (Idem, p. 4), because "the forgetfulness of the animal is indispensable to the promise of an overhuman future" (Lemm, 2004, p. 220). For Nietzsche, it is not about going back to being animals, but rather that overcoming the human implies overcoming morality and a change in the relationship with time which places the animal and forgetfulness as an opening horizon towards thinking and experiencing the overhuman.

Therefore, just as in the work *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, the past keeps tormenting the human, so in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* the will is disconnected from the past: "‘It was’: that is the will’s gnashing of teeth and loneliest sorrow (...) Backwards the will is unable to will; that it cannot break time and time’s desire – that is the will’s loneliest sorrow" (Z II, *On Redemption*). Karl Löwith, when addressing the passage from *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life* about animals and forgetfulness, notes that the human being is never in the present, because they anticipate each moment that will be remembered as one that has passed, so the human cannot forget, and therefore "what at first appears to be only a pre-human deficiency, the unhistorical life of the animal and child, proves itself – from the superhuman viewpoint of Zarathustra- to be positive perfection" (Löwith, 1996, p. 132). Therefore, the unhistorical aspects, which correspond to the pre-human life present in animality and forgetfulness, are a positive perfection from the point of view of the overhuman pointed out by Zarathustra.

The ability of the suprahistorical perspective to reinterpret and affirm unhistorical aspects becomes manifest in the overcoming of morality

present in the conception of the overhuman developed in Nietzsche's works of maturity. He states in a fragment: "164. Even as animals we should be perfect – said Zarathustra" (PF 5 [1] de 1883). In another fragment, Nietzsche asks himself what transformations are to come from the teaching that there is no God and no moral law, and states: "dass wir thiere sind? dass unser Leben vorbeigeht? dass wir unverantwortlich sind? *der Weise und das Thier werden sich nähern und einen neuen Typus ergeben!*" (PF 11[54], 1881). This image of the wise man is related to the suprahistorical perspective that breathes unhistorical aspects (UM II, 1). It is about getting closer to the animal in order to form a new type: the overhuman. Animality and forgetfulness (unhistorical elements) are forces of life that are necessary both for overcoming historical culture through the suprahistorical point of view present in *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, and also, from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* onwards, for overcoming moralised human beings in order to reach the overhuman. One may, therefore, note a development of the reflection on animality and forgetfulness made in the *Second Untimely Meditation*.

IV. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The animals and forgetfulness poetically represented at the beginning of the *Second Untimely Meditation* form what Nietzsche understands as the unhistorical aspects necessary for life. Reflecting on the historical culture, Nietzsche notes the potentiality of the unhistorical aspects present in animality and forgetfulness, which are capable of strengthening life and culture. On the other hand, suprahistorical aspects are related both to metaphysical notions (contemplation of eternity) and to a resumption of what he characterised as unhistorical (breathing unhistorical aspects). Both unhistorical and suprahistorical aspects are considered antidotes to the historical disease present in modern culture. Thus, considerations about animality and forgetfulness are relevant to the cultural change designed by Nietzsche in this period of his intellectual development. The unhistorical aspects indicate a necessary condition for life, opposing

the historical memory that is overvalued in modern scientific culture. In this first intellectual phase, Nietzsche already advocates for an affirmation of life in opposition to modern culture.

As I briefly emphasised earlier, for personal reasons, Nietzsche ended up moving away from the *Second Untimely Meditation*, which may explain why he did not later use terms such as historical culture and unhistorical and suprahistorical aspects. However, by analysing the reflections on animality and forgetfulness made after this work, it is possible to interpret the place where these terms would be in the development of Nietzsche's philosophy. Through the concept of the will to power, Nietzsche deepens the thesis that forgetfulness is an active force, just as animality forms the base of vital instincts that must be affirmed. Furthermore, the concept of the overhuman is linked to the thesis that forgetfulness is a force capable of overcoming resentment and morality, while animal instincts are forces capable of expanding power. In this sense, the concept of the overhuman proposes a new configuration of forgetfulness and animality - unhistorical aspects of life.

Nietzsche's critique of the historical culture is related to his later critique of morality, as animality and forgetfulness (unhistorical aspects) are potentialities for affirming life. With regard to the suprahistorical aspects, it is possible to affirm that, in the *Second Untimely Meditation*, they relate to the unhistorical (UM II, 1) and metaphysical (UM II, 10) aspects at the same time. Thus, in the development of Nietzsche's philosophy, the metaphysical sense of the suprahistorical aspects is left aside, but the suprahistorical aspects related to the unhistorical ones may be noticed in concepts and reflections on the overcoming morality, especially in the concept of overhuman. This study contributes to understanding the unhistorical, historical and suprahistorical aspects of animality and forgetfulness in *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*, as well as to pointing out how these concepts may be present later. In this sense, the thesis presented in this article shows the continuity of these concepts from the early phase

of Nietzsche's thought into his later works, relating them to fundamental concepts formulated subsequently, such as the will to power and the overhuman.

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ABSTRACT

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Keywords: counter-hegemonic forces, language choice, linguistic needs, linguistic diversity, ambivalence.

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I. BACKGROUND

Language policy and dominant linguistic ideologies have played a critical role in shaping educational systems and classroom practices in the Caribbean region. In some postcolonial societies, such as Trinidad and Tobago (T&T), official language policies that have privileged colonial languages such as Standard English in the past have been revised to accommodate the local Creoles in education. In 2013, the Ministry of Education (MOE) instituted a policy endorsement on the use of Creole English within the classroom. Although this language accommodation was implemented to aid student comprehension and increase the level of engagement, it was also viewed as an ameliorative measure, a turn away from the dominant linguistic hegemony, a restructuring of the language hierarchy to give rightful place to the local Creole languages.

The former English-only policy for education reflected hegemonic ideologies which equated accuracy with intelligence and academic success, and as a consequence became a marker of legitimacy, social mobility and power in the classroom (Phillipson, 1992). These hegemonic ideologies became embedded in the national curricula, teacher training programs and academic instruction and assessments and not only did they suppress the linguistic diversity brought by students to the classroom, but it was also a devaluation of identity (Liddicoat, 2016; Hurie & Callahan, 2019; Scott & Vengas, 2017; Velasco, 2025). Rigid adherence to monolingual policies, which are “corrective” approaches to the use of non-standard languages, result in the alienation of learners when their linguistic identities are positioned as inappropriate or

deficient for teaching and learning (Emerick & Goldberg, 2023; Hammie, 2020; Kiramba, 2018). A barrier to learning was thus created because of this disconnect between the language of the home and the language of the school (Craig, 1999; Youssef, 2002). For many students in Trinidad and Tobago, Creole English is the primary language used at home and in their communities, and as a response to students' linguistic needs, a culturally relevant response in the form of a policy adjustment was implemented to honour linguistic diversity as an asset to the teaching-learning process. This counter-hegemonic strategy validates students' linguistic repertoires, promotes equity and improves learning outcomes (Chisholm, 2021; Martinez, 2018; Yilmaz, 2021).

II. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study investigates the intersection of counter-hegemonic forces, language choice, and linguistic needs in the primary classroom in Tobago. Apart from considerations of how dominant language ideologies shape current practices, the study will focus on how implementation of inclusive language practices in a postcolonial context at the primary level could support and empower students to make strategic language choices where linguistic needs may be unsupported. The study will also focus on how these alternative frameworks could offer more equitable and effective educational experiences.

III. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Linguistic hierarchies, a characteristic of many postcolonial societies, create barriers to comprehension, student engagement and student overall academic performance. Consequently, counter-hegemonic forces emerge as acts of resistance that challenge prominent language ideologies. In Tobago, these forces have manifested in the forms of teacher agency, student agency, and advocacy for more inclusive and equitable language policies and practices. However, there is a gap in understanding how these counter-hegemonic forces operate in the primary classroom, how they influence language

choice and how they align with or conflict with students' linguistic needs.

3.1 Central Research Question

How do the present language ideologies influence language choice and instructional practices in the primary classroom?

3.2 Research Sub- Question

- What counter-hegemonic forces, which challenge dominant linguistic norms, are prevalent in the primary classroom?
- How does language choice in primary classrooms support students' cognitive, socio-emotional and academic linguistic needs?

IV. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Postcolonial theory interrogates how colonial ideologies persist in systems of knowledge, language and identity long after political independence has been achieved (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002; Said, 1978). In the context of this study, Trinidad and Tobago - a former British colony, classroom practices continue to reflect colonial hierarchies that privilege the coloniser's language- Standard English while marginalizing the country's Creoles.

Postcolonial theory challenges the monolingual ideology that associates Standard English with intelligence and educational legitimacy (Pennycook, 1998). Standard English with its associated prestige still "mirrors and reinforces social hierarchies" (Metz, 2018, p. 457) not only in the classroom but also in the society. Through curriculum implementation, assessments and other aspects of education, many learners are excluded from meaningful engagement in the learning process as a result of linguistic imperialism. This situation is described through a postcolonial lens as a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991).

An understanding of students' linguistic needs through postcolonial lenses acknowledges a change in perspective regarding education - from the legacy of imperial control to a place where

teachers and students can now shape how they produce knowledge and make education more accessible. This makes language choice a political act (Baldwin & Quinn, 2007) on the part of teachers and students to end the erasure of local identities and cultural subordination. Students' needs which include cultural and linguistic validation, are met in an inclusive space where linguistic diversity is leveraged as a learning resource (Garcia & Wei, 2014).

V. LITERATURE REVIEW

In Trinidad and Tobago and the wider Caribbean, resistance by teachers and students to these dominant language norms brings the concept of counter-hegemonic forces into play. London (2001) described the use of the English-only policy in Trinidad and Tobago as an imposition and anti-democratic and in an earlier reference to the reproductive roles that schools play in education, argued that "Individuals within the school may therefore generate counter-hegemonic forces through which they might temper or even reject altogether constraints of imposition from the system" (London, 1995).

5.1 Counter-Hegemony

In the contemporary Caribbean classroom, value is being ascribed to linguistic diversity *via* pedagogical practices which integrate the use of Creoles as legitimate forms of communication and learning. Current research argues that there is no pedagogical justification for maintaining an English only policy (Bajwa, 2020; Cross et al, 2022; Rahman, 2020). Hence the call for the culturally responsive approach to teaching and the inclusion of multicultural curriculum content, a deviation from, or resistance to the colonial monolingual policy, has been described as counter-hegemony by postcolonial critics (Cere, 2020).

A rejection of ideological manipulation (Apple, 1981) and language ideologies such as language standardization (the belief that the only correct language is the dominant one, hence no other form is appropriate), and native speaker ideology (the belief that native language speakers are not

linguistically competent as those who speak the dominant language) must be noted. These ideologies facilitate the harmful practices of discrimination and inequality by ascribing certain attributes such as intelligence to speakers of the dominant language - in this case, Standard English while rendering the native language as unacceptable (Baker-Bell, 2020; Metz, 2018, Woodard & Rao, 2020). Consequently, the deviation or resistance to these ideologies is demonstrated in various ways through classroom practices which include teaching strategies, and multilingual approaches to teaching and learning such as code-switching, translanguaging and validating linguistic identities.

5.2 Language Choice and Linguistic Rights

The inclusion of Creoles in teaching and learning signals that agency is given to both teachers and students as the indigenous knowledge they bring to the classroom has value. This freedom to choose their language is more than a decision about learning; it is quintessentially a matter of human rights (Davila, 2017; UNESCO, 2022). When affirmation of students' languages is demonstrated by teachers, it is also an affirmation of their identities (Su & Lee, 2022; Winer, 2022, Youssef, 2014) and creates an equitable context conducive to learning (Crosson, 2022; Robertson & Simmons-Mc Donald, 2014; Skerrett & Vlach, 2022).

The agency to choose not only challenges linguistic imperialism, but also promotes democracy in the classroom. Studies in critical pedagogy refer to this as crucial in the decolonization process (Freire, 1970). The school, traditionally used as an agent of power for social control and manipulation of knowledge by dominant groups (Apple, 1995), must now facilitate teachers and students as producers of knowledge (Gojkov, 2019; Knight, 2006; Medina & Samaca Bohorquez, 2020). According to UNESCO (2022), students have a right to choose and be educated in their own language. This kind of policy change in education is both agentic and liberating (Gojkov, 2019).

5.3 Linguistic Needs of Primary Learners

Students in learning contexts where their native language is different from the language of instruction (LOI) are often in need of significant language-related support in order to not only understand and communicate in the learning process, but also to succeed in their overall academic performance. These learners tend to have various linguistic needs, which if not met could be detrimental to their academic achievements. Linguistic needs as used in this study can be described as: the need to process and conceptualize subject content effectively (cognitive); the need to be included and validated in their linguistic identity (socio-emotional), and the need to develop proficiency in the language used mainly for instruction and assessment (academic).

The cognitive aspect of learner needs can be addressed through relevant use of student-centred teaching strategies by teachers and learning strategies by students. What and how students think about language, how they understand, learn, remember and use language are critical for developing language skills (Sulastriana, 2021). Socio-emotional needs could be met through validating students' linguistic identity by giving their language the same or similar status of the LOI. The position that students' home language must not be denigrated validates their presence, significance and acceptance in the classroom (aus der Wieschen & Sert, 2021; Tan, Farashaiyan, Sahragard, & Faryabi, 2020). Developing proficiency in the second language for academic purposes - instruction and assessment - can be supported, through a rich language environment, translanguaging and scaffolding. Language support through use of the first language in the teaching-learning process (Yaghobian, Samuel, & Mahmoudi, 2017; Williams, 2019), and code-switching (Chen & Runbinstein-Avila, 2018), Khairunnisa & Izzah, 2022; Ma, 2020), along with other multicultural approaches mitigate language contestation, facilitate learning, and enhance language development in both first and second languages.

These approaches to addressing students' needs are supported from the field of educational psychology. Piaget's (1952) cognitive development theory purported that the primary learners are at the stage where information must be presented in a way that connects with their present experiences. Vygotsky (1978) pointed to the necessity of interaction and scaffolding (temporary support to help the learner succeed) in the zone of proximal development (ZPD). Vygotsky (1978) also stressed the need to use language as a cognitive tool because it helps children organize and develop their thinking. Cultural tools (for example, language or symbols) and cultural influence facilitate cognitive development therefore the inclusion of learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds are vital to learning and development (Vygotsky, 1978).

VI. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Employing a range of data collection techniques at two primary schools in Tobago—namely, semi-structured questionnaires, classroom observations, and in-depth interviews—facilitated the generation of diverse and relevant forms of evidence, while also illuminating the varied perspectives and lived experiences of the participants. Given the nature of the research questions a qualitative methodology is justified for this research. As noted by scholars such as Billups (2021), Creswell (2015), Hatch (2023), and Miles and Huberman (1994), qualitative inquiry enables a deeper understanding of cultural contexts and authentic, real-world situations—in this case, the use of Creole English within educational settings.

Participants

For this study, purposive sampling was employed for selection of the participants as well as the school. Five (5) teachers were chosen from one primary school in Tobago based on their experience and amenability to participate in the study. All teachers possess day-to-day lived experiences of the culture and language use, as they were born and bred on the island. Having received their education in local schools at both the primary and secondary levels, they are versed in the linguistic traditions of the communities. In

addition, the one male and three female teachers are university graduates who attained extensive teacher training, and acquired a wealth of teaching experience at the particular school for more than ten years.

The school is located at the meeting point of four communities so the student population comes from varied social and economic backgrounds, which adds to the complexity of language use and consequently the linguistic needs of the students. Written consent was secured from the participants, the school's principal and the Division of Education in Tobago for the conduct of this study. Participants participated voluntarily and were given the assurance of confidentiality and anonymity. Pseudonyms were used for the participants and the name of the school was not disclosed. Participants consented to face to face in-depth interviews, completed semi-structured questionnaires and allowed the researchers to observe their classrooms at appointed times. Clarity of any issue was sought through mobile communication.

VII. DATA COLLECTION

In order to acquire a profound understanding of the issues, in-depth interviews and semi-structured questionnaires were appropriate for data collection. Classroom observations were included so the researchers had a heuristic and existential experience on language use in the classroom. These also enabled the researchers to build rapport and trust with the participants. Detailed field notes and informal conversations complemented the observations. The multiple methods utilized facilitated triangulation and corroboration of data for a more profound understanding of language ideologies, counter-hegemonic forces and linguistic choices that prevail in the classroom. Multiple methods of data collection enhance the credibility, accuracy, rigour, trustworthiness and authenticity of the study. Multiple methods of data collection were selected because "they better guarantee a spectrum of diverse perspectives for analysis and representation" (Saldana, 2021, p. 76).

VIII. DATA ANALYSIS

In this study, data were analysed using five systematic but reiterative steps. Firstly, the data were transcribed verbatim so that the actual views and experiences of the teachers could not be misconstrued. Reiterative readings of data from transcripts from the in-depth interviews and semi-structured questionnaires and classroom observations facilitated triangulation. The main criteria for trustworthiness which have been identified by qualitative researchers include credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Billups, 2021; Hatch, 2023) In this research, those criteria were established through classroom observations; detailed explanations as well as verification through conversations, meticulous documentation that were complemented with field notes, and member checking. These were essential for corroboration of data, establishing trustworthiness and verification of the findings. Reflexivity also allowed researchers to bracket (Billups, 2021; Maxwell, 2013) their preconceived notions so that the authenticity of the research was maintained.

The researchers engaged in line-by-line coding as advocated by Creswell & Creswell (2018), Billups (2021) and Saldana (2021) This was conducted manually for accuracy, as one software for data analysis seldom suffices and there is the perennial problem of interpretation of Creole language. Manual coding allowed the researchers to remain immersed in the data, while maintaining awareness by engaging in bracketing personal biases (Billups, 2021; Maxwell, 2013). In order to summarize the data and capture the essence of meaning similar and related information were coded. Different segments of text, including sentences and phrases, which showed relationships were highlighted.

Secondly, with reiterative readings, relevant information was clustered, the codes were revised, pertinent information were discerned and categories were formulated. Thirdly, the data were consolidated facilitating further reduction, and a matrix was developed to allow for a holistic view. This also allowed for elimination of redundancies and identification of outliers. Fourthly, the matrix

formed a synthesis of the data, which enabled the emergence and discernment of multiple sub-themes. Finally, through a process of merging sub-themes, reflexivity and revisiting codes and categories for synchronicity, final themes emanated. The three themes that emerged, which are discussed in the subsequent section include:

- *Linguistic hegemony - the conundrum*
- *Resistance, ambivalence, and counter-hegemonic practices*
- *Linguistic diversity*

IX. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Central Research Question: How do the present language ideologies influence language choice and instructional practices in the primary classroom?

Theme 1: Linguistic hegemony - the conundrum

Bailey & Gayle (2015) describes language ideology as “a set of beliefs that seems to serve and shape the interests of a certain group in society; has a legitimating or justifying function; and has the power to control or influence how people think about, or act in, their social circumstances” (p. 23).

Language ideologies result in linguistic hegemony (Metz, 2018) and in this study two dominant ideologies, language standardization and native speaker ideology have been influential in terms of language choice and instructional practices. The school, according to postcolonial critics, is regarded as a medium through which hegemonic structures are maintained *via* language use (Apple, 1995). The superior position and prestige ascribed to English resulted in the language being formally chosen as the LOI in all schools in Trinidad and Tobago.

In this study, the data gathered from the in-depth interviews revealed the dominant language ideologies present in the primary classroom. Teachers' belief that Standard English is the only legitimate form was evidenced as they referred to “proper” and “correct” many times in reference to Standard English. For example, Participant 1 was asked whether she found herself struggling to use Standard English and she responded as follows:

Where am I? Did I say this correctly [Standard English]... I know that... arm... well many of us would struggle just to make sure that you keep it right [Standard English] and for me when you focus too much on keeping it right [Standard English] or getting it right [Standard English] you always find yuhself [yourself] stumbling.

In response to the question on her concerns about language use she spoke of students expressing themselves in “a better way” referring to Standard English. Participant 2 also used “proper” several times in relaying her schooling experience:

The teachers, they speak proper English [Standard English] but they could switch easily... and I... I although in the questionnaire too, there were some questions I was not even sure how to answer. I don't consider myself speaking proper English [Standard English] per se but maybe polished... if I were to say polished. So, is like... where does that stand between Creole and proper English [Standard English]?

As Participant 2 continued to respond to concerns about language use, she identified Creole English as “the wrong thing”:

... so they try, I guess more so probably when we're doing Language Arts and they have to respond in a proper way [Standard English] because you get marks for those.

... even in the grammar you know, the structure of all the sentences and the verbs and subjects and all these things, I find that you do see the way they talk coming out sometimes. It's not natural because we practice saying the wrong thing [Creole English] all the time.

Participant 3 made her beliefs very clear as she expressed an intolerance towards Creole English, described it as “broken up,” and advocated for the maintenance of Standard English in her interview. Participant 3 further spoke in terms of “saving” students which reflected her belief (as the colonisers) that there was salvific value in Standard English. She stated:

... if we could save 5 out of 10 or out of fifteen and let them go out in society speaking properly [Standard English] and note that the Standard English has a place in their vocabulary and in their communicating with others, we wouldn't get the set of stupid language [Creole English] we are hearing - and the curse words wouldn't come into the classroom because there is no place for that there, there's no place for it.

Some participants further believed that subject content should not be taught using Creole English because it was not the standard language. It was observed from the observations of lessons that some participants held the firm belief that Creole English is "broken" and "corrupt" and therefore their responses to students included statements such as "say it properly"; "that is not the right way, say it again"; "say it better"; "repeat it correctly"; "I would not use it in the classroom..." in reference to use of Creole English.

The participants' perceptions reflect their position on language ideologies present and it appears that they espouse the status described by Metz (2018) and Woodard and Rao (2020) as gatekeepers of English. The above excerpts show that teachers believe that Standard English is the only legitimate language that has value in education. The perception that Creole English is inferior to Standard English is evidence of the existence of standard language ideology and native speaker ideology. Both ideologies are characteristic of the *comprador elites*, individuals who were left behind by the colonizers to carry on their civilizing mission. Said (1993, as cited in Gandhi, 1998) alluded to this and lamented the lasting cultural impact of colonialism, arguing that the language and discourse of colonial powers formed a strong system of ideas. These ideas were linked across various texts and served the interests of colonial rule, shaping the social, political, and institutional structures of the time.

Following the Ministry of Education's endorsement of Creole English usage within the classroom in 2013, there has been a discernible increase in counter-hegemonic practices among educators. The study's findings indicated that

teachers exhibit diverse orientations toward language use, with Creole English predominantly employed for classroom management purposes, such as maintaining discipline and facilitating student comprehension. Notably, in certain instances, entire Mathematics lessons were conducted in Creole English, underscoring its functional role in instructional delivery.

Furthermore, educators relied heavily on Creole English to capture students' attention, clarify instructions, acknowledge and correct errors, pose questions related to lesson content, and engage in responsive interactions. These practices reflect a deliberate shift from traditional language norms, challenging the dominance of Standard English and embracing linguistic diversity as a pedagogical tool.

This strategic utilization of Creole English aligns with broader postcolonial educational frameworks that advocate for the inclusion of indigenous languages in formal education. When teachers integrate Creole English into classroom discourse, the result is enhanced student engagement and comprehension. It also effectively contributes to the decolonization process, fostering an environment that validates and leverages students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Sub-Question 1: What counter-hegemonic forces, which challenge dominant linguistic norms, are prevalent in the primary classroom?

Theme 2: Resistance, ambivalence and counter-hegemonic practices

The data collected from the in-depth interviews and semi-structured questionnaire also highlight that although English is considered the language of the intellectual and is vital for socio-economic advancement, language ideologies in Tobago are shifting.

The shift was first pioneered by students who for decades, in the face of an English-only policy, resisted what was considered an imposition by London (2001). Teachers in the interview described their frustrations when they tried to "correct" students' use of Creole English. This was a grievous issue especially for Participants 1 and 4.

Participant 1 stated:

It's very difficult for children to take correction because in my experience, there were children who, they would make a mistake. You would explain to them what is wrong and tell them to fix it and they would come back with the same thing. And they do it time and time again. And then... even when they are reading or speaking... you know and you make a correction whether its language use in the construction apart from pronunciation, they would skip over, you know. Insist on these children taking the corrections in order for the language use to improve.

Participant 4:

I would correct them and we would move on. The corrections don't always stick because they would naturally revert right back to what they know. It's just a continuous process of correction. It is very frustrating because as I said, you would teach them, they would get it and by lunch time or [a] couple hours after, it's right back to the same thing and you would correct them again, and [it] is like you [are] always reinforcing something. Sometimes it does feel like a waste of time.

The observed resistance to correction among students underscores the significance they attribute to both Creole English and Standard English, reflecting a nuanced appreciation for language choice. Classroom observations revealed a marked preference for Creole English, with students frequently avoiding the use of Standard English. Notably, some students exhibited complete disengagement, remaining silent throughout entire lessons despite having the option to communicate in Creole English.

This behavior can be interpreted through the lens of language ideologies, where students' linguistic preferences are shaped by broader sociocultural and educational contexts. In many post-colonial societies, Creole languages have historically been marginalized within formal education systems, often perceived as inferior to standardized languages (Nero, 2018). These perceptions can lead to internalized language hierarchies among

students, influencing their willingness to participate in classroom activities conducted in Standard English.

Research indicates that when students' home languages, such as Creole English, are devalued in educational settings, it can result in decreased self-esteem and academic disengagement (aus der Wieschen & Sert, 2021; Manning-Lewis, 2019; Tan, Farashaiyan, Sahragard & Faryabi, 2020; Williams, 2019). Conversely, incorporating students' native languages into the curriculum has been shown to enhance engagement and learning outcomes by bridging the gap between students' linguistic backgrounds and the academic content, fostering a more inclusive and effective learning environment.

Therefore, acknowledging and valuing students' linguistic identities by integrating Creole English into classroom instruction is not only a matter of cultural responsiveness but also a pedagogical strategy that can mitigate resistance and promote active participation. This kind of approach aligns with contemporary educational frameworks that advocate for the inclusion of diverse linguistic resources in the teaching-learning process.

Another significant counter-hegemonic action was the ideological shift by the MOE which officially acknowledged in the primary school *English Language Arts Curriculum Guide* (2013) that teachers and students had permission to use Creole English in the classroom to facilitate comprehension and student engagement. The Curriculum guide states:

In Trinidad and Tobago, the coexistence of two major linguistic systems, English Creole and Standard English, poses specific problems for some learners. The English Language Arts curriculum explicitly recognizes the nature of this challenge and seeks to address it through a student-centred approach to learning which respects students' linguistic experiences. The language children bring to the classroom, their first language, is a tool for building their awareness of the target language. The students' first language becomes a natural support if communication breaks down when

teaching Standard English; this is because both languages are supportive of students' overall linguistic development. Awareness of the two major linguistic systems, English Creole and Standard English is built in the ELA programme. (p. 22)

The MOE envisioned a change in language ideology for primary education with the hopes to impact teaching and learning for nation-building. This shift in policy was also seen in some participants' responses. Participant 2 shared her experience in teaching Math.

...When we're doing Language Arts, they [students] have to respond in a proper way [Standard English] because you get marks for those...but in the other content areas . . . I must admit like Math like if they're answering even orally, I don't really put much pressure on it.

They [other teachers] like correct them [students] when they say something wrong [Creole English]. And I try to do that as well... Math is already so complicated... you have to allow them to be themselves and allow them to talk how they are comfortable talking... and not just Math too, it could be [in] Science and Social Studies.

The observation of lessons also demonstrated how participants monitored their language use; it was extremely easy for teachers to slip into Creole English without realizing it. The semi-structured questionnaire indicated that participants do not consistently focus on language use in their professional roles. Additional support for Creole English was shown through participants' expressed interest in learning more about it, as revealed in both the interviews and the questionnaire. When asked if they would like to learn about Creole English grammar, 3 out of the 4 participants answered affirmatively.

Shifting language ideology was also evidenced in the questionnaire where out of the 4 participants, three indicated a preference for both languages in spite of their stance for Standard English in the in-depth interviews. This highlights ambivalence described by Bhabha (1994) or dual linguistic

identity according to Nero (2018) and it facilitates the postmodern concept of polyvocality in the classroom.

The findings showed that the participants exercise individual agency in their pedagogical choices, incorporating Creole English selectively in various instructional contexts such as lesson discussions, content delivery, revision activities, and comprehension checks. The integration of Creole English in these domains may be interpreted as a deliberate act of cultural reclamation, aligning with postcolonial perspectives that view such practices as part of the broader process of identity reconstruction among formerly colonized populations (Bhabha, 1994).

The varying attitudes or conflicting feelings of participants toward Creole English highlights the inherent tensions that exist in postcolonial educational contexts. These tensions exist where residual colonial ideologies are embedded in the school system and often conflict with the evolving language and practices in the classroom (Nero, 2018). These evolving language attitudes carry significant implications for teaching and learning.

Sub-question 2: How does language choice in primary classrooms support students' cognitive, socio-emotional and academic linguistic needs?

Theme 3: Linguistic diversity

The revised curriculum, serving a reconciliatory and restorative function, challenged the colonial utilitarian model and paved the way for the promotion of language development, affirmation of individual identity and self-determination, and empowerment of students. As a consequence of shifting language ideologies, some instructional practices reflect counter-hegemonic forces at work. Some participants have recognized that Creole English can be leveraged as a valuable learning resource through which subject content can be delivered (Behrmann, 2018; Craig, 2014; Lodge, 2017; Robertson, 2010; Simon-McDonald, 2014, Roberts, 2014). Participant 4 shared concerns about his Creole English proficiency and confessed that he learnt the students' version of Creole English and as a consequence, simultaneously learnt more about

Standard English. This kind of interface worked for the benefit of the teacher and students. He explained:

I remember when I started working there [at the school]... they [students] used to ask me about [the] town side and the way they [students] spoke was very fascinating. I used to pick up a lot of stuff [Creole English]... and you know if they had some proverbs or whatever and I didn't know what it meant... I would ask them and then come home and try to use it you know... and I would try to dramatize things from the students and the teachers. So, I learnt a lot of things.... My appreciation for it [English] has grown.

The findings also revealed that participants employ diverse strategies to integrate Creole English into both instructional delivery and classroom management. Observational data indicated that several teachers utilize code-switching between Standard English and Creole English, tailoring their language use in various ways as listed below.

- Lessons in SE with classroom management in SE and CE.
- Lessons in SE with classroom management in CE.
- Lessons in SE and CE with classroom management in SE.
- Lessons in SE and CE with classroom management in SE and CE.
- Lessons in SE and CE with classroom management in CE.
- Lessons in CE with classroom management in CE.
- Lessons in CE with classroom management in SE and CE.

Classroom observations revealed heightened student cooperation when Creole English was employed, indicating that culturally responsive teaching strategies resonate with students' linguistic realities. This approach parallels the concept of transitional bilingualism, wherein learners' mother tongues are utilized during initial educational phases to ease the acquisition of the target language (Bryan, 2014).

Linguistic needs identified in the study surrounded syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Addressing these needs requires a comprehensive approach that considers cognitive, socio-emotional, and academic dimensions of learning. The goal should be for equitable language practices which support linguistic diversity. Educators should adopt pedagogical strategies grounded in the principles of second language acquisition and educational psychology, thereby promoting inclusive language practices and multilingual approaches aimed at enhancing educational outcomes.

The *English Language Arts Curriculum Guide* noted a "psychological resistance" among primary learners toward the study and use of Standard English (p. 21). Gandhi (2019) posits that the decolonized often underestimate the enduring psychological influence of colonialism on contemporary society (p. 6). Said (1989) further reinforces this view by asserting that the post-colonial condition does not signify the end of colonization but rather its transformation into more subtle forms, including linguistic dominance. He emphasizes the importance of "psychological recovery," suggesting that reclaiming historical narratives and linguistic heritage is essential for the decolonized to achieve self-understanding and navigate the complexities of their identities (p. 8).

The observed variations in language use among participants reflect a deliberate engagement with linguistic diversity and demonstrates critical pedagogical choices that challenge traditional monolingual norms. These practices point out the importance of ongoing dialogues concerning colonial legacies, their impact on language use in educational settings, and the potential for harmonizing Standard English and Creole English to serve students' best interests and fulfill curricular objectives.

Contemporary researchers advocate for the inclusion of Creole English as a legitimate medium of instruction, countering longstanding perceptions of its inadequacy for academic purposes (Behrmann, 2018; Cooper, 2019; Craig, 2014, Lodge, 2017). This shift aligns with Said's

(1993) emphasis on recognizing the intrinsic value of "the Other," suggesting that such acknowledgement facilitates identity formation and self-determination.

In the classroom, linguistic diversity highlights the necessity for teachers to recognize and engage with the "third space"—a conceptual framework introduced by Bhabha (1994) that acknowledges the hybrid nature of post-colonial identities. When teachers embrace this space, they can create "poly-contextual, multi-voiced, and multi-scripted" learning environments that honor linguistic diversity and promote inclusivity (Gutiérrez et al., 1999, p. 287). Such an approach not only fosters students' linguistic and cultural identities but also upholds their human rights within the school system.

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Modern Crisis 2: Republic of Businessmen

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ABSTRACT

The article is a continuation and development of the idea of a triadic model of society in relation to a society where money capital is the main thing. The article considers the consequences of the merger of two rights that form the distribution in society in one object – money. Such a merger determines the trajectory of the development of the society of money capital: from the society of industrial production to the society of financial capitalism. The mechanisms of such a transition and its consequences are shown. The issues of the political structure of society arising from the peculiarities of the monetary capital society are considered. In conclusion, questions to the reader are formulated that expand the scope of the article.

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АННОТАЦИЯ

Статья является продолжением и развитием идеи триадной модели общества применительно к обществу, где главным является денежный капитал. Рассматриваются последствия слияния двух прав, формирующих распределение в обществе, в одном объекте – деньгах. Такое слияние определяет траекторию развития общества денежного капитала: от общества промышленного производства к обществу финансового капитализма. Показаны механизмы такого перехода и его последствия. Рассматриваются вопросы политического устройства общества, вытекающие из особенностей общества денежного капитала. В заключении формулируются вопросы к читателю, расширяющие рамки статьи.

Ключевые слова: денежный капитал, триада, распределительное право, право на отложенный обмен.

I. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

В [1] рассматривалось потребление, которое организуется двумя правами: правом на отложенный обмен и правом на преимущественное распределение. В зависимости от оснований преимущественного распределения это могут быть титул (должность и т.п.), деньги или обладание некоторыми важными для людей моделями мира. Соответственно людям, которые являются носителями этих прав мы условно назвали воинами, дельцами и жрецами. Воины занимаются отношениями между людьми, и формируют политику в обществе, дельцы занимаются отношениями с материальным миром и формируют экономику, а жрецы занимаются формированием и поддержанием моделей и формируют идеологию. Эти права существуют одновременно, но среди них в состоянии внутреннего мира в обществе в каждый момент времени всегда есть одно главное право. Это право является главным, потому что оно сопровождается правом на насилие. В [1] это выделенное право мы назвали капиталом. Все три права находятся в состоянии давления друг на друга: воины оказывают давление на дельцов, дельцы на жрецов, а жрецы на воинов, образуя таким образом замкнутый контур. Этот контур внутри себя формирует отрицательную обратную связь, которая обеспечивает устойчивость этой триады к внешним воздействиям. В этой статье рассматривается первый вариант триады, когда главным капиталом является денежный капитал. Надо заметить, что триадный подход, если он окажется продуктивной моделью общества, должен соответствовать многим хорошо известным социальным, экономическим и

другим фактам. И чем большее число таких фактов он будет органически описывать, тем более надежной будет представляться такая модель. Другими словами, чем меньше читателя будут удивлять данные и их объяснения, тем лучше. Указанный аспект нужно иметь в виду при чтении этой статьи, поскольку ее задача – интерпретация описанной в [1] модели в обществе, где правят дельцы.

Поворот триады в состояние общества дельцов, который являлся следствием буржуазных революций в разное время в разных странах предполагал предварительное накопления денежного распределительного права до уровня, когда оно могло бы противостоять правам аристократии, основанным на титулах (праву воинов). Понятно, что в нищей стране такой переворот был бы невозможен. Другими словами, для того, чтобы произошел поворот триады необходимо было достигнуть достаточно высокого уровня жизни населения и достаточного количества новых богатых людей без титулов. Результат такого поворота условно назовем республикой дельцов. Надо отметить, что, хотя главная вершина триады является важной и определяющей, поведение триады формируется всеми ее элементами и особенностями их взаимодействия в каждом конкретном случае. В [1] было показано, что можно использовать различные способы управления связями в триаде при сохранении общей энергии давления и принципа ее работы. Это означает, что существует широкий спектр республик дельцов, которые отличаются друг от друга различными особенностями, иногда весьма существенными. Однако они остаются республиками дельцов, поскольку право на насилие находится в руках дельцов.

II. СЛИЯНИЕ ДВУХ ПРАВ

Поскольку при денежном капитале оба права выражаются в количестве денег, то можно сказать, что право на отложенный обмен и право на преимущественное распределение фактически имеют один признак. Теперь, если

у вас есть деньги, вы можете смотреть на них либо, как на средство что-либо купить, либо, как на право что-либо преимущественно получить. Казалось бы, здесь нет никакого подвоха. Однако каждый знает, что деньги являются имуществом с правами владения использования и распоряжения. Итак, с одной стороны, деньги – это знак для права на преимущественное распределение, а с другой стороны, деньги – это имущество. Таким образом, обладание деньгами означает в том числе право на преимущественное получение денег.

Эта странная рекурсия в русском языке выражается пословицей «деньги к деньгам», в немецком «Geld kommt zu Geld», а в английском – пословицей «Money begets money». Многие народы мира заметили эту рекурсию и отразили в своем фольклоре. Итак, чем больше у вас денег, тем легче вам получить еще больше денег. В этом суть денежного капитала и его фундаментальное отличие от других видов распределительного права. Разумеется, эта рекурсия часто является причиной настоящего сумасшествия с различными последствиями, но нас здесь не интересуют судьбы попавших в ловушку этой рекурсии. Нам важно понять, как работает эта рекурсия. В предыдущей статье [1] отмечалось, что истинные законы в обществе для своей реализации должны наполняться энергией людей. Как наше утверждение реализуется в деятельности людей? Может быть это просто красивая хлесткая фраза?

В [2] подробно описана хорошо известная история, произошедшая в австрийском Вёргле в 1932 году. Вёргль – небольшой австрийский городок на тот момент с населением 50 000 человек (в настоящее время около 14000). Главным источником работы была железная дорога. Последствия великой депрессии серьезно сказались на экономике городка: большие муниципальные долги, безработица более 30% и прочие социальные проблемы. В 1932 году мэрию Вергля возглавил Michael Unterhuggenberger, который являлся поклонником экономической теории Сильвио Гезеля и его главной книги «Естественный

экономический порядок». Переговорив с влиятельными людьми и банком городка, мэр принял решение о выпуске местных свободных шиллингов (свободных от ссудного процента) под залог настоящих австрийских шиллингов, хранящихся в банке. Этими новыми деньгами получали 50% заработной платы все городские служащие и 100% заработной платы – вновь поступившие на работу. У свободных шиллингов была особенность: в конце месяца обладатель этих денег должен был отдать в пользу мэрии 1% или вернуть их в банк. При возвращении в банк необходимость оплаты пропадала, но она появлялась у банка. Итак, мэрия получала 12% годовых с выпущенных денег. Все обладатели денег старались как можно скорее избавиться от них, чтобы не платить процент. Другими словами, право на отложенный обмен было максимально активировано. За год оборот свободных шиллингов составил 463 раза, в то время как оборот обычных шиллингов составил 213 раз. Банк также старался избавиться от свободных шиллингов, что максимально активизировало его инвестиционную деятельность. За один год безработица снизилась на 25%, в городе был построен мост, бассейн, лыжный трамплин, ряд зданий, улучшено состояние дорог, увеличились капиталовложения в общественные службы, были уплачены не только текущие налоги, но и ликвидирована большая часть прежней задолженности. Премьер-министр Франции Эдуард Даладье специально приехал в этот город, чтобы собственными глазами увидеть «чудо Вёргеля». Опыт Вёргеля был скопирован в соседнем городке Кицбуле в январе 1933 года и уже через полгода показал такие же замечательные результаты. Многочисленные попытки внедрения этого опыта были в Австрии и США, но после судебного разбирательства, инициированного центральным банком Австрии, эксперимент пришлось прекратить в сентябре 1933 года. Аналогично в США президент Рузвельт исполнительным декретом запретил «чрезвычайные валюты».

Согласитесь, это очень странно: великая депрессия, море проблем, замечательная идея с замечательными результатами и... такие неожиданные решения. Почему нельзя было дать дорогу такому ценному опыту и масштабировать его на всю страну? Обратите внимание, что стопроцентные успехи были продемонстрированы в маленьких городах, в которых практически нет носителей таких денег, которые образуют распределительное право. Деньги в этих городах практически полностью направлены на реализацию права на отложенный обмен. Именно поэтому жители «экспериментальных» городов выражали полную поддержку новых денег. Однако для владельцев распределительного права этот опыт был отрицательным. В самом деле, чтобы обладать правом на преимущественное распределение, нужно ИМЕТЬ деньги с возможностью предъявить их тем или иным способом. То есть распределительное право предполагает удержание денег, в то время, как право на отложенных обмен предполагает процесс ИЗБАВЛЕНИЯ от денег. Фактически, деньги Вёргеля означали 12% ежегодный налог на распределительное право. В предыдущей статье было показано, что распределительное право является приоритетным по отношению к праву на отложенный обмен, поэтому масштабирование этих экспериментов было невозможно. Да, это вновь вернуло безработицу к 30%, лишило заработка многих людей и крайне осложнило муниципальные финансы. Но мы уже говорили, что распределительное право всегда несправедливо, например, таким образом. Итак, сочетание двух прав в одном объекте – деньгах породило и разрушило одновременно и здесь нет виноватых.

Характерно, что в 36 главе [3] при рассмотрении вопроса о необходимом объеме денег в государстве прямо учитываются два вида денег: «деньги для совершения сделок» (читай «деньги, как отложенный обмен») и «деньги для приобретения активов». Но деньги на приобретение активов – это деньги, которые должны непосредственно снова

делать деньги. Другими словами, это деньги распределительного права.

III. MONEY BEGETS MONEY

Теперь нам надо обсудить, как деньги делают деньги. Понятно, что в начальной стадии развития капитализма, когда для нового распределительного права еще не сформировались достаточные денежные ресурсы, в основу роста этого права было положено право на отложенный обмен. Это предполагает прежде всего развитие производства товаров и услуг. Собственно, этап промышленной революции как раз и обеспечивал формирование денежного распределительного права.

Появление людей с достаточными объемами денежных средств подтолкнуло развитие финансового сектора, который с древних времен в некотором смысле занимался тем, что превращал время в деньги. Как известно, древние греки рассматривали время в трех формах: хронос, циклос и кайрос. Соответственно этому разделению и производство денег из денег подразделяется на три направления. Направление хроноса предполагает получение денег из продолжительности времени. К этому типу относится, например, кредитование, сделкиrepo и им подобные, поскольку доход зависит от продолжительности финансовой операции. Направление циклоса использует циклические свойства времени. Примером использования циклоса является обмен валют в обменных пунктах, где осуществляется циклическая купля-продажа, а доход зависит от числа таких циклов. Кайрос соответствует удачно выбранному моменту времени (фазе). Кайрос используют биржи, оценщики или, например, страховые компании. Правда, в последнем случае доход приносит не совершение события, а, наоборот, его отсутствие. На первый взгляд, перечисленные формы преобразования времени в деньги выглядят вполне добропорядочно и безопасно для экономики, являясь разной формой организации передачи денег от одного владельца к другому, так что они вполне

вписываются либо в представление оплаты за финансовые услуги, либо как выигрыш с перемещением денег от одного к другому. Это утверждение не вполне подходит к кайросу, когда, например, в результате переоценки изменяется стоимость некоторых активов. Это может изменить ВВП, что в свою очередь может служить стимулом к обоснованному увеличению денежной массы. Например, монополист, имеющий значительное распределительное право и, следовательно, власть, может необоснованно изменить цены на рынке в своем сегменте, фактически, применяя кайрос (подходящий момент времени). Аналогично, центральный банк может принять решение об эмиссии денег в стране. Разумеется, все три вида преобразования времени в деньги существовали с момента появления денег и не являются следствием слияния двух прав.

Думаю, красавая метафора с получением денег из времени не должна сбить вас с толку. Действительно, деньги, реализующие право на отложенный обмен, участвуют в обороте товаров и услуг. Здесь всё ясно. А что делают деньги распределительного права? Если, например, заемщику выдается ссуда, то часто считают, что ему оказывается финансовая услуга или ему продаются временно свободные деньги банка. В первом случае проценты – это плата за услугу, а во втором – часть стоимости продаваемых денег. Давайте, посмотрим на это более внимательно.

Сначала обсудим вариант услуги. Что такое услуга? Определения, с которыми мне удалось познакомиться, не совсем отражают ее суть. С точки зрения денег, услуга не создает нового актива, хотя, конечно, для своей реализации может потребовать значительных активов. Скажем, транспортные услуги требуют для своей реализации больших активов в виде автомобилей, погрузчиков и т.д., но сама услуга активов не создает. Аналогично, торговые, образовательные, медицинские и прочие услуги. Реализация услуги вызывает перераспределение денег между участниками без создания новых активов. Если, например, я замечательно спою на городской площади, то

возможно те, кому это понравится, дадут мне несколько фунтов. Произойдет только перераспределение денег между участниками. Можно сказать, что я получил плату за оказанную услугу, которая создала повод для перераспределения. Итак, услуги – это поводы для добровольного (в отличие от налогов) перераспределения денег. Выдача ссуды совсем не выглядит, как простое перераспределение с некоторым поводом. Да, ссуда напоминает прокат автомобилей, где место автомобилей занимают, как правило, ЧУЖИЕ деньги. Можно ли это назвать услугой? Если же смотреть на ссуду, как на продажу, то получится, что в качестве товара продаются деньги (как право на отложенный обмен), чтобы получить за них деньги (как право на отложенный обмен), причем получить не сразу, а с отложенным обменом. Вам не кажется это странным? Итак, когда мы трактуем ссуду, как услугу или продажу, мы просто пытаемся искусственно привести ее к известным рыночным стандартам.

На мой взгляд ссуда являются обменом одних прав на другие: мы отдаём деньги как право на отложенный обмен и получаем взамен право через некоторое время получить увеличенную сумму (отложенный обмен с фиксированным временем). Эти права отличаются только увеличенным временным периодом и величиной сумм, так что эта операция действительно создает деньги из продолжительности времени. Разница в указанных правах малозаметна, поэтому мы их не различаем и говорим, что это просто те же обычные деньги и записываем их в баланс банка просто как деньги. Но их отличие заключается в том, что одни и те же деньги перемещаются от одного к другому, из одного банка в другой, где они вновь и вновь могут быть обменены с помощью ссуды на отсроченное право получить деньги назад (назовем это ссудным правом). Момент отождествления наступает тогда, когда на активный ссудный счет записываются деньги ссудного права, а на депозитный счет заемщика - деньги права на отложенный обмен. Фактически, ссудное право возникает

из воздуха как документально оформленное намерение заемщика вернуть деньги в срок. Так возникает банковский или денежный мультипликатор, который является источником репликации, но не денег, а их почти неотличимых клонов. Для тех, кто не знаком с денежным мультипликатором я рекомендую обратиться к [3], где в главе 35 подробно рассмотрен этот механизм для американской финансовой системы. К сожалению, в этой замечательной книге суть дела немного прикрыта расчетами резервов, которые призваны ограничивать мультипликацию. Такие резервы отсутствуют в английской финансовой системе, так что для этого случая лучше подойдет [4]. Российским читателям можно рекомендовать [5].

В подтверждение версии об обмене прав при ссуде можно привести два примера. Во-первых, денежный мультипликатор формируется и при покупке банком ценных бумаг у своих клиентов. Ценные бумаги в зависимости от их происхождения, являются свидетельствами о тех или иных правах. Например, акции свидетельствуют о праве на часть имущества фирмы, а также на часть ее прибыли, закладные – свидетельствуют о праве на получение процентов по ссуде и о праве обратить взыскание на недвижимое имущество при неисполнении заемщиком своих обязанностей и так далее. При покупке банком ценных бумаг у своих клиентов в активах банка по соответствующим счетам прямо указываются приобретенные права, так что здесь нет прямого отождествления прав с деньгами. Во-вторых, для наличных денег, также можно было бы изобразить схему мультипликации. Но наличные деньги нельзя мультиплицировать, потому что это материальные объекты, а не формальные записи в балансе банка. По этой причине в такой схеме пришлось бы вместо ссудного права вписывать права по распискам, векселям или что-нибудь подобное. Другими словами, нам в явной форме пришлось бы указывать на какие права меняются наличные деньги.

Конечно, мультипликация увеличивает банковские риски, поскольку возрастает вероятность неисполнения какими-нибудь заемщиками своих обязанностей просто потому, что таких заемщиков становится значительно больше. Если банк способен компенсировать возникающие риски ликвидности, то часто такие проблемы заемщиков даже на руку банкам. В самом деле, в залоге по кредитам (то есть по обмену правами) обычно лежат другие права, например, права на недвижимость. Поскольку залоги обычно учитываются с большим дисконтом, то при неисполнении заемщиком своих обязанностей, банк имеет возможность выгодно обменять свои (или скорее всего чужие) деньги на реальные активы (скрытая продажа).

Понятно, что центральный банк или то, что есть вместо него (например, ФРС), всячески пытаются защитить финансовую систему от последствий такой игры в права. Есть много разных способов уменьшить риски, но в процессе этой игры в права часто создаются объемные обязательства из множества маленьких, тем самым объединяя риски многих прав в риски одного нового права (секьютиризация). Это очень опасные манипуляции, которые как раз и привели к кризису 2008 года. В [3, глава 34] эти события описаны достаточно подробно, и я не буду на них останавливаться. Итак, мы можем сделать некоторые промежуточные выводы.

Во-первых, как мы убедились, кайрос очень опасный способ порождения денег. Он опасен тем, что его трудно контролировать. Искушение использовать кайрос тем более опасно, если учесть, что право на насилие в республике дельцов находится в их руках. Например, появление новых денег – биткоинов и их постоянная переоценка является типичным примером кайроса. Биткоины практически не участвуют в товарном обмене (за исключением некоторых стран, например, в Сальвадоре) и, следовательно, воплощают деньги распределительного права. Тоже самое касается, например, изменения тарифов

экспортно-импортных операций, поскольку в некоторый удобный момент времени, фактически происходит переоценка стоимости товаров для покупателей.

Во-вторых, оказалось, что и хронос тоже не безопасен. Хронос через кредитный мультипликатор создает ссудные деньги, которые в финансовых операциях не отличают от «настоящих» эмитированных центральным банком денег (денежной базы). Ладно бы хронос использовали только коммерческие банки. В конце концов их просчеты можно было бы загасить ликвидностью из центрального банка. Но именно хронос в наиболее чистом виде проявляется в кредитной деятельности самого центрального банка. А его возможности денежной мультипликации при кредитовании коммерческих банков практически не ограничены.

В-третьих, и циклос также не безгрешен. Рассмотрим пример. Пусть в некотором банке есть два филиала. Для удобства расчетов между ними они открывают друг у друга по два счета: два счета ностро и два счета лоро. Для удобства счет лоро можно трактовать, как «его деньги у меня», а счет ностро, как «мои деньги у него». Итак, в балансе каждого филиала открывается счет лоро другого филиала и счет ностро, на котором учитываются свои деньги в другом филиале. Если вы теперь возьмете какую-нибудь сумму и начнете пересыпать ее из филиала в филиал по кругу, то в балансах филиалов будут непрерывно накапливаться активы и пассивы за счет фиктивного накопления взаимных денег филиалов. Это примерно похоже на то, когда один человек должен другому миллиард фунтов, но и тот в свою очередь должен первому миллиард фунтов. У них огромные активы, но нет реальных денег. Обычно эта ситуация не столь опасна, но она показывает, что и циклос способен порождать фиктивные правовые деньги из времени (право платить из другой финансовой структуры), которое определяется числом оборотов денег между филиалами. Поскольку филиалы – это подразделения одного банка, то сам банк в

результате представляется весьма состоятельной организацией. К сожалению, по итогам этих обсуждений мы должны констатировать, что правило двойной записи в бухгалтерском учете никак не защищает от появления денег из времени, когда речь идет об игре в права.

Разумеется, развитие финансового сектора породило множество различных ценных бумаг, свидетельствующих о тех или иных правах. Часто они сами выступают в качестве платежного средства, так что их эмиссия иногда частично напоминает денежную эмиссию. В отличие от продажи услуг или товаров, обмен правами, даже когда он имеет форму покупки, помимо передачи свидетельств этих прав наделяет нового владельца новыми свойствами, вытекающими из приобретенных прав. Сами права возникают непосредственно из жизни и их появление не может быть как-то существенно ограничено. Права оказались удобным инструментом для распределительного права и соответственно распределительных денег. Тот факт, что распределительное право стало выражаться через деньги, как и право на отложенный обмен, фактически породил индустрию производства денег из денег или финансовый капитализм. Это лучше всего видно из природы денежного мультипликатора, когда мы создаваемое из простого намерения ссудное право меняем, причем многократно, на право на отложенный обмен. При этом ссудное право мы фактически отождествляем с деньгами, разрешая ему участвовать в обмене товаров и услуг. Конечно, когда ссуда закрывается, то подобно сказке «Золушка», карета превращается в тыкву, а кучер в крысу, но пока не наступила полночь на деньги ссудного права начисляются реальные проценты и, если вы в качестве заемщика откажетесь в конце кредита заменить эти ссудные деньги на настоящие (или другие ссудные), вы вполне можете потерять свои реальные активы, например, дом. Итак, если, например, денежный мультипликатор в стране составляет 3, а средняя ставка по кредиту 5%, то можно

сказать, что реально эмитированная центральным банком безналичная сумма дает 15% дохода в год.

Конечно, величина денежного мультипликатора 3 достаточно маленькая и в истории банковского дела встречались периоды, когда она была значительно выше. К тому же реальная величина мультипликации всегда выше, поскольку в расчете денежного мультипликатора в знаменателе учитываются наличные деньги, а они не мультиплицируются. К примеру [12], в конце 50-х годов прошлого века в США значение мультипликатора было равно почти 8, в 60-е и 70-е он увеличивался, достигнув к середине 80-х годов 12, с середины 80-х начал снижаться, провалившись в 2008, и только к началу 2020 года достиг величины 1,2 [11].

Понятно, что такие замечательные свойства игры в права должны были бы привлечь в этот бизнес много людей и ресурсов, тем более, что для ссуд можно использовать чужие деньги. Мы уже отмечали, что деньги не являются персональной меткой, так что ваше отношение к распределению не зависит от того, чьи деньги у вас в кармане (на счетах). Для того, чтобы денежный мультипликатор заработал на полную мощность, финансовая система должна сформироваться в том смысле, чтобы большинство денег, циркулирующих в стране, были размещены на депозитных счетах, а не в золотых монетах или в чем-то материальном, иначе вы не сможете подменить настоящие деньги на ссудные. Другими словами, финансовая система должна «дорастить» до того момента, когда включится механизм производства денег из денег (за исключением кайроса, конечно, который и так никогда не выключается). Отсюда понятно, что начальная стадия развития капитализма (этап промышленной революции) отличалась тем, что деньги формировались в производстве и обмене товаров и услуг, но с некоторого момента акцент неизбежно начинает перемещаться в сторону финансового капитализма, когда деньги начинают воспроизводить сами себя.

Давайте, посмотрим на это процесс со стороны развития банковской системы, например, США [6]. К 1797 году в США насчитывалось 24 привилегированных банка, а к 1837 году их было уже 712. К 1865 году в стране уже было 1500 национальных банков, а через 5 лет 325 банков штатов и 1638 национальных банков. При этом к 1890 годам 90% денежной массы уже находилось на депозитных (текущих) счетах. Это означает, что к концу 19 века необходимые условия для финансового капитализма окончательно оформились. В 1913 году в США было уже более 20 000 банков, а в 1931 году более 31 000. В дальнейшем кризисы и монополизация, связанная с либерализацией банковского законодательства, привели к уменьшению числа банков. Так [8, 9], в 80-х годах в США было порядка 14 469 банков, а к 2022 году уже 4 135 банков. При этом сейчас в США три банка контролируют почти 40% активов банковского сектора, в то время как двадцатью годами раньше этот показатель был равен 21%. Кроме того, в 2024 году в США на большую четверку приходилась почти половина прибыли или более 100 млрд. долларов. Уменьшение числа банков связано не только с финансовыми кризисами, о которых уже было сказано, но и с усилением контроля и требований к деятельности банков, что снизило возможности зарабатывания денег. Так, по данным из [9] в 2024 году нереализованные убытки банков США в семь раз превышали уровень финансового кризиса 2008 года, а в 2023 году около половины банков имели активы ниже стоимости обязательств из-за того, что рыночная стоимость (текущая оценка) их кредитных портфелей оказалась на 2 трлн. ниже заявленной балансовой стоимости.

Традиционно большая доля торговли (обмена) правами происходит на фондовых биржах, хотя в последнее время в силу развития сетевых технологий, ее концентрация на биржах уменьшается. Тем не менее на 4 апреля 2025 года общая рыночная капитализация фондового рынка США (общая стоимость ценных бумаг на бирже) составляла

52 трлн. долларов, а общая рыночная капитализация составила 56 млрд., что по отношению к ВВП составляет 206,7% [10]. Такая концентрация денег распределительного права несет большие риски также, как и высокий денежный мультипликатор.

В заключении этого раздела следует обратить внимание на то, что наличие двух прав, объединенных одним признаком - деньгами, неявно разделяет дельцов на две группы. Во-первых, для того, чтобы производить и продавать товары и услуги, нужны ресурсы и рынок. Ресурсы, как и рынок обычно географически локализованы на определенной территории. Другими словами, те, кто зарабатывает деньги производством и услугами обычно привязаны к определенному государству или группе государств. С другой стороны, если вы хотите производить деньги из денег, ваши требования к ресурсам и рынку значительно менее важны. Это означает, что после периода промышленной революции, когда оформилась вторая группа, интересы первой группы стали иметь национальную окраску, в то время как другая группа оказалась более привержена идеям глобализма.

Во-вторых, рост денег распределительного права (например, через эмиссию) делает богаче их владельцев, но через инфляцию уменьшает денежные ресурсы тех, кто что-либо производит. Эти процессы обычно не в пользу производителей. К тому же, их доходы от производства в расчете на единицу вложенных средств не столь значительны, как у финансистов, а их расходы не сравнимы с расходами тех, что напрямую производят деньги из денег. Это приводит к необходимости максимально оптимизировать производство даже ценой выноса заводов в регионы с более дешевым сырьем и рабочей силой. Такие действия разрывают действующие промышленные триады и стимулируют формирование новых полноценных промышленных триад [13] (с технологическим блоком и блоком разработки) в новых регионах. Это фактически означает выращивание на свою голову

конкурентов, с которыми очень трудно бороться: ведь они часть тебя самого. Короче говоря, две группы дельцов, представляющие денежный капитал, находятся в определенном антагонизме друг к другу.

В-третьих, если у вас есть деньги, которые вы тратите на жизнь, то есть, если вы относитесь к ним, как отложенному праву на обмен, то вы не очень опасаетесь даже какой-либо потери денег, например, из-за инфляции. Деньги отложенного обмена полезны лишь тогда, когда вы от них избавляетесь, покупая что-либо. Другими словами, для вас привычна ситуация расставания с деньгами. С другой стороны, владельцы денег распределительного права имеют это право лишь постольку, поскольку могут предъявить деньги, которыми они могут распоряжаться. Это означает, что рынок распределительного права очень пуглив в отношении потери денег, поэтому любая нестабильность на фондовом рынке приобретает форму ажиотажа и значительно увеличивает риски возникновения нестабильности и кризисов экономики в целом.

IV. ПРАВИЛО ПСИХИАТРИЧЕСКОЙ БОЛЬНИЦЫ

Правило психиатрической больницы гласит: «Кто первым утром одел белый халат, тот и врач». Мы уже говорили о том, что деньги не персонифицированы. Для денежного распределительного права важно обладать возможностью распоряжаться большими деньгами. Короче говоря, важен сам халат, а не персональный диплом врача. В этой главе мы собираемся обсудить политические и социальные аспекты республики дельцов и это правило надо постоянно иметь в виду. Например, в этой связи важно напомнить, что денежный капитал не несет социальной ответственности, поскольку его приобретение и обладание им не связано с обязательствами социального характера. В нашей шуточной терминологии халат не отвечает за порядок в больнице, он просто позволяет получить, больше, чем другие.

Как было показано в [1], в общественной триаде на дельцов оказывают давление воины (чиновники), через регулирование экономических отношений в обществе. Понятно, что никому не нравится, когда на него давят. Дельцы не просто хотят минимизировать давление воинов; они хотят определять общую ситуацию в триаде (управлять триадой), поскольку им принадлежит право на насилие. Мы также обсуждали в [1], что дельцы не могут напрямую применить насилие к воинам, опасаясь нарушить регулирующую способность триады. Нам необходимо понять, исходя из триадной модели, как же они должны действовать.

Первое, о чем должны позаботиться дельцы - это свободный рынок. Идея свободного рынка в своем политическом аспекте прежде всего предполагает минимизацию политического давления воинов на дельцов (снижение зависимости от воинов). В самом деле, заявление о необходимости свободного рынка фактически означает: «Не смеите лезть в наши дела». Совершенно очевидно, что свободный рынок не может обеспечить длительный, устойчивый и развивающийся гомеостаз экономики и общества. Во все периоды жизни республики дельцов приходится создавать законодательные и структурные ограничения, регулирующие свободный рынок. Кроме того, свободная конкуренция наряду с известными преимуществами, имеет и недостатки. В частности, свободная конкуренция предполагает большую плату за этот естественный отбор. Многие предприятия разоряются, их имущество распродается с дисконтом. Это означает достаточно расточительное отношение к общественному богатству. Тем не менее, идеи свободного рынка должны постоянно пропагандироваться, жрецы должны получать гранты для обоснования, поддержки и развития этой идеи. Для общества дельцов это предопределенный процесс независимо от того верят ли они сами в свободный рынок или нет.

Во-вторых, дельцы не могут заменить воинов в политике, не разрушив триады. Поэтому они

должны создать механизм управления воинами. Первое важнейшее действие на этом пути – разбить властные функции воинов на много маленьких функций. Другими словами, необходимо внедрить в обществе демократию. Демократия – это способ ослабления возможностей воинов давить на дельцов, поскольку для любых значимых решений необходимо сконцентрировать много маленькой власти в одну большую. Для реализации этой идеи используется механизм, заимствованный у жрецов – механизм партий.

Для жрецов партия – это механизм получения признания среди единомышленников и даже среди всего населения. Если вы обладаете новой, хорошо обоснованной и работающей моделью, с которой согласны многие люди, то через механизм партии можно получить признание и конце концов власть (право на насилие). Как показано в [1], дельцы своим признанием или отвержением оказывают давление на жрецов. По этой причине жрецы не опасны для дельцов. Более того, дельцы часто поддерживают жрецов, получая взамен идеи, модели и технологии. Не даром в общество дельцов часто и в больших количествах переезжают жрецы из других обществ. Это бесспорно сильная сторона республики дельцов.

Механизм партий – отличное заимствование дельцов для управления воинами в рамках демократических процедур. Именно через этот механизм, а также через механизм лоббирования, дельцы управляют властью (политикой), не будучи политиками. В силу правила психиатрической больницы, эти люди управляют, не проявляя себя, через структуру глубинного государства. Итак, реальное управление в республике дельцов практически всегда носит скрытый характер.

Поскольку партии власти в республике дельцов являются инструментами управления воинами, они не несут жреческих функций. Их лидеры не обязательно являются создателями или выразителями каких-то общественных моделей, да и выбирают этих лидеров по другим критериям. Как было отмечено ранее,

дельцы в зависимости от способа получения денег (производство или продажа прав) делятся на две противостоящие группы с разными предпочтениями. Соответственно в республике дельцов обычно присутствуют две партии, которые являются инструментами доступа к власти этих групп. Наличие двух партий в республике дельцов (как и одной партии в королевстве воинов) никоим образом не свидетельствует о демократии или ее отсутствии. Это банальное следствие того, что деньги одновременно отражают два разных права. Когда партий больше, это либо результаты каких-то расколов, особенностей в борьбе за власть, либо эти дополнительные партии действительно являются партиями жрецов. У них обычно есть своя модель мира, убежденные сторонники и пламенные лидеры, выражающие эту идеологию. Это чужеродные для республики дельцов партии, и они редко претендуют на власть. Их главная задача – подготовить поворот триады.

V. ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

В заключении этой статьи, следуя сложившейся традиции, хочется задать читателю несколько вопросов, связанных с рассматриваемой темой. Итак, интересы каких дельцов представляет Трамп сегодня? Насколько фундаментальны его разногласия с Западной Европой? Можно ли, например, заменить или перенести производство из Китая в Индию или, например, во Вьетнам, не создавая для себя новых дополнительных «Китаев»? Вообще, возможно ли в сегодняшнем мире вернуть производство в Америку, сделав ее снова великой? Как при этом поведут себя те, кто делает деньги из времени? Может ли самый высокопоставленный чиновник (воин) провести в республике дельцов аудит или реформу ФРС и остаться живым? Являются ли все прилагаемые усилия по спасению экономик Республик дельцов просто попыткой отложить сроки поворота триады? Насколько этот поворот исторически неизбежен? Может ли триада поворачиваться по часовой и против часовой стрелки? Какой поворот представляется вам наиболее вероятным?

Какой поворот представляется вам наиболее предпочтительным?

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Being Here! Serra Negra Landscape, Alto Araçuaí, Minas Gerais, Brazil

Dr. Marcelo Fagundes

ABSTRACT

The Serra Negra territory, which includes 79 archaeological sites, is situated on the northeastern slopes of the Serra do Espinhaço Meridional (Southern Espinhaço Range) in Minas Gerais, Brazil. This article analyzes archaeological data from this region through the lens of landscape theory, contributing to debates surrounding the so-called Archaic Gap. This article engages with the established literature on Holocene occupations of the Brazilian Central Plateau, emphasizing regional particularities. Our findings demonstrate that the Archaic Gap did not occur in Serra Negra, as the territory exhibits evidence of continuous occupation throughout this period. The persistent use and interconnection of landscapes reflect sustained demand, reinforcing the idea of a structured territory during these occupations, in addition to the continuity of social technologies involved in material culture production. Together, contextual, chronological, archaeological, and paleoenvironmental evidence supports the hypothesis of regional stability, both in terms of resources and worldview, marked by enduring site connectivity and occupation. These results further affirm the notion of a structured territory during the Mid-Holocene.

Keywords: archaeology – lithics material culture – serra negra–landscape-southern espinhaço range.

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(...) humans are not the only interesting beings with a perspective on existence. Many others have one. To sing, dance, and live the magical experience of suspending the sky is to broaden our horizon—not the prospective horizon, but an existential one. It is to enrich our subjectivities, the very substance that this time we live in seeks to consume.

—A. Krenak, *Ideas to Postpone the End of the World*, p. 32, 2020.

ABSTRACT

The Serra Negra territory, which includes 79 archaeological sites, is situated on the northeastern slopes of the Serra do Espinhaço Meridional (Southern Espinhaço Range) in Minas Gerais, Brazil. This article analyzes archaeological data from this region through the lens of landscape theory, contributing to debates surrounding the so-called Archaic Gap. This article engages with the established literature on Holocene occupations of the Brazilian Central Plateau, emphasizing regional particularities. Our findings demonstrate that the Archaic Gap did not occur in Serra Negra, as the territory exhibits evidence of continuous occupation throughout this period. The persistent use and interconnection of landscapes reflect sustained demand, reinforcing the idea of a structured territory during these occupations, in addition to the continuity of social technologies involved in material culture production. Together, contextual, chronological, archaeological, and paleoenvironmental evidence supports the hypothesis of regional stability, both in terms of resources and worldview, marked by enduring site connectivity and occupation. These results further affirm the notion of a structured territory during the Mid-Holocene.

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I. INTRODUCTION - THE ACT OF BEING HERE

Some time ago, we asked an Andean elder what brought him the greatest joy. His answer was

almost automatic: “*Being here!*” The same question was posed to an artisan in the Araçuáí Valley, a place we have been researching for nearly two decades. To our (admittedly naïve) surprise, her reply was identical. Across these distinct communities, the affirmation was the same: *being here!* (Greco et al., 2021; Macedo, 2022; Fagundes et al., 2024).

Yet, what does “being here” truly mean? What genuinely moves us as human beings? We confess that this is not an easy question to answer, nor can it be answered quickly. Nevertheless, we have sought to understand that “being here” refers to how people express their way of living, moving, and inhabiting their worlds—that is, their dwellings, their cosmologies, territorialities, memories, and ancestral ties, and certainly, the land they live on and reinterpret with each new generation. It is where the memories and attachments essential to each community are preserved and safeguarded. In other words, every landscape is constructed (Johnston, 1998; Elden, 2009)¹.

Landscapes, across multiple temporalities and territorialities (Cosgrove, 1984), are not just scenarios where social and cultural acts take form, but rather perpetual constitutions, wherein human persons and other non-human² beings

¹ We are aware of the political meaning employed by Stuart Elden. It is important to emphasize that here we are addressing ancient indigenous histories, long before European invasion and domination - in the long *durée* or within an expanded temporality - of peoples who ceased to exist and left us only material records of their existence.

² We define non-human persons or non-humans as animals, plants, spirits, magical beings (chimeras), deities, or even everyday objects—such as pots, carvings, shields, knives,

interact through perceptions of space and time and materiality³.

So, what is the nature of landscape? (Ashmore & Knapp, 1999). It certainly cannot be understood merely as a backdrop to the activities of human and non-human beings (Santos, 1998). For Ashmore and Knapp (1999), it undeniably provides resources and shelter, directly impacting how all humans (and non-humans) inhabit the world, but is that all? On the contrary, the authors emphasise its social and symbolic dimensions. Beyond being perceived and experienced (and beyond purely economic relations), landscape embodies lived experience, practices, and interrelationships, which will be explored further below.

Indeed, we seek (and have long sought) to understand how *agentialities* themselves have shaped the form of the world as it was, and is, inhabited, holistically rather than through reductive explanations of concepts central to

rocks/minerals, etc. This classification does not presume hierarchical importance across different ontologies. Our intention is precisely the opposite. It is to affirm that each being, including human persons, occupies a distinct and substantive place in lived experience and, consequently, within historical trajectories and agentive capacities. For illustrative cases, consult: Gell (2018), Latour (2019), Krenak (2000), Isnardis & Linke (2021), Fausto (2023), Viveiros de Castro (2002, 2018, 2024).

³ We are aware of Tim Ingold's (2024) critique of the concept of materiality, including his rejection of terms such as matter or material culture (something archaeologists have never ceased to employ) and his vehement refutation of the term agency (Chapter 2, pp. 49–69), which in this text we define as *agentiality*. On a planet teeming with human people (particularly non-white or non-Western, if you prefer) who inhabit and understand the world in diverse ways, dismissing materiality as naive, grotesque, or even ideologically/politically motivated achieves nothing. Countless peoples—without even considering certain non-humans like the sun, moon, or wind—engage with these entities, which are imbued with agency or *agentiality*, a perspective that strikes us as overly simplistic (Gell, 1998, 2000; Latour, 2019; Fausto, 2014, 2023; Krenak, 2000; Viveiros de Castro, 2002, 2018, 2024). We defend different ontologies, the diversity and plurality inherent in inhabiting a territory as perceived by human people through their *agentialities*. Agency for non-human people is granted by those who wield it. Likewise, there are entities we may never even touch, yet I remain conscious of the varied cosmologies that exist in this world. What does matter is diversity in thought, action, and transformation.

archaeology, anthropology, or geography. In short, *agentialities* in this text refer to how the modes of action of non-human people are understood, and how these have operated in diverse forms, that is, within social practices with the enchantment of technologies, as proposed by Gell (1992, 1998, 2018).

As such, it is not tied to Eurocentric jurisprudence, nor to the geopolitical borders or divisions created by the world of capital (or the market). Rather, these are territories where memories are formed, entangled, reinterpreted, or practically reinvented (never “recovered” – another Eurocentric invention). According to Elden (2009), territory is where the maintenance and transformation of alterities unfold, and thus, it is always fluid and dynamic in its space-time relations, or, as Marcia Arcuri and Arianne Campos might say, “*multi-space-temporality*”. We would argue that these diverse territorialities and temporalities are of immense importance if we aim to discuss (or aspire to address) context, *agentialities*, social interaction, resilience, enchantment and social technologies.

Therefore, the aim of this article is to reflect on how archaeology has engaged with the (often intertwined and deeply valued) concepts of landscape and territory, without any pretension of establishing a new (archaeological, philosophical, anthropological, or geographical) definition, given that hundreds already exist, having been historically shaped by diverse human people across time and space. Our intention is to understand, or even scrutinize or infer, how these concepts have been employed in research across distinct contexts (historical, geographical, cultural, ideological, or power-related), using a case study of archaeological sites dating to the Middle Holocene in the region known as Serra Negra, Alto Araçuaí, in northeastern Minas Gerais (Fagundes et al., 2025).

II. WHAT ARE LANDSCAPES? OR AT LEAST, WHAT WE UNDERSTAND THEM TO BE...

In our view, landscapes should never be reduced to mere environmental backdrops for analysing

materiality, which is an approach that archaeologists have emphasized for centuries. It is time to move beyond this "cabinet of curiosities" perspective (Trigger, 1989) and finally commit to the ontological turn that so many have called for.

We must decolonise our thinking through an ethnography of archaeology (Silva, 2024), understanding landscape as a nexus of thought that embodies diversity, plurality, and ancestral creativity; it is a shared, affective practice unfolding in the *longue durée*. This aligns with what Denis Cosgrove termed the *layers of landscape*, a concept that other scholars, even across different temporal frameworks, have similarly articulated (Cosgrove, 1985, 2014; Daniels & Cosgrove, 1987; Johnston, 1998; Collot, 2012; Anschuetz et al., 2001; Krenak, 2020; Fagundes, 2022; Bispo dos Santos, 2023).

There are many characteristics, whether contextual, sociocultural, ideological, political (including disputes), religious, or those tied to power and privilege, that must take precedence in our reflections (and metaphors) to come. These are undeniably complex and entangled, like a knot that is nearly impossible to unravel. However, despite these interwoven forces, the concept of landscape carries an inherent fluidity and subjectivity, where only time-space permits archaeological inference, as in Cosgrove's layers (1985, 1994). That is, our view and understanding of life might themselves be interpreted as the very way we see and write about the world as a social, cultural, and symbolic construct. Life, whether past or present, is always lived experience, what Johnston calls perception (1998). And though many conversations (and shared coffees) with knowledge systems beyond our academic tradition suggesting alternative paths, the one we choose to follow – however diverse, subjective, and fluid – remains, to us, the right one. Moreover, it is the contextual path (past and present). After all, what is the truth if not the plurality of visions and knowledge about the world we inhabit, live, and feel?

Thus, we understand landscape as an inherently difficult and intricate concept and paradigm (or even axiom) to employ; it is one that is profoundly

polysemic. Yet, despite substantial critiques, these are the procedures and propositions I have adopted, forming my theoretical and methodological compass. In this text, the 'real' world and the 'perceived' world intertwine, for what is reality if not perception? Indeed, everything is perceived, meaning multiple realities exist.

Thus, we must ask: why employ such subjective definitions in archaeological research? If archaeology's fundamental task is to study material or material culture, how can this assemblage of non-human entities (or materialities) speak to us about movement, habitation, attachment, and lived experiences so remote in time, when the very people behind them no longer exist.

Yet we maintain that their traces endure, for landscape is always culturally constructed through irreducible, contextual interrelations. While human people establish and utilize it, the influence of the landscape reciprocally shapes their choices in a mutual inter-relationality that remains fluid, subjective, and often irrational (in the sense of being neither questioned nor examined - *agentiality*, perhaps?).

To this end, I understand landscape as a "perceived space" (Collot, 2012), or rather, it is the conjunction of what is seen (the real) and what is perceived (the subjective), and is always collectively constituted. This differs from the phenomenological geographies of Yi-Fu Tuan (2012) or Pádua (2013). I therefore define landscape as a mode of thought that translates the historical trajectories of human people within a given territory across different temporalities (whether in the past or in the present world I inhabit and act within).

Are landscapes "images"⁴ of experiences, movements, lived practices, and ways of dwelling through time? Are they verbal representations (or

⁴ Even when employing the term 'image', we remain acutely aware of the interrelations between human and non-human persons and the landscape itself. Landscapes are not empty vessels for our activities; they are dynamic, interactive elements that actively shape and are shaped by societies both past and present.

texts) or images that offer researchers insight into how human (and non-human) people experience and (re)signify their territories?

This is fundamentally a reflection that leads to objective thought, liberating us "(...)" from Western thought, to transcend a series of oppositions that structure it: sense and the sensible, the visible and the invisible, subject and object, thought and matter, spirit and body, nature and culture" (Collot, 2013, p.18).

Landscape, being a polysemic concept, defies simple definition, it is profoundly complex and almost metaphorical in nature (Krenak, 2000; Bispo dos Santos, 2023). The starting premise is that no landscape exists that isn't cultural in essence. What we might call "natural" landscapes only emerge from an inherently reductionist (and market-driven) perspective. This is a perspective that forcibly separates nature from social and cultural dimensions, a division that was thoroughly entrenched in 19th century thought (through the *Naturwissenschaften/ Geisteswissenschaften* dichotomy) and remains embedded in colonialist worldviews.

A landscape or territory⁵ ("being here") exists through thoughts and meanings (subjectivities and perceptions), which are fundamental to understanding its symbolic constitution and substance (Cosgrove, 2012, 2014; Collot, 2012; Krenak, 2000). That is, territories are structured entities that reflect cultural and ritual practices, where time-space emerges as continuous, real concepts constructed by diverse human peoples (plurality). Throughout human historical trajectories, we find varying conceptions of time and space, including their periodic restructuring. Yet both past and present provide crucial data for physiological, psychological, and social reflection (Mauss, 2003).

Whether in cosmology or in rituals (typically festivals and celebrations linked to soil fertility and agriculture), these ultimately impose a web of

⁵ Territory cannot be understood as synonymous with landscape, nor as a simple arithmetic sum. Territory is imbued with sentiments and attachments - as we shall explore further (Zedeño, 2016).

meanings upon a given territory, and consequently upon landscape. These meanings interrelate with human peoples through symbolism and ritual practice, collectively influencing cultural production and reproduction (both historically and contemporaneously) (Arcuri, 2019; Fagundes et al., 2024).

Through this lens, we venture to understand landscape as a subjectivity endowed with *agentiality*.

Thus, landscape can be conceived as part (never the whole, nor a simple arithmetic sum) territory (Zedeño, 2016); the arena where all social and cultural activities (material and immaterial) unfold, always within the *longue durée* of temporality (Cosgrove, 1985, 2012, 2014; Schlanger, 1992; Zvelebil, 1997, 2006; Johnston, 1998; Ashmore & Knapp, 1999; Anschuetz et al., 2001; Cosgrove & Jackson, 2014; Wyndham, 2011; Zedeño, 2016; Krenak, 2020; Fagundes et al., 2021, 2024, 2025; Fagundes, 2022; Bispo dos Santos, 2023).

In this text, we proceed from the premise that Archaeology must contribute to the long-term understanding of these historical trajectories, what Cosgrove (2014) terms residual/emergent landscapes, which, in our case, represent ancient Indigenous histories and ancestralities (Silva, 2024; Krenak, 2020).

There are interactions and interrelations between human and non-human actions on the landscape - which is the *persistent place* (Schlanger, 1992) - in which this relationship should never be ignored (Ashmore & Knapp, 1999).

I learned that this mountain has a name - *Takukrak* - and a personality. In the early morning, from the village grounds, people observe it and know whether the day will be good or if it's better to remain still. When it wears an expression that says "I'm not in the mood for conversation today," people become watchful. When it dawns splendid and beautiful, with clear clouds floating above its head, all adorned, folks say: "You may feast, dance, fish - do whatever you wish" (Krenak, 2020, p.18). [Our emphasis]

The birds would warn us whether rain was coming, if the sun would shine, or if the sky would stay cloudy. Informed by them, even before rising, I already knew what the day would bring. Another pulse of childhood memories is the collective farming with the older Makĩ generations - mother's generation and grandmother's generation. We listened to the forest's sonority emerging from the wind's movement and the waters of streams, rivers and waterfalls, depending on where we passed (Bispo dos Santos, 2023, p.10).

Ultimately, the concept of landscape embodies infinite plurality in both conception and definition. Yet we choose to define it as interactive, subjective, relational, historical, ancestral, and perpetually layered (Cosgrove, 1984, 1985, 2014; Collot, 2012; Krenak, 2020; Fagundes, 2022; Bispo dos Santos, 2023; Fagundes et al., 2024, 2025).

Culture, as a symbolic act, continually forges this complexity of the landscape, rendering the term *natural* landscape redundant (and unnecessary). All landscapes are cultural (Zvelebil, 1997; Zedeño, 1997; Anschuetz et al., 2001; Cosgrove & Jackson, 2014; Zedeño et al., 2014; Krenak, 2020; Fagundes, 2022; Bispo dos Santos, 2023; Fagundes et al., 2025). Or, in Ailton Krenak's words, nature might be understood as the very fabric of multiple relations between human and non-human persons: "Everything is nature. The cosmos is nature. All that I can conceive is nature" (Krenak, 2020, p.17).

For much of the history of our discipline, archaeologists have employed these concepts as homologous of the (physiographic) environment or as a mere backdrop to their research, failing to recognise that 'environment' cannot serve as a simple synonym for far richer concepts like landscape or territory, which are, in fact, fundamentally distinct (Greco, 2019; Fagundes, 2022).

Even when encompassing physiographic features (which themselves possess agential qualities – Latour, 2009; Gell, 2018), these cannot be understood as existing apart from what human peoples conceptualise as 'nature'. By definition,

landscape depends on human interpretation, which is often subjective and abstract, to truly exist. Among its defining characteristics, aesthetic dimension, creativity, ancestrality, subjectivity, and identity (individual or collective) operate as both structure and structuring force (Cosgrove, 2014; Greco, 2019; Krenak, 2020; Fagundes, 2022; Bispo dos Santos, 2023; Fagundes et al., 2024, 2025).

As such, landscape is not mere physiography and must never be reduced as such (Anschuetz et al., 2001). Human peoples are both products and projections of these interactions (human persons - non-human persons - landscape), while landscape itself emerges as a sociocultural construct, perceived as both entity and agent. It is a product, a constellation of thoughts, perceptions, and projected ideas, memories, and historical trajectories arising from uniquely human experiences (Zvelebil, 1997; Rivasplata Varilla, 2010; Gil, 2012; Collot, 2012; Krenak, 2020; Bispo dos Santos, 2023).

Thus, every landscape constitutes a cosmos of cultural products – one need only look to see what we call 'natural' transformed into 'cultural'. We must remember that landscape will always be a collective human interpretation and thought process. It embodies daily activities, ideologies, ritual practices, beliefs, and values established (and created) by human peoples. As such, it functions as an entity or agent endowed with desires and intentionality, and is consequently equally responsible for shaping human interpretations and collective thought (Cosgrove & Jackson, 2014).

In other words, landscape simultaneously shapes our way of being in the world just as we modify it according to how this world, and our ideas, subjectivities, creativity, and thoughts, evolve (Collot, 2012; Cosgrove, 2014)⁶.

⁶ This awareness guards us against lapsing into either reductionist idealism or materialism. As Cosgrove (2014, p.1014) cautions: "The lived world is not merely the product of unfettered human consciousness." The world is constituted through all that is lived – where humans narrate their histories within landscapes that persist residually, whether through materiality or their layered accumulations (Cosgrove, 1984, 1985).

Human beings experience and transform the Natural world into a human world through direct engagement as thinking beings, with their sensory and material reality. The production and reproduction of material life is necessarily a collective art – mediated through consciousness and sustained by communicative codes. These codes encompass not merely formal language systems, but also gesture, dress, personal and social conduct, music, painting, dance, ritual, ceremonies, and built forms. Yet even this list cannot exhaust the range of symbolic production through which we sustain our lived world, for all human activity is simultaneously material and symbolic, both production and communication. This symbolic appropriation of the world generates distinct *genres de vie* and distinctive landscapes that are historically and geographically specific (Cosgrove, 2014, p.101).

It is precisely due to this encompassing complexity that the aim is to establish an interdisciplinary dialogue between concepts intrinsic to geography and their appropriation by archaeology, the meanings of which are highly valued in the former (Cosgrove, 1984; Berque, 1984; Duncan, 1995; Godoy, 2005) but often end up losing their definition when applied to archaeological research. To this end, we will discuss the territory known as Serra Negra, located at the far eastern end of the Serra do Espinhaço Meridional mountains (henceforth SdEM) in Minas Gerais.

The morphology (or physiography) of this landscape is characterised by alternation between rocky outcrops and superficial formations, which are processes influenced by the region's lithological and structural differences. It lies precisely on the boundary between the Jequitinhonha and Doce River basins and between the Cerrado and Atlantic Forest biomes (Gontijo, 2022). (Fig. 1)

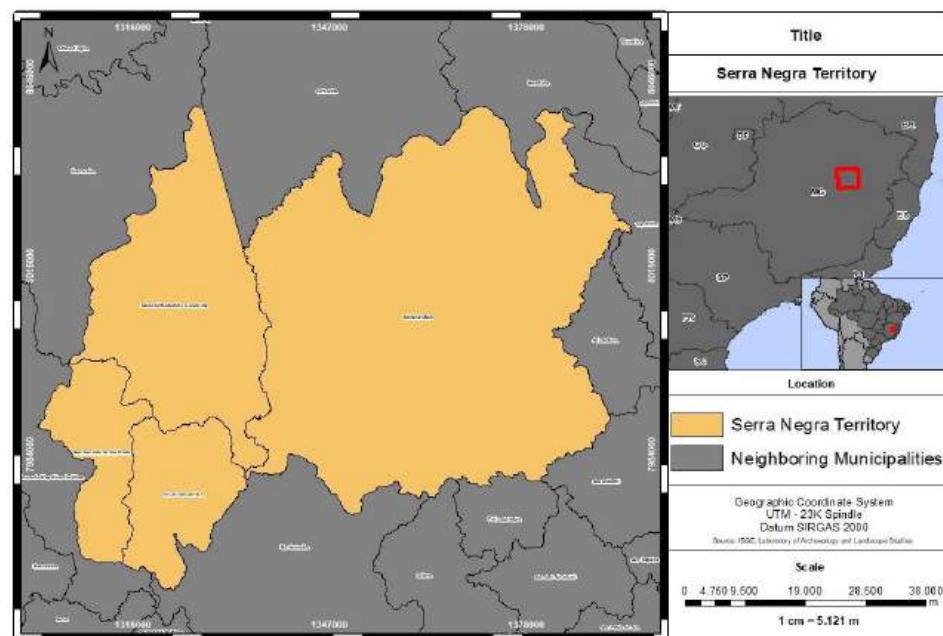


Figure 1: Map showing the Serra Negra study area, Brazil

These attributes may indicate a significant influence on the diversity of archaeological sites, on the ways in which they were occupied, in addition to the graphic repertoire observed in the rock art (Greco, 2019) (Fig. 2). The mountain ranges (as they are currently called) are still used

today as places of memory, pathways between communities, and narratives by hunters of wild animals, prospectors, or collectors of so-called everlasting flowers (Greco et al., 2021; Fagundes et al., 2024).

However, what is the archaeological objective of this physiographic understanding in the Serra Negra? Why is there an insistence, or a fixation, on stating that archaeologists cannot use geographical concepts randomly?

Initially, it is because even in archaeology these concepts (place, landscape, region, area, territory, etc.) are different and cannot be used as equivalents. There must be a differentiation (and an option) that ultimately becomes theoretical-methodological in the use of these terms: culturalist, phenomenological, materialist, to name just a few.

We have, for example, discussed the concept of landscape in archaeology at length, and it has been quite challenging, so to speak, to understand that landscape, place, and territory are very different concepts in their notions and uses for archaeologists, again making it very clear that landscape is not an arithmetic sum of places or territories (Ashmore; Knapp, 1999; Zvelebil, 1997; Zedeño, 1997, 2016; Anschuetz et al., 2001; Wyndham, 2011; Zedeño et al., 2014; Acevedo et al., 2019; Acha, 2021; Fagundes, 2022; Fagundes et al., 2024, 2025).

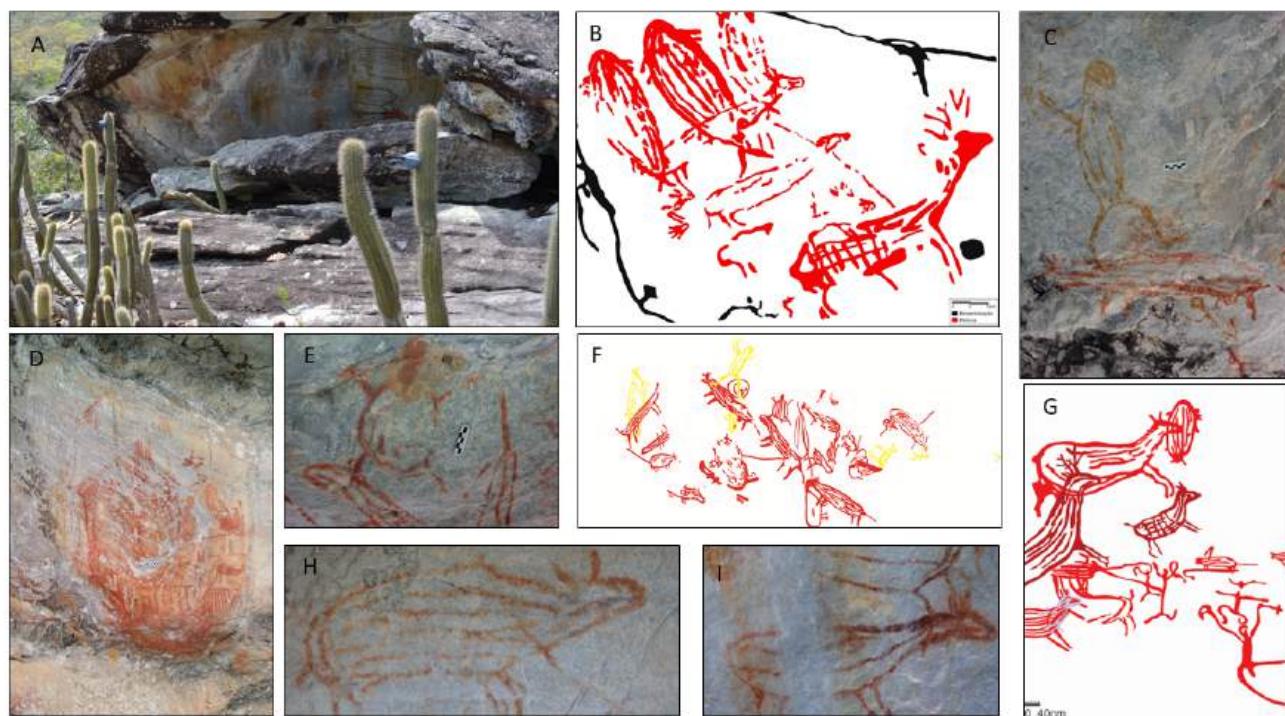


Figure 2: Rock art archaeological sites in Serra Negra, Brazil: (a) Siriema archaeological site; (b) Sampaio archaeological site; (c) Jambreiro archaeological site; (d) Cabeças 1 archaeological site; (e) Jambreiro archaeological site; (f) Jambreiro archaeological site; (g) Indaiá archaeological site; (h) Matão 1 archaeological site; (i) Matão archaeological site

Thus, this article is marked by the scientific practice of adopting an (complex) interdisciplinary approach, in addition to a methodological praxis in which dialogue and functionality are ideas-based (Leis, 2005). The landscape, therefore, is understood as a Total Social Fact (Mauss, 2003) or a phenomenon that is always cultural and persists in layers, according to Cosgrove (1985), and is therefore always

subjective/abstract, relational, and interpreted. It is read by human beings, who always influence this interpretation and its narratives (Collot, 2013). It is important to remember that it is human beings who confer intentionality on the non-human entities inhabiting this landscape (Fagundes, 2022; Fagundes et al., 2024).

In addition to these interactions and interrelations, there is a permutation from which

ontologies, axiologies, and cosmologies originate. There is always an integration that human beings must experience and embody (the landscape) in their everyday experiences. The layers of the landscape are composed of these interrelations and their historical trajectories (or ancestries), tending to never reach a conclusion, as they exist in a state of long duration, and their temporality is therefore infinite (Cosgrove, 1984; Daniel; Cosgrove, 1987).

Another significant archaeologist discussing this concept is Maria Neves Zedeño (1997, 2016). According to the author, the process of forming persistent places, based on the concept of territory, does not need to be a visual unit. In terms of power and meaning, territories are units that result from the cumulative use of land over time, defined by the boundaries established by the human beings who use and control them, as well as by their neighbours (Zedeño, 1997).

In this case, as aggregates of resources, objects, and uses, territories are constituted as life stories resulting from these three factors, which include their formation, maintenance, and abandonment⁷. Human beings establish, maintain, and transform their territories through effective interactions and activities that connect their own group and their neighbours to the land, and its resources, as well as the use of the landscape (Zedeño, 1997).

On the one hand, a territory is an aggregate of land, resources, and modifications made by human beings. Territoriality, on the other hand, is the sum of actions, emotions, and affectivities in the influence, control, and access to a specific piece of land.

According to Zedeño (2008), in all its domains (economic, social, political, power, and ritual), territoriality among people occurs in three dimensions: (a) one that pertains to the characteristics of land modifications and resources of a formal or material nature; (b) another that relates to the loci of activity and their interactive connections, which is spatial or relational; and (c) the third, of a temporal

dimension resulting from the history of these two successive sequences.

Thus, territory and landscape possess life histories with overlapping spatial and formal dimensions (like a knot), although they are equally shaped by attachments while operating on different temporal scales, with the former marked by shorter lifespans. The landscape accumulates and embodies territories, interactions, practices, connections, and ancestral/contemporary alterities. Though rooted in the present when reified, it continually transforms itself through memory and action across these layered temporalities, which collectively constitute the fabric of a landscape (Zedeño, 2008).

At the heart of a *persistent place* (a territory that does not vanish, as per Schlanger, 1992) lies the connection societies maintain with their ancestors, which is a bond manifested through inherited rights, experiences, attachments, and obligations (Zedeño & Bowser, 2009; Zedeño et al., 2010).

Thus, there exists a permanent affective bond with territories, not merely through the maintenance of boundaries, but through the safeguarding of use and mobility (Darras, 2003; Fagundes & Arcuri, 2023). This emerges through movement within the landscape itself over time, as sequences of actions, agreements, productions, and experiences accumulate to form a collective mapping. Diverse connections are already established with this mapping, including emergent territorial identities tied to land-use rights (Zedeño & Bowser, 2009; Zedeño et al., 2010).

This is why they matter - not as nuclei around which human lives revolve, nor as points within referenced boundaries, nor even as gathering places for all layers and substrates of existence - but rather as (non-exclusive or wholly physical) repositories. They pulse with history and identity, remaining permanently essential even after a person has moved away, never to return (Zedeño & Anderson, 2010).

⁷ See Fagundes & Arcuri (2023).

We therefore advocate a perspective closely aligned with Zedeño's (1997) foundational proposal.

Finally, based on ongoing work in the Serra Negra landscape (Alto Araçuaí, Minas Gerais, Brazil), we have developed a critical reflection on these concepts, central to archaeological science, and their (emic) meanings for the communities we collaborate with. This work aims to contribute to an understanding of temporality across divergent historical trajectories (Macedo, 2022; Bispo Jr., 2020; Greco et al., 2021; Fagundes, 2022; Campos, 2023; Fagundes et al., 2024, 2025; Perillo Filho, 2024; Fonseca, 2023).

We must never forget that the Indigenous peoples of the Upper Jequitinhonha Valley - a label applied through disciplinary normativity - were physically and culturally exterminated by European invasion and domination. The critical question remains: Who were these Indigenous peoples? We know little to nothing about them, which underscores the importance of landscape stratigraphy and archaeology. Through material evidence, we can reconstruct narratives about these communities' pasts and about their extinction/erasure.

III. LANDSCAPE AND TERRITORY IN SERRA NEGRA, BRAZIL

The definition of landscape as a concept cannot be understood as simple or singular. As Anschuetz et al. (2001) argue, reductive approaches ultimately hinder researchers far more than they assist in interpreting the archaeological record. The dynamics of any landscape can thus only be deciphered through the agency of human actors, that is, the driving force behind its continual transformation.

According to Cosgrove and Jackson (2014), we must emphasise the sophisticated cultural dimension of landscape within geography. They view it as foundational to the composition, structuring, and *meaning-making* of a world “(...) whose history must be understood in relation to the material appropriation of land. Consequently, the symbolic qualities of landscapes—which produce and sustain their social significance—

have become key research foci, expanding the source materials available to cultural geography” (Cosgrove & Jackson, 2014, p. 137).

If landscape comes to be regarded as a cultural image – a pictorial medium for representing or symbolising humanity's surroundings – then it may be studied through multiple means and surfaces: through paint on canvas, ink on paper, images captured on film, and indeed through the very earth, stone, water and vegetation upon the ground (Daniel & Cosgrove, 1987, cited in Cosgrove & Jackson, 2014, p. 137).

This perspective from Cosgrove and Jackson (2014) grounds the concept in a non-linear space-time framework (contrary to conventional understanding), as this very perception influences its foundational basis. Just as time is an endless (continuous) phenomenon, so too is the constitution of landscape. However, we must avoid being overly prescriptive with this conception, which is rooted in social practice, ancestralities, cosmologies, and ontologies when addressing Indigenous human histories (Silva, 2024).

Landscape functions as an agent (a non-human person), possessing its own will and capacity for interaction with human persons. It reveals the meanings these humans ascribe(d) to the territories they inhabit(ed) (Gell, 2018); their colours, sensations, anxieties (fears), ideas, and conceptions, that is, their lived experiences through time. In the words of Cosgrove and Jackson (2014, p. 137):

The concept of landscape as a configuration of symbols and signs leads to methodologies that are more interpretative than morphological “(...) the metaphor of landscape as text, to be read and interpreted as an official document”. After all, what have archaeologists done?

Territory, in turn, constitutes the arena where all activities unfold, although these reflect distinct temporal dimensions of the secular and the sacred (Zvelebil, 1997). This represents a key conceptual framework for interpreting archaeological records, enabling us to comprehend how things

happened in the past, the interactions between nature and humans, and, above all, how the natural was interpreted and their territories defined.

Finally, what is the concept of landscape and how can it contribute to our interpretations of material traces, ancestral memory, and the lived practices of past communities?

Also, we must not overlook how the 'landscape as text' metaphor proves invaluable for analysing archaeological materiality, revealing narratives about past human behaviour that encompass everything from aesthetic creativity to ideological, political, and power relations (Fagundes, 2022).

Thus, within this framework, landscape is understood as a synthesis of interactions/interrelations and all social dynamics encompassing relational, economic, ideological, power-related, ancestral, ritual, cosmological, symbolic, contractual/conflictual, and politico-religious dimensions. It constitutes, therefore, a wholly cultural system that structures and organises these interrelations between human persons, non-human persons, and landscape across time and space (Zedeño, 1997).

Hence, as Zvelebil (1997) argues, all landscapes are structured through this time-space relationship, which fundamentally shapes their constitution. We must always remember that time is a social construct, and as previously noted, it cannot be treated arbitrarily (or linearly), and while mathematically definable, its very meaning remains relative to each society's chosen frameworks.

For instance, many societies recognize both secular and sacred temporalities. Diverse strategies exist to move around (or choose not to) particular territories (Mauss, 2003). These decisions often elude conventional archaeological interpretation (or materiality-based analyses, if you prefer), being rooted in cosmological frameworks, ancestral connections, moral imperatives, political negotiations/conflicts, ritual practices, and the presence or absence of desire (Mauss, 2003; Viveiros de Castro, 2002, 2018, 2024; Fausto, 2014, 2023; Fagundes & Arcuri,

2023). Such cognitive systems consistently evade our Eurocentric pragmatism⁸.

According to Zvelebil's (1997, p.36) research among the Ket⁹ people of Western Siberia, he identified two distinct landscape categories: ritual and practical. Ritual landscapes are founded upon three core principles: symbolism, ancestrality, and temporality. Practical landscapes (comprising ecological structures, resource productivity, seasonality, social technologies, and resource-use motivations/strategies) are contingent upon resource scarcity or abundance. Within these frameworks, Ket groups employ context-specific strategies to sustain their ways of being, whereby rituals play a constitutive role in group survival (Zvelebil, 1997, p.38)

Practical landscapes can only exist and sustain the seasonality of resources based on this rituality, that is, on the ideological and ritual issues that develop (Zvelebil, 1997, p. 35). In this case, as already mentioned, the entire Ket cosmology and rituality impose a network of symbolism on the landscape. Therefore, practical landscapes intrinsically depend on rituals for the existence of economic life. One thing cannot be separated from the other, and the territory of the Kets will always be a sociocultural (and ritualistic) construction, in which ancestry plays a very important role. In short, there is no way to separate economic life from religious life, an issue that Marcel Mauss had already warned us about in the first half of the 20th century (Mauss, 2003).

Rituals linking cosmology and landscape were also integrated into the course of regular subsistence activities. For example, after the first slaughter of animals that served as guardians or messengers in Ket cosmology, the soup left after cooking these animals (bears, elks, reindeer, waterfowl, or fish) was returned to the river at specific sacred sites, an act of symbolic regeneration (i.e., the essence of the animal messengers returned to the

⁸ Often, if not always, we forget that we are investigating the lives or behaviour of human beings.

⁹ Traditional hunter-gatherer groups living in Western Siberia, in the *Podkamennaya Tunguzka* River valley (Zvelebil, 1997, 36).

'cosmic river'). The ceremonies associated with bear hunting defined sacred and ritual sites on the landscape, referring to the bear as the guardian of other animals and as being responsible for ensuring the success of the hunt: this was symbolized, for example, by specific bear bones (jaws, shoulder blades) hanging from trees (Zvelebil, 1987, p. 38).

Landscape (as one of the non-human entities) is perpetually shaped by human ritual practices and thought/ideology, while simultaneously influencing these very manipulations. It constitutes a symbolic continuity and expression of a ritual-ideological system structure, one that consistently emphasizes temporality and resource availability among the Ket people. This manifests through physical cycles (resource availability for economic life), in addition to cycles of the soul, body, and freedom, which involve the governance of both human and non-human persons, particularly key animals (bears, elk, reindeer, waterfowl, or fish). Thus a collective ideological appropriation of the landscape emerges.

According to Zvelebil, all things return to the sacred or cosmic river, in which nature is a gift from the environment, and, in this case, there is an equitable ideology, which is realized through the act of sharing (Zvelebil, 1997, p. 46). In any case, we must remember that according to Zedeño and Anderson (2010), all paths are contact links between nuclei and human persons, and to perimeters, involving behaviours, controls, and knowledge. The path is an activity in the process of ordering, delimiting, and monitoring between materialized or non-materialized thresholds. That is, perimeters can be understood as the periphery of historical knowledge and experiences of human persons, representing limits and thresholds not only between territories but narratives on safe and dangerous areas, the transcendental and unpredictable.

We believe that the different approaches proposed by Zedeño (1997, 2008), based on the concept of *persistent places*, coined by Schlanger (1992), are valid for archaeological research, especially for the study of landscape.

The philosopher and Immortal of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, Ailton Krenak (2020) brings to light the "indigenous" subjectivities and resilience along the Doce River Valley, a river they call *Watu* (our grandfather, a non-human person). That is, it has identity and *agentialites* and is not seen only as a supplier of resources (an extremely reductionist and Eurocentric view).

For Ailton Krenak (2020, p. 43), *Watu* is one of the living parts of the Earth, not only as a provider of basic resources for the physical survival of human persons, but as responsible for maintaining the experiences and existences of the Kre (which means head) -nak (earth): head of the earth (KRENAK, 2020, p. 48).

Krenak is the heritage we received from our ancestors, from our memories of origin, which identifies us as "heads of the earth", as a humanity that cannot conceive of itself without this connection, without this deep communion with the land. Not the land as a site, but as this place that we all share, and from which we, Krenak, feel most uprooted – from this place that has always been sacred to us, but which we realize that our neighbours are almost ashamed to admit can be seen as such (Krenak, 2000, p.48-49).

Therefore, for the author, we should never depersonalize what we call non-human people, such as mountains, rivers, forests, etc. After all, where does this humanity or agency come from? What is a human person? When we take away identity and agency from non-humans, we are transforming them into "(...) residues of industrial and extractive activity" (Krenak, 2020, p. 49).

Geographer Denis Cosgrove (1985, 2014) classifies the landscape as a text to be read and interpreted, a grammar of the landscape, which allows human beings to conceptualize (learn and apprehend) it, themselves, and others (Fagundes et al., 2021, p. 77).

This abstraction (or symbol) can even create landscapes, in which narratives and other original new readings can be logical. As has been said many times, human persons are part of landscapes and non-human landscapes are part of

human persons, in interactions that structure and are structuring (Greco, 2019). There is observation, perception, description, and reproduction of what is seen (or subjectivized), that is, facts that establish new landscapes. This allows renewals, or layers, to occur (Cosgrove; Jackson, 2014), which enable archaeologists to interpret the archaeological record, which is always contemporary (Schiffer; Skibo, 1997; Darras, 2003; Fagundes; Arcuri, 2023).

For some time now, archaeological research (and concerns) has been theoretically and methodologically guided by the concept of landscape (as mentioned), which has always been understood through relational interactions and occupational and ritualistic dynamics, as a form of power. To this end, the bearers (human beings) of this landscape (in layers, past or present) interpret it, give meaning, attachments and feelings to their territories, inhabiting exactly where their ancestors lived. There is an affective and sentimental attachment to the territory (Zedeño, 1997). Establishing, creating and modifying, as well as occupying or abandoning an area, in this prerogative, involves choices beyond ecological-adaptive (economic) possibilities, which concern experiences and life as a whole (Zvelebil, 1997; Zedeño, 1997; Daniel; Cosgrove, 1987; Darras, 2003; Cosgrove; Jackson, 2014; Krenak, 2020; Fagundes; Arcuri 2023), in addition to the process of attributing meaning and order to nature, as indicated by Cosgrove (1985).

Landscapes are, therefore, established in layers in different temporalities (Cosgrove, 1985), constituted by ancestral territories, not as a simple arithmetic sum but rather of sentimental affections and attachments (ancestry), whereby territories would give rise to this landscape, established and experienced by human beings, according to their cosmologies and ontologies (Zvelebil, 1997, 2006; Zedeño, 1997; Krenak, 2020).

Thus, we must remember that they are always a product of people, a construction, and can be defined as part of a humanized social territory, in space-time, in culture, in historical trajectories, in experiences, and in ancestry.

In Alto Araçuaí, for example, the different shelters present characteristics that go beyond their resources or their physiographies (at least as we Westerners think and conceive of them). Therefore, their occupations resulted from an effective form of regulation between different factors of their sociocultural structures (environmental-adaptive, moral-ritualistic, ideological, political, etc.) (Zvelebil, 1997; Zedeño, 1987; Fagundes et al., 2024, 2025).

Therefore, landscapes will always be intelligible actions and ideas that enable life, beyond a sum of exclusively constructed territories (Anschuetz et al., 2001; Cosgrove; Jackson, 2014; Krenak, 2020). They are dynamic and relational, seen as a historical text, and function as a system of symbolic, power, and strategic manipulation (Cosgrove; Jackson, 2014), which are characteristics that allow them to be experienced, perceived, and contextualized (Knapp; Ashmore, 1999; Zvelebil, 1997; Zedeño, 1997; Krenak, 2020).

Composed of human and non-human people, landscapes are shaped by their long-term experiences (temporalities). If the world is always the result of human praxis, so are landscapes. It is human people project ideas, affections, and feelings from this universe onto the world to create/establish landscapes, which are therefore part of life, of the social construction of the space itself (Troncoso, 2001). In the words of Andrés Troncoso (2001), the landscape should always be understood as a materiality constructed by humanity.

(...) where its materiality resides in its natural configuration that disintegrates and filters through the human cultural kaleidoscope. Natural physical space is raw material appropriated and modelled in the social production of the landscape, transforming itself into the social, cultural, and historical (Troncoso, 2001, p. 5).

The landscape in its construction involves relationships between agreements and conflicts, and of power. It is always a field of struggle, a territory designed for the reproduction and

subversion of social relations (Troncoso, 2021). Therefore, it is concrete, because it existed (and exists), but it is also abstract, because that is how its owners see it. Transforming, creating, establishing or innovating the landscape (rebuilding, remaining or abandoning, [re]signifying) is a procedure of elections that involves negotiations, contracts, exchanges and concessions; it is a field of narrative, and can even be used as a political tool (Troncoso, 2021).

Thus, the landscape is also the social use of land (individually and collectively), throughout historical trajectories, in which the different activities of human life modify and *culturalise* its constitution, as they are created and modified by life experiences (Viveiros de Castro, 2002, 2024; Fausto, 2014, 2023). If the choice of a territory is due, at first glance, to its possibilities of subsistence (resources), it is also related to its knowledge and, consequently, culturalisation, establishing links in regard to where, why and how to settle (ancestry).

The landscape is always in movement/dynamic, in motion in the *Boasian* sense, being shaped by experiences and reactivated by the interrelations between the world, in which the cognitive aspects allow us to experience, perceive, classify and contextualize this landscape.

Therefore, continuity and/or changes are choices (Silva, 2024). Landscapes are, always dynamic life stories (Zvelebil, 1997) of construction/reconstruction, modelling/remodelling and structuring/destructuring, where human beings are closely related (Krenak, 2020). Therefore, the landscape and human and non-human beings are linked in a continuous (cyclical), limited and changing movement throughout history.

It is true that the landscape brings with it attributes that enable the understanding of these layers that were established in historical trajectories (Silva, 2024; Krenak, 2020), but with each new occupation in space-time, the records left and the physiography itself (and its agency) gain new interpretations and resignifications, given by later occupants' experiences (Viveiros de Castro, 2002, 2024; Fausto, 2014, 2023). There

are continuities (or not), but different from the linear form that we assume (Fagundes et al., 2024, 2025).

As Fagundes et al. (2021) say:

More than a set of forms, the landscape presents itself as a composition defined as a "visual unit" (...), since it is material; however, it only exists from a perspective (...) and beyond what is seen. The landscape is, therefore, an intentional expression composed of multiple layers of meaning that are established by humans in an arrangement that presents neither form nor coherence outside this action, in which signs establish a narrative (grammar), allowing emic reading in the present (by producers and/or code holders) and in the future, in which new interpretations can be given by and to the landscape. There is no landscape outside this human action (Fagundes et al., 2021).

Finally, based on the interrelations observed through the archaeological record, it is necessary to understand how these installations could/can (or cannot) have contributed to the creation of territories and experiences far beyond the economic view, in which human beings only wanted to survive (or eat, for example). It is important to always keep in mind that the physiography of a given territory enabled the production and reproduction of material life and the symbolic universe (Zvelebil, 1997; Zedeño, 1997; Cosgrove, 2012). We understand this establishment (Mauss, 2003) as a way of being and existing in the world, and, therefore, archaeological sites are not established exclusively for reasons related to economic life. Living in society involves options beyond food and protection.

IV. ARCHAEOLOGY IN SERRA NEGRA, UPPER ARAÇUAÍ, MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL

The Serra Negra territory is located northeast of the city of Diamantina, Minas Gerais, Brazil, covering lands of the municipalities of Felício dos Santos, Senador Modestino Gonçalves,

Itamarandiba, Rio Vermelho, and São Gonçalo do Rio Preto (Fig. 1).

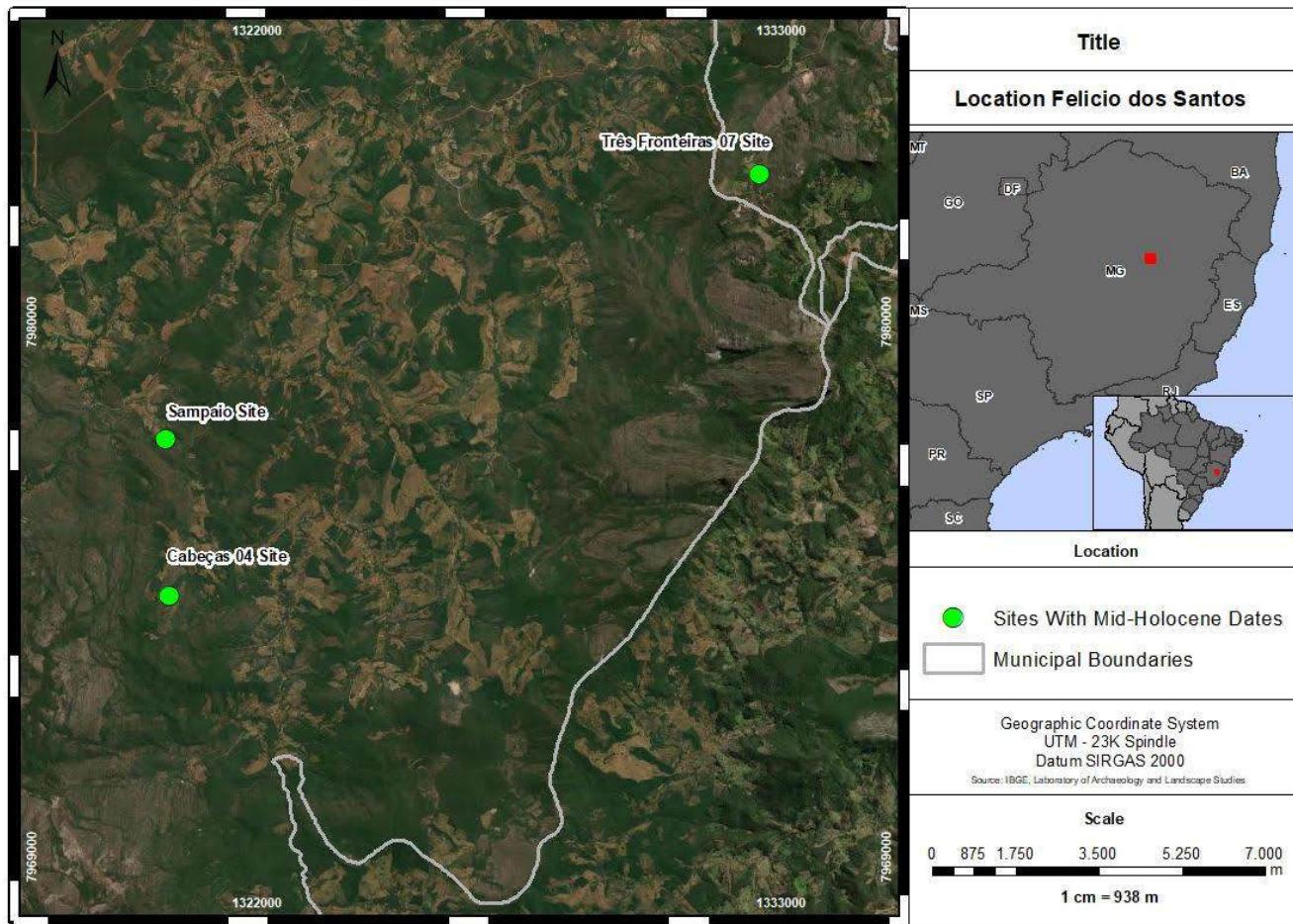


Figure 3: Map showing Mid-Holocene archaeological sites

The investigations were concentrated entirely in the municipality of Felício dos Santos, especially at the sources of the Araçuaí River, which is the region where the oldest archaeological sites were discovered and excavated: Cabeças 4, Sampaio and Três Fronteiras 7 (all shelters dating from the Middle Holocene), between 7 and 4 thousand years BP, with no gaps for this period¹⁰ (Tables 1 and 2)¹¹.

¹⁰ More recently, the Água Quente 1, 2 and 3, Antas and Cabeças 6 sites were revealed, bringing the total to 79 shelters and a village (open-air site). There are a lot of pottery and flakes on the surface, but there is no sign of excavation for now.

¹¹ We are aware of all the current criticisms of the term “tradition,” closely linked to the Historical-Culturalist School; however, the team decided to continue using this expression, despite all the particularities of each archaeological site.

Table 1: Chronologies in Serra Negra and Planalto Diamantinense

	Sites	Area	Lab*	Method	Chronology (yrs BP)	Calibrated age (yrs BP)	Average probability (yrs BP)	Probability Y (2sigma)	Author
EARLY HOLOCENE	Caboclo	PD**	BETA 199502	AMS***	10,560 ± 40	12,637 -12,469	12,549	0,958	Isnardis (2009)
	Caboclo	PD	BETA 233764	AMS	10,380 ± 60	12,472-11.935	12,182	1	Isnardis (2009)
	Peixe Gordo	PD	BETA 233762	AMS	10,210 ± 60	12,021-11.622	11,817	0,95	Isnardis (2009)
	Lapa da Chica	PD	BETA 254271	AMS	8,760 ± 60	9,910-9,541	9,703	0,893	Isnardis (2009)
	Lapa da Onça	PD	CEN 1180	¹⁴ C/ LSC****	8,530 ± 120	9.773-9.129	9,481	0,995	Fagundes (2013)
MID-HOLOCENE	Cabeças 4	SN*****	BETA 379290	LSC	6,290 ± 30	7,259-7,154	7,169	0,599	Fagundes (2019)
	Cabeças 4	SN	BETA 379290	LSC	6,140 ± 40	7,086-6,854	6,978	0,805	Fagundes (2019)
	Três Fronteira s 7	SN	DAT 5480	LOE*****	6,525 ± 690	--	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Três Fronteira s 7	SN	DAT 5480	LOE/SA RS 15	6,165 ± 515	--	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Cabeças 4	SN	BETA 370289	¹⁴ C/ LSC	5,270 ± 40	6,035-5.912	5,996	0,637	Fagundes (2019)
	Água Quente 3	SN	DAT 6073	LOE/SA RS 15	5,540 ± 600	--	--	--	Fagundes (2025)
	Água Quente 3	SN	DAT 6072	LOE/SA RS 15	4,615 ± 485	--	--	--	Fagundes (2025)
	Sampaio	SN	BETA 471280	¹⁴ C/ LSC	4,280 ± 30	4,870-4.797	4,823	0,581	Fagundes (2019)
	Três Fronteira s 7	SN	BETA 471281	¹⁴ C/ LSC	4,100 ± 30	4,648-4,422	4,553	0,862	Fagundes (2019)
	Cabeças 4	SN	BETA 370291	¹⁴ C/ LSC	4,010 ± 40	4,532 - 4,290	4,441	0,967	Fagundes (2019)
LATE HOLOCENE	Matão 1	SN	DAT 5479	LOE SARS 15	3,375 ± 825	--	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Matão 1	SN	LOE 5140	LOE SARS 15	3,300 ± 520	--	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Três Fronteira s 7	SN	CENA/USP	¹⁴ C/ LSC	3,200 ± 70	3,315 - 3,571	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Água Quente 3	SN	DAT 6075	LOE/SA RS15	3,065± 605	--	--	--	Fagundes (2025)
	Três Fronteira s 7	SN	CENA/USP	¹⁴ C/ LSC	2,940 ± 70	2,919 - 3.260	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Lapa da Chica	PD	BETA 254270	AMS	2,730 ± 40	2,740 - 2.880	2,805	0,995	Isnardis (2009)
	Matão 1	SN	BETA 506714	AMS	2,460 ± 30	2,540 - 2.350	2,466	0,72	Fagundes (2019)
	Lapa do Taião	PD	CEN 1183	¹⁴ C/ LSC	2,370 ± 80	2,542-2,136	2,353	0,87	Fagundes (2013)
	Matão 1	SN	DAT 5479	LOE SARS 15	2,315 ± 305	--	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Água Quente	SN	DAT 6064	LOE SARS 15	2,105 ± 445	--	--	--	Fagundes (2025)

	Sites	Area	Lab*	Method	Chronology (yrs BP)	Calibrated age (yrs BP)	Average probability (yrs BP)	Probability Y (2sigma)	Author
	Matão 1	SN	DAT 5479	LOE SARS 15	1,930 ± 385	--	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Matão 1	SN	DAT 5479	LOE SARS 15	1,275 ± 310	--	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Matão 1	SN	BETA 506716	AMS	1,270 ± 30	1,179-1.065	1,132	0,82	Fagundes (2019)
	Matão 1	SN	BETA 506715	AMS	1,240 ± 30	1,178-1,054	1,112	0,924	Fagundes (2019)
	Lapa do Caboclo	PD	BETA 199503	AMS	1,220 ± 40	1,177-975	1,087	0,98	Isnardis (2009)
	Matão 1	SN	DAT 5479	LOE SARS 15	1,095 ± 310	--	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Matão 1	SN	BETA 506713	AMS	980 ± 30	923-790	853	0,971	Fagundes (2019)
	Cabeças 3	SN	BETA 400565	AMS	940 ± 30	817-724	776	0,817	Fagundes (2019)
	Lapa da Onça	PD	BETA 370293	¹⁴ C/ LSC	790 ± 30	730-654	685	0,988	Fagundes (2019)
	Lapa do Caboclo	PD	BETA 199504	AMS	680 ± 50	668-547	605	1	Isnardis (2009)
	Itanguá 2	SN	CEN 1172	¹⁴ C/ LSC	680 ± 110	773-490	613	0,993	Fagundes (2013)
	Itanguá 2	SN	CEN 1181	¹⁴ C/ LSC	660 ± 85	683-502	603	0,977	Fagundes (2013)
	Itanguá 2	SN	CEN 1173	¹⁴ C/ LSC	630 ± 30	647-589	605	0,685	Fagundes (2013)
	Matão 1	SN	LOE 5105	LOE	550 ± 50	--	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Cabeças 4	SN	BETA 379291	¹⁴ C/ LSC	480 ± 30	531-451	501	0,976	Fagundes (2019)
	Matão 1	SN	LOE 5105	LOE	400 ± 50	--	--	--	Fagundes (2022)
	Itanguá 2	SN	BETA 310324	AMS	270 ± 20	316-277	289	0,685	Fagundes (2013)
	Mendes 2	PD	CEN 1182	¹⁴ C/ LSC	330 ± 85	507-249	354	0,815	Fagundes (2013)
	Cabeças 1	SN	BETA 379288	AMS	270 ± 30	316-277	289	0,685	Fagundes (2013)
	Mendes 2	PD	UG 10586	AMS	220 ± 20	221-143	194	0,811	Fagundes (2013)
	Itanguá 2	SN	DAT3289	¹⁴ C/ LSC	150 ± 30	146-0	101	0,761	Fagundes (2013)

Legend for Table:

* LAB = Laboratory.

** PD = Planalto Diamantinense.

*** AMS = Accelerator Mass Spectrometry.

**** ¹⁴C/LSC = Dating via Liquid scintillation counting (liquid scintillation counting).

**** SN = Serra Negra.

***** LOE = Dating by Optically Stimulated Luminescence, using 15 aliquots of silica from the sediment for analysis.

The Serra Negra territory, as mentioned, is made up of sites from 7,000 years BP onwards, with occupations duly dated from the Middle Holocene to the Late Holocene (see Tables 1 and 2). They are all archaeological sites in shelters (or in caves, as the regional communities call them), with very common designs of what André Prous called the Planalto Tradition (2019).

Another notable element is the lithic assemblages, in which mainly the main raw material is anhedral quartz (blocks and veins), in its hyaline and milky

variants, although there are some other instruments produced in quartzite, flint, and silicified sandstone (Fonseca, 2023; Perillo Filho, 2024). Ceramics are found in the most recent levels of the Três Fronteiras 14 site (not excavated) and at the Cabeças 4 site, where the layer was dated between 531 and 451 cal. years BP. $(480 \pm 30$ years BP. BETA 379291) (Figs. 3 and 4). Very recently, the first indigenous village was evidenced at the Heitor Archaeological Site, with many ceramics and lithics on the surface.



Figure 4: Excavation and landscape of archaeological sites in Serra Negra, Brazil: (a) Excavation at Cabeças 4 archaeological site; (b) Landscape surrounding Cabeças 4 archaeological site; (c) Excavation at Sampaio archaeological site; (d) Additional trench at Cabeças 4 archaeological site (*or specify feature*)



Figure 5: Lithic material from the Serra Negra archaeological sites, Brazil: (a) Hand axe from Cabeças 4; (b) Modified flake from Cabeças 4; (c) Plano-convex mesial fragment from Cabeças 4; (d) Piercer on quartz flake from Cabeças 4; (e) Retouched quartz flake from Cabeças 4

Therefore, certain physiographic reflections are extremely important for the analysis and interpretation of the archaeological record. Among the phytological-physiographic and paleoenvironmental analyses, in addition to the excavations that generate materiality, analyses, including archaeometric, are carried out on social technologies (Silva, 2024). We have invested heavily in what is known in the literature as archaeological ethnography, which aims to understand the multiple temporalities that exist in the materiality and the landscape itself (Silva, 2024; Fagundes et al., 2024).

Thus, based on the interrelations observed in the archaeological record, we seek to understand how these specificities may or may not have cooperated in the establishment of paths and experiences over millennia, in addition to economic visions, in which human (and non-human) people settle only for survival. Thus, as previously mentioned, we have sought in the physiography of this territory the production and reproduction of material life and the symbolic universe (Cosgrove, 2012).

Serra Negra is a natural border between two Brazilian river basins, those of the Jequitinhonha

River and the Doce River. It is, therefore, also between two ecotones, the Cerrado (in Jequitinhonha) and the Atlantic Forest (in Doce), which would probably have been explored by the groups that inhabited the area (Gontijo, 2022).

Geologically, this territory is inserted in the context of the Araçuaí Orogen, one of the most important geotectonic components of southeastern Brazil, which is associated with a series of mountains that were formed in this area due to several continental collisions, giving rise to the supercontinent Gondwana at the end of the Neoproterozoic (Alkmim et al., 2017).

Thus, its morphology is characterized by the spatial alternation between rocky outcrops and surface formations, the processes of which were influenced by the litho structural differences of the region. This peculiarity led to the emergence of several buttresses in the region, many of which are part of the current communities, such as Gavião (or Chapada do Couto), Bocaina (or Miranda, on the eastern slope of the hill), Pedra Menina, Pico Dois Irmãos, and Ambrósio (Greco et al., 2021). (Fig. 5).

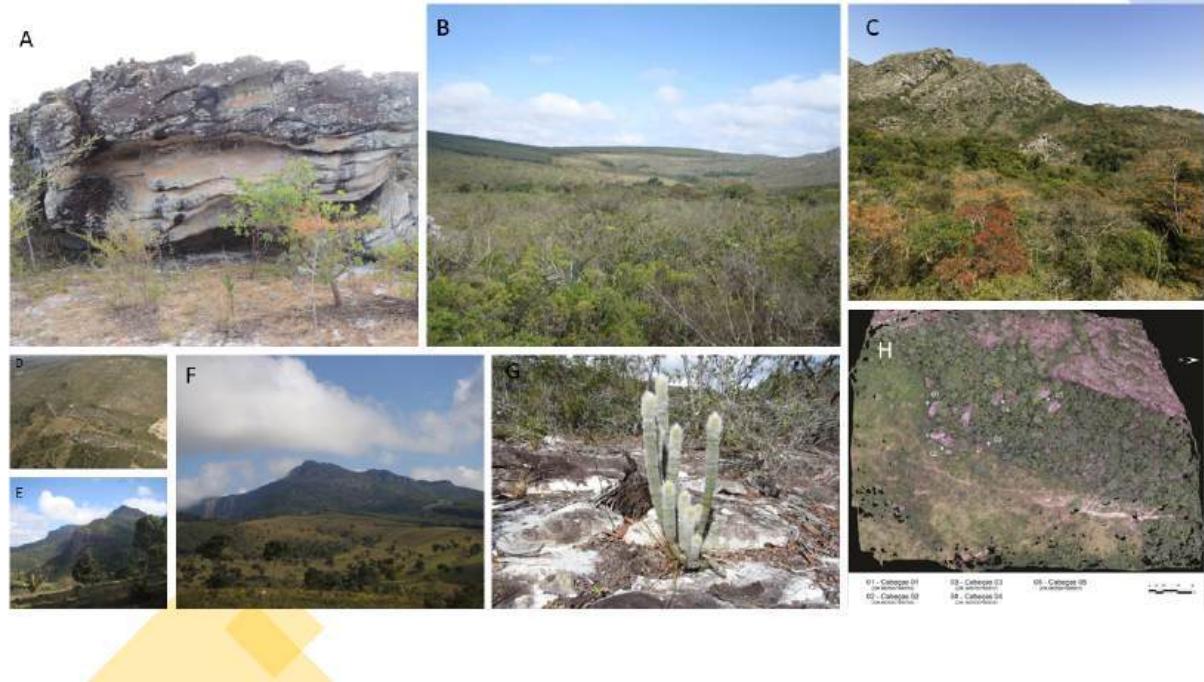


Figure 6: Archaeological sites and landscapes in Serra Negra, Brazil: (a) TrêsFronteiras 8 archaeological site; (b) Regional landscape of Serra Negra; (c) Matão Mountain; (d) Landscape of TrêsFronteiras; (e) Pedra Menina Mountain; (f) Ambrósio Mountain; (g) Cactus (*Opuntia* sp.) in situ; (h) Aerial landscape view of Cabeças archaeological sites

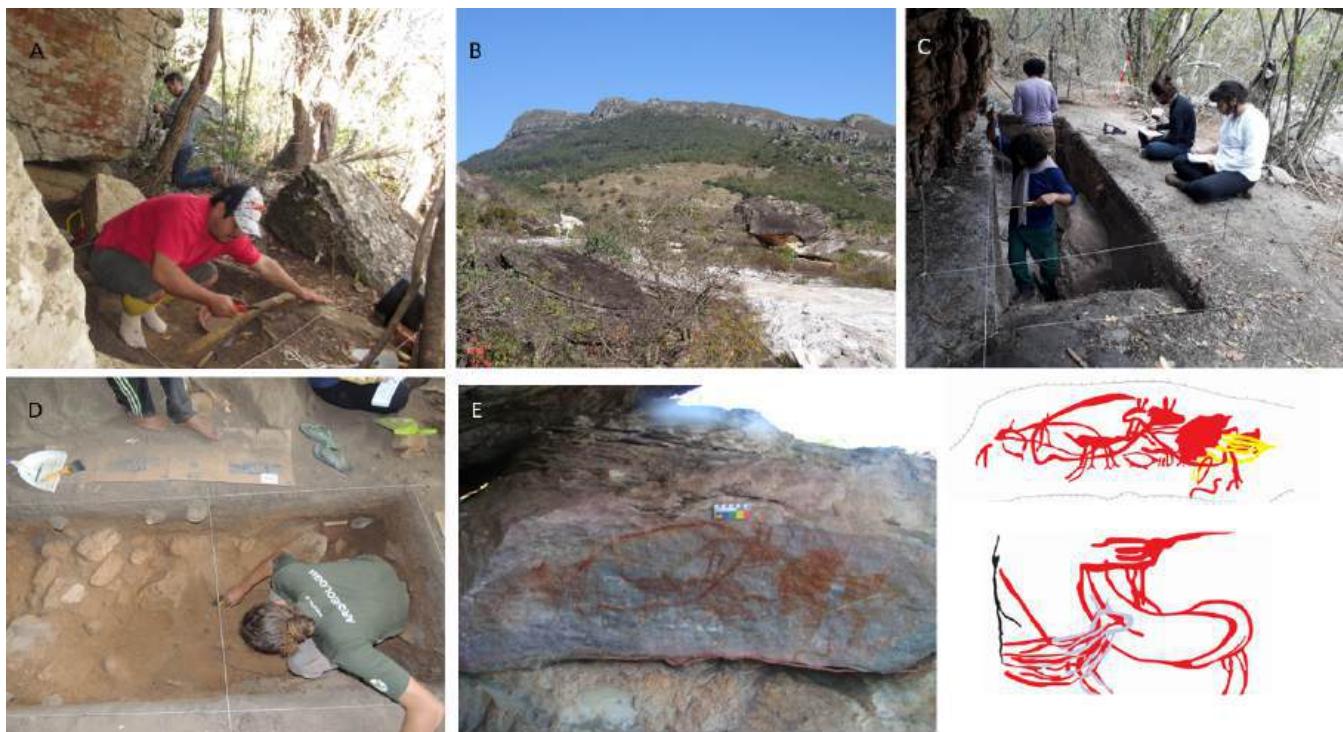


Figura 7: Archaeological sites and landscapes in Serra Negra, Brazil: (a) Sampaio archaeological site; (b) Bocaina Mountain; (c) Matão archaeological site; (d) Rock art panel at Indaiá archaeological site; (e) Transfer of rock art from Indaiá archaeological site

The climate of the entire territory is temperate (Subtropical highland climate, Cwb, according to the Köppen-Geiger classification) and with plenty of water available, both of which are key to understanding the past human occupation of this territory (Knegt, 2022).

In terms of geomorphology, it is possible to observe four main domains in Serra Negra: (a) mountain ranges supported by quartzite (resistant to weathering); (b) colluvial ramps related to the alteration of quartzites, characterized by sandy sediments arranged along the slopes of these mountain ranges; (c) flat tops, without the presence of outcrops, associated with areas with the presence of more developed and clayey weathering layers; and (d) narrow strips of river channels (Knegt, 2022).

Having evolved as Latosols, the soils can be characterized as different from other regions in the Diamantinense Plateau, being greatly influenced by a variety of other classes ranging from the youngest to the oldest soils, especially in places with intrusions of metabasic rocks. There is also the presence of Fulvic Neosols in alluvial zones (Vasconcelos, 2014). This variety, in turn, led to the development of family farming, mainly from the 18th century onwards, which is, to this day, the main source of income for many communities (Greco et al., 2021).

Thus, these mountain ranges established bionic boundaries between the Cerrado and the Atlantic Forest (Gontijo, 2022), a fact that marked and determined paths for the realization of social and technological activities, as well as community differences (from the Middle Holocene to the present day), where all the shelters that were occupied in an immense temporality or layers are located (Cosgrove, 1984). These shelters (or limpets) are the most characteristic signs, being seen, perceived, experienced, experimented with, and reinvented over time (Greco, 2019).

In the same way, the particular phytobiognomies of the Serra Negra are also responsible for the rhythms and movements present on this landscape. Examples include: (a) *campo rupestre* (rupestrian grassland), which is

important for the life of current (and past) communities, especially for collecting everlasting flowers, an activity that provides income and has inspired stories about life among the mountains, reviving paths (shelters or caves) used for millennia by humans, in a past that dates back more than 7 thousand years; (b) the forests and all the stories about hunting, experiences, or fantastic beings; and (c) from the sacred nature of certain places to the ritual “permissions” that are granted to hunters or hikers.

Many of these forests were named after people, relating not only to the history of individuals, but also to communities, trajectories, and ancestry (Campos; Fagundes, 2023). Humans, forests, and actions are now interconnected in a single entity, such as Mata do Isidoro, Mata do Farias, Mata do Matão, Mato do Elias, or Mata dos Ausentes (Greco et al., 2021).

Chueng and her team (2018, 2023) were responsible for the paleoenvironmental research in Serra Negra. As a result, it is now known that subtle climate changes occurred between the Middle Holocene and contemporary life (Chueng et al., 2018, 2023; Chueng, 2020; Machado et al., 2021).

With regard to Archaeology, research with phytoliths and palynology indicated the presence of a stable, hot, humid climate, with the characteristic of a predominance of rupestrian grassland, at least in Serra do Jambreiro (region where almost all the archaeological sites with ancient dates are located), which is very different from what we have today with the contemporary, predominant presence of Semideciduous Seasonal Forest (Chueng, 2020).

An example of this is the excavation of the Matão site. Several pebbles were found during the intervention at this site, especially during the exploration of bipolar flakes during the Late Holocene (Perillo Filho, 2024). It was in the phytolith analyses carried out by Chueng et al. (2023) that it was possible to infer that these pebbles (in addition to the bipolar flake) were being used to break coconuts. The studies demonstrated an immense quantity of phytoliths

from Poaceae (BLOCKY, BULLIFORM FLABELLATE and ACUTE BULBOSUS) and Arecaceae (SPHEROID ECHINATE), probably originating from the palm tree *Syagrus ruschiana*, which is abundant in the region and provides the so-called stone coconut, appreciated by local communities to this day.

We cannot forget that the landscape is a dynamic construction, in addition to being a means of capturing (symbolic) resources that guarantee life, incorporating principles of the social, economic, and political organization of its occupants. Therefore, the landscape is a means through which human beings manipulate (symbolically) its structures and materiality (Fagundes et al., 2021, 2024, 2025; Fonseca, 2023; Perillo Filho, 2024).

Finally, it should be highlighted that the Serra Negra is in constant transformation (Silva, 2024), mainly as a result of the action of human beings for more than 7 thousand years. There are many mountain ranges (and paths) that speak of directions, references, and interrelations between human persons, non-humans, and the landscape. It is a territory that has always been well irrigated, with watercourses that flow into both the Jequitinhonha and Doce River basins, with many peatlands responsible for these water flows (Silva et al., 2020).

The phytobiognomy in Serra Negra presents both those typical of the Cerrado biome (with emphasis on the rupestrian grassland stricto sensu) and forested areas, mainly at the foot of the mountains or in the riparian forests of its streams and rivers. In other words, it is in a constant state of change (in both material and symbolic aspects), in which physiography constitutes experiences and human persons (re)signify this physiography, that is, in its landscape (Fagundes, 2022; Fagundes et al., 2025).

Thus, it is human and non-human people and their historical trajectories that constitute the layers (Cosgrove, 1985; Daniel; Cosgrove, 1987), and redirect and modify this landscape at all times. There are specificities on the landscape (whether historical, symbolic, behavioural, or temporal) in which Archaeology (and the

understanding of certain concepts) plays an important role in the processes of this interpretation, seeking in materiality the interrelations between the environment, humanity, and other (non-human) entities in an understanding of how things were constituted and an understanding of the world in which they lived and are lived (Viveiros de Castro, 2002, 2024; Fausto, 2014, 2023; Isnardis; Linke, 2021).

V. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article has addressed two fundamental points for archaeological research, landscape and territory. In fact, it should be made very clear that: (a) Landscape is not synonymous with environment; and (b) Landscape is not the arithmetic sum of territories. Every landscape is a construction of human persons, of what is seen and interpreted, with the addition of social and symbolic aspects (Cosgrove and Jackson, 2014).

Landscapes are always layered (Cosgrove, 1985) and their temporality is infinite, while concurrently dynamic, with changes in human beings influencing its constitution much more than physical or natural modifications themselves. Every landscape influences the lives of human beings in the same way that human beings influence the landscape itself.

At the same time, the landscape is ancestral and therefore will always be ideological, powerful, ritualistic and social, regardless of time, and will always be transformed by human actions. In other words, the landscape will always be the palimpsest of boundaries established by humans and manipulated by their actions. However, its constitution (as a non-human person) will also influence this manipulation and/or changes.

The interrelations between human beings and the landscape are always structural and mutual within the scope of ancestry and social memory. There is no landscape without human beings, and there is no society that does not establish its landscape. In short, the concept is a social construction capable of assisting our interpretations of experiences and of the archaeological record itself. As Cosgrove (1984) says, the landscape will always denote the mediation of the physical world and the

experiences of humanity, which is always subjective and relational. In this case, it is a composition that directs all the actions of human beings.

Ultimately, the landscape, as a construction of culture, is the way in which human beings signify themselves and the world. It is through these landscapes and their relationships with nature that humanity announced (and announces) its own moral, religious, and social rules. It is a living stage for all the actions of human beings, including ancestry, rituals, and power.

In the territory of Serra Negra, the landscape is the same that establishes, creates and modifies, in addition to occupying or abandoning this territory, which is prominently an ecotone (Gontijo, 2022). In this prerogative, the landscape of Serra Negra is marked by the decisions taken by the group or groups that are beyond the ecological-adaptive (economic) possibilities but that pertain to life as a whole.

Landscapes are composed of territories (never a simple sum), which are established and experienced by subjects (individually and collectively) according to their ancestry and cosmologies (Zvelebil, 1997). In the territory of Serra Negra, there are ancient layers left by different inhabitants, which were appropriated by other new peoples: (a) Rock art and all the affection it caused and still causes in people; and (b) lithic sets that were made for a specific purpose but which are still used by the current community (whether to break coconuts or scrape grass) (Fagundes et al., 2024, 2025).

In Serra Negra, the landscape is a humanized social space, in time, space and culture. These are actions and ideas that enable life (Anchuetz et al., 2001). The landscape is dynamic, seen as a historical text that functions as a system of symbolic manipulation, characteristics that allow it to be experienced, perceived, and contextualized (Cosgrove, 1984). It is the social use of land, by individuals and communities, along historical trajectories (in themselves complex), where the different activities of human life modify and make

culture a part of its constitution, as they are created and modified by historical trajectories.

If the first option for occupation is environmental (resource possibilities in themselves), the knowledge and consequent appropriation of that territory establish links and attachments to where, why, and how to settle.

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This paper investigates potential architectural configurations for mobility infrastructure in the Anhangabaú Valley – São Paulo's preeminent historic public space – by critically engaging with its extensive urban accessibility and framing mobility networks as the foundational structuring element of metropolitan urban cores. The analysis foregrounds the historical significance of the Anhangabaú and its environs, acknowledged as the inaugural modern centrality within São Paulo and a constitutive component of the metropolitan mobility network. Addressing mobility within the Anhangabaú demands a critical examination of the different urban levels and the stratified spatial flows converging upon this pivotal public realm. A coherent articulation between this structural framework and the existing vehicular and pedestrian networks, particularly those channeling movement toward public transit nodes, must be established. Consequently, the hypothesis advanced herein posits that the site's latent accessibility can engender an integrated "mobility environment," supplanting the prevailing paradigm of fragmented transport interchanges.

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approach underscores the imperative of measured intervention within a consolidated urban tissue. Architectural design is operationalized as an epistemic instrument, with projective experimentation serving as an analytical mechanism to diagnose constraints inherent to antecedent schemes. Representational techniques, deployed as critical mediations, facilitate the analysis of kinetic, topographic, and circulatory dynamics, reinforcing design's constitutive role within an iterative process of urban inquiry.

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I. A QUESTÃO DO ESPAÇO URBANO DO ANHANGABAÚ CONTEMPORÂNEO

A organização urbana da Área Central de São Paulo influenciou diretamente a formação da rede viária, majoritariamente composta por vias radiais (configuração radioconcentrica). A conexão dessa rede com o tecido urbano do centro, considerando os desafios impostos pelo crescimento da metrópole, tem sido um problema recorrente em projetos ao longo das últimas décadas. Ao longo do século XX, para atender a essa demanda, foram implantados dois anéis viários perimetrais¹ para garantir a acessibilidade em larga escala ao centro. A dimensão central da área é reforçada pelo transporte público metropolitano, com os inúmeros pontos onde realizam-se transbordos modais ou das muitas linhas que por ela passam. Observa-se,

¹ Um menor, oriundo do Plano de Avenida de, de Prestes Maia, chamado de "Perímetro de Irradiação", ou rótula, com aproximadamente 700 metros de raio; e um maior com 1.100 metros, a contra-rótula.

entretanto, um *problema* de falta de integração entre os terminais de ônibus, as sete estações de metrô localizadas no centro (com a previsão da Linha 19-Celeste, para 2029²), além das linhas de trem que atendem a região, faz com que um numeroso contingente de pessoas que cruzam ou desembarcam no centro tenha de realizar, de forma compulsória, longas travessias diárias ou penosos transbordos modais. Diferentemente do Perímetro de Irradiação, que promoveu a integração e o aproveitamento do centro novo, as intervenções viárias posteriores passaram a tratar a área central como simples ponto de conexão na malha metropolitana, priorizando o fluxo de veículos em larga escala e reduzindo a acessibilidade às regiões atravessadas. A implantação de estruturas como viadutos, elevados e vias de fundo de vale contribuiu significativamente para a degradação do entorno do centro histórico, atingindo inclusive bairros anteriormente valorizados, como Campos Elíseos, Santa Cecília, Bela Vista e Liberdade (NAKANO et al., 2004). Diversos autores³ apontaram problemas causados pelas sucessivas abordagens rodoviárias, em São Paulo. Problemas não somente de mobilidade, mas econômicos, ambientais, e de direito à cidade. Destaca-se o recente processo de transformação pelo qual passou o Anhangabaú, processo que não promoveu uma transformação estrutural de forma a desempenhar funções de uma centralidade metropolitana contemporânea, isto é, com elementos de um equipamento de mobilidade congruente com sua importância e acessibilidade urbanas. O pensamento em torno de infraestruturas de mobilidade no Vale, portanto, se mostra urgente.

A *natureza do espaço* do Anhangabaú compreende uma complexidade urbana possível de ser organizada quatro camadas principais: a)

² Essa linha conecta o centro de Guarulhos à zona Sul de São Paulo, com duas estações no Anhangabaú que se conectam às estações São Bento (Linha 1-Azul) e Anhangabaú (Linha 3-Vermelha). Essa nova linha atravessa longitudinalmente o subsolo do espaço urbano do Vale do Anhangabaú (sentido norte-sul), com duas novas estações no Vale.

³ MEYER, 1999; MEYER et al., 2004; BYRNE, 2010; JACOBS, 2011; LONGO, 2015; MACIEL, 2015; HEREÑU, 2016; GLAESER, 2016; CALLIARI, 2019; VERKADE et al., 2022.

Subterrânea: A presença das águas do Rio Anhangabaú, formado pelo encontro das águas dos rios Saracura, Bixiga e Itororó, além de importantes infraestruturas de transporte, como linhas de metrô e o Corredor Norte-Sul, uma galeria viária que passa 9 metros abaixo da esplanada do Vale. b) *Chão urbano:* A malha urbana imediata, a importante esquina do Vale com a Avenida São João e seus calçadões, as ruas Formosa e Anhangabaú, o histórico edifício da Agência Central dos Correios e a articulação urbana realizada pela Praça das Artes. O chão da colina histórica com os prédios das duas bolsas de valores e mercadorias, a Praça e Catedral da Sé, a Biblioteca Municipal, os calçadões do centro velho, as galerias comerciais do centro novo. c) *De ligação:* Inclui elementos de transposições verticais, como as galerias Prestes Maia e Formosa, escadarias, ladeiras e praças inclinadas (como a Ramos de Azevedo). Esses elementos facilitam a circulação entre diferentes níveis urbanos, embora muitos estejam subutilizados. d) *Aérea:* Formada por viadutos (Chá, Santa Ifigênia) e passarelas que ligam o tecido urbano fragmentado às plataformas de embarque dos terminais. Representam soluções urbanas simbólicas frente às barreiras físicas do centro. Sua condição precária e os penosos caminhos que realizam serão objeto de intervenção no ensaio proposto adiante. Essas camadas distribuem-se em diferentes cotas de altitude que vão de cerca de 722m a 748m relativos ao nível do mar, o que explicita a complexidade topográfica e funcional do centro de São Paulo.

Entre o período pós-guerra e 1980, São Paulo cresceu em ritmo vertiginoso. O Vale do Anhangabaú abrigava então uma intensa vida urbana. Isso rapidamente gerou conflitos entre carros e pedestres, condição que motivou uma série de projetos (passagens subterrâneas, passarelas aéreas, transposições em nível, etc.)⁴. Isso culminou em um concurso de projetos. A proposta vencedora foi inaugurada em 1992, com a criação da grande laje pedestrianizada que hoje

⁴ Destaca-se o projeto urbano de Vilanova Artigas. ARTIGAS, João Batista Vilanova. Anteprojeto Executivo do Parque Anhangabaú. São Paulo, 1975, 21 desenhos técnicos. Biblioteca da FAUUSP.

lá se encontra. Essa configuração resolveu o problema dos conflitos e atropelamentos, mas desencadeou outros, em âmbitos distintos. Por isso, entre 1996 e 2013, dada a nova complexidade do contexto, uma função urbana não evidente, o estado de degradação, a ausência de articulações qualificadas do solo urbano com os equipamentos de transporte público, um expressivo conjunto de propostas projetuais e críticas ilustra de modo abundante o pensamento urbanístico para o Vale do Anhangabaú naquele momento.

O projeto, realizado na década de 80, deixou patente que, no que diz respeito às transformações urbanas, a via expressa é menos impactante pelos territórios distantes que conecta do que pelos espaços e sistemas locais que desconecta (...) O espaço resultante correspondendo à cobertura do sistema viário não esconde a impotência de uma “praça” cujo programa apoia-se exclusivamente nas questões que marcam as relações conflitantes entre pedestre e veículo. Assim, uma vez enfrentado o problema e separadas as funções, veículos embaixo e pedestres em cima, ocorreu a indesejável “inundação de espaço” que carregou consigo a força articuladora de espaços, funções e símbolos do antigo Vale do Anhangabaú. O Viaduto do Chá, amesquinhado na sua escala monumental pelas obras de acomodação do sistema viário subterrâneo, flutua sobre um espaço que já não requer “seus serviços” (MEYER, 1999, p.6-7, grifo nosso).

Se o tempo do conflito entre pedestres e carros havia sido superado, “um novo significado para aquele espaço precisaria ser definido”, até os dias de hoje, “quinze anos após sua inauguração, nenhum tipo de apropriação conseguiu imprimir um novo caráter àquele recinto” (HEREÑU, 2007, p. 325). Essa busca por soluções, apesar de existir, não continha um direcionamento coerente:

O modo como essas críticas são estruturadas, e os argumentos que utilizam, permitem ver que as relações de causa e efeito dos problemas alegados ainda não foram bem

assimiladas. A impressão que se tem é que o projeto implantado é totalmente descolado do discurso utilizado para justificá-lo. Se, por um lado, a obra resolveu o problema dos atropelamentos e melhorou minimamente o desempenho viário do “Sistema Y”, por outro, empobreceu o espectro de relações urbanas que caracterizavam o vale e criou um imenso espaço residual que não agregou novos valores à área central (HEREÑU, op. cit. loc. cit.).

Junto disso, há uma relevante transformação demográfica na região central a partir dos anos 2000. O que se observa nos estudos especializados é uma notável diminuição de renda do perfil médio dessa população (VILLAÇA, 1999; KARA-JOSÉ, 2010), a partir dos anos 1970, decorrente da evasão de empresas e de pessoas da região em direção a novos centros financeiros. “A degradação dos espaços e dos edifícios foi decorrência do abandono do Centro, deixado a se deteriorar, e não sua causa” (VILLAÇA, op. cit., p.28). A partir dessa década, os projetos municipais passaram a incluir referências à “revitalização”, o que deu origem a algumas iniciativas pontuais e dispersas. Na década de 1990, uma série de circunstâncias, muitas delas impulsionadas por pressões de grupos da sociedade civil, fez com que o Centro passasse a ocupar um lugar de maior relevância na agenda do poder público. Isso levou à criação das mencionadas estratégias, planos e projetos⁵ implementados a partir do final dessa década e continuados até os anos 2010 (KARA-JOSÉ, op. cit.).

Para além de sua função social, o Anhangabaú manifesta uma tensão entre sua carga simbólica, historicamente construída como espaço de expressão política, celebrações populares e representação da centralidade urbana, e sua efetiva capacidade de operar como equipamento público estruturador na dinâmica metropolitana da cidade. Essa contradição se evidencia, por um lado, no discurso institucional que busca

⁵ ASSOCIAÇÃO VIVA O CENTRO, 1996, 2001, 2005; BUCCI, 1998; MEYER et al., 2004, NAKANO et al., 2004; ANELLI, 2011; entre outros.

reafirmar o Vale como um marco da identidade da cidade, e, por outro, nas dificuldades recorrentes de integração funcional do espaço com os fluxos e necessidades cotidianas da metrópole. A requalificação urbana promovida em diferentes momentos, embora tenha valorizado aspectos formais e simbólicos, nem sempre resultou na apropriação ampla e diversificada por parte da população.

As duas dimensões [...] são interdependentes. Ele ganha escala metropolitana na mesma medida em que existe como local reconhecível para a metrópole. Dessa relação somada a forte expressão do lugar advém o seu caráter simbólico, o ‘cartão postal’ de São Paulo, como elemento que lhe confere identidade [...] No Anhangabaú atual essas duas dimensões se interferem destrutivamente e se anulam. Isso decorre da opção pelo ‘túnel’, que rouba da metrópole a percepção do Anhangabaú e, inversamente, rouba dele a dimensão metropolitana. Por isso, com a implantação desse projeto, a dimensão simbólica metropolitana do Anhangabaú deixou de existir por completo. (BUCCI, 1998, p.102)

Entre as décadas de 2000 e 2010, por coincidência ou não, o que se observou foram sucessivas reformas e serviços de manutenção, sem referência aos projetos originais, que aos poucos transformam o espaço do Vale, modificando-o gradualmente e de maneira quase imperceptível. Como resultado dessas ações, as conexões com o espaço se tornaram superficiais, sem vínculos profundos, abrindo caminho ao surgimento repentino de soluções simplistas. Nesse sentido, o projeto dos espaços livres públicos não deve se limitar à estética ou ao tratamento (do Vale) apenas como uma grande “praça”, mas, é necessário sobretudo que seja pensado de forma associada aos elementos de mobilidade metropolitana e estar permeado por um compromisso social e uma ética própria de *direito à cidade*, que deve ser continuamente reafirmada e renovada, especialmente no contexto de uma metrópole tão marcada por desigualdades socioespaciais e fragmentação territorial.

II. ENSAIO PROJETUAL

Para a ação projetual serão consideradas as intervenções decisivas já assimiladas ao Vale, como a galeria viária subterrânea⁶ e as estações de Metrô, que, embora isoladas nas extremidades sudoeste e nordeste, poderão ter melhores articulações físico-espaciais e funcionais com o tecido urbano da Área Central. A chegada da *Linha 19-Celeste* do Metrô ao Anhangabaú é vista como fundamental ao exercício proposto. Entende-se sua implementação como um dos aspectos mais relevantes da abordagem, dado o potencial transformador que a chegada de uma linha de metrô oferece à cidade, reafirmando na escala local a dimensão metropolitana. O metrô é entendido como propulsor de mudança, e, nesse contexto, apoiadas em algumas premissas, serão examinadas e ensaiadas potencialidades de arquitetura⁷.

Pretende-se construir uma leitura urbana sobre o lugar⁸. Analisam-se os fluxos, mas sobretudo, as conexões entre eles. Os pontos de contato dos caminhos de pedestres, sejam eles entre modais de transporte, ou os múltiplos percursos possíveis nos espaços de acesso livre analisados. Algumas características se destacam na análise, como o perímetro reduzido de escopo dos projetos

⁶ O Corredor Norte-Sul, que abriga uma parada de ônibus, atendida por uma única escada mal-iluminada, insuficientemente dimensionada e sem ventilação, elemento ainda sem articulação adequada com os níveis do Vale

⁷ O ensaio aborda essas novas condicionantes. Os projetos executivos de arquitetura das novas estações de metrô foram considerados integralmente para o estudo. O ensaio projetual propõe trabalhar com a integralidade desses projetos, atualmente em fase de projeto executivo. Acredita-se que uma articulação eficiente entre as disciplinas envolvidas, como o terminal, a estação de metrô e eventuais galerias comerciais de acesso público, poderiam trazer benefícios significativos, tanto para o uso dos equipamentos de mobilidade, quanto para a cidade como um todo.

⁸ Em uma abordagem profissional, há que se destacar a importância da transdisciplinaridade na leitura do lugar, em vista da amplitude de sua função urbana, multiplicidade de sentidos e memórias, e dos perfis distintos de seus usuários. Equipes multidisciplinares que incorporem a etnografia e perfil dos usuários e comunidades presentes. O Centro é conhecido por aglutinar o maior número de perfis diversos de habitantes, ou “tribos” da cidade. Tem grande miscigenação, essencialmente deve ser inclusivo e múltiplo.

analisados⁹, que certamente resulta de uma série de fatores e condicionantes ao longo do tempo (*figura 3*).

O artigo problematiza o grau de *violação* ao recinto do Vale, causado pela presença do sistema de vias expressas (*figura 5*). As alças viárias invadem contundentemente as duas extremidades norte e sul do recinto, “comprimindo” sua extensão longitudinal. Isso compele o pedestre que sai da Estação São Bento do metrô rumo à esplanada do Vale, por exemplo, a passar por uma estreita passagem, estrangulada pela alça viária da Avenida Prestes Maia. Essa estação é o equipamento de mobilidade mais direta e satisfatoriamente conectado à cota do vale, entretanto, no nível da esplanada, essa conexão se faz “de canto”. Sem a presença da via ao menos nesse nível, essa ligação poderia se dar de modo mais franco e direto. Na porção sul, a situação é agravada: com a alça de retorno da Avenida 23 de Maio e a presença aflorada das vias expressas dos “braços” do Sistema Y, a Estação Anhangabaú ficou afastada, no meio do caminho entre a esplanada do Vale e o Terminal Bandeira (distante aproximadamente 200 metros de cada). Essa “invasão”, resultou no perímetro reduzido (*figura 3, acima*¹⁰), se comparado a versões passadas do recinto do Vale. Reconhece-se que as vias expressas do Plano de Avenidas, o Sistema Y, implantado em 1942, foram pioneiras em efetuar o corte mais radical do recinto em dois. E, mesmo com a construção da laje, em 1992, observa-se a “herança” do plano na *dimensão*¹¹ do perímetro do Anhangabaú. Essa condição motiva algumas diretrizes, que fazem uso desse grande espaço desperdiçado, com proposta de passagens e programas de interesse, por entre os equipamentos de mobilidade mencionados. Destaca-se a potencialidade de que essas fraturas, nas duas porções mencionadas do Vale, seriam

⁹ Não somente os projetos, mas a noção preponderante que se tem sobre o tamanho Vale do Anhangabaú, no imaginário coletivo da cidade.

¹⁰ A figura 3 (abaixo) rememora um perímetro de acesso livre que o Anhangabaú já apresentou em outras formações com o espaço possível ainda hoje, com a junção dos espaços livres adjacentes.

¹¹ Dimensão física, mas também dimensão no inconsciente coletivo da população.

menos violentas ao recinto livre do Anhangabaú, se o início e fim do túnel tivessem ocorrido mais distantes da esplanada¹², com túneis mais extensos, dado que já lá estão. Uma proposta de diminuição do impacto do Sistema Y no Vale, análoga à de Lina Bo Bardi¹³, com pistas elevadas 30 metros sobre a esplanada, no entanto, espelhada no eixo horizontal.

Importantes questões são o isolamento do Terminal Bandeira em relação ao tecido urbano, assim como a falta de integração entre o Metrô e a SPTrans, especialmente na futura estação Anhangabaú da Linha 19. Apesar de o metrô estar projetando uma estação no subsolo do Terminal, a SPTrans não prevê melhorias nas áreas adjacentes, evidenciando a ausência de planejamento conjunto. É essa lacuna que o ensaio projetual propõe abordar. Hoje, a conexão entre metrô e terminal de ônibus é marcada por longos trajetos, desarticulados e desconfortáveis, exigindo penosos deslocamentos verticais e horizontais. O artigo defende a necessidade de reduzir distâncias e tempos de travessia, ou, quando isso não for viável, ao menos qualificar os percursos com soluções mais confortáveis e diretas. A futura integração subterrânea entre as linhas Vermelha e Celeste do metrô na estação Anhangabaú solucionará os atuais deslocamentos desnecessários entre o metrô e o Terminal Bandeira. No entanto, a conexão do terminal com o entorno do Anhangabaú ainda precisa ser repensada e qualificada. Essa ligação é estratégica, pois articula o terminal com importantes pontos do centro, como a Estação São Bento, o túnel do Sistema Y e o Viaduto do Chá. Destaca-se a carência de soluções adequadas para os deslocamentos verticais no terminal, presentes desde sua reforma em 1996. Apesar da complexidade dos fluxos, há potencial para melhorar significativamente a mobilidade urbana com intervenções que unifiquem e qualifiquem os espaços, seguindo o exemplo de cidades que integram funções urbanas em diferentes níveis para promover circulação eficiente e vida urbana qualificada.

¹² 300 metros, na porção sul e 130 metros na porção norte, conforme indicam as setas azuis da figura 5, acima.

¹³ No concurso de 1981.

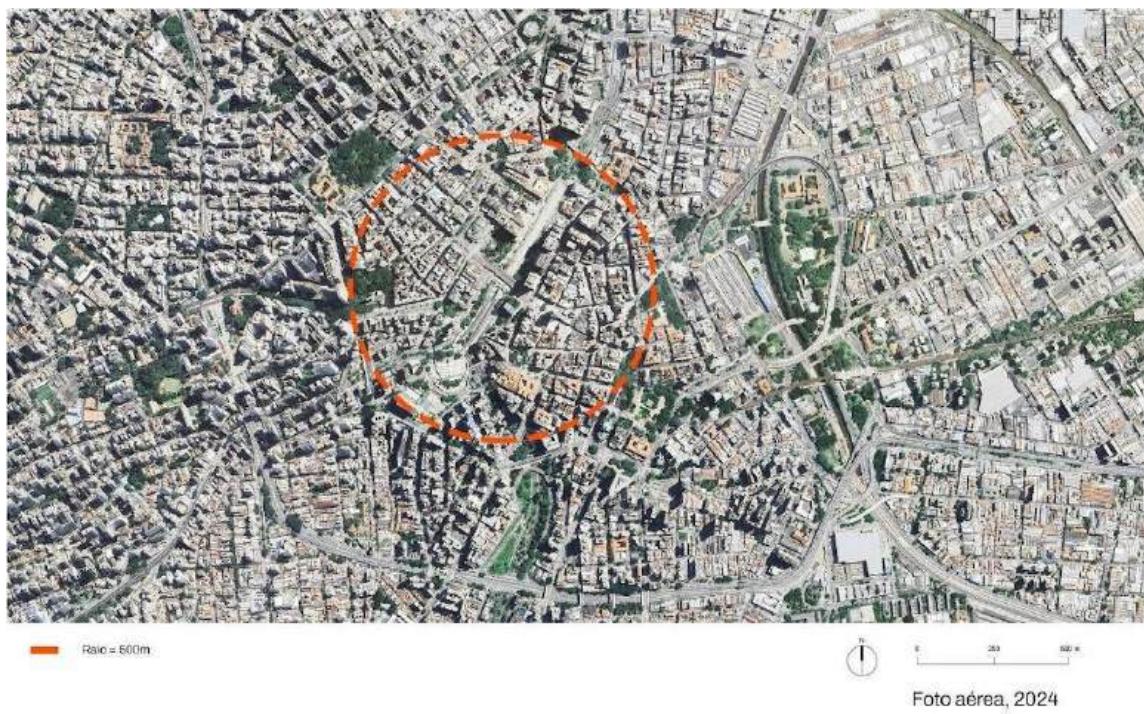
Entende-se o *Projeto de Arquitetura* como forma de produção de conhecimento. Durante a pesquisa, a ação projetual foi a principal ferramenta de análise, permitindo verificar os desafios enfrentados pelos projetos precedentes. O desenho é empregado como filtro crítico, aspectos como fluxos, desníveis, acessos, passagens, alturas e capacidades são mais bem compreendidos, assim como a visão crítica do pesquisador, quando aliados à investigação projetual¹⁴. A hipótese que norteia esse estudo é que a criação de um *ambiente de mobilidade urbana* no Vale do Anhangabaú poderia promover, conjuntamente com uma estratégia de adensamento em quarteirões adjacentes, a qualificação do espaço urbano e o desenvolvimento socioeconômico da Área Central. Serão exploradas possibilidades para uma arquitetura de infraestrutura de mobilidade, como foco na ampla acessibilidade urbana que dispõe essa importante unidade espacial, considerando sobretudo a *rede de mobilidade* como elemento fundamental na estruturação de centros urbanos. Para construir essa hipótese foi, e continua sendo necessário apontar para a função que o Anhangabaú e seus arredores diretos possuem tradicionalmente, como primeira centralidade moderna e a da rede de mobilidade metropolitana da cidade. Não é possível falar em “ambiente de mobilidade” sem examinar cuidadosamente a estrutura das diversas cotas que fluem para o Anhangabaú e seu entorno. É necessário articular tal estrutura com todas as redes viárias e de convergência de fluxos de pedestres rumo aos transportes públicos que o atravessam. Serão apresentados desenhos que fomentam reflexões sobre o problema analisado. O ensaio busca explorar potencialidades que podem se transformar em um programa e apontar

¹⁴ Para alguns pesquisadores a realização de um projeto de arquitetura tem validade enquanto objeto de estudo acadêmico. Há outra abordagem, com foco no estudo de obras referenciais, para reunir um repertório que fundamenta futuros projetos, essa abordagem se diferencia de linhas de pesquisa estritamente historiográficas ao focar no futuro. Aqui, o Ensaio Projetual se dá em sintonia com essas duas abordagens: explora repertórios sobre o objeto de estudo e projetos referenciais para construir uma linha de raciocínio fundamentada em descobertas projetuais, lançando ao futuro potencialidades para discussões.

diretrizes estruturadas a partir de algumas premissas. Trata-se de um processo de experimentação, estudo e reflexão analítica e propositiva, comprometido com a descoberta de caminhos possíveis e com sua validação espacial. O projeto é entendido como processo, não como produto acabado.

Propõem-se diretrizes arquitetônicas que respondam às demandas reais do Anhangabaú, considerando-o não como um espaço isolado, mas como parte essencial da rede de mobilidade da cidade. A recente reforma do vale falhou ao abordar o espaço de forma fragmentada e autocentrada, sem articular-se adequadamente ao entorno e aos fluxos urbanos, resultando em abandono e perda de sentido urbano. O ensaio, portanto, busca inverter essa lógica, partindo do contexto e redes de transporte coletivo, configurados por “energias que vão do núcleo às bordas”¹⁵. O objetivo é pensar o Anhangabaú como elemento articulador entre o espaço público local e os sistemas de transporte de alta capacidade, criando conexões eficientes entre os equipamentos e o tecido urbano. A proposta defende intervenções pontuais, mas estrategicamente posicionadas, capazes de gerar efeitos sistêmicos, para estimular a requalificação social, econômica e funcional do centro da cidade.

¹⁵ SOLÀ-MORALES, I. 2002, p.85.



A calha do Rio Anhangabaú torna-se evidente quando observada sem a interferência das inúmeras pontes que conectam as colinas adjacentes a sul: Viaduto Maria Paula, Viaduto Jacareí e Viaduto Dona Paulina (destacados em vermelho). Parociação diversa de quando se observa esse trecho a partir do nível do pedestre. A pé, o terreno natural muitas vezes se esconde. A várzea do Tamanduateí, mais exposta, serviu durante séculos, como o principal portal de entrada e saída da cidade, com sua margem leste praticamente plana. Já o Anhangabaú, mais confinado entre encostas, impôs desafios singulares à urbanização de São Paulo.

- 01 Rio Anhangabaú
- 02 Rio Sacurá
- 03 Rio Bixiga
- 04 Rio Itororó
- 05 Túnel Moringuinho*
- 06 Corrêa Moringuinho
- 07 Rio Acima
- 08 Rio Tamanduateí

* (desvia água do Itororó direto ao Tamanduateí).

Topografia, hidrografia e sistema viário

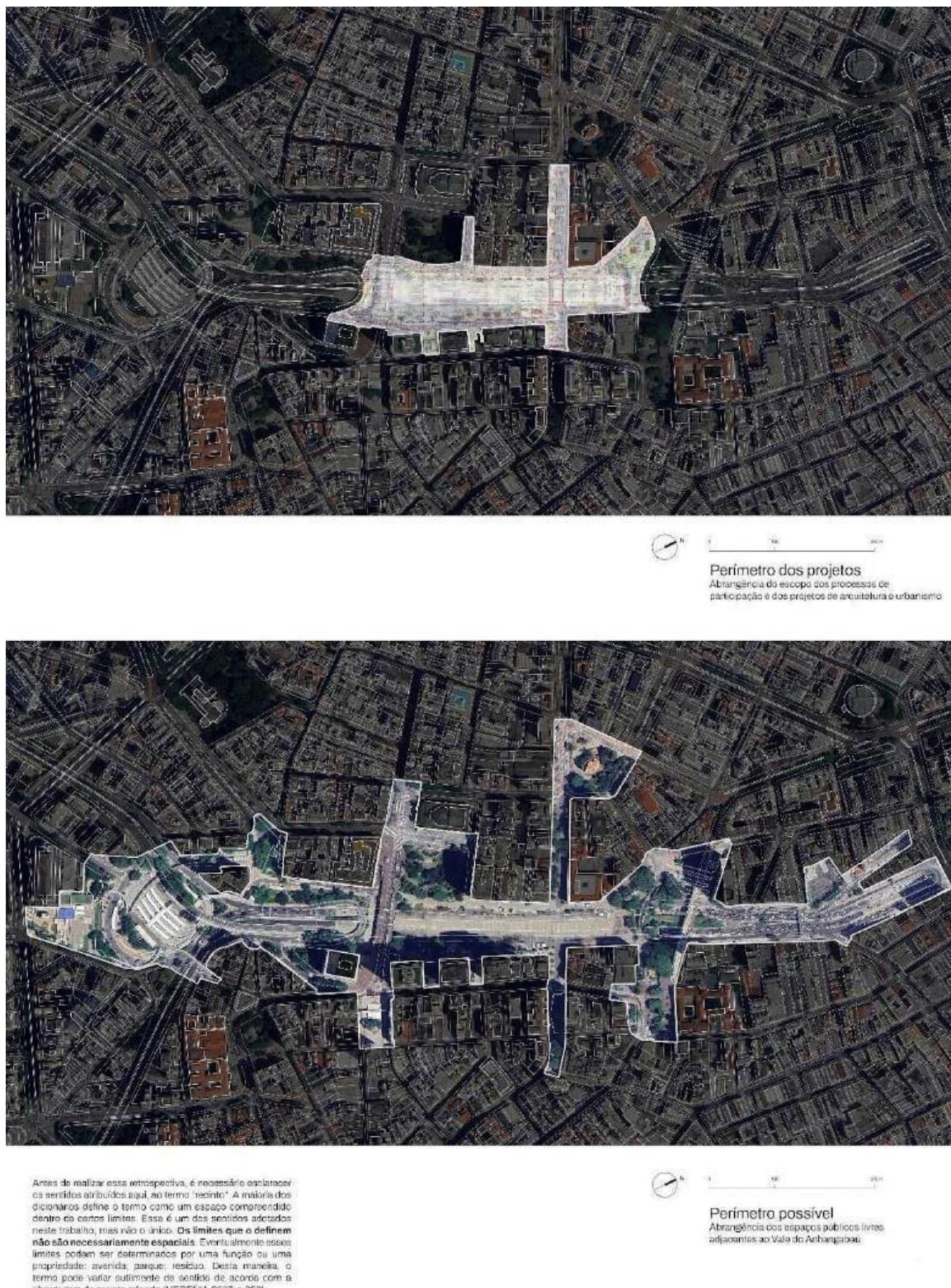
Fonte: autor

Figura 1: Análise urbana



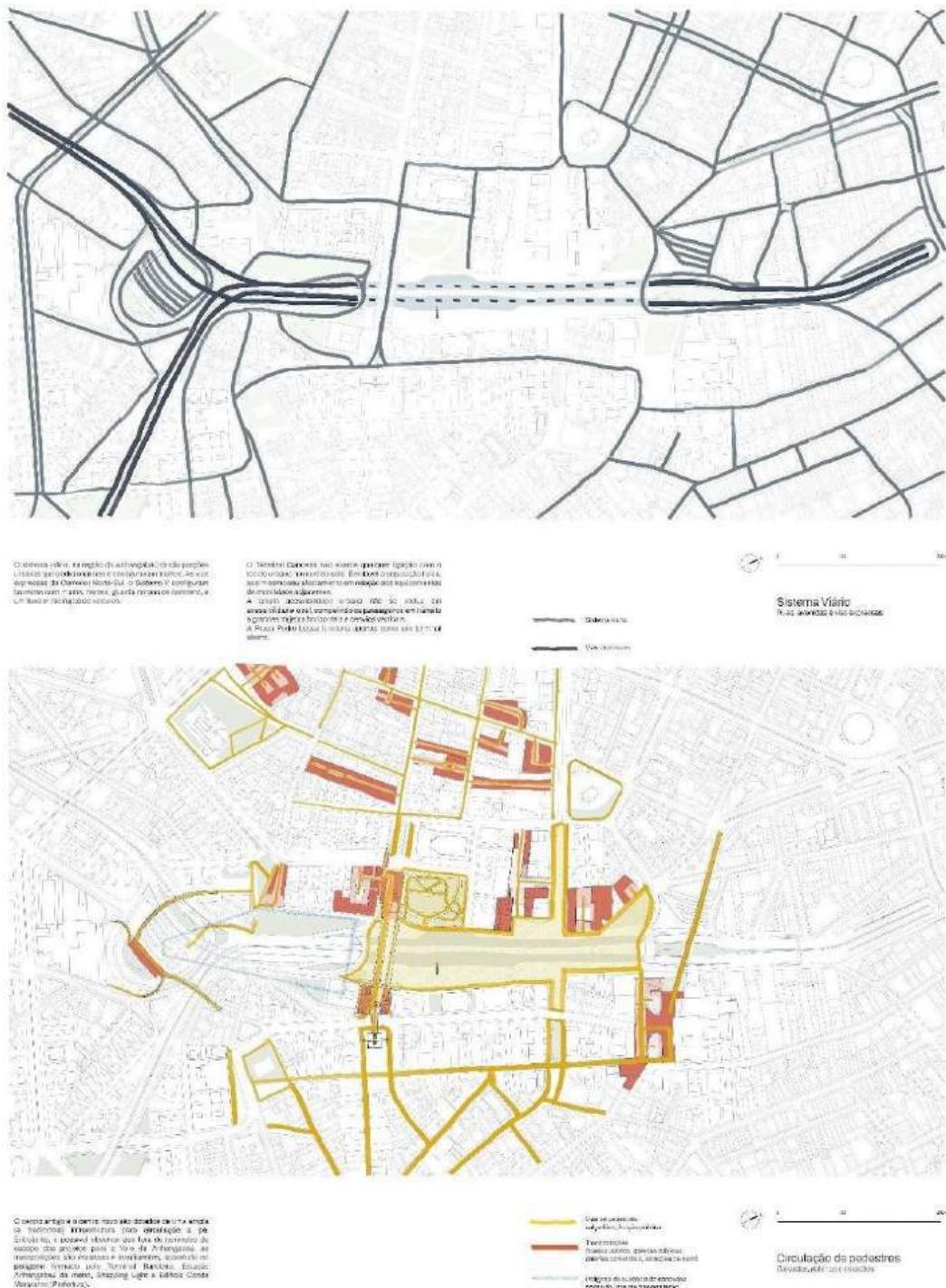
Fonte: autor

Figura 2: Análise urbana



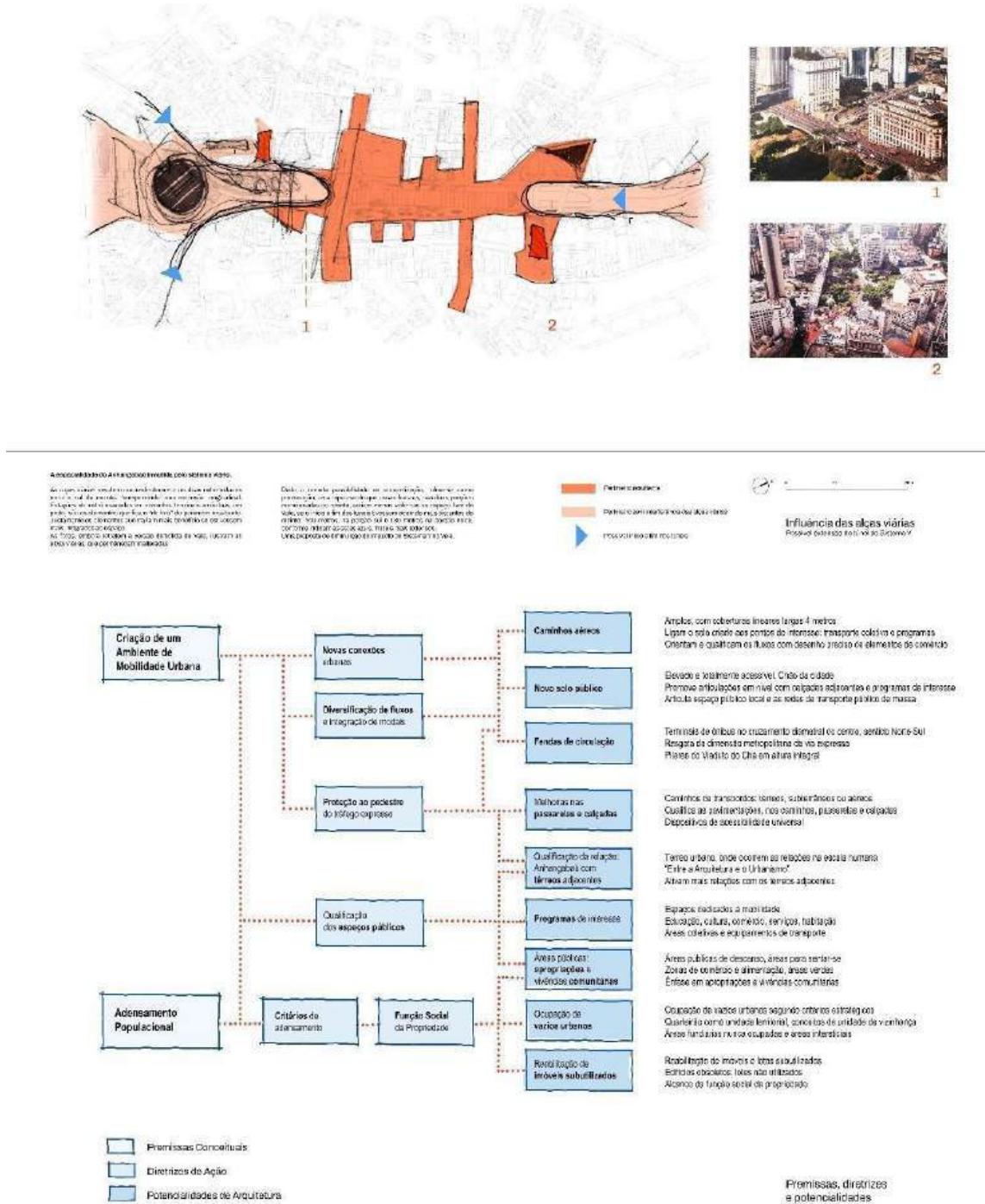
Fonte: autor

Figura 3: Análise urbana



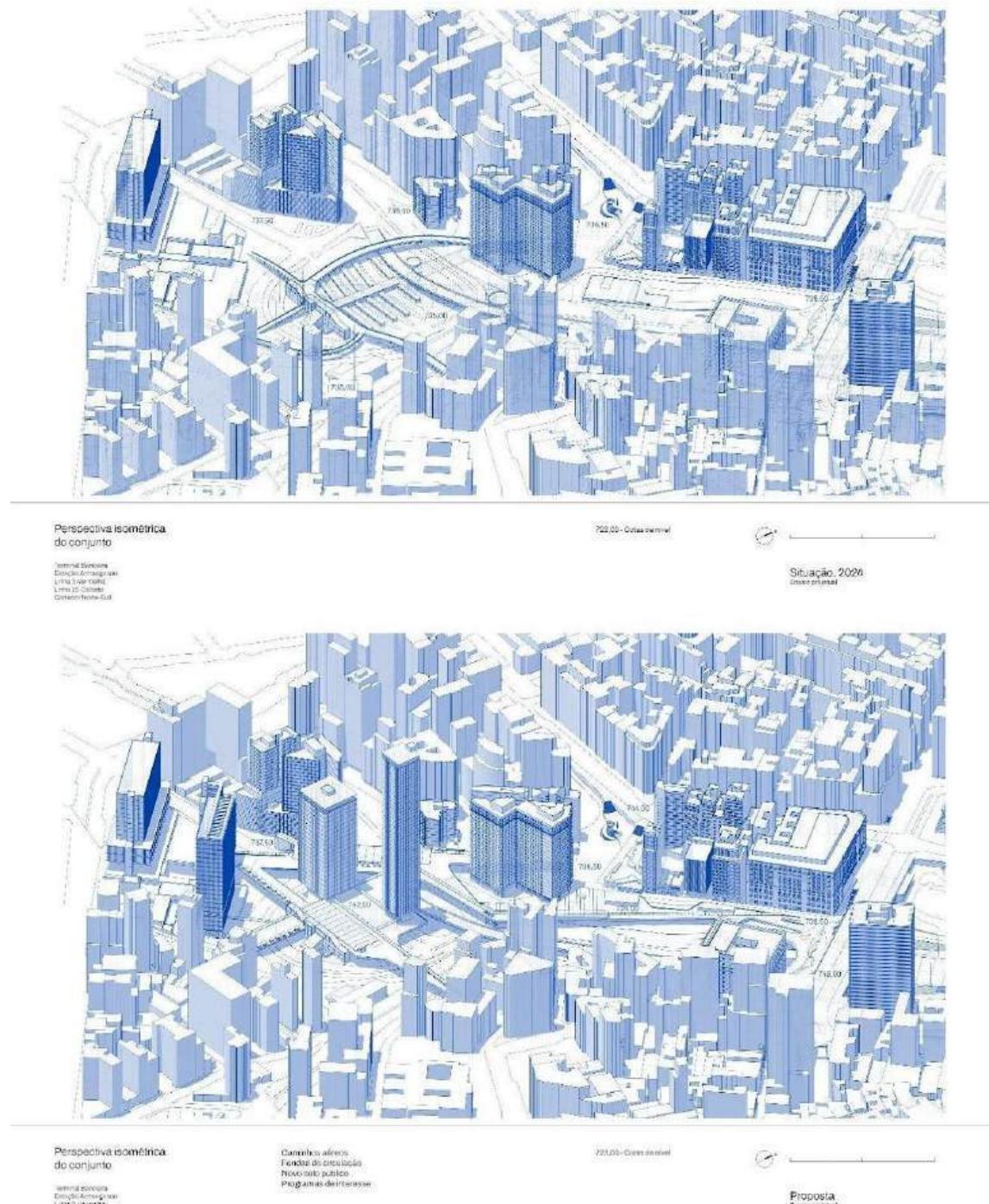
Fonte: Mapa digital da cidade, 2020. Elaboração própria

Figura 4: Acima: sistema viário. Abaixo: Circulação de pedestres. Calçadões, galerias comerciais e estações



Fonte: MEYER et al., 2010, p. 24-67. Elaboração própria

Figura 5: Influência das alças viárias (acima). Conceituação do Ensaio: premissas conceituais, diretrizes de ação e potencialidades de arquitetura (abaixo)



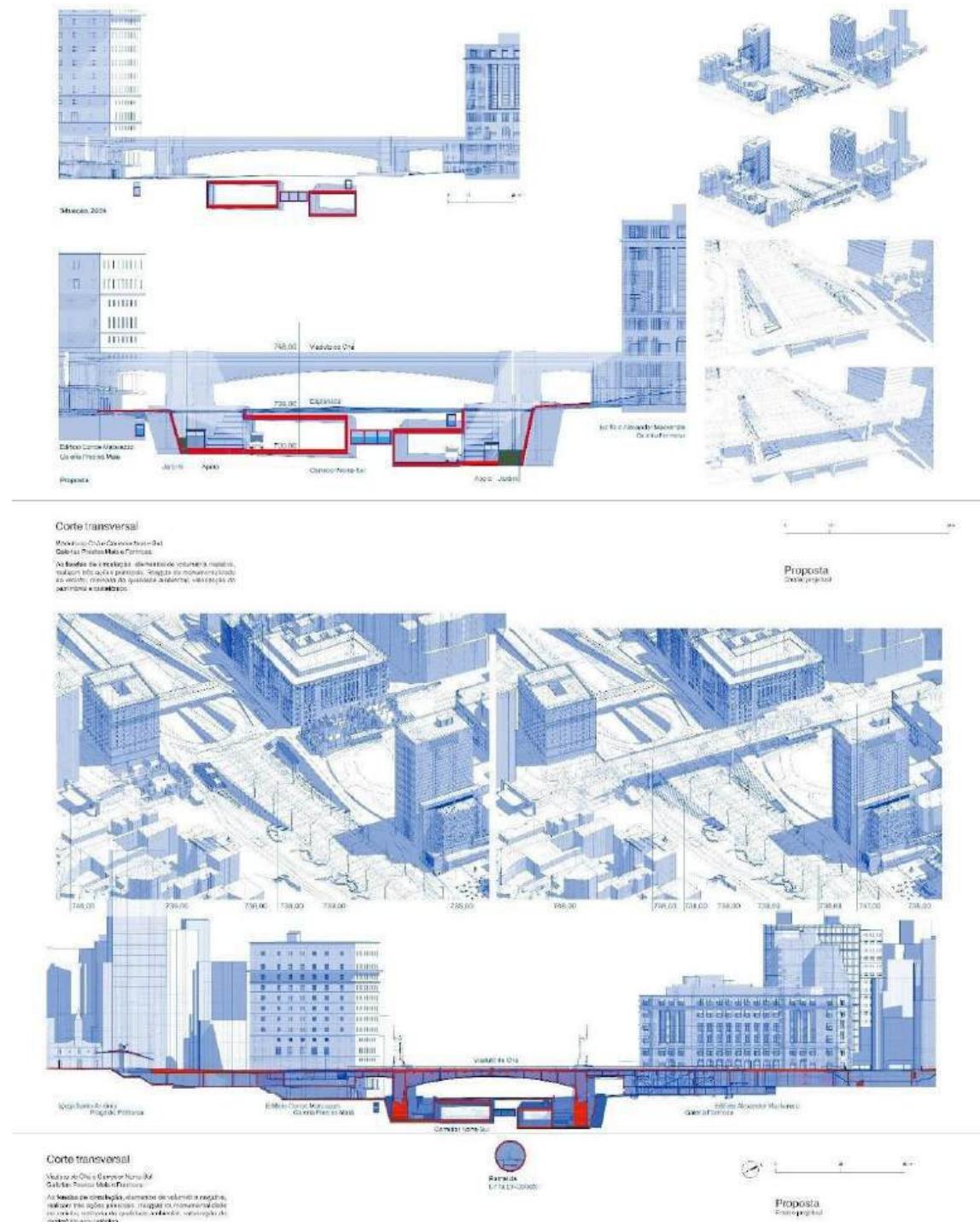
Fonte: autor

Figura 6: Ensaio projetual. Terminal Bandeira. Criação de um ambiente de mobilidade urbana



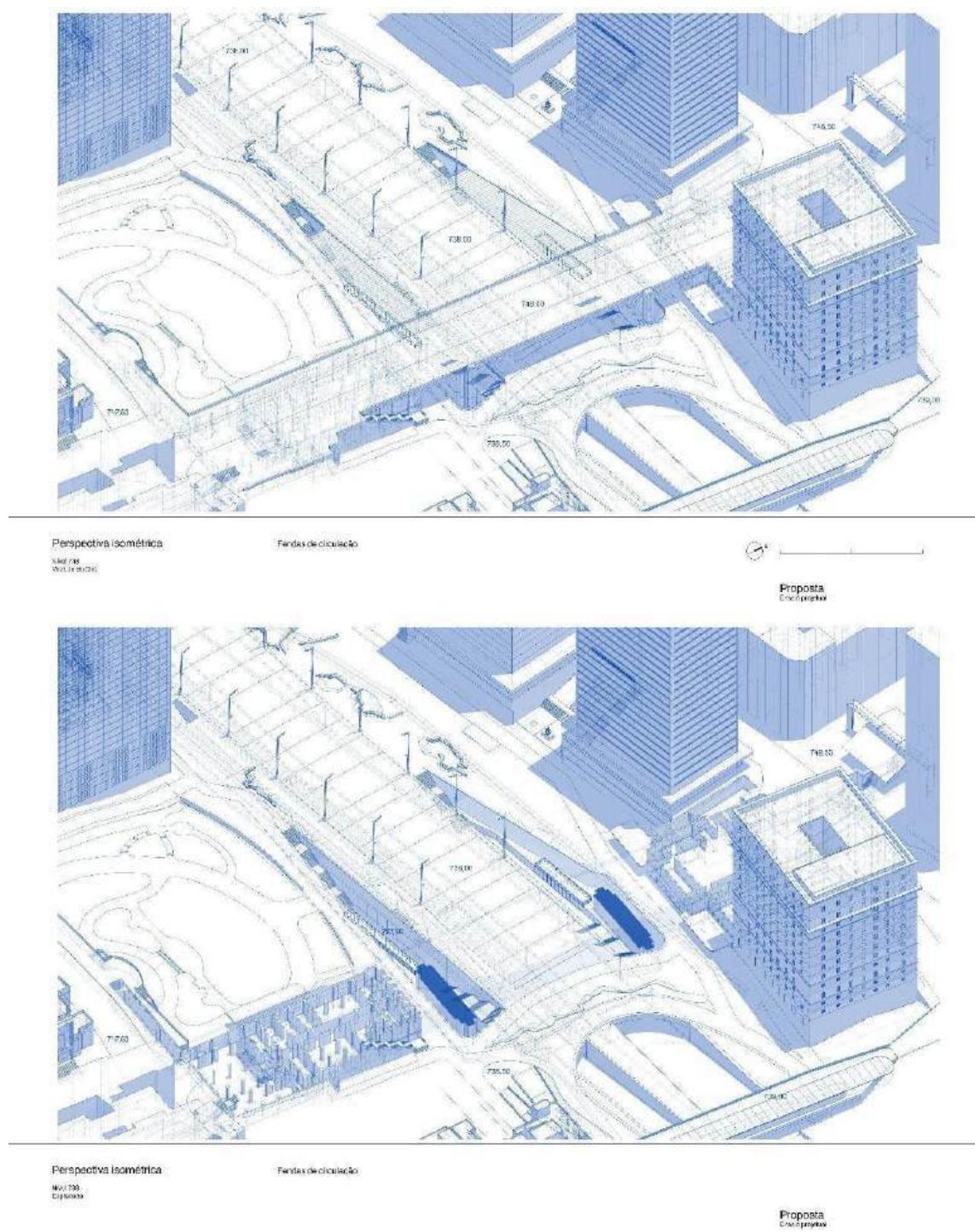
Fonte: autor

Figura 7: Ensaio projetual. Fendas de circulação. Conexão entre as cotas do Corredor Norte-Sul (730m), esplanada do Vale (738m) e colinas (748,50m) através das (e as reativando) galerias Formosa e Prestes Maia



Fonte: autor

Figura 8: Ensaio projetual. Fendas de circulação. Conexão entre as cotas do Corredor Norte-Sul (738m), esplanada do Vale (738m) e colinas (748,50m) através das (e as reativando) galerias Formosa e Prestes Maia.



Fonte: autor

Figura 9: Ensaio projetual. Fendas de circulação. Conexão entre as cotas do Corredor Norte-Sul (738m), esplanada do Vale (738m) e colinas (748,50m) através das (e as reativando) galerias Formosa e Prestes Maia

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ABSTRACT

The Philippines has been grappling with a learning crisis even before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. This crisis worsened due to the educational disruptions brought about by the pandemic, as reflected in the 2022 PISA results. In response to these challenges and to addressing learning deficiencies while supporting recovery efforts, the Department of Education launched the National Learning Camp (NLC). Since its implementation in 2023, research on the NLC has demonstrated its effectiveness in improving student performance and engagement. However, its implementation has faced significant challenges, particularly a limited pool of teacher-volunteers due to its reliance on voluntary recruitment. This shortage has led to the deployment of out-of-field teachers, highlighting an underexplored aspect of the program. This study examines the lived experiences of out-of-field public secondary education teachers participating in the NLC within the Philippine context. Utilizing a phenomenological design, the research was conducted in a mega school in the Lapu-Lapu City Division, Cebu Region VII, Philippines.

Keywords: experience, national learning camp, out-of-field, phenomenology.

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Mary Gold Ofril^a, Amelton Ofril^a & Helen Boholano^b

ABSTRACT

The Philippines has been grappling with a learning crisis even before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. This crisis worsened due to the educational disruptions brought about by the pandemic, as reflected in the 2022 PISA results. In response to these challenges and to addressing learning deficiencies while supporting recovery efforts, the Department of Education launched the National Learning Camp (NLC). Since its implementation in 2023, research on the NLC has demonstrated its effectiveness in improving student performance and engagement. However, its implementation has faced significant challenges, particularly a limited pool of teacher-volunteers due to its reliance on voluntary recruitment. This shortage has led to the deployment of out-of-field teachers, highlighting an underexplored aspect of the program. This study examines the lived experiences of out-of-field public secondary education teachers participating in the NLC within the Philippine context. Utilizing a phenomenological design, the research was conducted in a mega school in the Lapu-Lapu City Division, Cebu Region VII, Philippines. Eight out-of-field teachers were purposively selected based on the following criteria: (1) they were regular, permanent employees of the Department of Education; (2) they taught subjects in the NLC outside their areas of specialization; and (3) they had participated in the NLC at least once, ensuring familiarity with the program. Thematic analysis of their interview responses revealed four major themes: their motivations for participating in the NLC, the frustrations and challenges they encountered, their coping strategies, and their best practices in navigating the program. This study provides valuable insights into the

contextual experiences of out-of-field teachers and their role in the success and sustainability of educational interventions like the NLC.

Keywords: experience, national learning camp, out-of-field, phenomenology.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Even before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Philippines was already grappling with a learning crisis according to the World bank report in 2020. This crisis worsened due to educational disruptions caused by the pandemic, which resulted in significant learning gaps and heightened challenges in implementing and adapting to distance learning (Boholano et al., 2022; Jamon et al., 2021). This alarming issue was reflected in the results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2022, where the Philippines ranked among the lowest-performing countries. The results from this international standardized assessment revealed critical deficiencies in students' foundational skills, such as literacy, numeracy, and scientific competencies (OECD, 2023).

In response to these challenges, the government, through the Department of Education (DepEd), launched a strategic initiative to address learning deficiencies and support recovery efforts. The National Learning Camp (NLC) serves as a key component of the broader National Learning Recovery Program (NLRP) which was established under DepEd Order No. 14, Series of 2023. This program consists of a voluntary three- to five-

week initiative, structured around three distinct camps: the Intervention Camp, the Consolidated Camp, and the Enhancement Camp (DepEd, 2023).

This initiative not only addresses local educational needs but also aligns with global priorities, particularly the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goal for Quality Education, which emphasizes equitable access to inclusive and high-quality education. The NLC seeks to improve foundational skills, enhance learner performance, and build teacher capacity through offering targeted support to both learners and teachers during school breaks. These efforts demonstrate a commitment to ensuring that education recovery contributes to both national goals and global educational equity (Cacho & Santos, 2024).

Since the NLC has been implemented for two years, research on its effectiveness has primarily focused on its impact in various areas. Studies have examined the program's efficacy in improving literacy and numeracy (Maguate et al., 2024) as well as its influence on academic performance. Additional research explored the perceived effects of the NLC on students' interest, socio-emotional skills, personal growth, and character development (Gagabe et al., 2024), with findings indicating that the program is effective in achieving its objectives.

While the NLC presented a promising solution to the learning crisis, its implementation encountered significant challenges. A key issue was its reliance on voluntary teacher recruitment, which resulted in a limited pool of participants. Consequently, this shortage led to the deployment of out-of-field teachers—educators tasked with teaching subjects or grade levels outside their area of specialization (Ingersoll, Hoxby & Scrupski, 2004). Despite their willingness to support the program, these teachers encountered unique challenges in delivering effective instruction, engaging students, and adapting to unfamiliar content.

Based on a comprehensive review of related literature and studies, no research has yet explored the contextual experiences of out-of-field

teachers in the National Learning Camp in the Philippines. To address this gap, this phenomenological study examines the lived experiences of out-of-field public secondary education teachers participating in the National Learning Camp within the Philippine context.

II. OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this study was to explore the lived experiences of out-of-field secondary public-school teachers in the Philippines during the implementation of the National Learning Camp (NLC). Specifically, the study aimed to understand their reasons for participating in the camp, the frustrations and challenges they encountered, as well as their coping strategies and best practices.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This study used a Phenomenological research design because it dwells on the lived experiences of out-of-field public school teachers' and how they perceive and describe their experiences while teaching in the National Learning Camp.

3.2 Research Locale and Participants

The study focused on a mega school in Lapu-Lapu City Division, Region VII, Philippines, which participated in the NLC in 2023 and 2024. Twenty-five teachers participated in 2023. However, the number decreased to nineteen teacher-volunteers in 2024. Eight out-of-field teachers were selected as participants through purposive sampling based on the following criteria: (1) they were regular, permanent DepEd employees; (2) they taught subjects at the NLC outside their areas of specialization; and (3) they had participated in the NLC at least once, ensuring familiarity with the program.

3.3 Data Analysis

The semi-structured interview guide questions developed by the researchers was used to collect the necessary data. It was validated to ensure that it aligns with the objective of the study and is easy

for participants to understand (Boholano, Merin & Dapat, 2021). Formal letters were sent to participants informing them that the research was purely academic, posed no risks, and that they were free to withdraw at any time. Upon receiving their written consent, the teachers were interviewed. The responses were audio recorded, coded and then analyzed to identify common themes and patterns (Braun and Clarke, 2017).

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After collecting the data, the researchers organized, analyzed, and structured the teachers' narratives, identifying five major themes that emerged from their experiences in National Learning Camp.

Theme 1: Passion for teaching, professional growth, and external incentives drove the participation of out-of-field teachers in the NLC.

The participation of out-of-field teachers in the NLC reflects a blend of intrinsic passion and extrinsic rewards that collectively motivate educators to step beyond their areas of expertise. At the heart of their involvement lies their unwavering love for teaching, coupled with a desire for professional growth. Despite being assigned to subjects outside their specialization, many teachers demonstrated enthusiasm and dedication, driven by their commitment to positively impacting students' lives.

As Teacher 1 shared, "*I was not forced; I was nominated. I like Math,*" while Teacher 3 echoed, "*I am very excited because I love teaching, no matter what subject it is.*"

These statements emphasize that their passion for the craft outweighs the challenges of out-of-field teaching, highlighting their readiness to embrace unfamiliar roles to support learners. Equally significant was the opportunity for professional development. Teachers saw the NLC as a platform to expand their knowledge, gain practical experience, and acquire new skills that could strengthen their teaching practice.

Teacher 2 expressed this excitement, stating, "*I am really excited because it is a new learning*

opportunity," while Teacher 6 added, "*I volunteered because I want to gain experience.*"

Such responses demonstrated a proactive approach to self-improvement, where educators sought to enhance their adaptability and expertise despite the challenges of teaching outside their field. The NLC emerged as a meaningful venue for fostering continuous learning and professional advancement. While intrinsic motivations dominated, extrinsic factors such as meal allowances, service credits, and productive use of vacation time provided practical support that further encouraged participation.

Teacher 4 shared, "*I want to join because, aside from being able to help the children, it also comes with a meal allowance and service credits,*" while Teacher 5 highlighted, "*I really volunteered so that I could get service credits and a meal allowance.*" Similarly, Teacher 6 noted, "*When I heard about the NLC, I really wanted to join because, aside from the allowance, I could spend my vacation in a productive way.*" These insights reveal that while passion and growth aspirations drove teachers to join, the tangible incentives offered by the program made their participation more practical and rewarding.

The participation of out-of-field teachers in the NLC reflects the importance of intrinsic motivators like passion for teaching and professional growth, alongside the reinforcing power of extrinsic incentives. To sustain and expand such engagement, the government can enhance extrinsic rewards by offering higher allowances, additional service credits, career development opportunities, and public recognition. Strengthening these incentives will not only acknowledge the efforts of passionate educators but also encourage their continued participation in similar initiatives, fostering a motivated, adaptable, and resilient teaching workforce that benefits the education system (Kumar & Hossain, 2017).

Theme 2: Out-of-field teachers faced frustrations in the NLC due to administrative burdens and financial strain.

Out-of-field teachers encounter a range of frustrations that hinder their full participation. While these teachers remain motivated to engage in the NLC, the combination of administrative burdens and financial strain can be overwhelming, often leading to a reconsideration of their involvement.

One of the main issues faced by these teachers is the extensive documentation required for participation. Many out-of-field teachers mentioned that the NLC's bureaucratic processes, such as the submission of numerous reports, can be time-consuming and burdensome. The need for anecdotal reports and accomplishment reports, for instance, was highlighted by two participants as a significant hurdle:

"I probably won't participate anymore because it's difficult, there are many documents required, like anecdotal and accomplishment reports." (T1)

"I am reluctant to join again because there are many accomplishment reports." (T8)

For these teachers, the amount of paperwork they are expected to handle detracts from their teaching responsibilities. This issue is compounded by the delayed approval of service credits, which further discourages participation. The frustration is echoed in the following quote:

"I did not participate anymore because the service credit approval took too long. There were also many requirements that needed to be complied with." (T6)

These delays in administrative processing can lead to a sense of disillusionment, especially for teachers who are already balancing heavy workloads. They may feel that the return on their investment of time and effort is insufficient, which ultimately contributes to their decision to withdraw from the NLC.

In addition to the administrative challenges, out-of-field teachers also face significant financial strain. Participation in the NLC often requires teachers to cover their own expenses, such as

purchasing resources or materials needed for student activities. One participant noted:

"The allowance takes a long time to be received. I sometimes have to dig into my own pocket when there are resources that need to be used." (T7)

This financial burden can become particularly overwhelming, especially when teachers are expected to fund essential aspects of the NLC activities, such as snacks or rewards for students. This issue is highlighted by another teacher:

"It's costly. The rewards and snacks given to the students are not shouldered by the school." (T8)

Teachers often find themselves in a position where they are expected to personally bear the cost of enriching student experiences, which can strain their personal finances. This financial pressure, combined with the ongoing administrative demands, creates an environment where teachers may feel unsupported by the system, leading to frustration and burnout.

Despite these significant challenges, many teachers continue to engage in the NLC out of a deep commitment to their students' well-being and educational success. Their drive to provide the best possible learning experience for their students often overrides the frustration caused by these external factors. Nonetheless, the ongoing issues related to administrative and financial burdens must be addressed to ensure that teachers can participate meaningfully without undue strain.

This theme emphasizes the need for systemic changes in the NLC, such as streamlined administrative processes and increased financial support for teachers. The NLC could improve teacher retention and participation by lowering administrative burdens and providing timely financial assistance, benefiting both educators and students in the long run.

Theme 3: Out-of-field teachers in the NLC face challenges due to limited pedagogical expertise,

time, and resources not tailored to students' needs.

Out-of-field teachers in the NLC reportedly faced significant challenges despite being familiar with the subject matter. Their lack of teaching experience in those specific subjects, combined with the responsibility of managing challenging students and navigating unfamiliar resources, compounded the difficulties they encountered. This observation is supported by the study of Du Plessis (2013), which highlights the complexities and pressures faced by out-of-field teachers in adapting to their assigned roles effectively. This theme was evident from the responses of the teachers.

Teacher 1 mentions, *"I don't have any problem teaching math because I'm already familiar with it since it was taught to me in my undergraduate studies"* expressing comfort with teaching math due to prior exposure in their undergraduate studies. However, the teacher continues, *"I find it challenging to teach those in the intervention camp because the children need one-on-one attention, especially since they lack foundational knowledge"* indicating the challenge of addressing students' foundational knowledge gaps in an intervention camp setting.

Teacher 4 also highlights the difficulty in handling students' lack of basic knowledge, stating, *"I get confused with the flow of the NLC lesson structure, so I'll just modify it and add a fun-filled activity for the children to motivate them"*. This emphasizes how the structured lessons in the NLC curriculum sometimes do not align with the students' needs, necessitating modifications and additional engaging activities to maintain motivation and participation.

Out-of-field teachers also struggle with resources, often feeling that the provided materials are difficult to work with. Teacher 2 shares, *"I have a small struggle with the resource because it still needs to be studied,"* which reflects the extra effort required to understand and adapt the resources provided. In some cases, the content of the modules is seen as too detailed and difficult to use effectively within the limited time frame.

Teacher 8 expresses, *"The resources in the module are hard to follow because they are too verbose. There's a lot of content, but the time is very limited,"* showing the challenge of dealing with verbose resources that cannot be fully covered in the short time available.

The theme also touches on the need to engage students in meaningful ways, as teachers recognize that simply following the module is not enough. Teacher 3 explains, *"It's also not possible to just stick to the module because the children need to be engaged. That's why I customize the activities to fit to the students,"* underscoring the necessity of customizing activities to maintain student interest and engagement, especially when students' attendance may fluctuate.

Furthermore, the challenge of balancing content delivery with remediation is evident. Teacher 2 with a background in customer contact services through TLE (Technology and Livelihood Education) shares, *"I feel that my specialization is somehow aligned with English because customer contact services is part of TLE,"* which shows how his specialization in TLE and customer service correlates with teaching English. However, the lack of foundational knowledge in students, combined with the need to address the specific teaching strategies, places additional pressure on the teacher. *"It is really important to plan the activities well so that the children will enjoy them, especially since it's a camp"* he emphasizes, noting the importance of carefully planning engaging activities to prevent students from losing interest, especially given the challenge of maintaining attendance in the camp.

The challenges faced by out-of-field teachers in the NLC program highlight the need for targeted professional development, flexible curricula, and resources tailored to diverse student needs (Du Plessis, 2013b). Familiarity with a subject does not guarantee effective teaching, especially when addressing significant learning gaps. This calls for differentiated instruction and scaffolded lesson plans to accommodate varying student proficiency levels.

The need for teachers to modify activities and adapt lesson structures suggests that rigid, one-

size-fits-all modules may not suit intervention programs. Training in adaptive teaching strategies and developing concise, user-friendly materials can help bridge this gap.

Finally, the emphasis on engaging students through novel approaches such as fun-filled activities and personalized learning emphasizes the value of motivation and participation. Equipping teachers with the necessary tools, time, and training to foster meaningful learning experiences is critical for improving outcomes in intervention programs such as the NLC.

Theme 4: Out-of-field teachers view LAC sessions as a key opportunity to share and learn best practices in teaching during the NLC.

The Learning Action Cell (LAC) sessions have emerged as a crucial support mechanism for out-of-field teachers, particularly during the implementation of the National Learning Camp (NLC). These sessions provided a collaborative platform for teachers assigned to subjects beyond their areas of expertise to share strategies, resources, and innovative practices as supported by the study of Silva (2021). The quotes from participating teachers illustrate the multifaceted benefits of these sessions.

As Teacher 1 noted, "*We share best practices during the LAC sessions,*" emphasizing the collaborative nature of these gatherings. Teachers valued LAC sessions as indispensable spaces for exchanging effective strategies and ideas. Teacher 5 echoed this by stating, "*I think the LAC sessions were a great help. We were able to brainstorm during the sessions and study the resources,*" while Teacher 7 added, "*We get to see what they have done, and there is open communication where we can share ideas and resources.*"

Additionally, Teacher 2 shared, "*I also share how I give chips because it is effective,*" while Teacher 4 noted, "*Sometimes, we combine our classes and do fun-filled activities with the students. They get reward like badges and points*". These responses emphasize that LAC sessions not only foster collaboration but also enable teachers to exchange innovative pedagogical approaches, such as using badges and points, which have been shown to

enhance student engagement (Nilubol, 2023; Arsyad et al., 2024). Furthermore, out-of-field teachers can integrate these reward-system into fun-filled activities or adapt them based on their teaching preferences, promoting a more engaging and personalized learning experience (Ofril & Ofril, 2025).

Moreover, LAC sessions provided opportunities to share alternative resources such as videos, which are effective in reducing cognitive load and enhancing learning (Ofril et al., 2024). Worksheets were also highlighted as valuable tools. Teacher 2 shared, "*During LAC, I share videos about lessons,*" demonstrating how multimedia resources can engage students and simplify complex concepts. Similarly, Teacher 5 noted, "*During this time, we also printed our worksheets and activities,*" emphasizing the practical aspect of resource preparation during these sessions.

For out-of-field teachers, who often face challenges due to limited familiarity with their assigned subjects, learning from the experiences and methods of their colleagues offered practical solutions and boosted their confidence. This shared learning fostered a supportive and empowering professional community. These responses illustrate how LAC sessions foster collaboration, resource-sharing, and open dialogue among teachers.

V. CONCLUSION

This phenomenological study provided valuable insights into the complex experiences of out-of-field teachers participating in the National Learning Camp (NLC). The data revealed four key themes that captured the teachers' motivations, challenges, and professional growth during their involvement. Teachers were primarily driven by intrinsic factors, such as their passion for teaching and professional development, as well as extrinsic rewards like meal allowances and service credits. These motivators helped teachers overcome the challenges of teaching subjects outside their specialization, highlighting the importance of balancing both intrinsic and extrinsic incentives to sustain teacher engagement.

However, despite their dedication, teachers faced significant frustrations due to administrative hurdles and financial constraints. The bureaucratic demands, including extensive documentation and delayed service credits, led to disillusionment, and in some cases, prompted teachers to reconsider their participation. Financial pressures also played a role, with teachers often having to fund certain aspects of NLC activities from their own pockets, limiting their capacity to fully engage in the program.

Moreover, out-of-field teachers faced challenges related to their limited pedagogical expertise in the assigned subjects, lack of time, and insufficient resources that did not adequately address students' learning gaps. Although teachers were familiar with the content, managing the students' gaps in knowledge required substantial adjustments in their teaching methods and materials. This underscored the need for differentiated teaching strategies and curriculum flexibility to meet diverse student needs effectively.

Despite these challenges, the Learning Action Cell (LAC) sessions proved to be a valuable source of support. They provided a platform for teachers to share best practices, resources, and innovative teaching strategies. Teachers appreciated these collaborative sessions as opportunities to learn from colleagues and develop practical solutions to overcome the challenges they faced, fostering a sense of community and empowerment that helped improve their teaching practices. Overall, the study demonstrates that while out-of-field teachers in the NLC face numerous challenges, they remain deeply committed to their professional growth and to ensuring the success of their students.

To better support the out-of-field teachers, the NLC initiative should streamline administrative processes, ensure timely service credits, and reduce teacher workloads to enable them to focus more on teaching and student outcomes. Increasing financial support through consistent allowances or compensation would also help alleviate teachers' financial burdens. Providing targeted teaching materials and resources that

address students' specific learning gaps is crucial, especially for teachers working outside their area of expertise. Expanding the frequency and scope of LAC sessions will further promote collaboration, professional development, and the sharing of best practices. Finally, specialized training programs for out-of-field educators will enhance their confidence and competence in teaching unfamiliar subjects. Implementing these recommendations will allow the NLC initiative to better support out-of-field teachers, improve their teaching effectiveness, and lead to better student learning outcomes.

Suggestions

Because the NLC initiative is relatively new and only in its second year of implementation, future research could look into its long-term impact on teacher performance and student outcomes. Studies could assess the effectiveness of targeted professional development programs for out-of-field teachers, as well as the impact of financial support on teacher retention and satisfaction. Furthermore, research could look into the role of expanded LAC sessions in promoting teacher collaboration, improving teaching practices, and addressing specific student learning gaps. Exploring novel training methods, such as incorporating technology and gamified learning, may improve the adaptability and proficiency of out-of-field teachers. Finally, future research could focus on developing and evaluating strategies for scaling the NLC initiative while maintaining its quality and effectiveness across a variety of educational settings.

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Family Business and Beach Vendors in Puerto Arista, Chiapas

*Dra. Isabel Pérez Pérez, Dra. Carolina Gómez Hinojosa, Dr. Gabriel Velázquez Castillejos
& Dr. José Rodolfo Mundo Gómez*

ABSTRACT

On the beach of Puerto Arista, Chiapas, street vending is a common sight. Every day, vendors walk long distances-sometimes several kilometers-to offer their products or services during peak tourist hours.

The objective of this research was to analyze the perspective of beach vendors regarding the products they sell and how these are designed to capture the attention of tourists in order to increase sales.

A mixed-methods approach was applied, combining both quantitative and qualitative elements within a descriptive research design. A survey was conducted with 50 individuals representative of this group, aiming to identify their demographic characteristics, the products they sell, and how their work is related to family, social, and economic aspects.

Keywords: family businesses, tourism products, beach vendors.

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Family Business and Beach Vendors in Puerto Arista, Chiapas

Empresa Familiar y las Vendedoras de Playa en Puerto Arista, Chiapas

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& Dr. José Rodolfo Mundo Gómez^{cD}

ABSTRACT

On the beach of Puerto Arista, Chiapas, street vending is a common sight. Every day, vendors walk long distances-sometimes several kilometers-to offer their products or services during peak tourist hours.

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RESUMEN

En la playa de Puerto Arista, Chiapas, prevalece la venta ambulante de personas que se dedican diariamente a recorrer largos tramos que pueden ser kilómetros para comercializar sus productos/servicios en horarios de mayor afluencia turista. Así el objetivo de este trabajo de investigación fue analizar la perspectiva de los vendedores ambulantes en las playas en relación a los productos que venden para atraer la atención del turista que les permita incrementar sus ventas. La metodología aplicada fue mixta combinando aspectos cuantitativos y cualitativos, con un tipo de investigación

descriptiva. Se aplicó una encuesta a 50 personas representativas de este grupo humano, en donde se buscó identificar las características demográficas de las vendedoras ambulantes de playa; productos que venden y su relación con los aspectos familiares, sociales y económicos.

Palabras Clave: empresas familiares, productos turísticos, vendedoras de playa.

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I. INTRODUCCIÓN

Según datos de la Organización Mundial del Turismo (OMT, 2022), la movilidad de turistas internacionales en el año 2022, fue de 965 millones, generando 290 millones de empleo, aportando al Producto Interno Bruto (PIB) la cantidad de 7 billones de dólares en el mundo. Con respecto a los países que continúan liderando la recepción de turista, son Francia con 89 millones, seguido de España, Estados Unidos, China, Italia, Turquía, México y Tailandia. México se encuentra en el ranking de los 10 países más visitados.

Se prevé que América Latina reciba 78.2 millones de turistas para 2027, lo que representará una

significativa aportación económica de 82 mil millones de dólares a las economías locales. Este impacto será impulsado en gran medida por los viajes nacionales, que en 2021 ya contribuyeron con un 89% del total de la actividad turística, frente al 11% de los viajes internacionales. Es indispensable que los gobiernos de la región enfoquen sus esfuerzos en gestionar de manera eficiente este flujo turístico, con miras a maximizar los beneficios para las comunidades locales. Las políticas turísticas deberán orientarse hacia la promoción de un turismo sostenible, equilibrado y justo, que potencie el desarrollo económico sin sacrificar el bienestar ambiental ni social (OMT, 2024).

En México, los turistas internacionales generaron una derrama económica de 13,039 millones de dólares durante la primera mitad de 2022, lo que significó un aumento del 80.1% respecto al año anterior, superando incluso los niveles previos a la pandemia en un 9.3%. Este crecimiento reafirma la necesidad de que los actores del sector turístico trabajen en la consolidación de estrategias de diversificación de destinos, en la promoción de un turismo inclusivo y en el fortalecimiento de las estructuras de gobernanza que garanticen la sostenibilidad y el beneficio compartido (SECTUR, 2024).

Así, la actividad turista continúa impactando positivamente en la economía y el empleo, aun cuando se observa una falta de planeación turística y la carencia de infraestructura adecuada para atender el turismo podrían traer un impacto negativo en el medio ambiente y la calidad de vida de la población en las playas y la conservación de la biodiversidad. Todo ello, derivado de la falta de apoyo y programas para la sustentabilidad y competitividad de las pymes turísticas en México (Novaes, Silva & Oliveira, 2010; Gómez, Wilson & Ivanova, 2011 y Velázquez-Castro & Valasco-Alvarez, 2023).

Los viajeros que visitan las playas no solo disfrutan del sol, la arena y el mar, sino que también se sienten atraídos por la gastronomía local, un aspecto que cada vez más se consolidan como el eje central de las experiencias de viaje. La gastronomía, por su naturaleza, permite a los

visitantes adentrarse en la cultura y en la esencia misma de una comunidad, convirtiéndose en un elemento fundamental para un turismo más consciente y enriquecedor. En este contexto, el turismo gastronómico emerge como una de las principales tendencias del 2024 y de los años venideros, impulsado por un creciente interés de los viajeros en experiencias auténticas que combinen el placer culinario con el respeto por las tradiciones locales.

El objetivo del presente estudio fue conocer la percepción de los vendedores ambulantes en las playas en relación a los productos que venden para atraer la atención del turista que les permita incrementar sus ventas. Por lo que se estructuró el trabajo en cuatro apartados, el primero bosqueja la estructura organizacional de las empresas familiares turísticas, el segundo explora los productos que se venden en la playa, en el tercero analiza las condiciones de vida de las vendedoras de playa y por último antecedentes históricos de Puerto Arista, Chiapas.

II. EMPRESAS FAMILIARES EN EL SECTOR TURÍSTICO

Las empresas familiares en el sector turístico de las vendedoras de alimentos en la playa, están conformadas por el núcleo familiar, su constitución son el padre, la madre los hijos y puede ser hasta los abuelos cuando son productos artesanales que se elaboran en sus casas y posteriormente después de hacerlos se van a la playa a venderlos; y los que no se elaboran en casa, son artículos de reventa. Esto implica que los integrantes de una familia participan activamente en la venta y comercialización de productos turísticos en las playas.

Esta actividad productiva les permite generar un ingreso diario para su familia, de este recurso económico que obtienen por la venta, lo distribuyen una parte, para la compra de materia prima para su comercialización del día siguiente, otra porción la destinan para sus alimentos, una más para la ayuda del gasto de sus hijos en las escuelas, sin permitirse ahorrar para contingencias (enfermedades, accidentes).

2.1 Productos Turísticos

Los productos turísticos que se venden en las playas, requieren una estructura familiar para su elaboración, se clasifican en productos alimenticios y no alimenticios, los primeros requieren un proceso que se realiza en los domicilios de las personas que elaboran los artículos como son: el macabil, camarones cocidos, huevas de lisas, empanadas de camarón, pizzas en rebanadas, casco de mula, cocos, raspados, totopos, dulce de coco, nueganos, pay y flanes.

Y los segundos, son artesanías manuales, elaboradas por ellos mismos derivados de los productos que se encuentran en las playas como son (caracoles, caballitos de mar, sombreros de palma, collares de flores, pulseras), otros productos son comprados en la ciudad para revenderlos en la playa (salvavidas, batas, trajes de baño, pelotas, lentes, hamacas etc.).

2.2 Vendedores de playa

El Programa Sectorial de Turismo (PROSECTUR, 2020-2024) reconoce la riqueza biocultural, natural y cultural de México, estableciendo cuatro objetivos prioritarios que buscan un desarrollo turístico más inclusivo y equilibrado:

En primer lugar, se promueve la diversificación de los destinos turísticos, evitando la concentración de infraestructura en zonas de sol y playa, e integrando más localidades para fomentar un desarrollo equitativo.

Además, se hace un llamado a garantizar un enfoque social y de respeto a los derechos humanos en toda actividad turística, buscando mejorar la calidad de vida de las comunidades a través de un turismo responsable y sostenible.

Otro objetivo clave es impulsar el turismo sostenible en zonas marginadas, enfrentando los retos de conectividad, gestión de recursos y planeación urbana, mientras se busca proteger los ecosistemas y territorios naturales.

Por último, se plantea la diversificación de mercados tanto a nivel nacional como internacional, explorando nuevos nichos y

atrajendo a turistas de alto poder adquisitivo para generar mayores beneficios económicos entre la población.

III. ANTECEDENTES HISTÓRICOS DE PUERTO ARISTA, CHIAPAS

Puerto Arista, con más de 206 años de historia, fue originalmente conocida como "La Puerta". Su existencia oficial data de 1813, cuando las Cortes de Cádiz autorizaron su apertura al comercio con Guatemala, otros puertos de Nueva España y Perú. Durante la presidencia de Benito Juárez, en la década de 1860, fue declarada puerto principal para la navegación costera. Esta designación, como lo destacó el agente municipal Adolfo Pérez Morales, subrayó su relevancia estratégica. La trayectoria histórica de Puerto Arista ha sido clave para el desarrollo económico y comercial de la región, fortaleciendo los lazos internacionales de México (Vázquez, 2019).

Recibió el nombre de Puerto Arista, en honor a un General llamado Mariano Arista, el que vivía en este lugar, de acuerdo a los comentarios de los mismos pobladores de esa época. En esas fechas, no se consideraba como un centro turístico, debido a las grandes dimensiones, "llanura de tierra y vegetación flora y fauna". Hasta hace 100 años se instalaron dos Restaurantes: El Dulcito y La Liza, a quienes se les consideró fundadores de la industria restaurantera.

A finales del siglo XIX, Tonalá vivió un período de prosperidad marcado por la importancia del tráfico marítimo, lo que impulsó un significativo crecimiento económico. Puerto Arista emergió como un punto clave para el comercio internacional, recibiendo mercancías de embarcaciones inglesas, alemanas y norteamericanas. Entre los productos más destacados se encontraban telas, ropa, calzado, madera y añaíl, que dinamizaban el comercio local. Sin embargo, con la inauguración del ferrocarril panamericano el 1 de julio de 1908, esta ruta marítima comenzó a perder relevancia, transformando las dinámicas de transporte y comercio en la región, al conectar de manera más eficiente la costa de Chiapas con el centro del país (Mireles Gavito, 2014).

La población de Puerto Arista se organiza en torno a un bulevar principal que corre paralelo a la playa. Este bulevar, conocido popularmente como "El Boulevard", recibe distintos nombres oficiales, como Boulevard Zapotal y Avenida Mariano Matamoros. A lo largo de esta vía se concentran los negocios orientados al turismo, como hoteles, restaurantes y pequeñas tiendas, especialmente en el centro de la localidad, donde el comercio se adapta a las necesidades de los visitantes.

Las playas de Puerto Arista, Chiapas, continúan siendo el principal destino turístico de sol y playa del estado. Si bien está en constante desarrollo aún presenta deficiencias en algunos de los servicios esenciales como cajeros automáticos, supermercados, información turística, contaminación, problemas del agua, basura (Cruz, 2017).

Las playas de Puerto Artista, Chiapas, se encuentran a 195 km de la capital del estado de Tuxtla Gutiérrez y a 21 kilómetros de Tonalá. En el periodo vacacional de Semana Santa, verano y diciembre reflejan lleno total en los periodos de vacaciones mencionadas el resto del año la afluencia turística es muy baja.

De acuerdo con el diagnóstico realizado por Cruz (2017), con respecto al alojamiento turístico, Puerto Arista, cuenta con aproximadamente 505 habitaciones para 1200 turistas (hoteles, camping, cabañas, hostales, bungalos), con respecto a la venta de alimentos posee restaurantes, bares, cantinas y los vendedores ambulantes que transitan por las playas ofreciendo alimentos y bebidas; para entretenimiento tiene instalaciones deportivas, discotecas y antros. Además, posee atractivos turísticos como El Faro y el Campamento Tortuguero que son desconocidos para el turista potencial.

El transporte público proporciona servicios en taxis y colectivos; tienen un costo aproximado de \$50.00 pesos, \$80 en temporada alta y salen cada 20 minutos en horario de 06:00 am., a 20:00 pm., horas desde el centro de la ciudad de Tonalá, Chiapas. En temporada alta (vacacional) operan

toda la noche para que los turistas puedan desplazarse con facilidad.

IV. METODOLOGÍA DE INVESTIGACIÓN

El diseño metodológico de esta investigación sigue un enfoque mixto, integrando tanto elementos cuantitativos como cualitativos, y se clasifica como una investigación de tipo descriptivo (Hernández, Fernández y Baptista, 2014). Para recabar la información, se aplicó una encuesta elaborada por investigadores de la Facultad de Contaduría y Administración, Campus 1, y de la Escuela de Ciencias Administrativas, Istmo Costa, Campus IX, de la Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas. Esta colaboración tuvo como objetivo analizar las características demográficas de las vendedoras ambulantes en las playas, además de explorar su relación con aspectos familiares, sociales y económicos, permitiendo una comprensión más integral de su situación.

En la investigación documental, se revisaron estudios elaborados en otros países, revistas académicas de turismo, tesis de licenciatura, maestría y doctorado en el área turística, documentos que permitieron adquirir interesante información. Con respecto al estudio de campo se aplicaron las siguientes técnicas de investigación: observación, entrevistas y encuestas (Hernández, Fernández y Baptista, 2014).

V. INVESTIGACIÓN DE CAMPO

El estudio se realizó del 25 de marzo al 3 de abril del año 2024, llevándose a cabo la etapa de trabajo de campo por un equipo de 15 estudiantes universitarios; liderado por maestros-investigadores, el grupo se distribuyó en 3 grupos, cada equipo coordinando una área de la playa de Puerto Arista, de la siguiente forma: en la zona norte se formó una brigada de 5 alumnos con la supervisión y coordinación de un investigador, el horario que se estableció para recolectar la información fue de 09:00 am. - 17:00 pm., por ser el horario de mayor afluencia de vendedores, porque según explicaron es cuando les favorece salir a vender porque son los horarios de mayor afluencia de turistas a las playas.

El segundo grupo, formado por 5 alumnos, 1 investigador, grupo que se ubicó en el centro de la playa porque es donde más se concentran los turistas para bañarse y demandan más productos o servicios.

El tercer grupo, 5 alumnos, un investigador, se dirigieron a la zona sur de la playa sitio de menor concentración turística por lo tanto, mínima afluencia de vendedores ambulantes, debido a que es el área más alejada de las áreas de mayor concentración como es el centro o norte. Para realizar las entrevistas a los vendedores ambulantes fue un poco complejo puesto que no todos los vendedores de playa estaban dispuestos a contestar los cuestionarios porque argumentaban que se les quitaba el tiempo, valioso para ellos, al realizar su negocio, debido que para ellos es importante, debido a los horarios

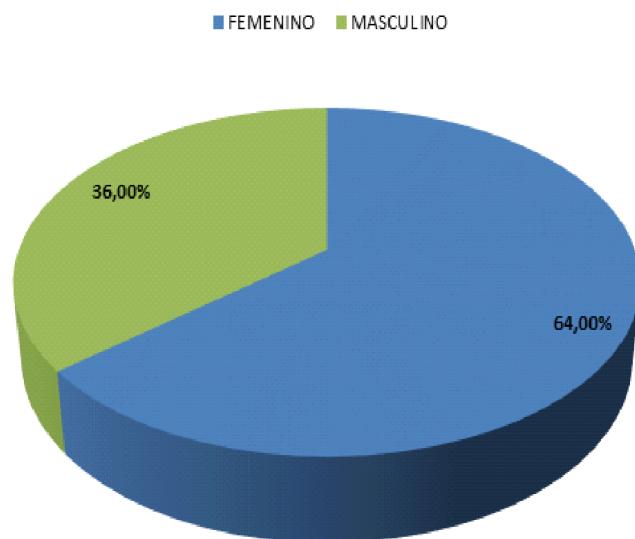
de venta son cruciales, porque pasando esos horarios claves se queda vacía la playa.

Se obtuvo un total de 50 encuestas, por lo que se considera una muestra por conveniencia, porque para seleccionar el universo muestral en un ambiente de playa, es bastante complejo por su movilidad de un sitio a otro, por lo que se debe tener mucho cuidado por parte de los aplicadores de las encuestas de no repetir las mismas para que la información sea válida y confiable.

VI. RESULTADOS

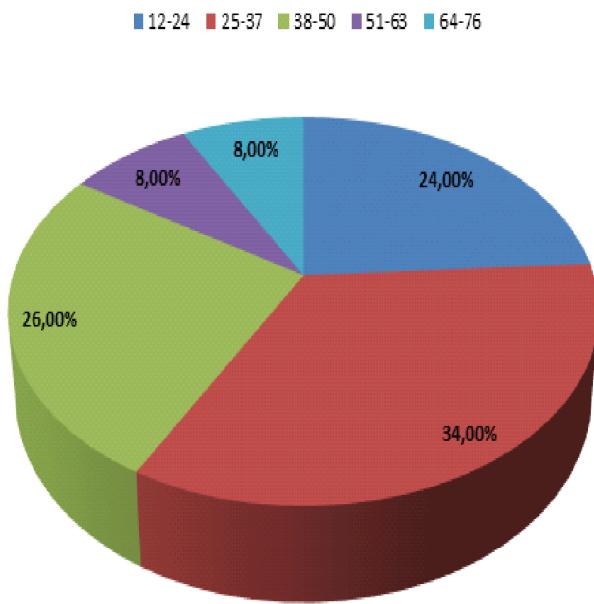
A continuación se presentan los resultados obtenidos en el estudio a 50 vendedores de playa: Perfil de los vendedores ambulantes de playa en Puerto Arista, Chiapas, y los productos/servicios que ofrecen.

6.1 Perfil de los Vendedores de Playa



Gráfica No. 1: Género

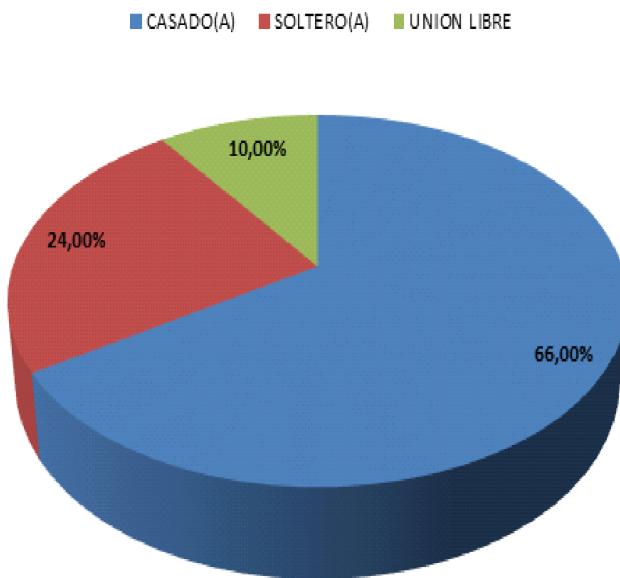
En la gráfica No. 1, en relación al género de los vendedores de playa se observa el predominio de las mujeres en un 64% con respecto al 36% de los hombres, por comentarios de los mismos vendedores, dijeron que la mujer socializa más que los hombres, lo que le permite vender con mayor facilidad.



Gráfica No. 2: Edad

En la gráfica No. 2, con respecto a la edad, el 34%, 26% y 24% suman un total del 84% donde se puede observar que la edad oscila de 12 a 50 años, lo que indica que son personas jóvenes y niñas (os) que se dedican a las ventas de playa porque

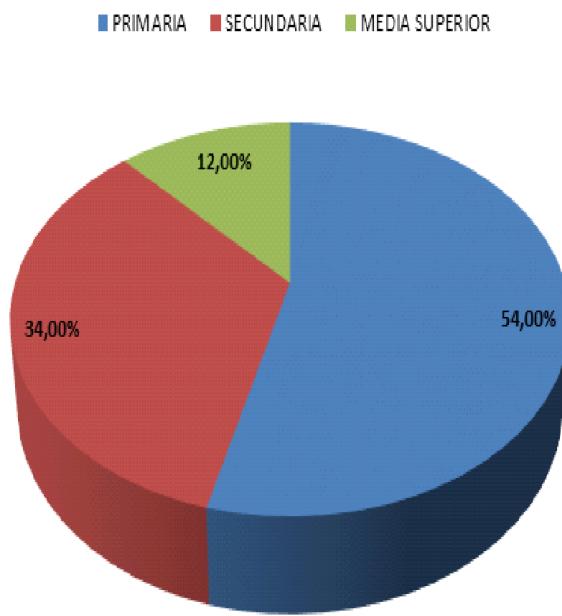
caminan muchos kilómetros en la misma playa, las personas mayores no soportan este ritmo de trabajo. Y el resto 16% son personas mayores que necesitan trabajar porque no tienen apoyos gubernamentales, sociales ni familiares.



Gráfica No. 3: Estado Civil

En la gráfica No. 3, se refleja que el 66% son casados (as), el 24% soltero (a) y el 10% viven en unión libre. Debido a un porcentaje mayor son casados o casadas, coinciden con las motivaciones de necesidad económica, llevar un ingreso a su

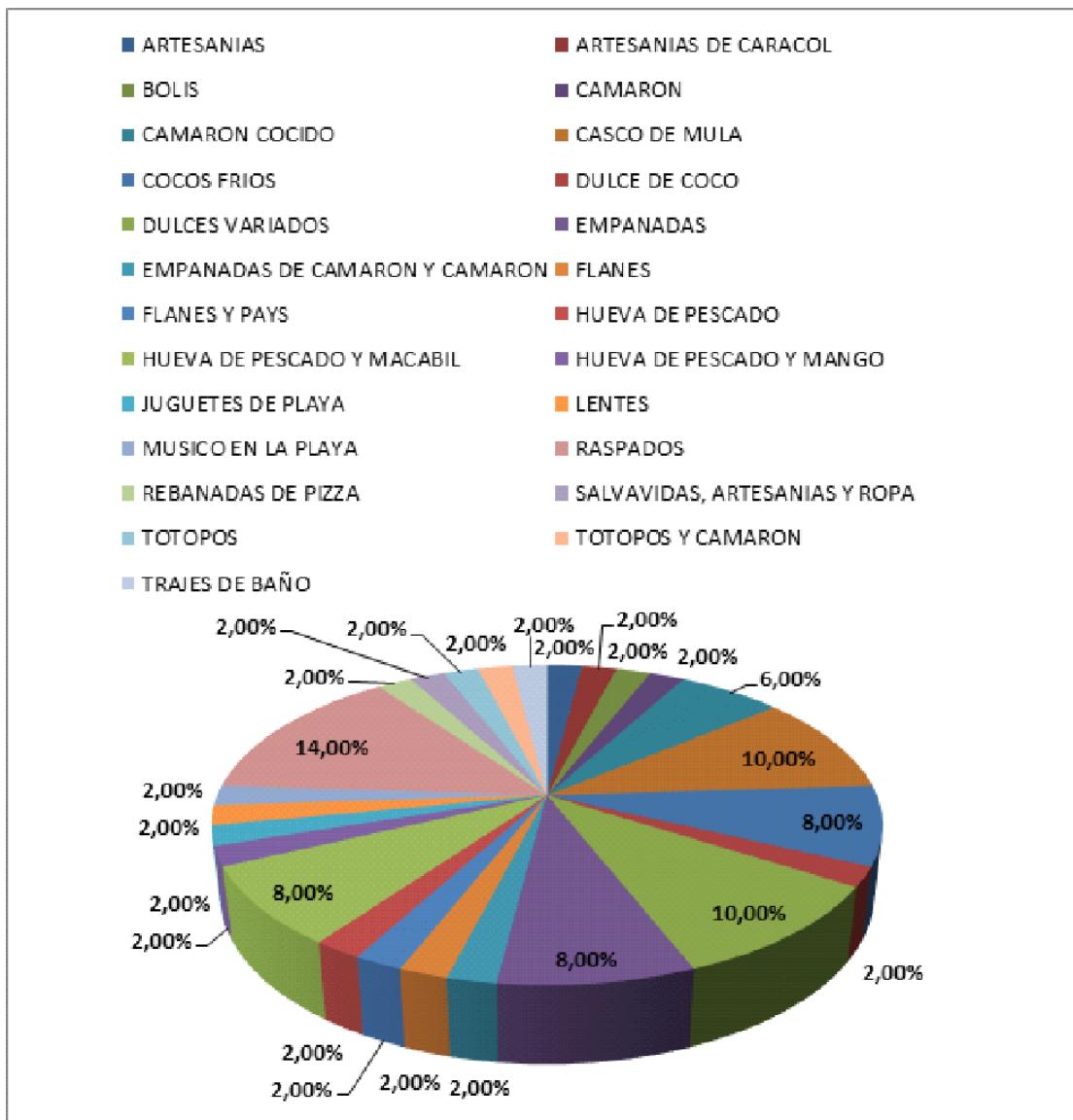
hogar y el 24% de solteros (a) para apoyar en el gasto familiar.



Gráfica No. 4. Educación

En la gráfica No. 4, con respecto a la educación, un 54% posee nivel de primaria, un 34% secundaria y el resto 12% educación media superior, se pudo observar que el mayor porcentaje de vendedores ambulantes posee estudios de primaria y por este motivo se les dificulta encontrar empleo, porque comentan que cuando van a solicitar una vacante les solicitan más estudios realizados sobre todo en los hoteles y restaurantes.

6.2 Productos/Servicios que se Venden en la Playa de Puerto Arista, Chiapas

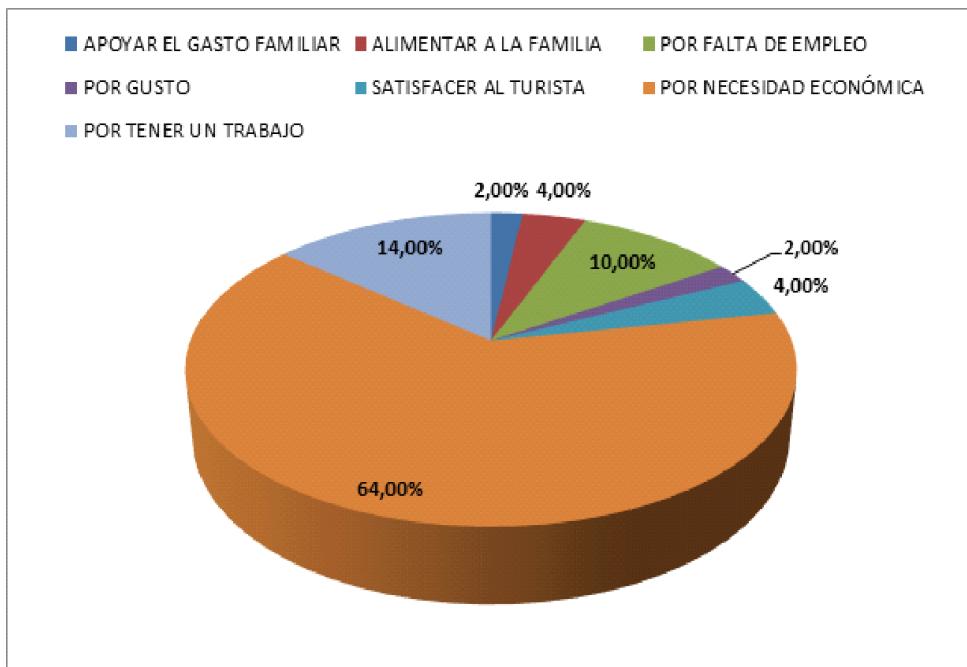


Gráfica No. 5: Productos/servicios

En la gráfica No. 5, de los productos/servicios que ofertan los vendedores de playa y más consumen los turistas son productos alimenticios: Un 14% Raspados, 10% Camarón, 10% Casco de Mula, 8% Hueva de Lisa, 8% Macabil, 8% Cocos fríos, 6% Totopos, 2% Empanadas de Camarón y Pescado, 2% Bolis, 2% Dulce de Coco, 2% Flanes, 2% Pays, 2% Mangos. En menor proporción 2% Ropa de Playa, 2% Artesanías de Caracol, 2% Lentes, 2% Salvavidas, 2% Tríos, 2% Marimba y 2% Mariachis.

La oferta de productos/servicios realizados por los vendedores ambulantes, son mal vistos por los negocios establecidos y crea conflicto entre ellos,

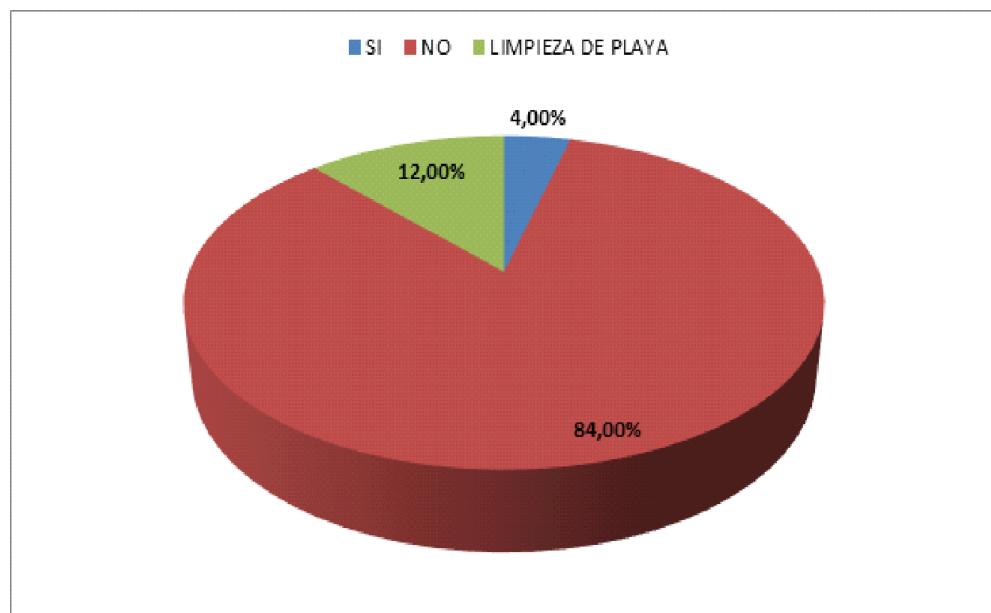
también los restauranteros que les prohíben el acceso a sus negocios. Pero son bien recibidos por las personas que únicamente van a bañarse a la playa y ahí mismo consiguen alimentos, bebidas y artesanías.



Gráfica No. 6: ¿Qué lo motivó a vender en la playa?

La gráfica No. 6, con respecto a las motivaciones que los llevó a efectuar este trabajo un 64% por necesidad económica, el 14% para tener un trabajo, otro 10% por falta de empleo, un 4%

alimentar a su familia, 4% satisfacer al turista, 2% apoyar el gasto familiar y por último el otro 2% por gusto.



Gráfica No. 7: ¿Realiza algún pago al vender en la playa?

En la gráfica No. 7, la respuesta de las vendedoras de playa fue que el 84% respondió que no efectúa pago alguno por vender en la playa, un 12% dijo que colaboran en la limpieza de la playa como pago y el resto 4% dijeron que si a las personas que son líderes de los vendedores de playa,

personas que monitorean y hacen recorridos en las playas, porque la vigilancia municipal es muy escasa, si no es que nula.

VII. CONCLUSIONES

Los hallazgos obtenidos reflejaron, que el perfil de este grupo humano, prevalece el género femenino, jóvenes, con poca formación educativa “primaria” y bajos ingresos económicos. Este grupo mostró alegría al realizar esta actividad, pero comentaron que si tuvieran una oportunidad de empleo fijo lo preferirían al que están realizando actualmente como vendedores informales en Puerto Arista, Chiapas. Además, el colectivo femenino que es el 64% comentó que se dedicó a esta actividad porque no tenían otras opciones laborales, debido a que necesitan llevar recursos económicos para su familia porque no les queda otra elección, debido a que son viudas, abandonadas o divorciadas.

Los jóvenes vendedores que representan un 24% de una edad de 12 a 24 años, mencionaron que laboran en este sitio porque ayudan a sus padres con los gastos de sus hogares y para apoyarse en la escuela, porque sus padres son campesinos y sus ingresos son bajos.

También se observó en los resultados del estudio, que la mujer se ha involucrado en las ventas de playa para mejorar el ingreso económico pero no le ha exentado de las labores propias del hogar debido a que su pareja hombre, labora en actividades de trabajo de campo (deshierbe, reforzar y colocar cercas, mampostería, control de maleza, siembra de pasto, ordeña, fumigación) y como lo comentan es una actividad desgastante y extenuante por lo que no les permite apoyar en las labores del hogar, y si lo hicieran serían mal visto por la comunidad; porque no se acostumbra que los hombres realicen actividades propias del hogar, pues corresponden a las mujeres de acuerdo a las tradiciones que aún continúa vigentes por estas zonas rurales chiapanecas. Lo que implica que la mujer tenga dos roles, el de ama de casa y el de salir a vender alimentos que ellas mismas preparan en su domicilio, para posteriormente bañarse, arreglarse y salir a la playa a vender su mercancía.

Con respecto al pago de tributaciones, como se observó en la gráfica No. 6, el 84% no realiza ningún pago porque nadie les obliga a ello, aun cuando un 12% comentaron que de forma

voluntaria realizan actividades de limpieza en las mismas como pago a su trabajo y un 4% que comentaron que si lo hacían pero no fue posible que dijeron a quien porque tenían miedo si lo decían. Reflejando que los vendedores de playa continuarán en la informalidad, porque no les interesa agruparse para obtener beneficios en conjunto con sus compañeros que realizan el mismo trabajo que ellos porque existe mucho egoísmo en su actuación comercial y además cada vendedora ofrece productos diferentes porque no se les permite repetir el mismo artículo.

Y por último la investigación reflejó, que a estas personas les hubiera gustado seguir estudiando para tener mejores oportunidades en la vida, debido a que sus padres y abuelos eran de origen campesino la mayoría, y la minoría se habían dedicado a las ventas ambulantes, tradición que ellos (as) siguieron porque fue lo único que conocían y les agrado hacerlo.

Incluso, esta actividad comercial que realizan, les permite cuidar a su esposo, hijos y personas mayores que viven con ellas, porque son familia, la costumbre es que las personas más jóvenes cuiden de los mayores y enfermos. Asimismo, consideran también que al obtener sus ingresos económicos propios se sienten empoderadas económicamente, pero que eso no les permite tomar decisiones en su hogar porque corresponde al esposo, costumbre arraigada en las comunidades chiapanecas.

Reflexión final, Un grupo considerable de vendedoras de playa mencionaron que disfrutan trabajar en el mar, gozan de la brisa y de la arena, además les permite conocer personas de distintas partes de la república y del mundo, porque llegan turistas nacionales e internacionales (son los que más adquieren sus productos/servicios y platican con ellas, conociendo por sus conversaciones que existe otro tipo de vida dentro de la vida marital, social, cultural y política).

Propuestas de mejora, proporcionar un curso-taller para el manejo con higiene de los alimentos que venden en la playa, de parte de la Secretaría de Salud (COFEPRIS) factor clave que favorecería

el incremento de la venta de alimentos por los turistas que compran en la playa.

Que las autoridades de turismo en vinculación con las universidades les proporcionen cursos de Mercadotecnia, Administración, Finanzas, que les apoyaría en sus conocimientos básicos para sus actividades diarias de mercadeo. De igual forma que las autoridades municipales, estatales y nacionales, diseñen políticas públicas que permitan mejorar la calidad de vida de este grupo de trabajadoras de playa, la de sus familias y su entorno local.

Con la información anterior, se pueden establecer algunas de las siguientes recomendaciones:

- Promoción de Productos Locales y Turismo Sostenible: Se recomienda que las autoridades locales desarrollen un programa de promoción del turismo sostenible que involucre productos locales y artesanales elaborados por los vendedores de playa. Esto no solo proporcionaría una experiencia auténtica a los turistas, sino que también ayudaría a conservar las tradiciones locales y a promover la economía circular en la zona.
- Fomento a la Creación de Cooperativas: Incentivar la organización de los vendedores ambulantes en cooperativas que les permitan agruparse y mejorar su poder de negociación, así como facilitar el acceso a recursos, financiamiento y capacitación en temas de emprendimiento. Esto podría fortalecer su posición en el mercado y mejorar la calidad de vida de sus familias.
- Desarrollo de Infraestructura Turística: Es crucial que se lleve a cabo una inversión en infraestructura básica y servicios públicos, que incluya la mejora del acceso a servicios higiénicos, agua potable y sistemas de saneamiento en las playas. Esto no solo beneficiará a los vendedores, sino también a los turistas, mejorando la experiencia general del destino y contribuyendo a la sostenibilidad ambiental.
- Implementación de Programas de Educación y Sensibilización: Se sugiere implementar programas de educación comunitaria sobre sostenibilidad, salud y manejo de residuos.

Esta iniciativa podría incluir el reciclaje y la correcta disposición de basura, para que tanto vendedores como turistas participen activamente en la conservación del entorno natural de las playas.

- Diversificación de Actividades Turísticas: Es recomendable fomentar la diversificación de actividades turísticas en Puerto Arista, más allá del turismo de sol y playa. Esto incluye el desarrollo de ecoturismo, turismo cultural y deportivo que involucre a la comunidad local, enriqueciendo la oferta turística y atrayendo a un mayor número de visitantes durante todo el año, especialmente en temporadas bajas.

Con estas recomendaciones se puede no solo mejorar la situación económica de los vendedores ambulantes, sino también de contribuir a un desarrollo turístico más equilibrado y sostenible en la región.

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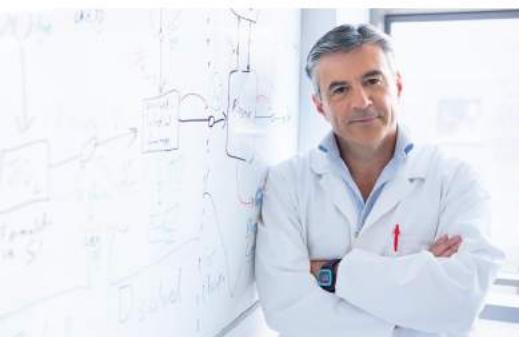
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